

THE  
**ACTS AND MONUMENTS**

BY  
**JOHN FOXE.**

(1517-1587)

First published in

**1563**

*Original woodcuts are excluded*

**FAMILY EDITION**

EDITED BY

REV. M. HOBART SEYMOUR, M.A.

**1855**

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THE  
**ACTS AND MONUMENTS**  
OF  
**THE CHURCH;**

CONTAINING THE HISTORY AND SUFFERINGS OF  
**THE MARTYRS:**

IN WHICH IS SET FORTH AT LARGE THE WHOLE RACE AND COURSE OF THE  
CHURCH, FROM THE PRIMITIVE AGE TO THESE LATER TIMES.

WITH

**A PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION**

ON THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CHURCH OF ROME THAT NOW IS,  
AND THE ANCIENT CHURCH OF ROME THAT THEN WAS.

**BY JOHN FOXE.**

WITH A MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR, BY HIS SON SAMUEL.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH FIVE APPENDICES, CONTAINING  
ACCOUNTS OF

THE MASSACRES IN FRANCE 1572; THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SPANISH ARMADA 1587;  
THE IRISH REBELLION 1641; THE GUNPOWDER TREASON 1605; AND A TRACE  
SHOWING THAT THE EXECUTIONS OF PAPISTS IN QUEEN ELIZABETH'S REIGN  
(1558-1603) WERE FOR TREASON, AND NOT FOR HERESY.

THE WHOLE CAREFULLY REVISED, CORRECTED, AND CONDENSED.

BY

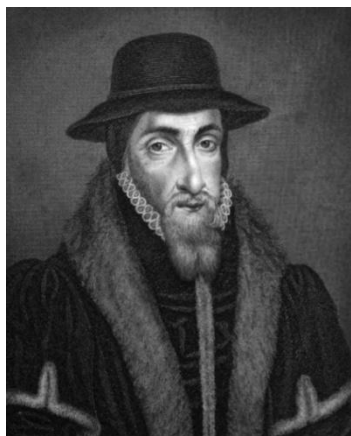
**THE REV. M. HOBART SEYMOUR, M.A.,**

AUTHOR OF "A PILGRIMAGE TO ROME."

NEW YORK:  
**ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS,**  
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**1855.**

## Notes on Modernization



John Foxe  
Engraved by John Cochran

The editor of this 1855 publication of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* was Michael Hobart Seymour (1800–1874). He restored and preserved an accurate, though curated version of Foxe's original work. He placed subsequent material in a five-part Appendix. Foxe himself added the first part to his 1583 edition. Rev. Seymour was an Anglo-Irish Protestant clergyman and historian, a fellow and faculty member of Oxford University, and traveling secretary of the Reformation Society. His Preface shows he was as appalled by papal expansionism in the 19th century, as Foxe had been in the 16th.

Foxe's 8-volume 1563 publication, with its 60 woodcuts, was the largest English publishing project up to that time. It was a single volume, a bit over a foot long, two hands wide, over 1500 pages, and weighing the same as a small infant. It contained (and was notorious for) its gruesome drawings of torture. This being a

“Family Edition,” Rev. Seymour limited and gentrified those images, among other refinements to the text, as he explains in his Preface. I chose to leave out the drawings, feeling that the text descriptions were sufficiently gruesome. And yet, even those serve a purpose, in the same way that the photographs and records of the Holocaust in Germany during World War II serve a purpose. There are those who deny that such atrocities ever occurred, or that they were not as bad as described, or that such crimes were justified or excusable. Despite photographic evidence, despite eyewitness accounts (even by the perpetrators themselves), despite exhaustive court records, such Holocaust denials persist.

In the same way, Foxe has left a record of what was done to Christians for their faith, documenting it for future generations. We would like to say, with the Jewish survivors of the Holocaust, “Never again.” But Christians know that man's depravity is boundless, and at work in every age. These descriptions, with their unimaginable horror and scope, confirm it. The danger is that the sheer number of these accounts, with the repetition of how these martyrs died, may inure us to their horror, injustice, atrocity, and pain — even to the faith and courage of these suffering believers. We must not let ourselves become indifferent or desensitized to it. We should be as shocked by the last martyr's death, as by the first. Perhaps we might see in them, the faces of our own spouse, parents, children, or friends.

The *Chronological Table of Contents* and *General Index* reference the page numbers of Seymour's edition; so I retained page numbers in [brackets], adjusting page-breaks for readability. Dates in the page headers are now beside the bracketed page numbers.

**Dates:** Dates in parentheses are mostly Seymour's; but all dates depend on available data — so they are debatable, and may be at odds with other histories. Consider that Irenaeus was looking back 150 years; Eusebius 250 years; Foxe 1500 years. Foxe's book was 290 years old when Seymour edited it; Seymour's edition is now 170 years old. Therefore the dates should be taken as best guesses at the time. Years preceded with an “r.” are the years reigned.

**Language:** Rev. Seymour preserved not only the middle-English *thee's* and *thou's*, but the old-English of Chaucer (*e.g.*, *they tillen, ne sowen, weeden, ne repen*), which is largely unintelligible today (as he admits). I modernized it all to make it accessible to those with English as a second language. Although I updated the language, I did not correct the content; I only adjusted or supplemented it where the original might be confusing. I reduced Foxe's constant use of the present tense, and made his ambiguous pronouns explicit.

**Verse references:** I used 3-letter abbreviations with a period between book and verse (Gen 1.1, 1Cor 1.1,4) — no colon, no Roman numerals. I think they’re easier to read and to find. The verse references that I added to the original text have been superscripted. <sup>1King 1.1</sup>

**Footnotes:** I annotated uncommon personalities, words, and events in blue, along with any supplemental materials, explanations, or corrections. Seymour’s footnotes are followed by [ED.]. The rest belong to Foxe. I took the liberty of moving some of Foxe’s editorial comments into footnotes — for example, on pages [62] and [66].

**Spelling and syntax:** Because this edition was published in New York, and intended for an American audience, I Americanized the spelling (*labour* and *Saviour* are now *labor* and *Savior*). Long, incomplete, or complex sentences have been simplified, and archaic words updated. I changed some well-known names to their more accepted spellings. For example, Otho was changed to Otto, Tindal to Tyndale. Wickliff to Wycliffe. Correcting or updating other spellings proved to be problematic. I corrected Egbert (bishop) to Edbert (king) where either Foxe, Seymour, or the typesetter, gave the same name to two different men. King Celulfus we know as Ceolwulf, the Synod of Clonesho as Clovesho. I caught a number of such odd or archaic spellings; but with 2400 pages, it’s unlikely that I caught all or even most of them. Please excuse those.

This is more than an account of the martyrs’ lives and deaths. Foxe provides us with the historical context, and the political and religious intrigues that led to their brutal executions. It is a detailed history book, describing the ongoing contest between kings and popes, with ordinary Christians caught between. The Reformation was thus political as well as religious in nature, because freedom of conscience transcends them both (Act 24.14-16; 1Pet 3.15). This book is also a defense of biblical doctrine and practice, against the many errors and aberrations that arose over time. These faithful and heroic Christians stood firm, sacrificing themselves for the cause of God and truth, in the face of vicious and violent opposition. Their resolve and stalwart defense of the faith changed the course of history for the better, to God’s glory. Foxe has provided us with hundreds of examples of what it looks like to live to God, to be faithful to His word, and to take up our cross daily and follow Christ. We’re indebted to these faithful believers; and also to John Foxe for honoring and preserving their memory. All praise be to God, who is mightily at work in His people. <sup>Col 1.29</sup>

**William H. Gross**

December 31, 2024

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The 14th edition of Encyclopedia Britannica (1960 printing) has an article on John Foxe written by J.F. Mozley, who himself wrote a book in 1940, “John Foxe and His Book.” Mozley was certainly sympathetic to John Foxe and his book. In his summary concerning Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*, he states the following: “It is indeed prolix [*i.e.* long-winded], unsystematic, carelessly edited, one-sided, oversharp, sometimes credulous. But it is honest and it is strong in facts.... It opens a window on the English Reformation by preserving much firsthand material unobtainable elsewhere.... The charges of deliberate falsification brought against him by Alan Cope (1566), Robert Parsons(1603), and some moderns [viz. S.R. Maitland, etc.] have no substance.” (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th ed., 1960, Vol. 9, p. 573).

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foxe's\\_Book\\_of\\_Martyrs](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foxe's_Book_of_Martyrs) (accessed 12/31/2024)

“I wrote no such booke bearyng the title *Booke of Martyrs*. I wrote a booke called the *Acts and Monumentes* ... wherin many other matters be contayned beside the martyrs of Christ.”

— John Foxe, *The Actes and Monuments* (1570)

*Note:* Bishop Edmund Grindal (1519-1583) called it a book of martyrs, and the name stuck.



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## **Editor's Preface**

TO THE 1855 EDITION.

The energies exhibited of late by the emissaries of the Church of Rome, to re-establish her influence in this country (England), have loudly demanded the republication of those works with which our forefathers withered her influence, and baffled her energies. There is no volume in the range of our literature, that has been more effective in maintaining the principles of the Reformation — that noblest of all achievements — than *the Acts and Monuments of Martyrs*, by Master John Foxe.<sup>1</sup> It is this conviction which has induced the present edition of that admirable work.

When we speak of *the Church of Rome*, we speak of a religious, though a fatally erring community. But when we speak of *the Papacy*, we allude to an ecclesiastical system which not only teaches such absurdities as Transubstantiation — such blasphemies as the Sacrifice of the Mass — such idolatry as the Worship of Saints — and such a novelty as her Creed, but also has elevated an Italian Bishop to the throne of an Italian Prince who has territories, and broad domains, and numerous subjects of his own, and placed him in such a peculiar position, that he can bind by solemn oaths, and demand allegiance from a portion of the subjects of every other prince. This man — combining in himself the offices of *Priest* and *King* — has been raised to such a lofty pinnacle of secular authority, that he can control, punish, or reward a portion of the subjects of other Princes, so as to secure to himself the service and fealty of all those who, as members of the priesthood, possess either power or influence in the land. We must not regard this as a purely spiritual power, for those persons are bound by the most solemn oaths — not to defend the royalties of their liege sovereign, but to defend to the utmost of their power, in the heart of every other state, the usurped or pretended royalties of this Italian Bishop. It is a fearful and a melancholy fact that in our own fair England, palmy and beautiful England — the land of the brave, and the home of the free — there should be hundreds of men, holding and wielding a certain influence in the land, who have been appointed by this foreign potentate, who ought to have no authority in this realm, and who have sworn — not to maintain the royalties of the sovereign of England — but to maintain the royalties of this Italian Prince.<sup>2</sup>

As loyal subjects of the sovereign of England, and as liege subjects of the King of kings, we never can consent that this Italian Potentate should possess authority in this realm. We feel that the experience of this nation, and the history of the world have proved, that he exercises his authority to minister to his own ambition, and to the degradation of mankind; and that the ecclesiastical system of Rome is a mighty confederacy against the civil liberties, and religious privileges of man. We likewise feel that the emissaries of this system have never been very scrupulous as to the means of accomplishing their ends.

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It may be the darkening of a nation's glory, as in the time of King John of England. It may be the sundering of all the civil ties of man, as in the history of the German emperors. It may be the massacre of thousands, as in France on the day of St. Bartholomew. It may be the tortures of an Inquisition, as in the atmosphere of Spain. It may be the most terrible persecution, as in the reign of Mary I of England. Any and all means are alike welcome to accomplish the objects of that church. And there is at all times an ample agency, in the Bishops, and Priests — in the Monks and Friars of Rome. By such agency and such means, the most potent

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<sup>1</sup> The 1563 title was *Actes and Monuments of these Latter and Perillous Days, Touching Matters of the Church*.

<sup>2</sup> The Court of Rome has at present — A.D. 1850 — above eight hundred Missionary Priests in England. [ED.]

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Monarchs of Europe have been humbled; the most noble Princes of Christendom have been ruined; Emperors have been dethroned, and Kings trampled underfoot; Nations have flowed with blood, and Kingdoms have been broken into dust — all to satiate the ambition of an Italian Priest who, while professing to be meek and lowly, compelled imperial potentates to kiss his feet, and accept their crowns and kingdoms at his hands.

When we contemplate this system — though shorn of much of its power and splendor — concentrating its energies in connection with all the peculiar doctrines and discipline of the Church of Rome, and endeavoring with all its powers to re-establish her influence in this country, it is high time for every lover of religious liberty, and every friend of civil freedom to make those efforts which seem best calculated to prevent so terrible a calamity.

The Church of Rome has never abandoned her claim to this country England; and from the age of the Reformation to the present time, she has repeated her efforts to reassert that claim with an untiring perseverance. We shall touch on the chief of these efforts which she has made from time to time in this country.

In the time of good King Edward VI, the Church of England was completely emancipated from the influence of these Italian ecclesiastics. The stately and venerable pile which had been marred by the hand of time, was restored to its primitive beauty. Its goodly pillars that had been overgrown with the mold of years, and its noble arches that had been overspread with many corruptions, were cleared of all that deformed them. The minions of Priestcraft, who had made it a den of thieves and had driven their merchandise of men's souls within her porches, were removed, and the Church of England returned to her original and apostolic purity. Had the life of this young and gentle Prince been spared, the religious freedom of England had been established beyond the possibility of danger. But it was the purpose of God to scourge this nation with a scourge of scorpions, so as to teach us to cherish an undying hatred of the whole system of Popery, that the memory of its horrors and its cruelties might live in the minds of our children, and our children's children, and that so there might be cherished among us a high and unwavering resolve that it should never again be established in this country. Edward was taken to his rest, and Mary ascended the throne. We don't know what feminine amiabilities she may have naturally possessed, but we do know that she surrendered herself into the hands of the Italian Priests, and to use the language of our Redeemer, they "made her two-fold more the child of hell than themselves." <sup>Mat 23.15</sup>

It was on the accession of this queen that the Papacy made its first effective efforts to re-establish its influence in this land. Mary, with more zeal than prudence, restored the reign of Popery. To that reign we are to look for a true portraiture of this Italian religion, when possessing influence in a Protestant nation. It is not by the unauthorized professions of modern members of that system, softened and attenuated for a purpose, that we are to look for a living exhibition of its character, but we are to read the records of those times in which the Papacy possessed the power of accomplishing its own purposes, and unfolding its own characteristics. If we desire to know the fierceness of the lion, or the ferocity of the tiger, we must view them, not with their teeth drawn, and their claws extracted, and confined within cages of iron, but as in their native wildness they range the forest, or crouch in the jungle. We must form our judgment of the nature of Popery, not from her present chained and fettered state, but from the tendencies she displayed when she possessed power and influence in the nation, and could without restraint accomplish her purposes.

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The peculiar characteristic of the effort made in this reign to restore the dominion of the Papacy was PERSECUTION. Mary commenced her career with a fearful abandonment of moral principle. She pledged herself to the men of Norfolk and Suffolk, who had embraced the principles of the Reformation, that if they would assist in placing her on the throne, she would never interfere with the Protestant principles of the nation. On this pledge<sup>3</sup> she induced them to take arms in her cause, and they placed her triumphantly on the throne. Her whole reign was one continued act of perfidy to that pledge. The system of persecution which she put in force was the most awful exhibition of cruelty, and of cold and deliberate blood-guiltiness, that the records of our race present to us. There may have been at other times, and in other lands, persecution as terrible and as bloody; but this continued through the whole five years of her reign. The loftiest in the land were its martyrs, and a woman was the perpetrator.

No rank, or virtue, or learning, gave exemption to the possessor — Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Farrer — all bishops of the church, were removed from their sees — degraded from their office — cast into prison, and finally martyred amidst the fires. Many hundreds of Christian souls were persecuted to the death.<sup>4</sup> Two persons were publicly appointed in every parish, to discover and inform against every Protestant who refused to conform to Popery. They were then apprehended, examined, and, if they still refused, martyred. Many thousands were thus compelled to flee their homes, their properties, and their country, to seek in foreign lands a welcome that was denied them in their fatherland. Among these fugitives was MASTER JOHN FOXE, the justly celebrated Author of this justly celebrated Work — “THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF MARTYRS,” in which we have the only full and faithful narration of the cruelty of this persecution in which men, women, and children, without regard to age or sex, were indiscriminately martyred. Sometimes five, and sometimes ten were consumed in one fire, and on one occasion three women were burned at one stake, and (the blood runs cold while we write it) when one of them, under the pain of the flames, travailed with child, and one of the multitude, more humane than the rest, rescued the new-born babe, the authorities commanded it instantly to be burned with its mother! When such scenes were transacted under the authority of one who was herself a woman, we may well feel that there is an alchemy in Popery, that if it finds us angels, it can transform us into devils.

The death of this woman — whose only claim to our respect is that, like one of old, she was “a king's daughter” — stayed the work of persecution, and thus rendered ineffectual the first great effort of the Papacy to re-establish itself in this country. The succession of Elizabeth freed the Church of England from Italian influence, and settled it upon surer pillars and more steadfast foundations than ever.

The noble spirit of this Queen was such as became the monarch of this gallant nation, over whose destinies she presided. When, by that act of Popish perfidy — the massacre of St. Bartholomew<sup>5</sup> — the streets of Paris flowed with the blood of her Protestant sons, the French ambassador appeared at the court of Elizabeth. He looked around for the splendor and chivalry of England. His cheek paled. The court of Elizabeth was arrayed in the deepest mourning!

Under her reign this country stood forth as the friend and protector of the reformed religion both at home and abroad, and the grand antagonist of the Papal system. It was therefore

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<sup>3</sup> One of the most interesting historical documents ever read, is the petition of these men of Norfolk, and Suffolk, to the Queen's Council, in the time of persecution. It will be found at p. 918.

<sup>4</sup> Grimdal, who lived during the period, says the number was 860; others estimate it at half that number.

<sup>5</sup> Referring to the murder of many thousands of French Huguenots in 1572.

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scarcely to be expected that with an enemy so powerful, persevering, and unscrupulous as Popery, this country could be left in tranquility. The second great effort for the re-establishment of the Church of Rome, unfolded a system of internal REBELLION and foreign INVASION.

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Pope Pius was pleased in A.D. 1570, for the accomplishment of this effort, to issue his bull anathematizing the Queen of England, and absolving all her subjects of their oaths of allegiance.

“The nobles, subjects, and inhabitants of England,” says this audacious manifesto, “who have in any way sworn to her, we declare to be absolved forever from any such oath, and from all manner of duty, allegiance, and obedience, as we do by the authority of these presents absolve them, and do deprive the said Elizabeth of her pretended right to the kingdom, and all other things aforesaid. We command and interdict all nobles, subjects, people, and others aforesaid, that they not presume to obey her mandate, monitions, or laws. Those who shall act otherwise we bind under a similar sentence of anathema,” etc.

This Italian Priest, not contented with thus anathematizing the Queen of England, and blasphemously assuming to absolve the people of England from their allegiance, proceeded to two other measures that strikingly illustrate the character of the Papacy. He first sent certain Jesuits into Ireland with bulls, authorizing them to raise the inhabitants of that island in rebellion against England. They unhappily accomplished his purpose there. He then took it upon himself to make over the realm of England, with its crown, its revenues, and its dependencies, as a gift to Philip of Spain. There too he succeeded in inducing that prince to equip the celebrated Armada, and prepare for an invasion of England.

Such were the means by which it was proposed to re-establish Popery in this land. Rebellion in Ireland — treason in England — and a foreign invasion in both!

But by the Providence of God, the rebellion in Ireland was crushed, the treason in England baffled, and the armada of Spain destroyed. We could mourn over the fate of the gallant armament, were we not acquainted with its object. The pomp of the chivalry of Spain, the flower of all her gallant youth were there. All that high hope could expect from noble daring, and all that the enthusiasm of superstition could achieve, might have been expected there. The voice of Papal infallibility had proclaimed it invincible. It walked the mighty ocean in its pride. It spread its fluttering wings for the shores of England. But an Angel of Heaven was moving over it unseen. The winds rushed in their fury above it. The waves swept in their madness beneath it. There were fearless hearts before them, and mighty arms to meet them. The chivalry of England manned her fleets, and the yeomanry of England lined her shores. And this “invincible armada,” scattered on the deep or stranded on our cliffs, strewed our shores with the moldering bones of the youth of Spain.

Thus ended the second great effort to restore the influence of Rome in this country. Its characteristics were rebellion and invasion — suitable precursors of the next attempt of these Italian Priests.

The vigor of Elizabeth's government was felt even after her death. James I received a kingdom (r. 1603-1625) from which the more daring and dangerous spirits had been exiled for their treasons, or had gone into banishment to escape the vengeance of the laws. Those were members of the Church of Rome, and devotedly attached to the interests of the Papacy. They had religiously believed that the Papal authority could absolve subjects of their allegiance, and depose sovereigns from their thrones. They had held that this “heresy” (the designation

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given to the reformed faith) was sufficient to lead to a forfeiture of all rights and privileges, and they therefore entered eagerly into every conspiracy that was deemed likely to re-establish the Papacy in its ancient influence in England.

These men resided chiefly in Flanders and Spain, where the members of the Order of Jesuits were in considerable numbers and activity. Garnet, Creswell, Baldwin, Parsons, and other celebrated Jesuits, soon obtained an ascendancy over these emigrants, and with the deep subtlety and unwavering courage of their order, they implicated them in endless conspiracies. It is to the intrigues of this remarkable class of ecclesiastics, that we owe the GUNPOWDER-TREASON, <sup>6</sup> which was discovered on the eve of its consummation. They bound each of the agents of this horrible treason under an oath of secrecy, administered upon receiving the Sacrament! The form of the oath was,

“You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the Sacrament you now propose to receive, never to disclose, directly or indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter which shall be proposed to you, to keep secret, nor desist from the execution thereof, until the rest shall give you leave.”

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There must be a frightful amount of human depravity, when a number of ecclesiastics could administer the Sacrament and swear by the Trinity to go forward in this terrible conspiracy. It appears likewise that another Priest named Gerrhard gave absolution of the sin to each of the agents, preparatory to the accomplishment of their treason. Well might that celebrated lawyer, Coke, say, “I never yet knew a treason without a Romish Priest.”

The whole design of this conspiracy was revealed upon the trial of the conspirators. The written confession of Guy Fawkes and Thomas Winter give ample details of the mode of accomplishment. <sup>7</sup> It was proposed to blow up, by gunpowder, the houses of Parliament at the opening of the Session, when the King, with the Royal Family, the Peers, and Members of the House of Commons, would be assembled together. By such a stroke, it was expected that they would destroy the heads of all the principal Protestant families in the kingdom. And then it was arranged to seize the infant daughter of the King, who was then in Warwickshire, and proclaim her Queen, to educate her a Papist, and themselves to govern the realm during her long minority.

Such were the objects of this conspiracy, and such was the third great effort to re-establish the Papacy in England. The next was of a different character.

It was made in the time of James II (r. 1685-1688). Four of the sovereigns of England had successively been Protestants. And when it might have been expected that all hope, or at least all efforts to restore the system of Popery had been crushed forever, an avowed Papist ascended to the throne in the person of James II. He gave new life to the hopes and energies of the emissaries of Rome. He was a man bigoted to his sect, and resolved to re-establish Popery on the ruins of Protestantism. His efforts to accomplish this object were different from all that had gone before. He proposed to encourage the growth of Popery — not by persecution as in the days of Mary (for the nation would not bear it) — but by all THE POWER OF THE CROWN and the influence of the Court. He knew that in the state of the nation then, it would not suit his purposes to make an avowed assault upon its Protestantism. He therefore adopted the more gradual and insinuating instrumentality of courtly favor and royal authority.

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<sup>6</sup> Referring to the conspiracy to blow up the Parliament building, Nov. 5, 1605.

<sup>7</sup> These confessions together with an account of the whole conspiracy, will be found in the Appendix to this Edition of the Acts and Monuments.

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His reign, like that of Mary, was one continued act of perfidy to the most solemn promises. He had solemnly promised in Parliament, before he came to the throne, that he would cherish his religious principles between himself and his God, and never permit them to interfere with his government of the nation. He had solemnly promised afterward, on opening the first Parliament of his reign, in the speech delivered on that most public occasion, that he would never interfere with the religion of the Established Church. His whole reign was an illustration of how the most binding pledges, and the most sacred promises, can all be violated, with a recklessness that is peculiar to the Church of Rome, whenever her interests are involved in the results. It is as easy to stay the planets in their course, as to find a moral tie, either of promises, or pledges, or oaths, that will bind the Church of Rome.

The extraordinary lengths to which this unhappy monarch was led by Father Petre, and those other Priests to whose guidance he so implicitly committed himself, awakened the dormant spirit of this nation. His measures respecting the Judges of the land, his proceedings among the Officers of the Army, his attempts against the Universities, his attack upon the Bishops, his claim of a dispensing power, indeed, his whole proceedings could not but compel the nation to look to its civil liberties, and its religious freedom; and to take measures for the preservation of the former against a Despot, and of the latter against a Papist.

The Revolution was the consequence.<sup>8</sup> And thus ended, in the triumph of civil and religious liberty, the fourth great effort of the emissaries of Rome to re-establish Popery in England.

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The principles involved in the Revolution were carried out during the reign of William III. The civil and religious institutions of the country became inseparably blended in our National Constitution. The Protestantism of the Church of England became amalgamated with the State, and it was designed that one should be as lasting as the other. Well, nearly a century and a half has elapsed since that glorious event, and the experience of every added year only unfolds more manifestly the wisdom of those principles on which the Revolution was founded.

But although a century and a half have developed the wisdom of those great principles, and have elicited and secured the attachment of the people of England to the doctrines of the Reformation, yet it could scarcely be expected that the intrigues of the Church of Rome could have remained stilled and quiescent during the lapse of so many years — not where the wealth of so great a nation, and the influence of so scriptural a Church, were the objects to be secured and the prize to be obtained.

The nation had scarcely settled into tranquility after the storm of the Revolution, and the ground-swell was not yet wholly at rest, when the intrigues of the Order of Jesuits were brought into action in a totally new direction. That profound and subtle Order applied all its energies to corrupt the teaching of the Church of England, by tainting the fountains of education, by corrupting the youth at the Universities, and so making the Ministry of the Church of England the means of her own destruction. They had already tried every external

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<sup>8</sup> [The English Civil War \(1642–1651\) ended with the Parliamentary victory at the Battle of Worcester on Sep 3, 1651. The Civil War led to the trial and execution of Charles I, the exile of his son, Charles II, and replacement of English monarchy with the Commonwealth of England \(1649–53\), then a Protectorate under Oliver Cromwell \(1653–59\). The war established the precedent that an English monarch cannot govern without Parliament's consent; this was not legally established until the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688. King James II of England was overthrown by a union of English Parliamentarians with the Dutch stadtholder William of Orange. His successful invasion of England with a Dutch fleet and army led to his ascending the English throne as William III of England, jointly with his wife, Mary II of England.](#)



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resource. They had tried persecution, invasion, treason, and arbitrary power, and they had failed in all. And now they were resolved to scatter the seed of Romanism in the very seats of Academic learning, in the hope that they might reap in time an ample harvest, in the Romanizing spirit and principles of the Ministry of the Church herself.

This design, so analogous to the system working among us at the present day, deserves attention in a place like this. It was exhibited in the reign of Queen Anne, and is thus alluded to by Bishop Burnet in his "History of his own Times," Book vii, the year 1712:

"There appeared at this time an inclination in many of the Clergy to a nearer approach to the Church of Rome. Hicks, an ill-tempered man who was now at the head of the Jacobite party, had promoted in several books the notion that there was a proper sacrifice made in the eucharist, and he had on many occasions studied to lessen our aversion to Popery. The supremacy of the Crown in ecclesiastical matters, and the method in which the Reformation was carried, were openly condemned. One named Brett had preached a sermon in several of the pulpits of London, which he afterwards printed, in which he pressed the necessity of priestly absolution in a strain beyond what was pretended to, even in the Church of Rome. He said, no repentance could serve without it, and affirmed that the Priest was vested with the same power of pardoning that our Savior himself had. A motion was made in the lower house of Convocation to censure this; but it was so ill-supported that it was let fall. Another conceit was taken up of the invalidity of lay-baptism, on which several books have been written. Nor was the dispute a trifling one, since by this notion, the teachers among the Dissenters, passing for laymen, this amounted to re-baptizing them and their congregations.

"Dodwell gave the rise to this conceit. He was a very learned man, and led a strict life. He seemed to hunt after paradoxes in all his writings, and broached not a few. He thought none could be saved but those who, by the sacraments, had a federal right to it, and that these were the seals of the covenant. Thus he left all who died without the sacraments to the uncovenanted mercies of God. And to this he added that none had a right to give the sacraments but those who were commissioned to it; and these were the Apostles, and after them Bishops and Priests ordained by them. It followed upon this that sacraments administered by others were of no value."

This movement originated at the University of Oxford. And if this account had been written at the present day, it could not more accurately describe the analogous movement of our times; the principles are the same, and the objects are alike. It will be the prayer of every right-hearted friend of Protestant Christianity, that the failure of the latter may prove as complete and perfect as that of the former. <sup>9</sup>

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There is something strange, even to incredulity, that such a destiny could have befallen this church and nation, as that Romish doctrines should be preached by Protestant clergymen, and that Romish ceremonies should be practiced in Protestant Churches. And there is something strange, even to scorn and loathing, that men can be found who sign the articles of the Church of England on the one hand, and the canons of the Council of Trent on the other. They publicly subscribe themselves Protestants, and receive salaries on the faith of their vow to teach only the doctrines of the Church of England — while they surreptitiously subscribe themselves Romanists, and exert all their influence in propagating the doctrines of the Church of Rome.

Yet strange and unilateral as all this is, it has spread widely and gone deeply among those who have been in process of education in the Universities of England during the last fifteen years,

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<sup>9</sup> [The Oxford Movement in the Church of England began in the 1830s and developed into Anglo-Catholicism.](#)

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and has gone far to justify the most glowing anticipations of those profound and subtle men with whom the intrigue had originated. We are now treading on the ashes that hide the glowing lava, and the least disturbing cause may let loose the elements of ruin and desolation. The Universities have been unfaithful in being so long indifferent to the propagation of such principles among the youth committed to their care. The Bishops have been unfaithful in having taken no adequate pains to save the flock of Christ from those who were leading them astray. And now he is a far-seeing Prophet, who can foreshow what the end will be.

The Church and nation are now ripening for some great and extensive change. Men's hearts are failing for fear. Startling facts are continually occurring. Many among the Clergy, and many among the laity, have passed over to the Church of Rome, while all the tendencies and sympathies of many who remain among us, are towards the genius and spirit of Romanism. And the tendencies of political latitudinarianism in the councils of the nation, and the extensive and ill-concealed Romanism of too many of the Bishops and Clergy of the Church of England, seem almost to invite to the most audacious claims, and to justify the most insidious pretensions of the Court of Rome.

And there is no backwardness on the part of the Papacy. The late Bull of Pius IX annihilating, as far as papal rescript could do so, the whole order and constitution of the Church of England, and establishing a hierarchy under his own exclusive authority in its stead, dividing the whole realm anew into dioceses, and appointing one Archbishop and twelve Bishops with local authority and territorial titles, shows a full consciousness of the state of the Church of England, and knowledge of the fact that her long-tried Protestantism has been for years under a process of being undermined. The conclave that counseled this act of Papal aggression, believed that the whole fabric of the Church of England was ready to sink into ruin, and all that remained was for the Church of Rome to enter on possession.

No appliance is neglected and no means unemployed to propagate the doctrines and the discipline of Romanism among the various classes of the population. There is an unwearied exercise of influence and an unexampled expenditure of wealth to advance the system among us. Over eight hundred Priests of the Church of Rome have been located throughout the country. As missionaries, these either settle themselves in certain localities or move in various directions through the land, everywhere endeavoring to disseminate their principles, through the instrumentality of Sermons, Lectures, Tracts, etc. Their exertions have so far succeeded, that during the last half century (1800-1850) they have increased the number of their chapels from about thirty, to more than six hundred *in* this island. A large number of Seminaries, or Colleges, have been formed with a view to secure the education of our youth. Many Nunneries and Monasteries have been established, so as to become centers for the propagation of the whole system of Popery. The success with which their measures of proselytism have been crowned, has been beyond their most sanguine expectations. And the ignorance of the population on one hand, and the political party to whom the emissaries of Rome have allied themselves, on the other hand, seem to promise still more ample success to their unwearied exertions. They no longer hesitate to avow their expectation that this nation will return to the bosom of the Church of Rome.

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This state of things is pregnant with the most disastrous consequences to the Protestantism of England, and demands the mightiest efforts that Christians and Protestants can make for the defense of our faith. They have a mighty adversary in the Church of Rome, against which they have to contend; but they have a still mightier treasure to preserve, in the true religion established among us. It may truly be said of England, as of Israel in the day of her



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blessedness, that she is a great and understanding nation, that there is no nation that has God so near, or to which He has given such statutes and ordinances, that we might walk in them, and live in them, and be a delightsome land. We have by the REFORMATION, an *English Service* and an *open Bible*. We have by the REVOLUTION, all the *religious liberty* that Christians can wish, and all the *civil liberty* that good subjects can desire.

Shall it be, that such matchless treasures will be lost by our apathy? Shall it be, that by our indifference, we will again be doomed to come under Italian influence, blighting our morals — withering our privileges — destroying our liberties — our homes ceasing to be happy, and our altars ceasing to be free? Shall it be, that the souls of our children, and our children's children, will become the merchandise of Friars, and their morals become contaminated by the Priests of the Confessional? Shall their birthright of an open Bible, and an English Service, and freedom to think and judge for themselves, be taken from them by our apathy or neglect? It would be better that the blast of death sweep through the land, and as of old leave the firstborn dead in every house; and that the wail of the desolate, and the cry of the mourning be heard on every wind, and echoed from every home, than that a calamity so disastrous as this should befall our fatherland. Then, indeed, the dark spirit of Popery would be traced by the fall of our fanes (temples) and the ruin of our altars; and she would erect her throne amidst the fallen columns, the crumbling arches, and the moldering aisles of the Temple of Protestantism. Then, indeed, the glory of Britain — not the triumphs of her iron-hearted battalions on the battlefield, nor of her bannered masts upon the wave — not the treasure of her gold and silver and precious stones, nor the countless navies that waft to her shores the merchandise of the world — but her truest and her best, *the Glory of her essential Protestantism*, would be departed. If ever such an eclipse should darken it, then "Ichabod" will be written upon her ruins, and "The glory is departed" become the requiem of fallen England. <sup>1Sam 4.21</sup>

It is with the view of strengthening the religious principles of Protestantism in the convictions of the People of England, and with the view of exhibiting fully and faithfully before their eyes, a living portraiture of the Papacy, that this FAMILY EDITION of *the Acts and Monuments of Martyrs*, has been published.

It is impossible for a candid and unprejudiced mind to peruse this work and to think otherwise of it, than that it was a noble production for its age, and an invaluable compilation for *any* age. MASTER JOHN FOXE, who was born in the same year that Luther commenced the Reformation, has collected together those scattered registries, and official documents, and original writings, respecting the Martyrs of Protestantism, which had been long since lost to the Church, were it not for his assiduity and zeal. He had access to Diocesan Registries, which are now lost forever; excepting in those extracts which he has made from them. They give the official account of the articles charged against the Martyrs, and their answers to the same, in public courts. He had access to some documents, such as Monitions, and Proclamations, which now are only to be found in the pages of this work; and which illustrate the spirit and tendencies of the times. He had access to many of the Martyrs themselves, and he possessed their own original statements, written by their own hands, detailing the course of their previous sufferings and the methods of their examination. These have all long since passed away forever, except so far as they have been preserved in these *Acts and Monuments*. This is sufficient, of itself, to make this work an invaluable treasure as an extensive compilation of evidences and materials for the general historian; and especially for those who feel an interest in the confessions of those Martyrs of the Anglican Church, who were "slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held;" <sup>Rev 6.9</sup> and whose blood proved such prolific seed for the Church of England.

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The greater portion of the work is a compilation of these original documents. He gives them to the world as such, and exhibits no trace of that vanity which has tempted so many to clothe original materials in more modern phraseology, so as to pass them current as their own; and we are sure that the name of JOHN FOXE will live green in the memory of our children, and our children's children, when his envious and malicious detractors have passed into oblivion.

It could scarcely be expected that in times like the present, when every effort is being made to bring the character of our Reformers and the principles of the Reformation into contempt and obloquy,<sup>10</sup> a work of such immense importance as that of John Foxe could escape the malicious assaults of the avowed enemies of Protestant Christianity, or the insidious efforts of the traitors now concealed in the cloistered shades of the Church of England. Those assaults and efforts have been made, and have just thus far succeeded in proving that this great production was not the production of absolute inspiration — that the author, compelled like all historians to accept the statements of others on particulars of minute or minor importance, has fallen into some slight mistakes. These mistakes are so slight in their nature, and so few in their number, that there is no historian of either times past or present, who has exhibited a work of the same extent that is so free from errors, or so safely to be relied on in all the grand objects which he contemplated. He lived in the times of which he wrote; and he devoted the greater portion of his work to them. He collected the official registers or original documents. He compiled and published them for the benefit of posterity. And the deference which all learned historians and all sound divines pay to his authority, is a monument to his ability, his learning, and his honesty, which will live forever, when the very names of his detractors will be utterly forgotten. The volume still remains the first, the best, and the most certain authority for either the Historian or the Divine, in all the wide field upon which it enters, in laying open the workings of Romanism at the age of the Reformation.

The work proposes to give a general sketch of the history of the Christian Church — a more detailed account of the Church of England — an accurate portraiture of the rise, and progress, and genius of the Church of Rome — and finally, the fullest and most ample account of the examinations, sufferings, and martyrdoms of those holy men of God who were the strength and ornament of the Protestantism of this land.

*The edition which we now present to the public,  
possesses certain peculiarities which require notice.*

I. There is a large mass of official documents and forms which, though interesting to the writers of history, possess no interest or value for the religious or general reader. They seem to have been published by Foxe, more with the view of preserving them as records, than in the expectation that they would be perused by the general reader.

*A large portion of these have been omitted from this edition.*

II. There is a series of narrations, from time to time introduced by the author, connected with the superstitious credulity of the dark ages. Some of them are absurd, others are marvelous. And Foxe, while he inserts them, does not hesitate to express judgment on them, pronouncing them to be apocryphal.

*These have been excluded from this edition, as calculated to injure, rather than promote the interests of religion.*

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<sup>10</sup> A false accusation of an offense or a malicious misrepresentation of someone's words or actions; defamation.

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III. There is also inserted in the original work, a variety of Latin quotations, a few from the Greek, and a number of letters and documents, also in the Latin language.

*These have been removed from the present edition, as being calculated to encumber it unnecessarily.*

IV. Owing to the state of society in the age in which this work was written, there was a coarseness of expression, and an absence of delicacy and propriety in some of the narrations, which render it unfit for family perusal in the present state of society, and which have aided much in consigning the work itself into oblivion.

*All these narrations and indelicacies have been most carefully expunged from this edition.*

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V. There are many errors in the dates, embodied in the original work. Some of these are perhaps the result of those mistakes into which authors of that age were very likely to fall, in reference to more ancient history. Many of them are merely the mistakes of the printing-press, accumulated through successive editions.

*These have been carefully corrected in the present edition, so as to prevent the reader falling into error.*

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These particulars present the peculiarities of this edition. The object has been to present the Protestant population of this land with a FAMILY EDITION — one that in point of size and cheapness would be accessible to all — one that could be perused without toiling through unnecessary and uninteresting documents — and especially one that could be read with interest and advantage, in the family circle.

In endeavoring to accomplish these objects, every effort has been made to render this edition an available repository of all that was calculated to strengthen the religious principles of the Reformation, in the Protestants of England, and to supply them with as much as possible, that would arm them against the principles and the practices of the Church of Rome — thus making this edition consist of all the information that was valuable in the original work, and all that was likely to be available in the controversy with Rome.

Those who desire an ecclesiastical history of England, will find it here. Those who seek a detail of the iniquities of Popery, both abroad and at home, will not be disappointed. The Christian who desires examples of faithfulness unto death, <sup>Rev 2.10</sup> will be amply recompensed in a perusal. And those who wish to obtain a practical knowledge of the controversy with Rome, will find it one of the most useful works in our language.

In order to render the work complete, an Appendix has been added, containing accounts of the massacre of St. Bartholomew — of the Spanish Armada — of the Gunpowder Treason — of the great Rebellion of Ireland in 1641 — all written by authors who wrote immediately after the events which they narrate. There is also an account of the executions in the reign of Elizabeth, proving they were the punishment for treason, and not a persecution of Popery.

M. HOBART SEYMOUR.

BATH, *December*, 1850.

## **The Life of Mr. John Foxe.**

By his son, Samuel Foxe (1560–1630)

*Included in the 4th English edition of Acts and Monuments.*

### ***Childhood and early education***

John Foxe was born in Boston, in the county of Lincoln, A.D. 1517. His father and mother were of the commonalty of that town, of good reputation, and in respectable circumstances. While young, his father died, and his mother married again. This brought him under the care of his step-father, with whom he dwelt during his childhood. At an early age, he gave indications of a love of learning. His friends, well approving of this, sent him to study at Oxford. The first nurse of his more serious studies was Brasenose College. There, he was chamber-fellow with Doctor Nowell, who was so famous a man in this city afterwards, and dean of St. Paul's. It was therefore no marvel if their manners were so alike in the course of their lives, whose education and nurture in youth was the same. The native excellence and soundness of his judgment were well seconded by the fitness of the place: where the emulation of equals was frequent, and where each student's proficiency was narrowly sought into. Nor was industry wanting; as it seldom accompanies the greatest talents, so where it is conjoined, it is most available.

When in a short space he had won the admiration of all, and the love of many — in reward of his learning and good behavior — he was chosen fellow of Magdalen College. This being accounted a principal honor in the university, and usually due to the students of that house, it was seldom bestowed upon any others, and not unless in regard of singular deserts. It appears that he gave the first indications of an early wit, to the exercises of poetry. He wrote diverse Latin comedies, in a copious and graceful style, but somewhat lofty. He did not altogether leave behind this fault of his writing in his elder years, though age and experience mitigated it more than a little. But even then, he began to give earnest of what he afterwards proved, for those first efforts of his youth were spent only in holy histories of the bible; nor did he follow that course long. He took to the study of divinity with somewhat more fervency than circumspection, and discovered himself in favor of the Reformation, before he was known to those who maintained the cause, or were of the ability to protect those who did. From this grew his first troubles.

### ***Reign of Henry VIII***

This was the time when Henry VIII was uncertain what course to take, being at variance with the pope, and not resolved in himself, thinking the affairs of the church (then grown to an infinite height of power and pride) were neither in all respects tolerable, nor that it was necessary to wholly alter them. While he desired to show moderation in both, Henry prevailed in neither. By his unprofitable indifference, he obscured an act of which none had more glory since the world began. Never before were the people in more distraction, or in less security of their lives and estates; there were such contrarities in the laws, that no man could tell what to take to with safety, nor what to avoid. For although the pope's supremacy had been renounced, his doctrine was still retained. The first news of the abolishing of the pope's supremacy was as prosperous as it was welcome to the reformers. Many joined the reformers out of love for the truth, being further assured of the king's intentions, by the punishment inflicted on some of the opposite party — and especially when the abbey's were dissolved. Nor was their hope little increased when they perceived that the noblemen more or less rose in the good opinion and favor of the king, in proportion to their opposition to the pope's pretensions. Meanwhile, the Act of the Six Articles was still in force; and if any

were found guilty of breaching it, they were sure of punishment. <sup>11</sup> So that, as long as the king held the middle way between his own judgment and the advice of his counsellors — feeding them with favors upon which they could build no assurance, and pleasing himself in his own severity — fear and hope equally prevailed.

But when the protectors themselves, and the pillars of the reformed religion, were taken away — the duke of Suffolk by his untimely death, the lord Thomas Cromwell by the sword, the archbishop Cranmer and his friends borne down by those of the contrary side; so that there was no help remaining, either in the laws or in the protection of the peers — then all things began to rapidly hasten back to their former abuses. This happened with so much more violence, because the conquest seemed a kind of revenge.

### ***Awakening at University***

In the universities and schools, there was yet no open change or innovation — I do not know whether it was through fear, or that they would not be followers.

This was the state of church affairs when Master Foxe began attentively to seek into the substance of the controversy that was then in agitation. He found the contention was of great antiquity, and no age had been free from some debate in the church.

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But those first quarrels were rather for dominion and increase of territory. The Romans endeavored by subtle practices and the pretext of religion, to retain under the jurisdiction of a high priest the ancient honor of their city, which they could not defend by open force. Then no sooner did anyone show himself to differ from them in point of faith, than the hastening of his punishment prevented any infection that might spread among others.

Thus by their cruelty, and the patience of princes who allowed it, the greatest part of these dissensions were appeased. Afterwards, the pope having grown bolder by good success, began to draw to himself all power and authority. Nor content with having weakened the estate of the Roman empire alone, the pope now longed to finger the scepters of other princes; and to compass his design, he did not spare violating any human or divine right. Meanwhile, the clergy was little impressed by the great damage done to religion by men of immoral life and conversation <sup>12</sup> sometimes being chosen to the papacy — by whose example the strictness of life used by their forefathers was drawn into scorn, and their poverty into disgrace. The industry of the priesthood languished; and on the contrary side, ambition, riot, and avarice began to reign among them. Then at length the practices of the churchmen were brought to light, and their delusions laid open. It was then known why the ceremonies and rites in the church had been brought to that excessive multitude — namely, that the number of the clergy might be increased to perform them. These were to be maintained of necessity; and to that end, such opinions were broached as seemed most likely to draw money from all places. Opinions of the merit of works; of purgatory; of the power of absolution and the pope's indulgences — all of which being in themselves false, and soon subject to decay — were thought fit to be cemented together with that new and subtle invention, the pope's "infallibility" in matters of faith.

By this ingenious bond, and linking one opinion to another, the credulity of the Christians was easily ensnared; all this, while the new-forged opinions were yielding plentiful increase,

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<sup>11</sup> [The Act of Six Articles was passed by Henry VIII in 1539. It reaffirmed traditional Catholic practices and doctrines within the Church of England, even though it had recently broken away from the Roman Catholic Church.](#)

<sup>12</sup> [Conversation: our public conduct, both in speech, attitude, temper, and actions.](#)

and great sums of money, by a hundred devices, were screwed out of the clergy and the common people, and came daily to the pope and court of Rome.

I have often heard Master Foxe affirm that the first matter which occasioned his search into the popish doctrine, was that he saw diverse things, most repugnant to one another in their own natures, thrust upon men to be both believed at one time — such as, that the same man might be superior in matters of faith, and yet be inferior in his life and manners to the whole world besides. Upon this beginning, his resolution and intended obedience to that church was somewhat shaken; and little by little there followed some dislike to the rest.

His first care was to look into both the ancient and modern history of the church; to learn what beginning it had; what growth and increase; by what arts it flourished, and by what errors it began to decline; to consider the causes of all those controversies which had sprung up in the meantime, and to weigh diligently of what moment they were, and what was advanced on either side which was sound or erroneous.

He performed this with such diligence of study, and in so short a time, that before the thirtieth year of his age, he had read over all that either the Greek or Latin fathers had left in their writings; the schoolmen in their disputations; the councils in their acts; or their consistory in their degrees; *and* he had acquired no mean skill in the Hebrew language.

By the reports of some who were fellow-students with him, over and above his day's exercise, he used to bestow whole nights on his study, or not to take his rest till it was very late. Near to the college was a grove in which, for the pleasantness of the place, the students took delight to walk and spend some idle hours for their recreation. Master Foxe had chosen this place, and the dead of night, with their solitude and darkness, to confirm his mind, which trembled at the guilt of a new imagination.

I would rather omit in this discourse how many nights he watched in these solitary walks; what combats and wrestlings he suffered within himself; how many heavy sighs, and sobs, and tears he poured forth in his prayers to Almighty God; than to give it the appearance of ostentation. But of necessity it was to be remembered, because from this sprang the first suspicion of his alienated affections. For no sooner was the fame spread abroad of his nightly retirements, than the more understanding sort, out of their own wisdom, and others as they stood inclined towards him, were apt to interpret all of this to the worst sense. At length, those with whom he was intimate were drawn to suspect him; there were some employed who, under a pretense of admonishing him, might observe his walks and pry with more curiosity into his words and actions. And others were not lacking, who in comparing his customs formerly used, with the present course that he now took, aggravated the act even more with bitterness. Why does he not come to church as often as he was accustomed to in former times? Why would he shun the company of his equals, and refuse to recreate in his usual manner, unless he had felt in his mind some sudden alteration? And if that alteration were for the better, why would he conceal it?

### ***Expulsion from University***

Being a man of plain dealing, he could neither hide his resolution any longer, nor had he seen fit to excuse himself by forging a lie. Being thus reported of, surrounded with treacheries and accused by everyone, when the matter came to more severe scanning, he was convicted by the judgment of the college, condemned as a heretic, and removed from the house. Nevertheless, his adversaries affirmed that he was favorably dealt with by that sentence, and might have been examined for his life, if they had not used clemency towards him rather than extremity. But this wound raged worse than it was thought it would. Upon

the report of this incident, his friends were sorely displeased, and especially his stepfather. He had now grown altogether implacable, either through a real hatred conceived against Foxe for this cause, or pretending to be aggrieved so that he might now with more justice, or at least with more security, withhold from Foxe his own father's estate. For his stepfather both knew that it could not be safe for someone who is publicly hated and in danger of the law, to seek remedy by the law; and that Foxe was by nature so ignorant in requiting injuries, that he would many times, and with much ado, confess himself to be wronged, even when he had in his hands the ability of revenge.

When he was thus forsaken by his own friends and left naked of all human assistance, God's providence began to show itself, procuring Foxe a safe refuge in the house of a worshipful knight of Warwickshire called Sir Thomas Lucy, to whom he was sent to instruct his children. In this house he afterwards married a wife, and there continued till the children arrived at mature years, and no longer had need of a tutor. But fear of the popish inquisitions hastened his departure from there. Now relying on the favor of the laws, the inquisitors were not content to pursue public offenses, but also began to break into the secrets of private families.

While conversing with his friends in the later days of his life, Foxe would often, with much vehemence of mind, detest the wretched condition of that departing. He would say that he had pretty well endured all other mischances; but in this case, the misery was so much greater, because to have borne it patiently would have seemed unnatural. Having brought his faithful consort, who entirely loved him, away from her friends and kindred, her grief and tears were to be comforted with all obliging piety. It therefore behooved him either to find some speedy remedy, or in assurance of his love, to weep with her. For it would be in vain to show an example of his constancy, if she suspected her grief went unregarded, rather than his mind be unconquered with such great calamities. He therefore consulted with himself what was best to be done. Only two ways were left by which he might free himself from further inconvenience: he might with most safety choose either to go to his wife's father, or to his stepfather.

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His wife's father dwelt nearest, being a citizen of Coventry; nor did her father bear any hatred towards him yet, and was more likely to be entreated for his daughter's sake. His stepfather was better known to him, but more suspected. At last he resolved to go first to his wife's father, and in the meanwhile to test by letters whether his stepfather would receive him or not. His stepfather's answer was that it seemed to him a hard condition, to take someone into his house whom he knew to be guilty, and condemned for a capital offense; nor was he ignorant of what risk he might undergo in so doing. *Nevertheless*, he would show himself a kinsman, and for that cause neglect his own danger. If Foxe would alter his mind, he might come, and on that condition stay as long as he desired. But if he could not be persuaded to that, he should content himself with a shorter stay, and not bring himself and Foxe's mother to risk their fortunes, who were ready to do anything for his sake.

### ***At a Crossroads***

Mr. Foxe's state was at such a crisis, that he thought no condition ought to be refused; besides, he was secretly advised by his mother to come, and not fear his stepfather's severity. For that, perhaps, it was needful to write as he did; but when occasion offered, he would make recompence for his words with his actions. The truth is, he was better entertained by both of them than he hoped for anyway; but his business required that he

rely long upon neither. Therefore, by often going to and fro from one home to the other, which carried with it some show of business, he both deceived the diligence of those who inquired after him, and he effected that neither of them grew weary of his company.

But, however, he kept himself concealed by this means. Yet it is certain that no time of his life passed more unknown to posterity than that. Whether he did but little (which is scarcely credible), or whether it more concerned those who knew what he did, it should be withheld rather than published abroad. For his own part, he always forbore, with particular care, to speak of that story, lest where he had deserved so much, he might, by extolling a small courtesy, seem to upbraid the slenderness of the requital, rather than to show himself thankful by remembering it. Afterwards he took his journey towards London; but from what motive he did that is uncertain, unless we may imagine the convenience of the place enticed him there. Being full of all classes of people, both inhabitants and strangers from all places, London afforded him a better opportunity either to conceal himself, or to make known his abilities, or to get acquainted with those of like inclination.

By computation of times, I should think the chief cause of his going there was this: about that time religion began at length to recover itself a little, and to gather strength, especially about the city. For Mr. Foxe did not go to London till a few years before king Henry departed this life. As I said before, though the kingdom was divided into factions, as long as Henry's youth and strength remained, he so ordered the matter, that sometimes the power of each party being equal, and sometimes one or other prevailing by his authority, both were retained in their obedience. But when Henry grew into later years, perceiving that his health was impaired every day, and that his death could not be far off, he then began to consider which side was most to be trusted, and which was most to be doubted. He considered at what age he should expose his son to the raging hatred of the papists. Because of his youth, Edward was yet unfit to govern; and he was brought up in the discipline of a religion which the papists opposed.

Therefore, Henry at last resolved upon that which in reason seemed most wholesome, and in the end proved most fortunate. Having removed the papist officers from their authority, by his will he appointed for his son those tutors whose love to himself he had always found readiest, and by long trial of their fidelity, he thought were likely to continue the same to his successor. This set the protestant religion again in safety, and its professors were thereby secured of their lives. Yet no public benefit or profit was afforded them from this. So that Foxe was still in as great a want as before, having already spent all that either his friends had bestowed on him, or his own daily industry had acquired.

### ***God's gracious provision***

I would forbear to speak of a marvellous accident here, and great example of God's mercy, were the matter not so well known abroad, that it would be to no purpose for modesty's sake, to be silent.

As Mr. Foxe one day sat in St. Paul's church, exhausted with long fasting, his countenance thin, and eyes hollow, in the ghastly manner of dying men, everyone shunning a spectacle of so much horror, there came to him one whom he never remembered seeing before. Sitting by him and greeting him with much familiarity, he thrust an untold sum of money into Foxe's hand, and bidding him be of good cheer; he added that he did not know how great the misfortunes were which oppressed him, but suspected that it was no light calamity. He therefore requested that he accept in good part that small gift from his countryman, which common courtesy had forced him to offer. And he recommended that he go and nurse



himself, and take all occasions to prolong his life. In the meantime he informed him that within a few days his prospects would be improved, and a more certain condition of livelihood would be secured for him. Foxe could never learn who that man was, by whose seasonable bounty he had been relieved in that extreme necessity, though he earnestly endeavored to find him out. Some who looked further into the event which followed that prophecy, believed that this man did not come of his own accord, but was sent by some others, who very much desired Foxe's safety; and that it might perchance be through the servant's negligence, that he had suffered so much misery before any relief had been afforded. It is certain that within three days the issue seemed to make good the prediction. For there was a message sent from the duchess of Richmond, inviting him into her service on fair terms. It had so fallen out, not long before, that the duke of Norfolk,<sup>13</sup> the famous warrior and most renowned general of his time, together with his son Henry, the earl of Surrey, was committed to custody in the Tower of London — for what crimes is uncertain. Henry was a man, as far as may be imagined, of sincere meaning and good understanding. While they were in prison, the earl's children were sent to the aforesaid duchess, their aunt, to be brought up and educated. These were Thomas, who succeeded in the dukedom; Henry, afterwards 1st earl of Northampton; and Jane, afterwards countess of Westmoreland.

Foxe was appointed tutor to these young lords, to instruct them both in manners and learning. In this charge he did not deceive the expectation which the duchess, a woman of great wisdom, had of him. For the two sons grew to that height of proficiency in their behavior and scholarship, that building upon this foundation in their riper years, the elder, Thomas, seemed to deserve more than the kingdom could bestow on him. And the younger, Henry, came to such happiness, that he was able to measure his fortunes, not by the opinion of others, but by his own enjoyment. The young lady Jane profited so wondrously in the Greek and Latin tongues, that she might well stand in competition with the most learned men of that time, for the praise of elegance in both kinds.

There Foxe dwelt during those golden days of felicity, not seen for a long time before, in the last years of king Henry's reign, and through the five-year reign of king Edward the Sixth — a young prince incomparably hopeful. By perfecting the work begun by his father, Edward surpassed all the acts of his predecessors, till the beginning of queen Mary's sovereignty. Upon her coming to the crown, and turning the stream of religion, all things again yielded to the papists' authority. From this, not long after, proceeded that cruel tempest, the noise of which has come also to the ears of our age. Many who suffered in that common shipwreck, had swum out to those peaceful times, as to safe harbors of everlasting tranquility. Foxe was among these.

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### ***Bishop Gardiner — Foxe's Enemy***

At that time he was sheltered by the protection of the duke, his scholar. Yet this was not without the observance of many, who for hatred or envy narrowly watched him, and secretly laid wait for him. Among these was Doctor Gardiner, bishop of Winchester.<sup>14</sup> Foxe saw

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<sup>13</sup> Thomas Howard, 3rd duke Norfolk (1473-1554). His son, Henry Howard (1516/17-1547), earl of Surrey, was a famed poet. Henry was executed for treason; his father Thomas was not, but remained in prison. The earl's eldest son was Thomas (1536-1572), later 4th duke of Norfolk; he would be executed for conspiring with Mary Queen of Scots against Elizabeth I. The earl's other son was Henry (1540-1614). Lady Jane Neville (née Howard), Countess of Westmorland (1533/37-1593), had a role in the Northern Rebellion in 1569 against queen Elizabeth I.

<sup>14</sup> Stephen Gardiner (1483-1555). The son of a wealthy cloth-maker; defender of royal supremacy over the Church; yet chief opponent of Reformation doctrine. He was secretary to Cardinal Wolsey in 1525. Bishop of Winchester 1531 to

something in him which he greatly feared, and he also much disdained that the heir of one of the foremost families in the kingdom (the duke), and nearest joined to himself in friendship, should be depraved by his company.

Because Gardiner was Foxe's greatest enemy, it will not be apart from our purpose to say something further about this man, so that both their natures may be better known.

The bishop of Winchester was a man famous in his youth, whether for his birth or parentage I have no certainty — one who stood midway between good and bad, and always growing worse as he grew older. Nature had bestowed on him industry, wit, and eloquence. But his pride, craftiness, and desire to bear sway, he learned from cardinal Wolsey. His abilities qualified him for any employment, which he managed with exceeding diligence, to gain new honors. Having obtained them, he then put on boldness instead of industry, flattery for obedience; and instead of fidelity, he put on deceit and compliments, and similar frivolous fashions of the court. He was cruel and proud in bearing those honors which his virtue won to him: in regaining any that he lost, he was able to weary any man with submission and humility. For he appeared as great in the diversity of his fortunes, as in his conditions.

He was pleasing to king Henry for some while, and high in his favor. By his pen he maintained the king's authority against the pope.<sup>15</sup> Afterwards, when his prevaricating in this was understood, he was slighted by the king, and stripped of his dignity (office) so that he might be less able to do harm. Under Edward VI, he was not only neglected, but imprisoned, and underwent the reproach of a mean estate. At length, in queen Mary's reign, he was freed. Being restored to his former honors, he exercised not so much command as tyranny. He was sick with envy that cardinal Pole out-shone him in dignity, and overshadowed his glory with height of honors. He had often, but in vain, tried to cure his malady by seeking cardinalship. Anger at length exasperating his disease, he pined away.

That man began and ended in this manner, commended for many excellences of mind while he led a private life; but in his honors, he was unbridled and of no moderation. One might well say, nature had made him a worthy man, and fortune corrupted him.

### ***Foxe and the duke of Norfolk***

Now, Foxe was cherished in the bosom of a most loving duke. Yet after he saw all sorts of men troubled for their religion's sake, some imprisoned, and others burnt — in brief, nothing on all sides but flight, slaughter, and the gallows; and that Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, was the principal incendiary of all this — he began to fear what might become of him, and to think of some speedy way for his departure from there. In private respects, Gardiner was already his enemy.

As soon as the duke knew Foxe's intent to leave, he gently chided his fearfulness. He used many words to persuade him to leave all thought of going away. He affirmed that it was not agreeable either to honor or modesty, for him to allow his tutor, so well-deserving at his

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1551 and again 1553 to 1555. Henry bypassed him to appoint Thomas Cranmer as archbishop of Canterbury in 1532. Thomas Cromwell eased him out of his secretaryship in 1524. In 1539, Gardiner led the push for the Act of Six Articles. Gardiner and Thomas Howard, 3rd duke of Norfolk, had a hand in bringing about Cromwell's downfall in June 1540. He then succeeded Cromwell as chancellor of Cambridge. He was committed to the Tower by Edward VI in 1548, and deprived of his bishopric in 1550; he was reinstated by queen Mary in 1553, who appointed him lord Chancellor.

<sup>15</sup> In 1528–29 he was sent on missions to Pope Clement VII to negotiate for the annulment of Henry's marriage to Catherine of Aragon—the issue that was to cause Henry to break with Rome and declare himself head of the English Church. As a reward for his services Gardiner was made Henry's principal secretary in 1529 and bishop of Winchester, the wealthiest see in England, in 1531. — *Ency. Britannica*.

hands, to be taken from him at any time of his life. But that it should *then* be done, was not seemly for the one who desired it. Let him but think to himself how great a burden of hatred his scholar (the duke) must bear among those who were ignorant, whether he forsook him of his own accord, or were forsaken by him. Yet he entreated not to be excused from any hatred which might light upon him, if at least he might do it for Foxe's advantage. But in fleeing, what misery would be wanting: banishment, poverty, contempt — and among those who did not know him, the reproach of a runaway? He acknowledged, that would be less evil than death; but it had not yet come to such extremity; nor would he allow it to. He said he still had wealth, and favor, and friends, and the fortune of his house. If the mischance prevailed further, he would himself partake of the danger, and make the destruction common. He remembered with what precepts Foxe had fortified his younger years; nor had he hearkened to his instructions with more attention than he would with constancy put them into practice. Only let Foxe be of good courage, and so avoid the violence of his enemies, as not to be weary of his friend's company. He spoke this, hoping to prevail with Foxe by his authority; but if that might not be obtained, he would then further Foxe in the course he intended.

There was in the duke's speech even more credit, because it was known to proceed from the sincerity of his heart, and a most tender good will towards him. And Foxe now grew ashamed, not so much in what he had done in asking leave, for he believed his request might have been granted; but his modesty excused him. The duke's answer was that the same care did not befit the lord and his servant; that it was indeed for the duke's honor to defend his tutor from any injury. It was Foxe's own part to take care lest, for his safety, the duke might incur apparent danger, or perpetual trouble. Nor did his fear lack all excuse. For though he well knew the duke could not be drawn from his promise and good intentions towards him, Foxe was not ignorant that by some wile or other, the duke might be circumvented and deceived.

### ***Foxe's Escape from England***

For even at that time, the bishop of Winchester was very intimate with the duke, relying upon the ancient friendship he had always used toward that family, and by whose credit he had increased his own dignity. He often resorted there, to present his service to the duke. At several times he desired that he might see the duke's old tutor. At first the duke denied his request, one time alleging his absence, another that he was ill at ease. Still, after feigning several delays to put him off, at length it chanced that Foxe (not knowing the bishop was within the house) entered the room where the duke and he were in discourse; and seeing the bishop, he withdrew himself with a show of bashfulness. The bishop asked who that was; the duke answered, "his physician, who was somewhat uncourtly, being newly come from the university." "I like his countenance and aspect very well," replied the bishop, "and when occasion arises, I will make use of him." The duke straightaway understood that speech as the messenger of some approaching danger; and now he himself thought it high time for Foxe to no longer remain within the same city, or within the same see, against the force of a crafty, and then open deceiver. But by all means, the bishop being sick, must be prevented.

From that time he caused all things necessary for Foxe's flight to be provided, with the least notice possible. He sent one of his servants ahead to Ipswich haven to hire a bark,<sup>16</sup> and make ready all things needful for the voyage. Because it seemed scarcely safe for Foxe to stay in any city or place of resort, he chose the house of one of his servants, a farmer, where

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<sup>16</sup> *Or barque: a sailing ship with 3 (or more) masts.*

## THE LIFE OF JOHN FOXE.

Foxe might with convenience await a fair wind to put to sea. Foxe went there as secretly as he could, taking his wife as companion in his travels. She was then pregnant, but resolved to go with him, not yielding to the entreaty of those who would persuade her to the contrary. As soon as it was told him that his company expected him, Foxe made haste to the port, and went on board.

Scarcely had they weighed anchor, when suddenly a boisterous wind arose from the contrary shore, which caused the waves to rage with such violence that the stoutest mariners began to tremble. Then followed a dark night, with continual showers, and a great multitude of clouds gathered together into a thick storm of rain and hail. These both hindered the seamen's work, and took away all possibility to direct their course by the compass any longer. That night, with much ado, they lay at anchor, and as soon as the day appeared, when the tempest seemed not likely to cease, they began to cast about, and make back again to the shore. The tide favoring them a little, at length and with much difficulty they arrived in the evening at the same haven again, from where they had loosed the day before. During the time that Foxe had been at sea, a pursuivant from the bishop of Winchester broke open the farmer's house, with a warrant to apprehend him, wherever he might be found, and bring him back a prisoner to the city. But understanding that he was already gone, after he had pursued him even to the port. There he found that the ship Foxe was embarked in, that was yet scarcely out of sight, had returned back.

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As soon as he came ashore, Foxe heard what had passed, by report of the people. Although the news somewhat amazed him, he collected himself, immediately took a horse, and made out as if he had left the town. But returning the same night, he bargained with the master of the ship to set sail again with the first convenience of the winds, telling him that his business so required it, and he did not much care what shore he landed at. He only desired him to go forward, and not doubt that God would prosper so pious a work. Whether for reward or piety's sake, the pilot took upon him this venturous task, and performed it accordingly. For loosing from there in the silence of the night, as soon as the tide turned, though the sea was rough and the weather blustering, within two days' time he landed Foxe and his company in safety at Newport-Haven, on the other side of the sea.<sup>17</sup>

Whoever reads this history, does not need a more evident argument to force him to acknowledge either the certain course of Providence, or the uncertainty of all human forecast. He may see the subtlest deliberations of the wisest heads, oftentimes by errors come to no effect, often overthrown by sudden accidents, and now and then thwarted by contrary counsels. And all this is done to teach men to so use their authority, that the more power which fortune has conferred upon them, the less they are able to do of themselves; and therefore they are not to despise those who are of meaner condition. For God regards all men alike, having made them equal in nature, and distinguished them only by degrees. It is not to puff up the one sort, or shame the other, but to exercise both their modesties — or His own justice if they neglect their duty.

### ***Life in Basel***

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<sup>17</sup> Likely Newhaven, a port town in the Lewes district of East Sussex, England, at the mouth of the River Ouse. The town developed during the Middle Ages as the nearby port of Seaford began drying up, forcing a "new port" to be established. In Foxe's time, a sheltered harbor was built at Newhaven in the English Channel, the "other side" of the N. Sea.

When he had spent some days at Newport, in refreshing himself and his company, Foxe went to Antwerp, and from there by easy journeys to Basel.<sup>18</sup>

This city was at that time much spoken of, for the great friendship and courtesy showed to those of the English nation. For this cause many famous men, withdrawing themselves from the cruelty of the times, had escaped out of England to there. Of these, many had but a small fortune. Some maintained their livelihood one way, some another, but most by reviewing and correcting the press. This place then surpassed all the cities of Germany for careful printing. It abounded with diligent and wealthy men in that profession, and preferred the industry of our men in that employment, before any of their own countrymen.

Foxe joined himself to these men, and was so much the better liked, having always been inured to hardiness. In his youth he was put to the trial of his patience. He had learned how to endure labor, and that which seemed the greatest misery to others — to suffer want, to sit up late, and to keep a hard diet — these were to him but the sports of fortune. This perhaps may seem strange to many, who remember Foxe as a slender-bodied man all his life, and in his elder years somewhat sickly. But let no man compare his old age, worn out and eaten up with cares and by the course of nature, with the flourishing prime of his youth, which appears to have been most healthful. Whether in those of indifferent size, it is an upright shape of the limbs and members that sufficiently serves for health, or perhaps the mind needs less help from the body, when it is animated with a desire of virtuous actions, and is content with its own abilities to pursue those things which it intends.

His industry may be abundantly testified from this: that being so full of employment at Basel, he nevertheless began to write his *History of the Acts and Monuments of the Church* there — a work that, by the title alone, seems beyond man's belief. At first it sufficed only to mark it out, and to draw the first lines or rudiments; or as it were, to fasten the warp to the loom. He added and interwove with it the whole body of the history, after he returned into his own country. First he wrote it in Latin, and sent the copy to Basel to be printed. There the work is still held in great estimation, as it is also in diverse other foreign nations. But it is hardly known among our own countrymen. This shows that while we seek after and admire strangers, we neglect our own countrymen, either through carelessness or envy. Shortly after, to gratify the unlearned, he wrote it in English.

Meanwhile, by the death of queen Mary, the reformed religion began to flourish again in England, and the papist faction began much to decline. While she followed her own inclination, she was in every way excellent, and well worthy of so royal a parentage. But while she denied nothing to some wicked counsellors, she did not obtain that praise she would otherwise have deserved. And if she is not ill spoken of, it may be attributed to the unwillingness of the succeeding age to speak very freely of princes.

### ***Reign of Elizabeth.***

The whole Christian world immediately felt some benefit by this change of the English government.

The neighboring nations, now disburdened of the exiled Englishmen, rejoiced as much for the good fortune of their guests, as for their own. But at home what could be devised to assure their safety, or relieve their distresses, which they did not sooner enjoy than presume to hope for? Those who had forsaken their houses, were now called back home. Those who had suffered imprisonment, were now released. Those who were decayed by loss of goods,

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<sup>18</sup> [Basel is a city in Switzerland located on the river Rhine, at the southern borders of Germany and France.](#)



were now repaired by gifts. Those who had been thrust from places of honor, were now restored to their former dignities. The unjust laws which had been enacted were in the meanwhile abrogated, and wholesome laws established in their places. Their minds were quieted; their consciences at liberty; they were in all degrees at peace among themselves, and every man's goods were without danger. For queen Elizabeth, even in the infancy of her reign, disposed the affairs of the commonwealth in such a way, that whatever the long and prosperous government of other princes hardly produced in many years, broke forth all at once at her very first entrance, even beyond the people's wish. It was as if some deity had diffused itself, and poured out felicity upon the world. To mention this incomparable and most glorious queen on any occasion, and not to supply some further digression, let it be accounted a capital crime among all writers of history.

Elizabeth was born of the lady Anne Boylen, whom king Henry VIII, after his divorce from his first marriage, took to wife. From her she received, as a princely dowry, a true zeal for religion. As she grew older in years, so she increased in manners, knowledge, and beauty, which as well befit a princess. So that nature seemed to have boasted in her the masterpiece of her most absolute workmanship; and fortune seemed to have raised her to as high a degree as hope could ever aspire to.

It made her better capable to bear so great a fortune, that she at first learned to obey, and then to command, and to use that honor first toward others, which was shortly after to be used by others toward her. In her private life, she had experienced the hatred that is fatal to the successors of great empires; yet she was of a nobler spirit than to return the like upon those who were to succeed her. As soon as she came to the kingdom, her several virtues appeared at once in their brightest luster. Her mind did not descend to an excessive care of her body. The principles of her new sovereignty were to acquaint herself with the public reasons of state; to seek fit men to bear part of her cares; to strengthen all parts of the kingdom with faithful ministers; to know the temper and abilities of those about her; and to search into the strength, councils, and attempts of foreign princes. But all these qualities, if not well tempered, might have had, perhaps, no long continuance. Such therefore was her gravity, as nothing more pleasing; such her severity, as nothing more gentle; and such her frugality, as nothing more bountiful. Only she knew no measure in those excellencies whose glory is founded, not in the even-balancing of different *virtues*, but as it were, in the throng of illustrious *actions*. So was the nobility of her birth heaped with desire for glory. Her religion was most sincere, and seconded with zeal for a holy life. But when all these virtues broke forth into actions, what days of happiness we then enjoyed!

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What more cheerful, more secure or wealthy years did England see, than those forty-four years of peace! For she never voluntarily provoked any to war, and always preferred the justice of the quarrel above the victory. To the Irish, war, honor, and shame to have lost a province, enforced her. To the French, it was piety and pity for her neighbors' danger. To the Spanish, her own safety and necessity compelled her — comprehending in itself the force of all other causes.

In the progress of this war with Spain (1585-1604), we heard of, and saw, that which perhaps never happened in any war before. For other nations, though they fought with mortal hatred against each other, yet their battles were restrained to some certain fields and places. But this war was so scattered over all places, and managed with such nobleness of courage on both sides, that through all seas and havens from east to west, the sun might still behold the English and Spanish navies fighting for their lives, honors, or estates. Never till

then had that sea, which was accustomed to no other command but ours, frothed with strokes of foreign oars. Nor would a large volume contain the discourse, if I were to relate the number and stateliness of ships, the strength of sea and land forces, the supply of ammunition, engines, weapons, guns, and provision of victuals belonging to that navy which Philip the Second, king of Spain, sent here in the year 1588, with the intention to destroy the English name. Let this suffice, that never was any preparation by sea comparable to this fleet, made by any of the most powerful princes or states, as shown in all the records of antiquity. Yet, such a huge and threatening armada, swelling with self-confidence and a presumed hope of victory, was utterly defeated in a moment, by the fortune of this invincible princess.

The navies met together, unequal in number and strength. But the manner of the fight was disadvantageous to the Spaniards, because the English vessels being much less bulky, and lower built at the front, could with more ease cast about for the wind, and immediately having discharged, retire to open sea. Thereby they eluded the sluggish and unwieldy ships of their enemies; and by levelling at the broadsides of the Spanish galleons, they bestowed their shot with a more certain and successful aim. To this, our captains far excelled the Spanish commanders in the skill of sea-fight, and knowledge of the tides. The Spanish, now taught by the former day's experience that they could in no way, but in a set fight, bear the English encounters, cast their anchors near Calais. There they expected new forces out of Flanders, and by the goodness of their ordnance they defended themselves. This laid them open to the English for the victory. For having filled some ships with tow, pitch, brimstone, and all sorts of combustible materials, and setting them on fire, with a favorable tide, the British drove them directly upon the enemy. The Spanish were so exceedingly terrified by this action, that the whole fleet, cutting their cables as fast as they could, took instantly to flight. In this flight, some of their ships were burnt, some sunk, some forced to run themselves on shore, some split upon the rocks, and some, in their haste, fell foul on their fellows, and so they were torn and bruised, and taken by our soldiers. Those who escaped best, did not dare to go back the same way they came. With long labor both by sea and land, they returned at length to Spain, by the coasts of Scotland, and the islands of the Orkney archipelago. These were seas which in no age had been sailed upon, except by those who were very good at fleeing.

Such great virtues and victories met together in one person, that of necessity, envy would be an attendant, followed by hatred and treacheries. These could not be so avoided by this most innocent queen, but that her safety was, throughout her life, daily endangered. Which makes me rather wonder, what rare doctrine of our adversaries this may be, for piety sake which they pretend, persecuting even virtue itself, whereas (not only in no heathen, but in none the most barbarous nation, which does at all acknowledge any deity) it was never thought just to take revenge upon virtue, even in their enemies; unless it is that the indulgence of the Christian religion may be so far extended, that although we are commanded to forgive our enemies, either they must not be virtuous, or they must not be forgiven. But evident enough it is, that in human affairs, the desires of men are often employed to one end, and the will of God to another. By him was queen Elizabeth protected always, from the injuries and wicked enterprises of her enemies, and brought full of years to that honor, as to carry with her that glory unspotted to heaven, which she obtained on earth, envy now in vain carping at her after death, whose cause all posterity does patronize.

### ***Foxe Returns to England***

*Now let us return to our history.*

## THE LIFE OF JOHN FOXE.

Master Foxe heard by his friends, the happy news that queen Elizabeth reigned in England, and that the state of religion was sure, and likely to continue. About the end of that year in which this was in hand (1533), he came back to his country. He had taken so much time to think to himself, lest — if by any inconstancy of the people, they should grow weary of their present state — he should again be forced to seek his fortunes abroad. Besides, his family being then increased with two children, he was obliged to stay in Basel till money might be sent from home to bear his charges in travelling. But before he could get from there, he was informed that some hard statements had been made respecting him, as if through pride he had delayed to come, thereby seeking a shorter and speedier way to preferment as being due him, whenever he should be sent for. This he knew to be a cast of their cunning, who were themselves striving for honors with all earnestness, and feared Master Foxe as a man deserving of it, and likely to be preferred before them. Yet he did not think it worth his labor to make any excuse for a crime that would of itself come to nothing. But equally despising injuries, and neglecting his own right, he hid himself wholly in his study.

As in our bodies it is commonly seen that those men are healthier who use moderate diet and exercise than those who exceed in either, so I suppose the case stands with our minds. He who fortune has given no rule, and prescribes none for himself, can hardly persist in the soundness of his duty. Whereas he who uses modesty in his fortunes, is always fresher and more vigorous for any illustrious undertakings. For Master Foxe, being famous for his abilities, and supported (as I showed before) with the friendship of great personages, might with ease have attained to whatever his desires had inclined him. But affecting neither riches nor authority, nor the wishes of happy men (though his deserts were equal with any) he was well contented to keep the conscience of well-doing to himself, and that rewards should remain in the possession of others. I neither admit this as being wholly to his commendation, nor do I find fault with it, as many have done. Let us at least favor good men so far as to allow virtue to choose what degree of fortune it chooses to shine in. Or if we would restrain it within certain limits, let us do it to those who are good, with hope of reward. As for those who are good for no design, if their glory does not overwhelm us, we will not need to fear their multitude.

I shall write of a life continually bearing true and solid fruits, but not such on which the reader's senses may surfeit; where neither the rare stratagems of war or peace shall be related to you, nor any such discourses as writers use when they intend to captivate the ears of the hearers. I am to speak of a life passed over without noise, a life of modesty at home and abroad, of charity, contempt of the world, and thirst after heavenly things; of unwearied labors, where all actions are so performed as might be exemplary or beneficial to others.

I showed before, that Foxe first applied himself to write the history of the church while he was at Basel. And the reason why he did not finish it there was that he might afterwards use the testimony of more witnesses. This work not a little vexed the minds of the papists. For they well saw that they had shed so much blood in vain, and had been guilty of such great cruelty to no effect, if an account of these proceedings should be transmitted to succeeding ages. And they well understood that the work itself could not be taken out of men's hands. There was therefore no other hope left, than by charging the author with falsehood, and feigning some cavils <sup>19</sup> against him, so as to lessen his credit and authority.

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<sup>19</sup> *Cavil*: An evasion of the point of an argument by raising irrelevant distinctions or objections.



While Foxe endeavored to remove and take this away from himself, he could not avoid it. Rather, he was obliged to pass the lawful bounds of a history, by a new collection of matters and testimonies. And let us only judge by this, the *industry* of our author. He not only gathered together so many things for the materials of his work, taken from all distances of time or place, and through all counties of the kingdom, collecting the acts of both courts, and the records of the matters judged — but by a most distracted kind of diligence, he also alone searched out, examined, even freed from moth-eating, and afterwards reduced into convenient order, those things themselves. They were partly rusty and eaten out, as it were, by antiquity, partly corrupted by hatred or flattery of authors, and partly hidden in the rugged and short form of old writing. I find by the author's own notes, that in the eleventh year after he began to write it, the work was finished. And it is very probable that the work shall live on, which was so long in being brought forth. Neither did he, in all that time, use the help of any servant, about his writing or other business. Industry employed to one purpose, and gathered into itself, affords more useful assistance than being scattered, and the mind divided into many cares at once, however many helping hands it has.

For many years Foxe had left no time free from his study, either not at all, or not seasonably affording himself what nature required. His natural liveliness and vigor being spent, he was at length brought to such a condition, that neither his friends nor kindred could recognize him by sight. By this means he first fell into that withered leanness of body, in which many afterwards saw him. He never again returned to that pleasing and cheerful countenance which he had before. But when he would not be persuaded to lessen his accustomed labors, or to lay aside his study, or to recreate himself, these being the cause of the debility which had been produced, the signs of it likewise remained.

### ***Foxe's Reputation***

From this time, Foxe began to be much spoken of as a good historian. The other virtues of his mind, as they were less known abroad, so they were overshadowed by that which was known. Shortly after, he also began to grow famous for his other endowments, not only as a learned man, but as one who is useful for his friendliness, and helpful to others. Modesty will not allow me, by way of his journal, to recite the voluntary pains he took upon himself. However, it will not be amiss to say something of it in general; and to show how, either by good advice, comfortable persuasions, or a charitable hand, he either relieved the wants, or satisfied the desires of innumerable persons. Whereupon no man's house in those times was thronged with more clients than his. There repaired to him both citizens and strangers, noblemen and common people of all degrees, and almost all for the same cause: *to seek some relief for a wounded conscience*. At length, some who were likewise sick in body, would need to be carried to him. But to stop any rumors, he would not allow this to be done. For some reported that these people were cured, *because* they were brought there.

Thus spending the day at home in such duties, and frequently preaching abroad, and going to visit those who were not able to come to him themselves, he fulfilled what was enjoined of him by the courtesy of his own disposition. Nor did he neglect the performance of that duty which the office of his ministry had imposed upon him. Whatever little time his friends had left free to his own disposal — either being called away by other occasions, or ashamed of being too tedious — he did not bestow upon sleeping or taking his pleasure, but in prayer and studying. When he engaged in either of these exercises, he always retired into some private apartment, or made use of the night's silence for secrecy, lest by chance the vehement groans he sometimes mingled with his prayers, being heard by some who were near the place, gave notice how earnest he was in his devotions. For at no time of the night

could any man come to find his labors ended; but often the next morning's light concluded the last of his night's care.

Now, although these things are true, I well know that many will find fault, that I have so slightly passed them over. They will demand to know why I did not produce the matters themselves, as witnesses of his actions, or at least some particular example of each kind, so that they may give credit to the rest, with more security. But there are many things which hinder me from doing so.

First, common civility forbids us to publish abroad that which the conscience of another has committed to our secrecy. He would give a very bad example, who should by all means conceal rather than make known to the world, the secrets of private houses, the conflicts of friends, and such private affairs in men's lives that may either shame or repent them. Next, the matters themselves, which used to be attended to in the greatest possible privacy, could by no means come to our knowledge. Or if something were gathered by suspicion, and I were to instance it in one or two particulars, what great assurance in the rest, could I draw from this?

I will now bring the last argument for his ability or industry — I do not know whether I should say — that this man, who had given himself so wholly to please his friends that he had set apart no time for his other occasions, yet he wrote so much that it might well have been believed, he had done nothing else.

### ***Foxe's Writings***

Here, for the sake of those who may desire it, I have set down the titles of those books he wrote; which are these:

Comaediaram libri 2 (Book 2 of the Comedies) — Syllogisticon (Syllogistics) <sup>20</sup> — Admonitio ad Parliamentum (Reminder to Parliament) — De lapsis per errorem in Ecclesiam restituendis (On restoring into the Church those who have fallen into error) — Oliva Evangelica (Evangelical Olive) — De Christo gratis justificante (Of Christ justifying by grace) — De Christo Crucifixo (The Cross of Christ) — Papa confutatus (Refutation of the Pope) — Contra Osorium de Justitia (Against Osorius on Justification) — Meditationes supra Apocalypsi in Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum Commentarii (Meditations on the Apocalypse, in Commentaries on Events in the Church) — and, The Acts and Monuments of the Church.

### ***Foxe's Motivations***

We have now come so far as to be able from all this, to give the reader a full sight at once of the rest of Foxe's life. This should, I suppose, please in the same way that we see those who travel, when they have been long tired with continual rugged ways and rough forests, and at length come into the plain and champagne countries, are not a little delighted and refreshed with the very change of soil.

In this sketch of his conditions (as it were), we will first observe what might well be thought the foremost of his virtues; namely, a deliberate and resolved contempt of all things which are in greatest esteem among men, and especially of pleasures. This disposition of his, whether inbred by nature, acquired by discipline, or infused by God, of necessity gave him great ability to perform with commendation, whatever he chose to take in hand. There is

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<sup>20</sup> *Syllogistics*: in logic, the formal analysis of logical terms and operators and the structures that make it possible to infer true conclusions from given premises.

nothing which can mislead the mind into errors — which would otherwise of itself hold the right way — except what proceeds from some pleasure or other, lying in wait to entrap us in our journey. But Foxe so played with these enemies, as one who did not desire to save himself by fleeing to or sheltering himself in some secret place of retirement. But by often skirmishing, and gaining experience in the manner of fighting, he increased his own strength, and gave others an example of fortitude. He used to say that they did not greatly matter, who forsook business and employments in the world, lest they allow themselves to be allured and deceived by them. For these things were in themselves innocent, and all grew hurtful only when they were overvalued and pursued with avaricious desire. Whoever can beat this back when it assails him and strives to break in upon him, is deservedly called temperate. But someone who was never in any temptation, may seem to be good through lack of occasion to be otherwise, rather than by his own virtue.

He therefore never declined the friendship of illustrious personages — not to draw honor to himself, but that thereby he saw his commendation would be more effectual, when he desired favor on behalf of others. The money which rich men sometimes offered him, he accepted, giving it back to the poor. He likewise frequented the tables of his friends, not for his own pleasure, being of a spare diet, but from *courtesy*, to keep them company.

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And let none imagine he either feared or fled from wrestling and striving with gourmet delights, or that he thought himself better defended against the pleasures incident to eating and drinking, by being absent rather than by guarding his own moderation. In a word, Mr. Foxe so behaved himself in those things which are accompanied by delights, it is certain that none of those who were always in his company, can remember any speech or action of his, which might betray the least show of a desire for them. And he was so far from thirsting after honor, riches, applause, or any outward good, that he would at no time allow the care of his private estate to enter his mind, much less that it should be overcome or drawn aside by thoughts of his household affairs. I will hereafter declare where either his security, or as some called it, the slothfulness in his own fortunes, proceeded from. In the meantime, I will consider the cause for which he thought all other things were so contemptible, especially since that could not be imagined to arise from any obstinate disdainfulness, much less from a sluggishness of mind. I assure myself that it was only the love of God with which his mind was so filled, and so much delighted, that he left no room or affection free for other pleasures. Of his own accord, he separated himself from the fashions of the world, of which he was not otherwise incapable. And devoting himself wholly to this care, like someone who had found an invaluable treasure, he bent his eyes and mind upon this only, neither hoping nor expecting anything besides, but resolved to make this the scope of all his wishes and desires. As must happen in such a case, it so fell out by this, that those who observed his mind so steadfastly fixed upon God, seeing that he both spoke and did many things beyond the capacity of an ordinarily good man, they believed he could not be void of some divine inspiration. And now some began to honor him, not as a good man, but as one sent from heaven, even to adore him — through the folly of mankind madly dotting upon anything, whatever their own will has set up to be worshipped.

### ***Foxe on the church of Rome***

It will not be out of the way to add in general what Foxe thought of the church of Rome and its bishop, as far as it may be gathered out of his speeches, when being of ripe years, he had strengthened his judgment with much experience.

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The heads of his opinions were these:

- That among the Christian church, the Roman church had always been chief in dignity, and greatest in antiquity.
- That it retained this dignity and preference many ages after, little by little growing to greater authority, not by consent of the people, nor by any right to that claim, but by reason of a certain inclination and custom among men, that where any chanced to excel others, they first began to be powerful among the rest, and then at length began to exercise command over them.
- That the greatest honor and authority it had was among these western kingdoms which, as everyone mostly loved the Christian religion, so they were most assisted by the diligence and piety of the Romans; in this respect, it had not ill-deserved to be called the *mother* of those churches.
- That the occasion of so great an increase, was that the city of Rome, being of such ancient renown, and as it were, appointed monarch of the world by destiny, it abounded in all ages with men of great courage and virtue — being well peopled, wealthy, usefully seated, and always under the emperors' sight, easily afforded this convenience.
- That at first the Christians could not meet anywhere together with less trouble than in Rome, nor be more plentifully provided for, nor more safely concealed, nor when there was need, die with more constancy — all of which made posterity greatly admire and honor them.
- That the church at first flourished in good discipline, and in the approved holiness of professing believers, rather than in abundance of riches, there being yet no looseness, no pride or ambition found in the manners of the clergy; and money, servants, lands, jewels, and similar goods, were altogether unknown to them — in short, all things were so restrained, either by modesty in using what they had, or by being content in what they did not have, that the seat of the Christian religion seemed to be in Rome alone.

All this was observed with the greatest strictness in the times nearest to the church's infancy. But in process of time, little by little, it began to be neglected and corrupted, in the same way that rivers, whose streams being small and clear near their head, the farther they proceed, the larger is the channel, but with more troubled waters; till at length, by mixing with the sea, they also become unwholesome. And though in no one place can we perceive where they are in any jot changed from their first purity; yet we may easily enough find a great difference if we compare the extremes together. In the church, it so fell out that having brought all nations to the Christian faith, they began to think it was for the honor of the empire, that the priests should no longer endure poverty (as they had formerly been accustomed), but live in a more sumptuous way. To this purpose, the emperors granted many things to the churchmen, both as an ornament and a reward to them. Then too, the priests began first to be taken with the love of riches, and then by degrees, to grow wanton through abundance, and not care what little pains they took. Afterwards (as the succeeding age always adds to the vice of the former) they affected power also. Once they had obtained it, and received the command of the church by the emperor's gift, they did not give it up till (having cast down the emperors, by whose bounty they had so prevailed) they invaded the privileges of the empire, and now laid claim to both spiritual and temporal government.

In the meanwhile, neglecting those rules of religion which their predecessors had prescribed to them, neither searching the Scriptures themselves, nor permitting others to do it, they

esteemed the worship of God to consist in outward devotion and pomp of ceremonies, rather than in the obedience of faith. By this means, it came to pass that the church of Rome (as with all other immoderate empires) not only fell from that high degree it once held, but it also subverted in itself the very substance and state of a church. Nor should this seem strange if, as with most healthy bodies, they fall into sickness with the most danger. So it happens that the prime of all churches should have no mean, but either remain in perfect health, or become its most dangerous enemy; and that for this cause, the pope now seemed to be antichrist. Notwithstanding that the case was so plain, neither part should lend too much belief to arguments, nor be too earnest in hindering it, if by any moderation of men the matter might be brought to soundness and agreement:

- That it was not, perhaps, in our power to take from Rome her ancient honor, and the opinion of her religion that was so fixed already in the minds of men.
- That the church of Rome had fallen by her own covetousness, ambition, and prevarication; but that no man had ever gone so far in sinning, that repentance had not reached as far.
- That therefore it was fitting to allow them, as returning to repentance, some convenient *means* to move them to it, and sufficient *space* to repent in.
- That it might be the author disliked them, because it was a German or a Frenchman, and not an Italian of their own nation, who had told them of their errors.
- That there might one day be found among their own men, some by whose authority they would not be ashamed to amend their faults, and with more willingness, to part with their own power in order to procure the peace of the whole world.
- That there was at least this hope left, it might so fall out that they had no further erred in the articles of faith, than that they would not suffer too much to be known.
- That the conditions of agreement would be, first,
  - That the pope should forsake all those tenets by which he gained such great sums of money — there being nothing to which the people might be persuaded with more difficulty, than that Christ, the Savior of the world, had instructed his church in the way of getting money — and putting the Scriptures up for sale.
  - Next, that the pope should renounce all secular jurisdiction, and not suppose himself to have title, or anything to do with the right of princes.
- That, on the other side, the pope's opposers should not refuse the idea that some one man may have the principal place of counsel and government in church affairs, as it would have many conveniences in it, if it could be done with security; nor should the Romish church having once fallen, be an argument against it; nor because the Romish church had first flourished, should that prevail for it, and make it preferred before any other.

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- That all this was to be left to the discretion of a general council of the Christians, which might be so equitable that neither the power nor the favor of anyone should be able to promise itself any advantage to the injury of the rest, regarding either the place of meeting, or the difference in number of voices.
- That meanwhile, it would be of great moment to the hope and speediness of settling all controversies, if hereafter, on *both* sides, they would give such instructions as might cause in each party a better hope and opinion of the other — especially that they ought to quit

that stubborn conceit by which each of them, presuming itself to be the only true church, supposes the other to be excluded.

For it would not only be wicked, but also highly to the dishonor of God, to think that He had so given his commandments to mankind, that they should be turned to the destruction of those who obey them. If all men will not consent in the same opinion, this must of necessity come to pass: that those who understand the most, will refuse to admit the rest. Was the kingdom of heaven therefore reserved only for the more understanding sort, and those who know the most? Where then would the fools of the world be? Where would little children be, whom Christ had set apart for himself? How much better would we serve God by following what was evident, than by interpreting what was doubtful? How much more probable would it be that God's mercy is abundant, than if men were so agreed in point of general obedience, that nothing else would be laid to their charge? For the force of obedience before God would be so great, that thereby all other inequalities might be made even. But if all were *not* in equal condition, then certainly with God, those who judged others with the most modesty, would be best esteemed.

### ***Foxe's Friends***

I will now speak of the friends of Mr. Foxe, among whom I have already shown with how great an affection he was beloved by the duke of Norfolk, being maintained by his bounty during his lifetime, and after his death by the pension the duke bestowed on him, which his son, the right honorable earl of Suffolk, to whom those revenues descended, continued out of his liberality.

His fortunes were increased by the lord William Cecil, then lord treasurer, a man excellent beyond expression, whom it as much availed queen Elizabeth to have for her minister, as it availed the kingdom to have Elizabeth for their queen. Without doubt, lord Cecil was most deserving that in himself and in his posterity, he should flourish in that kingdom which he had made most flourishing by his wisdom and advice. He obtained for Mr. Foxe, from the queen's gift, the rectory of Shipton, upon no other inducement but his public merits. And when Mr. Foxe delayed, and in his manner entreated leave to excuse himself, the lord Cecil politically overcame his bashfulness by telling him that he neither accepted that for an answer, nor did he deserve that the blame of Mr. Foxe's refusing the queen's gift, should be laid upon himself, as if lord Cecil had been his hindrance.

He was very acceptable to the earls of Bedford and of Warwick.

He was very intimate with sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state, a prudent and vigilant man, and one who deservedly was the first who advanced the power of the secretaryship.

He sincerely loved the two brothers, sir Thomas Hennage and Master Michael Hennage; the first for the sweetness of his behavior, the other for his solid learning and singular modesty of life. And though they were both, in their kind, most accomplished gentlemen, Foxe was prone to say that sir Thomas Hennage had as much as was requisite in any way to become a complete courtier, but that Master Michael Hennage had in himself all that his brother had, besides his own, which the court had not corrupted.

He likewise bore a strong affection toward sir Drew Drury, as to a man of sincere intentions, and of great constancy in all fortunes, and perhaps the only man in the court who continued his favor without loss of his freedom.

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Among the prelates he principally revered Doctor Grindall, archbishop of Canterbury; Doctor Elmar, bishop of London; Doctor Pilkington, bishop of Durham; and Doctor Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, who were his partners in banishment at Basel.

Among the writers of his time, he preferred before the rest, Doctor Humphrey, Doctor Whiteaker, and Doctor Fulke, with whose learning he was greatly delighted; and he esteemed it no small benefit to be beloved by them in return.

But with none did he have more familiar acquaintance than with Master John Crowley and Master Baldwine Collins, whose counsel he made use of in all his affairs, especially of Master Collins. He used to say concerning him, that he did not know which had the greatest share in him, whether excellence of knowledge, or modesty of mind.

Among military men, sir Francis Drake was much delighted with Foxe's familiarity. It would be needless to commend him near the times he lived in; but many volumes would scarcely suffice to commend sir Drake to posterity, according to his merits,.

Foxe always found great good will among the citizens of London, especially with sir Thomas Gresham, sir Thomas Roe, Alderman Bacchus, Master Ismith. Master Dale, and Master Sherington, who held him in great estimation. Part of them were those who had borne the highest places of honor in the city, and part of them were merchants of great substance.

I pass by many who perhaps had as great a share in Master Foxe's friendship as any of these. Nor should it be accounted a fault if I either did not know or remember them all. But this I should not omit (being the chief cause why I thought it fit to mention the above-named worthy men) that these were men from whom, as I said before, Master Foxe received such large sums of money to divide among the poor. Although they did it with so much privacy that they did not trust it to messengers in delivering it. They did not regard any outward praise that their well-doing might procure them, knowing the consciousness of it was as much as they needed to desire. Yet it was not fitting for me, in Foxe's history, to dissemble it, or to give any man occasion to suppose the truth was not revealed by Foxe, though they themselves thought it good to neglect the fruit of such great liberality. This is especially true, since it may abundantly serve to commend both him and them, that they should be known by *their* own actions, and he by none but *his*.

Among his friends, Foxe always used a pleasant kind of familiarity, with which he seasoned the gravity and severity of his other behavior.

Once, being asked at a friend's table what dish he desired to be set up for him to begin his meal with, he answered, "the last." This word was pleasantly taken, as if he had meant some choicer dish, such as those which are usually brought for the second course. Whereas he rather signified the desire he had to see dinner ended, that he might depart home.

Going abroad, he met by chance a woman that he knew, who pulling a book from under her arm, and saying, "Do you not see that I am going to a sermon?" Foxe replied, "But if you will be ruled by me, go home instead; for you will do but little good at church today." And when she asked, "At what time, therefore, would he counsel her to go?" he answered, "When you tell nobody beforehand."

It happened at his own table that a gentleman there spoke somewhat too freely against the earl of Leicester. When Foxe heard this, he commanded a bowl filled with wine to be brought him. This being done, he said, "This bowl was given to me by the earl of Leicester," thus stopping the gentleman in his intemperate speeches, without reprehending him.

## THE LIFE OF JOHN FOXE.

When a young man, who was a little too forward, had said in the presence of many, that he “could conceive no reason, in the reading of old authors, why men should so greatly admire them,” Foxe replied, “No marvel indeed, for if you could conceive the reason, you would then admire them yourself.”

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I could mention many anecdotes of this kind, but I will not exceed my intended limits too far.

At length, having spent out his age in such actions and such behavior, now being full of years, and blessed with friends, he died before he had quite passed through his seventieth year (1587) — not through any known disease, but through great age.

Upon the report of his death, the whole city lamented, honoring the small funeral which was made for him, with the concourse of a great multitude of people; and in no other fashion of mourning than as if, among so many, each man had buried his own father, or his own brother.



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<sup>21</sup> [Rood: Representation of the cross on which Jesus died.](#)

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[1]

## THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

To the True and Faithful Congregation of Christ's Universal Church, with all and the singular Members of it, wherever congregated or dispersed throughout the Realm of England, a Protestation or Petition of the Author, wishing to them abundance of all peace and tranquility, with the speedy coming of Christ the Spouse, to make an end of all mortal misery.

SOLOMON, the peaceable prince of Israel, as we read in the first Book of Kings, after he had finished the building of the Lord's Temple (which took seven years), made his petition to the Lord for all who would pray in the temple, or turn their face toward it; and his request was granted. The Lord answered him, as we read in 1Kng 9.3. "I have heard your prayer and have hallowed this house," etc.; although the infinite Majesty of God is not to be confined within any material walls, yet it so pleased his goodness to respect this prayer of the king, that he not only promised to hear those who prayed there, but also filled it with his own glory. For we read, "The priests could not stand to minister, because of the cloud, for the glory of the Lord had filled the house of the Lord," 1Kng 8.11.

After my seven years' labor about this Ecclesiastical History, upon a similar trust in God's gracious goodness, if I, a sinful wretch, might either be so bold as to ask, or so happy as to speed, I would most humbly crave Almighty God to bestow his blessing upon it. I am not comparing my work with the building of that temple; yet I am following the zeal of the builder. Just as the prayers of those who prayed in the outward temple were heard, may all true disposed minds, who resort to reading this history, receive some spiritual fruit for their souls. For it contains the acts of God's holy martyrs, and the monuments of His church. By the example of their life, faith, and doctrine, and through the operation of His grace, may it be to the advancement of His glory, and the profit of His church, through Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen.

But as it happened in that temple of Solomon, all who came there did not come to pray, but many came to prate — some to gaze and hear news, some to talk and walk, some to buy and sell, some to carp and find fault, and some also at last to destroy and pull it down, as they did indeed. For what in this world is so strong, that it will not be impugned? What is so perfect, that it will not be abused? What is so true, that will not be contradicted? or so circumspectly done, that wranglers will not find fault with it? Even so, in writing this history, I expect that among many well-disposed readers, some wasp's nest or other will be stirred up to buzz about my ears, so dangerous a thing it is now-a-days, to write or do any good. But either we must offend the godly by flattering a man, or else we must procure the hatred of the wicked by speaking the truth. I had sufficient trial in my former edition, of such stinging wasps and buzzing drones. If they had found in my book any just cause to find fault, or upon any true zeal for truth they had proceeded against the untruths of my history, *and had brought just proofs for the same*, I could right well abide it. For God forbid that any faults, wherever they are, should not be detected and accused. And therefore, accusers in a commonwealth, to my mind, are of no small service.

But then such accusers must beware not to act like the dog Cicero speaks of in his oration, which being set in the capitol to frighten away thieves by night, let the thieves alone, and barked at true men walking in the day. To bay and bark where true faults are, is not amiss. But to carp where there is no cause; to spy straws in others, and leap over their own blocks; to swallow camels and to strain at gnats; to oppress truth with lies, and to set up lies for truth; to blaspheme the dear martyrs of Christ, and to canonize as saints those whom Scripture would scarcely allow for good subjects — *that* is intolerable. Such barking curs, if

## Author's Preface

they were well served, would be made to stoop awhile. But I do not intend at this time to wrestle much with these brawling spirits.

Therefore, to leave them a while till further leisure serves me to attend to them, I thought in the interim season, by way of protestation or petition, to write to you this much, both in general and particular — the true members and faithful congregation of Christ's church, wherever congregated together or dispersed through the whole realm of England. For what all these adversaries seek, is to do what they can to withdraw readers from this History, by discrediting it with slanders and sinister surmises. Therefore, in few words, this will be to warn and desire all well-minded lovers and partakers of Christ's gospel, that you not allow yourselves to be deceived with the boastings and hyperbolic speeches of those slandering tongues, whatever they have, or will hereafter, exclaim against it. But impartially deferring your judgment till the truth is tried, first *peruse* and then *refuse* — measuring the alleged untruths of this history, not by scoring up the hundreds and thousands of lies which they give out, but wisely weighing the purpose of their doings according to how you find them, and so judge the matter.

I allure no one to read my books; let every man do as he pleases. If anyone thinks his labor is too much in reading this history, his choice is free either to read *this* or any other work. But if the fruit of it recompences the reader's trouble, then I wish no man be so light-eared as to be carried away by any sinister clamor of its adversaries, who many times deprave good doings, not for the faults they find, but only finding faults because they would deprave. As for me and my history, my purpose was to profit all and to displease none. So if skill is wanting in any part, my purpose has yet been simple, and the cause no less urgent, which moved me to take this enterprise in hand.

For *first*, it grieved me that this part of history had been so long unsupplied in my country church of England, and to see the simple flock of Christ, especially the unlearned sort, so miserably deluded. And all this was for ignorance of history, not knowing the course of times, and the true descent of the church.

[2]

Again, considering the multitude of chronicles and history-writers, both in and out of England, of whom most have been either monks or clients to the See of Rome,<sup>22</sup> it grieved me to behold how partially they handled their stories. I cannot but commend their diligent labor in committing many things to writing that are not unfruitful to be known, nor unpleasant to be read. Yet I lamented to see that the principal points which chiefly concerned the state of Christ's church, and which were most necessary to be known by all Christian people, were either altogether omitted in their monuments, or else, if any mention of them were inserted, all things were drawn to the honor specially of the church of Rome, or else to the favor of their own sect of religion. Hearing and reading no other church mentioned or magnified in their writings, except that church which flourished in this world in riches and riot, the unlearned were thereby led to think that no other church stood in all the earth except the church of Rome.

In the number of this sort of writers, besides our monks of England (for almost every monastery had its chronicler) I might also recite both Italian and other authors, such as Platina, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, Martin, Antony, Vincent, Onuphrius, Laziard, George Lilius,

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<sup>22</sup> A "see" is the seat within a bishop's diocese, where the cathedral is located. The See of Rome refers to the pre-eminent seat of jurisdiction in the Roman Catholic Church. Foxe takes exception to this in his Preliminary Dissertation.



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Polydore Virgil, with many more. They take it upon themselves to intermeddle with matters of the church. Even though they express some part of the truth in matters concerning the bishops and See of Rome, yet in suppressing another part, they play with us, as Ananias and Sapphira did with their money; <sup>Act 5.1-10</sup> or as the Greek painter Apelles did: painting the one half of Venus coming out of the sea, he left the other half imperfect. So these writers, while they show us one half of the bishop of Rome, they leave the other half of him imperfect and utterly untold. For they paint him, on the one part, glittering in wealth and glory, showing —

what succession the popes had from the chair of St. Peter; when they first began, and how long they sat; what churches and what famous buildings they erected; how far their possessions reached; what laws they made; what councils they called; what honor they received from kings and emperors; what princes and countries they brought under their authority, with other similar stratagems of great pomp and royalty;

on the other side, they leave untold —

what vices these popes brought with them to their seat; what abominations they practiced; what superstition they maintained; what idolatry they procured; what wicked doctrine they defended contrary to the express word of God; what heresies they fell into; what division of sects they cut the unity of Christian religion into; how some practiced by simony, some by necromancy and sorcery, some by poisoning, some contracted with the devil to come by their papacy; what hypocrisy was in their lives; what corruption in their doctrine; what wars they raised; what bloodshed they caused.

They leave untold what treachery they traversed against their lords and emperors, imprisoning some, betraying some to the templars and Saracens in bringing others under their feet; also in beheading some, as they did with Frederick and Conradine, the heirs and offspring of the house of Frederick Barbarossa, A.D. 1269. Furthermore, how mightily Almighty God has stood against them, how their wars never prospered against the Turks, how the godly and learned from time to time have ever opposed their errors, etc. Not one word has been said of these and a thousand other things, but all were kept as secret as in auricular confession. <sup>23</sup>

When I considered this partial dealing and corrupt handling of historians, I thought nothing was more wanting in the church than a full and complete history. Being faithfully collected out of all our monastic writers and written monuments, should neither contain every vain written fable, for that would be too much; nor leave out anything necessary, for that would be too little. But with a moderate discretion, taking the best of everyone, it should both ease the labor of the reader from turning over such a number of writers, and also open the plain truth of times that have long lain hidden in the obscure darkness of antiquity. Thereby, beholding as in a glass the stay, course, and alteration of religion, the decay of doctrine, and the controversies of the church, all studious readers might better discern between antiquity and novelty. For if the things which are *first* are to be preferred before those which are *later* (following the rule of Tertullian), then the reading of history is very necessary in the church, in order to know what went before, and what followed after. Therefore, it is not without cause that in old authors, history is called the Witness of Times, the Light of Verity, the Life of Memory, Teacher of Life, and shower of Antiquity, etc. Without the knowledge of history, man's life is blind, and it may soon fall into any kind of error. We see this by manifest experience in these desolate times of the church, when the bishops of Rome, under color of antiquity, have turned truth into heresy, and brought such new-found devices of strange

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<sup>23</sup> *Auricular confession: a spoken confession of sins heard by a priest, and kept secret by him.*

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doctrine and religion, as were never heard of in the former age of the church, and which are now believed — all through ignorance of times, and for lack of true history.

For, to say the truth, if times had been well-searched, or if those who wrote histories had without partiality gone upright between God and Baal, halting on neither side, it might well have been found that most of all this catholic corruption intruded into the church by the bishops of Rome, such as —

transubstantiation, elevation and adoration of the sacrament, auricular confession, forced vows of priests not to marry, veneration of images, private and satisfactory masses, the order of Gregory's mass that is now used, the usurped authority and supreme power of the See of Rome, with all the rest of their ceremonies and weeds of superstition now overgrowing the church —

all these (I say) are new nothings, recently coined in the mint of Rome, without any stamp of antiquity. I trust this will sufficiently appear by reading this History. Therefore, I have here taken that history in hand, which other writers have previously employed their labor to magnify the church of Rome, so that in this history there might appear to all Christian readers the image of *both* churches, the one as well as the other; especially of the poor, oppressed, and persecuted church of Christ. This persecuted church, though it has been for a long season trodden under foot by enemies, neglected in the world, not regarded in histories, and scarcely visible or known to worldly eyes, has it been the only true church of God. It is the one in which He has mightily wrought up to now, preserving it in all extreme distresses, continually stirring up faithful ministers from time to time, who have always kept some sparks of His true doctrine and religion.

Now, because the true church of God does not go lightly alone, but is accompanied with some other church of the devil to deface and malign it, it is necessary that the difference between them should be seen, and that the descent of the right church be described from the apostle's time, which up to now has been lacking in most histories. This was partly for fear, because men dared not describe it, and partly for ignorance, because men could not discern rightly between the one and the other. Beholding the church of Rome so visible and glorious in the eyes of all the world, and so shining in outward beauty as to bear such a port, to carry such a train and multitude, and to stand in such high authority, they supposed it to be the only right catholic mother. The other, because it was not so visibly known in the world, they thought that it could not therefore be the true church of Christ. In this they were much deceived. For although the right church of God is not so invisible in the world that none can see it, yet neither is it so visible that every worldly eye may indeed perceive it. For as is the nature of truth, so is the proper condition of the true church, that commonly none see it except those who as are the members and partakers of it. And therefore, those who require that God's holy church should be evident and visible to the whole world, seem to define the great *synagogue* of the world, rather than the true spiritual church of God.

In Christ's time, who would have thought that the congregations and councils of the Pharisees had not been the right church? And yet Christ had another church on earth besides that one. Although it was not so manifest in the sight of the world, yet it was the only true church in the sight of God.

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Christ referred to this church, speaking of the temple which he would raise again the third day. And yet, after the Lord was risen, he did not show himself to the world, but only to his elect, who were but few. After that, the same church increased and multiplied mightily

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among the Jews. Yet the Jews did not have eyes to see God's church, but persecuted it, till at length their whole nation was destroyed.

After the Jews, came the heathen emperors of Rome. Having the whole power of the world in their hands, they did all the world could do to extinguish the name and church of Christ. Their violence continued the space of 300 years, all of which time the true church of Christ was not great in the sight of the world, but rather was abhorred everywhere. And yet notwithstanding this, the same small flock, so despised in the world, the Lord highly regarded, and mightily preserved. For although many of the Christians suffered death, yet their death was neither loss to them, nor a detriment to the church. Rather, the more they suffered, the more of their blood increased.

In the time of these emperors, God raised up in this realm of Britain, diverse worthy preachers and witnesses, such as Elnanus, Meduinus, Meltivianus, Amphibolus, Albanus, Aaron, Julius, and others, in whose time the doctrine of faith, without men's traditions, was sincerely preached. After their death and martyrdom, it pleased the Lord to provide a general quietness to his church, by which the number of his flock began to increase. In this age, then followed in this land, Fastidius, Nivian, Patrick, Bacchiarius, Dubricius, Congellus, Kentigern, Helmotus, David, Daniel, Sampson, Elnodugus, Asaphus, Gildas, Heulanus, Elbodus, Dinothus, Samuel, Nivius, and many more, who governed the church of Britain by Christian doctrine for a long season. But the civil governors for the time were then dissolute and careless (as Gildas very sharply lays to their charge), and so at length they were subdued by the Saxons.

All this while, about the space of 400 years, religion remained uncorrupt in Britain, and the word of Christ was truly preached. This was until about the coming of Austin the monk,<sup>24</sup> and his companions from Rome, when many of the said British preachers were slain by the Saxons. After that, Christian faith began to enter and spring among the Saxons, in a certain Romish way. Yet, notwithstanding, it was somewhat more tolerable than the times which followed. This was through the diligent industry of some godly teachers who then lived among them, such as Aidanus, Finianus, Coleman, archbishop of York, Bede, John of Beverly, Alenin, Noetus, Hucharius, Serlo, Achardus, Ealtedus, Alexander, Neckham, Negellus, Fenallus, Alfricus, Sygeferthus, and such others who, though they erred in a few things, yet they are not so greatly to be complained about, compared with the abuses that followed. For as yet, the error of transubstantiation and elevation, with auricular confession, had not crept in for a public doctrine in Christ's church, as may appear by their own Saxon sermon made by Elfric, set out in this present history. During this time, although the bishops of Rome were held in some reverence by the clergy, they had nothing as yet to do in making laws regarding matters of the church of England, but pertained only to the kings and governors of the land, as will be seen in this history.

And thus, although the church of Rome began then to decline from God, yet during all this time it remained in some reasonable order till, at length, the bishops of Rome began to shoot up in the world, through the liberality of good princes, and especially of Matilda, a noble duchess of Italy. At her death she made the pope heir of all her lands, and endowed his see with great revenues. Then riches begat ambition, and ambition destroyed religion, so that all came to ruin. Out of this corruption sprang forth here in England (as it did in other places) another Romish kind of monkery, worse than the other before it, being much more drowned in superstition and ceremonies. This was during the tenth century. Of this swarm

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<sup>24</sup> *Austin: Augustine of Canterbury (c. 5th century to 604).*

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were Egbert, Aigelbert, Egwine, Boniface, Wilfred, Agathon, James, Romain, Cedda, Dunstan, Oswald, Athelwold, Althelwine, duke of Eastangles, Lanfranc, Anselme, and such others.

And yet in this time also, through God's providence, the church did not lack some of better knowledge and judgment, to weigh against the darkness of those days. For although King Edgar, with Edward, his base son, was then a great author and favorer of superstition — being seduced by Dunstan, Oswald, and other monks — and erected as many monasteries as there are Sundays in the year; yet notwithstanding, this did not continue for long. For soon after the death of Edgar came King Ethelred, and Queen Elfthred his mother, with Alferus, duke of Merceland, and other peers and nobles of the realm. They displaced the monks again, and restored the married priests to their old possessions and livings. Moreover, after that also followed the Danes, who overthrew those monkish foundations as fast as King Edgar had set them up before.

And thus stood the condition of the true church of Christ up till then, although not without some opposition and difficulty. It was yet in some mediate state of the truth and verity, till the time of Pope Hildebrand, called Gregory VII (about A.D. 1080), and Pope Innocent III. (A.D. 1215), by whom all was turned upside down. All order was broken, discipline dissolved, true doctrine defaced, and Christian faith extinguished. Instead of these, the preaching of men's decrees, dreams, and idle traditions was set up. And whereas before, truth was free to be disputed among learned men, now liberty was turned into law, and argument into authority. Whatever the bishop of Rome announced, that stood for an oracle to be received of all men, without opposition or contradiction. Whatever was contrary to it was heresy, to be punished with faggot<sup>25</sup> and flaming fire! Then the sincere faith of this English church which had held out so long, began to quail. Then the clear sunshine of God's word was overshadowed with mists and darkness, appearing like sackcloth to the people, who could neither understand what they read, nor were permitted to read what they could understand. In these miserable days, as the true visible church now began to shrink and keep in for fear, so started up a new sort of player to furnish the stage,<sup>26</sup> such as school doctors (scholastics), canonists, and four orders of friars, besides other monastic sects and fraternities of infinite variety. These have ever since kept such an influence in the church, that almost none dared stir, neither Caesar, king, nor subject. What they defined stood; what they approved, was catholic; what they condemned was heresy; whomever they accused, few indeed could save. And thus these continued, or rather *reigned* in the church, the space of now 400 years and odd. During this time, although the true church of Christ did not dare to openly appear in the face of the world, being oppressed by tyranny, yet neither was it so invisible and unknown, that some remnant of it did not always remain, by the providence of the Lord. This not only showed secret good affection for sincere doctrine, but it also stood in open defense of truth against the disordered church of Rome.

In this catalogue, we must first omit Bertram and Berengarius, who were before Pope Innocent III. But a learned multitude of sufficient witnesses might be produced here, whose names are neither obscure, nor doctrine unknown: such as Joachin, abbot of Calabria; Almeric, a learned bishop in the time of Innocent, judged a heretic for opposing images; the martyrs of Alsatia, of whom 100 were burned by Innocent in one day, as Herman Mucius writes. We may likewise add to these the Waldenses, or Albigenses, which to a great number, separated themselves from the church of Rome. To this number also belonged

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<sup>25</sup> *Faggot*: kindling (a bundle of sticks) for a fire.

<sup>26</sup> *Player*: a stage actor, playing a part.

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Reymund, earl of Toulouse, Marsilius Patavius, William de S. Amore, Simon Tornacensis, Arnold de Nova Villa, John Semeca, besides diverse preachers in Swabia <sup>27</sup> who stood against the pope (A.D. 1440); Laurence, of England, a master of Paris (A.D. 1260); Peter John, a minorite (Franciscan monk), who was burned after his death (A.D. 1290); Robert Gallus, a Dominican friar (A.D. 1291); Robert Grossthead (or Grosseteste), bishop of Lincoln, who was called the *Hammer of the Romanists* (A.D. 1250); and Lord Peter de Cugneriis (A.D. 1329).

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To these we may add, moreover, William of Ockham, Bongratus Bergomensis, Leopold, Andrew Laudensis, Ulric Hangenor, treasurer to the emperor; John de Ganduno (A.D. 1330), mentioned in the extravagants, Andreas de Castro, Buridian, Euda, duke of Burgundy, who counselled the French king not to receive the new-found constitutions and extravagants of the pope into his realm, Dante Alligerius, an Italian who wrote against the pope, monks, and friars, and against the donation of Constantine <sup>28</sup> (A.D. 1330). Taulerus, a German preacher; Conrad Hager, imprisoned for preaching against the mass (A.D. 1339); the author of the hook called *Poenitentarius Asini*, compiled about the year 1343; Michael Cesenas, a grey friar; Peter de Corbaria, with John de Poliaco, mentioned in the extravagants, and condemned by the pope; John de Castilione, with Francis de Arcatara, who were burned about the year of our Lord 1322; John Rochtaylada, otherwise called Haybalus, with another friar, martyred about the year 1346; Francis Petrarch, who called Rome "the whore of Babylon," etc. (A.D. 1350); George Ariminensis (A.D. 1350); John de Rupe Scissa, imprisoned for certain prophecies against the pope (A.D. 1340); Gethard Ridder, who also wrote against monks and friars, a book called *Lacrymae Ecclesiae* (A.D. 1350); Godfrid de Fontanis, William de Landuno; John the monk; Richard Armachanus; Nicolas Orem, preacher (A.D. 1364); Militzius, a Bohemian, who then preached that antichrist had come, and was excommunicated for it (A.D. 1366); James Misnensis; Matthew Parisiensis, Bohemian born, and a writer against the pope (A.D. 1370); John Montziger, rector of the university of Ulm (A.D. 1384); Nilus, archbishop of Thessalonica; Henry de Jota; Henry de Hassia, etc. (A.D. 1371).

I am only reciting the principal writers and preachers in those days. How many thousands there were who never bowed their knees to Baal, is known to God alone. Of these, we find in the writings of one Brushius, that thirty-six citizens of Maguntia were burned (A.D. 1390). Following the doctrine of the Waldenses, they affirmed the pope to be the great antichrist. Also Massaeus records 140 who were put to the fire in the province of Narbon, for not receiving the decretals of Rome. These are besides those who suffered at Paris, numbering twenty-four at one time (A.D. 1210); and the year after, 400 were burnt under the name of *heretics*. Also, a certain good hermit, an Englishman, mentioned in John Bacon (Dist. 2. Quaest. 1.), was committed for disputing in Paul's church against certain sacraments of the church of Rome, A.D. 1306.

Now to descend somewhat lower in drawing out the descent of the church. What a multitude there were of faithful witnesses in the time of John Wycliffe (A.D. 1379),<sup>29</sup> such as Ocliff, William Thorp, White, Purvey, Fatshal, Pain, Gower, Chaucer, Gascoin, William

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<sup>27</sup> *Suevia* or *Swabia*: a region in southwestern Germany.

<sup>28</sup> *Donation of Constantine*, the best-known and most important forgery of the Middle Ages (c. 750-760), the document purporting to record the Roman emperor Constantine the Great's bestowal of vast territory and spiritual and temporal power on Pope Sylvester I (r. 314-335) and his successors. (Ency. Brit.)

<sup>29</sup> Wycliffe is variously spelled Wiclif, Wyclif, Wycliff, Wickliff, or Wickliffe. Wycliffe is used throughout.



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Swinderby, Walter Brute, Roger Dexter, William Sautry, about the year 1400. John Badby (A.D. 1410), Nicholas Tailer, Richard Wagstaff, Michael Scrivener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmenar, Roger Goldsmith, with an anchorite named Matilda, in the city of Leicester; Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton knight, John Beverley preacher, John Huss (Jan Hus), Jerome of Prague, a schoolmaster, with a number of faithful Bohemians, and Taborites untold. To these I might also add Laurence Valla, and John Picus, the learned Earl of Mirandula. But why do I stand upon a recital of names, which are almost infinite?

Therefore, if anyone is so deceived as to think that the doctrine of the church of Rome (as it now stands) is of such antiquity, and that it was never opposed before the time of Luther and Zuinglius (Zwingli), let him read these histories. Or if he thinks *this* history is not of sufficient credit to alter his persuasion, let him peruse the acts and statutes of parliament passed in this realm, and in them consider and discern the course of times. In the 5th of Richard II (A.D. 1382),<sup>30</sup> he may read of a great number (who are there called *evil persons*) going about from town to town in frieze gowns,<sup>31</sup> preaching to the people, etc. These preachers, although the words of the statute term them “dissembling persons, preaching diverse sermons containing heresies and notorious errors, to the emblemishment of the Christian faith, and of holy church,” etc., as the words there pretend. Yet notwithstanding, every true Christian reader may conceive of those preachers as teaching no other doctrine than they now hear their own preachers in pulpits, preaching against the bishop of Rome, and the corrupt heresies of his church.

He may also read in the 2nd of Henry IV. chap. 15, (A.D. 1402), of another like company of good preachers and faithful defenders of true doctrine, who stood against blind heresy and error. However, because of the corruption of that time, the words of the statute falsely term them “false and perverse preachers, under dissembled holiness, openly and privately teaching new doctrines and heretical opinions, contrary to the faith and determination of holy church,” etc. Yet notwithstanding, whoever reads histories, and discerns the order and descent of times, will understand these to be no false teachers, but faithful witnesses of the truth. They were not teaching any new doctrines contrary to the determination of “holy church.” Rather, the reader will find the church which they preached against, to be unholy, itself teaching heretical opinions that were contrary both to antiquity and the verity of Christ's *true* catholic church.

In a letter from Henry Chichesly, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Pope Martin the Fifth, in the fifth year of his popedom (A.D. 1422), we find mention of a like number of faithful favorers and followers of God's holy word, of whom he says, “there are many here in England infected with the heresies of Wycliffe and Huss; and without the force of an army, they cannot be suppressed,” etc. Whereupon the pope sent two cardinals to the archbishop, to cause a tithe to be gathered from all spiritual and religious men, and the money to be laid in the apostolic chamber. And if that were not sufficient, the remainder was to be comprised of chalices, candlesticks, and other implements of the church, etc.

Do we then need any more witnesses to prove this matter, when you see, so many years ago, whole armies and multitudes thus standing against the pope? Though they were then termed *heretics* and *schismatics*, yet in what their enemies called *heresy*, they served the living Lord within the ark of His true spiritual and visible church.

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<sup>30</sup> The British number their statutes by monarch; this is the 5th statute instituted by Richard II.

<sup>31</sup> *Frieze*: heavy woolen fabric with a long nap.

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Where then is the frivolous boast of the papists (who make so much of their painted sheath, and would bear us down), that this government of the church of Rome which now exists, has been of such an old standing, time out of mind, even from primitive antiquity; and that there never was any other visible church here on earth for men to follow, besides the only catholic mother-church of Rome? As we sufficiently proved before, by the continual descent of the church till this present time, the church *after* the doctrine which is now "reformed," is no newly-begun matter. Rather, the *old* church, which has continued by the providence and promise of Christ, is still standing. Though in recent years it has been repressed by the tyranny of Roman bishops more than before, yet *notwithstanding*, it was never so oppressed that God did not maintain in it the truth of His gospel, *against* the heresies and errors of the church of Rome. This is to be seen more fully in this history.

Let us now proceed further in deducing this descent of the church to the year 1501, when grievous afflictions and bloody persecutions began to ensue upon Christ's church for his gospel's sake, as described in this history. Herein is to be seen what Christian blood has been spilt, what persecutions raised, what tyranny exercised, what torments devised, what treachery used against the poor flock and church of Christ — in such way that greater has not been seen since Christ's time.

And now we come from that time (A.D. 1501), to the present year (A.D. 1570). In this time, the full seventy years of the Babylonish captivity well draws to an end. Or if we reckon from the beginning of Luther and his persecution, then subtract sixteen years. Now, what the Lord will do with this wicked world, or what rest He will give to his church after these long sorrows, he is our Father in Heaven. His will be done on earth as seems best to his divine Majesty.

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In the meantime, for our parts, let us with all patient obedience await God's time, and glorify his holy Name, and edify one another with all humility. And if there cannot be an end of our disputing and contending against one another, yet let there be moderation in it. And as it is the good will of our God, that Satan should thus be let loose among us for a short time, yet let us in the meanwhile strive as we can to amend the malice of the time with mutual humanity. Those who are in error, let them not disdain to learn; those who have greater talents of knowledge committed to them, let them instruct in simplicity those who are simple. No man lives in that commonwealth where nothing is amiss. Yet, because God has so placed us Englishmen here in one commonwealth, and also in one church, as in one ship together, let us not mangle or divide the ship, being divided perishes. But let every man serve with diligence and discretion in his order in which he is called. Let those who sit at the helm keep well the point of the needle, to know how and where the ship goes. Whatever weather betides us, the needle, if well-touched with the loadstone of God's word, will never fail. Let those who labor at the oars, start for no tempest, but do what they can to keep from the rocks. Likewise, let those who are in inferior stations take heed that they move none to sedition or disturbance against the rowers and mariners. No storm is so dangerous to a ship on the sea, as discord and disorder in a commonwealth. The countries, nations, kingdoms, empires, cities, towns, and houses, that have been dissolved by discord is so manifest in history, that I need not spend time in repeating examples. May the God of peace, who has power over both land and sea, reach out his merciful hand to help those up who sink, to keep them up who stand, to still these winds and surging seas of discord and contention among us, so that we, *professing one Christ*, may in one unity of doctrine gather ourselves into one ark of the true church together. There, continuing steadfast in faith, we may at last

be conducted safely to the joyful port of our desired landing-place, by His heavenly grace! To Him be all power and glory, both in heaven and earth, with his Father and the Holy Spirit forever. Amen.

### THE UTILITY OF THIS HISTORY

The world being filled with such an infinite multitude of all kinds of books, I may seem, perhaps, to take a superfluous and needless matter in hand at this present time, to write such volumes — especially of histories — considering that the world is so greatly pestered, not only with plenty of these, but with all other treatises. Books now seem to lack readers, rather than readers to lack books. I do not doubt that many both perceive, and lament the boldness of many these days, both in writing and printing this multitude of books. To say the truth, for my part I lament this as much as any man. I would therefore have no man think that I have attempted this enterprise unadvisedly or with rashness, but rather as someone who is not only doubtful, but also bashful and fearful for publishing it. For I perceived how learned this age of ours is in reading books. Nor could I tell what the judgment of readers would be, to see so weak a being undertake such a weighty enterprise. For I am not sufficiently furnished with eloquence to do justice to so great a history, nor sufficient to serve either the use of the studious, or the delight of the learned. The more I perceived this ability to be wanting in me, the less bold I felt to become a writer.

But again, on the other hand, when I weighed with myself what memorable acts have occurred in this later age of the church, by the patient sufferings of the worthy martyrs, I thought it not to be neglected, that so many precious monuments worthy of being recorded and registered, should be buried under darkness and oblivion, by my default. I thought something was to be said of them for their well-deserving, and something also for the benefit which we have received by them. But above all things, nothing so urged me forward as the consideration of the common utility which every man may plentifully receive by reading those monuments of martyrology. And as I have taken this history in hand chiefly for the use of the English church, I have written it in that tongue which the simple people could best understand.

Now, if men commonly delight so much in other chronicles which treat only matters of policy, and they take pleasure in reading the variable events of worldly affairs, the stratagems of valiant captains, the terror of battle fields, the sacking of cities, the turmoils of realms and people — and if men think it is such a great thing in a commonwealth to commit to history an account of these things, and to bestow all their wit and eloquence in adorning those — then how much more fitting is it for Christians to preserve in remembrance, the lives, acts, and doings, not of bloody warriors, but of the humble and constant<sup>32</sup> martyrs of Christ? These serve not so much to delight the ear, as to improve the life, to show us examples of great profit, and to encourage men to all kind of Christian godliness.

And first, by reading about these, we may see a lively testimony of God's mighty working in the life of man, contrary to the opinion of the atheists. For as someone said of Harpalus in times past,<sup>33</sup> that his doings gave a lively testimony against God, because being so wicked a man, he had escaped unpunished for so long. So contrariwise, in these martyrs we have a much more assured and plain witness of God, in whose lives and deaths there appeared

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<sup>32</sup> Foxes uses *constant*, *constantly*, and *constancy* to mean *resolutely faithful to Christ, even unto death*.

<sup>33</sup> *Harpalus*: a Macedonian aristocrat and childhood friend of Alexander the Great in the 4th century BC.



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such manifest declarations of God's divine working. While in such sharpness of torments, we behold in them such constant strength above man's reach, such readiness to answer, such patience in imprisonment, such godliness in forgiving, such cheerfulness and courage in suffering, besides the manifold sense and feeling of the Holy Spirit which they so plentifully tasted in their afflictions, that in reading their letters we may evidently understand. Besides this, the humble deaths of the saints not a little avail to establish a good conscience, to teach us the contempt of the world, and to bring us to the fear of God. Moreover, they confirm faith, increase godliness, abate pride in prosperity, and open a hope of heavenly comfort in adversity. For what man reading the misery of these godly persons, may not behold in them, as in a mirror, his own case, whether he is godly or godless? For if God gave adversity to good men, what may not the better sort expect, or the evil fear? Just as by reading of profane histories, we are made perhaps more skillful in warlike affairs, so by reading this, we are made better in our livings. Besides this, we are better prepared for similar conflicts (if by God's permission they happen hereafter), made wiser by their doctrine, and more steadfast by their example.

To be brief, they declare to the world what true Christian fortitude is, and what is the right way to conquer. This does not stand in the power of man, but in the hope of the resurrection to come, and I trust, is now at hand.

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In consideration of this, I think I have good cause to wish that not only subjects, but also kings and princes, who commonly delight in heroic stories, would diligently peruse such monuments of martyrs, and keep them always in sight — not only to read, but to follow; and that they would paint them on their walls, cups, rings, and gates. For doubtless such persons as these are more worthy of honor than a hundred Alexanders, Hectors, Scipios, and warlike Caesars. And though the world judges things preposterously, yet with God, the true Judge, those who kill one another with a weapon are not to be reputed, but rather those who being killed in God's cause, retain an invincible constancy against the threats of tyrants, and the violence of tormentors. Such as these are indeed the true conquerors of the world. We learn true manhood from them, so many as fight under Christ, and not under the world. With this valiantness, that most humble Lamb and invincible Lion of the tribe of Judah, first of all went before us. We hear this prophetic admiration of His unspeakable fortitude, in Isa 63.1: "Who is this, travelling in the greatness of His strength?" Truly, it is the high Son of the high God, once conquered by the world, and yet conquering the world in the same manner that He was "conquered." Rom 8.37

All His martyrs followed in like course, to whom the ancient church attributed so much honor, as never king or emperor could purchase in this world — not with all their images, pillars, triumphs, temples, and all their solemn feasts. In proof of this, we see with what admiration the memory of those good martyrs was received and kept among the ancient Christians. It is thereby manifest in what estimation the martyrs were held in times past — with what gratulation, mirth, and general joy the afflictions of those godly men, dying in Christ's quarrel, were sometimes received and solemnized. And that was not without good and reasonable cause; for the church well considered how much she was beholden to them, by whose death she understood her treasures to increase. Now then, if martyrs are to be compared with martyrs, I see no reason why the martyrs of our time deserve any less commendation than the others in the primitive church. They assuredly are in no point inferior to them, whether we view the number of those who suffered, or the greatness of their torments, or their constancy in dying, or consider the fruit that they brought to the

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improvement of posterity, and the increase of the gospel. The primitive martyrs watered with their blood, the truth that was newly springing up; so these later martyrs by their deaths restored it again, that truth being so decayed and fallen down. *They*, standing in the vanguard of the fray, received the first encounter and violence of their enemies, and taught us by that means to overcome such tyranny; *these* with like courage again, like old beaten soldiers, won the field in the rear of the battle. Like famous husbandmen of the world, they sowed the fields of the church that at first lay unfertilized and wasted; *these* with the richness of their blood caused it to grow and fructify. Would to God the fruit might speedily be gathered into the barn, which now only remains to come!

Now, if we ascribe reputation to godly preachers (and worthily so) who diligently *preach* the gospel of Christ, notwithstanding that they live, by the benefit of time, without any fear of persecution, then how much more cause do we have to praise and extol those men who stoutly spend their lives for its *defense*? All these premises being duly considered, and seeing that we have found such famous martyrs in this age of ours, let us not fail to publish and set forth their doings, lest in that point we seem more unkind to them than the writers of the primitive church were to theirs. And though we do not repute those primitive ashes, chains, and swords to be relics, yet let us yield this much to their commemoration: to glorify the Lord in his saints, and to imitate their deaths (as much as we may) with like constancy, or their lives at least with like innocency. They offered their bodies willingly to the rough handling of their tormentors. And is it so great a matter, then, for us to mortify our flesh, with all its members? <sup>Col 3.5</sup> They neglected not only the riches and glory of the world for the love of Christ, but also their lives. And shall we then make so great a stir against one another for the transitory trifles of this world? They continued in patient suffering when they had the greatest wrongs done to them, and when their very heart's blood gushed out of their bodies. And yet, will we not forgive our poor brother, however small the injury, but instead be ready to seek his destruction for every trifling offense? Wishing well to all men, they forgave their persecutors of their own accord. And therefore, we who are now the posterity and children of the martyrs, should not degenerate from their steps. But being admonished by their examples, even if we cannot express their charity toward all men, we can at least imitate it to the extent of our power and strength. Let us give no cause for offense; <sup>2Cor 6.3</sup> and if any offense is given to us, let us overcome it with patience — forgiving and not revenging it. And let us not only keep our hands from shedding blood, but also our tongues from hurting the fame of others. Besides this, if the case so requires it, by martyrdom or loss of life, and according to their example, let us not hesitate to yield our life in the defense of the Lord's flock. If men would do this, there would be much less contention in the world than there now is.

And thus much regarding the utility of this History.

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## PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

### *The difference between the Church of Rome that now is, and the ancient Church of Rome that then was.*

Christ our Savior, in the gospel of Matthew, 16.18, hearing the confession of Simon Peter who acknowledged him to be the Son of God, and perceiving the secret hand of His Father in it, answered Peter. Alluding to his name, Christ called him a *rock*, upon which he would build his church so strong that the gates of hell would not prevail against it, etc. In these words, three things are to be noted. *First*, that Christ will have a church in this world. *Secondly*, that the church would be mightily opposed, not only by the world, but also by the utmost strength and powers of hell. And, *thirdly*, that this church would continue, notwithstanding the devil and all his malice.

We see this prophecy of Christ wonderfully verified, in that the whole course of the church to this day may seem nothing but a verification of it. *First*, that Christ set up a church, needs no declaration. *Secondly*, that princes, kings, monarchs, governors, and rulers of this world, along with their subjects, both publicly and privately, with all their strength and cunning, have bent themselves against this church. And *Thirdly*, how the church, notwithstanding all this, has yet endured and held its own. It is wondrous to behold what storms and tempests it has withstood. I have written this history to more evidently declare this, intending by the favorable aid of Christ our Lord, not so much to delight the ears, as to profit the hearts of the godly in perusing antiquities of ancient times. This is done to the end that the wonderful works of God, in this church, might appear to His glory. Also, that the continuance and proceedings of the church from time to time, being set forth in these *Acts and Monuments*, may redound to the profit of the reader, and the edification of Christian faith.

To better accomplish this, I have thought it good to run over the whole state and course of the church in general, beginning from the time of the primitive church, and continuing to these latter years, dividing the whole of this history into five periods.

*First*, I will treat the SUFFERING time of the church, which continued from the apostles' age, for about 300 years.

*Secondly*, the FLOURISHING time of the church, which lasted another 300 years.

*Thirdly*, the DECLINING time of the church, which comprehends another 300 years. During this time, the church was much altered in ambition and pride, from the simple sincerity of the primitive time. Yet in its outward profession of doctrine and religion, it was somewhat tolerable, and had some face of a church. Notwithstanding this, some corruption of doctrine, with some superstition and hypocrisy, had even then crept in. Yet in comparison with what followed, it might seem, as I have said, somewhat sufferable.

*Fourthly*, followed the time of ANTICHRIST, and the desolation of the church, containing a space of 400 years. In this time, both doctrine and sincerity of life were almost extinguished, namely, in the chief heads and rulers of this western church, through the means of the Roman bishops. Especially during 400 years, counting from Gregory VII, called *Hildebrand* (p. 1073), Innocent III (p. 1198) and the friars which crept in with him, <sup>34</sup> till the time of John Wycliffe (d. 1384) and John Huss (d. 1415).

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<sup>34</sup> *Friars*: members of a mendicant Christian order such as the Carmelites (white friars), Franciscans (grey friars) or the Dominicans (black friars).

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*Fifthly*, after this time of antichrist reigning by violence and tyranny, follows the REFORMATION and PURGING of the church of God, in which antichrist begins to be revealed, and to show his colors, and his doctrine to be detected; the number of the Antichrist's church is decreasing, and the number of the true church is increasing. This time has continued up to now, about the space of 280 years. How long it will continue, only the Lord and Governor of all times knows.

I suppose that the whole course of the church may be comprised in these five periods. This church being universal and dispersed through all countries, I will not be bound to any one nation more than another. Yet notwithstanding, I have purposed to tarry principally upon those historical acts and records which most pertain to England and Scotland.

The church of Rome, in all these ages, has claimed for itself the supreme title, and the ringleading of the whole universal church on earth. Thus, in writing of the church of Christ, I cannot help but partly intermeddle with the acts and proceedings of the church of Rome also;. For so much of the doings and orderings of all other churches, here in England as well as in other nations, have for this long time chiefly depended upon Rome. Therefore, as it is needful and requisite to have the doings and orderings of that church made manifest to all Christian congregations, I have framed this history according to that purpose.

I will first briefly declare in a general description, the misguiding of that church, comparing the former primitive state of the church of Rome with these latter times. This being done, I will then, in a more special way, prosecute more at large all the particulars of it, so far as it seems profitable for the public instruction of all other Christian churches. In the church of Rome, four things seem to me to be chiefly considered: TITLE, JURISDICTION, LIFE, and DOCTRINE.

*First*, I must declare concerning the TITLE or primacy of the church, how it first began, and on what occasion.

*Secondly*, concerning its JURISDICTION and authority: what it was, and how far it extended.

*Thirdly*, regarding the disorder of LIFE and conversation, how inordinate it is. And,

*Fourthly*, the form of DOCTRINE, how superstitious and idolatrous it has been of late.

Of these four, the *first* was prejudicial to all bishops; the *second* was derogatory to kings and emperors; the *third* was detestable to all men; and the *fourth* was injurious to Christ.

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For the *First*, the TITLE and style of that church was such that it went beyond all other churches, being called

“the Holy Universal Mother Church, which could not err; and its bishop, Holy Father the Pope, Bishop Universal, Prime of Priests, Supreme head of the Universal Church, and Vicar of Christ here on earth, who must not be judged — having all knowledge of Scripture, and all laws contained within the chest of his breast.”

*Secondly*, the JURISDICTION of that bishop was such, that claiming for himself *both* the swords — that is, both the keys of the Scripture and the scepter of the laity — he not only subdued all bishops under him, but also advanced himself above kings and emperors. This caused some of them to lie under his feet, some to hold his stirrup, kings to lead his horse by the bridle, some to kiss his feet — placing and displacing emperors, kings, dukes, and earls, whom and when he chose — taking it upon himself to transfer the empire at his pleasure, from Greece to France, from France to Germany — preferring and deposing whomever he

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pleased, and confirming those who were elected. Also, being emperor himself when the throne was vacant, pretending authority or power to invest bishops, to give benefices, to spoil churches, to give authority to bind and loose, to call general councils, to judge over them, to set up religions, to canonize saints, to take appeals, to bind consciences, to make laws, to dispense with the law and the word of God, to deliver from purgatory, to command angels, etc.

*Thirdly*, what was the LIFE and conversation (public conduct) of the court of Rome, will be seen in this history.

*Fourthly*, his DOCTRINE was in like manner tedious to students, pernicious to men's consciences, injurious to Christ Jesus, and contrary to itself. In laws it was more diverse, in volume more enlarged, in diligence and study more applied to, in vantage and preferment more gainful than the study and learning of the holy Scripture of God ever was.

These four points being well-considered in this history, I trust it may minister to the Christian reader, sufficient instruction to judge what is to be thought of this church of Rome.

Here it is to be noted that all these deformities of vain title, of pretended jurisdiction, of heretical doctrine, of schismatic life, did not come into the church of Rome all at one time. Nor did it spring up with the beginning of the church, but with long working, and little by little. And it did not come to full perfection till the time partly of Pope Boniface III, partly of Pope Gregory VII, partly of Pope Innocent III, and finally of Pope Boniface VIII. Of these four popes, the first, Boniface, brought in the TITLE (A.D. 607), which was never in such an ample way before it was publicly enacted, and received publicly in the church of Rome. The second, Gregory, brought in JURISDICTION (A.D. 1073). The third, which was Pope Innocent (A.D. 1198), with his rabble of monks and friars, and those other bishops who succeeded him, corrupted and obscured the sincerity of Christ's DOCTRINE and MANNERS (LIFE). And lastly, Pope Boniface VIII (A.D. 1294); and after him Pope Clement V. (A.D. 1305), besides the jurisdiction advanced before by Pope Hildebrand, added moreover the *temporal sword* to be carried before them, so that the succession of no emperor would be sufficient and lawful without the pope's admission, By this, the pope's power was brought to his full pride and perfection in the fourteenth century. And thus arose the corruption of the Romish church in continuance of years, by degrees, and not altogether nor at one time.

Therefore, whoever has to deal with any adversaries about the antiquity or authority of the church of Rome, let him well consider when and how the title, jurisdiction, and corruption of doctrine first began in the pope's see. And so he will see that the church of Rome, as it is now governed, never descended from the primitive age of the apostles. Just as the picture of the holy virgin is not the holy virgin, and just as a man painted on the wall is not a man; so it is to be said of the church of Rome (I mean the institution and doctrine of the church of Rome), that although it has the *name* of the apostolical church, and although it brings out a long genealogy of outward succession from the apostles — as the Pharisees in Christ's time brought out their descent from Abraham their father <sup>Joh 8.38-44</sup> — yet all this is in name only, and not in effect or matter. For the *definition* of the apostolical church does not now agree with this present church of Rome, nor with the manner, form, and institution of the Romish church as it now stands, if it ever had any succession from the primitive church. But just as Christ said of the Pharisees, that they were not the children of Abraham, but of the devil, so it may be answered that this church of Rome now present, with this title, jurisdiction, and doctrine now used, cannot be fathered upon the apostles, nor Peter, nor pope Linus, but on another author, whom I will not name here.

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And here comes the argument of Pighius, Hosius, and Eccius.<sup>35</sup> In arguing for the antiquity and authority of the church of Rome, they reason in this manner:

“That just as an ordinary and known visible church must be known continually on earth, from the time of the apostles, to which all other churches must have recourse; and seeing; that there is no other church visible known to have endured from the apostles’ time, except the church of Rome; they conclude that the church of Rome is therefore that church to which all other churches must have recourse,” etc.

To which I answer, that although the name of the church and the outward succession of bishops have continued from the time of the apostles, yet the definition and matter which makes a true apostolical church, is not now in the church of Rome. Nor yet was the form and institution of the church that is now used in Rome, ever from the apostles. They were never the authors or fathers of this title, jurisdiction, and doctrine now taught in Rome, but rather were ever enemies to the same.

Again, although the necessity of the church enduring from the apostles, may and must be granted, yet the same necessity was not bound to any certain place or person, but only to *faith*. So that wherever and in whatever church true faith was found, <sup>Gal 2.16</sup> *there* was the church of Christ. And because the true faith of Christ must ever remain on earth, the church also must remain on earth. And God forbid that the true faith of Christ should only remain in one city in the world, and not in another as well. And therefore, just as this true and sincere faith of Christ is not given to remain fixedly in one place or city alone, so neither is there any one church in the world so ordained and appointed by God, that all other churches should have their recourse to it, for determination of their causes and controversies.

Now, as to the authorities of the fathers in commendation of the church of Rome, whoever rightly understands their authorities, must learn to make a distinction between the church of Rome, as it *was* and as it *is*. The church of Rome is not the same church now which it was then; and nothing now agrees to what it was then, except in outward name and place. I therefore answer by this distinction, the description of Irenaeus,<sup>36</sup> Cyprian, etc. commending the church of Rome as “catholic and apostolical,” and say that they speak of the church of Rome *as it then was*. Calling it catholic and apostolical was not untrue, for that same church took its ordinary succession of bishops, joined with the ordinary doctrine and institution, from the apostles. But speaking of the church of Rome *as it now is*, we say that this description by the fathers is not true; but then, neither does it pertain to the same church. For they neither knew the church of Rome as it now is, nor if they had, would they ever have judged anything in it worthy of such commendation.

Our adversaries objecting against us still more, and laboring for the antiquity of the Romish church, for lack of other reasons, are driven to scanning the times and years. “What? (they ask) Where was this church of yours fifty years ago?” In answer, we demand to know what they mean by this *church of ours*? If they mean the ordinance and institution of doctrine and sacraments now received by us, we affirm that our church was in existence when this *church of theirs* was not yet hatched out of the shell, nor had yet seen the light.

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<sup>35</sup> Albert Pighius (1490- 1542); Stanislaus Hosius (1504-1579); and John von Eck (1486-1543). These were leaders in the Catholic Counter-Reformation, and well-known in Foxe’s day.

<sup>36</sup> The Latin spelling is Irenæus (c. 130-200), often pronounced Eyerenay’us, instead of the English Eyereen’eeus.

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That is, in the time of the apostles, in the primitive age, in the time of Gregory I. and the old Roman church, when as yet no universal pope was publicly accepted, but was repelled in Rome. Nor was this fulness of plenary power yet known, nor this doctrine and abuse of sacraments yet heard of. In witness of this, we have the old acts and histories of ancient time to give testimony with us. In these we have sufficient matter for us to declare the same form, usage, and institution of this “our church,” as now reformed, is not the beginning of any new church of our own, but the renewing of the old ancient church of Christ.

And our adversaries charge us with the faith of our fathers and godfathers, in which we were baptized. They accuse us of revolting from them and their faith in which we were first christened. We answer that we, being first baptized by our fathers and godfathers in water, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit — the same faith in which we were christened then, we *retain*. And because our godfathers were themselves also in the same faith, they cannot therefore say that we have forsaken the faith of our godfathers. As for other points of ecclesiastical uses and circumstances considered, besides the principal substance of faith and baptism, if they held anything which receded from the doctrine and rule of Christ, we now remove ourselves from that. This is not because we would differ from them, but because we would not, with them, remove ourselves from the rule of Christ’s doctrine. Nor does our baptism bind us in all points to the opinions of those who baptized us, but to the faith of Him in whose name we were baptized. For, it is as if a man were christened by a heretic; the baptism, notwithstanding, would be good, even if the baptizer was nothing.<sup>37</sup> So too, if our godfathers or fathers who christened us were taught anything that is not consonant with Christian doctrine in all points, neither is our baptism any the worse for that; nor are we bound to follow them in all things in which they themselves did not follow the true church of Christ.

Therefore, just as it is false that we have renounced the faith of our godfathers in which we were baptized, so is it not true that we are removed from the church of Rome. But rather I say, and I will prove, that the church of Rome has utterly departed from the church of Rome, according to my former distinction. To more evidently declare this, I will here compare the church of Rome with the church of Rome; and in a general description, I will set forth the difference of both churches; that is, of both periods of the church of Rome. The intent is that it may be seen whether we or they have most apostatized from the church of Rome. And here, I divide the church of Rome into two distinct periods of time. The first of those is the first 600 years immediately after Christ. The second is the other 600 years, which include our own later days. And so, in comparing these two together, I will search out what difference is between them. Of these two ages and states of the Roman church, I call the first the *primitive* church of Rome; the other I call the *later* church of Rome.

### ***The Corrupting of Church Order and Life***

To begin with the order and qualities of life, I ask, where was this church of theirs in the time of the primitive church of Rome — with this pomp and pride, with these riches and this superfluity (excesses); with this worldly splendor and the name *cardinals*; with this prancing dissoluteness; with this extortion, bribing, buying and selling of spiritual dignities,

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<sup>37</sup> Most reformed churches today will not accept the baptism of Mormons, Jehovah’s Witnesses, etc., because the vows made at their baptism did not profess faith alone, in Christ alone for their salvation,. But if a believer’s vows were indeed true to the Christian Faith, then it doesn’t matter if the person administering the baptism was saved or not, sinful or not. Christians are saved by their own faith, not by the faith of their baptizer.



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these annates, <sup>38</sup> reformations, procurations, exactions, and other practices for money; with this insatiable avarice, and intolerable ambition; with this most detestable fleshly filthiness, barbarousness and negligence in preaching; with this promise-breaking faithlessness, poisoning and supplanting of one another; with such schisms and divisions in the elections and courts of Rome, *for these past 700 years* — with such extreme cruelty, malice, and tyranny, in burning and persecuting their poor brethren to death?

It would take too long to dwell particularly on these things. And if a man were to detail all the schisms in the church of Rome (numbering eighteen), what a volume it would require! Or if it were recorded here, all that this see has burned and put to death, who would be able to number them? Or if all their schemes to get money were to be described, who would be able to recite them all? Of these, the principal ones are reckoned to be at least fourteen or fifteen schemes:

1. For annates or vacancies of arch-bishoprics, bishoprics, abbasies, conventual priories, and other elective benefices.
2. For holding all spiritual livings whatever (benefices).
3. New annates for the same office over again, as often as any one of all his spiritual livings are, or are feigned to be, come by in a disorderly way; hereby it has chanced, at various times, that three or four annates are to be paid for one benefice.
4. For giving benefices before they end, and many times giving them to several persons for money's sake.
5. For resignations, which in many cases the pope claims are reserved to himself.
6. For commendams. <sup>39</sup>
7. For compounding with those who are not under their charge.
8. For dispensations, so as to dispense with requirements of age, order, or incompatible benefices; also for irregularity, for adultery, for times of marriage, for marrying in forbidden degrees [e.g., first cousins], or for gossips to marry — in France at one time, 1000 crowns were paid to Rome for this; for dispensing with this canonical affinity of gossips; also dispensations for eating meats at prohibited times.
9. For innumerable privileges, exemptions, graces; for not visiting [shut-ins], or visiting by a proctor; for confirmations of privileges; for transactions made upon favor of the pope; for exchanges of benefices, or for making pensions, with similar things.
10. For mandates granted by the pope to ordinaries,<sup>40</sup> of which every ordinary, if he often has the collation or presentation, <sup>41</sup> may receive one mandate; if he has fifty, two mandates; and for every mandate about twenty ducats [\$520] comes to the pope. And yet as many are sold, as there are buyers to pay for them.
11. For the pope's penitentiary [doing penance]; for absolution of cases reserved to the pope; for the breaking of vows; for transfer from one monastery to another, or one order to another;

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<sup>38</sup> *Annate*: The first year's profits of a Catholic benefice (endowed office), traditionally paid directly to the Pope.

<sup>39</sup> *Commendam*: a vacant benefice commended to a cleric until an incumbent is provided.

<sup>40</sup> *Ordinary*: a church officer who has power to execute the church's laws. This includes diocesan bishops. They have the authority to make, enforce, and judge laws within their jurisdiction.

<sup>41</sup> *Collation*: the presentation of a clergyman to a benefice by a bishop.



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for the license to enter into certain monasteries, to carry around altars, with many other things of similar devising.

12. For giving and granting pardons and indulgences, to be read not only in public temples, but also to be bought in private houses.

13. For making notaries, prothonotaries [registrars], and other offices of the court of Rome.

14. For bulls and commissioning new foundations, or for changing the old; for reducing regular monasteries to a secular state, or for restoring them again to the old; and for other writs about matters in controversy, that ought to be decided by the ordinary.

15. For giving the pall to archbishops.<sup>42</sup>

Because of all these devices (besides the annates) it has been accounted from the king's records in France, that in the time of Louis IX (c. 1250), the sum of 200,000 crowns were paid out of France and transported to Rome. Since that time, this sum has been doubled and trebled, besides annates and palls, which altogether, in recent years, has been reckoned to total a yearly sum of 100,000 crowns going out of France into the pope's coffers. Now, as to what has been drawn from other kingdoms and nations besides, let others conjecture.

Therefore, if the gospel sends us to the fruit in order to know the tree, then what is to be thought of the church of Rome with these fruits of life? Or if we seek the church in length and number of years, then where was *this* church of Rome, with *these* qualities, when the church of Rome was a persecuted and not a persecuting church? And when its bishops did not make martyrs, as they now do, but were made martyrs themselves, one after another, numbering twenty-five? <sup>43</sup> Or when its bishops were elected, not by conspiring factions, not by money or making friends, as they are now, but by the free voices of the people and of the clergy, with the consent of the emperor, and not by a few conspiring cardinals closed up in a corner, as they are now.

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And yet if there were no other difference in the matter, but only in the corruption of life, we would impute all that to the common frailty of man, and charge them no further than we might charge ourselves.

Now, over and above this deformity of life, we have to charge them in greater points that more nearly touch the substantial ground of the church, such as,

- (1) in their JURISDICTION presumptuously usurped;
- (2) in their TITLE falsely grounded;
- (3) in their DOCTRINE heretically corrupted.

*In all three points*, this later church of Rome has utterly separated itself from the nature of the ancient church of Rome.

### **1. Jurisdiction Presumptuously Usurped.**

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<sup>42</sup> *Pall*: a piece of stiffened linen used to cover the chalice at the Eucharist, or the cloth used to cover a coffin. It refers figuratively to investing a new archbishop after the death of his predecessor. He goes to the pope to "receive the pall," which is his authorized vestment.

<sup>43</sup> It is unclear where Foxe got this number; perhaps the 11 apostles (Matthias, not John), Paul, James, Barnabas, Linus, Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Antipas, Polycarp, Ptolomaeus, Lucius, Justin Martyr, Cyprian, Pothinus, and Irenaeus.

## The Difference between the Church of Rome Now, and Then

And they have erected for themselves a new church of their own making, usurping a jurisdiction never before known to their ancient predecessors. For although the church of Rome in the primitive time had its due authority among other patriarchal churches, and over such churches as were within its boundary, yet the plenitude of power, both spiritual and temporal — in deposing and dispensing of matters not belonging to the pope; in taking appeals; in giving elections; investing in benefices; in exempting himself from obedience and subjection to his ordinary (secular) magistrate — such things were never accepted in the old Roman church.

For although Victor, bishop of Rome (A.D. 200), went to excommunicate the Eastern churches for observing Easter day, he neither proceeded in this, nor was he permitted by Irenaeus to do so. Boniface I, writing to the bishops of Carthage, required them to send their appeals to Rome, alleging the decree of the Nicene council for his authority. However, the bishops and clergy of Carthage assembling in a general council (called the sixth Council of Carthage) — numbering 217 bishops — after they had perused the decrees of the Nicene council, found no such matter as Boniface alleged. They made a decree that no one in that country should make any appeal to that see in Rome, etc. What wonder, if appeals were forbidden to be made to Rome back then, that here in England the kings would not permit any to appeal to Rome, before the time of Henry II? Also in France, like prohibitions were expressly made by Louis IX (A.D. 1268), which forbade by a public instrument, all exactions of the pope's court within that realm. Also King Philip of Spain (A.D. 1296) not only restrained all sending of his subjects to Rome, but also that no money, armor, or subsidy should be transported out of his kingdom. Also King Charles V, and his son Charles VI, punished certain persons as traitors for appealing to Rome. The same resistance was also made in France against the pope's reservations, preventions, and other like practices in the days of Pope Martin V; also when King Henry VI in England, and King Charles VII in France, both agreed with the pope, in investing and in the collation of benefices. Yet notwithstanding, the high court of parliament in France did not allow it, but still maintained the old liberty and customs of the French church. This went so far that when the duke of Bedford came with the king's Letters patent <sup>44</sup> to have the pope's procurations and reservations admitted, the court of parliament would not agree to it (A.D. 1425). In the days of King Charles VII., *The Pragmatic sanction*, as they call it, was set forth in France, against the annates, reservations, expectatives, and other proceedings of the popes (A.D. 1458). What wonder, then, if this jurisdiction of the pope's court, in excommunicating, taking appeals, and giving benefices, was *not* used in the old church of Rome, when in these latter days it has been so much resisted?

And what should I say about the form of elections now used in the church of Rome, being quite changed from the manner of the old church of their predecessors? For in those ancient days, when the church remained in the hands of the apostles and a few other disciples, the apostles then, with prayer and imposition of hands, elected bishops and ministers — just as the apostle James was made bishop of Jerusalem, Paul elected Titus to Crete and Timothy to Ephesus; also, Peter ordained Linus and Clement in Rome, etc. After the time of the apostles, when the church began to multiply, the election of bishops and ministers remained in the clergy and the people, with the consent of the chief magistrate. And so it continued during all the time of the primitive church, till the time of Constantine, who (as Platina and Sabellicus write) published a law concerning the election of the Roman bishop — that he should be taken as a true bishop, whom the clergy and people of Rome chose and elected

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<sup>44</sup> Letters patent: (law) an official document granting a right or privilege.

## The Difference between the Church of Rome Now, and Then

without waiting for any authority of the emperor of Constantinople or the deputy of Italy, which had ever been the custom before that day. And here the bishops first began to extricate their elections and their necks a little from the emperor's subjection. But there are many reasons to think this constitution of Constantine was rather forged and untrue. For it is taken out of the pope's library (a suspected place), and collected by the keeper of the pope's library (a suspected author), who carefully compiled whatever feigned or apocryphal writings he could find in the pope's chest of records, favoring anything on his master's side.

And as in elections, so also in judiciary power, in deciding causes of faith and of discipline, the state of the church of Rome now has no conformity with the old Roman church. For then bishops debated all causes of faith only by the Scriptures. And other questions of discipline, they determined by the canons, not of the pope, but of those which were decreed by the ancient councils of the church. Whereas now, both the rule of Scripture and sanctions of the old councils are set aside, and all things are decided for the most part by certain new and extravagant constitutions, compiled in the pope's canon law, and practiced in his courts.

The old ordinance of the common law, as well as of the sacred councils and institution of ancient fathers, gave the authority to bishops and other prelates; also to patrons and doctors of ecclesiastical benefices, each within his own precinct and dominion; also to cathedral churches and others — to have their free elections, disposing all ecclesiastical benefices whatever, according to their own wills. This appears by the first general Council of France, by the first general Council of Nice (cap. 6.), and by the general Council of Antioch (cap. 9). And besides these ancient decrees, it likewise appears in more recent years, by Louis IX of France, in his constitution — made and provided by full parliament, *against* the pope's exactions (A.D. 1228), evidenced in these words:

“All exactions and oppressive burdens of money, which the court of Rome has laid upon the church of our kingdom (by which our kingdom has been, up to now, miserably impoverished), or hereafter shall impose or lay upon us, we utterly discharge and forbid to be levied or collected hereafter for any manner of cause, unless some reasonable, godly, and most urgent and inevitable necessity comes; and that also is not to be done without the express and voluntary commandment of us, and of the church of the same foresaid kingdom,” etc.

Now, contrary to these express decrees of general councils and constitutions, those in this later church of Rome, degenerating from all the steps of their elders, has taken it upon themselves, for their own advantage, to intermeddle in disposing churches, colleges, monasteries — with the collations, exemptions, election, goods and lands belonging to them — because of which have come these impropriations,<sup>45</sup> first-fruits, and reservations of benefices, to the miserable despoiling of parishes and the great decay of Christian faith. These things were never known among the old Roman elders.

Likewise, advowsons<sup>46</sup> and pluralities of benefices were things as much unknown then, as they are now pernicious to the church, taking away from the flock of Christ all free election of ministers.

All these inconveniences, just as they first came and crept in by the pretended authority abused in this later church of Rome, so it cannot be denied that the later church of Rome has taken and attributed to itself much more than either the limits of God's word give, or

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<sup>45</sup> *Impropriation*: A benefice, tithe etc. that has been put in lay hands.

<sup>46</sup> *Advowson*: the right of presenting a nominee to a vacant ecclesiastical benefice.

## The Difference between the Church of Rome Now, and Then

can stand with the example of the old Roman church — specifically in the three things I mentioned before. So I will briefly recapitulate them.

The *first* is this: that whatever the Scripture gives and refers either to the whole church universally, or to every particular church severally, this church of Rome arrogates to itself absolutely and only. This both injures other churches, and abuses the Scriptures of God.

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For although the Scripture gives authority to bind and loose, it does not limit it either to person or place — that is, neither to the city of Rome more than to other cities, nor to the see of Peter more than to other apostles. But Scripture clearly gives it to the *church*. So that, wherever the true church of Christ is found, power is annexed to bind and loose, given and taken merely as it comes from Christ, and not mediately by the pope.

The *second* point in which this present church of Rome abuses jurisdiction, contrary to the Scripture and steps of the old Roman church, is this: it extends her authority further and more amply than either the warrant of the word, or example of time will give. For although the church of Rome has (as other particular churches have) authority to bind and absolve, yet it has no such authority to absolve subjects from their oath, subjection, and loyalty to their rulers and magistrates, to dispense with perjury, to denounce remission where no earnest repentance is seen before, to number remission by days and years, to dispense with things expressly forbidden in the word, or to restrain that which the word makes free, to burden consciences with the constitutions of men, to excommunicate for worldly matters —

such as for breaking parks, <sup>47</sup> for not ringing bells at the bishop's coming, for not bringing litter for their horse, for not paying their fees and rents, for withholding the church goods, for taking their prince's side in princely cases, for not going at the pope's commandment, for not agreeing to the pope's election in another prince's kingdom, along with other such things, more and more vain than these, etc.

Again, although the Scripture gives leave and authority to the bishop and church of Rome to *minister* sacraments: yet it gives no authority to *make* sacraments, much less to *worship* sacraments. And though their authority serves to baptize men, it does not extend to christen *bells*. <sup>48</sup> Nor do they have authority by the word of God to add to the word of God, or to take from it — to set up unwritten tenets under pain of damnation, to make other articles of belief, to institute strange worship, other than God has prescribed, who has told us how he would be worshipped, etc.

The *third* abuse of the pope's jurisdiction stands in this: that just as they have vehemently exceeded the bounds of Scripture in *spiritual* jurisdiction, so they have impudently intermeddled themselves in *temporal* jurisdiction, in which they had nothing to do. It has gone so far, that they have transferred their empire. They have deposed emperors, kings, princes, rulers, and senators of Rome, and set up others, or done the same again at their pleasure. They have proclaimed wars, and they have warred themselves. And whereas emperors in ancient times dignified popes with titles, enlarged them with donations, and given them confirmation, they have afterwards, like ungrateful clients to such benefactors, stamped on their necks, made them to hold their stirrups, some to hold the bridle of their horse, and caused them to seek their own confirmation at the popes' hand. Moreover, they

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<sup>47</sup> *Breaking parks*: "park" was a kind of fishing net, and might refer to damaging one. Or, perhaps using a public park for private purposes, by opening a gap in its fencing (paling) to hunt, fish, farm, etc., thus "going beyond the pale."

<sup>48</sup> The blessing of bells was said to imbue the bells with spiritual power, so that when rung, they would protect the faithful from evil spirits and natural calamities such as storms.

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have extorted into their own hands the power and jurisdiction of *both* swords (spiritual and temporal power), especially since the time of Pope Gregory VII, surnamed *Hildebrand*. This Hildebrand, deposing emperor Henry IV, made him attend at the city gate. And after him, Pope Boniface VIII showed himself to the people, on the first day like a bishop, with his keys before him; and the next day he showed himself in his imperial robes, having a naked sword carried before him, like an emperor (A.D. 1298). This inordinate jurisdiction has not only been used by them in the past, but it is still maintained at Rome to this day. Let us therefore now compare her to the old manner in times past, meaning the primitive age of the church of the Romans. In that age, the old bishops of Rome, just as *they* were then subject to their emperor, so were other bishops of other nations in like manner subject every one to his own king and prince. They acknowledged them as their lords, were ordered by their authority, and obeyed their laws — and that was not only in civil causes, but also ecclesiastical.

Thus Gregory I (the Great), was subject to Maurice, and to Phocas (even though he was a wicked emperor). So, also, both the pope and people of Rome took their laws from the emperors and submitted to them, not only in the time of Honorius, 100 years after Constantine the Great, but also in the time of Marcian (A.D. 451), and up to the time of Justinian I (A.D. 527) and of Charlemagne (A.D. 768). In all this period, the imperial law ruled and bound in Rome, both in the days of Justinian, and 150 years after. Thereby it may appear false that the city of Rome was given by Constantine to the bishop of Rome. For Pope Boniface I, writing to the emperor Honorius, calls Rome the emperor's city; and the emperor Lothaire appointed magistrates and laws in Rome.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, the bishop of Rome and all other ecclesiastical persons were in former times (and ought to be) subject to their emperors and lawful magistrates, in spiritual causes as well as civil. This may appear by many evidences taken out both of God's law, and man's law.

And first, by God's law, we have the example of godly King David, who numbered all the priests and Levites, and disposed them into twenty-four orders or courses, appointing them continually to serve in the ministry, every one in his proper order and turn. Good King Hezekiah afterwards renewed this institution of the clergy. It is written of him: "He did what was right in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his father David did. He removed the high places, and broke the images," etc., 2Kng 18.3-4. Hezekiah also reduced the priests and Levites into their orders as prescribed by David, each one according to his service, 2Chr 31.2. And this order from David still continued till the time of Zacharias, at the coming of Christ. He was of the course of Abia, which was the eighth order of the priests appointed to serve in the tabernacle, Luk 1.5. Passing over other lighter offices, such as those concerning the ordering of oblations in the temple, and the repairing of the house of the Lord, we find Solomon displacing Abiathar the high priest by his kingly power, and placing Zadok in his stead, 1Kng 2.27,35. Also, Solomon dedicated the temple of the Lord with all the people, and blessed all the congregation of Israel, 1Kng 8.55. Judas Maccabeus also elected priests, those who were without spot. He had a zeal for the law of the Lord, to purge the temple, which the idolatrous Gentiles had profaned, 1Mac 4.42. Also, King Alexander, writing to Jonathan, appointed him chief priest, 1Mac 10.18-20. Demetrius ordained Simon and Alcimus in the like office of priesthood, 1Mac 7.9; 15.1. Jehoshaphat likewise, set judges throughout the land. So also in Jerusalem he appointed Levites and priests, and the chief of the fathers of Israel, to hear causes and to minister judgment over the people, 2Chr 19.8.

By these and many other passages, it is to be seen that kings and princes in the old time had the dealing in ecclesiastical matters, such as calling the people to God's service, cutting

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<sup>49</sup> Lothair I (795-855) - Carolingian emperor, and king of Italy and Middle Francia.



## The Difference between the Church of Rome Now, and Then

down groves, destroying images, gathering tithes into the house of the Lord, dedicating the temple, blessing the people, casting down the bronze serpent, correcting and deposing priests, constituting the order and offices of priests, commanding things which pertained to the service and worship of God, and punishing the contrary, etc. And in the New Testament, what does the example of Christ himself mean, both giving and teaching that tribute is to be given to Caesar? to *Caesar*, I say, and not to the high priest. <sup>Luk 20.22-25</sup> What do his words to Pilate mean, not denying that power was given to Pilate from above? <sup>Joh 19.11</sup>

And again, he declared that the kings of nations have dominion over them, and commanded his disciples not to have such dominion. <sup>Mat 20.25-26</sup> Thereby He gives us to understand the difference between the regulation of his spiritual kingdom, and that of the kingdoms of this world. He commands all states to be subject under the rulers and magistrates, in whose regulation is dominion and subjection. This also accords with the doctrine of St. Paul, where it is written: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers," Rom 13.1 — under whose obedience, neither pope, cardinal, patriarch, bishop, priest, friar nor monk, is excepted or exempted. In like agreement with the holy apostle St. Paul, St. Peter joins also: "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, whether to the king as supreme, or to governors," etc., 1Pet 2.13-14. Let any man now judge whether the pope has not done open wrong to the emperor, in raising himself above the jurisdiction of his lawful prince and magistrate.

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And as it is proved by God's law, that all ecclesiastical persons owe subjection to their lawful princes, in temporal as well as spiritual matters, so it may no less be inferred from man's law, and the examples of the oldest fathers. The popes' decrees and canons are full of records testifying how the ancient church of Rome not only received, but also required of the emperors, laws and constitutions to be made that touch not only such causes, but also such persons as were ecclesiastical. Boniface I, bishop of Rome, sent a humble supplication to the emperor to provide some remedy against the ambitious contentions of the clergy concerning the bishopric of Rome. Honorius, at his request, directed and established a law, that none should be made bishop of Rome through ambition. He charged all ecclesiastical ministers to cease from ambition; appointing, moreover, that if two were elected together, neither of them should be taken, but the election was to proceed to another, to be chosen by a full consent of voices.

To this I also add the law and constitution of the emperor Justinian (r. 527-565), ratified and renewed afterwards in the Council of Paris. In these, all bishops and priests are expressly forbidden to excommunicate any man before his cause was known and proved to be such as the ancient canons of the church would have him excommunicated. Moreover, in his laws and constitutions, Justinian disposed and ordained in church matters, to have a determinate number of churchmen or clerics in churches (Const. 3). Also matters concerning monasteries and monks (Const. 5). How bishops and priests should be ordained (Const. 6). Concerning the removing of ecclesiastical persons from one church to another. Also, that the holy mysteries should not be done in private houses, and whoever attempted the contrary, would be deprived (Const. 57). Moreover, concerning clerics leaving their churches (Const..58). Also, concerning the order and manner of funerals (Const. 59). And that bishops should not keep away from their flock (Const. 67). And agreeable to the doctrine of St. Paul (Const. 123), the emperor commands all bishops and priests to sound out their service, and to celebrate the mysteries, not in a secret manner, but with a loud voice, so that everything which was said and done might not only be heard, but also be

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understood by the faithful people. By this it is to be gathered that divine prayers and service was then in the vulgar tongue (the common language).

And just as Justinian and other emperors in those days had jurisdiction and government over spiritual matters and persons, so too, like examples may be given of other kings in other countries, who had no less authority in their kingdoms than the emperors had in their empire. For example, in France, Clovis summoned a council of thirty-three bishops, at which thirty-three canons were instituted concerning the government of the church. Charlemagne called five synods, one at Mentz, the second at Rome, the third at Rhemes, the fourth at Cabilone, the fifth at Arelate, where various ordinances were given to the clergy, about 810 years after Christ. He also decreed that only the canonical books of Scripture, and none other, should be read in the church; which had also been decreed before, in the third general Council of Carthage (A. D.417).<sup>50</sup>

Moreover, he instructs and informs the bishops and priests in the office of preaching, desiring them not to allow any to preach to the people any new doctrine of their own invention, not agreeing with the word of God; and that they themselves will preach those things which lead to eternal life, and set others to do the same.

Also, these kings and emperors forbade any freeman or citizen to enter monastic life, without having obtained a license from the government. They gave two reasons for this: first, that many gave themselves to religion not for mere devotion, but for idleness and to avoid the king's wars; secondly, many were craftily circumvented and deluded by subtle covetous persons, who sought to get from them whatever property they had. They also forbade that any young children or boys should have their heads shaved, or enter into any profession without the will of their parents; and that no young maiden should take the veil or profession of a nun before she came to sufficient years of discretion, so as to discern and choose what she should follow.

Moreover, Louis the Pious,<sup>51</sup> with his son Lothaire, mentioned before, ordained among other ecclesiastical sanctions, a godly law for *laymen* to communicate the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord. They also enacted that no goods of the church should be alienated (sold off to foreign interests). Louis II, the son of Lothaire, who succeeded as emperor and king of France about the year 848, caused Pope Leo IV to be brought before him on a charge of treason. The pope pleaded his cause at the bar, before the emperor, and was acquitted and released. This declares that popes and bishops all that time were in subjection to their kings and emperors.

Moreover, Louis IX (A.D. 1228) made a law against the corruption of *simony* in the church; also for the maintenance of the liberty of the church of France. And he established a law or decree against the new inventions, reservations, preventions, and exactions of the court of Rome. Philip IV (A.D. 1303) also set forth a law forbidding any exaction of new tithes and first fruits, and other unaccustomed collections, to be put upon the church of France. King Charles V (A.D. 1369) commanded that no bishops or prelates, or their officials within his kingdom of France, should execute any censure of suspense, or excommunication, at the pope's commandment, over or upon the cities or towns, corporations, or commons of his realm. Charles VI (A. D 1388) provided by law, that the fruits and rents of benefices, with

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<sup>50</sup> The third general council of Carthage was held in A.D. 397; but a compilation of its ordinances was made c. 417-19, in the *Codex Canonum Ecclesiae Africanæ*.

<sup>51</sup> *Louis the Pious*: that is, Louis I (778-840), son of Charlemagne. He was king of Aquitaine, and later of the Franks. This references the *Code of Canon Law*, Title III (Can. 1290-1298).

other pensions, and the goods of bishops who departed, should no longer be exported to Rome by the cardinals and by other officials and collectors of the pope, but should be brought to the king, and so restored to those to whom they rightly pertained.

Similar things may also be proved by the examples of our kings in England, such as Offa, Egbert, Ethelwolf, Alfred, Edgar, Canute, Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry I, Henry II, till the time of king John and after. Their dealing in ecclesiastical as well as temporal cases, is sufficient to prove what injury the popes in these latter days have done to the emperors, their lawful governors and magistrates, in usurping such power and jurisdiction over them, to whom they properly owe subjection. This was contrary to the steps and example of their ancestors, the old Roman bishops; although it is not to be denied that ecclesiastical ministers have their power committed to them, within their scope, in the Lord. Yet it becomes every man to know his own place and standing, and to stay where his own precinct confines him, and not rashly break out into other men's walks. Just as it is not lawful for a civil magistrate to intermeddle with a bishop's or a preacher's function, so it was unseemingly and unorderedly that Boniface VIII should have the temporal mace and naked sword of the emperor carried before him; or that any pope should bear a triple crown, or take it upon himself to be like a lord and king. Therefore, let every man consider the compass and limitation of his charge, and exceed no further.

## 2. Title Falsely Grounded

The *second* point in which the church of Rome has departed, is in the style and TITLE annexed to the bishop of that see. For example, where he is called pope, most holy father, vicar general, and vicar of Christ, successor of Peter, universal bishop, prince of priests, head of the church universal, head bishop of the world, the admiration of the world, neither God nor man, but a thing between both, etc. For all these terms are given to him in popish books. The name *pope* — being a Greek name, and equivalent to *father* — may seem more tolerable, having been used in the old time among bishops. For so Austin was called by the Council of Africa, also Jerome, Boniface and others; also Cyprian, bishop of Carthage. But that this or *any* of these terms were so peculiarly applied to the bishop of Rome, that other bishops were excluded from using it, or that any one bishop above the rest had the name *ecumenical*, or *universal*, or *head*, to the derogation of other bishops, is to be found neither in histories of the old time, nor in any example of the primitive church.

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Before the Council of Nice, it is evident that there was no respect paid to the church of Rome, but every church then was ruled by her own government, till the year 325. Then followed the Council of Nice, where it was decreed that throughout the whole church, which was now far spread over all the world, four provinces or precincts were to be appointed, each one to have its head church, and chief bishop. These were called the *metropolitan* or *patriarch*, and each had the oversight of those churches which lay about him. Among these patriarchs or metropolitans, the bishop of Rome had the first place, the bishop of Alexandria the second, the bishop of Antioch the third, and the bishop of Jerusalem was the fourth patriarch. Afterward, in the number of these patriarchs, the bishop of Constantinople also came in, taking the place of the bishop of Antioch. So that these four or five metropolitans or patriarchs had their peculiar circuits and precincts especially appointed, in such a way, that one of them would not deal within another's precinct; and also that there would be an equality of honor among them. Again, speaking of the said patriarchs or primates, we read in the second and third chapter of the Council of Constantinople, that bishops should not invade the diocese of other bishops beyond their borders, nor confound together churches,



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etc. Moreover, the old doctors (theologians), for the most and best part, accord in one sentence, that all bishops, wherever placed in the church of God, are of one merit, of like honor, and all are equally successors together of the apostles. Also, the author of the book called *Dionysius Areopagita*, says all the bishops were of equal order, and of like honor, etc. — all this while the bishop of Rome was a patriarch, and a metropolitan or bishop of the first see. But he was no ecumenical bishop, nor head of the universal church, nor any such matter. This went so far that he, with all other bishops, was debarred from that by a plain decree of the Council of Carthage (Can. 39). “That the bishop of the first seat shall not be called the prince of priests, or the high priest, or any such thing.”

And lest any take occasion here to cavil at hearing him called “bishop of the first seat,” let me expound on what is meant by “the first seat,” and why he was so called. It was not for any dignity of the person, either of the one who succeeds, or of the who is succeeded, but only of the place in which he sits. This is plainly proved by the Council of Chalcedon, cap. 28. In this it was manifestly declared the reason why the See of Rome among all other patriarchal sees is numbered as the first see by the ancient fathers. For the council says, our forefathers worthily attributed the chief degree of honor to the see of old Rome, because the principal reign or empire was in that city, etc. The same is also confirmed by Eusebius, <sup>52</sup> declaring that the excellency of the Roman empire advanced the popedom of the Roman bishop above other churches. etc. He says too, that the Council of Nice gave this privilege to the bishop of Rome, for just as the king of the Romans is named emperor above all other kings, so the bishop of the city of Rome should be called pope above all other bishops, etc. By these documents (and many more), it appears, that although these titles of superiority had been attributed to the bishop of Rome, yet it remains certain that the bishop of Rome received that preferment by man’s law, and *not* by the law of God.

Therefore, regarding these titles of pre-eminence, we will set forth and declare what history says in this matter.

1. First, we will see what titles the bishop of Rome takes and claims for himself, and what the meaning of them is.
2. When they first came in (whether in the primitive time or not), and by whom.
3. How they were first given to the Roman bishops; that is, whether it was from necessary duty, or from voluntary devotion; and whether it was in respect to Peter, or in respect to the city, or else to the worthiness of the bishop who sat there.
4. And if the aforesaid names were then given by certain bishops, to the bishop of Rome, whether all of the stated names were really given.
5. Or whether they were then *received* by all the bishops of Rome to whom they were given, or whether they were refused by some.
6. And finally, whether they should have been refused when given, or not.

And first, to begin with the names and titles that are now claimed by and attributed to the bishop of Rome — that is, the Chief Priest of the World, the Prince of the Church, Apostolical Bishop, the universal Head of the Church, the Head and Bishop of the Universal Church, the Successor of Peter, most holy Pope, Vicar of God on Earth, neither God nor man but a mixed thing between both; the Patriarch or Metropolitan of the Church of Rome, the Bishop of the first See, etc. To these titles or styles is annexed a triple crown, a triple cross,

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<sup>52</sup> Eusebius Pamphilius (c. 270-340): Bishop of Caesarea, advisor to Constantine I, and church historian.

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two cross keys, a naked sword, and sevenfold seals in token of the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit. Allegedly having the plenary fulness of power, of temporal as well as spiritual things in his hands, all things are his, and all those princes who have given him anything, have but given him his own, having it at his will and pleasure to preach indulgences and the cross against princes. As such, the emperor and certain other princes, it is claimed, ought to confess to him at their coronation, their subjection to him. And also confess,

“that the pope has the authority to depose; that he has deposed emperors and the king of France; that he has the authority to absolve the subjects from their allegiance to their princes; that kings have served as foot-men to lead his horse, and the emperor to hold his stirrup; that the pope may and does give power to bishops over the bodies of men, and has granted it to them to have prisons; that without the pope’s authority, no general council has any force; that appeals in all manner of causes may and ought to be made to the pope; that his decrees are equal with the decrees of the Nicene council, and are to be observed and taken to have no less force than if they had been confirmed with the heavenly voice of St. Peter himself; that the bishop of Rome may dispense above the law, and make justice of injustice in correcting and changing laws, for he has the fulness of power; that if the pope leads innumerable souls by flocks into hell with him, no man may presume to rebuke his faults in this world; and that it stands upon necessity of salvation, to believe in the primacy of the See of Rome, and to be subject to that See,” etc.

Now let us see whether these names and titles were ever attributed to anyone in the primitive time of the bishop of Rome. If our adversaries, being convicted by plain evidence from history and the example of time, will yield to us (as they must) in part if not in the whole, then let us come to the particulars. Let us see what part they will defend and derive from the ancient custom of the primitive church — that is, from the first 600 years after Christ. First, in the Council of Nice (Nicea), in the year 325, and in the sixth canon of that Council, we find that some one church was decreed in every province or precinct, and a bishop was appointed to have the inspection and government of other churches about him. This was according to the ancient custom, as the words of the council purport. So that, the bishop of Alexandria would have power over Libya and Pentapolis in Egypt, in so far as the bishop of Rome has the same power, in the same manner. And so it was also in Antioch and in other countries. Let every church have its due honor, and consequently the bishop of Jerusalem would have his due honor as well. Such order was kept, that the metropolitan cities would not be defrauded of their dignity which was due and proper to them. In this council, and in the same 6th and 7th canons, the bishops of Alexandria, of Rome, and of Antioch are joined together in like manner of dignity, and there appears no difference of honor meant in this. Also, there immediately follows that no bishop should be made without consent of their metropolitans, the city of Jerusalem included, and that the Metropolitan would have full power to confirm every bishop made in his province,

After this followed the sixth Council of Carthage (A.D. 420), at which 217 bishops were assembled, among whom were Augustine, Prosper, Orosius, and various other famous persons. This council continued for the space of five years, at which there was great contention about the supremacy and jurisdiction of Rome.

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**Zosimus**, the Roman bishop, had received into the communion of the church, without any examination, someone who came from Africa to complain to him. He was named Apiarius of

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Sicca,<sup>53</sup> a priest whom the metropolitan with the Council of Africa had worthily excommunicated. Upon this, Zosimus, having received and shown favor to Apiarius, who had appealed to him, sends his messengers to the Council, with these requests:

- that Apiarius, whom he had absolved, might be received back by them;
- that it might be lawful for bishops or priests to appeal from the sentence of their metropolitans, and also from the sentence of the council, *to the See of Rome*;
- that if any priest or deacon were wrongfully excommunicated by the bishops of their own province, it should be lawful for them to move the hearing and judging of their cause to their neighboring bishops;
- that Urban, their bishop, should either be excommunicated, or sent to Rome, unless he corrected those things that were to be corrected, etc.

For the proof of this, Zosimus alleged the words (as he pretended) of the Nicene council. The Council of Carthage hearing this, remembered no such thing in the Council of Nice. And yet, not suspecting the bishop of Rome would dare to wrongfully falsify the words of that Council, the Council writes to Zosimus, declaring that they never read any such canon in their common Latin copy of the Nicene council. Yet for quietness' sake, they would observe it until they might procure the original copies of that council to be sent to them from Constantinople, Alexandria, and from Antioch. In like effect, they afterward wrote to Pope Boniface I, who succeeded Zosimus (A.D. 418); and thirdly, also to Celestine, who shortly after succeeded Boniface (A.D. 422).

In the meantime, this council sent to Atticus, patriarch of Constantinople, and to Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, for the authentic copies in Greek of the Nicene council, which being sent to them, and they finding no such canon in the true originals, as the bishop of Rome had falsely forged, they wrote a sharp letter to Celestine, bishop of Rome, in which they styled him "brother bishop." They declared to him, that they had perused all the copies of the Council of Nice, and could find no such canon as he and his predecessors had falsely alleged. Reciting the sixth canon, they declared that the decrees of the Nicene council had committed all and singular ecclesiastical persons, bishops as well as others, to the charge of their metropolitans.

Therefore they declared that it was not convenient to bring their matters over to Rome; nor was it to be found in the decrees of any council, that any legates should be sent from Rome to them, to decide in their matters. And they therefore exhorted the bishop of Rome not to introduce the swelling pride of the world into the church of Christ, which shows and gives the light of simplicity and of humility to those who love God, etc. In these letters, moreover, it is signified that Apiarius, whom the bishop of Rome had absolved and received to the communion of the church, was afterwards found culpable. Therefore the council proceeded against him, brought him to open confession of his faults, and so enjoined him to due penance for his demerits, notwithstanding the absolution and inconsiderate clearing of the bishop of Rome before proceeding.

In short, these points are to be gathered from this Council of Carthage:

1. First, that the bishops of Rome were glad to receive those who came to them for succor.

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<sup>53</sup> This was similar to the case of Celestius, a proponent of Pelagianism, who also appealed to Zosimus in 418, to overrule the bishop of Constantinople. But Zosimus condemned Pelagianism.

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2. That their pride was increased by it, thinking and seeking to have all churches be under their subjection.
3. The intent was to allure others to seek them, from being ready to release and acquit this Apiarius as guiltless, even though he was afterwards found culpable by his own confession.
4. That contrary to the acts and doings of the Romish bishop, this council condemned the one whom the bishop of Rome had absolved, little respecting the proceedings of the Romish church.
5. That the bishops of old time have been falsifiers of ancient councils and writings; by this, it may be suspected that those who were not ashamed to falsify and corrupt the Council of Nice, would not hesitate to abuse and falsify the decretal epistles and writings of particular bishops and doctors for their own advantage, as they have often done.
6. In this council, at which Augustine was present, and where the president, Aurelius, was called *Papa* (pope), the bishop of Rome was expressly called in their letters merely *bishop* of the city of Rome.
7. The dominion of this Roman patriarch, in this Council of Carthage, was cut so short, that it was neither permitted to those of Africa to appeal over the sea to him, nor for him to send over his legates to them for ending their controversies. By this it may sufficiently appear that the bishop of Rome in those days was not at all admitted to be the chief of all other bishops, nor the head of the universal church of Christ on earth, etc.
8. We hear causes or reasons given in this council, why it is not necessary, nor yet convenient, for all foreign causes to be brought to one universal head or judge.
9. Lastly, by this Council of Carthage, we hear a virtuous exhortation given to the bishop of Rome, that he would not induce the meek and humble church of Christ to fume and swell with the pride of the world, as has been described. In this, or in some other Council of Carthage, it was moreover provided by express law, and also specified in the pope's decrees, that no bishop of the first seat should be called the prince of priests, or the chief priest, or any such thing.

Not long before this council, there was celebrated in Africa another council, at which Augustine was also present, where it was decreed under pain of excommunication, that no minister or bishop should appeal over the sea to the bishop of Rome. By this it may appear that the bishop of Rome at this time was not universally called by the term of ecumenical or universal bishop, but bishop of the first seat. So that, if there were any preferment in this, it was in the reverence of the *place*, and not in the authority of the *person*.

We do not deny, then, that these titles, such as Bishop, Metropolitan, the Bishop of the first See, Primate, Patriarch, Archbishop — that is to say, chief bishop, or head bishop to other bishops of his province — were applied in the old time, and might be applied to the bishop of Rome, just as the same titles were also applied to other patriarchs in other chief cities and provinces.

And likewise, concerning the name of the high priest, or high priesthood, neither do I deny that it has been found in old monuments and records of ancient times. But it was in such a way and sort as it has been common to bishops indifferently, and not singularly attributed to any one bishop or see.

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And thus much regarding upon the name or title of *high priest*, or *supreme bishop*. Just as I *do not* deny that this title was used in the manner and form said before, so I *do deny* that this title, as it is now used in Rome, was used or usually received during all the primitive time of the church — that is, for 600 years after Christ. It was not used in the manner and with that authority and glory, which is given to it these days, until the time of Phocas, the wicked emperor, which was after the year 608. This title, just as it is too glorious for any one bishop in the church of Christ to use, so is it not to be found in any of the approved and most ancient writers of the church — namely these: Cyprian, Basil, Fulgentius, Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Tertullian. Rather, they wrote against it. Therefore, not without cause, it is written and testified by Erasmus, who in speaking of this name, plainly denies it is to be heard among the old writers.

The same is also to be affirmed about other presumptuous titles of like ambition — such as the Head of the Universal Church, the Vicar of Christ on earth, Prince of Priests, and the like. All of these are new-found terms, strange to the ears of the old primitive writers and councils, and were not received openly and commonly before the time of Boniface III (607), and the Emperor Phocas (608).

Now the name of *pope* remains. This being a word which signifies *father*, was then used, not as proper only to the bishop of Rome, but it was common to all other bishops or personages of worthy excellency.

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But now this name is so restrained and abused, that not only is it appropriated to the bishop of Rome, but it also distinguishes the authority and pre-eminence of that bishop alone, from all other bishops. For this reason, it has now worthily come into contempt and execration.

Although it cannot be denied that some in the primitive time began to privately pretend to that proud and wicked title of *universal bishop*, such as Menna, and especially John, the patriarch of Constantinople. Calling a council at Constantinople, John set about to dignify his throne by the consent of the council, and by the emperor of Constantinople, and obtained this title. This appears in the fifth general Council of Constantinople (A.D. 553), the first act, where Menna and John are titled “Universal Patriarchs.” Although it was then used in Constantinople through the sufferance of the emperors, who were willing to have their imperial city advanced, this title was not used in Rome. And in Constantinople, it stayed in force only by man’s law. Neither the bishop of Rome, nor any of the Western churches acknowledged, but rather opposed the title; namely, Pelagius II and Gregory I, both bishops of Rome at that time. Pelagius, writing to all bishops, plainly says:

“that no patriarch should take the name of universality at any time, because if any are called *universal*, the name *patriarch* derogates from all others. But let this be far from all faithful men, to will to take that thing to him, by which the honor of his brethren is diminished.”

Therefore Pelagius charges all such bishops, that “none of them in their letters will name any patriarch *universal*.” What can be more evident than these words of Pelagius, who was bishop of Rome just before Gregory? (A.D. 583). In like manner, Gregory also writes (or even more plainly and earnestly), proving that no man ought to be called *universal bishop*. With sharp words and rebukes, detesting that title, calling it new, foolish, proud, perverse, wicked, profane, he says that to consent to it, is as much as to deny the faith. He further added that whoever goes about extolling himself above other bishops, in so doing, follows the act of Satan, to whom it was not sufficient to be counted equal to or like other angels. In his epistles, how often Gregory repeats and declares this name to be directly against the

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gospel, and the ancient decrees of councils. Thus he affirms that none of his predecessors ever usurped that style or title for himself. And he concludes that whoever does so, declares himself to be a forerunner of antichrist, etc.

But Gregory, confirming the sentence of Pelagius, had no small conflicts about this title, both with the patriarch, and with the emperor of Constantinople. The history is thus: John had been made a patriarch of Constantinople, by his flattery and hypocrisy, and obtained from the emperor, that he was to be extolled above other bishops, with the name *universal patriarch*. Afterward, he decided to write to Gregory, then bishop of Rome, for his consent concerning this. Gregory, abiding still in his constancy, set himself stoutly against the antichristian title, and would give it no place. But perceiving the Emperor Maurice to be displeased with him about the matter, Gregory writes to Constantina, the empress, arguing and declaring in his letters, that the presumption and pride of John, to be universal patriarch, was both against the rule of the gospel and decrees of the canons. Namely, it was against the sixth canon of the Nicene council. And the novelty of that new-found title, declared nothing else but that the time of antichrist was near. Upon this, the emperor Maurice, being displeased with him, calls home his soldiers from Italy, and incites the Lombards against the Romans. They, with their king, set upon the city of Rome, and besieged it for a whole year. Notwithstanding, Gregory remained in his former constancy. After these afflictions, Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria, writes to Gregory, and in his letters names *him* the universal pope — which Gregory refuses, and answers as follows:

“Behold: in the preface of your epistle directed to me, you have used a term of a proud name, calling me *universal pope*, which I pray your holiness will cease to do hereafter. For that derogates from you whatever is attributed to another, more than right and reason require. As for me, I do not seek my advancement in words, but in manners. Nor do I account that any honor in which I see the honor of my brethren is hindered. For my honor I take to be the honor of the universal church. My honor is the whole and perfect vigor of my brethren. I am honored when no man is denied the due honor which belongs to him. For if your holiness calls me *universal pope*, in so doing you deny yourself to be that which you affirm me to be, *universal*. But that God forbid. Let these words therefore go, which do nothing but puff up vanity, and wound charity, etc.”

It would be too long to insert here all such letters of his concerning this matter, but these will appear more largely hereafter in the body of the history, when we come to the year and time of Gregory, which was well near 600 years after Christ. In the meantime, this is sufficient to declare how the church of Rome with the form and manner of their title of *universal supremacy* as now used and maintained, has utterly swerved from the ancient steps of the primitive church of Rome.

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Now let us see what the adversary has to object in favor of the title of their *universality*, or rather *singularity*.

One objection of our adversaries is this: although (they say) no bishop of Rome was ever called, or would be called by the name *universal bishop*, it does not therefore follow that they are not, or ought not to be heads of the universal church. Their reason is this:

St. Peter had the charge of the whole church committed to him, even though he was not called *universal apostle*. So it is no more absurd for the pope to be called the head of the whole church, and to have charge of it, even though he is not called *universal bishop*, etc.

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A double untruth is to be noted in this. *First*, they pretend that Peter was the head, and was to have charge of the whole church. Let us take “charge” or “head” as having dominion or mastership upon or above the church in all judiciary cases, both spiritual and temporal. For the words of the Scripture are plain: “Not as being lords over God’s heritage, but being examples to the flock,” 1Pet 5.3; and “But you shall not be so; rather, he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger, and he who is chief as one who serves,” Luk 22.26. Again, it is clear that the church is greater than, or rather, the head of Peter., “All things are yours, whether it be Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or death, or life, and you are Christ’s, and Christ is God’s,” etc. 1Cor 3.22-23. In these words, the dignity of the church is no doubt preferred above the apostles, and above Cephas also. Moreover, just as the dignity of the wife is above the servant, so must the honor and worthiness of the church (being the spouse of Christ) surmount the state of Peter or other apostles, who are but servants to Christ and to the church. The same Lord who said to Peter, “Feed my sheep,” also said to the others, “Go and preach this gospel to all nations.” <sup>Mar 13.10</sup> And He who said to Peter, “Whatever you loose,” <sup>Mat 16.19</sup> also said to the others, “Whatever you remit on earth.” <sup>Joh 20.21</sup> Moreover, if the matter goes by preaching, Paul the apostle labored more in this than Peter ever did, by his own confession, 1Cor 15.10; he also suffered more for it, 2Cor 11.23; nor was his doctrine less sound. Indeed, in one point he went before Peter, and was teacher and schoolmaster to Peter, and Peter was justly corrected by him, Gal 2.11. Furthermore, teaching is not always, nor in all things, a point of mastership, but sometimes a point of service. It is as if a Frenchman went to an Englishman to teach him French, even though he excels him in that kind of knowledge. Yet it does not therefore follow, that he has full power over him, to appoint his diet, to rule his household, to prescribe his laws, to limit his lands, and other such things. In travel of teaching, in pains of preaching, in gifts of tongues, in largeness of commission, in operation of miracles, in grace of vocation, in receiving the Holy Spirit, in vehemence of torments, and death for Christ’s name, the other apostles were not at all inferior to Peter. I see no reason, then, why Peter should claim any special prerogative above the rest, as indeed he never claimed any.

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But the patrons of the apostolical See, claim for Peter what he never claimed for himself. Nor if he were here, would he less abhor it with soul and conscience, than we do now. And yet our abhorrence now is not for any malice of person, or any vantage to ourselves, but only the vehemence of truth, and of zeal for Christ and his Church. Moreover, if these men would have Peter be the curate and overseer of the whole universal church (which was too much for one man to take charge of) and be prince of all other apostles, then I would happily learn from them what the meaning is of the right hand of fellowship between Peter, Paul, and Barnabas, mentioned Gal 2.9. What handshaking is there between subjects and their prince in the way of fellowship? Or where there is fellowship, what mastership is there? Or, again, what state of mastership is it likely that Christ would give to Peter? Christ was indeed master of all, yet he took so little mastership upon Himself, not only in inward affection but also in outward act. <sup>Joh 15.15</sup> Although I am not ignorant that in various places of the gospel Peter has Christ’s commendation; nor do I deny that Peter was worthy of it. Yet these words of commendation give him no state of superiority or jurisdiction over all others, so as to have all others under subjection to him.

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These patrons produce another argument, proving that in the primitive time, the bishop of Rome was entitled “the head of Christ’s church.”

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St. Peter, they argue, was called *head of Christ's church* by the ancient fathers. And because St. Peter was bishop of Rome, the *bishop of Rome* was therefore called *head of the church* in the ancient time.

How can they prove that St. Peter — although he was at Rome, and taught at Rome, and suffered at Rome — was the bishop and proper ordinary of that city of Rome? As to the writings of the fathers to prove this, I answer concerning Orosius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Jerome, and Augustine, that where they speak of St. Peter's *chair*, or of *planting the faith* at Rome, the papist straightway argues from this that Peter was bishop of Rome. But that does not clearly follow. For the office of the apostles was to plant the faith in all places, and in every region; yet they were not *bishops* in every region. And as for the *chair*, that is not the essential difference which makes a bishop. Just as a doctor may have a chair, and yet not be a bishop, so they cannot conclude by the chair of Peter, that St. Peter was bishop of Rome. All of this proves no more than this: that Peter was at Rome, and there he taught the faith of Christ — as Paul also did, and perhaps in a chair. Yet we do not say that Paul was therefore bishop of Rome, but only that he was there as an apostle of Christ, whether he taught there standing on his feet, or sitting in a chair. In Scripture, the "chair" commonly signifies doctrine or judgment, just as "sitting" declares those who teach or judge, whether they sit in the chair of Moses, or in the chair pestilence. *Planting* likewise is an apostolical word, and does not signify the office of a bishop only. Therefore it is not a good argument to say that he *sat*, he *taught*, he *planted* at Rome, that his chair and seat was at Rome, and that *therefore* he was bishop of Rome.

As for Abdias, Ado, Optatus, and others, I answer with this distinction of a bishop, taken either generally or specially. First, generally, a bishop is whomever the public cure<sup>54</sup> and charge of souls is committed, without any limitation of place. And so the name of bishop is coincident with the office of apostle, or any public pastor, doctor, or curate of the universal flock of Christ. And thus Paul, Peter, or any other of the apostles may be called bishops. So Christ himself is called bishop and pastor, by this express word: 1Pet 2.25, "the Shepherd and Overseer (*episkopos*) of your souls." And thus Peter may well be named a bishop. But this public and general charge, universally over the whole without limitation, ceased after Christ and the apostles. For then bishops were appointed by places and provinces, to have special oversight of some particular flock or province, and so to be resident and attendant only upon that.

The other view of this name *bishop*, is to be taken in a more special way, which is when a person is assigned specially to some one certain place, city, or province, where he is bound to employ his office and charge, and nowhere else, according to the old canons of the apostles, and of the Council of Nice. And *this* bishop, differing from the other, bears the name of his city or diocese. Thus we deny that Peter the apostle was ever elected, installed, or intituted bishop to the city of Rome. And if Ado say that Peter was bishop of Rome for twenty-five years, until the last year of Nero, that is easily refuted both by the Scriptures and by histories. For so we understand by the declaration of St. Paul, Gal 2.1, that fourteen years after his conversion, St. Paul had Peter by the hand at Jerusalem.

Moreover, Paul witnesses that the apostolical charge was committed to Peter over the circumcised, Gal 2.7. Also, St. Paul writing to the Romans, in his salutations to;those in Rome, makes no mention of St. Peter who, doubtless, would not have been forgotten if he

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<sup>54</sup> *Cure*: having spiritual charge or care of a soul; the office of a parish priest or *curate*.



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had then been in Rome. <sup>55</sup> Again, St. Peter, in dating his epistle from Babylon, was not then at Rome. <sup>56</sup>

Furthermore, histories record that Peter was at Pontus five years, then at Antioch seven years. How could he then be at Rome for twenty-five years? Finally, where our adversary says that St. Peter was there twenty-five years, until the last year of Nero, how can that stand when St. Paul, suffering under Nero, was put to death the same day twelve months later, that is, a whole year after Peter? But especially, how does this agree with Scripture, that Christ would make Peter a universal apostle, to walk in all the world? “Go into all the world,” Mar 16.15; and “you shall be witnesses to the uttermost part of the earth,” Act 1.8. And our papists would make him a sitting bishop, and locate him at Rome. How do these accord — *apostle* and *bishop* — to *go* and to *sit* — to *all nations* and *at Rome* — together?

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Now, the second untruth in the argument is that, because Peter was the head of the church, therefore the pope must also be the head of the church, even though he was not called *universal bishop* for along time. But we deny this; indeed, the matter denies itself by their

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<sup>55</sup> Archbishop Tillotson says of Barrow’s celebrated *Treatise of the Pope’s Supremacy*, “He has exhausted the subject and has said enough to silence this controversy forever.” Barrow has thus expressed himself on this point.

“The discourses of those men, have evinced that it is hard to assign the time when Peter was at Rome, and that he could never long abide there. For,

“The time which old tradition assigns his going to Rome, is rejected by diverse learned men, even of the Roman party.

“He was often in other places, sometimes at Jerusalem, sometimes at Antioch, sometimes at Babylon, sometimes at Corinth, sometimes probably at each of those places to which he directs his catholic epistles. Among these, Epiphanius says, Peter often visited Pontus and Bithynia.

“And that he was seldom at Rome, may well be collected from St. Paul’s writings; for writing at different times, one epistle to Rome and diverse epistles from Rome, such as that to the Galatians — that to the Ephesians — that to the Philippians— and that to the Colossians and the Second to Timothy, he never mentions him sending any salutation to him or from him.

“Particularly, St. Peter was not there when St. Paul, mentioning Tichicus, Onesimus, Aristarchus, Marcus and Justus, adds, ‘These alone, my fellow-workers for the kingdom of God, have been a comfort to me,’ Col 4.11.

“He was not there when St. Paul said, ‘At my first defense no man stood with me, but *all* men forsook me,’ 2Tim 4.16.

“He was not there immediately before St. Paul’s death, ‘When the time of his departure was at hand,’ when he tells Timothy that ‘All the brethren saluted him,’ and naming various of them, omits Peter. 2Tim 4.21.

“These things being considered, it is not probable that St. Peter would assume the Episcopal Chair at Rome, he being little capable of residing there, and other needful affairs would have forced him to leave so great a church destitute of their pastor.

“Had he done so, he must have given a bad example of non-residence, a practice that would have been very ill-relished in the primitive church.”

<sup>56</sup> It was during the life of our Author, John Foxe, that the Rhemish Testament was published; and though he little thought that the Papists would identify Babylon with Rome, yet his “Acts and Monuments” were scarcely before the world, when the Rhemish Annotators — finding no evidence in the Scriptures to prove that Peter was ever at Rome — actually fastened upon the dating of his first epistle from Babylon, and explained it as a mystic name for Rome!

Cartwright — who was a contemporary of Fox, and wrote his “Confutation of the Rhemists,” etc. during the lifetime of our Martyrologist — writes thus:

“That Peter did not sit at Rome is confirmed in that Peter writes from Babylon, which to be Babylon in Chaldee, and not in Italy, this is an evident reason, for this Babylon was a place of principal abode of the Jews, towards whom Peter’s charge specially lay. Gal 2.7. Whereas at this time, the Jews were not allowed to make their abode in Rome, Act 18.2. To which it may be added that, writing to the dispersed Jews, and listing the diverse countries which they were in, he leaves out Chaldea, which he would never have done, considering the great numbers that still remained there after the return into Judea out of Captivity, unless Chaldea were the place from which he wrote his epistles.-’ — Cartwright *in loc.* [Ed.]

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own position. For the title *universal bishop* was not accepted at Rome, but was refused till the time of Gregory I (r. 590-604). Then it must necessarily be granted that the bishops of Rome, before Gregory, did not have charge of the whole church, nor for that reason could they be admitted to be *heads of the church*. For, just as there can be no “head” except that which is universal to the whole body, so none can have the charge of the whole, unless he is universal to all parts of that which he has charge of. Therefore, if a bishop is the one who has charge of all souls in his diocese, whose charge extends to all churches, and who must give account for every Christian soul in the whole world, the name of *universal bishop* cannot be denied to him, for he has the *office* of a universal bishop. Or, if he is *not* a universal bishop, then he cannot have the charge of the whole, that is, of all the churches of Christ. This word *universal* in the Greek writers, signifies that which we in our English tongue call *catholic*. Yet I suppose our adversaries here will not take *universal* in that sense. For according to that meaning, just as we do not deny that the bishops of Rome may be universal bishops, so neither can they deny that other bishops may also be as universal — that is, as catholic as they are. But those who more distinctly discuss this matter, define *universal* or *catholic* by three things: to wit, by *time*, *place*, and *person*. So that, whatever extends itself to all times, all places, and all persons, *that* is properly universal or catholic. And contrariwise, what is to be called *universal* or *catholic*, either reaches to all those three, comprehending all places, times, and persons, or else it is not to be properly called universal or catholic. And thus there are three things which we most commonly call catholic or universal; that is, (1) the church, which is called the catholic church; (2) faith, which is called the catholic faith; and also (3) a man whom we call a catholic man. This is because these three things extend themselves so that no time, place, or person is excluded. These three conditions, if they altogether concur in the charge of the bishop of Rome, then it is a *universal charge*, and he is a *universal bishop*. But if not, then his charge is not universal, nor is he the head of the church, nor yet is he universal bishop. For I cannot see how these three can be separated, unless they prove it more evidently than they have yet done.

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And thus much as to the objection of our adversaries, arguing that just as St. Peter, though not called *universal apostle*, was yet the head of the universal church, so too the pope, though he was not at first called *universal bishop*, did and might have the charge of the whole church, and was its universal head. Our adversaries, notwithstanding, busy themselves to prove out of Theodoret, Irenaeus, Ambrose, and Augustine; that the See of Rome, having the pre-eminence and principality, has been honored above all other churches. They argue that Irenaeus, Ambrose, Augustine, and Theodoret affirm that the church of Rome is the chief of all other churches; and that therefore the bishop and head of that church is chief and head over *all* bishops, and head over *all* other churches.

But this conclusion is to be denied. For the excellency of the church or place does not always argue for the excellency of the minister or bishop, nor does it necessarily cause it. For in spiritual matters of the church, all pre-eminence stands upon spiritual and inward gifts, such as faith, piety, learning, and godly knowledge, zeal and fervency in the Holy Spirit, unity of doctrine, etc. These gifts many times may excel in a church where the minister or bishop is inferior to the bishops or ministers of other churches. Just as the most famous school in a realm does not always have the most famous schoolmaster, nor does that office thereby make him more excellent in learning than all others. So, if our adversaries mean by this *pre-eminence* of the church of Rome, that it has such inward gifts of doctrine, faith, unity, and peace of religion, then, I say the excellency of it does not argue for the excellency of the bishop. But here our adversaries will reply that by the *pre-eminence* of the church of

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Rome is not meant so much the inward gifts and endowments belonging to a Christian church, as its outward authority and dominion over other churches. To which it must be asked, What necessity is there, or where did our papists learn, to bring into the *spiritual* church of Christ, this outward form of *civil* policy? Just as the Roman emperors in times past governed over all the world, so the Roman bishop must impose his monarchy upon the universal clergy, to make all other churches stoop under his subjection. And where then are the words of our Savior? — “But it shall not be so among you.” If they say there must be a distinction of degrees in the church, and superiority must be granted for the discipline of the church — for quieting schisms, for setting orders (appointing clergy), for commencing convocations and councils, etc. We do not stand against this superiority. And therefore we yield to our superior powers, kings, and princes, our due obedience — to our lawful governors under God of *both* governments, ecclesiastical and temporal. Also, in the ecclesiastical state, we do not take away the distinction of degrees, as appointed by the primitive church, or allowed by Scripture, such as patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, ministers, and deacons. In these degrees, just as we grant diversity of office, so we admit diversity of dignity. For, just as we give the minister a place above the deacon, to the bishop a place above the minister, to the archbishop a place above the bishop, so we see no cause of inequality — why one minister should be above another minister; one bishop in his degree above another bishop, to deal with him in his diocese; or one archbishop above another archbishop. And this is to keep order duly and truly in the church.

Now, here is joined the question between us and the papists, whether the metropolitan church of Rome, with its archbishop, ought to be preferred above other metropolitan churches and archbishops, throughout universal Christendom, or not? In answer to this, if the voice of order might here be heard, it would say, give to things that are equal and similar, equal honor; to things that are unequal and dissimilar, unequal honor, etc. Therefore, seeing that the See of Rome is a patriarchal see, appointed by the primitive church, and that its bishop and archbishop are limited within their own bordering churches (which the Council of Nice calls *suburban* churches), as other archbishops are, he should therefore have the honor of an archbishop, and have the same outward preeminence that is due to other archbishops. If he requires more, then he breaks the rule of right order; he falls into presumption; and he does wrong to his equals. And they also do wrong to themselves, who feed his ambition by giving more to him than the rule of order requires. The more they yield to him than is his right, that much more they take from themselves. And this is the reason why both Gregory and Pelagius reprehend those who gave to the archbishop of Constantinople that which the bishop of Rome now claims for himself, charging them with the breach of order in these words: “Lest while any singular thing is given to one person, all other priests are deprived of their due honor.” And Pelagius exhorts that no priest give to any archbishop the name of *universal bishop*, “Lest in so doing he takes from himself his due honor, while he yields that which is not due to another.” And also in the same epistle, “If he is called the chief universal patriarch, then the name *patriarch* is derogated from others,” etc. This is why, seeing that the bishop of Rome is an archbishop, order requires that he have the dignity which is due to archbishops; whatever more is added, is derogatory to the rest. And thus much concerning distinction of degrees, and order in giving to every degree his place and honor.

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Therefore, even if it is admitted that the pope sits and succeeds in the chair of Peter, and that he is the bishop of the greatest city in the world, it does not follow that he should have

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rule and lordship over all other bishops and churches in the world. For, first, regarding the succession of Peter, many things are to be considered:

1. Whether Peter sat and had his chair in Rome or not.
2. Whether he sat there as an apostle, or as a bishop.
3. Whether sitting in the outward seat of Peter makes successors of Peter.
4. Whether one may sit in Peter's chair and seat, who does not sit in Peter's doctrine?
5. Whether the succession of Peter makes an *apostle* rather than a *bishop*, and so we should call the pope the apostle of Rome, and not the bishop of Rome.
6. Whether ecclesiastical functions ought to be esteemed by ordinary succession of place, or rather by God's private calling and sending?
7. Whether it stands by Scripture, that any succession *at all* is appointed in Christ's church, or why it is more from Peter than from other apostles.

All of these being well discussed, it would appear what little reason the pope has to take this state upon himself, above all other churches. In the meantime, just this *one* argument may suffice, instead of many arguments, for our adversaries to answer at their convenient leisure:

- All the *true* successors of Peter sit in the chair of the doctrine of Peter and of the other apostles, uniformly.
- But no popes of this latter church of Rome sit in the chair of the doctrine of Peter and of the other apostles, uniformly.

*Therefore*, no popes of this latter church of Rome are the true successors of Peter.

And when they have well-perused this argument, and have well-compared the doctrine taught them by St. Peter, with the doctrine now taught by the popes —

of the justification of a Christian-man, of the office of the law, of the strength and largeness of sin, of men's merits, of free-will, of works of supererogation,<sup>57</sup> of setting up images, of seven sacraments, of auricular confession, of satisfaction (penance), of sacrifice of the mass, of communion under one kind (wine is reserved for priests), of elevating and adoring the sacramental elements, of Latin service, of invocation, of prohibition of meats and marriage, of vowing chastity, of sects and rules of diverse religions, of indulgences and pardons: also of their doctrine now taught concerning magistrates, of the fulness of power of the See of Rome, with many other things like these,

— then I will be glad to hear what they say.

And if they would prove by Irenaeus, Ambrose, Augustine, and Theodore, that the bishop of Rome is the chief of all bishops, because the city of which he is bishop is the chief and principal church above all others, then this too would follow: London is the chief city in all of England, and therefore the bishop of London is the chief of all bishops in this realm. This argument would be derogatory to the archbishops both of Canterbury and York.

Indeed, to grant yet more to our adversaries, that in giving principality to Rome, these fathers referred to the succession from Peter, and not to the greatness of the city, their argument will still fail, if their argument is rightly considered. They say,

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<sup>57</sup> *Supererogation*: here it means exceeding what is required by Scripture for salvation (justification).

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— The apostolical See of Rome, having its succession from Peter, with its bishops, was chief of all other churches in the *primitive* time.

*Therefore*, the apostolical See of Rome, with its bishops, having succession from Peter, should *now* be the chief of all other churches.

This might follow if the times were alike, or if the succession which gave it pre-eminence was the same now as it was then. But the time and succession do not correspond now. For then, succession was in apostolical *doctrine* as well as in apostolical *place*. The succession of apostolical doctrine has long since ceased in the apostolical see, and nothing remains but the place alone, which is the least matter of true spiritual and apostolical succession.

Besides these objections, our adversaries object against us examples of the primitive time of the church, testimonies of general councils, and opinions of ancient writers taken out of the book of councils, and decretal epistles, by which they intend to prove that the foresaid terms (head of the church, ruler of the church, chief of all other priests) are to be applied not only to Peter, but also to *any* bishop of Rome within the compass of the primitive time. To fully and exactly answer all these objections in order, would require a whole volume by itself. I will leave that to those to whom it more properly pertains. In the meantime, I will address these and all similar places where St. Peter with his successors are called head of the church, chief of bishops, prince of the apostles, etc., with the following short distinction.

In these places, this word *head*, *chief*, and *prince* of the apostles, may be taken in two ways: to note either dominion, or else commendation. For sometimes we read *head* and *chief*, to be words, not of authority, but of excellency, by which is declared the chief and worthiest among many, and not the possessor and governor of the whole. It is like the person of a man, in which the head is the principal part of the whole body, being endued with reason and furnished with senses, by which the whole man is directed. From this is derived a metaphor that to whatever man, nature or condition has given the greatest excellency of gifts, he is called head or chief. And yet he does not always have dominion or jurisdiction of the rest. So in our common speech, we call the head or chief men of the parish, those who are most specially noted for their riches, wisdom, or place. In a like phrase of speech, we call the head man of the inquest, the one who has first place. And yet neither of these have any dominion or jurisdiction over the rest. In a school, the chief scholar in learning is not therefore the master or governor of his fellows. Nor does Cicero have any title to claim the subjection of all other orators, just because he is named the prince of eloquence. And though Homer may be also called the prince of poets, yet poets do not owe to Homer anything but fame and praise.

And so what if Peter is called and accounted the head and prince of the apostles for his excellent faith, for his divine confession, and singular affection for the Lord Jesus? What right does he have to claim authority over the other apostles, or the pope after him to claim it over all the other bishops and the whole church of Christ, even if the pope had the same excellency of Christ's faith that Peter had (as would to God he had)?

If our adversaries provoke us to numbering testimonies, and dividing the house (speaking of the writers and councils of the primitive age) for these testimonies alleged to be on their side, I could recite out of the witness of doctors, out of the examples of councils, and out of the practices of emperors, no less than sixty voices that are much more opposed to their assertion. But I refer it either to those who have more leisure at this time. Or else I will omit it to another time, if the good pleasure of the Lord grants me further leisure in another book to address it at large, and in such order as appears sufficient to prove by the doctors, general

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councils, examples, and histories, that the bishops of Rome, during the first 500 years after Christ, the bishops of Rome did not have this state of title, jurisdiction and power which they now usurp. Although, for the greatness of the empire, they were somewhat more magnified than the others, and therefore they were sought, and flattered, and showed themselves forth more than they should. Yet by the common consent of the churches, they were stopped from their purpose. So that, by the consent of most in that age, they were but taken as archbishops of equal honor, of equal merit with other archbishops and rulers of the church. And if any preference was given to them above the rest, either it was not so given by all, or even by most; or secondly, it was not so given for any such necessity of God's word as would bind them to it, nor so much out of respect for Peter and his succession, as it was for certain other causes and respects. These may gathered into thirteen.

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1. The greatness of the city and monarchy of Rome.
2. The authority of the emperor Constantine the great, the first of the emperors converted to the faith, and ruling in the same city by whom the universal liberty of the church was first promoted. And the causes of the bishops then at variance, were committed partly to the bishop of Rome, and partly to other bishops nearby, to be decided, as appears by Eusebius. (lib. 10, cap. 5.)
3. The Council of Nice, which confirmed the preeminence of that church to have the oversight of the churches bordering around it.
4. The unquiet state of the Greek church, which was much troubled in those days with sects, factions, and dissensions.
5. When synods were called by other metropolitans, if the bishops of Rome chanced to be absent, and their sentence was required, then by the occasion of this they began at length to take the sentence of the Roman church as a canon or ecclesiastical rule, and to refuse other synods where their decree or sentence was *not* required.
6. When any common matter was in hand at other places, whatever was done, the manner commonly used was to write to the Roman bishop for his approval for public unity and consent in Christ's church.
7. Also in those days the testimony of the Roman bishop was customarily desired for admitting teachers and bishops in other churches.
8. The sentence of the Roman church was not only required, but also often accepted by other bishops. When there was any dissension among the bishops of other provinces, they would, of their own accord, appeal to the bishop of Rome. They desired him to cite both parties, and to hear and decide the cause, as when Macarius and Hesychius sent to Julius, who was then bishop of Rome, etc.
9. Certain of the Arians returning from their Arianism,<sup>58</sup> offered up and exhibited to the bishops of Rome their evidences of repentance, and were received back, as Ursatius and Valens did to Julius. (Socrat. lib. 2, cap. 24.)
10. Gratian the emperor made a law that all men should retain that religion which was held by Damasus, the bishop of Rome, and Peter, bishop of Alexandria. (Sozom. lib. 7, cap. 4.)

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<sup>58</sup> [Arianism: denied the divinity of Christ, teaching that he was a created being, not eternal.](#)

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11. If it happened that the bishop of Rome disallowed the appointment of any minister or ministers, the popes perceiving how diligent and ready these ministers were to seek their favor, and to send their messengers to Rome for their purgation, thereby took no little manner of exaltation for themselves. (Theodoret, lib. 5, cap. 23.)

12. The bishops of Rome also had another artful (crafty) practice, that in sending their letters abroad, they were ever harping on the greatness of their name, and of their apostolic see, and of the primacy of St. Peter their predecessor, and being prince of all the apostles, etc. They used to do this in every letter, whenever they wrote to any, as it appears in all their decretal letters; namely, in the letters of Miltiades, Marcellus, and Marcus, etc.

13. If any of the Eastern church directed any writing to the Roman bishops, in which any signification was contained of ever so little reverence given to those bishops (such as learned men commonly use for modesty's sake), that was taken by and by, and construed as plain subjection and due obedience.

Thus you have the first and original grounds by which the archbishops of the Romish See achieved their great kingdom over Christ's church. These were the beginnings of the mystery of their iniquity — by what was modestly and voluntarily given to them. Afterward it continued by use and custom, claiming it ambitiously out of duty and service. And lastly, the bishops of Rome held it fast once they had possession of it. So that now, in no case can they abide the birds calling their feathers back home, which they have so long usurped.

### CHURCH GOVERNMENT

And thus much concerning the life, jurisdiction, and title of the Roman bishops. In all of this (as it has been declared) they, and not we, have fallen from the primitive church of Rome. To these three things I might also join the manner of GOVERNMENT which the Romish bishops have no less altered, both from the rule of Scripture, and from the steps of the true church of Rome. This government has been and ought to be only *spiritual*. And yet the bishop of Rome has used it, of recent years, in no other way than as an earthly king or prince might have governed his realm and dominions — with riches, glory, power, terror, outward strength, force, prison, death, execution, laws, policies, promoting his friends to dignities, revenging his affections, punishing and correcting faults against his person more than other offenses committed against God. In all these things, he has been using and abusing the word of God for his pretext and cloak, to work his *worldly* purpose. Whereas indeed, the word of God ministers no such power to spiritual persons, but only that which is *spiritual*, according to the saying of the apostle: "the weapons of our warfare are not carnal," <sup>2Cor 10.4</sup> but spiritual — those which do not serve against flesh and blood, nor against the weak person of man, but against Satan and the gates of hell. <sup>Mat 16.18</sup>

Just as all these weapons are spiritual, so those who deal with them should likewise be spiritual, well-furnished with all those gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit which are fit for the governance of His spiritual church —

with wisdom and knowledge in the Scripture to instruct the ignorant; with inward intelligence and foresight of the crafty operations of Satan; with the power of the Spirit to resist him; with practice and experience of temptations, to comfort those who are afflicted and oppressed by Satan; with heavenly discretion to discern spirits, <sup>1Cor 12.10</sup> and to discern truth from untruth; with judgment and knowledge of tongues and learning, to convict error; with zeal for God's glory; with fervency of prayer; with patience in persecution; with a mind contented with all cases and incidental states; with tears and compassion upon other men's griefs; with stoutness and courage against proud and stout oppressors; with

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humility towards the poor and miserable; with the counsel of the Lord Jesus by his Word and Spirit to direct him in all things; with strength against sin; with hatred of this world; with the gift of faith, and the power of the keys in spiritual causes,

— so as to minister the word, the sacraments, and excommunication when the word bids, “that the spirit may be saved;” <sup>1Cor 5-5</sup> and to reconcile again as cause requires, etc. These gifts and others like them are the matters which compose the sinews and strength of the church, and the true governing of the church.

But contrary to these, the bishop and clergy of this later church of Rome, under the name and pretense of Christ and his word, have for a long time exercised nothing else but a *worldly* dominion. Indeed, they have been seeking their own glory, not the glory of Christ; the riches of this world, not the lucre of souls; not feeding the flock, but filling the purse; revenging their own wrongs, but neglecting God’s glory; striving against man only, even killing him, but not killing the vice nor confuting the error of man; strong against flesh and blood, but weak against the devil; stout against the simple, but meek against the mighty. Briefly, they have been doing almost all things preposterously, more like secular princes than spiritual pastors of Christ’s flock, with outward enforcement and fear of punishment, with imprisoning, famishing, hanging, racking, drowning, beheading, slaying, murdering, and burning, and warring also. And on the other side, they have been seeking their own glory with riches and treasures, with guard and strength of men, with court and cardinals, with pomp and pride about them, with their triple crown, with the naked sword, with their ordinary succession, with their laws and executions, their promotions and preferments, their biddings and commandings, their threatenings and revengings, etc.

Therefore, in fine, to compare the images of a worldly kingdom, with this kingdom of the pope, we find there is no difference, except that this kingdom of the pope, under hypocrisy, makes a facade of the spiritual sword, which is the word of God; but in very deed, it does all things with the temporal sword; that is, with outward force, not differing from civil and secular government in any respect or condition.

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For as in an earthly kingdom, first a prince or some chief magistrate is appointed, having dominion over his nobles and commons, constraining all his subjects under his statutes and laws. These laws, notwithstanding, he dispenses at his pleasure. Under him all other inferior magistrates have their order and place appointed to rule over the subjects, and yet to be subject under him. So too, if the state and form of the *pope* is well considered, we see that it differs nothing at all from the earthly, except in the names of the persons. In civil government, all subjection is referred to one head ruler, whose authority surmounts all the rest, and keeps them under obedience. In like manner, the government of the popish church is committed to one man who, as chief steward, overseer, and ruler of Christ’s household, in Christ’s absence, has supreme power over all churches, to direct all its affairs. But here stands the difference: in *civil* policy he is called a king or prince; *here* he is called a pope.

The king has his dukes and earls next to him; the pope’s nobility stands in his cardinals and legates. Though they are no dukes in name, yet in pomp and pride, they will not only check them, but also checkmate kings themselves, if they might be allowed. This is what Theodore, Lanfranc, Anselm, and Thomas à Becket did; and so would Thomas Wolsey have done, had the king not checked him at times. In civil policy, next to dukes and earls, follows the order of lords, barons, knights, esquires, and gentlemen, with majors, sheriffs, constables, bailiffs, wardens, etc. A similar race is also to be seen, though under other names, in the pope’s



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policy of primates, bishops, suffragans, provosts, deans, canons, vicars, archdeacons, priests, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, lectors, door-keepers, singsters, with other clerics. In the other, under wardens comes the order of scavengers. So too, the pope's monarchy does not lack chanelrakers (gutter-scrapers), to whom may well be compared that rabble of abbots, provincials, priors, monks, and friars, with their convents and nunneries.

Moreover, how do justices, judges, lawyers, sergeants, or attorneys, which are necessary officers in the commonwealth, differ from the pope's inquisitors, canonists, doctors, and bachelors of the pope's law? Commissaries, officials, proctors, promoters, and other such persons, serve no less in the *spiritual court*, and in the consistory, than the others do in the *temporal court*. Now, whoever wishes to compare the glory and magnificence of the one with the glory of the other; and also the power of the one with the power of the other; and the riches of the one with the riches of the other — I suppose he will see no great odds between them, taking the pope's kingdom as it stood in his full ruff, and still stands where churches are not reformed. As for subtlety and political practice, there is no one who is impartial, that doubts or does not see that the pope's hierarchy, in upholding their state, far excels all the kingdoms of worldly princes.

Thus, in comparing the pope's government with civil governments, just as they disagree in little or nothing; so in comparing again the same government with the order of Scriptures, or with the government that was in the ancient church of Rome, we will see no resemblance between them. As we read in the apostles' time, all the armor of Christ's ministers was spiritual, and full of godly power against the spiritual enemies of our salvation. They governed the church with peace, patience, humility, true knowledge of God, the sword of the Spirit, the shield of faith, the breastplate of righteousness, hearty charity, sincere faith, and a good conscience. So also after the apostles, in the time of Ambrose (c. 339-397), by his own testimony, it is to be understood that the armor of churchmen was then prayers and tears. Where now the armor of the pope's priesthood is nothing else but fire and sword, with which they keep all things under their subjection. And here comes the enormous and horrible abuse of excommunication, suspension, and interdiction. In many things, for which the civil magistrate will not commit any citizen to the stocks, the pope's censure will not hesitate to commit a Christian to the devil, not to mention other usurped dealings and doings in matters that belong to the civil sword. For example, in punishing immorality and adultery, in administration and probates of testaments, in bearing civil office; in making cardinals to be captains in war, and rulers of regions; bishops to be presidents or chancellors; priests to be stewards in great men's houses, or masters of mints, or clerks of the market, or gardeners to gentlemen, etc. All of this I pass over here, referring them to the consideration of those who have more leisure to mark the order of their doings, and so to judge such things with impartiality, according to the rule of truth taught in God's word, and the public examples of the ancient church of Christ in the primitive time.

### **3. Doctrine Heretically Corrupted.**

Thus I have discoursed so much concerning the manner of life, title, jurisdiction, and government of the pope's see. In all these points, it is to be seen how this later church of Rome has receded from the true ancient church of Rome. It now remains, according to my promise, to proceed to the third and last point, which is DOCTRINE. In this consists the chief matter that is with us, and against them. So that, they are not to be reputed as true catholics, whose doctrine has altered so far; nor are we to be reputed as other than heretics, if we were now to join with them. For the proof of this, let us examine the doctrine and rites of the church of Rome as now used, and compare them with the teaching of the ancient catholics.

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This is done, that those simple souls who have been, and still are being seduced by the false appearance and image of this pretended and bastardly church, perceiving what lies within it, may be warned in time. They may either eschew the peril, if they are willing to be instructed, or if not, to blame none but themselves for their own willful destruction. And although here I could charge the new-fangled church of the pope with seven or eight heinous crimes, such as blasphemy, idolatry, heresy, superstition, absurdity, vanity, cruelty, and contradiction (in which it neither agrees with the old learning of their predecessors, nor with themselves in sundry points), yet I will and dare to boldly affirm that in this doctrine of the pope that is now taught in the church of Rome, there is neither any consolation of conscience, nor the salvation of man's soul. For there is no life nor soul's health except in Christ alone, nor any promise of salvation or comfort made except by faith in the Son of God. What assurance of perfect peace, life, or salvation can there be, then, where that which alone makes for all these is made least of, and other things which make least for these, are the most esteemed? To say the simple truth, what else is the whole course and body of the pope's law now set forth, but a doctrine of laws, a heap of ceremonies, the teaching of traditions, a mediation of merits, and a foundation of new religions? All of this does not avail one jot to the justification of our souls before the terrible judgment of God.

And, therefore, just as it may be truly said that this doctrine of the pope is void of all true comfort and salvation; so likewise it seems that those who addict themselves so devoutly to the pope's learning, were never earnestly afflicted in conscience, never humbled in spirit nor broken in heart, never entered into any serious fearing of God's judgment, nor ever felt the strength of the law and of death. For if they had, they would soon have seen their own weakness and been driven to Christ. Then they would have seen what a horrible thing it is to appear before God the Father, or to think even once upon Him, as Luther says, without Christ.<sup>59</sup> And on the contrary side, they would then know what a glory, what a kingdom, what liberty and life it was to be in Christ Jesus by faith, holding their inheritance, not with the bondson of Hagar, but with the free son of Sarah; Gal 4.22 by promise, and not by the law; by grace, and not by works; by gift, and not by deserving — so that God alone might be praised, and not man.

And thus the old Romans were first taught by St. Paul, writing to the Romans. Cornelius the Roman, the first baptized of all the Gentiles, learned the same from St. Peter. He received the Holy Spirit, not by the deeds of the law, but only by hearing the faith of Jesus preached. And the church of the Romans continued in the same doctrine for many years, so long as they were in affliction. And the bishop of Rome, with his Romans, would now also remain in the same doctrine, if they were such ancient catholics as they pretend, and would follow the old mother church of Rome, and retain the first liqueur with which they were first seasoned.

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But the sweet freshness and scent of that liqueur, and its pleasant perfume, has now been completely pushed out through other unsavory infusions of the pope's. So that, hardly any taste or piece remains of all that primitive doctrine which St. Paul and the other apostles first planted among the Gentiles. And what marvel is it if the Romans now, after so long a time, have lost their first sap. Consider that the church of the Galatians in the very time of St. Paul, their schoolmaster, as soon as he turned his back a little, were almost turned from the doctrine of faith, and had much ado to be recovered again. Gal 3.1 f. St. Paul expressly foretells us about this defection and falling away from the faith, in his epistles both to the

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<sup>59</sup> Alluding to Luther's *Lectures on Galatians*, delivered in 1531, and published as a *Commentary* in 1535.

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Thessalonians, and also to Timothy. There he shows that a defection will come, and that some will depart from the faith, attending to spirits of error, etc. (1Tim 4.1-4). And to know what errors these will be, in the same place where the apostle speaks of seared consciences, the circumstance plainly leads us to understand these include forbidding men to marry, or to eat meats ordained by God to be taken with thanksgiving for man's sustenance. Most evidently, as if with his finger, he points out to us the church of Rome, which not only in these points, but also in all other conditions, has almost utterly revolted from the pure original sincerity of that doctrine which St. Paul planted in the church of the Romans, and in the churches of all other Gentiles.

### **Summary of St. Paul's Teachings.**

1. The doctrine of St. Paul ascribes all our justification freely and only to faith in Christ, as to the only means and cause by which the merits of Christ's passion can be applied to us, without any respect to work or works of the law whatever; Eph 2.8-9; and in this doctrine, the church of the Romans was first planted.
2. The same doctrine of St. Paul, cutting off and excluding all man's deserving, rests only upon God's promise, and upon grace, not man's merits: upon mercy, not man's laboring or running; upon election and calling, not upon man's willing, etc., Rom 9.16.
3. The same doctrine casting down the strength of man and his natural integrity, as they call it, imprisoned all flesh under sin, and makes them destitute of the glory of God, Rom 3.9-23.
4. It distinguishes between the law and the gospel, declaring their use and end to be different — the one to kill, the other to make alive; the one to condemn, the other to justify; the one to have an end, the other to be perpetual, etc.: Rom 5.20; 7.4. Gal 3.10-13.
5. The same doctrine of St. Paul, just as it distinguishes between the law and the gospel, so it makes no less distinction between the righteousness of God and the righteousness of man, abhorring the one — that is, man's own righteousness, coming by the law and works — and embracing the other, which God imputes freely and graciously to us for Christ his Son's sake, in whom we believe, Phi 3.9; Rom 4.24.
6. It wipes away all traditions, and constitutions of men, especially from the binding of our conscience, calling them beggarly elements of this world, Gal 4.9; Col 2.20-22.
7. Likewise it rejects and wipes away all curious subtleties, and superfluous speculations, and knows nothing else but Christ and Him crucified, which is the only object to which our faith looks, 1Cor 2.1-2.
8. Furthermore, the same doctrine of St. Paul declares that all men are transgressors by the disobedience of one man, Adam; even though they never touched the apple, they own his stock by nature. So too, this doctrine proves that all men are justified by the obedience of one man, Christ; even though they did not perform his obedience, they are likewise born of Him by spiritual regeneration and faith, Rom 5.17-19.
9. And therefore, just as all men coming from Adam are *condemned* originally, before they grow up to commit any sin against the law; so all men regenerated by faith in Christ are *saved* originally before they begin to do any good work of charity, or any other good deed, Rom 5.18-19.
10. The doctrine of St. Paul, considering the high glory of a Christian man's state in Christ Jesus by faith, [establishes that such faith does the following]:  
*First*, it sets him in a perfect peace with Almighty God, Rom 5.1.

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*Secondly*, exempts him from all condemnation, Rom 8.1.

*Thirdly*, it matches him with angels; makes him equal with saints and fellow-citizens of heaven; numbers him with the household of God; and makes him heir with Jesus Christ himself. Eph 2.19; Rom 8.17.

*Fourthly*, it adopts him from the state of a servant, to the state of *a son of God*, crying, “Abba, Father:” Gal 4.6.

*Fifthly*, it opens to him a bold access and entrance to the high Majesty and throne of grace, Eph 2.18; Heb 4.16.<sup>60</sup>

*Sixthly*, it subjects all things under him, such as ministers — yes, the apostles themselves, in their highest office — death, life, things present, things to come, with the whole world besides; and it assigns to him no spiritual head but Christ alone, saying, “And you are Christ’s, and Christ is God’s,” 1Cor 3.21-23.

*Seventhly*, it advances and sets him in a spiritual liberty or freedom, above all terrors of spirit, either of God’s law, or man’s law; above all dreadful fears of sin, damnation, malediction, rejection, death, hell, or purgatory; above all servile bondage of ceremonies; above men’s precepts, traditions, superstitions, vices, yokes, customs, or whatever else oppresses and entangles the spiritual freedom of a conscience which Christ has set at liberty; and it requires, moreover, that we walk and stand stoutly in that liberty wo which we are brought with the free son of Sarah; and no longer allow ourselves to be clogged with any such servile bondage — that is to say, although we must be content to subject our bodies to all service, and to all men, yet we must not yield our spiritual consciences and souls as slaves and servants, to be subject to the fear or bondage of anything in this world, for we are made lords and princes over all things whatsoever that can harm, bind, or terrify us. Gal 4.9.

11. The right vein of St. Paul’s doctrine makes no distinction between days and times to be observed. Gal 4.10; Col 2.16; Rom 14.5-6.

12. It leaves all foods as indifferent, eaten with thanksgiving; they are to serve the necessity of the body, and not the body to serve them, Col 2.16; 1Tim 4.4.

13. It permits marriage without restraint or exception, as lawful and also expedient for all men having need of it, 1Cor 7.2; Heb 13.4.

14. It admits no other sacrifice for sin, but the sacrifice of Christ alone, and that was done once for all with blood. For without blood there is no remission of sin, which is applied to us by faith alone, and by nothing else, Heb 9.22.

15. Regarding the holy communion, we understand from the first epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, 1Cor, 11.23-26, that the use then among them, was to have the partaking of the bread, called the Lord’s body, *and* of the cup, called the Lord’s blood, administered not at an altar, but at a plain board or table, the congregation meeting there together after the time of their supper. The minister did not receive it alone, as the others looked on; but the whole congregation together communicated with reverence and thanksgiving — not lifting it over the priest’s head, nor worshipping it, nor kneeling before it, nor beating their breasts; but either sitting at the supper, or standing after the supper.

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<sup>60</sup> Foxe, like most reformers, accepts Paul as the author of Hebrews; hence he cites that letter here.

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16. The apostle, besides the sacramental supper, mentions baptism, or the “washing of regeneration,” Tit 3.5 although he himself baptized but few, 1Cor 1.14; he makes no mention of other sacraments.

17. By the same doctrine of St. Paul, no tongue (language) is to be used in the congregation, which is not known, and does not edify, 1Cor 14.2.

18. The rule of St. Paul’s doctrine subjects every creature to the obedience of kings and princes, and ordinary magistrates. Such are ordained by God to have the sword and the authority of public government, to order and dispose in all things that are not contrary to God — whatever pertains to the maintenance of the good, or to the correction of the evil. There is no exemption from their jurisdiction, regardless of vocations or persons, whether they are ecclesiastical or political.

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And therefore it pertains to this office to preserve peace, to set things in lawful order, to preserve Christian discipline in the church of Christ, to remove offenses, to bridle the disobedient, to provide and procure wholesome and faithful teachers over the people, to maintain learning and set up schools, to have oversight not only of the people, but also of all ecclesiastical ministers, to see everyone do his duty, and to remove or punish those who are negligent; also, to call councils and synods, and to provide that the church goods are faithfully dispensed by the hands of true dealers, to the sustenance of the church and of true teachers, and to the public needs of the poor, etc. Rom 13.1,4,6; Tit 3.1.

19. Furthermore, by St. Paul’s doctrine, the ministers of Christ’s church have their authority and armor likewise limited; this armor is spiritual only and not carnal, by which they fight, not against flesh and blood, but against the power of darkness, error, and sin; against spiritual seduction and craftiness in heavenly things; against the works and proceedings of Satan the prince of this world; in comforting weak consciences against the terrors of the devil and desperation; and finally against every thought lifted up against Christ — to subdue every lofty thing to the subjection and power of Christ Jesus the Son of God. Eph 6.13-18.

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To briefly reduce the whole doctrine of St. Paul, it consists chiefly in *these five points*:

**First**, in setting forth the grace, great love and good will, and free promises of God the Father in Christ Jesus his Son, to mankind. God so loved the world that he has given his own Son for the redemption of it, Joh 3.16. He gave his Son to die for us, who were His enemies, Rom 5.8. He has made us alive, who were dead in sin, Eph 2.1. He has so mercifully reconciled the world to himself by his Son; and also by his ambassadors, He desires us to be reconciled us to Him, 2Cor 5.18-20. He has given his own Son to be sin for us, 2Cor 5.21, and to be accursed for us, Gal 3.13. By firm promise, He has assured us of our inheritance, Rom 4.16. Not by the works of righteousness that we have done, but of his own mercy He has saved us by the washing of regeneration, Tit 3.4-5.

The **second** point consists in preaching and expressing the glorious and triumphant majesty of Christ Jesus the Son of God, and the excellency of his glory; who being once dead in the infirmity of the flesh, rose again with power, and ascending up with majesty, has led captivity captive, Eph 4.8. He sits and reigns in glory at the right hand of God in heavenly things, above all principalities, and powers, and dominions, and above every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in the world to come, Eph 1.21. At His name every knee will bow both in heaven and in earth, and under the earth, and every tongue will

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confess our Lord Christ Jesus to the glory of God the Father, Phi 2.10. In Him and by Him all things are made both in heaven and in earth, things visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions, or principalities, or powers — all are created by him and for him, and he is before all, and all things consist in him who is the head of his body, the church, the beginning and firstborn from the dead, in whom dwells all fulness, Col 1.16. The Father has given all judgment to him, and no longer judges any man Himself, Joh 5.22. The Father has given all things into his hands, Joh 13.3. The Father has given him authority over all flesh, Joh 17.2. All authority in heaven and earth has been given to him, Mat 28.18. In Him all the promises of God are yes and amen, 2Cor 1.20.

**Thirdly**, Paul declares the virtue of Christ's cross and passion, and what exceeding benefits proceed to us by them. By Christ's blood we have redemption and the remission of our sins, Eph 1.7. By His stripes we are healed, Isa 53.5. By His cross all things are made peace, both in heaven and in earth, Col 1.20. By His death we are reconciled to God, Rom 5.10. He has destroyed death and brought life to light, 2Tim 1.10. By His death He has destroyed the one who had the power of death, that is, the devil, and He has delivered those who all their life lived in bondage, for fear of death, Heb 2.14-15. By His obedience we are made righteous; by His righteousness we are justified to life, Rom 5.18. By His curse we are blessed, and are delivered from the curse of the law, Gal 3.13. By His blood we who once were far off, are made near to God, Eph 2.13 In one body He has reconciled to God both Jews and Gentiles, Eph 2.16. By his flesh He has taken away the division and separation between God and us, abolishing the law which was set against us in precepts and decrees, Eph 2.14-15. He is our peace, our advocate, and the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, 1Joh 2.2. He was accursed, and made sin for us, that we might be the righteousness of God in him, 2Cor 5.21., He became for us, from God, our wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption, 1Cor 1.30. By Him we have boldness and access with all confidence through faith in him, Eph 3.12. He forgives all our sins, and has torn in pieces the obligation or hand-writing which was against us in the law of the commandments; He has crucified it on the cross, and utterly dispatched and abolished it, and has spoiled principalities and powers, as in an open show of conquest, triumphing over them openly in himself, Col 2.14-15. He justifies the wicked by faith, Rom 4.5. In Him we are made full and complete. Col 2.10, etc.

The **fourth** branch is to teach us and inform us, to whom these benefits of Christ's passion and victory pertain, and by what means they are applied to us. There is only one means, which is by faith in Christ Jesus, and no other thing. It pleases Almighty God to accept this faith for righteousness. And it is this righteousness alone which stands before God, and none other, as we are plainly taught by the Scriptures, and especially by the doctrine of St. Paul. This righteousness thus rising from *faith in Christ*, St. Paul calls the righteousness of God. He speaks of himself utterly refusing the other righteousness which is of the law, so that he might be found in Christ, not having his own righteousness, which is of the law, but the righteousness of Christ, which is of faith, Phi 3.9. Again, in writing of the Jews who sought righteousness and did not find it, and of the Gentiles who did not seek it and yet found it, the apostle shows the reason why: Because, he says, the one sought it by the works of the law, and not knowing the righteousness of God, and seeking to set up their own righteousness, they did not submit themselves to the righteousness which is of God. The other, which were the Gentiles, who did not seek it, obtained righteousness — *that righteousness which is of faith*, etc., Rom 9.30-32. Also, in another place from the same epistle, St. Paul writes of this righteousness which comes from faith, calling it *the righteousness of God*. He says of Christ, "whom God has set forth for a propitiation by faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the

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forbearance of God,” Rom 3.25. By this *righteousness*, it is evident that St. Paul means the *righteousness of faith*, which Almighty God now reveals and makes manifest by the preaching of the gospel. Would you see still more plainly this *righteousness of God* — how it is taken in St. Paul for the *righteousness of faith*, and is therefore called the righteousness of God, because it is imputed by God only to faith, and is not deserved by man? Look in the same epistle to the Romans, third chapter. Paul’s words are manifest: “the righteousness of God,” he says, “is by faith in Jesus Christ, to all and upon all who believe,” etc., Rom 3.22.

Therefore, whoever studies to be accepted by God and to be found righteous in His sight, let him learn diligently, by the doctrine of St. Paul, to differentiate as far as heaven is from earth, between the righteousness of *works*, and the righteousness of *faith*. Bring no other means for his justification, or for the remission of his sins, but faith alone, apprehending the body or person of Christ Jesus crucified. For just as there is no way into the house but by the door, so there is no coming to God but by Christ alone, <sup>Joh 14.6</sup> which is by faith. <sup>Gal 2.16</sup>

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And just as the mortal body, without bodily sustenance of bread and drink, can but perish, so the spiritual soul of man has no other refreshing by which to be saved, except by faith alone in the body and blood of Christ. With this faith, the idolatrous Gentiles apprehended Jesus Christ, and thereby received righteousness. As soon as Cornelius (the first baptized Roman) heard Peter preach Christ, he received straightway the Holy Spirit, Act 10.44. Peter himself confessed, and for his confession had the keys of heaven, Mat 16.19. Zaccheus received the person of Christ into his house, and with this he received salvation both for himself and his whole household, Luk 19.9. What a sinner Mary was, who had no less than seven devils in her; and yet, because she set her heart and affection upon that person of Christ, many sins were forgiven her, Luk 7.47. The thief at Christ’s right hand on the cross, how far he was from all works of the law; and yet by faith he entered into Paradise *justified*, the same day as Christ, Luk 23.43. In like manner, although the poor publican came to the church with less holiness after the law, yet he went home to his house more justified than the Pharisee with all his works, and all because of faith, Luk 18.14. Consider the parable of the prodigal son who was lost, and yet revived again; also of the lost piece of silver; and of the lost sheep which went astray and was found again. Luk 15.11f, 9f, 6f. What do these declare, if not that what is lost by the law, is to be recovered by faith and grace?

And how often do we read in the gospels, “Your faith has saved you,” etc., Luk 18.42; “Jesus, seeing their faith,” etc., Mat 9.2; “Whoever believes in me, I will raise him up at the last day,” etc., Joh 6.40; “Believe also in me,” etc., Joh 14.1; “He that believes in me has everlasting life,” etc., Joh 3.36; “Without me you can do nothing,” etc., Joh 15.5; “He that is in me,” etc., Joh 15.4; “He that loves me,” etc., Joh 14.23; “He that hears me,” etc., Joh 5.24; “He that abides in me,” etc., Joh 15.5; “He that receives me,” etc., Luk 9.48; “Unless you eat my flesh, and drink my blood,” etc., Joh 6.53; “That they may receive forgiveness of sins by faith in me,” etc., Act 26.18; “To Him all the prophets witness, that through his name, whoever believes in Him will receive remission of sins,” etc., Act 10.43; “Whoever believes and is baptized,” etc., Mar 16.16; “Whoever believes in me, the works that I do he will do also, and greater than these,” etc., Joh 14.12. And likewise in the writings of St. Paul, how often do we hear the name of Christ in almost every third or fourth line, where he still repeats, In Christ Jesus — by Christ Jesus — through Jesus Christ our Lord, etc. Who believe in him, etc. All who believe in him, etc. Believing on him, in him, in his name, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc. St. Paul says to the jailor, “Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and you shall be saved, and your house,” etc., Act 16.31.

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Thus you see then, that just as the passion of Christ is the only efficient or personal cause immediate to our salvation; so faith is the only instrumental or mean cause that makes the merits of Christ available. For just as the passion of Christ serves none but those who believe, so neither does faith itself justify (as it is only a bare quality or action in man's mind), unless it is directed to the body of Christ crucified as its *object*, from whom it receives all His virtue. And therefore, these two must always jointly concur together: faith, and Christ Jesus crucified. For example, when the children of Israel were bid by Moses to look up to the bronze serpent, the serpent could not have helped them unless they looked up, nor could their looking up have profited them unless they had directed their eyes to the serpent as the only object for them to behold. So too, our faith directed to the body of Jesus our Savior, is the only means by which Christ's merits are applied to us, and we are justified before God, according to the doctrine of St. Paul. In express words, he defines for us what this faith is, and how it justifies. He says, "if you confess with your mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe in your heart that God has raised him from the dead, you shall be saved," etc. Rom 10.9. Besides this, whatever action or quality there is in man, either hope, charity, or any other kind of faith and believing, however true it is, unless it apprehends this object, which is the body of Christ the Son of God, it does not serve for justification. That is the reason why we add this particle (*only*) to faith, and say that *only* faith in Christ justifies us. It is to exclude all other actions, qualities, gifts, or works of man, from the cause of justifying. For there is no other knowledge or gift given by God to man, however excellent, that can stand before the judgment of God for justification, nor to which any promise of salvation is annexed. There is only *this* faith: looking up to the bronze serpent — that is, to the body of Christ Jesus crucified for us.

For example, when the Turk says that he believes in one living God who made heaven and earth, his belief in this is true, yet it does not justify him, because it lacks the right object, which is Christ. So too, when the Jew says that he believes in one God maker of heaven and earth, and also believes the same God to be omnipotent, merciful, just, and true of promise, and that He has elected the seed of Abraham, it is true that he believes this. And yet all this does not serve him, because Christ the Son of God is not joined with it. And though the said Jew is ever so devout in his prayers, or charitable in alms, or precise in keeping the law, and believes ever so steadfastly that he is elected to be saved, yet he is never any nearer to salvation for all this — so long as his faith is not grounded upon the chief cornerstone, which is the person and body of Jesus Christ, the true Savior. In the same way, it may be said of the papist, when he says that he is baptized, and believes in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, three persons, and one God, and also confesses Jesus Christ to be the Son of God who died for our sins, and rose again for our righteousness, etc., his belief in this is true. And indeed it would save him, if he stayed his salvation in this faith, and upon Christ alone as his Savior according to the promise and grace of God, and goes no further. But this he does not do. Nor does he admit that Christ alone is his perfect Savior, without the help of the patrons, heads, advocates, and mediators. Nor yet does he permit his faith in Christ to be the only means of his justification, but he sets up other by-means, such as hope, charity, the sacrifice of the mass, confession, penance, satisfaction, merits and pardons, supposing thereby to work his justification before God, *contrary* to both the word of promise, the gospel of grace, and the doctrine of St. Paul.

And thus much in the fourth branch, of the **true causes of our justification** according to St. Paul's doctrine. Now, concerning these causes, this distinction is to be added: that regarding the original causes of our salvation, which are various, some are *external* and outside us; some are *internal* and within us.



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Of the EXTERNAL causes which are outside us, the first and principal cause is the mercy and grace of God. Predestination and election follow this. Then comes vocation (the gospel call). The last and next cause is the death and bloodshed of Christ, by which we are redeemed. All these are external causes, because they are outside us.

Of the INTERNAL causes that are in man through the gift of God, there is but one, and no more are appointed in Scripture; and that is our *faith in Christ*, which is the gift of God in us. Eph 2.8 Besides this, there is no gift of God given to man — whether virtue, work, merit, or anything else — that is any part or cause of salvation, but only this gift of faith: *to believe in Christ Jesus*. And this is the reason why we hold that faith alone justifies, meaning that among all the works, deeds, actions, labors and operations whatsoever, that man does or can do, there is nothing in man that works salvation, but only his faith given to him by God to believe in Christ his Son. And therefore, in the epistle to the Romans, St. Paul reasons about the glory of justifying, and asks this question: How is our boasting of this glory excluded? Is it excluded by the law of *works*? And he concludes no; he ascribes the glory of it only to the law of *faith*. And consequently he infers this: “We conclude that a man is justified by faith *without* the deeds of the law,” Rom 3.27-28.

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How then can that, which St. Paul utterly debars and excludes, be counted as any part of our justification? Of which the whole course of St. Paul’s doctrine is full, where he still concludes; “It is the gift of God, not of works, lest any man should boast,” etc., Eph 2.8-9; “Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to His mercy He saved us,” etc. Tit 3.5; “Not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace which was given to us,” etc., 2Tim 1.9; “A man is not justified by works,” etc., Gal 2.16; “To him who does not work, but believes on him who justifies the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness,” etc., Rom 4.5. What does he mean by these plain declarations, if not to utterly exclude all kinds of man’s merits and works of the law, from the office and dignity of justifying? And, although he does not expressly use the word *only*, based on his exclusives and negatives, this exceptive must be inferred.

And thus much concerning faith in Christ proved to be the only means, or instrument, or conditional cause of our salvation. And no other means besides faith alone, was taught by the doctrine of St. Paul to the ancient Romans.

The *fifth* branch, which I note in St. Paul’s doctrine, is this: that after he has thus established us in the certainty of our salvation through faith in Christ, then he vehemently exhorts us to **good works**, showing the true use and end of good works. This is, *first*, to show our obedience and dutiful service to God, who has done such great things for us. *Secondly*, to relieve our neighbors with our charity and kindness, just as God has been kind to us, His enemies. *Thirdly*, to stir up others by our example, to praise God, to embrace the same religion, and to do the same. For it is requisite, that just as God has been so merciful to us, and gracious in eternal gifts, we should likewise be merciful in temporal things. And seeing that it has pleased him of his Fatherly goodness to call us to so high a calling, to give the blood of his Son for us, to forgive us all our sins, to deliver us from this present wicked world, to make us citizens of heaven, indeed, His children more than servants — little then can we do, and well may we think those benefits are ill-bestowed, if we do not forgive our neighbors, and do not show something worthy of that holy calling with which he has called us, in mortifying our worldly lusts here, and pursuing heavenly things. And, *finally*, if being provoked with such love and kindness, we do not render back some love for love, some kindness for kindness, seeking how to walk in the steps which He has prepared for us to

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walk in, serving him (as much as we may), in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life. And though our obedience will always be imperfect, yet we should show obedience, as loving children to such a loving father.

And this is the reason why St. Paul so vehemently and urgently calls upon us to do good works: not that works should justify, but that we being justified so mercifully and tenderly through the grace of God, should not abuse his grace in vain. Rather, we should endeavor to our uttermost, to render our service back to Him, in such a conduct of life as may most make to His glory, and the profit of our neighbor. And though the words of our Savior seem, in some places, to attribute great rewards in heaven to our obedience and charity here on earth, that is of His own free grace and goodness to thus impute small matters for great deserts. And it is not for us to claim any reward thereby, or thanks from his hand, as if any there were any worthiness in our doings. This is no more than the servant can do, when he comes from the plough, and serving the cattle in the field, first serves his master at home, and waits upon his table. The master is not bound (says Christ) to thank his servant because he did the things that were commanded of him: “So likewise you,” he says, “when you have done all those things which are commanded of you, say, ‘We are unprofitable servants; we have done only what was our duty to do,’” Luk 17.10.

Again, here also is to be understood that where such rewards are ascribed to men’s deeds, it is not the worthiness of the deed itself, but the faith of the doer, which makes the work to be good in God’s sight. For if an infidel were to do the same work that the Christian does, it would be nothing but mere sin before God. Therefore, if the Christian man’s work is accepted, however small (such as to give a cup of cold water), it is only for his faith’s sake that God does it, and not for the work which is done. By this, again, we may learn how faith alone justifies a man, and that is in three ways:

*First*, it justifies the person in making him accepted, and the child of God by regeneration, before he begins to do any good work.

*Secondly*, it justifies a man from sin, in procuring remission and forgiveness of the same.

*Thirdly*, it justifies the good deeds and works of man, not only in bringing forth good fruits, but also in making the same works to be good and acceptable in the sight of God, which otherwise would be impure and execrable in his sight.

Therefore, the offices of faith and of works are different, and must not be confounded. Faith goes before, and regenerates a man, and justifies him in the sight of God, both in covering his ill deeds, and making his good deeds acceptable to God — in a sense, climbing up to heaven, and there wrestling with God and his judgment for righteousness, for salvation, and for everlasting life. Works and charity *follow* faith. They are exercised here on earth, and have glory only before man, but not before God, in showing forth obedience both to God and to man. Our good works do not reach further than this, nor do they have anything to do in the judgment of God, regarding salvation. I speak of our good works (as St. Paul speaks of them in Romans 7). as they are ours, and imperfect. For if our works could be perfect according to the perfection of the law, as Christ wrought them in the perfection of his flesh — that is, if we could perfect them — then as it is said: “The man who does those things shall live by them,” Rom 10.5. But now, seeing that the weakness of our flesh cannot attain that, it follows that all glory of justifying is taken away from works, and transferred to faith alone.

And thus much concerning the principal contents of St. Paul’s doctrine. The church of the ancient Romans was first grounded and planted in this, and so continued, or at least it did not alter much during the primitive state of the church. Likewise, the later Romans should

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have maintained the same form of doctrine, and not have fallen away for any man's preaching, but should have held him accursed — “even if he were an apostle or angel from heaven, teaching any other doctrine than that which we have preached to you ,” Gal 1.8. For so they were warned before to do by the apostle St. Paul. And yet, notwithstanding all this forewarning and diligent instruction by this blessed apostle of the Gentiles, what a defection of faith has fallen among the Gentiles, especially among the Romans, which the apostle also foretold them so long before, prophesying that the day of the Lord “will not come unless a falling away comes first, and the man of sin is revealed,” etc., 2The 2.3. This meant a departing and a falling from that faith which the Holy Spirit had then planted by his ministry among the Gentiles — as we see it has now come to pass in the church of Rome. That church has so gone from the faith that St. Paul taught, that if he were now alive and saw these things.

— the decrees and decretals of the bishop of Rome, these heaps of ceremonies and traditions, these mass-books, these festivals and legends, these processions, hymns, and sequences, these beads and graduals, and the manner of their invocation, their canons, censures, and later councils, such swarms of superstitious monks and friars, such sects, and so many diverse religions — the testament of St. Francis, the rule of St. Benedict, of St. Bridget, of St. Anthony, etc. — the intricate subtleties and labyrinths of the schoolmen, the infinite cases and distinctions of the canonists, the sermons in churches, the assertions in schools, the glory of the pope, the pride of the clergy, the cruelty of persecuting prelates with their officials and promoters —

he would say this was not a defection, but rather a plain destruction and ruin of faith. Nor would he say that this was any true church of Christ, but a new-found religion, or rather paganism, brought in under the shadow of Christianity, in which remains almost nothing besides the name of Christ, and the outward form of his religion. The true vein and effect of it, however, is utterly decayed; as will soon appear to those who examine all the parts of this new Romish religion.

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Except that they pretend the solemn form and words of the creed, and are baptized by confessing the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, in all other points, and in true sincerity of the Christian faith — which they profess only outwardly — they are utterly degenerated from that which St. Paul and the word of God had first taught them.

For they confess the Father in word, but they renounce his will as expressed in his word; they do not acknowledge his grace; they do not receive his benefits and promises given to us in his Son; they do not feel the vigor of his law; they do not fear the terror of his judgments; and they observe his commandments by traditions and commandments of their own.

Likewise they confess the name of Christ his Son in word, but in deed they deface and diminish his office; they do not seek his glory, but under his name they seek their own glory; they do not know the power of his blood and passion, for they neither admit that He is the head of his church alone, nor Savior alone, nor our only patron and advocate. Rather, they place him with the Virgin Mary and other patrons, so that almost every parish in Christendom has its peculiar patron, besides Christ.

In like manner, they confess the name of the Holy Spirit, but God knows how far they are from the comfort, knowledge, and taste of the Holy Spirit. This may well appear by their councils, by their expounding of Scripture, by their superstitious ceremonies, by their outward worshipping, and idolatrous invocation to stocks and stones, and to dead creatures,

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by their scrupulous observation of days, times, places, numbers and gestures; and no less also by their *doctrine*, which defrauds the poor hearts of simple Christians, of their due consolation, joy and liberty in the Holy Spirit. It keeps them in a servile bondage, and a doubtful uncertainty of their salvation, contrary to the working of the Holy Spirit of God.

And thus the church of Rome, only pretending the name of Christ and of his religion, is so far altered from the truth of what it pretends, that under the name of Christ, it persecutes both Christ and his religion. It works more harm to the church of Christ than the open tyrants and persecuting emperors among the heathen ever did. It is not unlike the old synagogue of the scribes and Pharisees who crucified the Son of God in the name of God; and fought against the gospel under pretense of the law; and persecuted the children of Abraham under the title of Abraham's children. They destroyed the true temple of the Lord, boasting so highly of the physical temple of the Lord. So too, these pretended catholics in these days, after they raised up a catholic church of their own, and armed it with laws, and gathered a multitude of priests, prelates, abbots, priors, monks, cardinals, and also secular princes, to take their part — now, under the *name* "catholic church," they persecute the *true* catholic church. Still coloring their proceeding with the name of the Lord, they most cruelly put to death those who die for the name of the Lord, condemning them as heretics, schismatics, and rebels — those who deny no part of the creed which these catholics profess themselves, and whom they cannot convince by any Scripture — who will not join with their errors and heresies which are contrary to the honor of God, and truth of his word.

And lest any think that our protest against the corrupt errors and manifold deformities of this later church of Rome proceeds more from rancor or affection, rather than being grounded on necessary causes and demonstration, my purpose is to take some little pains in addressing this. A little earlier, I collected the contents of ST. PAUL'S DOCTRINE, with which the old church of Rome was first seasoned and acquainted.<sup>61</sup> So now, in a similar summary table, I will describe the particular branches and contents of the POPE'S DOCTRINE, so that all true Christian readers, comparing one with the other, may discern what great alteration there is between the church of Rome that now is, and the church of Rome that then was planted by the apostles in the primitive time. And to open to the simple reader some way by which he may better judge in such matters of doctrine, and not be deceived in discerning truth from error, we will first propound certain *Principles* or *General Propositions*. These are infallible rules or truths of the Scripture, by which all other doctrines and opinions of men may be tried and examined, as with a touchstone,<sup>62</sup> to more easily judge whether they are true or false, and whether they contradict the Scripture, or not.

### ***Twenty Biblical Principles.***

1. Just as sin and death came originally by the disobedience of one to all men of his generation by nature, so righteousness and life came originally by the obedience of one to all men regenerated of Him, by faith and baptism, Rom 5.15.
2. The promise of God was freely given to our first parents, without their deserving, that the seed of the woman would bruise the serpent's head, Gen 3.15.
3. The promise was given freely to Abraham, before he deserved anything, that in his seed all nations would be blessed, Gen 12.3.

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<sup>61</sup> See above, those nineteen doctrinal points, reduced to five branches.

<sup>62</sup> *Touchstone*: a basis for comparison; a reference point or standard against which other things can be evaluated.

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4. We must neither add to, nor diminish from the word of God, Deu 4.2.
5. Whoever does the works of the law, shall live by them, Lev 18.5; Gal 3.12.
6. Accursed is the one who does not abide in everything that is written in the book of the law, Deu 27.26; Gal 3.10.
7. God alone is to be worshipped, Deu 6.13; Luk 4.8; [Isa 45.6]
8. All our righteousnesses are like filthy rags, Isa 64.6.
9. In all my holy hill they shall not kill nor slay, says the Lord, Isa 11.9; 65.25.
10. God loves mercy and obedience more than sacrifice, Hos 6.6; 1Sam 15.22.
11. The law brings about wrath, condemns and exposes sin, Rom 4.15; 3.19-20.
12. Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to everyone who believes, Rom 10.4.
13. Whoever believes and is baptized, shall be saved, Mar 16.16.
14. A man is justified by faith without works of the law, freely by God's grace, and not of ourselves, Gal 2.16; Eph 2.8-9.
15. There is no remission of sins without shedding of blood, Heb 9.22.
16. Whatever is not of faith is sin, Rom 14.23. Without faith it is impossible to please God, Heb 11.6.
17. There is one mediator between God and man, Christ Jesus, 1Tim 2.5; And he is the propitiation for our sins, 1Joh 2.2.
18. Whoever seeks to be justified by the law, has fallen from grace, Gal 5.4.
19. In Christ all the promises of God are yes and amen, 2Cor 1.20.
20. Let every soul be subject to the higher powers (governing authorities), giving to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's, Rom 13.1; Mar 12.17.

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Just as no man can deny these principles and infallible rules of the Scripture, so if they are granted, the doctrine of the pope's church must be found not to be catholic, but rather full of errors and heresies. In the sequel,<sup>63</sup> by the grace of Christ, this remains to be proved more expressly and particularly. For now, I proceed to give a summary account of the errors, heresies, and absurdities that are contained in the pope's doctrine, which are contrary to the rules of God's word, and the first institution of the church of Rome.

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<sup>63</sup> Foxe uses *sequel*, throughout, to mean the aftermath of the things he lists, *i.e.*, their consequences or results.

## ***Doctrinal Errors of this Roman Church***

### **OF FAITH AND JUSTIFICATION**

First, as to the only means and cause of our justification, by which the merits of Christ's passion are applied to us and made ours, we saw before how St. Paul ascribes it only to faith. This appears in all his epistles, especially to the Romans, where he excludes all kinds of works, and ascribes all our salvation, justification, righteousness, reconciliation, and peace with God, only to faith in Christ. Contrary to this doctrine, the pope and his church have set up diverse and sundry other means of their own devising, by which the merits of Christ's passion (as they say) are applied to us and made ours, to the putting away of sins, and for our justification — such as hope, charity, sacrifice of the mass, auricular confession, satisfaction, merits of saints and holy orders, the pope's pardons, etc. So that, according to this teaching, Christ's sacrifice, stripes, and suffering do not heal us, however well we may believe, unless we also add these works and merits recited above. If this is true, then what Isaiah the prophet promises is false, "by his stripes we are healed," etc. (chapter 53.5). At first sight, this error and heresy of the church of Rome, seems to the natural reason of man to be but of small importance. Yet if earnestly considered, it is indeed one of the most pernicious heresies that ever crept into the church. All or the greater part of the errors, absurdities, and inconveniences of the pope's church, are grounded upon this heresy, as their foundation. For once this is admitted, that a man is *not* justified by his faith in Christ alone, but that other means must be sought by our own working and merits to apply the merits of Christ's passion to us, there is neither any certainty left of our salvation, nor any end to setting up new means and merits of our own devising for the remission of sins. There has not been any heresy that has rebelled more presumptuously against the high majesty of God the Father, nor more perniciously injured the souls of the simple, than this doctrine.

First of all, it subverts the will and testament of God. For almighty God, of his mercy, has given us his Son to die for us. And with him, God has given his full promise that whoever believes in him will be saved by faith. He assigns no other condition either of the law or of works, but only of faith, to be the means between his Son and us. However, these men take it upon themselves to alter this testament that God has set, and to add other conditions which the Lord in his word never appointed or knew. The words of Jerome's commentary on the epistle to the Galatians, may be well applied to them: "They make of the gospel of Christ, the gospel of men, or rather the gospel of the devil," etc.

Secondly, the Christian reading in the gospel, of the great grace and sweet promises of God given to mankind in Christ his Son, might thereby take much comfort of soul, and be at rest and peace with the Lord his God. But then comes the pestiferous doctrine of these heretics, with which they obscure this free grace of God, choke the sweet comforts of man in the Holy Spirit, oppress Christian liberty, and bring us into spiritual bondage.

Thirdly, in their impious doctrine, they show themselves to be manifest enemies to God's grace. And they are no less injurious to Christian men, whom they leave in doubtful distrust of God's favor and of their salvation, contrary to the word and will of God, and the right institution of the apostolic doctrine. And whereas they object to us, that we rather leave men's conscience uncertain, for if life (they say) were not a due reward, it would be uncertain. And to the extent that the due debt is *certain*, and mercy or favor is *uncertain*, we are therefore (they say) leaving men's consciences to the mercy of God, and in doubtful uncertainty of their salvation. To this I answer that due debt, if it is proved to be duly deserved by the law, it must be certain. But if the law proves it to be imperfect, or not due, then it is *not* certain, nor can there be anything duly claimed.

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Now, regarding mercy, for so long as it remains secret in the prince's will, and is not known to his subjects, it is uncertain. But when this mercy is openly published by proclamation, ratified by promise, conferred by will and testament, established in blood, and sealed with sacraments, then this mercy no longer remains doubtful, but should be firmly believed by every true faithful subject. And therefore, to establish our hearts in this assurance, and to answer this doubt, in his epistle to the Romans, St. Paul teaches us, saying, "Therefore it is of faith, that it might be by grace, to the end that the promise might be sure to all the seed," Rom 4.16. Meaning by this, that works have nothing to do in this case of justifying, and he states the reason why: for then our salvation would stand in doubt, because in working, we are never certain whether our deserts are perfect and sufficient in God's judgment or not. And therefore (says St. Paul), with the intent that our salvation should be beyond all doubt, and certain, it does not stand by works in *deserving*, but by faith in *apprehending*, and by God's free grace in *promising*.

Fourthly, just as their sinister doctrine breaks this principle of Christian religion, that *a man is justified by faith without works*, so again, it breaks another principle repeated above. For this rule being granted, *that nothing is to be added to God's word, nor taken from it*, these men have done wickedly in adding (as they do) to God's word. For the word of God limits our justification to no condition but faith: "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and you shall be saved, and your household," etc. Act 16.31. These men add other conditions besides, which the word excludes, such as hope, charity, the sacrifice of the mass, the work of the priest, auricular confession, satisfaction, meritorious deeds, etc. And thus much concerning the doctrine of faith and justification. By this it may appear to what horrible blindness and blasphemy the church of Rome has now fallen, where such false doctrine is not only permitted, but also publicly professed.

### OF WORKS AND THE LAW

As regarding the doctrine of good works and the law, we have seen before what the teaching of St. Paul was to the Romans. Although he excludes good works from the office of justifying, he does not exclude them from the practice and conduct of Christian life. Rather, he most earnestly calls upon all faithful believers in Christ to walk worthy their calling, to lay down their old conduct, to make their members servants of righteousness, to offer their bodies up to God as a living sacrifice, etc. The reformed churches follow his teaching, as their sermons, preachings, writings, exhortings, and lives bear record. Although they cannot say with Christ, "Which of you convicts me of sin?" yet they may say to their adversaries, whichever of you is without fault, cast the first stone of reproach against us. <sup>Joh 8.7</sup>

Regarding this part of doctrine, what the errors of the church of Rome are, remains to be stated.

**First.** Their first error stands in this: that misunderstanding the nature of good works, they call good works, not what are properly commanded by the law of God, but what are agreeable to the pope's law — such as building abbeys and churches, giving to the high altar, founding trentals (paid requiem masses), finding chantries (endowments for singing masses), gilding images, hearing masses, going on pilgrimage, fighting for the holy cross, keeping vows, entering into orders, fasting vigils, creeping to the cross, praying to saints, etc. All of these are not only reputed to be good works, but they are so preferred above all other works, that pardon is given from the pope for these, double and triplefold, more than to any other good work of charity commanded in the law of almighty God.

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**Secondly.** Another error too may be noted in the papists, regarding the efficient or formal cause of good works. Although they all confess in their books, that “the grace of God truly given” is the chief and principal cause of it, and works in us “the first justification” (as they call it), yet they refer the good works *after* regeneration to other subordinate causes, under God — such as free-will, or “a habit of virtue,” or “natural integrity,” and nothing at all to faith. Whereas faith alone, next under God, is the root and fountain of well-doing. In the fruits of a good tree, even though the planter or the husbandman is the principal agent, and some cause also may be found in the good ground, yet the *immediate* cause is the root that makes the tree fruitful. In like manner, the grace of God, in a soft, repentant, and mollified heart, plants the gift of faith. And faith, like a good root, cannot lie dead or unoccupied, but springs forth, and makes both the tree fruitful, and the fruit good. They would have no goodness in them, if not for the goodness of the root from which they spring. So St. Paul, though he had certain works in him before his conversion, yet had he no good works before the grace of Christ had rooted faith in him. So too with Mary Magdalene, the sinner, and Zaccheus the publican. So the nations of the Gentiles began to bring forth fruit, and especially good fruit, when they began to be ingrafted into Christ, and to receive the root of his faith. Their fruits before that were all damnable and unsavory. Therefore, regarding the *cause* of good works, there is no other cause in man but faith. Just as it is the office of faith to justify us in heaven, so the nature of it here on earth is to work by love, just as the root works by the sap. For as a man sees and feels by faith the love and grace of God toward him in Christ his Son, he begins to love again both God and man, and to do for his neighbor as God has done to him. And from this properly springs the running fountain of all good works and deeds of charity.

**Thirdly,** just as they err in the *cause* of good works, so they err much more in the *end* (the purpose) of the law, and of good works. For St. Paul teaches that the law is given to this use and end: to convict us of our transgressions, to prove us sinners, to show and condemn our infirmity, and to drive us to Christ. But they take and apply no other end to the law, than to make us perfect, to keep us from wrath, and to make us just before God! And likewise, where St. Paul proves that all our good works are imperfect, and he utterly excludes them from justifying, they contrariwise teach as though the end of good works was to merit remission of sins, to satisfy God, to deserve grace, and to redeem souls from purgatory — that by these things, the regenerate man pleases God, and is made just before God. For so they teach most wickedly and horribly, saying that Christ suffered for original sin, or sins preceding baptism; but the actual sins which follow baptism, must be removed by men’s merits. And so they assign to Christ the beginning of salvation, or obtaining the first grace (as they call it), but the perfection or consummation of grace they give to works and our own strength. Neither can they bear the doctrine that we are justified freely by the mercy of God through faith alone apprehending the merits of Christ. However, all papists do not agree in this error. For some make a distinction, and say that we are justified by Christ principally; and by the dignity of our own deeds, less principally. Others hold that we are made righteous before God, not by our works that go before faith, but by our virtues that follow after. Some again expound the saying of St. Paul this way: “We are justified by faith,” (they say) — that is, by faith *preparing* us, or setting us in a good way to be justified. Others expound it as faith conjoined together with other virtues. Others expound the term *by faith*, as being formed with charity, etc. Thus, all these derogate from the benefit of Christ, and they attribute to works a great or the greatest part of our justification. This is directly against the true vein of St. Paul’s doctrine, against first institution of the ancient church of Rome, and against all the principles of holy Scripture.



**Fourthly**, as to the doctrine of the law and good works, they err in misunderstanding the nature of the law and works. For where St. Paul argues that the law is spiritual, and requires perfect obedience of us, who being carnal we are never able to accomplish, they affirm otherwise. They say that the law requires only the *outward* obedience of man, and is contented with that. And (they say) man is not only able to perform this obedience, but also to do more and greater things than the law requires. From this arise the works of *supererogation*. There are also (they say) certain works of the law which do not pertain to all men, but are counsels left for perfect men, as matter for them to gain merit, and these they call “works of perfection,” or “works of supererogation.” They also add new devices to these, to serve God following their own traditions outside of the word of God — such as monastical vows, willful poverty, taking on different foods and garments, pilgrimages to relics and saints, worshipping the dead, superstitious ceremonies, rosaries, etc. with other such things. And these they call “works of perfection,” which they prefer before the other works commanded in the law of God. They go so far, that in comparison to these, the other necessary duties commanded and commended by the word of God (such as holding office in the commonwealth, living in the godly state of matrimony, having the office of a servant in a household) are contemned, and accounted as profane in comparison to these.

### **OF SIN**

They do not rightly teach about sin, nor do they follow the institution of the apostles, and the ancient church of Rome. They do not consider the deepness and largeness of sin, supposing it still to be nothing else but the inward actions with consent of will, or the outward actions that are against will; whereas the strength of sin extends not only to these, but also comprehends the blindness and ignorance of the mind, lack of knowledge and true fear of God, the untowardness of man’s mind to God-ward, the privy rebellion of the heart against the law of God, the undelightful will of man to God and his word. The sense of flesh St. Paul also calls an enemy against God, and feels in himself, that is, in his flesh, nothing dwelling but sin.

Also, regarding the original sin in which we are born. This is the destruction of original righteousness, and of God’s image in us (remaining in us, and bringing forth in us wicked thoughts, affections, and motions of sin against the law of God, and never ceasing so long as man lives). The pope’s doctrine does not deny this original sin, yet it much extenuates it, and holds that this inward concupiscence, and these vicious affections, are not mortal nor damnable sins, and that this concupiscence in us is no depravation of the higher, but only of the lower parts of man. It is an indifferent thing, and no less natural in us than the appetite to eat and drink. And it remains in the saints after baptism, to be to them an occasion of more meriting.

### **OF PENANCE OR REPENTANCE**

This later church of Rome has made a sacrament of penance, which they say consists of three parts: Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction. Contrition (as they teach) may be had by strength of free-will, without the law and the Holy Spirit, through man’s own action and endeavor. This *contrition* must be sufficient, and so it merits remission of sin. In *confession* they require a full reciting of all sins, by which the priest, knowing the crimes, may minister satisfaction accordingly; and this recitation of sins is said to deserve remission. *Satisfactions* they call “works not due,” enjoined by the spiritual father. And this satisfaction (they say) takes away and changes eternal punishment into temporal pains, which are then mitigated by this satisfaction. And in turn, these satisfactions may be taken away by the pope’s indulgence, etc.

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This unsavory and heathenish doctrine of penance differs much from the true teaching of holy Scripture, which says that repentance properly contains three parts: contrition, faith, and new life. Scripture calls contrition the sorrow of heart, rising upon the consideration of the sin that was committed, and the anger of God that was provoked. This sorrow drives a man to Christ for succor, from which faith arises. Faith afterward brings amendment or *newness of life*,<sup>Rom 7.6</sup> which we call new obedience, bringing forth fruits worthy of repentance.<sup>Luk 3.8</sup>

### THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL

There is nothing more necessary and comfortable for troubled consciences, than to be well instructed in the difference between *The Law* and *The Gospel*. But the church of Rome is much to blame for confounding those two things together, which are so diverse in nature, and contrary to one another. For example, confounding threatenings (the law) with promises (the gospel) — things temporal with things eternal— sorrowful things with glad tidings — death with life — bondage with freedom, etc. The church of Rome teaches the people that whatever the law says, the gospel confirms; and whatever the gospel says, it is agreeable to the law. And so they make no distinction between Moses and Christ, except that Moses was the giver of the *old* law, and Christ was the giver of the *new* and a more perfect law. And thus they imagine the gospel is nothing else but a new law given by Christ, binding to its promises the condition of our doings and deservings, no different than the old law. Accordingly, they divide the whole law into *three parts* — to wit, THE LAW OF NATURE, THE LAW OF MOSES, and THE LAW OF CHRIST. And as for the gospel, it is revealed for no other reason (they say), than to show the world more perfect precepts and counsels than were in the old law. They attribute JUSTIFICATION to the fulfilling of this law. And so they leave the poor consciences of men in perpetual doubt, and induce other manifold errors. They bring the people into a false opinion of Christ, as though He were not a remedy *against* the law, but came as another Moses, to give a *new* law to the world.

Furthermore, not distinguishing between the nature of the law and the nature of the gospel, they confound Moses and Christ together. Nor do they keep the time of the law, and the time of the gospel apart. St. Paul, however, brings in the law as a schoolmaster,<sup>Gal 3.24</sup> and limits its time until Christ. He says that Christ is the end of the law;<sup>Rom 10.4</sup> that is, where the law ceases, Christ begins; and where Christ begins, the law ends. Those of this Roman church, on the other hand, make out the law to have no end or ceasing, but give it immortal life and a kingdom equal with Christ, so that Christ and the law reign together over the soul and conscience of man. *This is untrue*; for either Christ must give way and the law stands, or else the law (I mean the condemnation and malediction of the law) must end, and Christ reigns. For both of these, Christ and the Law, grace and malediction, cannot reign and govern together. But Christ the Son of God, who once died, can die no more, but must reign forever. This is why the law with its strength, sting, and curse must cease and have an end. And this is what St. Paul says, speaking of the triumph of Christ — that ascending up he led captivity captive, and has set man at liberty;<sup>Eph 4.8</sup> not at liberty to live as the flesh lusts, nor freeing him from the use and exercise of the law, but only from the dominion and power of the law. So that “there is now no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus, who do not walk after the flesh, etc.” Rom 8.1, 4. And in another place, St. Paul speaking of the same power and dominion of the law, says that Christ “Blotting out the hand-writing of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to the cross,” Col 2.14. So that, as the kingdom of Christ first began upon the cross, even

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so — upon the same cross, and at the same time — the kingdom of the law expired. And the malediction of the law was so crucified upon the cross, that it shall never rise again, to have any power against those who are in Christ Jesus. As St. Paul says, it is like a woman who is discharged from her first husband who died, and has married another man. The first husband no longer has power over her, Rom 7.2. In the same way, being espoused to Christ, (our second husband) we are utterly discharged from the law (our first husband). “We are no longer under the law, but under grace” (Rom 6.14), that is, we are no longer under the dominion and malediction of the law; but we are under grace, that is, under perpetual remission of sins, committed not only before our baptism, but after baptism as well, and all during our lifetime. For the grace of God properly consists in not imputing sin to us, so often as the repenting sinner, rising up by faith, flies to Christ and apprehends God’s mercy and remission promised in him. This is according to the testimony of the Psalmist, “Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputes no sin,” Psa 32.2, etc.; and also of “all the prophets, who witness that through His name, all who believe in him will receive remission of their sins,” as St. Peter says, Act 10.43.

This being so, and it cannot be denied, what need is there for these private and extraordinary remissions to be brought into the church by ear-confession, by meritorious deeds, and by the pope’s pardons? For if there is no condemnation except by the law, and if this law itself, which was the first husband, is made captive, crucified, abolished, and departed, then what condemnation can there be to those who are in Christ Jesus, or by whom would it come? If there is no condemnation, but a free and general deliverance for all men, gotten once by the victory of Christ from the penalty of the law, <sup>Rom 6.10</sup> then what need is there for any particular remission of sins to be sought at various times at the priest’s hands or the pope’s pardons? Whoever has a *general* pardon, needs no *particular* pardon. If remedy for sin is general and perpetual, once gotten forever for all those who are in Christ Jesus, then what need is there for any other remedy by auricular confession?

If it is *not* general and perpetual, then how is it true when St. Paul says that the law is crucified, and condemnation is abolished? Or how does redemption stand perpetual and general, if remission is not general? For what else is redemption, if not remission of sin, or sins bought out (paid for)? Or what else does it mean to kill the law, if not to discharge us from condemnation forever? The one who delivers his friend out of his enemy’s hand for a time does him good; but if he kills that enemy, once out of the way, he gives his friend perpetual safety. So too, if remission of sins by Christ were for *some* sins, and not for *all* sins, then the law must still live. But the killing and crucifying of the law imports full and absolute remission, and that our safety is perpetual. But here someone will object, How is remission of sins certain and perpetual, seeing that new offenses, being committed daily, require new remission daily? I answer that although sins do grow daily, by which we must daily desire God to “forgive us our trespasses,” yet notwithstanding, the *cause* of our remission stands ever one and perpetual. Nor is it to be repeated anymore, nor is any other cause to be sought besides that alone. This cause is the body of Christ sacrificed once upon the cross for all sins that either have been or ever shall be committed. Besides this cause there is no other that remits sins, neither confession nor men’s pardons.

Furthermore, just as the *cause* is one and ever perpetual, which works remission of sins for us, so the promise of God is ever one, once made, and it stands perpetual, offering remission to the faith of the repenting sinner. And because the promise of God is always sure and cannot fail, which offers remission to all those who believe in Christ — limited neither to time nor number — we may therefore boldly conclude that whenever a repenting sinner

believes, and by faith applies to himself the sacrifice of Christ, he has by God's own promise, the remission of his sins, whether they were done before or after baptism.

Moreover, the promise of God offers remission to the repentant sinner by no other means or condition but one, which is by faith in Christ. Therefore, excluding all other means and conditions of man's own working, we say that whatever repenting sinner believes in Christ, has already in himself (and need not seek any priest) perpetual assurance of remission — not for this time or that time only, but *forever!* For the promise does not say that whoever believes in Christ will be pardoned *this* time, so he sins no more; nor does it say that the law is stayed or the sentence reprieved.

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But it says plainly that the law, with her condemnation and sentence, is itself condemned and crucified, and will never rise again for those who are in Christ Jesus, and it promises remission of sins, without limitation, "To all who believe in His name," etc. Act 10.43. Likewise in another place, the Scripture, speaking absolutely, says, "Sin shall not have dominion over you." And it adds the reason why, saying, "Because you are not under the law but under grace," Rom 6.14 — thus adding this lesson: not that sinners should sin more because they are under grace, [but the promise is made] only that weak infirmities might be relieved, broken consciences be comforted, and repenting sinners be preserved from desperation, to the praise of God's glory. For just as God does not forgive sinners because they would sin, neither does our infirmity of falling diminish the grace of Christ, but rather illustrates it. As it is written, "My strength is made perfect in weakness," 2Cor 12.9. And again, "Where sin abounded, grace abounded much more," Rom 5.20.

In remission of sins, therefore, these four things must concur together: *first*, the cause that works (which is the sacrifice of Christ's body); *secondly*, the promise that offers; *thirdly*, faith that apprehends and applies; and *fourthly*, the repenting sinner who receives. And although sins grow daily, which provokes us to I crave remission daily. Yet, regarding the *cause* that works the remission of our daily sins, and the means which apply that cause to us, these remain always one and perpetual. Besides them, no other cause or means is to be sought by man. So that to those who are repenting sinners, and in Christ Jesus, there is no law to condemn them, even though they have deserved condemnation. But they are under a perpetual kingdom, and a heaven full of grace, with remission to cover their sins and not to impute their iniquities, through the promise of God in Christ Jesus our Lord.

And therefore the doctrine is wicked and impious of those, *first*, who seek any other cause of remission than the blood of our Savior alone; *secondly*, who assign any other means to apply the blood-shedding of Christ to us, besides faith alone; *thirdly* and especially, who limit and restrain the eternal privilege of Christ's passion, as though it served only for sins done without and before faith, and that the rest that are committed after baptism, must be done away by confession, pardons, and deeds of satisfaction. And all of this arises because the true nature of the law and the gospel is not known, nor the difference rightly considered between the times of the one and of the other. Neither, again, do they make any distinction between the *malediction* of the law, and the *use* of the law. And therefore, whenever they hear us speak of the law (meaning the *malediction* of the law) being abolished, they maliciously slander us, as though we spoke against the good exercises of the law, and gave liberty to carnal men to live as they like. More will be said about this (by the Lord's grace) as place and time hereafter require.

## **OF FREE-WILL**

Concerning free-will, it may perhaps be admitted that in some cases, men without grace may do some outward functions of the law, and keep some outward observances or traditions. It may also be admitted that, as to things which are spiritual and pertain to salvation, the strength of a man who is not regenerate by grace, is so infirm and impotent, that he can perform nothing well, neither *doing* nor *willing* well. After he is regenerated by grace, he may work and do well, and yet there still remains a great imperfection of the flesh, and a perpetual conflict between the flesh and the spirit. <sup>Gal 5.17</sup> And thus the original church of the ancient Romans was first instructed. From this we may see how far this later church of Rome has degenerated, which holds and affirms that men without grace may perform the obedience of the law, and prepare themselves for grace by working, so that those works may be meritorious, and obtain grace by congruity [with the law]. This grace, being obtained, men may then (they say) perfectly perform the full obedience of the law, and accomplish those spiritual actions and works which God requires. And so those works of condignity *deserve* everlasting life. As for the infirmity which still remains in our nature, they do not regard it nor once speak of it.

## **OF INVOCATION AND ADORATION**

Besides these uncatholic and almost unchristian absurdities and departures from the apostolical faith, let us consider the manner of their invocation — not to God alone, as they should, but to dead men — saying that saints are to be called upon as mediators of *intercession*; and Christ as the mediator of *salvation*. And they affirm, moreover, that Christ was a mediator only in the time of his passion. This is repugnant to the words of St. Paul, writing to the old Romans in Rom 8.34. He speaks of the intercession of Christ, and says, “He is at the right hand of God, and also makes intercession for us,” etc. And if Christ is a mediator of salvation, then why do we need any other intercession of the saints for our petitions? For once salvation is had, what more can we require? Or what more does a believer want to be obtained by other saints, who is sure to be saved only by Christ? And then in their devotions, if salvation belongs only to Christ, why do they teach us to pray to the blessed Virgin this way: “Save all those who glorify You” — unless they purposely study to appear contrary to themselves?

To this also pertains the worshipping of relics, and the false adoration of sacraments; that is, the outward signs of the things signified. Add to this also, the profaning of the Lord’s Supper by using it contrary to the use for which it was ordained — in storing it after the communion (in the *sacristy*), in selling it for money, and falsely persuading both themselves and others, that the priest derives merit for himself as the speaker, and also for the one who hears it, by merely partaking of the elements, even without having devotion in him (faith). <sup>1Cor 11.29</sup>

## **OF SACRAMENTS, BAPTISM AND THE LORD’S SUPPER**

Regarding the sacraments, their doctrine is likewise corrupt and erroneous.

*First*, they err falsely in the number; for where the institution of Christ ordains but two, they have added five other sacraments.

*Secondly*, they err in the use; for where the word has ordained those sacraments to excite our faith, and to give us admonitions about spiritual things, they contrariwise teach that the sacraments not only stir up faith, but also that they avail and are effectual *without* faith, as we find in the writings of Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and others.

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*Thirdly*, they fail in the operation and effect of the sacraments, where contrary to the mind of the Scriptures, they say that the sacraments give grace, and not only signify, but also contain and exhibit what they signify — to wit, grace and salvation.<sup>64</sup>

*Fourthly*, they also err in application, by applying their sacraments both to the quick and the dead, and also to those who are absent, for remission of sins, releasing pain, etc.

They are to be reproved in the sacrament of baptism, not only for adding to the simple words of Christ's institution diverse other new found rites and the fancies of men, but also where the use of the old church of Rome was only to baptize men, they also baptize bells, and apply the words of baptism to water, fire, candles, stocks and stones, etc.

But especially in the Lord's Supper their doctrine most filthily swerves from the right mind of the Scriptures, from all order, reason and fashion, and is most worthy to be driven out of all Christian churches. Regarding this sacrament, the first error is their idolatrous abuse by worshipping, adoring, censing, knocking, and kneeling to it; also in storing and carrying the elements about with pomp and procession in towns and fields. Secondly, also their teaching is monstrous in the substance of it: they say there is no substance of bread and wine remaining, but only the real body and blood of Christ, making no distinction between *calling* and *making*. Because Christ *called* the bread His body, they say he therefore *made* it his body; and so they make a perilous idol of a wholesome sacrament.

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And what the old church of Rome always took to be a *mystery*, they turn into a blind mist of mere incidentals to blur the people's eyes, making them believe they see what they do not see, and not see what they do see; and to worship a made thing as their Maker, a creature for their Creator. What was threshed out of a sheaf of wheat, they set up in the church and worship as a savior. And when they have worshipped "him," then they offer him to his father. And when they have offered "him," they eat him up, or else close him tight in a pit (the sacristy) where, if "he" corrupts and putrefies before he is eaten, then they burn him to powder and ashes, despite knowing full well by the Scriptures, that the body of Christ can never corrupt and putrefy. Yet for all this corruption, they need to make it the body of Christ, and burn all those who do not believe what is against true Christian belief, Act 2.27.

### OF MATRIMONY

The order and rule which St. Paul set for marriage is manifest in his epistle to the Corinthians where, as he prefers single life in those who have the gift of continence (celibacy) before the married estate, so again, in those who do not have the gift, he prefers the married life before the other, willing every such man to have a wife, to avoid fornication, 1Cor 7.2. Furthermore, the apostle allows a bishop to be the husband of one wife (so he did not follow the practice of the Jews, who were permitted to have many), and he vehemently reproves those who restrain marriage, as his Epistle to Timothy records, 1Tim 3.2 and 4.1-3. Moreover, what degrees (blood relations) are permitted by the law of God to marry, is to be seen in Lev 18.6-20. Also, it is apparent by manifest examples in the Scriptures, how children ought not to marry without the consent of their parents.

Contrary to these ordinances of the Scripture, the new catholics of the pope's church repute and call marriage a state of imperfection, and prefer single life, however impure, pretending that where the one replenishes the earth, the other fills heaven. Furthermore, through

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<sup>64</sup> The reformed view is that the sacraments are indeed a means of grace, but only through faith, not of themselves.

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compulsory vows they keep nearly a third of Christendom from marriage (if not more), both men and women, having no respect whether they have the gift of continence or not. Those ministers and priests who are found to have wives, they not only remove from office, but also pronounce sentence of death upon them, and account their children illegitimate. Again, they exempt and suspend as much as a third of the year from the liberty of marriage; they extend the degrees of forbidden marriage further than the law of God ever did, even to the fifth or sixth degree. Notwithstanding, they waive this degree whenever they choose, in return for money. Over and besides all this, they have added a new-found prohibition of spiritual kindred — that is, those who as have been gossips, or are godfathers and godmothers together in christening another man's child, must not marry together. And finally, in this doctrine of matrimony, they gain and rake in much money for themselves from the people; they augment horrible crimes; they nourish adultery; they fill the world with offenses; and give great occasion for murdering infants [of banned marriages].

### **OF MAGISTRATES AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT**

We have seen before what rules and lessons St. Paul gave to the old Romans concerning magistrates, to whose authority he would have all human creatures be subject, and how they are the ministers of God, having the sword given to them, with which they ought to repress false doctrine and idolatry, and maintain what is true and right, Rom 13.1-7. Now let us survey a little the pope's proceedings, and mark how far he transgresses in this (as he does in almost all other points) from true Christianity.

1. The pope, with all his clergy, exempt themselves from all civil obedience.
2. They arrogate to themselves authority to ordain and constitute, without leave or knowledge of the magistrate.
3. Indeed, they take it upon themselves to depose and set up rulers and magistrates whom they choose.

### **OF PURGATORY**

The paradoxes, or rather the fancies of the later church of Rome concerning purgatory, are monstrous; they are neither old nor apostolical.

1. They say there is a purgatory, where souls burn in fire after this life.
2. The pain of purgatory does not differ at all from the pains of hell, except that it has an end; the pains of hell have none.
3. The painful suffering of this fire frets and purges away the sins committed before in the body.
4. The time of these pains endures longer in some, less in others, as their sins deserve.
5. After the time of their pains is expired, the mercy of God translates them to heavenly bliss, which the body of Christ has bought for them.
6. The pains of purgatory are so great, that if all the beggars in the world were seen on the one side, and but one soul in purgatory on the other side, the whole world would pity that one more than all the others.
7. The whole time of punishment in this purgatory must continue till the fires have thoroughly fretted and purged away the rusty spots of every sinful soul burning there, unless some release comes.

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8. The helps and releases that may shorten the time of their purgation are the pope's pardons and indulgences, sacrifice of the altar, dirges and trentals, prayer, fasting, meritorious deeds out of the treasure-house of the church, alms and charitable deeds of the living, in satisfying God's justice for them, etc.

9. Lack of belief in purgatory, will bring that person to hell.

Many other false errors and great deformities, heresies, absurdities, vanities, and follies, besides their blasphemous railings and abuses, may be noted in the later church of Rome, in which they have manifestly departed from the old faith of Rome. These include depriving the church of one kind of sacrament; in taking from the people the knowledge and reading of God's word; in praying, speaking to the people, and administering the sacraments in an unknown language; in mistaking the authority of the keys; in their unwritten tenets; in making the authority of the Scripture insufficient; in the untrue judgments of the church and the wrong notes of those proceedings, in the supremacy of the See of Rome, and in their wrong opinions about antichrist.

But because these, with all other parts of doctrine, are comprehended more copiously and at large in other books which are published in our days, both in Latin and English, I will not travel further in this. Especially seeing that the contrariety between the pope's church and the church of Christ, between the doctrine of the one and the doctrine of the other, is so evident, one must be blind not to see it, and have no hands not to feel it.

For the doctrine of Christ is altogether spiritual, consisting wholly in spirit and truth, and it requires nothing outward to make a true Christian man, except baptism (which is the outward profession of faith), and receiving the Lord's Supper. Let us examine the whole religion of this later church of Rome, and we will find from top to toe, that it consists in nothing but outward and ceremonial exercises — such as outward confession, absolution at the priest's hand, outward sacrifice of the mass, buying pardons, purchasing obits (burial rites), worshipping images and relics, pilgrimages to this place or that, building churches, founding monasteries, outward works of the law, outward gestures, garments, colors, choice of foods, observing times and places, <sup>Gal 4.10</sup> peculiar rites and observances, set prayers and a prescribed number of prayers, fasting vigils, keeping holidays, coming to church, hearing a service, external succession of bishops, and of Peter's See, external form and notes of the church, etc

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### ***Summation***

So that, to make a true Christian and a good catholic by this religion, no working of the Holy Spirit is required. For example, to make this matter plainer, let us here define a Christian man according to the pope's construction, by which we may better see what is to be judged from the scope of his doctrine. According to the pope's catholic religion, a true Christian man is thus defined:

First, it is to be baptized in the Latin tongue (where the godfathers profess they know not what); then confirmed by the bishop; the mother of the child is to be purified. After the child is grown in years, he is to come to the church to keep his fasting days; to fast during Lent; to come under the priest's blessing (confess to the priest); to do his penance; to take his rites at Easter; to hear mass and Divine service; to set up candles before images; to creep to the cross; to take holy bread and holy water; to go on procession; to carry his



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palms and candle, and to take ashes; to fast in the ember days, rogation days,<sup>65</sup> and vigils; to keep the holidays; to pay his tithes and offering days; to go on pilgrimage; to buy pardons; to worship his Maker over the priest's head; to receive the pope as his supreme head, and to obey his laws; to have his beads, and to give to the high altar; to take orders if he will be a priest; to say his matins, to sing his mass; to lift up fair (the vestment); to keep his vow, and not to marry; when he is sick, to be absolved and anointed, and take the rites of the holy church; to be buried in the church-yard, to be rung for; to be sung for; to be buried in a friar's cowl; to find a soul-priest, etc.

All of these things being observed, who can deny that this is a devout man, and a perfect Christian catholic, and sure to be saved, as a true, faithful child of the holy mother church?

Now, look at this definition, and tell me, good reader, what faith or spirit, or what working of the Holy Spirit is required in all this doctrine? May the grace of our Lord Jesus give the true light of his gospel to shine in our hearts. Amen.

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<sup>65</sup> *Rogation days*: one of the three days before Ascension Day; observed as days of supplication.

## ACTS AND MONUMENTS

### BOOK I.

CONTAINING

### *The 300 years after Christ – Ten Persecutions*

*A.D. 64-324*

#### THE TEN PERSECUTIONS OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

Having thus prepared the way, let us now (by the grace of Christ our Lord) enter into the matter. As we have set forth the state of the primitive as well as of the later times of this church of Rome; so now we may discourse about the Acts of every age, each by itself.

*First*, To declare the suffering time of the church, about 300 years after Christ.

*Secondly*, The flourishing and growing time of the church, another 300 years.

*Thirdly*, The declining time of the church, and of true religion, another 300 years.

*Fourthly*, The time of antichrist, reigning and raging in the church, in two parts.

*Lastly*, The reforming time of Christ's church, in these later 300 years.

In treating all these things, our chief purpose will not be so much to intermix the outward affairs of princes or civil matters, as to specially mind prosecuting those things which pertain to the state of the church. Such as, first, to treat the establishing of Christian faith; then of the persecutions of tyrants; the constancy and patience of God's saints; the conversion of Christian realms to the faith of Christ — namely, of this realm of England and Scotland; to declare the maintenance of true doctrine, the false practice of prelates, and the creeping in of superstition and hypocrisy; and the manifold assaults, wars, and tumults of the princes of this world against the people of God. In this may appear the wonderful operation of Christ's mighty hand, ever working in his church, and never ceasing to defend it against his enemies, according to the verity of his own word, promising to be with his church while the world stands.

In the treatment of all these things, I chiefly commend two special points to the reader, as most requisite and necessary for every Christian man to observe and to note for his own experience and profit. *First*, the disposition and nature of this world; and *secondly*, the nature and condition of the kingdom of Christ — the vanity of the one, and establishment of the other; the unprosperous and unquiet state of the one, ruled by man's violence and wisdom, and the happy success of the other, ever ruled by God's blessing and providence; the wrath and revenging hand of God in the one, and His mercy upon the other. "The world" I call all those who are without or against Christ, either by ignorance (not knowing him), or by heathenish life (not following him), or resisting Him by violence. On the other side, "the kingdom of Christ" in this world, I take to be all those who belong to the faith of Christ, and here take His part in this world, *against* the world. The number of these, though it is much smaller than the other, and is always hated and molested by the world, yet it is the number which the Lord peculiarly blesses and prospers, and ever will. And this number of Christ's subjects is what we call the VISIBLE CHURCH here on earth. This visible church, having in itself two different sorts of people, so is it to be divided into two parts. The one is comprised of those who have an outward profession only. The other, which is by election inwardly, are joined to Christ. The first sort, in words and lips, seem to honor Christ. They are in the visible church only, but not in the INVISIBLE CHURCH. They partake the outward sacraments of Christ, but not the inward blessing of Christ. The other sort are in the visible church, and

also in the invisible church of Christ. They truly serve and honor Christ, not only in words and outward profession, but also in heart. They partake not only of the sacraments, but also of the heavenly blessings and grace of Christ.

It happens many times, that between these two parts of this visible church a great variance and mortal persecution grows, insomuch that sometimes the true church of Christ has no greater enemies than of her own profession. This happened not only in the time of Christ and his apostles, but also from time to time almost continually, and especially in these later days of the church, under the persecution of antichrist and his retinue.

At the first preaching of Christ, who should have known and received him more than the Pharisees and scribes? And yet, who persecuted and rejected him more than they did? What followed? In refusing Christ as their king, and choosing to be subject to Caesar instead, they were destroyed by their own Caesar. From this is to be learned what a dangerous thing it is to refuse the gospel of God.

A similar example of God's wrathful punishment is to be noted no less in the Romans. For when Tiberius Caesar, having heard by letters from Pontius Pilate, of the doings of Christ, of his miracles, resurrection, and ascension into heaven, and how Christ was received by many as God, he was himself moved with belief in this.

[33] A.D. 36.

He proposed to the senate to have Christ adored as God. They refused him, because contrary to the law of the Romans, Jesus was consecrated as God (they said), before the senate of Rome had so decreed (*Tertul. Apol. cap. 5*). Thus the vain senate was content to have the emperor reign over them, and not to have the meek King of Glory, the Son of God, be their king. Like the Jews, they were scourged for their refusal, by the same power which they themselves had preferred. For as they preferred the emperor, and rejected Christ, so by the just permission of God, their own emperors were stirred up against them. The senators themselves were nearly all devoured, and the whole city most horribly afflicted for almost 300 years. This same Tiberius, who was a moderate prince for a great part of his reign, was afterwards a sharp and heavy tyrant, who neither favored his own mother, nor spared his own nephews, nor the princes of the city. Of twenty of them, he left not more than two or three alive. Suetonius reports that he was so stern and tyrannical, that in his reign, many were unjustly accused, and condemned with their wives and children. In one day, he records, twenty persons were drawn to execution. By Tiberias also, through the just punishment of God, Pilate (under whom Christ was crucified), was accused at Rome, deposed, and then banished; at length he slew himself. Neither did Herod and Caiaphas long escape; and Agrippa also was cast into prison. In the reign of Tiberius, the Lord Jesus, the Son of God, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, through the malice of the Jews, suffered his blessed passion for the conquering of sin, and death, and Satan, the prince of this world; and he rose again the third day. After his blessed passion and resurrection, this Tiberius lived six years, during which time no persecution was yet stirring against the Christians.

In the next year after the passion of our Savior, or somewhat more, St. Paul was converted to the faith. Tiberius, having reigned twenty-three years, was succeeded by Caius Caesar Caligula (A.D. 37), Nero Claudius (A.D. 41), and Nero Domitius (A.D. 54). These three were likewise scourges to the senate and people of Rome. Caligula commanded himself to be worshipped as God, and temples to be erected in his name. He used to sit in the temple among the gods, requiring his images to be set up in all temples, and also in the temple at Jerusalem, His cruel displeasure was such towards the Romans, that he wished that all the

people of Rome had but one neck, that he might destroy such a multitude. Herod, the murderer of John Baptist, and the condemner of Christ, was condemned by Caligula to perpetual banishment, where he died miserably. Caiaphas also, who wickedly sat in judgment upon Christ, was removed from the high priests' role, and Jonathan was set in his place. The raging fierceness of this Caligula against the Romans would not have ceased so soon, had he not been cut off by the hands of a tribune and other officers, who slew him in the fourth year of his reign (A.D. 41).

But what Caligula had only conceived of, the other two who came after him, brought to pass. Nero Claudius reigned thirteen years with great cruelty, and then died by poison. But especially Nero Domitius, who succeeding Claudius, reigned fourteen years, with such fury and tyranny, that he slew most of the senators, and destroyed the whole order of knighthood in Rome. He was so prodigious a monster — more like a beast, indeed a devil than a man — that he seemed to be born to the destruction of men. Such was his wretched cruelty, that he caused his mother, his brother-in-law, his sister, his wife, all his instructors, Seneca and Lucan, with many more of his own kindred and consanguinity, to be put to death. Moreover, he commanded Rome to be set on fire in twelve places. It continued burning six days and seven nights (A.D. 64), while he, to see this example of how Troy burned, sung the verses of Homer. And to avoid the infamy of it, he laid the fault upon the Christians, and caused them to be persecuted. So this miserable emperor continued to reign fourteen years, till the senate proclaimed him a public enemy to mankind, and condemned him to be drawn through the city and whipped to death. For fear of this, he fled in the night to the country, where he was forced to slay himself. In the latter end of this Nero Domitius, Peter and Paul were put to death for the testimony and faith of Christ (A.D. 67).

Thus we see how the just scourge and indignation of God ever follows where Christ Jesus is contemned and not received. This may appear both by the Romans who were thus consumed and plagued by their own emperors, and by civil wars and other casualties. And also by the destruction of the Jews. In A. D, 73, they were destroyed by Titus and Vespasian, to the number of 1,100,000, besides those whom Vespasian slew in subduing Galilee, and those also who were sold into vile slavery, to the number of 17,000; also 2000 were brought with Titus in his triumph. He gave part of them to be devoured by the wild beasts, and a part were most cruelly slain. All nations and realms may thus take this example of what it means to reject the visitation of God's truth, and much more to persecute those who are sent by God for their salvation.

And as this vengeance of God has thus been shown upon both the Jews and the Romans for their contempt of Christ, so neither the emperors themselves escaped without their just reward, for persecuting Christ in his members. For among those emperors who put so many Christian martyrs to death, few of them escaped either being slain themselves, or being worthily punished by some miserable end or other. The slaughter of the three Neroes was declared before. After Nero, Domitius Galba was slain by Otho, within seven months. And so Otho afterward slew himself, being overcome by Vitellius. And was not Vitellius shortly after drawn through the city of Rome, and thrown into the Tiber after he was tormented? Titus, a good emperor, is thought to be poisoned by Domitian his brother. Domitian, after he had been a persecutor of the Christians, was slain in his chamber, with the consent of his wife. Commodus was murdered. The like end was suffered by Pertinax and Julian. After Severus died here in England (and lies at York), did not his son Caracal slay his brother Geta, and then was slain afterward by Martial? Macrinus with his son Diadumenus were both slain by their own soldiers. Heliogabalus was slain by his own people, and drawn through the city and cast into the Tiber. Alexander Severus was a worthy and learned emperor. Although he

was unlike other emperors in life and virtues, yet he experienced the like end, being slain with his godly mother Mammaea, by Maximin. Maximin also after three years was himself slain by his soldiers. What should I say of Maximus and Balbinus who in like sort, were both slain in Rome? Of Gordian, slain by Philip; of Philip, the first christened emperor, slain; of wicked Decius drowned, and his son slain at the same time in battle; of Gallus, and Volusianus his son, emperors after Decius, both slain by Aemilianus, who within three months after, was himself slain. Valerianus was taken prisoner by the Persians, and there made a fool of by Sapores their king, who used him for a stool to leap upon his horse, while his son Galienus sleeping at Rome, either would not, or could not once proffer to avenge his father's ignominy. At length Galienus was killed by Aureolus. It would take too long here to speak of Aurelian, another persecutor, slain by his secretary; of Tacitus and Florinus his brother – the first slain at Pontus; the other murdered at Tarsis; Probus, although a good emperor, was yet killed by his soldiers. After him, Carus was slain by lightning. Next to Carus followed the impious and wicked persecutor Diocletian, with his fellows, Maximin, Valerius, Maximinus, Maxentius, and Licinius. Under all of these at one time, the greatest and most grievous persecution (the tenth) was waged against the Christians for ten years. Diocletian and Maximian deposed themselves from the empire. Galerius, the chief minister of the persecution, afterward fell into a shocking sickness, and was swarmed with worms. Being curable neither by surgery nor medicine, he confessed that it happened for his cruelty towards the Christians, and so he rescinded his proclamations against them.

[34]

Maximinus being tormented with pain in his bowels, died there. Maxentius was drowned in the Tiber. Licinius, being overcome by Constantine the Great, was deposed and afterward slain by his soldiers. But on the other side, after the time of Constantine, when the faith of Christ was received into the imperial seat, we read of no emperor of the like sort being destroyed or molested, unless it was Julian, or Basil, or Valens.

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

Moreover, if leisure would allow me to come nearer home, I could also infer similar examples in our own country of England, concerning the terrible plagues of God against refusing or abusing the benefit of his truth. We read how God stirred up Gildas to preach to the old Britons, and to exhort them to repentance and amendment of life, and to warn them of plagues to come if they did not repent. What did it avail? Gildas was ridiculed, and taken as a false prophet and malicious preacher. What followed? God sent in their enemies on every side and destroyed them, and gave the land to other nations. Not many years past, God seeing idolatry, superstition, hypocrisy, and wicked living used in this realm, He raised up that godly learned man John Wycliffe, to preach to our fathers, and to exhort them to amend their lives, to forsake their papistry and idolatry, their hypocrisy and superstition, and to walk in the fear of God. His exhortations were not regarded. He, with his sermons, were despised, and his books and himself (after his death) were burnt. What followed? They slew their king, and set up three wrong kings, under whom all the noble blood, and half the commons, were slain in fighting among themselves for the crown. The cities and towns were decayed, and the land nearly brought to a wilderness, compared with what it was before. Since that time, even in recent years, God again had pity of this realm of England, and raised up his prophets; namely, William Tyndale, Thomas Bilney, John Frith, Doctor

Barnes, Jerome Garret, Anthony Person, with others, who earnestly labored to call us to repentance, so that the fierce wrath of God might be turned away from us. But how were they treated? They themselves were condemned and burnt as heretics, and their books were condemned and burnt as heretical. “The time will come,” says Christ, “that whoever kills you, will think that he does God a service,” Joh 16.2. If God has deferred his punishment, or forgiven us our wicked deeds, as I trust he has, let us not therefore be proud and high minded, but most humbly thank Him for his tender mercies, and beware of similar ungodly proceedings hereafter. I need not speak of our later times, in King Henry’s and King Edward’s days, seeing that the memory of it is still fresh and cannot be forgotten. But I am sure of this: that God has yet come once again to this church of England, yes, and more lovingly and beneficially than He ever did before. For in this visitation, he has redressed many abuses, and cleansed his church of much ungodliness and superstition, and made it a glorious church.

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We will now declare the persecutions that were raised up against the servants of Christ, within the space of 300 years after Christ. These persecutions are commonly numbered ten, besides the persecutions by the Jews in Jerusalem against the apostles – in which St. Stephen was put to death, along with many others.

After the martyrdom of Stephen, James suffered. He was the apostle and brother of John. James is mentioned in Act 12.1-2. There it is declared how Herod stretched out his hand to afflict certain of the church. The apostle James was among of these; Herod slew him with the sword. The church historian Eusebius mentions James, saying that when he was brought to the tribunal, the one who brought him (and was the cause of his trouble) saw him condemned, and that he would suffer death. As this accuser went to the execution, being moved in heart and conscience, he confessed himself to be a Christian. And so they were led out, and were beheaded together (A.D. 36).<sup>66</sup>

Dorotheus testifies, that Nicanor, one of the seven deacons, with 2000 others who believed in Christ, also suffered the same day, when Stephen suffered.

Dorotheus also witnesses that Simon, another of the deacons, was burned. Parmenas, who was also another of the deacons, suffered.

Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes, and Persians, also to the Germans, Hiraconies, Bactries, and Magies. He suffered in Calamina, being slain with a spear.

Simon Zelotes (the Zealot) preached at Mauritania, in Africa, and in Britain; he was crucified.

Judas, brother of James, preached to the Edessens, and all Mesopotamia; he was slain in Berito.

Simon, brother to Jude and to James, all sons of Mary Cleopas, and of Alpheus, was bishop of Jerusalem after James, and was crucified in a city of Egypt.

Mark the evangelist, and first Bishop of Alexandria, preached the gospel in Egypt, and there being drawn with ropes to the fire, was burned.

Bartholomew is said to have preached to those in India, and to have translated the gospel of St. Matthew into their tongue, where he continued a long time, doing many miracles. At last

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<sup>66</sup> The 1856 ed. by John Milner (no friend of Foxe’s work), places James’ death in A.D. 44, as most historians do. But because Seymour’s dates are integral to this edition, they have not been altered.

in Albania, after diverse persecutions, he was beaten down with staffs, then crucified, and after being flayed, he was at length beheaded.

Andrew, the apostle and brother to Peter, preached to the Scythians, Saxons, etc. When Andrew, through his diligent preaching, had brought many to the faith of Christ, Egeas the governor travelled there to constrain many who believed Christ to be God, to sacrifice to the idols. Andrew thinking it good at the beginning to resist the wicked doings of Egeas, went to him, saying that, “It behooved him to know his judge, who dwells in heaven, and to worship him, and in so worshipping the true God, to revoke his mind from false gods and blind idols.”

But Egeas demanded of him whether he was the same Andrew who overthrew the temple of the gods, and persuaded men of that sect which the Romans had commanded to be abolished. Andrew plainly affirmed that the princes of the Romans did not understand the truth, and that the Son of God, coming into the world for man’s sake, had taught and declared how those idols, whom they so honored as gods, were not only *not* gods, but also most cruel *devils*, enemies to mankind, teaching the people nothing else but what offended God; and being offended, God turns away and does not regard them.

The proconsul commanded Andrew not to teach and preach such things anymore; or if he did, that he would be fastened to the cross. Andrew answered that he would not have preached the honor and glory of the cross, if he had feared the death of the cross; whereupon the sentence of condemnation was pronounced. Andrew seeing the cross prepared afar off, neither changed countenance nor color, as the imbecility of mortal man is prone to do. Nor did his blood shrink, or his speech fail. His body did not faint, nor was his mind molested; his understanding did not fail him. But out of the abundance of his heart, his mouth spoke, and fervent charity appeared in his words; he said, “O cross, most welcome and long looked-for; I come to you with a willing mind, joyfully and desirously, being the scholar of Him who hung on you: because I have been always your lover, and I have coveted to embrace you.” So being crucified, he yielded up the ghost and fell asleep.

Matthew (named Levi) wrote his gospel to the Jews in the Hebrew tongue, as Eusebius records.<sup>67</sup> Diverse things are recorded concerning this apostle and evangelist, but in such a way that they may greatly suspected of being some crafty forgery to support later decretals, and other Romish doctrine regarding merits, consecration of nuns, the superstitious prescription of Lent-fast — not only in abstaining from all fleshly meats, but also separating man and wife during the time of Lent.

[35] A.D. 36-64.

Also, the strict prohibition not to taste any bodily sustenance before receiving the Lord’s Supper; in ordaining the mass; and requiring that no nun may marry after the vow of her profession, with other similar doctrines.

It is recorded about Matthias, that after he had preached to the Jews, he was at length stoned and beheaded. (Joan. de Monte Regali)

Philip, the apostle, after he had labored much in preaching the word of salvation, suffered in Hierapolis, being crucified and stoned to death.

After Festus had sent the apostle Paul to Rome, and the Jews had lost their hope of performing their malicious vow against him, they fell upon James, the brother of our Lord,

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<sup>67</sup> Eus. lib. 3. cap. 24.39; lib. 5. cap. 8, 10; also Irenaeus, lib. 3. cap. 1.; Hieronymus (Jerome) in Cat. scrip. Eccl.

who was bishop at Jerusalem, and required him to deny the faith of Christ before all the people; but he freely, and with great constancy before all the multitude, confessed Jesus to be the Son of God, our Savior, and our Lord; whereupon they killed him.

Egesippus thus describes the manner of his death:

When many of the chief persons believed in Christ, there was a tumult made by the scribes and Pharisees. Therefore they gathered together, and said to James, “We beseech you to restrain the people, for they believe in Jesus, as though he were the Christ. We pray you to persuade the people that they not be deceived. Stand upon the pillar of the temple that you may be seen from above, and that your words may be heard by all the people.” And thus the scribes and Pharisees set James upon the battlements of the temple; and he said, with a great voice, “What, do you ask me about Jesus the Son of Man, seeing that he sits at the right hand of God in heaven, and shall come in the clouds of heaven?” Many, persuaded of this, glorified God upon the witness of James, and said, “Hosannah in the highest to the Son of David!” Then the scribes and the Pharisees said among themselves, “We have done evil, that we have caused such a testimony of Jesus. But let us go up, and let us take him, so that the people, being compelled with fear, may deny that faith.” Therefore they went up, and threw down the just man. And they took him to strike him with stones, for he was not yet dead when he was cast down. But turning, he fell down upon his knees, saying, “O Lord God, Father, I beseech you to forgive them, for they know not what they do.”

This James was so notable a man, that he was held in honor by all men, insomuch that the wise men of the Jews, shortly after his martyrdom, imputed the cause of the besieging of Jerusalem and other calamities, to the violence and injury done to this man.

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These things being thus declared as to the martyrdom of the apostles, and the persecution of the Jews, let us now, by the grace of Christ our Lord, narrate the persecutions raised by the Romans against the Christians, till the coming of godly Constantine. These persecutions are reckoned by most writers, to number ten. It is marvellous to see and read the incredible numbers of Christian innocents who were slain and tormented, some one way, some another. As Rabanas says,

“Some slain with the sword; some burnt with fire; some scourged with whips; some stabbed with forks: some fastened to the cross or gibbet;<sup>68</sup> some drowned in the sea; some their skins plucked off; some their tongues cut off; some stoned to death; some killed with cold; some starved with hunger; some their hands cut off, or otherwise dismembered.”

Augustine also says about this, “They were bound— imprisoned— killed — tortured — burned — butchered — cut in pieces,” etc. Although these punishments were diverse, yet the manner of constancy in all these martyrs was one. And notwithstanding these torments and the cruelty of the tormentors, such was the number of these constant saints who suffered, or rather, such was the power of the Lord in his saints, that as Jerome says, “there is no day in the whole year, to which the number of 5000 martyrs cannot be ascribed, except the first day of January.”

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<sup>68</sup> [Gibbet: a wooden scaffold, like gallows, to which the accused was strapped for torture, beheading, or hanging.](#)



### ***The First Persecution.***

The first of these ten persecutions was stirred up by the Emperor Nero Domitius (A.D. 64). His rage was so fierce against the Christians, as Eusebius records, that a man might then see cities full of the dead bodies of men and women, cast out naked in the open streets. Likewise, Orosius writes of Nero, that he was the first in Rome to raise persecutions against the Christians, and not only in Rome, but throughout the provinces, thinking to destroy the whole name of Christians.

In this persecution, the apostle Peter was condemned and crucified, as some write, at Rome – although others doubt it. Because his life and history is sufficiently described in the gospel and in the Acts, I need not repeat it. There are many who relate the cause and manner of his death, although they do not all precisely agree in the time. Jerome says that in the second year of the Emperor Claudius (A.D. 44), after Peter had been bishop of the church of Antioch, and had preached to the dispersed of those who believed, and to those of the circumcision, in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, Peter came to Rome to withstand Simon Magus. And there he kept the priestly chair for twenty-five years, until the last year of Nero, by whom he was crucified. His head was down, and his feet upward, as he himself requested, because he was, he said, unworthy to be crucified in the same form and manner as the Lord. <sup>69</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Foxe here has a marginal note; “This report seems neither to come from Jerome, nor to be true of Peter.”

The manner in which later editions of ‘the Fathers’ have been corrupted, and the prodigious extent to which they were interpolated in the monastic libraries, before the discovery of printing, has rendered it a matter of exceeding difficulty to ascertain whether any statement be truly the genuine opinion of the father to whom it is ascribed. And in subsequent times the *Index expurgatorius* has erased so many important sentences, and sometimes whole paragraphs, that we cannot be certain of anything in those ancient writings. There is at this moment in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, a copy of Chrysostom’s works, which had passed through the hands of one of the Inquisitors of the Index, and his pen has been drawn over every sentence that seemed to conflict with the peculiar views of the Roman church, and not unfrequently is the word *dele* and *deleatur* inserted in his handwriting in the margin.

Foxe seems to regard as an interpolation this passage in Jerome which describes Peter as being twenty-five years at Home, but whether it be genuine or otherwise, this much at least is certain, that it was both a moral and physical impossibility that the statement could be true in reference to that apostle, as will thus appear:

1. St. Paul was converted in the year 35; three years afterwards he visited Jerusalem, where he found Peter (Gal 1.18.) this was about the year 38, so that at this time St. Peter was not at Rome.
2. In three years after this, we find St. Peter visiting the regions about Jerusalem, and justifying his proceedings before the apostles and brethren in that city (Act 11.2). This was about the year 41, so that at this time St Peter was not at Rome.
3. In about three years afterwards we find St. James beheaded (Act 12.2), and immediately after we find St. Peter imprisoned at Jerusalem (Act 12.3). This was about the year 44. So that St. Peter could not have been at Rome at this period.
4. St. Paul preached at Antioch in about the year 42, remaining there a whole year. He preached there again some years after, namely, about 46; and it is not improbable that it was during this visit that he had the contention with St. Peter (Gal 2.11). So that Peter was not at that time at Rome.
5. The assembly of the apostles and elders at Jerusalem, to determine the question of the observance of the Jewish rites, or as the Papists call it, the Council of Jerusalem, was in the year 52. Now Peter was there and spoke at it (Act 15.7). So that he could not have been at Rome at this time.
6. The Epistle of Paul to the Romans was written in the year 60, and it contains internal evidence that Peter was not at Rome at that period.
7. There is no further mention made of St. Peter in the sacred history, but we find St. Paul at Rome for two whole years (Act 28.30). These were the years 64 and 65, as nearly as they can be computed. It is certain that Peter was not at Rome during those two years, for in the several epistles which St. Paul wrote during his residence there, he never mentions that apostle as being even at Rome, much less being bishop or pope of it (See note, page 16).

[36] A.D. 64-98.

Paul the apostle, after his great and unspeakable labors in promoting the gospel of Christ, also suffered in this first persecution under Nero, and was beheaded.

Among his other manifold labors and travels in spreading the doctrine of Christ, he won Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Cyprus, to the faith of Christ, whereupon he took his name, as some suppose, and turned from Saulus to Paulus.

And because it is sufficiently comprehended in the Acts of the Apostles concerning the wonderful conversion, and conversation of this most worthy apostle, what remains of the rest of his history, I will briefly add here how he was sent up in bonds to Rome where, remaining two years together, he disputed daily against the Jews, proving Christ had come. And here it is to be noted that after his first answer, or defense, he was discharged and went to preach the gospel in the western parts, and around the coasts of Italy.

But afterwards being brought the second time before Nero, this worthy preacher and messenger of the Lord, on the same day in which Peter was crucified (although not in the same year, but in the year following) was beheaded at Rome for the testimony of Christ.

### ***The Second Persecution.***

The first Roman persecution ceased under Vespasian who gave some rest to the poor Christians. After his reign, the second persecution was begun by the emperor Domitian (about A.D. 94). Eusebius and Orosius write of him, that beginning mildly, he afterwards so far outraged in intolerable pride, that he commanded himself to be worshipped as God, and that images of gold and silver in his honor should be set up in the capitol. He caused to be put to death the chief nobles of the senators, either upon envy, or for their goods, some openly, and some he sent into banishment, causing them to be slain there secretly.

And just as his tyranny was unmeasurable, so the intemperance of his life was no less. He put to death all the nephews of Jude, called the Lord's brother, and caused all who could be found of the stock of David to be slain (as Vespasian also did before him). This was for fear, lest he who would enjoy the kingdom were yet to come of the house of David. <sup>1Kng 8.25</sup> In the time of this persecutor, Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, was crucified after other torments.

In this persecution, John the apostle and evangelist, was exiled to Patmos. His various memorable acts are reported in sundry chronicles, such as how he was put in a vessel of boiling oil by the proconsul of Ephesus. Also, how he raised up a widow and a certain young man from death to life. How he drank poison and it did not hurt him, also raising to life two who drank it before him. These and such other miracles, though they may be true, yet because they are not articles of our Christian belief, I will let them pass, and only content myself with what I read in Eusebius declaring of John, that in the second persecution he was banished to Patmos for the testimony of the word, (A.D. 97). And after the death of Domitian, John was released, and came to Ephesus (A.D. 100). There he continued and governed the churches in Asia. This is where he also wrote his gospel, And so he lived, says Jerome, till sixty-eight years after the passion of our Lord, at age one hundred (A.D. 101). <sup>70</sup>

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8. The martyrdom of Peter was about the year 66, or 67 at the latest, so that his visit to Rome must have been after 65, and before 67; and this is the probable account of the matter. He perhaps visited Rome at that time, after Paul's imprisonment and preaching there. And he then, perhaps, was seized and martyred.

Thus Foxe was fully justified in saying that it cannot be true of Peter, that he was 25 years at Rome. [ED.]

<sup>70</sup> If Jesus was crucified in A.D. 30, plus 68 years is A.D. 98. Foxe puts the crucifixion in A.D. 33, hence A.D. 101.

As we now have in hand the story of John the evangelist, here comes a great doubt and difficulty which has occupied all the catholic, subtle, illuminate, and seraphical doctors of the pope's catholic church, these 500 years! The difficulty is this: as auricular confession has been and still is received in the pope's catholic church as a holy and necessary sacrament, extending universally to all Christians, a question arises here: who was the Virgin Mary's confessor or spiritual father? But it is decreed and confessed to be St. John, with full consent of all the Catholics. Whoever denies or doubts this is straightway a heretic! From this, then, so determined, arises another question or doubt. Seeing that our lady was without all original sin, and also without actual or mortal sin (they claim), what need did she have of any confessor? Or what would she confess to him? For if she had confessed any sin when she had none, then she would have made herself a liar, and thus sinned indeed. Here, therefore, gentle reader, in this perplexity, these illuminate doctors stand in need of your aid to help them at a pinch. Albert, the "great" divine,<sup>71</sup> does not deny that indeed, though most pure, she yet confessed to her spiritual father in order to keep the observance of the law appointed for those who had that need, which she did not. And therefore (he says) it was necessary that she confess with her mouth. But then, here it is to be asked, What did she say in her confession, when she had nothing to confess? To this Albert answers and tells us plainly what she said in her confession: that she had received that great grace, not from any worthiness of her own. And this is what she said in her confession. (Albert, cap. 74. *super Evang. Missus est*, etc.)

Moreover, to help this case out of all doubt, comes the famous Thomas of Watring,<sup>72</sup> who thus looses the knot, saying that just as Christ, although he owed nothing to the law, received circumcision to give others an example of humility and obedience; in like manner our lady would show herself obedient to the observance of the law, even though she had no need of it. And thus, gentle reader, you have this doubtful question raised and solved, with the intent that I might reveal to you some part of the "deep divinity" of our catholic masters who have ruled and governed the church in these later popish days!

But I return again to this second persecution under Domitian, in which, besides those godly martyrs mentioned before, and other innumerable ones suffering for the testimony of the Lord Jesus, there was Flavia, the daughter of one of the Roman consuls. With many others, she was banished out of Rome for the testimony of Christ.

Domitian feared the coming of Christ, as Herod did. And therefore he commanded that those who were of the stock of David in Judea, were to be killed. Remaining alive at that time were certain of the Lord's kindred who were the nephews of Jude, who was called the Lord's brother after the flesh. When the lieutenant of Judea had brought them to Domitian, the emperor demanded to know whether they were of the stock of David? When they had answered, he then asked what possessions and what substance they had. They answered that they had no more between them in all but thirty-nine acres of ground, and that they got their living and sustained their families with the hard labors of their hands. They showed their hands to the emperor, which were hard and rough, worn with labor, to witness that what they had spoken was true. Then the emperor, inquiring of them concerning the kingdom of Christ, asked what manner of kingdom it was — how and when it would appear.' They answered that His kingdom was no worldly thing, but a heavenly and angelical kingdom, and that it would appear in the consummation and end of the world, when coming

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<sup>71</sup> Albertus Magnus, or Albert the Great (c. 1200-1280): Dominican friar and prominent Catholic theologian.

<sup>72</sup> Apparently an allusion to *St. Thomas-a-Watering*, a place of pilgrimage for those honoring Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, executed by king Henry II in 1170.

in glory, he would judge the quick and the dead, and render to everyone according to his deservings. Domitian, upon hearing this, let them go, and stayed the persecution that was then moved against the Christians.

By this story, the cause may appear why the emperors so persecuted the Christians. The causes were chiefly these: *First, Fear*. for the emperors and senate, not knowing the nature of Christ's kingdom, feared it would subvert the empire. And therefore they sought by all possible means — by death and all kinds of torments — to utterly extinguish the Christians. *Secondly, Hatred*. For the Christians, in serving only the true living God, despised the Romans' false gods, spoke against their idolatrous worshippings, and many times stopped the power of Satan that was working in their idols.

Upon these and such causes, rose up those malicious slanders, false surmises, infamous lies, and slanderous accusations of the heathen idolaters against the Christian servants of God, which incited the princes of this world to persecute them more. For whatever crimes that malice could invent, or rash suspicion could minister, were imputed to the Christians. And whatever happened to the city or provinces of Rome, whether famine, pestilence, wars, earthquake, wonders, unseasonable weather, or whatever other evils happened, it was imputed to the Christians.

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Also among these causes crept in some **Covetousness**. So that wicked promoters and accusers were ready to accuse them even more, for lucre's sake and to seize the possessions of the Christians.

Thus, Christian reader, you have *first*, the causes of these persecutions; and *secondly*, the cruel law of their condemnation. Now, *thirdly*, hear what the form of INQUISITION was. As witnessed in the second apology of Justin, they would swear to declare the truth, whether they were indeed Christians or not. And if they confessed, then the sentence of death proceeded by the law.

Nor were these tyrants content with death only. The *kinds* of death were various and horrible. Whatever the cruelty of man's invention could devise for the punishment of man's body, was practiced against the Christians — cunning trains, outcries of their enemies, imprisonment, stripes and scourgings, drawings, tearings, stonings, burning hot plates of iron laid to them, deep dungeons, racks, strangling in prison, the teeth of wild beasts, gridirons, gibbets and gallows, or tossing them on the horns of bulls. Moreover, when they were thus killed, their bodies were laid in heaps, and dogs were left there to keep them so that no man might come to bury them. Nor would any plea succeed for them to be interred and buried.

Just as it is impossible to comprehend the names and number of all the martyrs who suffered in these persecutions, so it is hard in such a variety of matter, to keep a perfect order and course of years and times, especially as the authors themselves, whom we follow in this present work, disagree both in the times, names, and also kind of martyrdom of those who suffered. For example, the common reading and opinion of the church takes Anacletus to succeed Clement as bishop of Rome, next before Evaristus. Eusebius makes no mention of *Cletus*, but of *Anacletus*, and says that Evaristus succeeded Clement. Likewise, Ruffinus and Epiphanius, saying nothing of *Anacletus*, mention Linus and *Cletus* next before Clement. By this it may appear that Cletus and Anacletus were the same person. Moreover, Antoninus, Vincentius, Jacobus, Simoneta, Aloisius, and others, declare of Linus, Cletus,

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Clement, Anacletus, Evaristus, and Alexander, bishops of Rome, that they died martyrs. Eusebius, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, writing about them, makes no mention of it.

And first, as regarding Clement (whom Marianus Scotus calls the first bishop of Rome after Peter) they say that he was sent into banishment with 2000 Christians: but Eusebius only says that after he had governed the church of Rome for nine years, Clement left the succession of it to Evaristus.

Concerning this Evaristus, the “next bishop of Rome,” we find in Irenaeus (lib. 3. cap. 3.) that Peter and Paul (he says) committed the charge of that church to Linus; after whom came Anacletus, then succeeded Clement, and next after Clement followed Evaristus. Little or nothing remains of the acts and monuments either of this, or of other bishops of Rome in those days. By this it may appear that no great account was then made of Roman bishops, whose acts and deeds were then either lightly regarded, or slenderly committed to history. Notwithstanding, however, certain decretal epistles are remaining, or rather thrust upon us in their names, containing in them little substance of any doctrine, but altogether stuffed with laws, injunctions, and stately decrees that are little to the purpose, and still less savoring of their time. Among these are also numbered the two epistles of Evaristus. When he had given these orders, and made six priests, two deacons, and five bishops for sundry places (says the history) he suffered martyrdom. But what kind of death, for what cause he suffered, what constancy he showed, and what was the order or conduct of his life, is not touched. And therefore, what our new histories say seems more to be doubted, because the old ancient writers have no remembrance of them. They would not have passed over such things in silence, if they had been true.

After him succeeded Alexander in the governance of that church, of whose time and death there is the like discrepancy among the writers. Those who write of the deeds and doings of this bishop, declare that he had converted a great part of the senators to the faith of Christ, among whom was Hermes, a great man in Rome.

And then (says the history) about the second year of Adrian, Aurelian the ruler took Alexander, along with Hermes, his wife, children, and his whole household, numbering 1250 persons, and threw them in prison. And not long after, Alexander with Euentius his deacon, and Hermes, and the rest, were burned in a furnace. Theodulus, another deacon of Alexander, seeing and rebuking the cruelty of the tyrant, suffered the same martyrdom. Quirinus also, at the same time having first his tongue cut out, then his hands and feet, was beheaded and cast to the dogs.

Various miracles are reported of this Alexander, in the *Legends and Lives of Saints*. I do not deny them; but because I cannot avouch them by any serious testimony of ancient writers, I dare not affirm them. But I refer such things to their authors and patrons, where they are found. Notwithstanding, whatever is to be thought of his miracles, this is to be affirmed and not doubted: that Alexander was a godly and virtuous bishop.

***The Third Persecution.***

Between the second persecution and the third there was but one year under the Emperor Nerva,<sup>73</sup> after whom succeeded Trajan; and under him followed the third persecution (A.D. 98). Trajan might seem, in comparison to others, a worthy and commendable prince, familiar with inferiors, and behaving himself towards his subjects as he himself would have the prince behave toward him, if he were a subject. He was noted to be a great observer of justice. But toward the Christian religion, he was impious and cruel, and caused the third persecution of the church. In this persecution, Pliny the second (the Younger), a learned and famous man, seeing the lamentable slaughter of Christians, and moved with pity, wrote to Trajan the following epistle:

“It is my property and manner (my sovereign) to relate to you of all those things in which I doubt. For who can better either correct my slackness or instruct my ignorance, than you? I have never been present myself at the examination and execution of these Christians; and therefore what punishment is to be administered, and how far, or how to proceed in such inquisitions, I am ignorant. I am not able to resolve in the matter whether any difference is to be had in age and person; whether the young and tender ought to be treated with like cruelty as the elder and stronger; whether repentance may have any pardon, or whether it may profit him or not, to deny he has been a Christian; whether merely bearing the name of Christian, without other offenses, or whether offenses joined with the name of Christian, ought to be punished. In the meantime, regarding those Christians who have been presented to me, I have kept this order. I have inquired the second and third time of them whether they were Christians, menacing them with fear of punishment; and those who persevered, I commanded to be executed. For thus I thought, that whatever their profession was, yet their stubbornness and obstinacy ought to be punished. Those who were of the same madness, because they were also citizens of Rome, I thought to send back again to the city. Afterward, in further process and handling of this matter, as the sect further spread, so more cases ensued.

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“There was a paper offered to me, bearing no name, in which were contained the names of many who denied they were Christians, and were contented to do sacrifice with incense and wine to the gods, and to your image (which image I caused to be brought for that purpose) and to blaspheme Christ. Those I discharged and let go, for none who were true Christians indeed, could be compelled to this. Others confessed that they had *been* Christians, but afterwards denied it, etc., affirming to me the whole sum of that sect or error to consist in this: that they were in the habit, at certain appointed times, to meet before daylight, and to sing certain hymns to one Christ their God, and to confederate among themselves, to abstain from all theft, murder, and adultery, to keep their faith, and to defraud no man. This being done, they then departed for that time, and afterward returned again to take food in company together, both men and women, one with another, and yet without any act of evil.

“To be further certified whether the truth of this were so or not, I caused two maidens to be laid on the rack, and to be examined with torments. But finding nothing in them but immoderate superstition, I thought to cease further inquiry till I might be further advised from you. For the matter seemed to me worthy and needful of advice, especially for the great number of those who were in danger of your statute. For there were very many of all ages and states, both men and women, and more are likely to incur the same peril of condemnation hereafter. For that infection has crept not only into cities, but also villages and boroughs about. For as much as we see in many places that the temples of our gods, which were usually

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<sup>73</sup> [Nerva freed the Apostle John from his exile at Patmos.](#)

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desolate, now begin to be frequented, and that they bring sacrifices from every part to be sold, which very few were found willing to buy before. It may easily be conjectured what multitudes of men may be amended, if space and time are given them, in which they may be reclaimed.”

To the above epistle the emperor returned the following answer:

“The statute concerning Christians you have rightly executed. For no such general law can be enacted in which all special cases can be particularly comprehended. Let them not be sought for, but if they are brought and convicted, then let them suffer execution. Notwithstanding, whoever denies being a Christian, and does it unfeignedly in open audience, and does sacrifice to our gods, however he may have been suspected before, let him be released upon promise of amendment. Those writings that have no names, do not suffice to any just crime or accusation; for that would give an evil precedent; nor does it agree with the example of our time.”

Tertullian writing upon this letter of Trajan, says this: “O sentence of a confused necessity; he would not have them *sought* as innocent men, and yet he causes them to be *punished* as guilty persons!” Thus the rage of that persecution ceased for a time, although many men and cruel officers did not cease to afflict the Christians in various provinces. Especially if any occasion were given, or if any commotion were raised in the provinces abroad, the fault was laid upon the Christians. As in Jerusalem, after the Emperor Trajan had sent down his command that whoever could be found of the stock of David, should be put to death, certain sectaries of the Jews accused Simeon, the bishop of Jerusalem, to have come from the stock of David, *and* that he was a Christian. Of these accusers, it also happened that some of them were likewise apprehended and taken as being of the stock of David, and so they were justly executed themselves, having sought the destruction of others. The blessed bishop was scourged for many days, though a hundred years of age. In his martyrdom he endured so constant in his faith, that both the consul and the multitude marvelled at his age. And so at last being crucified, he finished his course in the Lord, for whom he suffered.

In this persecution, Phocas, bishop of Pontus, also suffered. Because he would not do sacrifice to Neptune, Trajan cast into a hot lime-kiln, and afterward put him into a scalding bath where the constant godly martyr, for the testimony of Christ, ended his life — or rather entered into life.

In the same persecution Sulpitius and Servilian also suffered. Their wives having been converted by Sabina to the faith of Christ, were also martyred. Sabina was beheaded in the days of Adrian, under whom Seraphia also suffered, a maiden of Antioch.

In this persecution, besides many others, Ignatius also suffered, the blessed martyr of Christ, who to this day is held in great reverence. Ignatius was appointed to the bishopric of Antioch, next in succession after Peter. Being sent from Syria to Rome because he professed Christ, he was given to the wild beasts to be devoured. It is said of him that when he passed through Asia, he strengthened and confirmed the churches through all the cities as he went, both with his exhortations, and the preaching of the word of God. Thus when he came to Smyrna, he wrote one epistle to the church of Ephesus, and another to the church of Magnesia; also another to the church of Trallis, in which he says:

“Being exercised and now well acquainted with their injuries, I am taught every day more and more. Yet, I am not justified by this. And I would to God that I would at once come to the beasts which are prepared for me, which I also wish were ready to come upon me with gaping mouths. I would also provoke them, so that they may devour me without delay, and forbear me nothing at all, as beasts before which I am not touched with fear nor hurt! And if they will not do this unless provoked, then I will force them against myself. Pardon me, I pray you. How beneficial it is to me, I know. Now I begin to be a scholar. I esteem no visible things, nor yet

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invisible things, so that I may obtain Christ Jesus. Let the fire, the gallows, the devouring of wild beasts, the breaking of bones, the pulling asunder of my members, the bruising or pressing of my whole body, and the torments of the devil or hell itself come upon me, so that I may win Christ Jesus.”

Besides this godly Ignatius, many thousands also were put to death in the same persecution, as appears by the letter of Pliny. Jerome mentions one Publius, bishop of Athens, who was martyred for the faith of Christ during this persecution,.

Next after this, Trajan succeeded the Emperor Adrian, (A.D. 118).

It is stated in the histories, that in the time of Adrian, Zenon, a nobleman of Rome, with 10,203 other persons, were slain for Christ; 10,000 were crucified at Mount Ararat, crowned with crowns of thorn, and thrust into the sides with sharp spears, following the example of the Lord’s passion.

There was one Eustachius, a captain, sent out to war against the barbarians. After he had valiantly subdued his enemies by God’s grace, and was returning home with victory, Adrian for joy met him on his journey to bring him home with triumph. But first, along the way he would do sacrifice to Apollo for the victory, requiring Eustachius to do the same. But Eustachius could by no means be forced to do so. Being brought to Rome, he suffered martyrdom with his wife and children.

We read also of Faustinus and Jobita, who suffered with grievous torments. At the sight of which, one Calocerius, seeing their great patience in such great torments, cried out with these words, “Truly, great is the God of the Christians.” These words being heard, he was immediately apprehended. And being brought to the place of execution, was made partaker of their martyrdom.

Symphorissa, the wife of Getulus the martyr, with her seven children, is said to suffer at about the same time. She was first beaten and scourged several times, afterwards was hung up by the hair of her head. At last, having a huge stone fastened to her, she was thrown headlong into the river. And her seven children in like manner, with various kinds of punishment, were martyred by the tyrant.

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Sophia, with her three children; also Seraphia and Sabina, also Anthia and her son, who was bishop of Apulia; also Justus and Pastor suffered (A.D. 130).

While Adrian was at Athens, he purposed to visit Elusina, and did so. While sacrificing to the Gentiles’ gods, he gave free leave and liberty to persecute the Christians. Upon which, Quadratus, a man of no less excellent zeal than of famous learning, being then bishop of Athens, exhibited to the emperor a learned and excellent apology in defense of the Christian religion. In this he declared that the Christians, without any just cause, were cruelly treated and persecuted. Aristides did the same; he was another no less excellent philosopher in Athens. Being noticed by the emperor for his singular learning and eloquence, and coming into the emperor’s presence, Aristides made an eloquent oration before him. Moreover, he exhibited to the emperor a memorable apology for the Christians, so full of learning and eloquence, that as Jerome said, it was a spectacle and admiration to all men in his time, who loved to see wit and learning. Besides these, there was also another named Serenus Granius, a man of great nobility, who wrote very pithy and grave letters to Adrian, showing that it was not consonant with right or reason, for the blood of innocents to be given to the rage



and fury of the people, and to be condemned for no fault, only for the name and sect that they followed.

Thus the goodness of God being moved with the prayers and constant labor of these excellent men, so turned the heart of the emperor, that being better informed concerning the order and profession of the Christians, he became more favorable to them.

In the days of this Adrian, the Jews rebelled again, and spoiled the country of Palestine. The emperor sent Julius Severus against them. He overthrew fifty castles in Judea, and burnt and destroyed 980 villages and towns, and slew 50,000 of the Jews with famine, sickness, sword, and fire; so that Judah was almost desolate. But at length Adrian, who was also named Aelius, repaired and enlarged the city of Jerusalem, which was called after his name, Aeliopolis, or Aelia. He granted only to the Gentiles and Christians, the right to live in it, utterly forbidding the Jews to enter the city.

After the death of Adrian, Antonius Pius succeeded him, about the year 140. He reigned for twenty-three years. For his clemency and modest behavior he had the name of *Pius*. His saying was that he would rather save one citizen, than destroy a thousand of his adversaries. At the beginning of his reign, although there was no edict to persecute the Christians, yet the rage of the heathen multitude did not cease to afflict the people of God – imputing and ascribing to the Christians whatever misfortune happened contrary to their desires; moreover, inventing false crimes by which to accuse them. Because of these, some were put to death, although not by the consent of the emperor. He was so mild and gentle, that either he raised no persecution against the Christians, or else he soon stayed it from being moved. This may well appear by his letter sent down to the countries of Asia, in which he writes these things about the Christians:—

“This is their joy and desire, that when they are accused, they covet to die for their God rather than to live. By this they are victorious, and overcome you, giving their lives, rather than doing what you require of them. And here it will not be inconvenient to notify you of the earthquakes which have and do happen among us, that when you tremble and are afraid at the sight of them, then you may compare your case with theirs. For, upon a sure confidence of their God, they are bold and fearless, much more than you, who in the time of your ignorance, both worship other gods, and neglect the religion of immortality. Such Christians who worship him, you drive out, and persecute unto death. Many presidents of our provinces previously wrote of these matters to our father of famous memory. He directed his answer to them, desiring that in no case were they to molest the Christians, unless they were found in some prejudicial trespass against the empire. And many write to me also, signifying their mind in like manner; and I have answered them to the same effect and manner as my father did. Therefore, if any hereafter offers any vexation or trouble to them, having no other cause except that they are Christians, let him who is impeached be released and discharged free — yes, even though he is found to be such (that is, a Christian), and let the *accuser* sustain the punishment,” etc.

This godly edict of the emperor was proclaimed at Ephesus, in the public assembly of all Asia. By this means, persecution began to be appeased, through the merciful providence of God, who would not have his church to be utterly overthrown.

#### ***The Fourth Persecution.***

After the decease of Antonius Pius, followed his son-in-law Marcus Aurelius Antonius, with Lucius Verus, his adopted brother (A.D. 161). Marcus was a stern and severe man, in whose time a great number of Christians suffered cruel torments and punishments, both in Asia and France. Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna, was among their number. In the great rage of this persecution in Asia, he was martyred. Of his end and martyrdom I thought it not

inexpedient here, to commit to history so much as Eusebius declares to be taken out of a certain epistle, written by those of his own church to the brethren of Pontus. The tenor of this epistle follows here:

“The church which is at Smyrna, to the church which is at Philomilium, and to all the churches throughout Pontus, mercy to you, peace and the love of God our Father, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied. Amen. We have written to you, brethren, about those men who have suffered martyrdom, and of blessed Polycarp, who has ended and appeased this persecution, as it were, by the shedding his own blood.”

And in the same epistle, before they enter into further matter of Polycarp, they discourse about other martyrs, describing what patience they showed in suffering their torments.

“This was so admirable (says the epistle) that the on-lookers were amazed, seeing and beholding how they were so scourged and whipped, that the inward veins and arteries appeared, yes, even so much, that the very entrails of their bodies were seen. And after that, they were set upon with sharp shells taken out of the sea, and certain nails and thorns were placed for the martyrs to walk upon, which were sharpened and pointed. Thus they suffered all kinds of punishment and torment that might be devised. And lastly, they were thrown to the wild beasts to be devoured.”

Now we will return to Polycarp. The aforesaid letter declares the following about him. That in the beginning, when he heard of these things he was not at all afraid nor disquieted in mind, but purposed to have tarried still in the city, till being persuaded by the entreaty of those who were about him, he hid himself in a village not far from the city. There abiding with a few more, he did nothing, night or day, but abide in supplication. In this he made his humble petition for obtaining peace for all the churches throughout the world. It is further mentioned that when those who so narrowly sought him were near at hand, he was forced for the affection and love of his brethren, to flee into another village. A little while after, the pursuers came to this place notwithstanding, and found him in the house. He might have escaped from there if he wanted to, but he would not do it, saying, “The will of God be done.” Furthermore, when he knew that they had come, he came down and spoke to them with a cheerful and pleasant countenance, so that it was a wonder to see them now beholding his age, and his grave and constant countenance, lamenting that they had so employed their labor, and that so aged a man should be apprehended. To conclude, he commanded that straightway without any delay, the table should be laid for them. He persuaded them to eat and dine well, and boldly requested of them, that he might have an hour’s respite to pray. This being granted, he arose and went to pray, and was so replenished with the grace of God, that those who were present, hearing his prayers, were astonished. Many were sorry that so godly and aged a man should be put to death.

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After he had made an end of his prayers, and the hour had come in which they should set out, they set him on an ass, and brought him to the city. There he was met by Irenarch Herod and his father Nicetes. They caused him to come into the chariot where they sat, and tried to persuade him. They said, “What hurt, I pray you, will come of this, if you say (by way of salvation) ‘my lord Caesar,’ and do sacrifice to him, and thus save yourself?” But Polycarp made no answer till they forced him to speak. He then said, “I will not do as you counsel me.” When they saw he could not be persuaded, they gave him very rough language, and purposely molested him, so that in going down from the chariot, he might hurt or break his legs. But he treated the matter very lightly, as if he felt no hurt, and went merrily and diligently forward, making haste to the place appointed. The proconsul, when he had come,

counseled him to deny Christ's name, and said to him, "Be good to yourself, and favor your old age; take your oath, and I will discharge you: defy Christ." Polycarp answered, "Eighty-six years I have been His servant, yet in all this time he has not so much as once hurt me. How then may I speak evil of my King and sovereign Lord, who has thus preserved me?" Upon this, the proconsul stood up. "I have," he said, "wild beasts to whom I will throw you, unless you take a better course." To this Polycarp answered, "Let them come. We have determined with ourselves, that we will not turn from the better way to the worse, but rather turn from things that are evil to those which are good." "Again," said the proconsul, "I will tame you with fire." Then Polycarp said, "You threaten me with fire, which will burn for the space of an hour, and in a little while be extinguished; but you do not know the fire of the judgment to come, and of everlasting punishment, which is reserved for the wicked and ungodly. But why do you make all these delays? Give me whatever death you wish." These and many other such things being spoken by him, he was filled with joy and boldness. His countenance appeared so full of grace and favor, that he was not only *not* troubled with those things which the proconsul spoke to him, but contrarily, the proconsul himself began to be amazed. He sent for the crier, who in the middle of the stage was commanded to cry three times, "Polycarp has confessed himself to be a Christian." These words of the crier were no sooner spoken, than the whole multitude desired that he let loose the lion at Polycarp. The proconsul answered that he could not do so, because he already had his prey. Then they cried out again, all together with one voice, that he should burn Polycarp alive. And the proconsul had no sooner spoken, than it was at once performed, for the multitude had brought out from their shops, workhouses and barns, wood and other dry matter for that purpose.

And thus the pile being laid, and when Polycarp had now put off his garments and undone his girdle, straightway those instruments requisite to such a bonfire were brought to him. And when they would have nailed him to the stake with iron hoops, he said, "Let me alone as I am, for He that has given me strength to suffer and abide the fire, shall also give me power that, without your provision of nails, I will abide and not stir in the midst of this fire." When they heard this, they did not nail him, but bound him. Therefore, when his hands were bound behind him, he was sacrificed, saying,

"O Father of your well-beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, by whom we have attained the knowledge of you, the God of angels and powers, and of every creature, and of all just men who live before you, I give you thanks that you have promised to grant me this day that I may have my part among the number of the martyrs in the cup of Christ, unto the resurrection of eternal life, both of body and soul, through the operation of your Holy Spirit. Among them I will this day be received into your sight as an acceptable sacrifice. Just as you prepared and revealed this beforehand, so you have accomplished it, O you most true God, who cannot lie. Therefore in like case, and for all things, I praise you and bless you, and glorify you by our everlasting bishop, Jesus Christ, to whom be glory evermore, amen."

The subtle adversary saw the worthiness of Polycarp's martyrdom, and that his conduct even from his younger years could not be reproved, and that he was adorned with the crown of martyrdom, and had now obtained that incomparable benefit. The [centurion] charged that we not take and divide Polycarp's body, for fear that the remnants of the dead corpse might be taken away and worshipped by the people. Upon this, some whispered to Nicetes, the father of Herod, and to his brother Dalces, that the proconsul be admonished that in no case should he deliver Polycarp's body to them, lest they leave Christ, and begin to worship Polycarp. They said this because the Jews had secretly warned them, and provoked them to it. They also watched us, so that we would not take Polycarp's body out of the fire. They were

not ignorant that we meant at no time to forsake Christ, who gave his life for the salvation of the whole world (I mean as many as are elected to salvation by him), nor could we worship any other. Why then? We worship Jesus Christ as the Son of God, but we love the martyrs as disciples of the Lord (and worthily so), for their abundant love towards their king and master, of whom we also desire and wish to be companions, and to be made His disciples. Therefore, when the centurion saw and perceived the object of the Jews, the corpse being laid out, they burnt it to ashes, as was their manner.

Thus good Polycarp, with twelve others who came from Philadelphia, suffered martyrdom at Smyrna. Polycarp especially is held above the rest in memory. So that, in all places among the Gentiles he is most esteemed. He was a very aged man, and had served Christ eighty-six years since his first knowledge of Him, and also served in the ministry about the space of seventy years. He was the student and hearer of John the evangelist (the Apostle), and was placed by John in Smyrna.

It is witnessed by Irenaeus, that Polycarp came to Rome in the time of Anicetus, bishop of Rome, about the year 157. The cause of his coming there appears to be about the controversy concerning Easter day, in which the Asians and the Romans disagreed. Therefore Polycarp, in behalf of the brethren and church of Asia, took his long journey there to come and confer with Anicetus. Nicephorus also writes of this (lib. 4.), declaring that Polycarp and Anicetus varied somewhat in their opinion and judgment about that matter. Notwithstanding, they communicated with one another in a friendly way, in so far that Anicetus gave way to Polycarp to minister the communion and sacrament of the Lord's supper in his church, for honor's sake. This may be a notable testimony to us now, that the doctrine concerning the free use and liberty of ceremonies, was retained at that time in the church, without any offense or breach of Christian peace in the church.

In this fourth persecution, besides Polycarp and the others mentioned before, we read of various others who, at the same time, suffered at Smyrna.

Metrodorus, a minister, was given to the fire, and consumed. Pionius, after much bold speech, as his apologies were exhibited, and his sermons were given to the people in defense of Christian faith – after he had given much relief and comfort to those who were in prison and otherwise discomfited – he was at last put to cruel torments, then given to the fire. And so he finished his blessed martyrdom.

And just as these suffered in Asia, so Felicitas with her seven children suffered in Rome. Her first and eldest son, after he was whipped and scourged with rods, was pressed to death with leaden weights; two had their brains beaten out; another was cast down headlong, and had his neck broken; the rest were beheaded. Last of all, Felicitas the mother was slain with the sword.

[41] A.D. 161.

In this fourth persecution, Justin suffered. He was a man of learning, and philosophy, and a great defender of the Christian religion. He presented a book in defense of our doctrine to the Emperor Antoninus (Antonius) Pius, and to the Senate. After this he was crowned with the same martyrdom as those whom he had defended in his book. <sup>74</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Justin Martyr (100-165) was martyred under Marcus Aurelius, who succeeded Antonius Pius in 161. His first Apology was indeed written between AD 155 and 157, during the reign of Antonius Pius.

Under Antoninus also suffered Ptolomy and Lucius for the confession of Christ, in Alexandria.

Concordus, a minister of the city of Spolet, because he would not sacrifice to Jupiter, but spat in the face of the idol, after diverse and sundry punishments, was at last beheaded with the sword.

A little before, mention was made of Symphorosa, wife of Getulus, with her seven sons, whom the chronicle of Ado declares were put to death, being fastened to seven stakes, and racked up with a pully. At last they were thrust through – Crescens in the neck, Julianus in the breast, Neraesius in the heart, Primitivus in the stomach, Justinus cut in every joint of his body, Statteus run through with spears, Eugenius cut asunder from the breast to the lower parts, and then cast into a deep pit. After their martyrdom, Symphorosa, the mother, likewise suffered.

Under Marcus Antoninus, in the same persecution, suffered the glorious and most constant martyrs of Vienne and Lyons. These two cities in France gave to Christ a glorious testimony, and to all Christian men a spectacle or example of singular constancy and fortitude in Christ our Savior. And because their history is written and set forth by their own churches where they suffered (Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 2), I thought it good to give it in their own words, as in the following epistle to their brethren in Asia and Phrygia.

*“The servants of Christ inhabiting the cities of Vienne and Lyons, to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia, having the same faith and hope of redemption with us: Peace, grace, and glory from God the Father, and from Jesus Christ our Lord.*

“The greatness of this our tribulation, the furious rage of the Gentiles against us, and the torments which the blessed martyrs suffered, we can neither in words, nor yet in writing, set forth as they deserve. For the adversary in every place practiced, and instructed his ministers how to set them in most spiteful manner, against the servants of God. So that not only were we restrained in our houses, shops, and markets, but also universally commanded that none of us should be seen in any place. But God always has mercy in store, and took out of their hands those who were weak among us. Others he set up as firm and immoveable pillars. By suffering, these were able to abide and valiantly withstand the enemy, enduring all the punishment they could devise. They fought this battle for Christ, esteeming their great troubles but as light. Thereby they showed that all that may be suffered in this present life, is not to be compared with the great glory which will be shown upon us after life. They patiently suffered railings, scourgings, drawings and haulings, flinging of stones, imprisoning, and whatever the rage of the multitude is prone to use against their enemies – then being led into the marketplace, and there judged. After their confession, made openly before the multitude, they were sent back to prison. One Vetius Epagathus, one of the brethren, having within him the fervent zeal of love and spirit of God, could not permit that wicked judgment which was given upon the Christians. But being vehemently displeased, he desired that the judge hear the excuse which he was minded to make in behalf of the Christians, in whom, he said, no impiety is found. The justice did not grant him his request, but only asked him whether he himself was a Christian? He immediately, with a loud and bold voice, answered and said, I *am* a Christian! And thus he was received into the fellowship of the martyrs, and called the advocate of the Christians. By this man’s example, the rest of the martyrs were more animated with all courage of mind. Some there were unready and not so well prepared, and as yet weak – not well able to bear so great a conflict. Of these, ten fainted, ministering to us much heaviness and lamentation. Their example caused the rest, who had not yet been apprehended, to be less willing of it. Along with these, certain men-servants were also apprehended. Fearing the torments which they saw the saints suffer, also being compelled by the soldiers, they charged that we kept the feastings of

Thyestes, and of Oedipus, and many such other crimes. These are neither to be remembered nor named by us, nor yet is it to be thought that any man would ever commit the like.

“These things being noised abroad, every man began to show cruelty against us, in that those who were gentler before, now vehemently disdained us, and grew mad against us. Thus was fulfilled what was spoken by Christ, saying, “The time will come, that whoever kills you, will think that he does God a service.” Then the martyrs of God suffered such bitter persecution as is passing to be told. Satan still shooting at this mark: to make them utter some blasphemy by all possible means. Therefore the rage both of the people and prince was marvellous, especially against one Sanctus, who was deacon of the congregation of Vienne, and against Maturus, who had been baptized but a little before, yet was a worthy soldier of Christ; and also against Attalus, who was the foundation and pillar of that church; and also against Blandina. Blandina was so filled with strength and boldness, that those who had been tormenting her from morning to night, gave up out of weariness. They were themselves overcome, confessing that they could do no more against her, and marvelled that she still lived, having her body so torn and rent. They testified that any one of those torments alone, without any more, had been enough to have plucked the life from her body.

“Sanctus also, another of the martyrs, who in the midst of his torments endured more pains than the nature of a man might bear, abode in such constancy of mind, that he neither told them his name, nor what countryman he was, nor in what city he was brought up, nor whether he was a freeman or a servant. But every question that was asked him, he answered, ‘I am a Christian,’ and this was all that he confessed, both of his name, city, kindred, and all other things in the place of execution. Upon this, both the governor and tormentors were more vehemently bent against him. They clapped plates of red-hot brass to the most tender parts of his body, yet he never shrunk, but was bold and constant in his confession, being strengthened and moistened with the fountain of living water flowing out of Christ’s side. Truly his body was a sufficient witness of what torments he suffered. For it was all drawn together and most pitifully wounded and scorched, so that it had lost the proper shape of a man, in whose suffering Christ obtained unspeakable glory. For he overcame his adversaries, and to the instruction of others, he declared that nothing else is terrible, or ought to be feared, where the love of God is. And nothing is grievous in which the glory of Christ is manifested.

“Also Satan, now thinking to have settled himself in the heart of one Biblias, being one of those who had denied Christ. Thinking to cause her — a weak and feeble woman in faith — to damn her soul in blaspheming the name of God, he brought her to the place of execution. But in the middle of her torments, returning to herself, and waking as it were out of her dead sleep by that temporal pain, she called to her remembrance the pains of hell-fire. And against all expectations, she answered the tormentors, saying, ‘How should we Christians eat young infants (as you report of us) for whom it is not lawful to eat the blood of any beast?’ Upon that, as soon as she had confessed to being a Christian, she was martyred. Thus when Christ had ended those tyrannical torments, by the patience and suffering of the saints, the Devil yet invented other engines and instruments. For when the Christians were cast into prison, they were shut up in dark and ugly dungeons, and were drawn by the feet in a rack or engine made for that purpose.

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“Very many of them were strangled and killed in prisons. But in this manner, the Lord would have them enjoy everlasting life, and set forth His glory. And surely these good men were so pitifully tormented, that if they had all the helps and medicines in the world, it was thought impossible for them to live, and to be restored. And thus remaining in prison, destitute of all human help, they were so strengthened by the Lord, and confirmed both in body and mind, that they comforted and stirred up the minds of the rest.

Bk. I. The 300 years after Christ – Ten Persecutions (64-324)

“Photinus, who was deacon to the bishop of Lyons, was about eighty-nine years old, and a very feeble man. Yet he was of a lively courage and spirit when he was brought to the judgment-seat. Although his body was feeble and weak, both because of his old age, and also through sickness, his life was preserved, that Christ might triumph and be glorified. It was demanded by the chief ruler, what was the Christian man’s God. He answered, If you are worthy to know, you shall know. The ruler being somewhat offended by these words, caused Photinus to be beaten. Those who stood next to him did him all the spite and displeasure that they could, both with hand and foot, having no regard at all for his old age or white hairs. Those who were further off threw at him whatever came next to hand. And every man thought that whoever withheld his hand from doing the same, very wickedly refrained. Photinus was then thrown into prison, and within two days he died.

“Then Maturus and Attalus were brought together to the common scaffold, there in the face of the people to be cast to the beasts. They suffered the tearing of wild beasts, and whatever else the frantic people on every side cried for and willed. And above all the rest they brought an iron chair, in which their bodies being set, were fried and scorched, as on a gridiron fried on the coals. And yet for all that, the tormentors did not cease, but grew fiercer and madder against them, laboring to overcome the patience of the saints. Notwithstanding all this, they could not get out of Sanctus’ mouth anything else but the confession which he declared at the beginning. And thus these holy men, after they had long continued alive in most horrible conflict, were at length slain. That whole day they were made a spectacle to the world, in place and instead of the games and sights which were usually exhibited to the people.

“Now the emperor had written that all the confessors should be punished, and the others let go. The governor therefore caused all the holy martyrs to be brought to the sessions, that the assembled multitude might behold them. He again examined them; as many of them as he thought had the freedom of Roman citizenship, he beheaded, the remainder he gave to the beasts to be devoured. Truly Christ was much glorified by those who a little before had denied him, but who now, contrary to the expectation of the infidels, confessed him even to the death. While they were being examined, one Alexander, standing somewhat near to the bar, by signs encouraged those who were examined to confess Christ. So that his countenance, sometimes rejoicing and sometimes sorrowing, was observed by the bystanders. The people who were not pleased to see those who had recanted again, stick to their first confession of Christ, cried out against Alexander as the one who was the cause of this. And when he was forced by the judge, who demanded to know what his religion was, he answered, ‘I am a Christian.’ He had no sooner spoken the word, than he was condemned to be devoured by the beasts.

“The blessed Blandina was the last who suffered, after she had, as a worthy mother, exhorted her children, and sent them before her as conquerors to their heavenly King. She called to her remembrance all their battles and conflicts, and so rejoiced at her children’s death, that she hastened her own. It was as though she had been called to a bridal feast, and not thrown to the wild beasts. After her pitiful whipping, her delivery to the beasts, and her torments upon the gridiron, at length she was put in a net, and thrown to the wild bull. When she had been sufficiently gored and wounded with the horns of the beast, and heeded nothing of all that happened to her for the great hope and consolation she had in Christ and heavenly things, she was thus slain. The heathen men themselves confessed that there was never a woman put to death, who suffered so much as this woman did. Yet their furious cruelty was not assuaged against the Christians. For this cruel and barbarous people, like wild beasts, did not know when it was time to make an end of it. But they invented new and sundry torments every day against our bodies. Nor did it content them when they had put the Christians to death. For those whom they strangled in their prisons, they threw to the dogs, setting keepers to watch them both day and night, so that their bodies would not be buried. They brought out the remnant of their bones and bodies, some half burned, some left by the wild beasts, and some

Bk. I. The 300 years after Christ – Ten Persecutions (64-324)

all mangled. They also brought out the heads of others which were cut off, and committed them to the charge of the keepers to see them remain unburied.

“Thus the bodies of the martyrs were made a wondering stock, and lay six days in the open streets. At length they burned them, and threw their ashes into the river Rhone, so that there might appear no remnant of them upon the earth. And they did this, as if they had been able to pull God out of his seat, and had hindered the regeneration of the saints, and taken from them the hope of the resurrection.”

Such was the epistle of the brethren of France to those of Asia.

Among others who suffered under Antoninus, previous mention was made of Justin, who submitted two apologies in defense of Christian doctrine, the one to the senate and the other to the emperor.

He wrote the first of these apologies to the senate; when with great liberty he declared that he was of necessity compelled to write and utter his mind to them. For in persecuting the Christians they highly offended God, and therefore needed to be admonished. And writing to the lieutenant of the city, he said he had “put men to death and torments, not for any offense committed, but only for the confession of the name of Christ. These proceedings and judgments were neither becoming to the emperor, nor to his son, nor to the senate.” Thus in his apology, he moreover cleared the Christians of those crimes which were falsely laid and objected against them.

Likewise in his second apology, writing to the emperor with like gravity and free liberty, he declares to them how they had the *name*, being reputed and taken as virtuous philosophers, maintainers of justice, lovers of learning. But whether they were so, their acts declared. As for him, he was constrained to write to them this way, neither for flattery, nor favor at their hands. And then in plain words, he charges the emperor as well as the senate with manifest wrong, for not granting the Christians what is not denied to all other malefactors — judging them to death, only for the hatred of the *name* Christian. He said,

“Other men who are accused are not condemned in judgment before they are convicted. But on us, you take our name alone as the crime, when indeed you ought to see justice done upon our accusers. And again, if a Christian being accused will only deny that name, you release him, not being able to charge him with any other offense. But if he stands to his name, you condemn him only for his confession — where indeed it is your duty to examine their manner of life, rather than whatever they confess or deny, and to see justice done according to their demerits.”

I find that all his apologies stand upon the strongest and firmest proofs, denying that the Christians should sacrifice to the idols at the will and commandment of the emperor and the senate. Being condemned for this, they affirm that they suffer open wrong — affirming moreover, that the true and only religion is the religion of the Christians. Although Justin did not so prevail with the emperor as to cause him to love Justin’s religion and become a Christian, yet he obtained this much: that Antoninus writing to his officers in Asia, commanded them that only those Christians who were found guilty of any trespass should suffer, and those who were not convicted, should not therefore be punished only because they were called Christians.

[43] A.D. 161—193.

Besides Justin, there were at the same time in Asia, Apollinaris, bishop of Hieropolis, and Melito, bishop of Sardis. They submitted learned and eloquent apologies in defense of Christ’s religion, just as Quadratus and Aristides (mentioned above) did to the emperor.



Thereby they moved him somewhat to stay the rage of his persecution. In like manner Apollinaris and Melito defended the cause of the Christians. Eusebius mentions Melito in his fourth book, and quotes certain parts of his apology in these words,

“The godly suffer persecution by occasion of certain proclamations and edicts proclaimed throughout Asia, for villainous sycophants, robbers, and spoilers of other men’s goods, grounding themselves upon those proclamations, and taking occasion of them, rob openly night and day, and spoil those which do no harm. Which if it be done by your commandment, be it so; for a good prince will never command but good things, and so we will be contented to sustain the honor of this death. This only we most humbly beseech your majesty, that calling before you and examining the authors of this tumult and contention, your grace would justly judge whether we are worthy of cruel death, or quiet life. And then if it be not your pleasure, and that it proceeds not by your commandment (which indeed against your barbarous enemies were too bad) the more a great deal we are petitioners to your highness, that hereafter you will grant to hear us, who are so vexed and oppressed with this kind of villainous robberies.”

Thus much out of the apology of Melito, who in writing to Onesimus, gives us the benefit of knowing the true catalogue and names of all the authentic books of the Old Testament, received in the time of the primitive church. Concerning the number and names of these, Melito in his letter to Onesimus declares how, returning into the parts where these things were done and preached, he diligently inquired there concerning the books of the Old Testament, the names of which he subscribes, and sends to him as follows: the five books of Moses, (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy), Joshua, the Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings (Samuel and Kings), two books of Chronicles, the Psalms, Proverbs of Solomon, the book of Wisdom, the Preacher, the Song of Songs, Job, the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Twelve Prophets in one book, Daniel, Ezekiel, Ezra. And thus much of this matter which I thought to record here. For it is not unprofitable for these later times, to understand what in the first times was received and admitted as authentic, and what otherwise.

To return to the apologies of Apollinaris and Melito, it is uncertain whether the persecution at that time was stayed by the occasion of these apologies, or whether it was through the writing of Athenagoras, a philosopher and legate of the Christians. But this is certain, that after the death of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, his son Lucius Antoninus Commodus succeeded (A.D. 180), who reigned thirteen years.

In the time of Commodus, although he was an incommodious prince to the senators of Rome, there was notwithstanding, some rest from persecution through the whole church of Christ. By what occasion is not certain. Some think that it came through Marcia, the emperor’s concubine, who favored the Christians. But however it came, the fury of the raging enemies was then somewhat mitigated, and peace was given by the grace of Christ to the church throughout the whole world. At this time the doctrine of the gospel influenced the hearts of all sorts of people, and drew them to the true religion of God, insomuch that many, both rich and noble personages of Rome, with their whole families and households, joined themselves to the church of Christ.

The Emperor Commodus, upon one of his birthdays, having called the people of Rome together, clothed himself with great royalty. He had his lion’s skin upon him, and offered sacrifices to Hercules and Jupiter, causing it to be proclaimed through the city, that Hercules was the patron and defender of the city. There was at the same time in Rome, Vincentius, Eusebius (not the historian), Peregrinus, and Potentianus. These were learned men and instructors of the people. Following the steps of the apostles, they went about from

place to place where the gospel was not yet preached, converting the Gentiles to the faith of Christ. Hearing of the madness of the emperor and of the people, they began to reprove their idolatrous blindness. In the villages and towns, they taught all who heard them, to believe upon the true and only God, to come away from such worshipping of devils, and to give honor to God alone, who alone is to be worshipped. They exhorted them to repent and be baptized. One Julius, a senator, upon hearing their preaching, was converted with others to the religion of Christ. But hearing of this, the emperor caused these new converts to be apprehended, and compelled to sacrifice to Hercules. When they stoutly refused to do so, after diverse and grievous torments, they were at last pressed to death with leaden weights.

Julius, being a senator of Rome, and now won by the preaching of these blessed men to the faith of Christ, soon invited them home to his house. Being more fully instructed by them in the Christian religion, he believed the gospel, and was baptized with all his family. He did not keep his faith close and secret, but with a marvellous and sincere zeal, openly professed it, wishing and praying that it might be given to him by God, not only to believe in Christ, but also to hazard his life for him. The emperor, hearing that Julius had forsaken his old religion and become a Christian, immediately sent for him. He said, “O Julius, what madness has possessed you, that you fall from the religion of your forefathers, who acknowledged and worshipped their gods, and now embrace a new and foolish kind of religion of the Christians?” Julius, having a good occasion to show his faith, gave an account of it to the emperor, and affirmed that Hercules and Jupiter were false gods, and how those who worship them would perish with eternal damnation. The emperor, hearing how Julius condemned and despised his gods, was very angry. He immediately committed him to the master of the soldiers, a very cruel and fierce man. He charged him either to see Julius sacrifice to Hercules, or if he still refused, to slay him. Julius, continuing steadfast in the faith, was beaten to death with cudgels.

### ***The Fifth Persecution.***

After the death of Commodus, Pertinax reigned but a few months, after whom succeeded Severus (A.D. 193), under whom the fifth persecution was raised against the Christian saints. He reigned eighteen years, and for the first ten years was very favorable to the Christians. Afterward, through sinister suggestions and malicious accusations of the malignant, he was so incensed against them, that proclaimed that the Christians should no longer be tolerated. Thus the rage of the emperor being inflamed against them, a great persecution was stirred up on every side, whereby an infinite number of martyrs were slain about A.D. 205, as Eusebius records in his sixth book. The crimes and false accusations objected against the Christians were partly touched on before, such as sedition and rebellion against the emperor, sacrilege, murdering infants, and eating raw flesh.<sup>75</sup> It was also objected against them that they worshipped the head of an ass; I can find no certain cause from which this charge arose, except perhaps, from the Jews. They were also charged with worshipping the sun, either because they assembled together before the sun rose, singing their morning hymns to the Lord; or else because they prayed towards the east. But they were specially accused because they would not worship idolatrous gods.

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The place where the force of this persecution most raged was Africa. The number who suffered was innumerable. The first was Leonides, the father of Origen, who was beheaded. Origen still being young, was fervently attached to the doctrine of Christ's faith, by the

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<sup>75</sup> Likely misperceiving baptism as drowning, and the Lord's Supper as eating flesh and blood.

operation of God's heavenly providence, and partly by the diligent education of his father. He brought him up from his youth to be most studious in all good literature, but especially in the reading and exercise of the holy Scripture. In this he had such inward and mystical speculation, that many times he would ask his father questions about the meaning of this or that place in the Scripture, so much so that his father would often uncover his breast as he was asleep, and kiss it, giving thanks to God who had made him so happy a father of such a happy child. After the death of his father, all his goods having been confiscated by the emperor, Origen, along with his poor mother and six brethren, was brought to such extreme poverty, that he sustained both himself and them by teaching school. At length, having grown weary of the profession, he transferred his study exclusively to the knowledge and seeking of divine Scripture, and such other learning as was conducive to that.

Those who write about the life of Origen, testify that he was of a quick and sharp wit, very patient in labor, learned in various tongues, of a sparse diet, a strict life, and fasting. He was often in danger of being stoned by the multitude; and sometimes by the provision of Christian men who had his house guarded with soldiers, for the safety of those who daily came to hear his readings. Among others who came to him and were his hearers, was Plutarch, who died a martyr; and with him Serenus, his brother, who was burned; Heraclides and Heron, who were both beheaded; another Serenus, who was also beheaded; Rhais; and Potamiana, who was tormented with pitch poured upon her, and martyred with her mother, Marcella, who also died in the fire.

Besides these who suffered in this persecution of Severus, was one Andoclus, whom Polycarp had sent into France. Because he had spread the doctrine of Christ there, he was apprehended by Severus, first beaten with staffs and bats, and afterwards beheaded.

About the same time, Irenaeus (c. 130-200) was martyred with a great multitude of others, for the confession and doctrine of Christ. Irenaeus was a great writer, and great searcher of all kinds of learning. After the martyrdom of Photinus, he was appointed bishop of Lyons, where he continued for about twenty-three years. In the time of Irenaeus, the state of the church was greatly troubled, not only by outward persecution, but also by diverse sects and errors then stirring within, against which he diligently labored and wrote much. The nature of this man, well agreeing with his name (peaceful), was such that he ever loved peace, and sought to settle disagreements when any controversy arose in the church. Therefore, when the question of keeping the Easter day was renewed in the church between Victor, bishop of Rome, and the churches of Asia. When Victor would have excommunicated them as schismatics, for disagreeing with him in this, Irenaeus, with other brethren of the French church — sorry to see such a contention among brethren for such a trifle — assembled themselves together in a council. They directed that their letter, with their common consent subscribed, be sent to Victor, entreating him to stay his purpose, and not proceed in excommunicating his brethren for that matter. Though they themselves agreed with him in observing Easter Sunday as he did, yet with great reasons and arguments, they exhorted him not to deal so rigorously with his other brethren. This followed the ancient custom of their country in that regard. And besides this, he wrote diverse other letters abroad concerning the same contention, declaring the excommunication of Victor to be of no force.

Not long after Irenaeus, followed Tertullian (160-230), a man who was expert both in Greek and Latin, having great gifts in disputing, and in eloquent writing, as his books evidence, and as the commendation of all learned men testifies.

God raised up such men from time to time, as pillars and stays for his poor church, as He raised up Tertullian in these dangerous days of persecution. For when the Christians were

vexed with wrongs, and falsely accused by the Gentiles, Tertullian, took their cause in hand, and defended them against their persecutors, and against their slanderous accusations. He declared that they were falsely accused and wrongfully persecuted, not for any desert of theirs, but only for the hatred of their name. And yet he proves in the same apology, that the religion of the Christians was not *impaired* by persecution, but rather *increased*. He says,

“The more we are mown down by you, the more we rise up. The blood of Christians is seed. For what man, in beholding the painful torments, and their perfect patience, will not search and inquire what is the cause? And when he has found it out, who will not agree to it? And when he agrees to it, who will not desire to suffer for it? Thus this sect will never die, but the more it is cut down, the more it grows. For every man seeing and wondering at the sufferance of the saints, is moved even more by this to search for the cause; in searching, he finds it; and in finding, he follows it.”

Thus Tertullian, in this time of persecution, defended the innocence of the Christians against the blasphemy of the adversaries. And moreover, for the instruction of the church, he compiled many works; some are extant, some are not to be found. Notwithstanding the great learning and many virtues of this worthy man, certain errors and blemishes are noted in his doctrine. This, by the way, will be sufficient to admonish the reader never to look for perfection in any man in this world. However excellent he may be, some blemish or other joins itself with him.

And now, to return again to the order of bishops of Rome. After Eleutherius, succeeded Victor (A.D. 185). This Victor was a great stirrer in the controversy of Easter day. He would have proceeded in excommunication against the churches of Asia, had not Irenaeus, with the counsel of his brethren, repressed his violence. As to that controversy about Easter in those days of the primitive church, the original cause of it was recorded by Eusebius, Socrates,<sup>76</sup> Platina, and others. It is certain that the apostles, being only attentive to the doctrine of salvation, gave no heed to the observation of days and times. Nor did they bind the church to any ceremonies and rites, except those things mentioned in Acts 15. 29, such as “blood, and things strangled.” These were ordained then by the Holy Spirit, and not without a most urgent and necessary cause, as partly touched on earlier in this history. For when the murdering and blood of infants was commonly charged by the heathen persecutors against the Christians, they had no other argument to help themselves, nor to refute the adversary, except their own law, by which they were commanded to abstain not only from all men’s blood, but also from the blood of all common beasts. And therefore, that law seems to be given by the Holy Spirit, and it continued in the church so long as the cause — that is, so long as the persecutions of the heathen Gentiles continued. Besides these, we read of no other ceremonies or rites which the apostles greatly regarded. Rather, they left such things free to the liberty of Christians, every man exercising his own discretion for using or not using them. So that, concerning all the ceremonial observations of days, times, places, meats, drinks, clothing, and other such things, the diversity among men was not greatly noted, nor was any uniformity greatly required.

The doctrine of Christian liberty remained whole in the church till the time of Victor. Nor did the violence of Victor take such effect, except that the doctrine of Christian liberty was defended and maintained by means of Irenaeus and others. And so it continued in the church till after the Council of Nice.

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<sup>76</sup> Socrates of Constantinople (c. 380-439), also known as Socrates Scholasticus, was a church historian.

But to return to Victor again, we will show what diversity there was in observing the day of Easter. The question of Easter was first advanced in the time of Pius (r. 140-161). He decreed the observation of that day to be changed from the customary fourteenth day of the moon, in the first month, to the next Sunday after. After him came Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherius, bishops of Rome, who also determined the same. Against these stood Melito, bishop of Sardis, Polycarp, and as some think, Egesippus, with other learned men of Asia. Polycarp, sent by the brethren of Asia, came to Rome to confer with Anicetus in that matter. After long debating, they could not agree, and yet they both communicated together with reverence, and separated in peace.

[45] A.D. 193-222.

And so the celebration of Easter day remained an indifferent thing in the church till the time of Victor. Following after Anicetus and his fellows, and chiefly stirring in this matter, he endeavored by all means to draw, or rather to subdue the churches of Asia to his opinions. He thought, moreover, to excommunicate all those bishops and the churches of Asia, as heretics and schismatics, who disagreed from the Roman order, except that Irenaeus restrained him from doing so (A.D. 191). Thus, the uniformity of keeping that holy day, first began to be required as a necessary thing; and all who dissented from the bishop and tradition of Rome were counted as heretics and schismatics.

With Victor, stood Theophilus, bishop of Caesarea, Narcissus of Jerusalem, Irenaeus of Lyons, Palmas of Pontus, Banchillus of Corinth, the bishop of Ostroena, and others. All of them condescended to have the celebration of Easter on that Sunday, partly because they wished to differ from the Jews in all things as much as they might, and partly because the resurrection of the Lord fell on the same day.

On the contrary side there were various bishops in Asia, of whom the principal was Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus. Being assembled with a great multitude of bishops and brethren of those parts, and by the common assent of the rest, he wrote to Victor, and to the church of Rome, declaring that from the beginning they had ever observed that day unchanged, according to the rule of Scripture, that nothing be added to or taken from it. They alleged, moreover, the examples of the apostles, and the holy fathers, their predecessors, such as Philip the apostle, with his three daughters at Hieropolis; also John the apostle and evangelist at Ephesus, Polycarp at Smyrna, Thraseas, bishop and martyr at Eumenia; likewise Sagaris, bishop and martyr at Laodicea; holy Papius and Melito at Sardis. Besides these, seven bishops, also of his own kindred and ancestors, all of whom observed the solemnity of Easter day, in the same manner that we do now.

Victor, not a little upset with this, again threatened them by letter, with violent excommunication (being more bold upon authority than wise in his commission). By the wise handling of Irenaeus and other learned men, the matter was stayed, and Victor was otherwise persuaded. What the persuasions of Irenaeus were, partly appear in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* (lib. 5. cap. 2(j)), to this effect: That the variance and difference of ceremonies is no strange matter in the church of Christ, as this variety is not only in the day of Easter, but also in the manner of fasting, and in other usages among the Christians. For some fast one day, some two days, some fast more. And this varying mode of fasting in the churches began not only in our time, but was among our fore-elders. And yet, despite all this diversity, they were in unity among themselves, and so should we be. Nor does this difference in ceremonies hinder, but rather commends the unity of faith. And he brings forth the examples of the fathers – of Telesphorus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter, Eleuthenus, and such others, who neither observed the same usage themselves, nor prescribed it to others.

And yet notwithstanding, they kept Christian charity with those who came to communicate with them, not observing the same form of things which they observed. This appeared by Polycarp and Anicetus. Although they did not agree in one uniform custom of rites, they did not refuse to have communion together, the one giving reverence to the other. Thus, the controversy being taken up between Irenaeus and Victor, the matter remained free till the time of the Nicene council. After Victor, Zephyrinus succeeded in the See of Rome (about A.D. 203). Two epistles are ascribed to this Zephyrinus; but as to the epistles of other Roman bishops, I say and truly suppose that neither the style nor the matter contained in them, nor the state of the time, warrant us to think of them other than as forged letters. They were letters not written by these fathers, nor in those times, but were craftily and wickedly packed in by some who, to set up the primacy of Rome, have most pestilently abused the authority of these holy and ancient fathers, in order to deceive the simple church.

Septimus Severus (145–211), the persecutor, reigned eighteen years. About the latter time of his reign he came with his army into Britain where, after many conflicts with the Britons in the north, he cast up a ditch with a mighty wall made of earth, turf, and strong stakes, to the length of 132 miles from one side of the sea to the other, beginning at the Tyne and reaching to the Scottish sea. This being done, he moved to York and died there (A.D. 211), leaving his two sons Basianus (surnamed Caracalla), and Geta, joint emperors.

After Caracalla and Macrinus, Heliogabalus, or Elagabalus (c. 203–222), succeeded to the empire. He may be called a monster rather than a man, so prodigious was his life in all gluttony and filthiness. Not to pass by his sumptuous vestures, he would only wear those of gold and most costly silks; his shoes glittering with precious stones finely engraved; he never wore one garment twice. He was never served two days in a row with one kind of meat; some days his company was served with the brains of ostriches, and another day with the tongues of popinjays and other sweet singing birds. When he was near the sea he never ate fish; but in places far distant from the sea, his whole house was served with the most delicate fishes. At one supper he was served with 7000 fishes, and 5000 fowls. He sacrificed young children, and preferred the most abandoned characters to the highest offices in the state, such as public dancers, minstrels, charioteers, and such like. In a word, he was an enemy to all honesty and good order. And when he was foretold by his sorcerers and astronomers, that he would die a violent death, he provided ropes of silk to hang himself, swords of gold to kill himself, and strong poison in precious caskets to poison himself, if he were forced to it. Moreover, he made a high tower, having the floor of boards covered with gold plate and bordered with precious stones. He would throw himself down from this tower if he were pursued by his enemies. But, notwithstanding all his provision, he was slain by the soldiers, drawn through the city, and cast into the Tiber, after he had reigned two years and eight months, as Eutropius witnesses; others say four years.

This Heliogabalus, having no children, adopted as his son and heir, Aurelius Alexander Severus, the son of Mammea. He began to reign A.D. 222, and continued thirteen years. He is much commended as being virtuous, wise, gentle, liberal, and hurtful to no man. Among his other virtues, it also appears that he was friendly and favorable to the Christians. And thus this good emperor continued the space of thirteen years.

During the reign of Alexander Severus, although the church of Christ did not have perfect peace, it had at least some tranquility from persecution. Even so, Tiburtius and Valerianus (the husband of Cecilia) were converted at this time, both noblemen of Rome. They remained constant in the faith to the end, and suffered martyrdom. It is written of Cecilia, that after she had brought Valerian her husband, and Tiburtius his brother, to the

knowledge and faith of Christ, and made them constant unto martyrdom with her exhortations, she was apprehended and brought to the idols to do sacrifice. When she abhorred to do this, she was to be presented before the judge to have the condemnation of death. In the meantime, the sergeants and officers who were around her, beholding her exceptional beauty and prudent conversation, began with many persuasive words to solicit her to favor herself, and her excellent beauty, and not cast herself away, etc. But she so replied to them with reasons and godly exhortations, that by the grace of Almighty God, their hearts began to kindle; and at length they yielded to that religion which before they had persecuted. Perceiving this, she desired of the judge a little respite. Her request being granted, she sent for Urbanus, the bishop, to come to her house, to establish and ground her household in the faith of Christ.

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And so they were baptized, with diverse others, both men and women, numbering (as the history says) 400 persons. Among them was one Gordian, a nobleman. This done, the blessed martyr was brought before the judge, where she was condemned, and enclosed in a hot bath. But remaining there a whole day and night without any hurt, she was brought out again, and beheaded.

Various others are said to have suffered martyrdom under this same Alexander Severus. One such was Agapetus, aged fifteen years. Being apprehended and condemned at Preneste in Italy because he would not sacrifice to idols, he was assailed with sundry torments: — first, scourged with whips, then hung up by the feet, and after having hot water poured on him, he was at last thrown to the wild beasts.

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

Then follows Pammachius, a senator of Rome, with his wife and children, and others, both men and women, numbering forty-two; also, another noble senator of Rome, named Simplicius. All of them together, in one day, had their heads struck off, which were hung at various gates of the city, as a terror to others, that none should profess the name of Christ.

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

Also, Tiberius and Valerianus, citizens of Rome and brothers, suffered at the same time, being bruised and broken with bats, and afterwards beheaded.

Also, Martina, a Christian maiden. After diverse bitter punishments, being constant in her faith, she suffered in like manner by the sword.

### ***The Sixth Persecution.***

Emperor Alexander Severus, after a commotion in Germany, was murdered, along with his mother Mammea. Maximinus Thrax was then chosen to be emperor, only by the will of the soldiers, and against the mind and authority of the senate (A.D. 235). He raised up the sixth persecution against the Christians, especially against the teachers and leaders of the church. He thought he might vanquish the rest sooner, if the captains were removed out of the way. In the time of this persecution, Origen wrote his book on martyrdom. This book, if it were extant, would give us some knowledge of those who suffered in this persecution, who are now unknown. No doubt they were a great number, and would have been still greater, had the provident mercy of God not shortened his days, and bridled his tyranny. For Maximinus reigned but three years. After him succeeded Gordian (A.D. 238), a man no less studious for



the utility of the commonwealth, than he was mild and gentle to the Christians. This Gordian,<sup>77</sup> after he had governed the empire of Rome with much peace and tranquility for six years, was slain by Philip, the emperor who followed him.

In the days of these emperors recited above, Pontianus was bishop of Rome. He succeeded next after Urban (A.D. 230). He was banished under Maximinus, and died in the beginning of the reign of Gordian. In his decretal epistles (which seem likely to be forged), he appears very devout, following the example of other bishops. He upheld the dignity of priests, and of clergymen, saying that God has them be so familiar with him, that *by them* He accepts the offerings and oblations of others, forgives their sins, and reconciles them to Himself. Also, he says that they “make the body of the Lord with their own mouth,” and give it to others, etc. How this doctrine stands with the testament of God, and the glory of Christ, let the reader use his own judgment.

In the same time, other notable fathers were raised up in the church, such as Philetus, bishop of Antioch, and after him Zebenus, bishop of the same place.

To these also may be added Ammonius, the schoolmaster of Origen and the kinsman of Porphyry, who was a neo-Platonic philosopher and great enemy of Christ. As Ammonius left various books in defense of Christ’s religion, so too he constantly persevered in the doctrine of Christ, which he had received in the beginning.

After the decease of Pontianus, bishop of Rome, succeeded Anterius. Because he caused the acts and deaths of the martyrs to be written down, he was put to martyrdom himself, by Maximinus the judge. Next to this bishop was Fabian, of whom more is to be said hereafter.

Hippolytus too was a bishop and a martyr. He was a great writer, and left many works to the church. He lived about A.D. 230. Prudentius,<sup>78</sup> in his *Peristephanon*, mentions great heaps of martyrs buried in groups of 60. He speaks also of Hippolytus, and says that he was drawn with wild horses through fields, dales, and bushes, and describes a pitiful story.

After the Emperor Gordian, the empire fell to Philip (A.D. 244), who with his son Philip, reigned about six years. This Philip, with his son and all his family, was christened and converted by Fabian and Origen. By letters, they exhorted him and Severa his wife, to be baptized. He was the first of all the emperors to bring Christianity into the imperial seat. However, Pomponius Letus reports him to be a dissembling prince. This is certain, that Philip was slain for his Christianity, along with his son, by Decius (one of his captains).

### ***The Seventh Persecution.***

Philip being slain, Decius invaded the crown (A.D. 249). A terrible persecution was moved by him against the Christians. The occasion of his hatred and persecution against them was chiefly because the treasures of the emperor had been committed to Fabian.

This Fabian, being a married man (as Platina writes), was made bishop of Rome after Anterius. He remained in this function till the time of Decius. Either because Philip had committed his treasures to Fabian, or because of the hatred Decius bore towards Philip, he caused Fabian to be put to death. Moreover, he sent out his proclamation into all quarters, that all who professed the name of Christ should be slain.

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<sup>77</sup> This Gordian is different from the nobleman mentioned above.

<sup>78</sup> Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (c. 348-413) was a Roman Christian poet. *Peristephanon*, or “Crowns of Martyrdom,” is a collection of 14 of his poems about these martyrs.



Origen wrote one of his works to this Fabian. This Origen (as stated earlier) was bold and fervent in assisting, comforting, exhorting, and kissing the martyrs who were imprisoned and suffered for the name of Christ. Despite the danger to his own life, he continued teaching, writing, confuting, exhorting, and expounding, for about of fifty-two years. Origen sustained great persecutions, but especially under Decius, as Eusebius testifies — declaring that for the doctrine of Christ, Origen sustained bands and torments in his body, racking with bars of iron, dungeons, and terrible threats of death and burning.

Epiphanius writes that being urged to sacrifice to idols, and taking the boughs in his hand with which the heathen usually honored their gods, he called upon the Christians to carry them in honor of Christ. The church of Alexandria, not approving of this act, removed him from their communion. Origen, driven from Alexandria by his shame and sorrow over this, went into Judea. There, being among the congregation in Jerusalem, he was requested by the priests and ministers (he being a priest as well) to make some exhortation in the church. He refused a great while. At length, being constrained by importunate petition, he rose up. And turning the book, as though he would have expounded some place of the Scripture, he only read this verse: “God says to the wicked, what right have you to declare My statutes, or to take My covenant in your mouth?” Psa 50.16. Having read this, he shut the book, and sat down weeping and wailing, the whole congregation also weeping and lamenting with him.

Nicephorus, and others who write about this persecution under Decius, declare that its horror was so great, and the martyrs who suffered under it so innumerable, that it is as easy to number the sands of the sea, as to recite the particular names of those whom this persecution devoured.

[47] A.D. 222-249.

Although it would be hard to insert here all the persons who died in this persecution, yet those who are most notable in history, I will briefly touch upon, by the grace of Him for whose cause they suffered.

Alexander was appointed bishop of Jerusalem, until a very aged man. He was governor of that church over forty years, till the time of Decius. Then being brought from Jerusalem to Caesarea, into the judgment place, after a constant and evident confession of his faith made before the judge, he was committed to prison, and there he finished his life.

Babylas, bishop of Antioch, also died in prison under Decius.

We read in Chrysostom, a noble and long history of one Babylas, a martyr who about these times was put to death for not allowing a certain emperor to enter into the temple of the Christians after a cruel murder was committed. The history of the murder is this: There was a certain emperor, who upon the conclusion of peace with a certain nation, had received for hostage or surety of peace, the son of the king, on condition that he would not be molested by them, and that they should never be vexed by him. The son was of a young and tender age. Upon this, the king’s son was delivered to the emperor, not without great care and fear of the father. The emperor, contrary to the promise, caused the son to be slain a short time after. This horrible act being committed, the tyrant with all haste would enter into the temple of the Christians, where Babylas was bishop or minister. He withstood the emperor, telling him that he might not approach that place. The emperor was incensed. In a great rage, he immediately bid that Babylas should be laid in prison with as many irons as he could bear, and from there, shortly after, to be brought out to death and execution. Babylas, going boldly to his martyrdom, desired after his death to be buried with his irons and bands, and so he was.

Bk. I. The 300 years after Christ – Ten Persecutions (64-324)

In the city of Antioch, Vincentius speaks of forty young maidens who suffered martyrdom in the persecution of Decius.

In the country of Phrygia, Vincentius also speaks of one Peter, who was apprehended, and suffered bitter torments for Christ's name, under Optimus the proconsul. And in Troas other martyrs likewise suffered there.

Also in Babylon, diverse Christian confessors were found by Decius, and led away into Spain, to be executed there.

In the country of Cappadocia, in like manner, Germanus, Theophilus, Caesarius, and Vitalus suffered martyrdom for Christ. Mention is also made of Polychronius, bishop of Babylon, and in Pamphilia, of Nestor, the bishop, who all died martyrs.

At Perside, Olympiades and Maximus; in Tyrus, a maiden named Anatolia, and Audax, also gave up their lives for the testimony of Christ's name.

Moreover, in his sixth book, Eusebius recounts from the epistles of Dionysius Alexandrinus, many who suffered at Alexandria. These extracts from Dionysius, as they are cited in Eusebius, I thought it good here, for the ancientness of their author, to insert his words in our language, as Dionysius wrote them to Fabius, bishop of Antioch:

“This persecution,” he says, “did not begin with the proclamation set forth by the emperor, but it began a whole year before, by the occasion and means of a wicked person, a soothsayer and a follower of wicked arts. Coming to our city here, he stirred up the multitude of the heathen against us, and incited them to maintain their own old superstition. By this means they obtained full power to prosecute their wicked purpose, and declared their entire religion to consist in the idolatrous worship of devils, and in our destruction. First flying upon a certain priest of ours, named Metra, they apprehended him, and brought him out to make him speak according to their wicked blasphemy. When he would not do this, they fell upon him with staffs and clubs; and with sharp reeds, they pricked his face and eyes. Afterward, bringing him out into the suburbs, they stoned him to death there. Then they took a faithful woman called Quinta, and brought her to the temple of their idols, to compel her to worship with them. When she refused to do this, and abhorred their idols, they bound her feet, and dragged her through the whole street of the city on the hard stones. Dashing her against millstones, and scourging her with whips, they brought her to the same place in the suburbs, as they did with the other before. There she likewise ended her life. This done, in a great outrage, and with a multitude running together, they burst into the houses of the religious and godly Christians, spoiling, sacking, and carrying away all that they could find of any value. Things which were of less value, and made of wood, they brought into the open market, and set them on fire. In the meantime, the brethren withdrew themselves, accepting the spoiling of their goods patiently and no less joyfully than those did of whom St. Paul testifies in Heb 10.32-34.

“Among the rest who were taken, there was a certain woman, well-stricken in years, named Apollinia, whom they brought out. Dashing all her teeth out of her jaws, they made a great fire before the city, threatening to cast her into it unless she would blaspheme with them and deny Christ. Pausing a little at this, as someone who would consider with herself, she suddenly leaped into the midst of the fire, and there was burned.

“There was also one Serapion, whom they took in his own house. After they had assailed him with sundry kinds of torments, and had broken almost all the joints of his body, they cast him down from an upper loft; and so he completed his martyrdom. Thus there was no way left for us to escape, either privately or publicly, either by day or by night. All the people made an outcry against us, that unless we uttered words of blasphemy, we would be drawn to the fire and burned. This outrageous tumult endured a certain time; but at length, as the Lord would

have it, the miserable wretches fell into dissension among themselves. They turned the cruelty they exercised against us, upon their own heads. And so we had a little breathing time while the fury of the heathen people was assuaged by this occasion.

“Shortly after this, word was brought to us that the state of the empire, which before was somewhat favorable to us, was altered and changed against us, putting us in great fear. And soon followed the edict of the emperor, so terrible and cruel, that according to the forewarning of the Lord, the elect (if it had been possible) might have been subverted by it. Upon that edict such fear came over us all, that there were many, especially of the richer sort, who came running to participate in those impure and idolatrous sacrifices — some led by the occasion, some drawn by their neighbors citing them by name. Others came trembling and shaking, not as men who would sacrifice, but who might be sacrificed themselves, the multitude mocking them. Some again came boldly to the altars, declaring themselves never to have been of that profession of Christ. It is said of them, that they will hardly be saved. Of the rest, some followed one part, some another; some ran away, some were taken. And of these, certain ones continued constant in their bands and torments. Others, after long imprisonments and before they came before the judge, renounced their faith. Some also, after they suffered torments, afterward revolted. But others, blessed and valiant pillars of the Lord’s, and fortified with constancy agreeable to their faith, were made faithful martyrs of the kingdom of God.

“The first of these was Julian, a man diseased with the gout. Not able to walk, he was carried by two men. This old man, confessing the Lord with a perfect faith, was laid upon camels, scourged, and at length cast into the fire, and so was consumed, with great constancy.

“As these were going to their martyrdom, there was a certain soldier, who in their defense took part against those who railed upon them. For this reason, the people cried out against him. He too was apprehended, and being constant in his profession, he was immediately beheaded.

“Likewise one Macar, being admonished and exhorted by the judge to deny his faith, and not agreeing to the judge’s persuasions, was burned alive.

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“After these suffered Epimachus, and one Alexander. Being long detained in prison and in bands, after innumerable pains and torments with razors and scourges, they were also cast into the burning tire with four women, who all ended their martyrdom there.

“Also Amnionarion, a holy maiden, whom the cruel judge had long and bitterly tormented because she had assured him before, that no punishment would cause her to yield to his request. And constantly displaying this, she likewise suffered martyrdom with two other women. One of them was an aged matron named Mercuria; the other was called Dionysia, a mother of many fair children — yet she did not love them above the Lord. After they could not be overcome by any torments of the cruel judge, he was rather ashamed and confounded to be overcome by feeble women. At length being past all feeling by their torments, they were slain with the sword.

“Heron, Ater, and Isidorus, also with Dioscorus, a child of fifteen years, were crowned with the same crown of martyrdom. The judge began with the child, thinking him to be won more easily with words to entice him, than with torments to constrain him. But the child persisted immovable, giving way neither to persuasions nor punishment. The rest, after the judge had grievously tormented them, and being constant in their profession, he committed to the fire. The judge, greatly marvelling at Dioscorus for his wise answers and grave constancy, dismissed him, sparing his age to a longer respite. This Dioscorus is still with us at present, awaiting a long trial.

## Bk. I. The 300 years after Christ – Ten Persecutions (64-324)

“Nemesion was accused as a companion of thieves. But being acquitted before the centurion, he was then accused of Christianity. And for that reason he was brought to the president, who most unrighteously tormented and scourged him double, and at length burned him to death among the thieves, making him a blessed martyr.

“There were standing before the tribunal seat, certain of the warriors or knights, whose names were Animon, Zenon, Ptolomeus, Ingenuus. And with them was a certain aged man called Theophilus. When a Christian man was examined, seeing him ready to decline and fall away out of fear, they almost burst for sorrow within themselves, making signs to him with their hands, to be constant. This being noted by all the bystanders, they were ready to lay hold of them. But making this unnecessary, they pressed up of their own accord before the bench of the judge, professing themselves to be Christians. Both the president and the benchers were all astonished. The Christians, who were judged, were more emboldened to suffer, and the judges were thereby terrified. This done, the Christians departed from the place, glad and rejoicing for the testimony that they had given of their faith. Many others besides, in other cities and towns, were rent and torn asunder by the heathen. Among them, I will speak of one as worthy of memory.

“Ischirion, who was in the service of a certain nobleman, was commanded by his master to make sacrifice. For not obeying, he was rebuked. After persisting in his, he was grievously threatened with sharp and menacing words. At last his master, when he could not prevail against him, taking a stake or pike in his hands, ran him through and slew him.

“What shall I say of the multitude of those who, wandering in deserts and mountains, were consumed with hunger, thirst, cold, sickness, thieves, or wild beasts, of whose blessed victory those who are still alive are witnesses? Among their number, I will speak of one named Cheremon, bishop of Nilus, an aged man. He with his wife, fleeing to the mountains of Arabia, never returned again, nor could ever be seen afterward. Though they were diligently sought for by their brethren, neither they nor their bodies were found. There were many others who, fleeing to the mountains of Arabia, were taken by the Arabs. Some of them could scarcely be ransomed with much money; some were never heard of to this present day,” (Eusebius, lib. 6. cap. 41, 42, etc.)

Thus much out of the epistles of Dionysius. But in another place, Dionysius wrote to Germanus about his own dangers and that of others, which were sustained in this persecution, and before in the persecution of Decius. He says,

“I behold before the sight of God — I do not lie, and He knows I do not lie — how my having no regard for my own life, and not without the motion of God, I fled and avoided the danger of this persecution. Yes, and also before that, the persecution of Decius raged against us, Sabinus the same hour sent a farmer to seek me. At that time I remained at home and waited three days for his coming. Those three days being past, on the fourth day, the Lord God so willing and commanding me to flee, and also marvellously opening the way for me, I went out, together with my children and many other brethren. And this did not come from myself, but it was the work of God’s providence — the sequel of those things declared, in which afterward, I was perhaps not unprofitable to some,” etc.

Bergomensis relates about many martyred under Decius, such as Meniatius, who suffered at Florence; Agatha, a maiden of Sicily, who is said to have suffered many and bitter torments — with imprisonment, beatings, famine, racking, and being rolled upon sharp shells and hot coals.

It is impossible to recite all who suffered in this persecution, when whole multitudes went into wildernesses and mountains, wandering without succor or comfort. Some starved with

hunger and cold; some were consumed with sickness; some were taken and carried away by barbarous thieves.

Mention is made of Triphon, a man of great holiness, and constancy in his suffering, who for his confession of Christ's name, was afflicted with diverse and grievous torments, and at length put to death with the sword.

When Decius had erected a temple in the midst of the city of Ephesus, compelling all who were in the city to sacrifice to the idols, seven Christians were found, who refused the idolatrous worship. They were accused to the emperor of being Christians. They openly professed and did not deny that they were Christians; but because they were soldiers in the emperor's service, respite was given them for a time to deliberate with themselves, till the return of the emperor, who was then going to war. In the meantime, the emperor having departed, they took counsel together, and went and hid themselves in some secret caves of mount Celius. The emperor returned. After a great search had been made for them, and hearing where they were, the emperor caused the mouth of the cave to be closed up with heaps of stones, so that they would not be able to get out, and would starve within. And thus those good men were martyred.

Agathon of Alexandria rebuked certain persons for scornfully deriding the dead bodies of Christians. He was decried and railed on by the people. Afterward he was accused to the judge, and condemned to lose his head.

Also Paulus and Andreas, whom the proconsul of Troas gave to the people, being scourged and dragged out of the city, were trampled to death with the feet of the people.

Among others who suffered under this wicked Decius, mention is made of Justin, a priest, and of Nicostratus, a deacon; also Fortius, a priest, who is reported to have been the one who converted Philip, the emperor.<sup>79</sup>

Abdon and Sennas, two noblemen, were accused to Decius and brought to Rome because they had buried the Christians. There, being commanded to sacrifice to dead idols, they would not obey, and were given to the wild beasts to be devoured.

One Secundianus was accused of being a Christian. When he stoutly maintained this profession, he was commanded to prison. As the soldiers were leading him to the jail, Verianus and Marcellianus confessed themselves to be Christians, and were apprehended. Being commanded to sacrifice, they spit on the idols, and so they were beaten with truncheons, and afterwards were hanged and tormented, having fire set to their sides.

To give the history of the lives and sufferings of all who were martyred in this terrible persecution, would be too long, almost infinite. Therefore to briefly repeat the names of those we find alleged out of a treatise of Bede,<sup>80</sup> will be sufficient at this time:

[49] A.D. 249-251.

Under Decius suffered Hippolitus and Concordia, Hiereneus and Abundus, Victoria, a maiden, all being noble personages of **Antioch**. Bellias, *bishop* of the city of **Apollonia**, Leacus, Tirsus, and Gallinetus. Nazanzo, Triphon in a city of Egypt called **Tamas**, Phileas *bishop*, Philocomus, with many others in **Perside**, Philcronius a *bishop* of **Babylon**; Thesiphon *bishop* of **Pamphilia**, Neffor *bishop* in **Corduba**, Pannenius a priest, with diverse more. In the province called **Colonia**, there were Circensis, Marianus, and Jacobus. In **Africa**,

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<sup>79</sup> Earlier Philip was said to be converted by Fabian and Origen.

<sup>80</sup> Called the Venerable Bede (672-735), a monk, and author of the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*.

Nemesianus, Felix, Rogatianus a *priest*, Felicissimus. At **Rome**, Jovinus, Basileus, also two maidens named Ruffina and Secunda, Tertullianus, Valerianus, Nemesius, Sempronianus and Olympius. In **Spain**, Teragon. At **Verona**, Zeno the bishop. At **Caesarea**, Marinus and Archemius. In the town of **Milan**, Privatus the *bishop*; Theodorus, surnamed Gregorius, *bishop of Pontus*.

Now I have sufficiently recorded those who, under this tempest of Decius, gave their lives to martyrdom for the testimony of Christ. It remains that a few words also be spoken about those who, out of fear or frailty in this persecution, shrank and slid from the truth of their confession. Serapion was one of their number; he was a very aged man. Dionysius Alexandrinus writes about him to Fabius, declaring that this Serapion was an old man, who lived a sincere and upright life among them for a long time; but at length he fell. Serapion often desired to be received back, but no one listened to him, for he had sacrificed before. Not long after this, he fell into sickness; for three days he remained unable to speak, and he was benumbed in all his senses. The fourth day, beginning to recover a little, he called to him his sister's son, and said, "How long, how long (my son) have you held me here? Make haste, I pray you, that I may be absolved. Call some of the ministers to me." And so, saying no more, he held his peace again, just as dumb and speechless. The boy ran to the minister (it was then night). Being sick, the minister could not come with the messenger, but said that as he "always desired that those who lay dying, if they wished to be received and reconciled, and especially if they required it earnestly, then they should be admitted, so that they may depart from here with a better hope and confidence." Therefore he gave the boy a little of the eucharist, desiring him to crumble it into the cup, and pour it into the mouth of the old man. The boy returned, bringing the holy eucharist with him. As he was now near at hand, before he entered in, Serapion, the old man speaking again, said, "Have you come, my son?" The messenger answered, "The priest is sick, and cannot come; but do as he desires, and let me go." The boy mixed the eucharist, and poured it softly into the mouth of the old man. After he had tasted a little, the old man immediately gave up the ghost.

Dionysius, in his epistles, also writing to Fabius, and lamenting the great terror of this persecution, declares how many worthy and notable Christians — from fear and horror of its great tyranny — showed themselves to be feeble and weak men. Of these, some out of dread, some of their own accord, others after they had suffered great torments, afterwards revolted from the constancy of their profession. Also, St. Cyprian testifies with great sorrow, how a great number voluntarily fell away themselves, at the first threatening of the adversary, neither compelled nor thrown down with any violence by the enemy, but from their own weakness. He says, "Neither tarrying while the judge put incense in their hands, nor before any blow was struck in the field, they turned their backs, and played the cowards; not only coming to their sacrifices, but pretending to come without compulsion. Moreover they brought their infants and children, who were either put into their hands, or taken of their own accord. And they exhorted others to do the same, following their example."

### **Novatian Heresy**

On the occasion of these and others, when a great number fell and renounced their faith during this persecution of Decius, the heresy of Novatus first rose up. In these days, he made a great disturbance in the church, holding the opinion that those who once renounced the faith for fear of torments, and offered incense to the idols, even if they repented, they could not afterward be reconciled, nor admitted to the church of Christ. Novatus was the first priest under Cyprian at Carthage. Afterward, by stirring up discord and factions, he began to disturb the bishopric of Cyprian. He appointed there a deacon, against the bishop's

mind or knowledge, and also to allure and separate certain of the brethren from the bishop, all which is declared by Cyprian (lib. 2. epist. 8.) After this, going to Rome, Novatus created a like stir with Cornelius, who testifies in Eusebius (lib. 6. cap. 43.), that Novatus set himself up as bishop of Rome, *against* Cornelius, who was the lawful bishop. He allured to himself, to be his adherents, four good men and holy confessors, who had suffered great torments for their confession, whose names were Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius, and Celerinus. After this, he enticed three simple bishops around the coasts of Italy, to move to Rome, under the pretense of making an end of certain controversies then in hand. He then caused them to lay hands on him, to make him bishop, which they did. Thus, there were two bishops together in one church of Rome, Novatus and Cornelius. This was unseemly, and contrary to the discipline of the church. From this arises the true cause and meaning of St. Cyprian, writing in his epistles so much about having one bishop, and of the unity to be kept in ecclesiastical government. Along those same lines, Cornelius himself writes of one bishop, saying, “He did not know if there ought to be one bishop in a catholic church,” etc.

This, by the way (and not out of the way I trust), I have briefly touched on, to expose and refute the cavilling of the papists, who falsely apply these passages of Cyprian and Cornelius to maintain the pope’s supreme mastership alone, over the whole *universal* church of Christ in all places. But the meaning of these two bishops was otherwise, how every *particular* catholic church or diocese ought to have one bishop over it, not that the whole world ought to be subject to the dominion of the one who is bishop of Rome. Now, to return to the history again.

Novatus thus being bishop, did not take a little upon himself, endeavoring by all means to defeat Cornelius, and to draw the people away from him. It went so far, that when Novatus came to distributing the offerings, and should have given every man his part, he compelled the simple persons, every man, to swear that they would adhere to him. Before they could receive the benediction, and receive from the collections or oblations, holding both their hands in his, he spoke these words to them: “Swear to me by the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you will not leave me and go to Cornelius.” He held their hands till, instead of saying Amen (at the receiving of the bread), they would swear to him, “I will not return to Cornelius.” Note here, by the way, that the Latin prayer book in this place (Christoferson’s translation) craftily leaves out the word *bread*. This story was written in Eusebius, and also contained in Nicephorus (although not in the same words, yet in effect drawn from him). Both authors declare in plain words, that the sacrament of the body of Christ is termed with the plain name of *bread*, following the consecration.

And thus much of Novatus, against whom, as Eusebius testifies, a synod of sixty bishops was held at Rome in the time of Cornelius, under the reign of Decius (A.D. 251). From this it may be supposed that the heat of the persecution at that time had somewhat calmed.

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After Fabian, Cornelius next succeeded to the bishopric of Rome. Cyprian notes he was a worthy bishop, and much recommended for his great virtue. He was chosen to that office, not so much by his own consent, as by the full agreement both of the clergymen, and also of the people.

During this persecution of Decius, he humbled himself very constantly, and faithfully, sustaining great conflicts with the adversaries. By the commandment of Decius, he was banished. Afterwards he sent his letters to Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and Cyprian sent letters back to him. This coming to the ears of Decius, the emperor, he sent for Cornelius, asking him how he dared be so bold to show such stubbornness, that neither caring for the

gods, nor fearing the displeasure of his princes, he dared give and receive letters from others, against the commonwealth?

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Answering him, Cornelius cleared himself, declaring to the emperor, that he had, indeed, written letters, and received answers concerning the praises and honoring of Christ, and the salvation of souls, but nothing regarding any matter of the commonwealth. Then Decius, moved with anger, commanded him to be beaten and scourged, and so brought to the Temple of Mars, either to do sacrifice there, or to suffer the extremity. But Cornelius, willing to die rather than commit such iniquity, prepared himself for martyrdom. And so, commending the charge of the church to Stephanus, his archdeacon, he was brought to the way of Appius, where he ended his life in faithful martyrdom.

And thus much of the tyranny of this wicked Decius against God's saints. Now to touch also upon the power of God's vengeance and punishment against Decius. As we commonly see that a vehement tempest does not continue long, so it happened with this tyrannical tormentor. Reigning but two years, he was slain with his son in battle with the barbarians. As he had slain Philip and his son before, so he was slain with his son, by the righteous judgment of God himself.

Nor did the just hand of God plague the emperor only, but also all the persecutors of his word throughout all the provinces and dominions. The Lord, immediately after the death of Decius, sent such a plague and pestilence among them, lasting for ten consecutive years, as is horrible to hear about, and almost incredible to believe. Although the greatness of the plague also touched the Christians somewhat, yet it scourged the heathen idolaters much more. Besides that, the order of their behavior in the one and in the other was very different. For, as Dionysius records, the Christians, through brotherly love and piety, did not refuse to visit and comfort one another, and to minister to others as need required, notwithstanding that it was great a danger to them. For there were many who, in closing up the eyes of the dead, in washing their bodies, and interring them in the ground, succumbed to the disease, and soon followed them to their graves. Yet all this did not keep them from doing their duty, and showing mercy to one another. Whereas the heathens, contrarily, being extremely assailed by the hand of God, were struck by the plague, but did not consider the Striker, nor did they consider their neighbor. But every man, shifting for himself, did not care for others, but those who were infected, they would throw out of doors, half dead, to be devoured by dogs and wild beasts. Some they let die within their houses, without any succor. Some they suffered to lie unburied, for no man dared come near them. And yet, notwithstanding their care not to come near the sick, the pestilence followed them wherever they went, and miserably consumed them.

The Emperor Gallus, with his son Volusianus, succeeded Decius (A.D. 251). He was somewhat quiet in the beginning of his reign. Yet shortly after, following in the steps of Decius, he proclaimed edicts in the same manner, for the persecution of Christians. Under this edict, we have no number of the martyrs who suffered, but this persecution was only in the banishment of bishops or guides of the flock. We do not read of other sufferings or executions, for the terrible pestilence followed immediately, keeping the barbarous heathen otherwise occupied.

Cyprian, now banished from Carthage, had no less care of his flock and of the whole church than if he had been present with them. And therefore he never ceased in his epistles to continually exhort and call upon them to be constant in their profession and patient in their



afflictions. Among others whom he comforted in his banishment (although in that case, he was to be comforted himself), were certain men condemned to labor in the mines. Their names were Nemesianus, Felix, and Lucius, with other bishops, priests, and deacons. Cyprian writes to them, “It is no shame, but a glory; it not to be feared, but to be rejoiced at; to suffer banishment or other pains for Christ.” And confirming them in this, or rather commending them, he signifies how worthily they show themselves to be like valiant captains of virtue, exciting both by the confessions of their mouth, and by the suffering of their bodies, the hearts of the brethren to Christian martyrdom. Their example was and is a great confirmation to many, both women and children, to follow alike. As for punishment and suffering, it is (he says) a thing that is not execrable to a Christian.

For a Christian man’s breast, whose hope wholly consists in the cross, dreads neither bat nor club. Wounds and scars of the body are ornaments to a Christian man. They bring no shame or dishonesty to the party, but rather prefer and free him with the Lord. And although in the mines where the metals are dug, there are no beds for Christian men’s bodies to take their rest, yet they have their rest in Christ; and though their weary bones lie upon the cold ground, yet it is no pain to lie with Christ. Their feet have been fettered with bands and chains, but he is happily bound by man, whom the Lord Christ looses. Happily he lies tied in the stocks, whose feet are thereby made swifter to run to heaven. Nor can any man tie a Christian so fast, that he will not run much faster for his garland of life. They have no garments to save them from cold, but whoever puts on Christ is sufficiently clothed. Do their hungry bodies lack bread? ‘But man does not live by bread alone, but by every word proceeding from the mouth of God.’ <sup>Mat 4.4</sup> Your deformity will be turned to honor, your mourning to joy, your pain to pleasure and infinite felicity. And if this grieves you, that you cannot now employ your sacrifices and oblations in your customary way, yet your daily sacrifice does not cease, which is a contrite and humble heart — as when you daily offer up your bodies, a living and a glorious sacrifice to the Lord, which is the sacrifice that pleases God. <sup>Rom 12.1</sup> And though your labor is great, yet the reward is greater, which is most certain to follow. For God, beholding and looking down upon those who confess His name, approves them in their willing mind, helps them in their striving, crowns them in their victory — rewarding in us what He has performed, and crowning in us what He has perfected.

With these and similar comfortable words he animates his brethren, admonishing them that they are now on a joyful journey, hasting apace to the mansions of the martyrs, there to enjoy after this darkness an eternal light and brightness greater than all their sufferings, according to the apostle’s saying, ‘The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us,’ <sup>Rom 8.18</sup>.

And with like words of sweet comfort and consolation, writing to Seagrius and Rogatianus who were in prison and bonds for the testimony of truth, He encourages them to continue steadfast and patient in the way in which they have begun to run. For they have the Lord with them, their helper and defender, who promises to be with us to the world’s end. And therefore he exhorts them to set before their eyes immortality in their death, and everlasting glory in their pain. Of them it is written, “Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints.” <sup>Psa 116.15</sup> Though they suffered torments before men, yet their hope is filled with immortality. Being vexed in small things, they will be well-requited in great matters. “For the Lord has tried them as gold in the fire.” <sup>Zec 13.9</sup> He admonishes them that it is appointed from the beginning of the world, that righteousness should suffer here in secular conflicts. For thus was just Abel slain in the beginning of the world, and after him all just and good men, the prophets also, and the apostles sent by the Lord himself. To them the Lord first

gave an example in himself, teaching that there is no coming to his kingdom, except by that way which he entered himself, saying, “He that loves his life shall lose it.” <sup>Joh 12.25</sup> And again, “Do not fear those who kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul.” <sup>Mat 10.28</sup> And St. Paul likewise admonishes all those who would be partakers of the promises of the Lord, to follow the Lord. He says, “If we suffer (endure), we shall also reign with him.” <sup>2Tim 2.12</sup>

At the same time, Lucius, bishop of Rome, was banished. He succeeded next after Cornelius, (about A.D. 253), although he did not continue long in this banishment, but returned home to his church.

[51] A.D. 251-259.

After him next came Stephen, bishop of Rome. After the reign of Gallus, and his son Volusianus, came Emilianus. He slew them both by civil sedition, and succeeded in their place. He reigned but three months and was also slain. Next after him, **Valerian**, and his son **Galienus**, advanced as co-emperors (r. 253-260).

Regarding the changing of these emperors, the persecution which first began by Decius, and afterward slacked in the time of Gallus, was now extinguished for a time. This was partly for the great plague reigning in all places, and partly by the change of emperors — although that was not very long. For Valerian, in the beginning of his reign and for three or four years after, was very courteous and gentle to the people of God, and well-accepted by the senate.

Nor were there any of all the emperors before him, even of those who openly professed Christ, who showed themselves so loving and familiar toward the Christians as he did. In so much that his whole court was filled with holy saints, and servants of Christ, and godly persons; so that his house might seem to be made a church of God. But by the malice of Satan, through wicked counsel, these quiet days did not endure very long. For in the process of time, Valerian was charmed or *incensed* by a certain Egyptian, a chief ruler of the heathen synagogue of the Egyptians. <sup>81</sup> He was so far infatuated and bewitched, that through the detestable provocations of that devilish Egyptian, he was wholly turned to abominable idols, and to execrable impiety — in sacrificing young infants, quartering bodies, and dividing the entrails of new-born children. Proceeding in his fury, he initiated the eighth persecution against the Christians, those whom the wicked Egyptian could not endure (A.D. 257).

### ***The Eighth Persecution.***

The chief original cause of this persecution is partly signified before, namely through the influence of the wicked Egyptian. But just as this was the outward and political cause, so St. Cyprian shows us other causes:

We must understand and confess that this oppression and calamity which has wasted for the most part our whole company, and daily consumes it, rises chiefly from our own wickedness and sins, while we do not walk in the way of the Lord, nor observe his precepts left to us for our institution. The Lord observed the will of his Father in all points. But we do not observe the will of the Lord, having our whole mind and study set upon lucre and possessions, given to pride, full of emulation and dissension, void of simplicity and faithful dealing, renouncing this world in word but not in deed, every man pleasing himself and displeasing all others. And therefore we are thus scourged, and worthily so. For what stripes and scourges do we not deserve, when the confessors themselves (those who have withstood the trial of their confession) and those who ought to be an example to the rest of well-doing, keep no discipline. And therefore these torments come because there are some who are proudly puffed up with

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<sup>81</sup> [Outside of Foxe's History, there is no evidence of this unnamed instigator.](#)

this swelling and unmannerly boasting of their confession, those who do not easily send us to the crown, except by the mercy of God. Some being taken away by quickness of death, escape the tediousness of punishment. But we suffer these things for our sins and deserts.

Finally, at the end of the epistle Cyprian adds,

“The Lord grants to many of his servants to foreshow the restoring of His church, and of the stable quiet of our health and safeguard. After rain, fair weather; after darkness, light; after stormy tempest, peaceable calm — to foreshow both the fatherly help of His love, and the habitual and ancient glory of his divine Majesty, by which the blasphemy of the persecutor shall be repressed, the repentance of those who have fallen shall be reformed, and the strong and stable confidence of those who stand firm — they shall rejoice and glory.”

As to the crimes and accusations in this persecution that were laid to the charge of the Christians, this was the principal one: that they refused to worship idols and emperors; and that they professed the name of Christ. Besides these accusations, all the calamities and evils that happened in the world were imputed to the Christians — such as wars, famine, and pestilence. Cyprian eloquently defends the Christians against all these accusations.

### **Cyprian**

Cyprian was born in Carthage. He was an idolater and Gentile, given to the study and practice of the magical arts. In his first book and second epistle, he himself writes an eloquent history of his conversion and baptism. His conversion was through the grace of God, and the means of Cecilius, a priest, and on the occasion of hearing the history of the prophet Jonas. Immediately upon his conversion, he distributed among the poor all his substance. And being ordained a priest, he was not long after constituted bishop of the church of Carthage. He was courteous and gentle, loving and full of patience, and yet strict and severe in his office, as the cause required. He was most loving and kind toward his brethren, and took great pains in helping and relieving the martyrs.

Now a few words regarding his exile and martyrdom. He himself states that he voluntarily absented himself, lest he do more hurt than good to the church by his presence. And he writes to his brethren from the desolate places of his banishment, in which he was often sought. But after he returned from exile in the reign of Valerian, he was banished the second time by Paternus, the proconsul of Africa. But when Paternus was dead, Galienus Marimus succeeded him. Finding Cyprian in a garden, he caused him to be apprehended, and to be brought before the idols to offer sacrifice. Upon his refusing, the proconsul condemned him to have his head cut off. Cyprian patiently and willingly submitted his neck to the stroke of the sword. And so this blessed martyr ended this present life in the Lord (A.D. 259).

Now to say something of his works and books left behind him. Although all that he wrote does not remain — some are missing, some again are not written in his own name — those which are certainly his may be soon discerned by their style and sense. Such is the eloquence of his phrase, the gravity of his sentence, his vigor of wit, his power in persuasion, so differing from all others, that he cannot easily be imitated. Of these extant books, their eloquence is worthily commended by the school of rhetoricians, and their authority is of no less reputation — not only in this age of the church, but also among the ancient fathers.

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As we have set forth the commendation of this blessed martyr Cyprian, we must take heed that we do not incur the old and common danger which the Papists run into. Their fault is almost always to be immoderate and excessive in their proceedings, making too much of everything.

Thus in speaking of the Holy Sacraments, they make more of them than the nature of sacraments require — not using them, but abusing them; not referring or applying them, but adoring them; not taking them as godly things (which they are), but taking them for God himself; turning religion to superstition, the creature to the Creator, and the sign to the thing signified, etc. They likewise do this to the church and to the ceremonies of the church, to general councils, to the blessed virgin Mary mother of Christ, to the bishop of Rome, etc. They are not content to attribute only what is sufficient, but they exceed the bounds of judgment and of verity. They judge so of the church and general councils, as though they never could, or never did err in any jot. That the blessed mother of Christ was blessed among women, and a virgin full of grace, the Scriptures and truth allow. But to say that she was born without original sin, or to make an advocate of her or the mother of mercy, there they run further than truth will bear. The ceremonies were first ordained to serve only for the sake of order. But at length they have attributed so much to them, that they have placed a great part of our religion in them, yes, and also of our salvation. And what thing is there in which the Papists have *not* exceeded?

Therefore, to avoid this common error of the Papists, we must beware in commending the doctors and writers of the church, so that truth and consideration go with our commendation.

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For though it cannot be denied that Cyprian and other blessed martyrs were holy men, yet notwithstanding, they were *men*. That is, they were those who might have, and did have their falls and faults. There were men, I say, and not angels or gods. They were saved by God, and were not saviors of men, nor patrons of grace. And though they were also men of excellent learning, yet with their learning they also had their errors. And though their books are (as they should be) of great authority, yet they should not be equal with the Scriptures. And although they said well in most things, it is not therefore enough; what they said must stand for truth. That preeminence of authority only belongs to the word of God, and not to the pen of man. For of men and doctors, however famous, there is none who is free from fault.

In **Origen**, even though in his time the admiration of his learning was singular, how many things there are which the church now does not hold to be true. For examining him by the Scriptures, where he said well, they allow him; but where otherwise, they leave him. In **Polycarp**, the church has corrected and altered what he held concerning the celebration of Easter. Nor can holy and blessed **Ignatius** be defended in all his sayings —such as where he makes fasting on Sunday or the Sabbath as great an offense as killing Christ himself (Ignat. Epist. ad Philip). This is contrary to this saying of St. Paul, “Let no man judge you in food or in drink,” Col 2.16. **Irenaeus** held that man was not made perfect in the beginning. He seems also to defend free will in man, in spiritual things. He says that Christ suffered after he was fifty years old. **Tertullian** is noted as a *millenarian*, and also as a *Montanist*. He held with Justin, Cyprian and others, that the angels fell first for the love of women. He defends the free will of man after the corruption of nature, inclining also to the error of those who defend the possibility of keeping God’s law. **Justin** also seems to have inclined to the error of the millenarians, also of the fall of certain angels by women, of the free will of man, of the possibility of keeping the law, and other such things. Nor was **Cyprian** wholly exempt from error. Contrary to the doctrine of the church, he held with rebaptizing those who were baptized before by heretics. The same may likewise be said of **Augustine**, of

**Ambrose, Jerome, and Chrysostom** — that all of them had their peculiar faults and errors. It would be too long and outside our purpose, to treat them all at present.

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About this time Sixtus II, bishop of Rome, also suffered. Being accused of being a Christian, he was brought with his six deacons to the place of execution, where he, with Nemesius and the deacons [one of whom was Lawrence], were beheaded and suffered martyrdom.

### **St. Lawrence**

Now let us enter upon the history of that most constant and courageous martyr of Christ, St. Lawrence, whose words and works deserve to be as fresh and green in Christian hearts, as the flourishing laurel tree. This thirsty heart, longing for the Water of Life, was desirous to pass to it through the narrow door of bitter death, when he saw his vigilant shepherd, Sixtus, led to his death like a harmless lamb, by harmful tyrants.

Let us draw near to the fire of martyred Lawrence, so that our cold hearts may be warmed by it. The merciless persecutor, Valerian, understanding this virtuous Levite to be not only a minister of the sacraments, but also a distributor of the church riches, promised himself a double prey by the apprehension of one poor soul. First with the rake of avarice to scrape to himself the treasure of poor Christians, and then with the fiery fork of tyranny, to so toss and turmoil them, that they would grow weary of their profession. With furious face and cruel countenance, the greedy wolf demanded where this deacon Lawrence had stored the substance of the church? Craving three days' respite, Lawrence promised to declare where the treasure might be had. In the meantime, he caused a good number of poor Christians to be congregated. So when the day of his answer had come, the persecutor strictly charged him to stand to his promise. Then valiant Lawrence, stretching out his arms over the poor, said:

“These are the precious treasure of the church. These are the treasure indeed, in whom the faith of Christ reigns, in whom Jesus Christ has his mansion-place. What more precious jewels can Christ have, than those in whom he has promised to dwell? For so it is written, ‘I was hungry, and you gave me food; I was thirsty, and you gave me drink; I was homeless, and you lodged me.’ <sup>Mat 25.35</sup> And again; ‘Look, what you have done to the least of these, you have done to me.’” <sup>Mat 25.40</sup>

Oh, what tongue is able to express the fury and madness of the tyrant's heart! How he stamped, he stared, he ramped, he fared like someone out of his wits. His eyes glowed like fire, his mouth foamed like a boar, his teeth grinned like a hell-hound. Now he might be called, not a reasonable man, but a roaring lion. He cried,

“Kindle the fire! Spare no wood. Has this villain deluded the emperor? Away with him— away with him. Whip him with scourges, jerk him with rods, buffet him with fists, brand him with clubs. Does the traitor jest with the emperor? Pinch him with fiery tongs! Gird him with burning plates. Bring out the strongest chains, and the fire-forks, and the grated bed of iron. Put it on the fire! Bind the rebel hand and foot. And when the bed is hot, on with him! Roast him, broil him, toss him, turn him. On pain of our high displeasure, let every man do his office, O you tormentors.”

The word was no sooner spoken, than all was done. After many cruel handlings, this meek lamb was laid, I will not say on his fiery bed of iron, but on his soft bed of down. So mightily God wrought with his martyr Lawrence; so miraculously God tempered his element, the fire, that it was not a bed of consuming pain, but a pallet of nourishing rest to Lawrence. Not

Lawrence, but the emperor, might seem to be tormented — the one broiling in the flesh, but the other burning in the heart.

O rare and unaccustomed *patience!* O invincible *faith*, that not only does not burn, but by unspeakable means recreates, refreshes, establishes, and strengthens those who are burned, afflicted, and troubled. And why do you so mightily comfort the persecuted? Because, through you they believe in God's infallible promises. By you this glorious martyr overcomes his torments, vanquishes this tyrant, confounds his enemies, confirms the Christians, sleeps in peace, and reigns in glory. The God of might and mercy grant us grace, by the life of Lawrence, to learn to live in Christ, and by his death, to learn to die for Christ. Amen.

Such is the wisdom and providence of God, that the blood of his dear saints (like good seed) never falls in vain to the ground, but it brings some increase. So it pleased the Lord to work at the martyrdom of this holy Lawrence, that by the constant confession of this worthy and valiant deacon, a certain soldier of Rome, being converted to the same faith, immediately desired to be baptized by him — for which he was called to the judge, scourged, and afterwards beheaded.

### **Dionysius**

Under the same Valerian, Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria (248-264), suffered much affliction and banishment, along with certain other brethren. He writes of this himself. Dionysius, with three of his deacons, came to Emilianus, the Senate president, who signified to them the clemency of his emperors. They had granted them pardon of life, so that they would worship the gods of the empire, trusting, as he said, that they would not show themselves ungrateful to the clemency of those who so gently exhorted them. To this Dionysius said: "We worship not many, nor diverse gods, but only that one God, who is the Creator of all things, and has committed to our lords, Valerian and Galien, the government of their empire. We make our prayers to Him incessantly, for their prosperous health and continuance." Then the president said: "And what hurt is there, if you worship both *your* God, whatever god he is, and *our* gods also?" Dionysius answered, "We worship none other, but as we have said." Emilianus the president, said, "I see you are ungrateful men, and do not consider the benignity of the emperor. Therefore you will no longer remain in this city, but will be sent to the parts of Libya. Nor will it be lawful for you to gather your assemblies, nor to resort to your burial places, as you usually do. And if any of you are found outside of the places where you are appointed, it will be at your peril."

[53] A.D. 259-270.

Dionysius, speaking of himself, says:

"Although I was sick, he so strictly urged me to depart, that he would not give me one day's respite. Yet neither am I altogether absent from the society of the Lord's flock. I am absent in body, yet present in spirit. <sup>1Cor 5:3</sup> And a great congregation remained with me, as well as those brethren who followed me out of the city, and also those who remained there out of Egypt. And there the Lord opened to me the door of his word. Although at first I was persecuted and stoned among them, afterward a great number of them turned from their idols, and were converted to the Lord; and so the word was preached to them. After we had accomplished this ministry there, the Lord removed us to another place. For Emilianus transferred us to the sharper and stricter places of Libya."

Moreover, Dionysius mentions in his epistle, those who were afflicted in this persecution of Valerian. He says,

“It would be superfluous here to recite the particular names of all our brethren slain in this persecution. But this is certain, that there were men, women, young men, maidens, old wives, soldiers, simple innocents, and all sorts and ages of men. Some of these with scourgings and fire, some with the sword, obtained the victory and got the crown. Some continued a great time, and yet have been reserved. In their number I am reserved up to now, till some other time known to the Lord, who says, ‘In the time accepted I have heard you, and in the day of salvation I have helped you,’ etc. <sup>Isa 49.9</sup> Nor does the president yet cease to cruelly murder those who are brought before him, tearing some with torments, imprisoning and keeping some in custody, commanding that no man should come to them, also inquiring who had resorted to them. Yet, notwithstanding, God comforts the afflicted with cheerfulness, and with the daily resort of the brethren.”

Regarding Dionysius himself, the histories report that he survived all these troubles and persecutions, by the providence of God, and lived to about the year A.D. 268. And so he departed in peace at a great age.

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At the same time in Caesarea Palestine, Priscus, Malchus and Alexander also suffered. These three, dwelling in that country and good men, saw the valiant courage of the Christians to so boldly risk, so constantly stand, and so patiently suffer in this persecution. They began to accuse their own cowardly negligence, to see others so zealous and valiant, and themselves so cold and faint-hearted. So, consulting and agreeing with each other, they came to Caesarea, declared what they were, and obtained the end they came for, being given to the wild beasts.

There also suffered in Africa, three constant maidens. Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda. They had vinegar and gall given for their drink, then were tried with scourges. After that they were tormented upon the gibbet, and rubbed with caustic lime, then scorched upon the fiery grid-iron, and at last cast to the wild beasts.

In Simela, a city in Italy, one Pontius was apprehended. By the command of Claudius the president, he was first hung upon the rack, and then cast to the wild beasts.

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

Fructuosus, bishop of Tarraconia, in Spain, with his two deacons, Augurius and Eulogius, also suffered martyrdom, being burned after six days’ imprisonment in this persecution. The charge of the judge to the bishop was that, “he should worship the gods whom the emperor Galien worshipped.” Fructuosus, the bishop, answered him, “No, I worship no dumb god made of stocks and blocks, whom Galien worships, but I worship the lord and master of Galien, the Father and Creator of all times, and his only Son sent down to us, of whose flock I am here the pastor and shepherd.” At this word, Emilianus answered back, “No, do not say you are, but say you were.” And he immediately commanded them to be committed to the fire, where (as said) their bands and manacles being loosed by the fire, they lifted up their hands to heaven, praising the living God, to the great admiration of those who stood by, also praying that the element might work its full force upon them, and speedily dispatch them.

And thus wicked Valerian continued in his tyranny against the saints of Christ. But all the tyrants before him, and all the oppressors of the Christians, had their deserved reward at the just hand of God “who renders to every man according to his works.” <sup>Pro 24.12</sup> So too, this cruel Valerian felt the just stroke of His hand, whose indignation he had provoked. For in making his expedition against the Persians, he fell into the hands of his enemies (A.D. 260).

There he led his wretched age in a more wretched captivity, insomuch that Sapor, the king of the Persians, used him for his riding-block. For whenever the king would mount his horse openly in the sight of the people, Valerian was brought out instead of a block, for the king to tread on his back to get onto his horse. And so this blockish butcherly emperor continued with shame and sport enough to his final end.

Eusebius, in one of his sermons, declares the cruel handling of Valerian, affirming that he was slain. He writes, “And you, Valerian, having exercised the same cruelty in murdering the subjects of God, you have thus proved to us the righteous judgment of God, in that you yourself have been bound in chains, and carried away as a captive slave, with your gorgeous purple, and your imperial attire. And at length, being commanded by Sapor, king of the Persians, to be slain and powdered with salt, you have set up for all men a perpetual monument of your own wretchedness,” etc.

### **Emperor Galien**

Galien succeeded his father Valerian (A.D. 260). And being (it is thought) terrified by the example of his father, he removed or at least moderated the persecution stirred up by the edicts of Valerian.

By this some peace was granted under Galien to the church of Christ. Even so, there were some who suffered, one of whom was Marinus. This Marinus, being a warrior and a nobleman in Caesarea, stood for the dignity of a certain order. By right, this dignity was to fall upon him next, had not the envious ambition of the one who would follow after him, supplanted both his office and life. For this man accused Marinus of being a Christian, and therefore said that he was not to be admitted to those offices which were against their religion. Upon this, Achaius, then being judge, examined Marinus about his faith. Finding him to be a Christian indeed, and to constantly stand to his profession, he gave him three hours to deliberate and counsel with himself. At the same time in Caesarea, there was a bishop named Theotechnus. Perceiving Marinus standing in doubtful deliberation and perplexity, he took him by the hand and brought him into the church of the Christians. He laid before him a sword and a book of the New Testament, and asked him to take his free choice, which of them he would prefer. The soldier immediately without delay, ran to the book of the gospel, taking that before the sword. And thus being animated by the bishop, Marinus presented himself boldly before the judge, by whose sentence he was beheaded, and died a martyr.

After the death of Galien, followed Claudius, a quiet emperor (A.D. 268). This Claudius reigned but two years. After him came his brother Quintilian, who reigned only seventeen days, and was succeeded by Aurelian (A.D. 270). Under him Orosius<sup>82</sup> numbers the ninth persecution against the Christians.

### ***The Ninth Persecution.***

From the captivity of Valerian, the church was in some quietness till the death of Quintilian, as declared above. After him Aurelian possessed the crown. In the beginning of his reign, he showed himself to be a moderate and discreet prince. He was severe in nature, rigorous in correcting, dissolute in manners, and just as his beginning was not unfruitful to the commonwealth, so neither was he any great disturber of the Christians. He not only tolerated their religion, but also their councils. Notwithstanding this, in the progress of time his nature, somewhat inclinable to severity, was altered to a plain tyranny. This was done

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<sup>82</sup> Paulus Orosius (c. 375-420): Roman priest, historian, and theologian; student of Augustine of Hippo.



through the sinister motions and instigations of certain men around him. He first showed this tyranny beginning with the death of his own sister's son. After that, he proceeded either to arouse, or at least to purpose persecution against the Christians.

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But the merciful working of God soon overthrew that wicked purpose of the emperor. For just as the edict or proclamation was to be announced for persecuting the Christians, and the emperor was now ready to subscribe the edict with his hand, he was suddenly terrified by lightning. And he so ceased from his wicked tyranny. Not long afterward he was slain (A.D. 275). Thus Aurelian intended rather than effected persecution.

After Aurelian, the succession of the empire fell to Tacitus, who reigned only six months. His brother Florianus succeeded him, who reigned only two months; and after him followed Marcus Aurelius, surnamed Probus (A.D. 276).

Mention was made before of Eusebius, whom God stirred up to visit and comfort the saints who were in prison and bonds, and to bury the bodies of the blessed martyrs — not without great peril of his own life. Afterwards he was made bishop of Laodicea. But before he came to Laodicea to be bishop there, while he remained at Alexandria, the city was besieged by the Romans. In this siege, half of the city sided with the Romans, and the other half withstood them. Eusebius was in that part which went with the Roman captain. Anatholius, governor of the school of Alexandria, was with the other half that resisted the Romans. This Anatholius, perceiving the citizens to be in miserable distress of famine and destruction, sent to Eusebius, who was then with the Romans, and certified to him the lamentable penury and peril of the city, moreover instructing him what to do in the matter. Eusebius, understanding the case, repaired to the captain requesting this favor of him: that so many as would flee the city from their enemies, might be allowed to escape and pass freely. This was granted. As Eusebius was thus laboring with the captain, Anatholius, on the other side, labored with the citizens, saying, I will counsel you in this miserable lack of things, to remove from your city all the women, young children, and aged men, with those others who are feeble and impotent, and not allow them to perish here with famine. The senate hearing this, and understanding moreover the grant of the Roman captain promising them their safety, consented to the proposal of Anatholius. Taking especial care of those who belonged to the church, he calls them together, telling them what they should do, and what had been obtained for them, which caused them to leave the city. At their coming out, Eusebius was ready to receive and refresh them. Thus, not only they, but the whole city of Alexandria was preserved from destruction.

By this short history of Eusebius and Anatholius, the reader may partly understand what the practice of the prelates was in those days in the church, that they were then only employed in saving life, and succoring the people among whom they lived. If we compare this practice to the practice of our later prelates of the church of Rome, I suppose no little difference will appear.

The Emperor Marcus Aurelius Probus was a wise and virtuous prince, and no less valiant in martial affairs than fortunate in their success. During this time we read of no persecution stirring in the church, but much quietness in matters of religion as well as in the commonwealth.

Carus, with his two sons, succeeded next after Probus in the empire (A.D. 282).

All this time we read of no great persecution stirring in the church. It was in quiet and tranquility up to the nineteenth year of Diocletian (A.D. 303). So that the peace of the church which God gave to his people, seems to continue for over forty-four years. During this time of peace and tranquility, the church of the Lord mightily increased and flourished. Even among the emperors themselves there were many who not only bore good will and favor to those of our Christian profession, but also committed to them offices and governance over countries and nations. What need is there to speak of those who not only lived under the emperors in liberty, but were also familiar in the court with the princes themselves, and entertained with great honor and special favor beyond the other servitors of the court? As Dorotheus, with his wife, children, and whole family, was highly accepted and advanced in the palace of the emperor. Also Gorgonius, and in like manner, various others who were held in great estimation with their princes, for their doctrine and the learning which they professed. Bishops of cities and dioceses were also held in the same reverence by the presidents and rulers where they lived. They not only allowed them to live in peace, but also held them in great regard so long as they kept themselves upright, and continued in God's favor. Who is able to number at that time the mighty and innumerable multitudes and congregations assembling together in every city, and the notable concourses of those who daily flocked to the common oratories to pray? For this reason, not being able to be contained in their old houses, they had large churches built new from the foundation. Eusebius says the church of Christ grew and shot up daily more and more, spreading through all quarters, which neither the envy of men could infringe, nor any devil enchant, nor the crafty policy of man supplant, so long as the protection of God went with his people.

But the common nature of all men, being of itself unruly and untoward, always seeks and desires prosperity, and yet it can never use prosperity well. It would always have peace, and yet having peace, it always abuses it. So likewise, it happened with these men who through great liberty and prosperity, began to degenerate, and to work against one another, striving and contending among themselves on every occasion — bishops against bishops, and people against people, arousing hatred and sedition one against another. And thus, while they were given only to the study of contentions, threatenings, emulations, mutual hatred and discord, — every man seeking his own ambition, and persecuting one another — then, I say, the Lord, according to the voice of Jeremiah, took away the beauty of the daughter of Sion, <sup>Jer 6.2</sup> and the glory of Israel fell down from heaven. Nor did He remember the footstool of his feet in the day of His wrath. <sup>Psa 110.1</sup> And the Lord overturned all the beautiful ornaments of Israel, and destroyed all her gorgeous buildings. And according to the words of the psalm, He subverted and extinguished the testament of his servant, and profaned his sanctuary in the destruction of his churches, and in laying waste its buildings. <sup>Psa 74.7</sup> He struck down to the ground and diminished her days; and over all this He poured confusion upon her. All these things were fulfilled upon us, when we saw the temples razed from the top to the ground, and the sacred Scriptures burnt in the open marketplace, and the pastors of the church hiding themselves, some here, some there. Others, taken prisoner with great shame, were mocked by their enemies when (also according to the saying of the prophet in another place) contempt was poured out upon the princes, and they were caused to wander, and not keep the straight path. <sup>Psa 107.40</sup>

### ***The Tenth Persecution.***

Because of all this (the wrath of God being kindled against his church) the tenth and last persecution arose against the Christians, so horrible and grievous that it makes the pen almost to tremble to write it; so tedious that there was never any persecution before or since to be compared to it for the time it continued, lasting for ten years. Although this

persecution passed through the hands of different tyrants, it principally bears the name of Diocletian, who succeeded to the empire next after Carus and his sons (A.D. 284).

After being established in the empire, he saw on every side many commotions rising up against him, which he was not well able to sustain himself. So in the beginning of his reign he chose Maximian for his colleague. These two emperors chose two other noblemen, Galerius and Constantius, whom they called *Caesars*. Galerius was sent into the eastern parts against the Persians. Constantius was sent over to our country of England, where he took Helena as his wife, the daughter of king Coill, a maiden excelling in beauty, and no less in learning. Constantine the Great was born of her.

[55] A.D. 275-303.

All this while, no persecution was yet stirred by these four princes against the church of Christ. They governed the commonwealth quietly and moderately. Therefore God prospered their doings and affairs, and gave them great victories. Because of these victories, Diocletian and Maximian, puffed up in pride, ordained a solemn triumph at Rome. After this triumph, Diocletian commanded that he be worshipped as God, saying that he was brother to the sun and moon. He adorned his shoes with gold and precious stones, and commanded the people to kiss his feet.

Not long after began the great and grievous persecution of the Christians, moved by the outrageous cruelty of Diocletian, who commanded all the churches of the Christians to be destroyed and cast to the earth, and the books of the holy Scripture be burned.

Thus, the most violent proclamations were set forth to overthrow the Christians' temples throughout the Roman empire. And this was the first edict by Diocletian. The next proclamation that came forth was for the burning of the books of the holy Scripture. This was done in the open marketplace. Then edicts were given for displacing those Christians who were magistrates, and that was done with great ignominy; also all others who ever held any office. They imprisoned those who were of the common sort, if they would not abjure Christianity, and subscribe to the heathen religion.

Not long after, new edicts were sent out, not inferior to the first in their cruelty. These were for throwing the elders and bishops into prison, and then constraining them, by various kinds of punishments, to offer to their idols. Then a great persecution followed among the governors of the church, among whom many stood manfully, passing through many exceedingly bitter torments. Many of them were tormented and examined in various ways. Some were scourged all over their bodies with whips and scourges. Some were excruciated with racks and intolerable raisings of the flesh. Some one way, and some another way, were put to death. Some again were violently dragged to the impure sacrifice; and as though they had sacrificed (when indeed they had not), they were let go. Some who neither came to their altars, nor regarded any part of their sacrifices, were still said by those who stood by, to have sacrificed. And so, suffering that false defamation of their enemies, they went quietly away. Others were carried and cast away as dead men, being but half dead. Some they cast down on the pavement, and trailing them a great distance by the legs, they made the people believe that they had sacrificed. There were others who stoutly withstood them, affirming with a loud voice that they had made no such sacrifice. Some of these said they were Christians, and gloried in the profession of that name. Some cried, saying that they neither had, nor would ever be partakers of that idolatry; and those, being punched in the face and mouth at the hands of the soldiers, were made to hold their peace; and so they were thrust out with violence. And if the saints seemed to do even a little of what their enemies would

have them do, they were made much of — although all this purpose of the adversary did not prevail against the holy and constant servants of Christ. Yet there were many of the weak sort who, out of fear and infirmity, fell away and submitted, even at the first brunt.

At the first coming down of these edicts into **NICOMEDIA** (modern Turkey), a Christian nobleman, moved by the zeal of God, after the proclamation was posted, went and took it down, and openly tore it in pieces. He did not fear the presence of the two emperors who were then in the city. For this act he was put to a most bitter death, which he endured even to the last gasp with great faith and constancy.

It can hardly be told what the number of martyrs was, and how much blood was shed throughout all the cities and regions, for the name of Christ. At that time, the bishop of Sidon was martyred. Sylvanus, the bishop of Gazensis, and thirty-nine others, were slain in the metal mines of Phoenicia. Pamphilus, the elder of Caesarea, being the glory of that congregation, died a most worthy martyr.

In **SYRIA**, all the chief teachers of the congregation were committed to prison first, which was a most heavy and cruel spectacle to behold; and also the bishops, elders, and deacons, who were all said to be men-killers, and perpetrators of most wicked facts. After that, we read of another whose name was Tirannion, who was made food for the fishes of the sea; and also of Zenobius, a good physician, who was slain with brickbats in the same place.

Eusebius mentions others who were not tormented to death, but terrified every day without ceasing. Others who were brought to the altars and commanded to do sacrifice, would rather thrust their right hand into the fire than touch the profane or wicked sacrifice. There were also some others who, before they were apprehended, would throw themselves down from steep places, lest being taken, they would commit anything against their profession. Also two fair maidens, with their mother who had carefully brought them up even from their infancy in all godliness, were long sought. At last being found, and strictly kept by their keepers, they threw themselves down headlong into a river. Two other young maidens were sisters, from a worshipful stock, and indued with many goodly virtues. They were thrown by their persecutors into the sea. But Sylvanus, the bishop of Emissa and a notable martyr, together with certain others, was thrown to the wild beasts.

The Christians in **MESOPOTAMIA** were molested with many and various torments; they were hanged up by the feet, and their head downwards, and suffocated with the smoke of a small fire; and also in Cappadocia, where the martyrs had their legs broken.

So outrageous was the beginning of the persecution which the emperor made in Nicomedia, that he did not refrain from the slaughter of the children of emperors, nor from the slaughter of the chief princes of his court, whom a little before he made as much of, as if they had been his own children. Among them was Peter, who suffered various torments, being stripped naked, and lifted up. His whole body was so beaten with whips, and torn, that a man might see his bare bones. Afterwards they mingled vinegar and salt together, and poured it on the tenderest parts of his body. And lastly, they roasted him at a soft fire, as a man would roast flesh to eat. And so this victorious martyr ended his life.

Dorotheus and Gorgonius, having great authority under the emperor, endured various torments, and then were strangled with a halter. Being in the privy chamber, they saw the grievous punishment of Peter, their household companion. Both of them exclaimed, “Why, O emperor, do you punish in Peter that opinion which is in all of us? Why is this which we all confess accounted an offense in him? We are of the same faith, religion, and judgment that he is of.” Therefore the emperor commanded them to be brought forth, and to be

tormented with the same pains that Peter was, and afterwards hanged. After them, Anthimus, the bishop of Nicomedia, having made a notable confession, and bringing with him a great company of martyrs, was beheaded. These men being thus dispatched, the emperor vainly thought that he might cause the rest to do whatever he pleased. To this end came Lucianus, the elder of the congregation of Antioch. He was martyred after he had made his apology (his defense of the faith) before the emperor. (Eusebius, lib. 8. cap. 13.)

Hermanus also, that monster, caused Serena, wife of emperor Diocletian, to be martyred for the Christian religion. The rage of persecution was so much, that all natural affections were utterly forgotten. Other martyrs of Nicomedia, such as Eulampius and Eulampia, Agape, Irene, Chionia, and Anastasia, were bound hand and foot to a post and burnt.

About that time, many Christian men were assembled together in their temple to celebrate the nativity of Christ, some of every age and sort. Caesar Maximian, thinking this a very fit occasion to execute his tyranny on the poor Christians, gave orders to burn the temple. The doors being shut and fastened all around, they came with fire. But first he commanded the crier with a loud voice to cry out that whoever would save his life should come out of the temple, and do sacrifice upon the next altar of Jupiter that they came to.

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And unless they did this, they would all be burnt with the temple. Then one stepped up in the temple, and answered in the name of all the rest, with great courage and boldness of mind. He said that they were all Christians, and believed that Christ was their only God and king, and that they would do sacrifice to him, with his Father, and the Holy Spirit; and that they were now all ready to be offered to him. With these words the fire was kindled and enveloped the temple, and some thousands of men, women, and children were burnt.

There was a city in **PHRYGIA** to which the emperor sent his edicts, that they should sacrifice to the gods and worship idols. All the citizens, the mayor, the quaestor (finance minister), and chief captain, confessed that they were all Christians. The city, upon this, was besieged and set on fire, with all the people. In **Melitina**, a region of Armenia, the bishops and elders were thrown in prison. In **Arabrace**, Eustratius was martyred. This man, beholding the constancy of the martyrs, thirsted with the desire for martyrdom, for he had secretly learned the Christian religion. Therefore he professed that he was a Christian, openly execrating the madness and vanity of the wicked heathens. He was therefore tied up, most bitterly beaten, and carried away. After that he was parched with fire put into his bowels, then basted with salt and vinegar, and lastly, he was so scorched and bemangled with sharp cutting shells, that his whole body seemed to be all one continual wound. After this he was carried away to Sebastia, where, with his companion Orestes, he was burnt.

But at **Alexandria** especially, the Christians and martyrs suffered most notable conflicts. In this persecution of Alexandria, the principal ones who then suffered were Peter, the bishop of Alexandria, with the elders there, who were most worthy martyrs — such as Faustus, Didius, and Ammonius; also, Phileas, Hesichius, Pachiminus, and Theodoras. All of them were bishops of the churches in Egypt; and besides them there were many other distinguished men. The whole legion of Christian soldiers which lay at Thebes in Egypt, under the Christian Captain Mauritius, when they would not obey the emperor's commandment regarding the worshipping of images, were decimated to death once, and then again. And at last, through the exhortation of Mauritius, they all died together like constant martyrs. Likewise, at **Antino**, diverse Christian soldiers, notwithstanding that they were seriously dissuaded from it, suffered death together. Among them were Ascla,

Philemon, and Apollonius. And also in the other parts of **AFRICA** and **MAURITANIA** there was great persecution. Also in **Sammium**, a place which Chronicon mentions, and **Sicily**, where there were seventy-nine martyrs slain for their profession of Christ.

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Now let us come to **EUROPE**. At **Nicopolis**, the martyrs were most miserably and pitifully handled. Euphemia suffered in **Chalcedon**. Agricola and Vitalis at **Bohemia**. And at **Aquileia**, the emperor commanded every man to kill the Christians. Among those martyrs were Felices and Fortunatus. In all places of **ITALY** the persecution became great. In **FRANCE**, Rectionarus played the cruel hellhound. Many histories are full of his great cruelty against the Christians. And at Massilia, Maximian set forth his decree, that either they all sacrifice to the heathen gods, or else all would be slain with various kinds of torments. Therefore, many martyrs died there for the glory of Christ.

In many places of **SPAIN**, there was great persecution, such as at **Emerita**, where Eulalia suffered; and **Adula**, where Vincentius, Sabina, and Christina also suffered. At **Toletura**, Leucadia the virgin suffered; at **Caesarea Augusta**, eighteen were put to death, besides a great number of other martyrs who suffered under governor Decian, who afflicted all the coasts of Spain with persecution. Rectionarus made such a persecution at Trevers, that the blood of the Christian men who were slain ran like small brooks, and colored great and main rivers. Nor did this suffice him, but from there he sent certain horsemen with his letters, commanding them to ride into every place, and charge all those who had taken and apprehended any Christians, that they should immediately put them to death.

Bede (672-735) says that this persecution reached even to the **BRITAINS**. The *Chronicle of Martinus*, and the “Nosegay of Time,” declare that all the Christians in Britain were utterly destroyed. The kinds of death and punishment were so great and horrible, that no man is able to fully express them. In the beginning, the emperor threatened them with bonds and imprisonment. But a while later, when he began to work the matter in good earnest, he devised innumerable sorts of torments and punishments, such as whippings and scourgings, rackings, horrible scrapings, sword, and fire. A great number were put in boats, which were then sunk; they drowned in the bottom of the sea. Also, hanging them on crosses, binding them to the bodies of dead trees with their heads downward; hanging them by their middles on gallows till they died of hunger; throwing them alive to wild beasts which would devour them, such as lions, bears, leopards, and wild bulls. Pricking and thrusting them with daggers and the talons of beasts till they were almost dead; lifting them up on high with their heads downward. There were other sorts of punishments, most tragic – or rather, tyrannical and pitiful to describe: such as first binding them to trees and their boughs, then pulling and tearing apart their members and joints. Mangling them with axes; choking them with smoke by small fires; severing their hands, ears, feet, and other joints.

The holy martyrs of **Alexandria** suffered scorching and broiling with coals, not unto death, but renewed every day. The martyrs at **Antioch** were also afflicted with such torments. But in **Pontus**, the martyrs of Christ suffered other horrible punishments, fearful to be heard. Some of whom had sharp daggers thrust in their finger ends under their nails; some were sprinkled with boiling lead, having their most necessary members cut from them. Others suffered the most intolerable, and unendurable torments and pains.

Phileas, the bishop of the Thumitans, a man singularly well-learned, described in his epistle to the Thumitans, how great the persecution was which reigned in Alexandria. This epistle may be found in Eusebius (lib. viii, cap. 10). He tells how the martyrs were afflicted with many and sundry kinds of newly devised punishments. Here we will briefly recite a part:

“Because every man might torment the holy martyrs as they pleased, some beat them with cudgels, some with rods, some with whips, some with thongs, and some with cords. And this example of beating was executed with much cruelty. For some of them having their hands bound behind their backs, were lifted up on timber logs, and with certain instruments their members and joints were stretched out, upon which their whole bodies were hanging. They were subject to the will of their tormentors, who were commanded to afflict them with all manner of torments — and not on their sides only (as murderers were) but all over their bodies, thighs, and legs. They scratched them with the talons and claws of wild beasts. Others were seen hanging by one hand on the engine, by which they might feel even more the grievous pulling out of the rest of their joints and members. Others were bound to pillars with their faces turned to the wall, having no support under their feet, and then were violently drawn down with the weight of their bodies. And they suffered this, not only during the time of their examination, and while the sheriff dealt with them, but the whole day. And while the judge went thus from one to another, he appointed certain officers to attend those he left, so that they might not be let down, until either through the intolerableness of the pain, or by the extremity of the cold, they were near the point of death. Further, they were commanded not to show one spark of mercy or compassion upon us. They dealt with us so extremely and furiously, it was as though our souls and bodies should have died together.”

Thus wrote Phileas to the church where he was bishop, still in bonds, before he received the sentence of death. In the same letter, he exhorts his brethren to persist constantly in the truth of Christ after his death.

[57] A.D. 303-305.

Though all their torments were inconceivable, and notable for their horribleness, and most grievous and sharp — yet notwithstanding, these martyrs neither dismayed nor were they overcome. But rather, they were confirmed and strengthened, so cheerfully and joyfully they sustained whatever was put upon them. Eusebius says that he himself beheld the great persecution that was done in Thebaide. It went so far that the swords of the hangmen and persecutors were blunted with the great and frequent slaughter. They themselves sat down to rest from weariness, and others were obliged to take their places. Yet notwithstanding all this, the murdered Christians showed the marvellous readiness, willingness, and divine fortitude with which they were endowed. With courage, joy, and smiling, they received the sentence of death pronounced upon them, and sung even to their last gasp, hymns and psalms to God.

But there were also some who recanted, overcome with fear and threatenings, and by their own infirmities. Among them Socrates names Miletius and Athanasius.<sup>83</sup> In his second apology, he names the bishop of Licus. I will speak afterwards of the fall of Marcellinus, the bishop of Rome. For being persuaded by others, and especially of the Emperor Diocletian himself, he sacrificed to the idols, whereupon he was excommunicated. The number of the martyrs increased daily, sometimes ten, sometimes twenty were slain at once, sometimes thirty, and oftentimes sixty; and sometimes a hundred in one day — men, women, and children, by diverse kinds of death. Also Damasus, Bede, Orosius, Honorius, and others witness that within the space of thirty days, 17,000 martyrs were slain in this persecution, besides a great number who were condemned to the metal mines and quarries, with like cruelty.

At Alexandria, Peter the bishop, with 300 others were slain with axes; Gereon was beheaded at Colonia Agrippina, with 300 of his fellows; Mauritius, the captain of the Christian

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<sup>83</sup> [A different Athanasius from the one at the Council of Nicea in 325.](#)

soldiers, with his fellows, 6,666. In the city of Troy, now called Xanthus, Victor with 360 of his fellows were slain. Reginus recites the names of many other martyrs, numbering 120.

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As mention has been made of Mauritius and Victor, I thought it good here to insert a more particular account of them taken out of Ado and other historians, as follows.

Mauritius came out of Syria into France and Italy, being captain of the band of the Theban soldiers, numbering 6,666. He was sent for by Maximian, to go against the rebellious Bangandes. But rather, the reason of the tyrant seems to be, that he thought he might better use his tyranny upon the Christians in these quarters, than in the eastern part. These Thebans, with Mauritius the captain, after they had entered Rome, were confirmed in the faith by Marcellus the blessed bishop. They promised by oath that they would rather be slain by their enemies, than forsake that faith which they had received. At that time the Caesareans were encamped not far from the town called Ottodor, where Maximian offered sacrifice to his devils, and called all the soldiers of both east and west to do the same. He strictly charged them by the altars of his gods, that they I would fight against those rebels the Bangandes, *and* persecute the Christian enemies of the emperor's gods. This commandment was shown to the Theban host, who were also encamped about the river Rhone. But they would in no way come to Ottodor, for every man agreed to die in that place rather than either sacrifice to the gods, or bear arms against the Christians. The emperor being very angry with them, commanded every tenth man of that whole band to be put to the sword, to which they committed their necks with great joy. Mauritius himself was a great encourager to this notable and great strength of faith. He exhorted and animated his soldiers both to fortitude and constancy. Being called to the emperor, he answered him thus,

‘We are, O emperor! your soldiers; yet also, to speak freely, the servants of God. We owe to you the service of war, to Him innocency. From you we receive our labor wages; from Him the beginning of life. But in this we may in no way obey you, O emperor! so as to deny God our author and Lord, and not only ours, but your Lord likewise. If we are not so extremely forced that we offend Him, doubtless we will yet obey you, as we have done up to now. But we will rather obey Him than you. We offer here our hands against any other enemies; but to defile our hands with the blood of innocents, that we may not do. These right hands of ours have skill to fight against the wicked and true enemies; but they have no skill at all to destroy and murder the godly and citizens. We have in remembrance how we took armor in hand, *for* the defense of the citizens, and not *against* them. We fought always for justice' sake, piety, and for the health of innocents. These have been always the rewards of our perils and labor. We have fought in the contest of faith. We can in no way keep such faith with you, if we do not show the same to our God. We first swore upon the sacraments of our God, then afterward to the king; and do you think the second will avail us, if we break the first? By us you would plague the Christians; to do this feat we are only commanded by you. We are here ready to confess God is the author of all things, and we believe in his son Jesus Christ our Lord. We see before our eyes our fellows, and the partakers of our labors put to the sword, and we are sprinkled with their blood. We have not bewailed nor mourned the death of our blessed companions, but rather we have been glad, and have rejoiced at it, for they have been counted worthy to suffer for the Lord their God. The extreme necessity of death cannot move us against your majesty, nor yet will any desperation arm us against you, O emperor, though it is usual to do much in risky affairs. Behold, here we cast down our weapons, and do not resist, for we would rather be killed, than kill; and to die guiltless, than to live guilty. Whatever more you will command, appoint, and enjoin us, we are here ready to suffer — yes, both fire and sword, and whatever other torments. We confess ourselves to be Christians. We cannot persecute Christians, nor will we do sacrifice to your devilish idols.’



With this answer, the emperor, being much displeased, commanded a second time that a tenth of those who were left were to be murdered. That cruelty also being accomplished, at length, when the Christian soldiers would in no way condescend to his mind, he set upon them with his whole host, both footmen and horsemen, and charged them to kill them all. Making no resistance, but throwing down their armor, they yielded their lives to their persecutors, and offered their unprotected bodies to them, and were thus slain.

Victor was not of that band; but being an old soldier, he was dismissed for his age. Coming suddenly upon these tormenters as they were banqueting and making merry with the spoils of the holy martyrs, he was bid to sit down with them. Asking the cause of their great rejoicing, and understanding the truth of it, he detested the guests, and refused to eat with them. And then it being demanded of him whether he was a Christian or not, he openly confessed that he was a Christian, and ever would be. Upon which they rushed upon him, and killed him, and made him a partner of the same martyrdom and honor.

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Diocletian and Maximian, seeing the number of the Christians rather increase than diminish, notwithstanding all the cruelty that they could show, were now out of all hope of rooting them out; and loathing the shedding of more blood, they at last ceased of their own accord to put any more Christians to death. But yet they tormented great multitudes, putting out their right eyes, and maiming their left legs with a searing-iron, condemned them to the mines, not so much for the use of their labor, as for the desire of afflicting them.

When Diocletian and Maximian had reigned together as emperors for twenty-one years, they abdicated the throne, Diocletian at Nicomedia, and Maximian at Midiolan. Both of them led a private life (A.D. 305).

[58]

In the beginning of this persecution, you heard how Diocletian, being made emperor, took to him Maximian. Also how these two governing as emperors together, chose two others as Caesars under them, namely, Galerius Maximinus, and Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great. So Diocletian and Maximian now being displaced, the Imperial Dominion remained with Constantius and Galerius Maximinus, who divided the whole monarchy between them. **Maximinus** governed the *eastern* countries, and **Constantius** the *western* parts.

Galerius Maximinus appointed Maximian and Severus to be the two Caesars. These were the emperors and Caesars who, succeeding Diocletian and Maximian, continued the persecution which Diocletian and Maximian began.

But Constantius, with his son Constantine, was no great participant in this, but rather a maintainer and supporter of the Christians. Constantius was a very excellent prince – civil, meek, gentle, liberal, and desirous to do good to those who had any private authority under him. To these virtues he added yet a more worthy ornament; that is, devotion, love, and affection towards the word of God. This caused great peace and tranquility in all his provinces. He did not wage any wars contrary to piety and Christian religion, nor did he destroy the churches; but instead, he commanded that the Christians should be preserved and defended.

Galerius Maximinus, joint-emperor with Constantius, was so great an idolater, that he built temples in every city, and repaired those that had fallen into decay. He chose the most worthy of his political magistrates to be the idols' priests, and ordained that they should

execute their office with great authority and dignity, and also with warlike pomp. But he was much opposed to Christian piety and religion. And in the eastern churches he exercised cruel persecution.

### **A brief respite in the east**

Maximinus was at length revoked from his cruelty by the just judgment and punishment of God. For he was suddenly seized with a most extraordinary and desperate disease which, beginning outwardly in his flesh, proceeded from there to the inward parts of his body. The physicians not being able to cure him, he was at length put in remembrance that this disease was sent from God. He began to think of the wickedness that he had done against the saints of God. And so, coming again to himself, he first confessed to God all his offenses, and then immediately commanded all men to cease from the persecutions of the Christians. He required, moreover, that they should set up his imperial proclamations for restoring their temples, and that the Christians in their assemblies should devoutly pray to their God for their emperor. Then the persecution was stayed, and the imperial proclamations were posted in every city, containing the countermand of those things which were previously decreed against the Christians.

Therefore, the governors of every province released all those prisoners who were condemned to the mines and to perpetual imprisonment for their faith. This seemed to them as unlooked for, and as light to travellers in a dark night. They gathered themselves together in every city, they called their synods and councils, and marvelled much at the sudden change and alteration. The infidels themselves extolled the only and true God of the Christians. The Christians received again all their former liberties; and such as fell away before in the time of persecution, repented themselves, and after having done penance, they returned again to the church. Now the Christians rejoiced in every city, praising God with hymns and psalms. This was a marvellous and sudden alteration of the church, from a most unhappy state into a better one.

### **The respite comes to an end**

But the tyrant Maximinus scarcely permitted this peace to continue six months unviolated. For he took from the Christians all liberty to assemble and congregate in churchyards. And the emperor by and by commanded to be published throughout every city, and to be posted in the midst of every city (which was never done before) the edicts against the Christians, graven in tablets of brass. The children in the schools, with great noise and clapping of hands, every day resounded the blasphemies of Pilate to Jesus, and whatever other things were devised by the magistrates, in a most spiteful manner.

Thus came it to pass, that at length the persecution was as great as ever, and the magistrates of every province were very severe against the Christians. Some they condemned to death, and some to exile. Among those whom they condemned were three Christians at Emisa, in Phoenicia. With them, Sylvanus the bishop, a very old man, forty years in his ecclesiastical function, was condemned to death. At Nicomedia, Lucianus, the elder of Antioch — being brought there after he had written to the emperor his apology concerning the doctrine of the Christians — was cast into prison, and afterward put to death. At Alexandria, Peter, a most worthy bishop, was beheaded, with whom many other Egyptian bishops also died. Quirinus, the bishop of Scescanus, having a hand-mill tied around his neck, was thrown headlong from the bridge into the flood. There a long while he floated above the water, and when he opened his mouth to speak to the lookers on, that they should not be dismayed by his

punishment, he drowned. At Rome died Marcellus, the bishop, as Platina says; also Timotheus the elder was martyred, with many other bishops and priests.

To conclude, many in sundry places everywhere were martyred, whose names are declared in the book entitled *Fasciculus Temporum* — such as Victorianus, Symphorianus, Castorius with his wife, Castulus, Caesarius, Mennas, Nobilis, Dorotheus, Gorgonius, Petrus, and other innumerable martyrs; Erasmus, Bonifacius, Juliana, Cosmas, Damianus, Basilinus, with seven others. Dorothea, Theophilus, Theodosia, Vitalis, Agricola, Acha, Philemon, Hirenæus, Januarius, Festus, Desiderius, Gregorius, Spoletanus, Agapes, Chionia, Hirenea, Theodora, and 270 other martyrs. Florianus, Primus and Felicianus, Vitus, and Modestus, Crescentia, Albinus, Rogatianus, Donatianus, Pancratius, Catharina, Margareta, Lucia the virgin, and Antheus the king, with many more thousands of martyrs. Simplicius, Faustinus, Beatrix, Panthaleon, Georgius, Justius, Leocandia, Anthonia, and others (to an infinite number) suffered martyrdom in this persecution. God has written their names in the book of life. Also Felix, Victor, with his parents, Lucia the widow, Gemenianus, with seventy-nine others. Sabinus, Anastasia, Chrysogonus, Felix and Audactus, Adrianus, Natholia, Eugenia. Also Agnes was martyred, when she was but thirteen years old.

Eusebius (lib. 8, cap. 15) mentions these kinds of torments and punishments inflicted on the Christians; “Fire, wild beasts, the sword, crucifyings, drowning at the bottom of the sea, the cutting and burning of members, thrusting out the eyes, dismembering the whole body, hunger, imprisonment, and whatever other cruelty the magistrates could devise.” All of this notwithstanding, the godly ones manfully endured, rather than do sacrifice to the idols, as they were bid. Neither could the Christians live safely in the wilderness, but were fetched even from there to death and torments. This was so bad, that it was a more grievous persecution under Maximinus the Tyrant, than the former cruel persecution was under Maximian the Prince.

As you heard, the cruel edict of Maximinus proclaimed against the Christians, was graven in brass. He thought this would perpetually endure to the abolishing of Christ and his religion. Now mark the great handywork of God, which immediately fell upon these persecutors. For there soon followed a most unseasonable drought, with famine and pestilence among the people. The people were greatly consumed by this famine and pestilence; great numbers died in the cities, but many more in the country and villages, so that most of the farmers and countrymen died with the famine and pestilence. There were many who brought out their best treasure, and were glad to give it for any kind of sustenance, however little. Others, selling their possessions, came to extreme poverty and beggary. Some ate grass and other unwholesome herbs; they were obliged to fill themselves with foods that hurt and poisoned their bodies. Also, a number of women in the cities, being brought to extreme misery, were constrained to depart from the city, and to beg throughout the country.

[59] A.D. 305-312.

Others being weak and faint, wandered up and down, and being too feeble to stand, fell down in the middle of the streets. They held up their hands, and most pitifully cried for some scraps or fragments of bread to be given them. Being at their last gasp and ready to give up the ghost, not able to utter any other words, they cried out that they were hungry. The marketplace, streets, lanes, and alleys lay full of dead and naked bodies, cast out and unburied. These were pitifully and grievously beheld by others; many eaten by dogs.

In like manner, the pestilence spreading through all houses and ranks of men, destroyed many, even those who, having plenty of food, escaped the famine. Thus, the rich princes, the

presidents, and magistrates, being more apt to receive the infection because of their plenty, were quickly cut off. The miserable multitude being consumed with famine and with pestilence, all places were full of mourning. Nor was there anything else seen but wailing and weeping in every corner. So that, with famine and pestilence, death in a short time broke up and consumed whole households; two or three dead bodies were carried out at a time, from one house, to one funeral.

These were the rewards of the vain boasts of Maximinus and his edicts, which he published against us in all the towns and cities – when it was evident to all men how diligent and charitable the Christians were to them in their miserable extremity. For in all this time of distress, the Christians only showed compassion on those who were forsaken by their own kindred, travelling every day, some in curing the sick, and some in burying the dead. Some of the Christians calling and gathering the multitude together who were in danger of famine, distributed bread to them, by which they gave occasion to all men to glorify the God of the Christians, and to confess them to be the true worshippers of God, as appeared by their works. By means of this, the great God and defender of the Christians – who before had shown His anger and indignation against all men for their wrongful afflicting of us – again opened to us the comfortable light of his Providence. So that peace fell upon us as a light to those who sit in darkness, <sup>Luk 1.79</sup> to the great admiration of all men who easily perceive God himself to be a perpetual director of our doings. Many times He chastens his people with calamities for a time, to exercise them. But after sufficient correction, He again shows himself merciful and favorable to those who call upon Him with faith.

Thus, at that time the true promise of Christ to his church was fulfilled most plainly and evidently, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against his church, built on his faith. <sup>Mat 16.18</sup> It may sufficiently appear by the ten persecutions described above. Just as no man can deny that Satan and his malignant world attempted to the utmost of their power and might, to overthrow the church of Jesus, so all men who read these histories, must grant that when Satan and the gates of hell had done their worst, they did not prevail against this mount of Sion, nor ever shall. For what else is to be thought, when so many emperors and tyrants together – Diocletian, Maximian, Galerius, Severus, Maxentius, and Licinius, with their captains and officers – were let loose, like so many lions upon a scattered and unarmed flock of sheep, intending nothing but the utter subversion of all Christianity? And especially too, when laws against the Christians were posted in brass, as if to stand perpetually. What was to be looked for here, if not a final desolation of the name and religion of *Christians*? You have partly heard what followed; more is to be marked in the history below.

### ***The Rise of Constantine***

Maxentius, son of Maximian, was declared emperor at Rome (A.D. 306). By his grievous tyranny and unspeakable wickedness, he oppressed the citizens and senators, who sent their complaints to Constantine, desiring him to help release their country and city of Rome. Constantine, understanding their miserable and pitiful state, first sent letters to Maxentius, desiring and exhorting him to restrain his corrupt doings and great cruelty. But when no letters or exhortations would prevail, at length, pitying the woeful case of the Romans, he gathered together his army in Britain and France, with which to repress the violent rage of the tyrant Maxentius. Thus Constantine, sufficiently furnished with strength of men, but especially with strength of God, began his journey towards Italy. This was about the last year of the persecution (A.D. 312). Maxentius understood that Constantine was coming. Trusting more to his devilish art of magic, than to the goodwill of his subjects, he dared not show himself outside of the city, nor encounter Constantine in the open field. He deployed secret

garrisons to lie in wait for him along the way. Constantine had many skirmishes with them; and by the power of the Lord, he vanquished them and put them to flight. Notwithstanding, Constantine was in great dread of Maxentius as he approached Rome. He had great doubts and was perplexed in himself, revolving many things in his mind. As he drew towards the city, he looked heavenward, and in the south part, about sunset, he saw a great brightness, appearing in the form of a cross, with certain stars of equal size, giving this inscription: *in hoc vince*, that is, *In this overcome*.<sup>84</sup> In his first book (*The Life of Constantine*), Eusebius Pamphilius declares this miraculous vision to be true. He testifies that he heard Constantine himself often report it, and also swear it to be true and certain: that he saw it with his own eyes in heaven, and also his soldiers about him. He was greatly astonished at the sight of it, and consulted with his men about its meaning. The same night, Christ appeared to him in his sleep, with the sign of the same cross which he had seen in the heavens. He bid Constantine to inscribe his banners with that figure, and carry it before him in the wars, and so he would have the victory.<sup>85</sup>

Here it is to be noted that this sign of the cross, and these letters added, *in hoc vince*, was given to him by God, not to induce any superstitious worship of the cross, as though the cross itself had any power or strength in it to obtain victory, but only to be an admonition to him to seek and aspire to the knowledge and faith of Christ, who was crucified on the cross for his salvation him, and that of all the world. And so he was to set forth the glory of Christ's name, as it came to pass afterwards. This is by the way. Now to return to the history.

The day following, after this night's vision, Constantine caused a cross to be made of gold and precious stone, and to be borne before him instead of his standard. And so, with much hope of victory and great confidence, as one who is armed from heaven, he advanced against his enemy.

[60]

Maxentius being constrained to come by force, advances out of the city, and sends all his army to join him in the field beyond the river Tiber. There he was put to such a flight, and driven to such exigence, that in retiring back into the city with haste, his horse overturned and fell into the bottom of the river. Being unable to get out from the weight of his armor, Maxentius was drowned, with a great part of his men.

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<sup>84</sup> Eusebius de vita Constant., lib. 2. Niceph., lib. 7. cap. 29. Eutrop. lib. 11. Sozom. lib. 1, cap. 3. Socrat. lib. 1, cap.2. Urspergensis, Chronicles of Paul, Diacon. lib. 11.

<sup>85</sup> The truth of this narrative is very far from being established so as to justify an author in admitting it without some qualification. It is now most generally regarded as a fiction, which was built upon some dream of the emperor. Mosheim thus notices it: "It is easy indeed, to refute the opinion of those who look upon this prodigy as a cunning fiction, invented by the emperor to animate his troops in the ensuing battle, or who consider the narration as wholly fabulous. The sentiment also of those who imagine that this pretended cross was no more than a natural phenomenon in a solar halo, is perhaps more ingenious than solid and convincing; nor, in the third place, do we think it sufficiently proved that the Divine Power interposed here to confirm the wavering faith of Constantine, by a stupendous miracle. The only hypothesis the which remains, is, that we consider this famous cross as a vision presented to the emperor in a dream." Mosheim, c. iv. p. 1.

Eusebius gives the narration on the sole authority of Constantine, who imagined that he had seen this cross; it was natural that in the troubled sleep of the emperor, on the eve of so eventful a battle, his dreams should be vivid, and their impression strong; but it is remarkable that Eusebius gives no evidence from the thousands of persons in the army who must have seen it, if it were really a miraculous display of the Divine Power, neither Sozomen nor Ruffin, who wrote so soon after, make any mention of it. And it has been thought that Eusebius, hearing the emperor, narrating his dream, mistook him as narrating a fact, for Constantine always stated that he was influenced by a dream in making use of the sign of the cross in his army. [Ed.]

We read in history of many victories and great conquests, yet we never read, and never shall, of any victory so wholesome, so desirable, so opportune to mankind, as this was. It made an end of so much bloodshed, and obtained liberty and life to the posterity of so many generations. For although some persecution was still stirring in the east by Maximinus and by Licinius, who had been appointed Caesar in place of Severus, yet in Rome and all the west, no martyr died after this heavenly victory. And also in the east, Constantine so vanquished the tyrants, and so established the peace of the church, that for the space of a thousand years after that, we read of no open persecution against the Christians, until the time of John Wycliffe. That was when the bishops of Rome began to persecute the true members of Christ, as it will appear in further process of this history. So happy and glorious was this victory of Constantine, that he was surnamed *the Great*. For joy and gladness in this victory, the citizens who had sent for him, brought him into the city of Rome with great triumph. There he was most honorably received with the cross, and the triumph celebrated for seven days. His image was set up in the marketplace, holding in his right hand the sign of the cross, with this inscription: “With this saving sign, the true token of fortitude, I have rescued and delivered our city from the yoke of the tyrant.” (Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 9.)

By this victory of Constantine, no little tranquility came to the church of Christ. Although the storm had not yet quieted altogether in the east, here in Europe great tranquility followed, and it continued in the church without any open slaughter for a thousand years (to the time of John Wycliffe and the Waldenses, as mentioned before). This was by means of the godly beginning of good Constantine. With his fellow Licinius, now being established in their dominion, they set forth their general proclamation or edict, that no man should be constrained to any religion, but that all men would have liberty; that the Christians might continue in their profession without any danger; and whoever pleased, might freely join them. This was very well received and highly approved by the Romans, and all wise men.

*The copy of the imperial constitution of Constantine and Licinius,  
for establishing the free worship of God following the Christian religion.*

“Not long ago we considered with ourselves, that liberty and freedom of religion should not in any case be prohibited, but that free leave ought to be given to every man to practice this according to his own will and mind. We have commanded all men to qualify matters of religion as they themselves thought good, and also that the Christians should keep the opinions and faith of their religion. But because many and sundry opinions sprang up and increased through the liberty granted by our first license, we thought it good to add to it, and to make plain those things by which some, perhaps, in times to come, may be hindered from their religious observance. When, therefore, by prosperous success, I, Constantine Augustus, and I, Licinius Augustus, came to Mediolanum (Milan), and there sat in council on those things which served for the utility and profit of the commonwealth, we thought these things, among others, would be beneficial to all men. Before all other things, we purposed to establish those things in which the true reverence and worship of God is comprehended — that is, to give the Christians free choice to follow whatever religion they think good, and by which the same sincerity and celestial grace which is received in every place, may also be embraced and accepted by all our loving subjects.

Therefore, according to this our pleasure, and upon good advisement and sound judgment, we have decreed that no man be denied to choose and follow the Christian observance or religion, but that this liberty be given to every man, so that he may apply his mind to whatever religion he thinks fit himself, whereby God may perform upon us all, His accustomed care and goodness.

Bk. I. The 300 years after Christ – Ten Persecutions (64-324)

Therefore, to the intent that you might know that this is our pleasure, we thought it necessary to write this to you, whereby all these errors and opinions which are contained in our former letters sent to you in behalf of the Christians, and which seem very indiscreet and contrary to our clemency, may be frustrated and annihilated.

Now, therefore, we firmly and freely will and command that every man have free liberty to observe the Christian religion, and that without any grief or molestation he may be allowed to do the same. These things we have thought it good to signify to you by plain words — *that we have given to the Christians free and absolute power to keep and use their religion*. And as this liberty is absolutely given by us to them, to use and exercise their former observance, if any are so disposed, it is manifest that the same helps much to establish the public tranquility of our time — *every man is to have liberty to use and choose whatever kind of worshipping he pleases himself*. And this is done by us with the intent that we would have no man forced to one religion more than another.

And we have also provided this thing, among others, for the Christians: that they may again have possession of the places in which they have been accustomed to make their assemblies. So that if any have bought or purchased these places from us, or from any other, we command that the same places, without either money or other recompense, be restored to the Christians forthwith and without delay. And if any man has obtained the same by gift from us, and requires any recompense to be made to them in that behalf, then let the Christians repair to the president (being the judge appointed for that place), so that consideration may be had of those men by our benignity — all which things we will and command that you see freely given and restored to the society of the Christians, without any delay. And because the Christians themselves are understood to have had not only those places in which they were accustomed to resort together, but certain other peculiar places also, not being private to any one man, but belonging to their church and society, you shall also see all those be restored to the Christians; that is to say, to every fellowship and company of them, according to the decree which we mentioned, provided that the order we have taken in the meantime is observed: that if anyone (taking no recompense) restores the same lands and possessions, they shall not mistrust, but be sure to be saved harmless by us.

In all these things it shall be your part to employ your diligence in behalf of the aforesaid company of the Christians, whereby this our commandment may speedily be accomplished, and also in this case by our clemency, the common and public peace may be preserved. For undoubtedly by this means, as we have said before, the goodwill and favor of God towards us (of which in many cases we have had good experience) shall always continue with us. And to the intent that this our constitution may be notified to all men, it shall be requisite that the copy of these our letters be posted in all places, so that men may read and know the same, lest any be ignorant of it.”

By this history, I have no doubt that the reader considers and beholds the marvellous working of God’s mighty power; to see so many emperors at one time confederate together against the Lord and Christ his anointed, who having the subjection of the whole world under their dominion, exerted their whole might to extirpate the name of Christ, and of Christians. If the power of man could have prevailed in this, what could they not do? Or what could they do more than they did? If policy or devices could have served, what policy was lacking? If torments or pains of death could have helped, what cruelty of torment could be invented by man, which was not attempted?

[61] A.D.305-323.

If laws, edicts, and proclamations, written not only on tablets, but engraved in brass, could have stood, consider that all this was practiced against the weak Christians. And yet,

notwithstanding, see how no counsel can stand against the Lord; observe how all these are gone, and yet Christ and his church still stand. Only Maximinus remained, now in the eastern parts, who bore a deadly hatred against the Christians, to whom Constantine and Licinius caused this constitution of theirs to be delivered. At the sight of this, although he was somewhat appalled and defeated of his purpose, yet he saw himself too weak to resist the authority of Constantine and Licinius, the superior princes. So he dissembled, as though he himself had desired the quiet of the Christians. But shortly after, making war and fighting a battle with Licinius, he lost the victory. And coming home again, he took great indignation against the priests and prophets of his gods, whom before that time he had great regard for and honored. Depending on their answers and enchantments, he began his war against Licinius. But after he perceived himself to be deceived by them, as by wicked enchanters and deceivers, and those who had betrayed his safety and person, he put them to death. Shortly after, oppressed with a mortal disease, he glorified the God of the Christians, and made a most absolute law for their safety and preservation.

Thus the Lord at length makes his enemies to stoop, however stern and stout they may be, and their hearts to confess him, as this Maximinus did, who not long after ended his life. Thus, no more tyrants were left alive to trouble the church, *except Licinius*.

### **Licinius**

This Licinius being born a Dane, and first made Caesar by Galerius, as specified above, was afterwards joined with Constantine in the government of the empire. He was also joined in setting forth the edicts which we described before, although all this seems to have been done by him with a dissembling mind. For he is described in all histories, as a man surpassing all others in his insatiable desire for riches, and for being hasty, stubborn, and furious. He was such an enemy of learning, that he called it a poison and a common pestilence, especially the knowledge of the laws. He thought no vice was less becoming to a prince than learning, because he himself was unlearned.

There was great familiarity between him and Constantine in the beginning, and such agreement, that Constantine gave him his sister Constantia in matrimony. Nor would any man have thought him to be of any other religion than Constantine, for he seemed to agree so well with him in all things. He made a decree with Constantine in the behalf of the Christians, as we showed. Such was Licinius in the beginning. But afterwards he began to conspire against the person of Constantine. But finding he could not prevail in his conspiracies, he began to hate him vehemently, and not only to reject the Christian religion, but also to hate it. He said he would become an enemy to the Christians, because in their assemblies and meetings they did not pray for him, but for Constantine. Therefore, little by little at first, and secretly, he went about to wrong and hurt the Christians, and banished them from his court. Then he commanded that all those Christians who were knights of the honorable order should be deprived, unless they sacrificed to devils. Afterward he stretched the same persecution from his court into all his provinces.

The flattering officers who were under him, thinking to please him by this means, slew many bishops, and without any cause they put them to death, as though they had been murderers and heinous offenders. They cut their bodies into small pieces in the manner of a butcher, and threw them into the sea to feed the fishes. What shall we say of the exiles and the confiscations of good and virtuous men? For he took by violence every man's substance, and did not care by what means he came by it. He threatened them with death, unless they gave it up. He banished those who had committed no evil. He commanded that many honorable men should be put out of the way; and gave their daughters to his followers. This



cruel outrage caused many godly men to forsake their houses of their own accord, and to flee to the woods, fields, desert places, and mountains. These were the only habitations and resting-places for the poor and miserable Christians. Among those worthy men and famous martyrs in this persecution who found the way to heaven, was Theodorus. First being hanged upon the cross, he had nails thrust into his armpits, and after that, his head was struck off. Also another Theodorus, the bishop of Tyre; Basil also, the bishop of Amasenus; Nicholas the bishop of Mirorus, Gregory of Armenia; after that Paul of Neocesarea, who had both his hands cut off with a searing iron. Besides these in the city of Sebastia, there were forty worthy men and Christian soldiers in the cold of winter drowned in a horse pond. The wives of those forty good men were carried to Heraclea, a city in Thracia. And there, with a certain deacon whose name was Amones, after innumerable torments, they were slain with the sword. Licinius was determined to overrun all the Christians, to which neither will nor opportunity were lacking. But God brought Constantine into those parts to oppose him.

Diverse battles were fought between them. The first was in Hungary, where Licinius was overthrown. Then he fled into Macedonia, and repairing his army, he was again discomfited. Finally, being vanquished both by sea and land, at Nicomedia he finally yielded himself to Constantine, and was commanded to live a private life in Thesalia. There, at length, he was slain by the soldiers.

Thus you have heard the end and conclusion of the seven tyrants who were the authors and workers of this tenth and last persecution against the true people of God. The chief captain and promoter of this persecution was Diocletian, who died at Salona, some say, by his own poison (A.D. 313). The next was Maximian, who (it is said) was hanged by Constantine at Marseilles (A.D. 310). Then Galerius died, plagued with a horrible disease sent by God (A.D. 311). Severus was slain by Maximian, father of Maxentius, the wicked tyrant (A.D. 307). He was overcome and vanquished by Constantine (A.D. 312). Maximinus, the sixth tyrant, died not long after, being overcome by Licinius (A.D. 313). Lastly, this Licinius was overcome by Constantine, and slain (A.D. 323). Constantius, the father of Constantine, being a good and godly emperor, died in the third year of the persecution (A.D. 306), and was buried at York.

### ***Catalogue of Martyrs in the Tenth Persecution.***

It now remains, after having described these persecutors, to gather up the names and stories of certain particular martyrs, who are worthy of special memory, for the singular constancy and fortitude showed in their sufferings and cruel torments. It is impossible to include the names of all who suffered in this tenth persecution; but we insert here the most notable, for the edification of other Christians.

When Diocletian and Maximian, the pagan emperors, had directed their letters with all severity for the persecuting of the Christians, **Alban** (then an infidel) received into his house a certain cleric, fleeing from the persecutor's hands. When Alban beheld him continually persevere in watching and prayer, both day and night, he began to imitate the example of his faith and virtuous life. Upon being instructed, he became a Christian. The wicked prince was informed that this good man and confessor of Christ was harbored in Alban's house, upon which he charged the soldiers to make a diligent search as soon as they came to the house of Alban. By and by, putting on the apparel which his guest usually wore, Alban offered himself to the soldiers in the stead of the other. Binding him, they brought him immediately to the judge. It happened that when Alban was brought to him, they found the judge at the altars, offering sacrifice to devils. As soon as he saw Alban, he was in a great rage that he should presume to give himself as a prisoner for his guest whom he harbored. He commanded him to be brought before the images of the devils whom he worshipped,

saying, “Because you would rather hide and let a rebel get away, than deliver him to the officers (as a despiser of our gods) so that he would not suffer the punishment and merit of his blasphemy, the punishment he would have had, you will suffer for him if I perceive you revolt even a whit from our manner of worshipping.”

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But blessed Alban, who of his own accord had revealed that he was a Christian, did not fear at all the menaces of the prince. But armed with spiritual armor, he openly pronounced that he would not obey his commandment. Then the judge said, “Of what stock or kindred do you come from?” Alban answered, “What is that to you? Of whatever stock I came from, if you desire to hear the verity of my religion, I call you to witness that I am a Christian.” Then the judge answered with fury, “If you will enjoy the felicity of this present life, sacrifice to these mighty gods.” Alban replied, “These sacrifices which you offer to devils, can neither help those who offer them, nor yet can they accomplish the desires and prayers of their suppliants. But rather those who offer sacrifice to these idols, will receive for their reward everlasting pains of hell fire.” The judge, when he heard these words, was quickly angered, and commanded the tormentors to whip this holy confessor of God, endeavoring to overcome the constancy of his heart with stripes. And when Alban was cruelly beaten, he suffered it patiently, no, *joyfully* for the Lord’s sake. Then, when the judge saw that he would not be overcome with torments, nor be seduced from the worship of the Christian religion, he commanded him to be beheaded.<sup>86</sup> The Cleric mentioned in this story, whom Alban received into his house, fleeing into Wales, was brought back again, and martyred with cruel torments.

The time of martyrdom of this blessed Alban and the other, seems to be about the second or third year of the tenth persecution under Diocletian, before the coming of Constantius to his government. Where it is to be noted, by the way, that this realm of Britain was never touched by any of the other nine persecutions, before this tenth persecution of Diocletian and Maximian. In this persecution our histories record that Christianity was almost entirely destroyed in the whole island, the churches subverted, all books of the Scripture burned, many of the faithful were slain, both men and women. Among them, the first and chief was Alban. And thus much regarding the martyrs of **BRITAIN**.

Now from England to return again to other countries where this persecution raged more vehemently. We will add (Lord willing) the histories of others, beginning with **Romanus**, the notable and admirable soldier and true servant of Christ. His history is set forth in

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<sup>86</sup> The rest of this story that follows in the narration of Bede, such as the river drying up as Alban went to the place of his execution; then of making a well-spring in the top of the hill, and of the the eyes of the one who beheaded him falling out of (and other prodigious miracles mentioned in history ), seem more legend than truth. I have the same estimation of Bede’s long history, in which a fabulous discourse is written at large of all the doings and miracles of St. Alban. But among all evidences sufficient to disprove these legends of Alban, nothing speaks more against them, than the very story itself — such as where he brings in the head of the holy martyr to speak to the people after it was struck off from the body. Also, where he brings in the angels going up and coming down in a pillar of fire, and singing all night long. Also, in the river which Alban made dry, those who were drowned before at its bottom, were found alive; with other similar monkish miracles, and gross fables, which these abbey monks were prone to in times past, to deceive the church of God, and to beguile the whole world for their own advantage. *Notwithstanding*, I do not write this to detract from this blessed and faithful martyr of God, who was the first I ever found in this realm to suffer martyrdom for the testimony of Christ. And he is no doubt worthy of all commendation, especially by us here in this land. I pray to God that we may all follow his Christian faith in the Lord, and his charity towards his neighbor. However, I wish that the stories of him, and of all other Christian martyrs, might have been delivered to us simple as they were, without the admixture of all these abbey-like additions of monkish miracles. The monks were most prone to paint the glory of such saints, based on the offerings they were most accustomed to receive for them.

Prudentius' *Peristephanon* as follows. It is so lamentably described by him, that it will be hard for any man to hear it with dry cheeks.

“Pitiless Galerius with his grand captain Asclepiades, violently invaded the city of Antioch, intending by force of arms to drive all Christians to utterly renounce their pure religion. The Christians, as God would have it, were at that time congregated together. Romanus hastily ran to them, declaring that the wolves were at hand which would devour the Christian flock. ‘But fear not,’ he said, ‘nor let this imminent peril disturb you, my brethren.’ It was brought to pass, by the great grace of God working in Romanus, that old men and matrons, fathers and mothers, young men and maidens, were all of one will and mind, most ready to shed their blood in defense of their Christian profession. Word was brought to the captain, that the band of armed soldiers was not able to wrest the staff of faith out of the hand of the armed <sup>87</sup> congregation, and all because Romanus so mightily encouraged them, that they did not hesitate to offer their naked throats, wishing to die gloriously for the name of Christ. ‘Seek out that rebel (the captain said) and bring him to me, that he may answer for the whole sect.’

He was apprehended, and being bound like a sheep appointed to the slaughter-house, he was presented to the emperor, who beholding him with wrathful countenance, said, ‘What? Are you the author of this sedition? Are you the reason why so many will lose their lives? By the gods, I swear you will smart for it, and be the first to suffer in your flesh the pains to which you have encouraged the hearts of your fellows.’ Romanus answered, ‘O emperor, I joyfully embrace your sentence. I do not refuse to be sacrificed for my brethren, and to do that by as cruel means as you may invent. And, whereas your soldiers were repelled from the Christian congregation, that was because it was not fit for idolaters and worshippers of devils, to enter the holy house of God, and to pollute the place of true prayer.’

Then Asclepiades, wholly inflamed with this stout answer, commanded him to be trussed up, and his bowels drawn out. The executioners themselves, more pitiful in heart than the captain, said, ‘Not so, sir, this man is of noble parentage, it is unlawful to put a nobleman to so ignoble a death.’ ‘Scourge him then with whips (said the captain) with knaps of lead at the ends.’

Instead of tears, sighs, and groans, Romanus sung psalms the whole time of his whipping, requesting them not to favor him for nobility's sake; ‘Not the blood of my progenitors (he said) but Christian profession makes me noble.’ Then with great power of spirit he inveighed against the captain, ridiculing the false gods of the heathen, with the idolatrous worship of them, affirming that the god of the Christians is the true God, who created heaven and earth, and before whose judgment-seat all nations shall appear. But the wholesome words of the martyr were like oil to the fire of the captain's fury. The more the martyr spoke, the madder the captain was, so much that he commanded the martyr's sides to be lanced with knives, until the bones appeared white. ‘I am sorry, O captain (said the martyr) not that my flesh is thus cut and mangled, but for your cause am I sorrowful. Being corrupted with damnable errors, you seduce others.’

The second time he preached at large the living God, and the Lord Jesus Christ his well-beloved Son, and eternal life through faith in his blood; expressing with this the abomination of idolatry, with a vehement exhortation to worship and adore the living God. At these words, Asclepiades commanded the tormentors to strike Romanus on the mouth, so that his teeth being knocked out, his pronounciation at least might be impaired. The commandment was obeyed, his face beaten, his eye-lids torn with their nails, his cheeks sliced with knives, the skin of his beard plucked little by little from the flesh, until finally, his seemly face was wholly defaced. The meek martyr said, ‘I thank you, O captain, that you have opened to me many

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<sup>87</sup> That is, so armed with *faith*; hence the “staff of faith.”

mouths, from which I may preach my Lord and Savior Christ. Look how many wounds I have; that is how many mouths I have lauding and praising God.”

[63] A.D. 323.

The captain, astonished with this singular constancy, commanded them to cease from the tortures. He threatened cruel fire, reviled the noble martyr, and blasphemed God, saying, “The crucified Christ is but a yesterday’s god, the gods of the Gentiles are of most antiquity.”

“Here again, Romanus made a long oration of the eternity of Christ, of his human nature, of the death and satisfaction of Christ for all mankind. This done, he said, ‘Give me a child, O captain, but seven years of age, who is free from the malice and other vices with which ripe age is commonly infected, and you will hear what he will say.’ His request was granted. A handsome boy was called out of the multitude, and set before him. ‘Tell me, my child,’ says the martyr, “whether you think it reasonable, that we worship one Christ, and in Christ one Father, or else that we worship many gods?” The child answered him, “Certainly, whatever it is that man affirms to be God, must be one; and as this one is Christ, of necessity Christ must be the one true God. For we children cannot believe that there are many Gods.”

The captain much astonished at this, said, “You young villain and traitor, where, and from whom did you hear this lesson?” “From my mother,” said the child, “with whose milk I sucked in this lesson — that I must believe in Christ.” The mother was called, and she gladly appeared. The captain commanded the child to be hoisted up and scourged. The pitiful beholders of this pitiless act could not refrain from tears. The joyful and glad mother alone stood with dry cheeks. Indeed, she rebuked her sweet child for craving a draught of cold water. She charged him to thirst after the cup that the infants of Bethlehem once drank from, forgetting their mother’s milk. She willed him to remember little Isaac, who beholding the sword, and the altar on which he should be sacrificed, willingly offered his tender neck to his father’s sword. While this counsel was being given, the butcherly tormentor plucked the skin from the crown of the child’s head, hair and all. The mother cried out, “Suffer it, my child; shortly you shall pass to Him who will adorn your naked head with a crown of eternal glory.” The child, thus counselled and encouraged, received the stripes with a smiling countenance. The captain perceiving that the child was invincible, and himself was vanquished, committed the blessed babe to the stinking prison, commanding the torments of Romanus to be renewed and increased, as the chief author of this evil. Thus Romanus was brought again to new stripes, the punishments to be renewed and received upon his old sores, so much that bare bones appeared, the flesh all torn away.

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

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

“The innocent’s head being cut off, the mother wrapped it up in her garment, and laid it on her breast. On the other side a mighty fire was made, into which Romanus was cast. His sorrowful

Bk. I. The 300 years after Christ – Ten Persecutions (64-324)

life and pains being ended, he now enjoys quiet rest in the Lord, with perpetual hope of his miserable body to be restored again, with his soul, into a better life.

“**Gordius** was a citizen of Caesarea, a worthy soldier, and captain of a hundred men. In the time of extreme persecution, he refused any longer to execute his charge, and willingly chose exile. He lived many years in the desert a religious and solitary life. But on a certain day when a solemn feast of Mars was celebrated in the city of Caesarea, and many people were assembled in the theatre to behold the games, he left the desert, and got up into the chief place of the theatre, and with a loud voice uttered this saying of the apostle, “Behold I was found by those who did not seek Me, and I was manifested to those who did not ask for me.” <sup>Rom 10.20</sup> At this disturbance, the multitude looked about to see who it was that made such an exclamation. As soon as it was known to be Gordius, the crier commanded silence, and he was brought to the sheriff, who was present and had ordained the games. When Gordius was asked the question who he was, and from where, and for what purpose he came there, telling the whole truth, he answered; “I have come to proclaim that I set nothing by your decrees against the Christian religion, but that I profess Jesus Christ to be my hope and safety.” The sheriff was greatly affected with these words, and poured all his displeasure upon Gordius, commanding the executioners to bring out the scourges. Gordius answered that it would be a hindrance and damage to him, if he could not suffer and endure diverse torments and punishments for Christ’s cause. The sheriff being even more offended with his boldness, commanded him to feel as many kinds of torments as there were. With all of these, Gordius, notwithstanding, could not be mastered or overcome. But lifting his eyes heavenward, he sings this verse from the Psalms, “The Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man can do to me;” <sup>Psa 118.6</sup> and also this, “I will fear no evil, because you Lord are with me.” <sup>Psa 23.4</sup>

“When the sheriff saw that he could win but little by torment, he tried by gentleness and enticing words, to turn the stout and valiant mind of Gordius. He promised him if he would deny Christ, he would make him a captain, and give him riches, treasure, and whatever he desired. But it was all in vain. The magistrate, thoroughly angry, prepared to condemn him; and caused him to be taken out of the city to be burnt. Great multitudes went out of the city to see him put to execution. Some take him in their arms, and lovingly kiss him, persuading him to save himself, and did so with ‘tears. Gordius answered them, ‘Do not weep for me, I pray you, but rather for the enemies of God, who always make war against the Christians. Weep, I say, for those who prepare a fire for us, purchasing hellfire for themselves in the day of vengeance. And I pray you, cease to molest and disquiet my settled mind. For truly, I am ready to suffer for the name of Christ, and to endure a thousand deaths if need be.’ Some others came to him, to persuade him to deny Christ with his mouth, and to keep his conscience to himself. ‘My tongue,’ he says, ‘which I have by the goodness of God, cannot be brought to deny the author and giver of it; *for with the heart we believe unto righteousness, and with the tongue we confess unto salvation.*’ <sup>Rom 10.10</sup> He spoke many more such words, but especially persuading the beholders to suffer death, and desire martyrdom. After all of this, with a cheerful and glad countenance, never changing so much as his color, he willingly gave himself to be burnt.”

Not much unlike this history of Gordius, is the history also of **Menas** an Egyptian, who was likewise a soldier. In this persecution of Diocletian, he forsook all, and went into the desert, where for a long time he gave himself to abstinence, watching, and meditation on the Scriptures. At length returning again to the city Cotis, there in the open theatre, with a loud voice, he openly proclaimed himself to be a Christian, and upon this he was brought to Pyrrhus the president. When he demanded of him his faith, Menas gave this answer, “It is right that I should confess God, in whom is light and no darkness. <sup>1Joh 1.5</sup> For Paul teaches

that with the heart we believe unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.” Rom 10.10

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After this, the innocent martyr was most painfully pinched and tortured with sundry punishments. In all of this, notwithstanding, he showed a constant heart and invincible faith, having these words in his mouth in the midst of his torments: “There is nothing in my mind that can be compared to the kingdom of heaven. Nor is all the world, if it were weighed in a balance, to be compared with the price of one soul. Who is able to separate us from the love of Jesus Christ our Lord? Shall affliction or anguish? Rom 8.35 I have thus learned from my Lord and my king, not to fear those who kill the body and have no power to kill the soul, but rather to fear Him who has power to destroy both body and soul in hellfire.” Mat 10.28 To make the story short, after he had suffered manifold torments, at last the sentence of death was pronounced upon him, which was that he should be beheaded. Menas being then led to the place of execution, said, “I give you thanks, my Lord and God, who have accepted me as a partaker of your precious death, and have not given me to be devoured by my fierce enemies, but have made me remain constant in your pure faith to this my latter end.” And so this blessed soldier fighting valiantly under the banner of Christ, lost his head, and won his soul.

Basil,<sup>88</sup> in a certain sermon concerning **forty martyrs**, mentions this story, which is not unworthy to be repeated here. The emperor’s marshal or officer came to a certain place, with the edict which the emperor had issued against the Christians: that whoever confessed Christ, would suffer death after many torments. And first certain men were secretly suborned to detect and accuse the Christians whom they had found out, or laid in wait for. Upon this, the sword, the gibbet, the wheel, and the whips were brought forth. At the terrible sight of these, the hearts of the beholders shook and trembled. Some fled for fear; some stood in doubt what to do; some were so terrified at beholding these engines, and these instruments of torture, that they denied their faith. But some began to suffer, and for a time abided the conflict and agony of martyrdom. But at length being vanquished by the intolerable pain of their torments, they made shipwreck of their consciences, and lost the glory of their confession. Among others, there were at that time forty young soldiers who, after the marshal had shown the emperor’s edict, and required of all men obedience to it, freely and boldly confessed themselves to be Christians. They declared their names to him.

The marshal, somewhat amazed at their boldness of speech, stands in doubt as to what was best to do. Yet immediately he tries to win them with fair words, advising them to consider their youth, and that they should not exchange a sweet and pleasant life, for a cruel and untimely death. After that, he promised them money and honorable offices in the emperor’s name. But little esteeming all these things, they break out into a long and bold oration, affirming that they neither desired life, dignity, nor money, but only the celestial kingdom of Christ. They said, further, that they are ready for the love and faith they have in God, to endure the affliction of the wheel, the cross and the fire. The rude marshal being offended with this, devised a new kind of punishment. He had seen in the middle of the city a certain great pond, which lay exposed to the cold northern wind, for it was winter. He caused them all to be put into this pond, and kept there all that night. But comforting one another, they received this appointed punishment with cheerfulness. They said, as they were putting off their clothes, “We do not put off our clothes, but we put off the old man, which is corrupt

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<sup>88</sup> *Basil: bishop of Caesarea (329-379).*

according to the deceitful lust. <sup>Eph 4.22</sup> We give you thanks, O Lord, that along with our apparel, we may also put off, by your grace, the sinful man. For by means of the serpent we once put him on, and by the means of Jesus Christ we now put him off.” When they had spoken thus, they were brought naked into the place where they felt the most vehement cold – insomuch that their bodies became stiff with it. As soon as it was day, they were brought to the fire, in which they were consumed, and their ashes thrown into the flood.

In this fellowship and company of martyrs, we cannot leave out, or forget the history of **Cyrus**. This Cyrus was a physician born in Alexandria. Fleeing into Egypt in the persecution of Diocletian and Maximian, he led a solitary life in Arabia, yet much spoken of for his learning. After a time one John, born in the city of Edessa, joined Cyrus, leaving the soldier’s life which he had previously exercised. But while the persecution raged in a city in Egypt called Canope, a certain godly Christian woman, called Athanasia, and her three daughters, Theoctiste, Theodota, and Eudoxia (with whom Cyrus was well acquainted), were cast into prison for confessing their faith. Fearing their weakness, and accompanied with his brother John, he came and visited them for their better confirmation. At this time, Lirianus was chief captain and lieutenant of Egypt. Athanasius mentions in his apologies and in his epistles, this captain’s wickedness and cruelty, especially against females. Cyrus and John were accused and apprehended as those by whose persuasions the daughters of Athanasia despised the gods and the emperor’s religion, and could not be brought to do sacrifice. They were therefore put to death by the sword, after the publication of their faithful confession. Athanasia also, and her three daughters, were condemned to death.

There was a lieutenant-general of Diocletian named **Sebastian**, born in France. By his exhortations, he encouraged many martyrs of Christ to constancy, and kept them in the faith. Therefore, being accused to the emperor, he was commanded to be apprehended. He was brought into the open field, where he was shot through the body with innumerable arrows, by his own soldiers. Other martyrs suffered with Sebastian, among whom were Nicostratus, with Zoe his wife; Tranquillinus, with Martia his wife; Traglinus, Claudius, Castor, Tibertius, Castellus, Marcus, and Marcellinus, with many others.

In an exhortation of Ambrose, he commends the martyrdoms of **Agricola** and **Vitalis**, who also suffered in the same persecution. This Vitalis was servant to Agricola. Both had determined to give their lives with other martyrs, for the name of Christ. Vitalis, being sent before by his master, to offer himself to martyrdom, fell first into the hands of persecutors. They labored by all means to cause him to deny Christ. When he would in no case do this, but stoutly persisted in the confession of his faith, they began to exercise him with all kinds of torments. so unmercifully, that there was no whole skin left on his entire body. So Vitalis, in the midst of his agony and painful torments, commended himself to God in a short prayer, and gave up his life. After him, the tormentors set upon Agricola, his master. His virtuous manners being singularly well-liked, and known to his enemies, his suffering was deferred. But Agricola, not abiding the long delay and putting it off, provoked his adversaries to be quicker. He was at length fastened to the cross, and so he finished his martyrdom which he had so long desired.

No less worthy of commemoration is the lamentable martyrdom of **Vincentius**. He was a Spanish priest, a godly and virtuous man, who at this time suffered martyrdom at Valence, under Dacian, the president. Bergomensis gives an account of his martyrdom, taken out of a certain sermon of St. Augustine, as follows:

“Our heart did not conceive a vain and fruitless sight (as it were, in beholding lamentable tragedies), but certainly a great and marvellous sight. I received it with singular pleasure,

when the painful passion of victorious Vincentius was read to us. Is there anyone so heavy hearted that he will not be moved in the contemplation of this immoveable martyr, so manly, or rather, so *godly*, fighting against the craft and subtlety of that Serpent, against the tyranny of Dacian, against the horrors of death, and by the mighty Spirit of his God conquering all? But let us in few words recite the number of his torments, though the pains of them cannot be expressed in many words. First, Dacian caused that martyr to be laid upon the rack, and all the joints of his body distended, until they cracked. This being done in the most extreme and cruel manner, all the members of his painful body were grievously pierced with deadly wounds.

[65] A.D. 323.

Thirdly, they tore his flesh with iron combs sharply filed. And in order that the tormentors might not omit any cruelty on the meek and mild martyr's flesh, they themselves also were scourged at the president's commandment. And lest his pains might seem too easy, they laid his body, being all out of joint, on an iron grate. Tearing it with iron hooks, they seared it with fiery plates, sprinkling him with burning salt. Last of all, this mighty martyr was cast into a dungeon, the floor of which was thickly spread with the sharpest shells that could be gotten. His feet then being fast locked in the stocks, he was left alone without any worldly comfort. But the Lord his God was with him. The Holy Spirit of God (whose office is to comfort the godly afflicted), filled his heart with joy and gladness. Have you prepared a terrible rack, (O, cruel tyrant! O, devouring lion!) for the martyr's bed? The Lord shall make that bed soft and sweet to him. Do you rack his bones and joints all asunder? His bones, his joints, his hairs, are all numbered. Do you torment his flesh with mortal wounds? The Lord shall pour his oil of gladness abundantly into all his sores. Your scraping combs, your sharp fleshhooks, your hot searing irons, your parched salt, your nauseous prison, your cutting shells, your pinching stocks, will all work together for good to this patient martyr. All will work contrary to your expectation. He shall reap great joy into the barn of his soul, out of this mighty harvest of pains that you have brought him into. Yes, you shall find him *Vincentius* indeed, that is, a vanquisher, a triumpher, a conqueror, subduing your madness by his meekness, your tyranny by his patience, your manifold tortures by the manifold graces of God, with which he is plentifully enriched."

In this catalogue of holy martyrs, who suffered in this tenth persecution, there are very many more mentioned in various authors, besides those whom we have comprehended up to now. Such as **Philoromus**, a man of noble birth and great possessions in Alexandria. Being influenced by his friends to favor himself, and to consider his wife and children, not only rejected their counsels, but also was not moved by the threats and torments of the Judge. He kept the confession of Christ inviolate unto death, and was beheaded.

Of like dignity also was **Procopius** in Palestine. After his conversion, he broke his images of silver and gold, and distributed them to the poor. After all kinds of torments — racking, cording, tearing his flesh, goring, stabbing, and fire — at length he had his head struck off.

To these may be added also **Georgius**, a young man of Cappadocia, who stoutly inveighing against the impious idolatry of the emperor, was apprehended and cast into prison. Then he was torn with hooked irons, burnt with hot lime, and stretched with cords. After that, his hands and feet were cut off, with other members of his body. At last he had his head cut off with a sword.

With these aforementioned, add also Sergius and Bacchius; Panthaleon, a physician in Nicomedia; Theodorus of the city of Amasia; Faustus a martyr of Egypt; Gereon, with 318 fellow martyrs who suffered around Celeur. Hermogenes, the president of Athens. He was converted by the constancy of Menas and Euegraphus. In their torments, they too suffered for the same faith; also Samonas Gurias and Abibus. Hieron also, with certain of his



confessors, under Maximinus; Judes and Domuas, who suffered with many other martyrs at Nicomedia, mentioned above. Evelasius and Maximinus, the emperor's officers, whom Fausta, the maiden, converted in her torments. Also Thirsus, Lucius, Callinicius, Apollonius, Philemon, Asilas, Leonides, with Arrianus, president of Thebaide. **Cyprian**, likewise, a citizen of Antioch. After he had continued a long time as a filthy magician, or sorcerer, he was at length converted and made a deacon, then a priest, and at last the bishop of Antioch. This Cyprian, with Justina, a maiden, suffered among the martyrs. Also Glicerios at Nicomedia, Felix a minister, Fortunatus, Achilleus, deacons in the city of Valent. Arthemius of Rome, Ciriacus, deacon to Marcellus the bishop, Carpophorus, priest at Thuscia, with Abundus, his deacon. Also Claudius Sirinus Antoninus, who suffered with Marcellinus, the bishop. Cucusatus, in the city of Barcinona. Felix, bishop of Apulia, with Adauctus, and Januarius his priest, Fortunatus and Septimus his readers, who suffered in the city Venusina, under Diocletian.

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No less admirable and wonderful was the constancy of **WOMEN**. In the same persecution, they gave their bodies to the tormentors, and their lives for the testimony of Christ, with no less boldness of spirit than the men themselves. We will narrate some examples of those who seem most notable, beginning with **Eulalia**.

There is a city in Portugal called Emerita, in which a maiden born of noble parentage dwelt and was brought up. Her name was Eulalia. Emerita was a rich and celebrated city, yet it was more adorned and celebrated by the martyrdom, blood, and sepulcher of this blessed Eulalia. She had refused great and honorable offers in marriage as one not delighting in courtly dalliance, nor as one who took pleasure in purple and gorgeous apparel, or costly ornaments. But forsaking and despising all these pompous allurements, she showed herself most earnest in preparing her journey to her hoped inheritance and heavenly patronage. As she was modest and discreet in behavior, so was she also witty and sharp in answering her enemies. But when the furious rage of persecution forced her to join herself with God's children in the household of faith, and the Christians were commanded to offer incense and sacrifice to devils or idol gods, the blessed spirit of Eulalia began to kindle. Having a prompt and ready wit, and pouring out her heart before God, she thereby provoked the force and rage of her enemies against her. But the godly care of her parents, fearing that the willing mind of this damsel, so ready to die for Christ, might be the cause of her death, hid her and kept her close at their house in the country, a great way out of the city. Yet, disliking that quiet life, and not wishing any delay, she softly steals out of the doors in the night. Leaving the common road, she passed through the thorny and briary places. Though the silent night was dark and dreadful, she had with her the Lord and giver of light. Like the children of Israel coming out of Egypt had, by the mighty power of God, a cloudy pillar for their guide in the day, and a flame of fire in the night, so had this godly maiden. Fleeing from and forsaking the place where filthy idolatry abounded, she was not oppressed with the dreadful darkness of the night.

In the morning, with bold courage she goes to the tribunal; and in the midst of them all she cries out with a loud voice, "I pray you, is it not a shame for you to thus destroy and kill men's souls, and to throw their bodies alive against the rocks, and cause them to deny the omnipotent God? Would you know (O you unfortunate ones) what I am? Behold, I am one of the Christians, an enemy to your devilish sacrifices. I spurn your idols under my feet. I confess with my heart and mouth that God is omnipotent. Isis, Apollo and Venus, what are they? Maximinus himself, what is he? The first is nothing, for they are the works of men's hands; and the other but a castaway, because he worships them. Therefore, they are both

frivolous. Maximinus is a lord of substance. And yet he himself falls down before a stone, and vows the honor of his dignity to those things that are much inferior to his vassals. Why then does he oppress so tyrannically, more worthy and courageous spirits than himself? He must be a 'good guide' and an 'upright judge,' who feeds upon innocent blood, rents and tears the bodies of godly men, and what is more, takes delight in destroying and subverting the faith. Go to therefore! Burn, cut, and mangle these earthly members. It is an easy matter to break a brittle substance, but the inward mind you shall not hurt."

Then the judge, in a great rage, said, "Hangman, take her, and pull her out by the hair of her head, and torment her to the uttermost, let her feel the power of our country's gods, and let her know what the imperial government of a prince is.

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But you, O sturdy girl, before you die I would gladly have you (if it were possible), revoke your wickedness. Behold what pleasures you may enjoy by the honorable house you came from: your fallen house and progeny will follow you to death with lamentable tears, and the nobility of your kindred will make doleful lamentation for you. What do you mean to do? Will you kill yourself, so young a flower and so near these honorable marriages and great dowries that you may enjoy? Does the glittering and golden pomp of a bridal not move you? Does the piety of your ancestors not affect you? Who is not grieved by your rashness and weakness? Behold here the furniture, ready-prepared for your terrible death. Either you will be beheaded with this sword, or else you will be pulled in pieces by these wild beasts, or else being cast into the fiery flames, you will be consumed to ashes. What great matter is it for you, I pray you, to escape all this? If you will but take and put a little salt and incense into the censers with your fingers, you will be delivered from all these punishments."

To this Eulalia made no answer, but throws down the idols, and spurns with her feet the incense prepared for the censers. Then without further delay, the executioners took her, and pulled one joint from another, and with the talons of wild beasts tore her sides to the hard bones. All this while she was singing and praising God in this way: "Behold, O Lord, I will not forget you. What a pleasure it is for those, O Christ, who remember your triumphant victories, to attain to these high dignities!" And she still calls upon that holy name, all stained and imbrued with her own blood. This she sang with a bold spirit, neither lamenting nor weeping, but being glad and cheerful, abandoning from her mind all heaviness and grief, when as out of a warm fountain, her mangled members bathed her white and fair skin with fresh blood. Then they proceeded to the last and final torment, which was not only the goring and wounding of her mangled body with the iron grate and hurdle, and terrible harrowing of her flesh, but they burned her on every side with flaming torches. When the cracking flame reached the crown of her head and consumed her, she rested in peace.

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As you have now heard the Christian life, and constant death of Eulalia, worthy of praise and commendation, so no less worthy was the blessed **Agnes**, that constant damsel and martyr of God. As she was of honorable parents in Rome, so she lies honorably buried there. She was very young when she was first dedicated to Christ, and boldly resisted the edicts of the emperor, and would not deny or forsake the holy faith through idolatry. She willingly offered her body to hard and painful torments, not refusing to suffer whatever it might be, even if it were death itself. She was therefore ordered to be beheaded. And when she saw a sturdy and cruel fellow stand behind her, and approaching near to her with a naked sword in his hand, she said "I am now glad, and rejoice that you have come. I will willingly receive into my bosom the length of this sword, that thus married to Christ my spouse, I may

surmount and escape all the darkness of this world. O eternal governor, grant to open the gates of heaven, once shut up against all the inhabitants of the earth, and receive, O Christ, my soul that seeks you!" Thus speaking, and kneeling upon her knees, she prays to Christ in heaven, that her neck might be readier for the sword. The executioner then with his bloody hand finished her hope, and at one stroke cut off her head; and by such a short and swift death, he prevented her feeling the pain of it.

I have often complained that the histories of saints have been mixed up with many false additions, and the fabulous inventions of men. Either from a superstitious devotion, or an insidious practice, they have so mangled the saints' histories and lives, that very few remain simple and uncorrupted. I especially find this in the history of good **Katherine**, whom I now have in hand. Although I do not doubt that there was great holiness in her life, excellency in her knowledge, and constancy in her death, yet I do not affirm, nor am I bound to think that all the things told of her are true.<sup>89</sup> Bergomensis writes that because she openly resisted the emperor Maxentius to his face, in the sight of the people, and rebuked him for his cruelty, she was committed to prison. At length, after she had endured the rack, and the four sharp cutting wheels, she was beheaded, and so finished her martyrdom.

Among the works of Basil, a certain oration is extant concerning **Julitta** the martyr, who came to her martyrdom by the following occasion. A certain avaricious and greedy person of great authority, violently took from her all her goods, lands, chattels, and servants, contrary to all equity and right. She complained to the judges; a day was appointed when the cause should be heard. The spoiled woman, and the spoiling extortioner stood forth together. The woman declared her cause, the man, frowningly, beheld her face. When she had proved that the goods were her own, and that he had dealt wrongfully with her, the wicked extortioner, preferring vile worldly substance to the rightful claims of a Christian body, affirmed her action to be of no force, because she was an outlaw in not observing the emperor's gods. His allegation was allowed as good. Whereupon incense and fire were prepared for her to worship the gods; and unless she would do this, neither the emperor's protection, laws, or judgment, would be extended to her, nor would she enjoy life in that commonwealth. When this handmaid of the Lord heard these words, she said,

"Farewell life, welcome death; farewell riches, welcome poverty. All that I have, if it were a thousand times more, I would rather lose, than speak one wicked and blasphemous word against God my Creator. I yield to you, O my God, most hearty thanks for this gift of grace, that I can contemn and despise this frail and transitory world, esteeming Christian profession above all treasures."

After this, when any question was demanded, her answer was, "I am the servant of Jesus Christ." Her kindred and acquaintance flocking to her, advised her to change her mind. But she refused that, with detestation of their idolatry. Immediately the judge condemned her to

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<sup>89</sup> Of the many strange fictions about Katherine, some seem incredible, some outright impudent. Such as where Petrus de Natalibus writing of her conversion declares how she was sleeping before a certain picture or table of the crucifix. Christ with his mother Mary appeared to her. And when Mary had offered her to Christ to be his wife, he first refused her for her blackness! The next time, she being baptized, Mary appeared again, and offered her to marry with Christ, who then being pleased, was espoused to him and married, having a golden ring at the same time put on her finger in her sleep! Bergomensis writes that because she openly resisted the emperor Maxentius to his face, in the sight of the people, and rebuked him for his cruelty, she was committed to prison. Then he writes, an angel came to her the same night, comforting her and exhorting her to be strong and constant unto the martyrdom, for she was accepted in the sight of God; and that the Lord would be with her, and that he would give her a mouth and wisdom which her enemies should not withstand — with many other things which I omit here. I also omit the part concerning the fifty philosophers whom she supposedly convicted in disputation, and converted to our religion, and who died martyrs for it.

the fire, and the joyful martyr embraced the sentence as a most sweet and delectable thing. She prepared herself for the flames, in countenance, gesture, and words, declaring the joy of her heart. And then, embracing the fire, she sweetly slept in the Lord.

Beside these, diverse godly women have been faithful martyrs. **Barbara**, a noble woman in Thracia, after miserable imprisonment, sharp cords, and burning flames put to her sides, was at last beheaded. **Fausta**, a maiden, suffered under Maximinus. By her, Euladius, a ruler of the emperor's palace, and Maximinus, the president, were both converted, and they also suffered martyrdom. **Juliana**, a maiden of singular beauty, in Nicomedia, after diverse agonies, likewise suffered under Maximinus. **Anasia**, a maiden of Thessalonica, also suffered under Maximinus. **Justina**, who suffered with Cyprian, bishop of Antioch. **Tecla**, **Lucia**, and **Agatha**, were also martyrs; all of whom glorified the Lord Christ with their constant martyrdom in this tenth and last persecution of Diocletian.

### ***Succession of Bishops during the Persecution***

During the time of this persecution, the following bishops of Rome succeeded each other: Caius, who succeeded Sixtus, Marcellinus, Marcellus (whom Eusebius does not mention), Eusebius, and Miltiades; all of whom died martyrs in the tempest of this persecution.

[67] A.D. 323.

After the martyrdom of Caius, Marcellinus was ordained bishop. Being brought by Diocletian to the idols, he at first yielded to their idolatry, and was seen to sacrifice. But having been excommunicated by the Christians, he fell into such repentance, that he returned again to Diocletian, and standing to his former confession, and publicly condemning the idolatry of the heathen, he recovered the crown of martyrdom, suffering with Claudius, Cyrinus, and Antoninus.

Marcellus, likewise, was urged by Maxentius to renounce his bishopric and religion, and to sacrifice with them to idols. When he refused, he was beaten with sticks and expelled from the city. Having entered the house of Lucina, a widow, he assembled the congregation. When this came to the ears of Maxentius the tyrant, he turned the house of Lucina into a stable, and made Marcellus the keeper of the beasts. He died from the effects of this cruel treatment.

Among the decretal epistles, in the book of General Councils, there is a long account of the judgment and condemnation of Marcellinus. The patrons of popery in these days take great hold of this to prove the supremacy of the pope to be above all general councils, and that he should not be subject to the condemnation of anyone. The bishops of this Council of Sinuesse condemned Marcellinus, for the words of the council are plain. "They subscribed to his condemnation, and condemned him to be expelled out of the city." Moreover, the forty-two witnesses against Marcellinus were brought in by the same council, and the verdict of the witnesses was demanded and received. What does all this declare, if not that the bishop of Rome was called there, and appeared before the judgment-seat of the council. There he stood subject to their sentence and authority, by the which he was expelled from the city. For being urged by them to condemn himself, he did so, prostrating himself and weeping before them. Whereupon they immediately proceeded to the sentence against him, condemning and pronouncing him to be expelled from the city. Now, whether by this it may be gathered that the bishops of Rome should not be cited, accused, and condemned by any person or persons, let the impartial reader simply judge!

And thus have been given the histories and names of those blessed saints who suffered in the time of the persecution, from the nineteenth year of Diocletian to the seventh and last year of Maxentius, with the deaths and punishments of those tormentors and cruel tyrants who were the captains of that persecution. And here ended (blessed be Christ) these persecutions in the western churches of Europe, so far as the dominion of Constantine chiefly extended. Yet in Asia, under Licinius, persecution did not cease for four years after.

### ***Persecutions in Persia***

In Persia, about this time, under king Sapor, many valiant and constant martyrs suffered, Acindimus, Pegasius, Anempodistus, Epidephorus, Simeon archbishop of Seleucia, Ctesiphon another bishop of Persia, with other ministers and religious men of that region, numbering 128. The idolatrous magicians in Persia, taking counsel together against the Christians, made an accusation to the king, accusing Simeon and Ctesiphon of being favorable to the Roman emperor, and of betraying Persia. Upon hearing this, Sapor was greatly irritated against the Christians, oppressing them with taxes and tributes, utterly impoverishing them, and killing all their priests with the sword.

After that, he calls for **Simeon** the archbishop, who there before the king, declared himself a valiant captain of Christ's church. For when Sapor had commanded him to be led to suffer torments, he neither shrunk for any fear, nor asked for any pardon. At this, the king partly wondering and partly offended, asked why he did not kneel down as he usually did before?" Simeon answered to this, "Before this time I was not brought to you in bonds to betray the true God, as I am now; and for so long I did not refuse to perform what the order and custom of the realm required of me. But now it is not lawful for me to do so, for now I come to stand in defense of our religion and true doctrine."

When Simeon had thus answered, the king persisting in his purpose, offered him the choice either to worship with him in his manner (promising him many great gifts, if he would do so) or if he would not, he threatened destruction to him and to all the other Christians within his land. But Simeon was neither allured by his promises, nor terrified by his threats. He continued constant in his purpose, so that he could not be seduced to perform idolatrous worship, nor to betray the truth of his religion. For this he was committed into bonds, and commanded to be kept until the king's pleasure might be known.

It happened as he was going to prison, that sitting at the king's gate was a certain eunuch, an old tutor or school-master of the king's, named Usthazares. He had been once a Christian, and afterward falling from his profession, he joined with the heathenish multitude in their idolatry. This Usthazares sitting at the door of the king's palace, and seeing Simeon passing by to prison, rose up and revered the bishop. Simeon again, with sharp words (as time would permit) rebuked him, and in great anger cried out against him, who being once a Christian, had cowardly revolted from his profession, and returned to the heathenish idolatry. Hearing these words, the eunuch forthwith burst into tears, and laying aside his courtly apparel, which was sumptuous and costly, he put on a black suit as the token of mourning. Sitting before the court gates, and weeping, he said, "Woe is me, with what hope, with what face will I look hereafter for my God, whom I have now denied, when as this Simeon my familiar acquaintance, thus passing by me, so much disdains me, that he refuses to greet me with even one gentle word?"

These words being brought to the ears of the king procured against him no little indignation. Whereupon, Sapor the king sent for Usthazares. First with gentle words and courtly promises, he began to speak to him, asking him what cause he had to mourn so, and

whether there was anything in his house which was denied him, or which he did not have at his own will and asking? Usthazares, answering him, said that there was nothing in that earthly house which was lacking to him, or which he desired. “Yes, I would to God” (he said) “O king, that any other grief or calamity in all the world, whatever it was, had happened to me rather than this, for which I most justly mourn! For this grieves me: that I am this day alive, who would rather have died long since, than see this sun, which for your pleasure, I appeared to worship against my heart and mind. For this cause I am doubly worthy of death: First, because I have denied Christ; secondly, because I dissemble with you.” Sapor being astonished at the sudden alteration of this man, and doubting whether to be angry with the enchanters or with him, whether to treat him with gentleness or with rigor, at length commanded Usthazares, his ancient servant and first tutor, to be beheaded. As he was going to the place of execution, Usthazares desired of the executioners to wait a little, so that he might send a message to the king, which was this: that for all the old and faithful service he had done to his father and to him, he would now requite him with this one office, to cause a public crier to proclaim the following words, “That Usthazares was beheaded, not for any treachery or crime committed against the king or the realm, but only because he was a Christian, and would not at the king’s pleasure deny his God.” And so according to his request, it was performed and granted. Usthazares desired the cause of his death to be published, because his shrinking back from Christ had been a great occasion to many Christians to do the same. So now those same Christians, hearing that Usthazares died for no other cause than the religion of Christ, they might learn by his example to be fervent and constant in their profession. And thus the blessed eunuch consummated his martyrdom. Simeon hearing of this in prison, was very joyful, and gave God thanks. The following day, being brought before the king, and still refusing at the king’s request to worship visible creatures, was likewise beheaded by the commandment of the king, with a great number more who suffered the same day, numbering a hundred and more.

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All of these were put to death before Simeon. He stood by exhorting them with comfortable words; admonishing them to stand firm and steadfast in the Lord; preaching and teaching them concerning death, resurrection, and true piety; and proving by the Scriptures that what he said was true. He declared moreover, that it was true life indeed to die this way, and that it was death indeed to deny or betray God for fear of punishment. He added further, that there was no man alive who must not die. “For as much as it is appointed for all men here to have an end. But those things which follow hereafter are eternal, things which shall not come to all men after one sort. But as the condition and trade of life differ in different men, and are not alike in all men, so the time shall come, when all men in a moment shall receive immortal rewards according to their doings in this present life. Those who have done well here, life and glory; those who have done evil, perpetual punishment.” With these words of comfortable exhortation, the holy martyrs willingly yielded up their lives to death. After them at last followed Simeon, with two other priests or ministers of his church: Abedecalaas and Ananias. They also with him were partakers of the same martyrdom.

At the suffering of those mentioned above, it happened that Pusices, one of the king’s officers, an overseer of his artificers, was present there. Seeing Ananias, an aged old father, shake and tremble somewhat at the sight of those who suffered, said “O father, a little moment, shut your eyes and be strong, and shortly you will see the sight of God.” Upon these words, Pusices was immediately apprehended, and brought to the king. There he confessed himself to be a Christian. And because he was very bold and dauntless before the king in this cause of Christ’s faith, he was most cruelly handled in the execution of his

martyrdom. For they made a hole in the upper part of his neck to thrust in their hand, and plucked his tongue out of his mouth; and so he was put to death. At this time also, the daughter of Pusices, a godly maiden, was apprehended and put to death.

The following year, on the same day when the Christians celebrated the remembrance of the Lord's passion, which we call Good Friday before Easter, king Sapor I issued a cruel and sharp edict throughout all his land, condemning to death all who confessed themselves to be Christians. So that an innumerable multitude of Christians, through the wicked procuring of the malignant magicians, suffered death by the sword, both in the city and the towns. Some were sought out, and some offered themselves willingly, lest they seem to deny Christ by their silence. Thus all the Christians who could be found were slain — many also of the king's own court and household. Among them was Azades, a eunuch whom the king loved and favored. After the king understood that Azades was put to death, being very sorry for him, he commanded that no Christians should be slain except those who were the doctors (theologians) and teachers of the Christian religion.

During the same time, it happened that the queen fell into a severe disease. The cruel Jews, with the wicked magicians, falsely accused Trabula, the sister of Simeon the martyr, and also another sister of hers, of having worked secret charms to hurt the queen, to revenge the death of Simeon. This accusation being believed, innocent Trabula and her sister were condemned and cut asunder with a saw. Their quarters were hung upon stakes, and the queen passed between them, thinking by this to be delivered from her sickness.

Now as the king had commanded that no Christians should be put to death, but only those who were the teachers and leaders of the flock, the magicians left no means untried to further the matter. Thus great affliction and persecution arose among the bishops and teachers of the church.

Miserable, and almost innumerable were the slaughters under the reign of this Sapor, of bishops, ministers, deacons, monks, nuns, and other ecclesiastical persons, who clung to the doctrine of Christ, and suffered for it. The names of the bishops, besides the other multitude taken in the persecution, are Barbasimes, Paulus, Gaddiabes, Sabinus, Mareas, Mocius, Johannes, Hormisdas, Papas, Jacobus, Romas, Maares, Agas, Bochres, Abdas, Abiesus, Joannes, Abramius, Agdelas, Sabores, Isaac, Dausas, Bicorn with Maureanda his fellow bishop, and the rest of his churches under him, numbering 250 persons. It is not possible for any history to comprehend the whole multitude of those who suffered in this persecution, the manner of their apprehension, the cruelty of their torments, nor how and in what places they suffered. The number of them that can be reckoned comes to 16,000 men and women.

The rumor of this miserable affliction of the Christians in the kingdom of Persia, coming to the ears of emperor Constantine, put him in great heaviness, not knowing how to help in the matter, which indeed was very difficult for him to do. At the same time it happened that certain ambassadors were at Rome from Sapor, king of Persia; to whom Constantine readily granted all their requests, thinking thereby to obtain better friendship at their king's hands, and that at his request Sapor would be good to the Christians. He therefore wrote to Sapor in their behalf, and sent his epistle by the ambassadors. He declared that he would be much beholden to him, if at his request he would give some quiet and rest to the Christians; that there was nothing in their religion which he could justly blame. For, "in their sacrifices they kill nothing, and shed no blood, but only offer up unbloody sacrifices; in making their prayers to God; they do not delight in blood-shedding; but only in the soul that loves virtue,

and follows that doctrine and knowledge which agrees with true piety. And, therefore, those men who learn to so believe and worship God, are more to be commended.”

Moreover, he assures Sapor that he would find God more merciful to him, if he would embrace the godly piety and truth of the Christians, etc. At the end of the epistle Constantine adds these words:

“What joy – what gladness it would be to my heart, to hear that the state of the Persians also flourishes, as I wish it to do, by your encouraging the Christians. So that both you with them, and they with you, in long prosperity may enjoy as much felicity together as your hearts would desire, and in so doing, no doubt you shall. For so you shall have God, who is the Author and Creator of all this universal world, be merciful and gracious to you. These men, I therefore commend to you upon your kingly honor, and upon your clemency and piety with which you are endued. I commit them to you, desiring you to receive them according to your humanity and benignity, and convenient to your estate. In so doing you will now both procure to yourself grace through your faith, and also grant to me great pleasure and a benefit worthy of thanks.”

This letter, written by Constantine to King Sapor, shows what care this godly prince had for those who believed in Christ, not only in his own monarchy, but also in all places of the world.

By contrast, under the later emperor Julian the Apostate (r. 361-363),<sup>90</sup> many would suffer martyrdom by the idolaters. Sozomen and also Theodoret write this about the lamentable tragedy of bishop Marcus Arethusius –

“This man, at the commandment of Constantine, pulled down a certain temple dedicated to idols, and in its place, built a church where the Christians might congregate. The Arethusians (those who opposed Arethusius <sup>91</sup>) remembering the little goodwill that Julian bore to him, accused Arethusius of being a traitor and an enemy to Julian. At first, as the Scripture teaches, he prepared himself to flee. <sup>Mat 24.16</sup> But when he perceived that certain of his kinsmen and friends were apprehended in his stead, he returned of his own accord, offering himself to those who thirsted for his blood. When they had him in their possession, as men neither pitying his old age and worn years, nor abashed at the virtuous conversation of a man so distinguished by both his life and doctrine, they first stripped him naked, and pitifully beat him.

[69] A.D. 323.

“Then they cast him into a foul filthy sewer, and bringing him out, they caused boys to pierce him with sharp sticks. Lastly, they put him in a basket, and anointing him with honey and broth, they hung him up in the heat of the sun, as meat for wasps and flies. And all this they did to him to force him either to rebuild the temple, or else to give as much money as would pay for its building. But purposing to suffer and abide their grievous torments, he refused to do what they demanded. At length, taking him to be but a poor man, and not able to pay such a sum of money, they promised to forgive him one-half, if he would pay the other half. But hanging in the basket pitifully wounded with the sharpened sticks, and bitten by the wasps, he not only concealed his pain, but also derided those wicked ones, and called them base, low, and worldly people; and declared himself to be exalted and set on high. When at length they demanded of him but a small sum of money, he answered, ‘It is as great wickedness to give

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<sup>90</sup> Julian the Apostate: born in Constantinople in 331; the nephew of Constantine the Great. Julian promoted paganism and restored ancient Roman religious traditions, to counter the spread of Christianity, hence “the Apostate.”

<sup>91</sup> Sozomen ascribes the rage of the Arethusians against Christian virgins, to the efforts of Constantine, who had prevented their being used as prostitutes in the temple of Venus at Heliopolis – the temple that Arethusius tore down 30 years earlier. Hence their continuing rage against him now, under Julian the Apostate.



one penny in a case of impiety, as to bestow the whole.’ Thus not being able to prevail against him, they let him down, and leaving him, they went their way – that in God’s provision, every man might learn from his mouth the example of true piety and faithfulness.”

Although addressing these persecutions of Persia somewhat strays out of the order of time and place, yet as these holy martyrs also gave so faithful a testimony of the Lord Jesus with their blood, I thought it improper to pass over them without some testimony. And here these persecutions of the primitive church ended.

### ***The Ten Persecutions and the Apocalypse of John***

It may perhaps astonish some, while reading the history of these terrible persecutions, that God the Almighty director of all things, should allow his own faithful servants, believing in his only begotten son Jesus, to be so cruelly and wrongfully tormented and put to death, and during so many years. I have nothing to answer such astonishment, but to say in the words of Jerome,

“We should not be astonished to see the wicked prevail against the holy; for, as in the beginning of the world, we see that Abel the just was killed by wicked Cain, and that the sons of Israel were afflicted by the Egyptians; so even the Lord himself was crucified by the Jews, Barabbas the thief being let go.”

Time would not suffice for me to recite how the godly suffer in this world while the wicked flourish and prevail. Whatever the cause may be, this is sufficient for us, and may it be to all men – that we are sure these afflictions and persecutions of God’s people in this world do not come by any chance or blind fortune, but by the appointment and forewarning of God. For so in the old law, by the affliction of the children of Israel, God prefigured these persecutions of the Christians. So by the words of Christ’s own mouth in the gospel, He forewarned his church of these troubles. Nor did he allow these great afflictions to fall upon his servants, before he had warned them sufficiently by special revelation in the Apocalypse of John, his servant.

In this book he declared to his church, not only what troubles were coming, where, and by whom they would come, but also in plain numbers – if the words of the prophecy are well understood – he assigns the true time, how long the persecutions would continue, and when they would cease. For as there is no doubt that the beast with seven heads, bearing the whore of Babylon, drunken with the blood of saints, signified the city of Rome, so in my judgment, the 42 months (in chapter 13 of the Apocalypse) is to be expounded by taking every month for a sabbath years. That is, reckoning a month for seven years, so that 42 such sabbaths of years add up to the number of years between the time of Christ’s death, and the last year of the persecution of Maxentius. This is when Constantine, fighting under the banner of Christ, overcame him, and made an end of all persecution within the monarchy of Rome.<sup>92</sup> The number of these years amounted to 294. If the other 6 years of persecution under Licinius in Asia is added to these, it fills up a full 300 years. And that is how long the persecution of Christ’s people continued under the heathen tyrants and emperors of the monarchy of Rome, according to the 42 months specified in chapter 13 of the Apocalypse.

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<sup>92</sup> That our author has not succeeded in so elucidating this remarkable portion of Scripture, as to free it from the numberless difficulties that envelope it, is no more than must be said of every other commentator who has undertaken the exposition of unfulfilled prophecy. He has, however, miscalculated the dates of his first period of 300 years. For from the crucifixion of our Lord to the defeat of Maxentius by Constantine (A.D. 312), was a period of only 279 years, which added to the 6 years of persecution under Licinius would be only 285 years, instead of the precise 300. [Ed.]

Because the matter is of no small importance, a better explanation of this greatly pertains to the public utility of the church. And lest any might suspect me of following any private interpretation of my own, I thought it good to communicate to the reader what has been imparted to me, in the opening of these mystical numbers in this aforesaid book of the Revelation, as follows.

While I was engaged in these histories, and considered the exceeding rage of these persecutions, the intolerable torments of the blessed saints — so cruelly racked, torn, and plucked to pieces, with all the kinds of tortures that could be devised, more bitter than death itself — I could not without great sorrow of mind, behold their grievous afflictions, nor write of their bloody sufferings. And the hotter the persecutions grew, the more my sympathy with them increased — not only pitying their woeful case, but almost reasoning with God, foolishly thinking this: Why would God out of his goodness, allow his children and servants to be so vehemently tormented and afflicted? If mortal things were governed by heavenly Providence (as it must be granted), then why did the wicked thus flourish, and the godly suffer? If sinners deserved punishment, and they alone were not sinners, why were His servants' deaths so sharp and bitter above all others? At least, why would the Lord allow the vehemency of these horrible persecutions to endure so long, showing no certain determined end of their tribulations by which, knowing the appointed determination of Almighty God, they might endure them with more consolation? For the Israelites in the captivity of Babylon were limited to 70 years; <sup>Jer 29.10</sup> and under Pharaoh they were promised a deliverance after 400 years; <sup>Gen 15.13</sup> and also under the Syrian tyrants, 62 weeks were assigned to them. <sup>Dan 9.25</sup> But in *these* persecutions I could find no end determined for their deliverance.

Whereupon, greatly marvelling with myself, I searched the Book of Revelation to see whether anything might be found there. And although I perceived the beast described there signified the empire of Rome, which had power to overcome the saints; yet concerning the time and continuance of these persecutions under the beast, I found nothing to satisfy my doubt. For although I read there of 42 months, of a “time, times, and half a time,” <sup>Rev 12.14</sup> of 1260 days; <sup>Rev 11.3</sup> yet all this, by computation, comes to only three and a half years. Nothing came near the long continuance of these persecutions which lasted 300 years. Thus being vexed in spirit about the reckoning of these numbers and years, it so happened that on a Sunday morning, as I lay in my bed and mused about these numbers, it suddenly occurred to my mind, to count these months by *sabbaths*, just as the weeks of Daniel are counted by sabbaths. Thereupon I began to reckon the 42 months by sabbaths, first by *months*. But that would not serve; then I reckoned by sabbaths of *years*, in which I began to feel some probable understanding. Yet not satisfied with this, and in order to make the matter more sure, I repaired to certain merchants of my acquaintance, one of whom is departed, a true faithful servant of the Lord. The other two are still alive, and are witnesses of this. The number of these aforesaid 42 months being propounded to them, and examined by sabbaths of *years*, the whole sum was found to amount to 294 years, which was the full time of these persecutions, neither more nor less.

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Now this one clasp being opened, the other numbers that follow are plain and manifest to the intelligent reader. For where mention is made of three and a half years, of one time, two times and half a time, also of 1260 days, all these come to one reckoning and signify 42 months — by which “months,” as said, signified the whole time of these primitive persecutions, as here it may appear in order.

**The mystical numbers in the Apocalypse opened.**

First, where mention is made (Rev 11.3), that the two prophets shall prophesy 1260 days; and also that the woman fleeing into the desert, will be fed there 1260 days (Rev 12.6), who does not know that 1260 days makes three and a half years? That is, 42 months.

Secondly, where we read (Rev 11.8-9) the bodies of the two aforesaid prophets will lie in the streets of the great city unburied for three and a half days, and after the said three and a half days they will revive again, etc., let the hours of these three and a half days (which is 42), be reckoned every day as a sabbath of years, or else every day as a month, and they come to 42 months.

Thirdly, where it is said (Rev 12.14) that the woman had two wings given her to fly into the desert for a time, times and half a time, give for one time one year, or one day; for two times, two years or two days; for half a time, half a year, or half a day; and so it is manifest, that these three and a half years amount to 42 months.

Fourthly, account these 42 months, during which the beast had power to make war (Rev 11), by sabbath of years; that is, seven years for a month, or every month for seven years, and it amounts to 294 years.

And so we just have the years, days, times, and months of these aforesaid persecutions under the beast, neither shorter nor longer — reckoning from the death of John Baptist under Herod, to the end of Maxentius, and of Licinius. These were the two last great persecutors, the one in the West, the other in the East, who were both vanquished by godly Constantine. And so peace was given to the church, although not so ample that many tumults and troubles did not afterward ensue; yet they did not last long. And the chief brunt of these Roman persecutions which the Holy Spirit especially considered above all others in his Revelation, thus ended in the time of Constantine. Then the great dragon, the devil, to wit, the fierce rage and power of his malicious persecuting, was chained for a thousand years after this, so that he could not prevail. But the power and glory of the gospel gradually increased and spread with great joy and liberty, so that at length it prevailed. It got the upper hand and replenished the whole earth, rightly verifying in this the water of Ezekiel, which issued out of the right side of the altar. <sup>Eze 47.1</sup> The further it ran, the deeper it grew, till at length it replenished the whole ocean, and healed all the fishes in it. So too, the course of the gospel proceeding from small and hard beginnings, still kept its stream. The more it was stopped, the swifter it ran. By blood it fed, by death it enlivened, by cutting it multiplied, through violence it sprang; till at last, out of thralldom and oppression, the gospel burst forth into perfect liberty, and flourished in all prosperity. If only the Christians could have used this liberty wisely and moderately, and not abused it, forgetting their former estate to their own pride, pomp, and worldly ease, as it afterwards came to pass. More is to be said about this (Lord willing) in the proper place and time.

And thus much regarding the prophetic numbers in the Apocalypse. In this, the eternal wisdom and high providence of Almighty God is to be magnified, so disposing and governing his church, that no adversity or perturbation happens to it at any time, which His wisdom does not foresee and preordain. Nor does He preordain or determine anything which he does not most truly perform, both foreseeing the beginning of such persecutions, and determining the end of them — how long to continue, and when to cease.

Thus much I have mentioned, by the way, lest anyone be surprised to read of the church being so long and for so many years under such miserable and extreme afflictions, in which neither chance nor fortune, nor disposition of man, has had any place, but only the fore-counsel and determination of the Lord governing and disposing them. He not only allowed them, and foresaw those persecutions before they occurred, but also appointed the times and years for how long they would last, and when they would have an end, such as by the 42 months in the eleventh and twelfth chapters of Revelation has been declared. These months, containing 294 years (if they are rightly gathered), make the full time between the first year of the persecution of Christ under the Jews and Herod, till the last year of persecution under Licinius. This was from the nativity of Christ, to the year 324. After this year, according to the preordinate council of God, when His severity had been sufficiently declared upon his own house, it pleased Him to show mercy again, and to bind up Satan the old serpent, according to chapter 20 of the Revelation, for the space of a thousand years; that is, from the time of Licinius to the time of John Wycliffe and John Huss.<sup>93</sup> During all this time, although certain conflicts and tumults have arisen among Christian bishops themselves in the church, yet no universal murdering persecution was stirring before the preaching of Wycliffe, Huss, and such others, as it will appear in the further process of this history (Christ willing and aiding us).

### ***A Portrait of Constantine***

Thus having discoursed at length about these horrible persecutions and heavy afflictions of the Christian martyrs; now by the grace of God, coming out of this red sea of bloody persecution, leaving Pharaoh and his host behind, let us sing gloriously to the worthy name of our God. Through the blood of the Lamb after long and tedious afflictions, He at length has visited his people with comfort, chained Satan, and sent his meek Moses (I mean gentle Constantine). By him it pleased the Lord to work deliverance for his captive people, to set his servants at liberty, to turn their mourning into joy, to magnify the church of his Son, to destroy the idols of all the world, to grant life and liberty (and not so much riches) to those who before were despised by all the world. <sup>1Cor 4.13</sup> And all this was by the means of godly Constantine, the meek and most Christian emperor. Concerning his divine victories against so many tyrants and emperors, against the persecutors of Christ's people, and lastly, against Licinius (A.D. 324); also his other noble acts and prowesses, his blessed virtues, and his happy birth and progeny – we comprehended these in part before. A part now remains to be declared.

This Constantine was the son of Constantius, the emperor, a good and virtuous child of a good and virtuous father, born in Britain (says Eutropius), whose mother was named Helena, daughter of King Coilus – although Ambrose, in his funeral oration on the death of Theodosius, says that she was an innkeeper's daughter. Constantine was a most bountiful and gracious prince, having a desire to encourage learning; he would often read and study. He had wonderful success and prosperity in all things he took in hand, the reason of which was supposed to be because he was so great a favorer of the Christian faith. Once he had embraced this faith, he ever after most devoutly and religiously revered it, and he commanded by special proclamation, that every man should profess the same religion throughout all the Roman empire. Though he had been addicted to the worship of idols through the allurements of his wife, Fausta, and had sacrificed to them, after the discomfiture of Maxentius in battle, he utterly abjured idol worship. Yet he deferred his

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<sup>93</sup> [Wycliffe too believed the thousand years had ended, and Satan was loose in his own time \(late 1300s\).](#)

baptism to his old age, because he had determined to journey into Persia, and thought to be baptized in the Jordan. (Euseb. lib. 4. De vita Constantini.)

As to his natural disposition and wit, he was very eloquent, a good philosopher, and sharp and ingenious in disputation. He was accustomed to say that an emperor ought to refuse no labor for the utility of this commonwealth; yes, even to risk mangling his body to remedy it.

[71] A.D. 323.

He first entered into the empire by the mercy of God, who after long waves of doleful persecution would restore peace and tranquility to his church (A.D. 311), as Eusebius records in his chronicle. The church enjoyed great peace and tranquility under the reign of this good emperor, who took great pains in the preservation of it. First, before he had subdued Licinius, he set forth many edicts for the restitution of the goods of the church, for bringing the Christians back out of exile, for quieting the dissensions of the doctors or bishops of the church, for setting them free from public charges, and similar things, even as his Constitutions declare. In them is contained this prayer of the good Constantine:

“To you therefore I now pray, Oh most mighty God, that you will grant to be merciful, and pardon all the eastern parts and their inhabitants, being oppressed with calamity. And grant that by me, your servant, you will of your goodness help and relieve them. And I do not crave these things rashly at your hands, O Lord, most mighty and holiest God of all. For being persuaded by the only oracles, I have both begun and also finished wholesome and profitable things. And further, by bearing and showing your ensign, I have overcome a mighty and strong host. And when any necessity of the commonwealth committed to my charge requires it (following those signs and tokens of your virtues), I will boldly go forth and fight against my enemies. And for this cause I have sacrificed my soul to you, purified and cleansed with both your love and fear of You. Yes, truly, your name I sincerely love, and your power I reverence, which by many tokens and wonders have thereby shown and confirmed my belief and faith.

Therefore I will do my endeavor, and bend myself to this, so that I may rebuild your most holy house, which those wicked and ungodly emperors have laid waste. I desire to bring and establish your people in firm peace and tranquility, and to do that for the public utility of all the inhabitants of the earth. Those who yet err, and are out of the Way, enjoy the benefit of peace and quietness with and among the number of the faithful. For I trust that the restitution of the like society and participation, may be a means to bring those also who err, into the perfect Way of truth. Therefore, let no man be grievous to another, but what every man thinks best, let him do that. For those who are wise ought to be thoroughly persuaded that they mean only to live holily, as those should do whom the Spirit of God moves to take their delight and recreation in reading in His holy will. And if others willfully go out of the Way, clinging to the synagogues of false doctrine, they may do so at their own peril.

As for us, we have the most worthy house or church of God’s truth, which according to his own goodness and nature, He has given us. And this also we wish for them, that with like participation and common consent, they may feel with us the same delectation of mind. For this religion of ours is neither new, nor newly invented, but it is as old as we believe the creation of the world to be, and which God has commanded to be celebrated with such worship as pleases Him. But all living men are liars, and are deceived with diverse and sundry allusions. You, O God, for Christ your Son’s sake, do not suffer this wickedness to take root again. You have set up a clear burning light, that thereby as many as you have chosen may come to you, as your miracles prove. It is your power that keeps us in innocency and fidelity. The sun and the moon run their appointed course. Nor do the stars in ranging ways wander to whatever place of the world they choose themselves. The days, years, months, and times keep their appointed turns. The earth abides firm and unmovable at your word; and the wind

storms and blows at the times directed by you. The streaming watery floods ebb in time according to their flow. The raging sea abides within her bounded limits. And as the ocean stretches herself out in equal length and breadth with the whole earth, this must be wrought with some marvellous workmanship by Your own hand. This thing, without all doubt, unless it were made and disposed at your will, so great a difference and partition between, would before this time have brought utter ruin and destruction both to the life of man, and to all that belongs to man beside. Because they have such great and huge conflicts among themselves, as also the invisible spirits have, we give you thanks, O Lord most mighty, God of all gods, that all mankind has not been destroyed by it. Surely even as greatly as your benignity and gentleness are manifested by diverse and sundry benefits bestowed upon us, so much also these are set forth and declared in the discipline of your eternal word, to those who are heavenly wise, and apply themselves to the attainment of sincere and true virtue. But if there are any who little regard, or have but small respect for the consideration of this, let them not blame or lay fault on others who do the same. For that medicine by which health is obtained, is manifestly offered to all men.

Now, therefore, let no man go about subverting what experience itself shows (of necessity) to be pure and good. Let us therefore altogether use the participation of this benefit bestowed upon us — that is to say, the benefit of peace and tranquility, setting apart all controversy. And let no man hurt or be prejudicial to his fellow for that thing which he thinks he has done well. If he thinks he may profit his neighbor by what any man knows and has experienced, let him do it; if not, let him give it up, and remit it till another time. For there is a great diversity between the willing and voluntary embracing of religion, and when a man is forced and compelled to it.”

Such was the goodness of this emperor Constantine, or rather such was the providence of Almighty God toward his church in stirring him up, that all his care was how to benefit and enlarge it. Nor was it enough for him to deliver the church and people of God from the outward vexation of foreign tyrants and persecutors. His godly care was no less excited in quieting the inward dissensions and disturbance of the church, among the Christian bishops themselves. Nor did his vigilance less extend to erecting, restoring, and enriching the churches of God in all cities, and in providing for their ministers.

In writing to Miltiades, the bishop of Rome, and to Marcus, he declares in his letters how Cecilianus, bishop of Carthage, had been accused by diverse colleagues and fellow bishops of his. Therefore his will is that the said Cecilianus, with ten bishops who were his accusers, and ten others who were his defenders, should repair to him at Rome. There, with the assistance of the aforesaid Miltiades, Rheticus, Maternus, Marinus, and their fellow colleagues, the cause of Cecilianus might be heard and rightly examined, so that all schism and division might be cut off from among them. In this, Constantine’s fervent desire for peace and unity may well appear.

For like cause, he also writes to Chrestus, bishop of Syracuse. He was so desirous to nourish peace and concord in the church, that he offers to him, with his under ministers and three servants, his free carriage to come up to Constantine and to the council of other bishops, to find agreement in certain matters belonging to the church.

He likewise directs his edict in behalf of the Christians, to the provinces of Palestine and the parts around it, for the release of those who were in captivity, for restoring those who had sustained any loss in the former persecution, and for refreshing those who had been oppressed with any ignominy or molestation for their confession’s sake. He declared in the edict how his whole body, life, and soul, and whatever is in him, he owes to God and to the service of Him, etc.

Moreover, he writes another letter to Eusebius, for the edifying of new Christian churches, and restoring those which had been destroyed before by foreign enemies. And after he had gathered the synod of Nice for the study of peace and unity in the church, he writes about it to Alexander and Arius.

[72]

In his letters he most lamentably uttered the great grief of his heart, to see and hear of their contention and division, by which the peace and common harmony of the church was broken, the synod provoked and resisted, and the holy people of the Lord divided into parts and tumults. This was contrary to the office of good and circumspect men, whose duty was rather to nourish concord, and to seek tranquility. He declared moreover in his epistle, that the first origin and occasion of their contentious dissension arose upon vain and trifling terms, vile causes and light questions, and pieces of questions about such matters that are neither to be moved, nor being moved, are to be answered. They are more curious to be searched, and more perilous to be expressed, than necessary to be inquired. Therefore he entreats them and persuades them by all means — not only with reasons, but also with tears and sighing sobs — that they would again restore peace to the church, and quietness to the rest of his life (which otherwise would not be sweet to him); and that they would return again to the communion of the reverend council.

Thus much I thought summarily to comprehend, by which the divine disposition and singular gentle nature of this meek and religious Constantine, might more plainly appear to all princes, for them to learn by his example what zeal they ought to bear toward the church of Christ, how gently they ought to govern it, and how to be beneficial to it.

Many other edicts and epistles written to other places and parties, are expressed at large in the second book of Eusebius' "Life of Constantine," in which the zealous care and princely beneficence of this noble emperor toward the church of Christ may appear. A brief recapitulation of that book follows here. (Sozo. lib. i. cap. 8, 9.)

First, he commanded all those to be set free, who for the confession of Christ had been condemned to banishment, or to the mines, or to any public or private labor. Those who were put to any infamy or shame among the multitude, he ordered to be discharged from all such ignominy. Soldiers who before were deprived either of their place, or their wages, had liberty given them either to serve again in their place, or to live quietly at home. Whatever honor, place, or dignity had been taken away from any man, he commanded to be restored to them again. And that the goods and possessions of those who had suffered death for Christ, however they were alienated, should return to their heirs or next of kin, or for lack of those, should be given to the church. He commanded, moreover, that only Christians should bear office. He charged and restrained the heathens, that they should neither sacrifice nor exercise any more divinations and ceremonies of the Gentiles, nor set up any images, nor keep any feasts of the heathen idolaters. He moreover corrected and abolished all such unlawful manners and usages in the cities as might be hurtful to the church.

Among the Romans was an old law, that those who had no children should be deprived of half their goods. Also, that those over twenty-five years of age and unmarried, should not have the same privileges as those who were married, nor should they be their heirs, to whom notwithstanding they were next of kin. These laws, because they seemed unreasonable, he abrogated and took away. There was also another law among the Romans, that those who made their wills, and were sick, had certain prescribed words appointed for them to use; and unless they did so, their wills were of no effect. Constantine also repealed this law,

permitting every man in making his testament to use whatever words or whatever witnesses he wished. Likewise among the Romans he restrained and took away the cruel and bloody spectacles and sights, where men would kill one another with swords. Where there were no churches, he commanded new ones to be built; where any were decayed, he commanded them to be repaired; where any were too small, he caused them to be enlarged, giving to them great gifts and revenues, not only out of public tributes and taxes, but also out of his own private treasures. When any bishops required any council to be held, he satisfied their petitions. And whatever they established in their councils and synods, if it was godly and honest, he was ready to confirm. He inscribed the armor of his soldiers with the sign of the cross, that they might sooner learn to forget their old superstitious idolatry. Moreover, like a worthy emperor, he prescribed a certain form of prayer instead of a catechism for every man to have, so that he might learn how to pray, and to invoke God. This form of prayer is recited in Eusebius' "Life of Constantine" (lib. 4) as follows:

"We acknowledge you to be our only God; we confess you to be our King; we invoke and call upon you our only Helper, for by you we obtain our victories, and by you we vanquish and subdue our enemies. To you we attribute whatever present benefits we enjoy, and by you we hope for good things to come. To you we direct all our prayers and petitions, most humbly beseeching you to preserve Constantine our emperor and his noble children in long life, and to give them victory over all their enemies, through Christ our Lord; Amen."

In his own palace he set up a house for prayer and preaching, and he used to pray and sing with his people. Also in his wars, he did not go without his tabernacle appointed for the same purpose. He commanded Sunday to be kept holy by all men, and free from all judiciary causes, from markets, fairs, and all manual labors, excepting only husbandry. He especially charged that no images or monuments of idolatry should be set up.

He gave men of the clergy and of the ministry in all places special privileges and immunities, so that if any were brought before the civil magistrates, and wished to appeal to his bishop for sentencing, it would be lawful for him to do so; and that sentence of the bishop would stand in as great force as if the magistrate or the emperor himself had pronounced it.

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

Constantine also had no less care and provision for the maintenance of schools pertaining to the church, and for the encouragement of the arts and liberal sciences, especially of divinity. He not only furnished them with stipends and subsidies, but also defended them with large privileges and exemptions.

Besides this, so far did his godly zeal and princely care and provision extend to the church of Christ, that he provided books and volumes of Scripture, to be plainly written and copied out, to remain in the public churches for the use of posterity. Writing to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, in a special letter (Euseb. De vita Constant, lib. iv.) he desires him with all diligence to procure fifty volumes of parchment, well bound and compacted, in which he should cause to be written out of the Scripture in a fair and legible hand, those things he thought necessary and profitable for the instruction of the church, And he allows him for that business, two public ministers, etc.

In perusing and writing this history, and in considering the Christian zeal of this emperor, I wish either that our art of printing and the plenty of our books, had been available in his days, or that the same heroic heart towards the Christian religion, which was in this



excellent monarch, might appear to some extent in inferior princes reigning in our own printing-days.

The liberal hand of this emperor born to do all men good, was no less open and ready towards the need and poverty of those who either by loss of parents, or other occasions, were not able to help themselves. For them he commanded a due supply both of corn and raiment to be ministered out of his own coffers, to the necessary relief of the poor men, women, children, orphans, and widows. (Euseb. de vita Constant, lib. iv.)

### **The Donation of Constantine**

Here it will be requisite to say something about the alleged donation of Constantine. It is upon this, as their chief anchor hold, that the bishops of Rome ground their supreme dominion and right over all the political government of the western parts, and the spiritual government of all the other sees and parts of the world. Many arguments might be adduced here, if leisure from other matters would allow me to prove that Constantine never gave this donation, and that the history of it is false, and a forgery. I offer these:

[73] A.D. 325.

First, No ancient history, nor yet any doctor, makes any mention of it.

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

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

Gelasius is said to give some testimony of it (Dist. 15. Sancta Romana), but the clause of the said distinction regarding that matter is not extant in the ancient books.

Historian Otho Phrysingensis (Otto of Freising), about the time of Gratian, after he declares the opinion of those who favor the *papacy*, affirming that this donation was given by Constantine to Pope Sylvester, also mentions the opinion of those who favor the *empire*, affirming the contrary.

How could Constantine have yielded up to Sylvester all the political dominions over the west, when at his death, Constantine dividing the empire to his three sons, gave the western part of the empire to one, the eastern part to the second, and the middle part to the third?

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

The phrase of this decree, being compared with the phrase and style of Constantine in his other edicts and letters specified above, does not agree with them [*i.e.*, it is forged].

Seeing that the papists themselves confess that the decree of this donation was written in Greek, how does that agree with the truth, when it was written, not to the Grecians, but to the Romans? And also, Constantine himself, who did not understand the Greek tongue, was obliged to use the Latin tongue in the Council of Nice.

The contents of this donation (whoever its forger was), betrays itself. For if what is confessed there is true — that he was baptized at Rome by Sylvester, and the fourth day after his baptism this patrimony was given (which was before his battle against Maximinus, or Licinius, in A.D. 317, as Nicephorus records) then how does this accord with what follows in the donation — namely, for him to have given Sylvester jurisdiction over the other four

principal sees of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Jerusalem? Especially when the city of Constantinople had not yet begun before the death of Maximinus, or Licinius, and was not finished before the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Constantine (A.D. 339) — or if it is true (as Jerome calculated) that it was finished the twenty-third year of his reign, which was A.D. 334, long after this donation, by their own account.

Furthermore, where in the said Constitution it is said that Constantine was baptized at Rome by Pope Sylvester, and thereby was purged of leprosy. This fable does not agree with the truth of history.<sup>94</sup> For all the historians agree that he was baptized, not at Rome, but at Nicomedia; and moreover, as by their testimony it appears that it was not by Sylvester, but by Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia; and not before his battle against Maximinus, or Licinius, but in the thirty-first year of his reign, a little before his death.

Again, whereas Constantine in this donation allegedly appointed Sylvester to have the principality over the other four patriarchal sees, that makes Constantine contradict himself. For in the Council of Nice, he afterwards agreed with other bishops, that all four patriarchal sees should have equal jurisdiction, each one over his own territory and precinct.

**To conclude briefly:** whoever desires to be more abundantly satisfied regarding this matter, let him read the books of Marsilius Patavinus, entitled *Defensor pacis* (A.D. 1324); the books of Laurentius Valla (A.D. 1440); of Antoninus archbishop of Florence, who plainly denies in his history, that this donation is to be found in the old books of the decrees; the books of Cusanus Cardinalis, lib. 3. cap. 2, writing to the Council of Basel (A.D. 1460); of Aeneas Silvius *In dialogo*; of Hier. Paulus Cattalanus (A.D. 1496); of Raphael Wolateranus (A.D. 1550); of Lutherus (A.D. 1537), etc. All of these, by many and evident proofs, dispute and prove this donation not to proceed from Constantine, but to be something that is untruly pretended, or rather, an imagined fable, or else to be the deed of Pepin or Charles, or some other, if it were ever the deed of anyone.

And thus I have briefly collected the narration of the noble acts, and heavenly virtues of this most famous Emperor Constantine the Great. It is a singular spectacle for all Christian princes to behold and imitate, and worthy of perpetual memory in all congregations of Christian saints. His fervent zeal and piety toward all congregations, and to all the servants of Christ, was notable; but especially to be admired is the affection and reverence of his heart toward those who had suffered for the confession of Christ in the persecutions before. He held them principally in veneration, so much so, that he embraced and kissed their wounds and stripes. And if any bishops, or any other ministers brought him any complaints against one another (as they often did), he would take their bills of complaint and burn them before their faces; so studious and zealous was his mind to have them agree, whose discord caused more grief to him than it did to themselves. To commit to history all the virtuous acts, and memorable doings of this divine and renowned emperor, would be matter enough of itself to fill a great volume. Therefore we must be content with the above brief account. As it is impossible to say enough of him, I will not pursue his history any further.

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And here is an end of the lamentable persecutions of the primitive church, during the space of 300 years from the passion of our Savior Christ, till the coming of Constantine. By him, as by the elect instrument of God, it has pleased his Almighty Majesty, by his determinate purpose, to give rest to his church after long trouble, according to that which St. Cyprian

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<sup>94</sup> Eusebius, lib. 4. de vita Constantina. Hieronymus in Chron. Ruffin, lib. 2. cap. 11. Socrates, lib. 1. cap. 39. Theod. Ub. 1. cap. 31. Sozomenus, lib. 2. cap. 34.

Bk. I. The 300 years after Christ – Ten Persecutions (64-324)

declares before to be revealed by God to his church: that after darkness and stormy tempest, should come peaceable, calm, and stable quietness — meaning this time of Constantine. At this time it so pleased the Almighty, that the murdering malice of Satan should at length be restrained, and that he be chained up for a thousand years, through his great mercy in Christ, to whom, therefore, be thanks and praise, now and for ever. Amen.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

## ACTS AND MONUMENTS

### BOOK II.

CONTAINING

#### *The next 300 Years in England, till Egbert*

*A.D. 462-794*

With such things specially as have happened in England,  
From the time of king Lucius, to Gregory,  
And so after to the time of king Egbert.

By these persecutions it may be understood that the fury of Satan, and the rage of men, have done what they could to extinguish the name and religion of Christians. For, all that either death could do, or torments could work, or the gates of hell could devise, was attempted to the utmost. And yet, notwithstanding all the fury and malice of Satan, all the wisdom of the world and strength of men, doing, devising, and practicing what they could, the religion of Christ has had the upper hand. I wish this to be greatly noted and diligently pondered in considering these histories, which I trust will not be found unworthy of the reading.

#### **Lucius, King of Britain.**

Now, I propose in this second book to leave for a time the treatment of these general affairs of the universal church, and to pursue such domestic histories as more nearly concern England and Scotland. I will begin with **King Lucius**, with whom the Christian faith first began in this realm, as is the opinion of some writers. And because there may and does arise here a great controversy in these popish days, concerning the origin and planting of the faith in this realm, it will not be greatly outside of our purpose to stay and say something on this question: *Whether the church of England first received the faith from Rome or not?* Even if I were to grant this, being granted it little avails the purpose of those who would so have it. For even if England first received the Christian faith and religion from Rome in the time of Eleutherius their bishop (A.D. 180), and also in the time of Austin, whom Gregory sent here (A.D. 600), it does not follow that we must therefore still fetch our religion from there, as from the “chief fountain of all godliness.” And as they are not able to prove this, so neither have I any cause to grant the *other* — that is, that our Christian faith was first derived from Rome. I may prove this by six or seven good conjectural reasons.

The **first** I take on the testimony of our countryman, Gildas. In his history, he plainly affirms that Britain received the gospel in the time of the Emperor Tiberius,<sup>95</sup> under whom Christ suffered (*Lib. de victoria Aurelii Ambrosi*). He says moreover, that Joseph of Arimathea, after the dispersion of the Jews, was sent by Philip the apostle, from France to Britain about the year 63, and remained in this land all his life. And so, with his companions he laid the first foundation of Christian faith among the British people, whereupon other preachers and teachers who came afterward, confirmed and increased it.

The **second** reason is from Tertullian, who lived near the time of Eleutherius. In his book (*Contra Judaeos*) he plainly declares the same thing, where he testifies how the gospel was dispersed abroad by the preaching of the apostles. After reckoning up the Medes, Persians, Parthians, and dwellers in Mesopotamia, Judea, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Egypt, Pamphilia, and many other nations, at length he comes to the coast of the Moors, on the

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<sup>95</sup> Tiberius Julius Caesar Augustus (42 BC-AD 37); he succeeded his stepfather Augustus, the first Roman emperor.

borders of Spain and France.<sup>96</sup> And there, among others, he also recites the parts of Britain which the Romans could never overcome, and reports these were now subject to Christ. He also includes the places of Sarmatia, the Danes, the Germans, and the Scythians, with many other provinces and isles unknown to him. In all of these places (he says) the name of Christ reigns, which now begins to be common. Note here how, among other believing nations, he also mentions the wildest parts of Britain, and in his time these were Christianized. Therefore, Pope Eleutherius was not the first who sent the Christian faith into this realm. Rather, the gospel was brought here before his time, either by Joseph of Arimathea, as some chronicles record, or by some of the apostles, or by their own disciples, who preached Christ before Eleutherius wrote to Lucius.

My **third** proof I take from Origen, who calls this island “Christian Britain” (Hom. 4. in Ezekielem). By this it appears that the faith of Christ was spread in England before the days of Eleutherius.

For my **fourth** proof I take the testimony of Bede, who affirms that in his time, and almost a thousand years after Christ, Easter was kept in Britain in the manner of the eastern church. From this it is to be gathered that the first preachers in this land came from the *eastern* part of the world, rather than from Rome.

**Fifthly**, I may allege the words of Nicephorus (lib. ii. cap. 40), where he says that Simon Zelotes (the Zealot) spread the gospel of Christ to the western ocean, and brought it to the isles of Britain.

[75] A.D. 180.

**Sixthly**, the words of the abbot of Cluny may also be added here. In writing to Bernard, he affirms that the Scots in his time celebrated Easter, not in the Roman manner, but in the Greek. And as the Britons were not under the Roman order in the time of this abbot, neither were they, nor would they be, under the Roman legate in the time of Gregory; nor would they accept any supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

For the **seventh** argument, moreover, I make my proof by the plain words of Eleutherius. We may understand by his epistle written to King Lucius, that Lucius had received the faith of Christ in this land, before the king sent to Eleutherius for the Roman laws. For so the express words of the letter manifestly purport, as will be seen hereafter. From all of these proofs, it is more than probable that the Britons were taught first by the Grecians of the eastern church, rather than by the Romans.

Perhaps Eleutherius might help either to convert the king, or else to increase the faith then newly sprung up among the people, but it cannot be proved that he was the first. And if we grant that he was, as indeed the greater part of our English histories confess, what do they obtain by it? For to conclude this matter in few words, if the Christian faith was first derived by this nation from Rome, through Eleutherius, then let them but grant to us the same faith which was *then* taught at Rome, and from there it was derived here by Eleutherius, and we will desire no more. For then there was neither any universal pope above all churches and councils (which did not occur before the time of Boniface, 400 years later), nor any mention or use of the mass. The history of this will be seen hereafter. Nor was there any propitiatory sacrifice for souls in purgatory. But simply, the communion was frequented at Christian tables, where oblations and gifts were offered to God, by the people as well as by the priests. Nor was there any transubstantiation heard of for a thousand years after. Nor were there

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<sup>96</sup> The Moors were mentioned by Tacitus as having revolted against the Roman Empire in 24 AD; it's an old term.

any images of departed saints set up in churches, for a great number of the saints who are worshipped in our time, were not then born. Nor were the churches yet built where they were worshipped, but they occurred long after, especially in the time of the Empress Irene (A.D. 781), and the Emperor Constans II (d. 668). Nor were relics or pilgrimages then in use. The marriage of priests was then as lawful (and no less received) than at present; nor was it condemned before the days of Hildebrand, almost 1000 years after (A.D. 1080). Their service was then in the vulgar tongue (native language), as Jerome witnesses; the sacraments were ministered in both kinds, to laymen as well as to priests, as Cyprian testifies. Yes, and worldly men who would not commune at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas, were not then counted as catholics, as the pope's own distinction testifies. At funerals, priests did not then flock together, selling trentals and dirges for sweeping purgatory. Rather, a funeral concion alone was used (song of lament), with psalms of praises and halleluiahs sounding on high, which shook the gilded ceilings of the temple, as Nazianzen, Ambrose, Jerome, etc. witness.

In the supper of the Lord, and in baptism, no such ceremonies were used as have been introduced of late. Both Augustine and Paulinus then baptized in rivers, not in hallowed founts, as Fabian witnesses. Neither the ordinary<sup>97</sup> of Sarum, of York, of Bangor, with the daily matins and even-song; nor the orders of monks and friars, were then dreamed of — not for almost a thousand years after. So that, as I said before, if the papists would derive the faith and religion of this realm from Rome, then let them carry us back to where they found us. That is, let them allow us to stand content with that faith and religion which was then taught and brought from Rome by Eleutherius (as now we differ in nothing from that) and we desire no better. And if they will not, then let the reader judge where the fault is — in us, or in them. They will neither persist in the antiquity of the Romish religion which they boast of so much, nor will they permit us to do so.

And thus much, by the way, to answer the aforesaid objection (that England received its faith from Rome). We may now more readily return to the order and course of the history.

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Therefore, granting to them what they so earnestly contend for — that the Christian faith and religion of this realm was brought from Rome, first by Eleutherius and afterward by Austin — the chronicles thus write about the matter.

About the year 180, King Lucius, son of Coilus, king of the Britons, hearing of the miracles and wonders done by the Christians at that time, directed letters to Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, desiring to receive the Christian faith from him, although there is great difference in authors about the calculation of the time. The good bishop hearing the request of the king, sends him certain preachers called Fagan and Damian, who converted the king and people of Britain, and baptized them with the baptism and sacrament of Christ's faith. They overthrew the temples of the idols, and converted the people from their many gods to serve one living God. Thus true religion increasing, superstition was decayed, with all other rites of idolatry. There were then in Britain twenty-eight head priests whom they called *flamines*, and three arch-priests who were called *archflamines*, having the oversight of their manners, and as judges over the rest. These twenty-eight *flamines* they turned to twenty-eight bishops, and the three *archflamines* to three archbishops. After this, King Lucius sent again to Eleutherius for the Roman laws, to whom Eleutherius writes as follows:

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<sup>97</sup> The *ordinary* is a regulated Christian liturgy, or the book that prescribes the order of that liturgy.

“You require us to send you the Roman laws and the emperors, which you may practice and put in force within your realm. The Roman laws and the emperors we may ever reprove, but the law of God we may not. You have received of late through God’s mercy in the realm of Britain, the law and faith of Christ; you have with you within the realm, both the parts of the Scriptures. Out of them by God’s grace, with the council of your realm take you a law, and by that law (through God’s sufferance) rule your kingdom of Britain. For you are God’s vicar in your kingdom, according to the saying of the psalm, ‘O God, give your judgment to the King, and your righteousness to the King’s son,’ etc. He said, not the judgment and righteousness of the emperor, but your judgment and justice; that is to say, of God. The King’s sons are the Christian people of the realm. They are under your government, and live and continue in peace within your kingdom, as the gospel says, ‘As the hen gathers her chickens under her wings,’ so the king gathers his people. The people and folk of the realm of Britain are yours. If they are divided, you ought to gather in concord and peace, to call them to the faith and law of Christ, and to the holy church, to cherish and maintain them, to rule and govern them, and to defend them always from those who would do them wrong, from malicious men and enemies. A king has his name for ruling, and not for having a realm. You will be a king while you rule well; but if you do otherwise, the name *king* will not remain with you, and you will lose it, which may God forbid. The Almighty God grant you so to rule the realm of Britain, that you may reign with Him forever, whose vicar you are in the realm.”

In this manner, the Christian faith was either first brought in, or else confirmed in this realm, not with any cross or procession, but only by the simple preaching of Fagan and Damian, through whose ministry this island was reduced to the faith and law of the Lord. This was according to what was prophesied by Isaiah, about this as well as other islands, where he says, “He shall not fail nor be discouraged till He has established justice in the earth: and the isles shall wait for His law.”— Isa 42.4. The faith thus received continued and flourished for 261 years, till the coming of the Saxons, who then were Pagans.

### ***Britain invaded by the Saxons.***

But although Lucius, through the merciful providence of God, was then converted and the gospel almost generally received in the land, yet the state of it, as well as the religion of the commonwealth, could not be quiet, for the emperors and nobles of Rome were infidels and enemies to it — but especially because Lucius the Christian king died without issue.

[76]

For thereby such trouble and variance occurred among the Britons, that they not only brought upon themselves the idolatrous Romans, and at length the Saxons, but also they entangled themselves in much misery and desolation. For sometimes the idolatrous Romans, and sometimes the Britons, reigned and ruled as violence and victory would serve, one king murdering another, till at length the Saxons came and dispossessed them both, as will be seen later.

Thus the commonwealth was miserably rent and divided into two sorts of people, differing not so much in country as in religion. For when the Romans reigned, the people were governed by the infidels; and when the Britons ruled, they were governed by Christians. Thus it may easily be discerned how little quietness was or could exist in the church in such unquiet and doubtful days.

Notwithstanding all these heathen rulers of the Romans who governed here, yet (God be praised) we read of no persecution that touched the Christian Britons during all the persecutions mentioned in Book I, before the last persecution of Diocletian. This persecution was the first of many that followed in the church and realm of England. The

rage of Diocletian (as it was through all the churches in the world), was fierce and vehement in Britain. And all our English chronicles testify that Christianity was destroyed almost throughout the land. Churches were subverted, the Scriptures burned, and many of the faithful, both men and women, were slain.

Now, concerning the government of the kings of Britain, although I have little or nothing to note which greatly pertains to the matter of this ecclesiastical history, yet this is not to be passed over. First, Constantine, the great and worthy emperor, comes in the order of these kings, who was born a Briton by his mother Helena, who was the daughter of King Coilus. Also, by help of the British army (under the power of God) which Constantine took with him from Britain to Rome, he obtained peace and tranquility for the universal church of Christ. In consequence of his taking with him three legions of chosen and able British soldiers, the strength of this land was not a little impaired and endangered.

After Constantine, Maximian took with him all the remaining able and fighting men, in order to subdue France.

Thus poor Britain being left naked and destitute on every side, like a maimed body without might and strength, was left open to her enemies, unable to succor herself without the help of foreign friends; to whom the Britons were then constrained to flee, especially to the Romans, to whom they sent this message. "The groans of Britain — the barbarians drive us into the sea — and the sea drives us back to the barbarians. Thus we have before us two kinds of death: we must be either butchered or drowned!" The realm of Britain, almost from the beginning, was never without civil war. At length came wicked Vortigern, who cruelly caused his prince to be murdered, ambitiously invaded the crown, and then sent for the aid of the Saxons, who were then infidels. And not only that, but he also married an infidel, the daughter of Hengist, called Rowena. Not long after this, Vortigern was dispossessed of his kingdom with like treachery, and the people of Britain were driven out of their country, after the Saxons, under Hengist and his chiefs, had slain their chief nobles and barons.

These Saxons coming in daily, filled the land with their multitudes, so that the Britons at length were neither able to hold what they had, nor to recover what they had lost. They left an example to all ages and countries, of what it means to let foreign nations into their dominion, but especially what it means for princes to join in marriage with infidels, as this Vortigern did with Hengist's daughter. She was the mother of all this mischief; and gave the Saxons not only strength, but also occasion and courage to attempt what they did. The British lords and nobility being offended with this, deposed their king, and enthroned his son Vortimer in his place. Vortimer being a brave prince, the Saxons were repulsed and driven back into Germany, where they stayed till the death of Vortimer. Rowena, daughter of Hengist, caused him to be traitorously poisoned. Then Vortigern, being restored to his kingdom through the entreaty of his wife Rowena, sent to Germany for Hengist, who came in with a navy of 300 well-appointed ships. The nobles of Britain hearing this, prepared themselves on the other side in all force to resist them. But Hengist, through his daughter Rowena, influenced the king, and excused himself, saying that he did not bring the multitude to work any violence either against him or against his country. He said that he commits both himself and his people to king Vortigern, to appoint how few or how many of them he would permit to remain within his land, and the rest were to return.

And so it pleased the king to appoint a day and place where they might meet and talk together about the matter. Both Hengist and his followers would stand to such order as the king with his council might appoint. With these fair words, the king and his nobles, well contented, assigned both day and place, which was in the town of Amesbury, where he



meant to talk with them. He added this condition, that each party would come without any weapons. Hengist agreed, but gave a secret command to his followers that each man should secretly carry in his stocking a long knife. And a watch-word was also agreed on which, when they heard it, they were to draw their knives, and every Saxon kill the Briton with whom he talked. The British lords being slain, the Saxons took Vortigern the king, and bound him. For his ransom, they required the cities of London, York, Lincoln, Winchester, along with other of the best strongholds in the land to be delivered to them. This being granted, they began to make spoil and havoc of the nation, destroying the citizens, pulling down churches, killing the priests, burning the books of the holy Scripture, and leaving nothing undone that tyranny could work. This was about A.D. 462. The king, seeing this miserable slaughter of his people, fled to Wales.

Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uther Pendragon, brothers of King Constans whom Vortigern caused to be killed, were then in Little Britain. The Britons sent word to them, desiring their aid. Aurelius goes over to satisfy their desire, and being crowned as their king, he seeks out wicked Vortigern, the cause of all this trouble, and the murderer of his brother Constans. And finding him in a strong tower in Wales, where he had immured himself, Aurelius set his castle on fire, and thus Vortigern was burned to death. That being done, he shifted his power against the Saxons. He had several conflicts with them and with Elle, captain of the South Saxons (who had then newly come over).

Aurelius was poisoned by order of Pascentius, the son of Vortigern. He had suborned a man in the garb of a monk, to pass for a physician, and then poisoned Aurelius; After his death, his brother Uther, surnamed Pendragon, succeeded to the throne, about A.D. 497. Fighting against Octa and Cosa, he took them and brought them to London. But they broke out of prison, and returned to Germany for more aid. In the meantime, there was a daily influx of Saxons from Saxony, with whom the Britons had many conflicts, sometimes winning, sometimes losing. Not long after, Octa and Cosa returned again, and joined the other Saxons against the Britons. From this time, the state of Britain began to decay more and more, while the idolatrous Saxons prevailed in numbers and strength against the Christian Britons. They oppressed the people, tore down the churches and monasteries, murdered the prelates, and spared neither age nor person, but destroyed Christianity almost through the whole realm. Adding to these miseries it happened, that their king Uther was ill, and could not stir. But being grieved for the lamentable destruction of his people, he caused his bed to be brought into the camp, where God gave him the victory. Octa and Cosa were slain. Shortly after, Uther died of poison, put (it is said) into a fountain from which the king used to drink, about A.D. 516.

About this time the West Saxons came so violently upon the Britons, that those of the western part of the realm were not able to resist them. After this, the merciful providence of Almighty God raised up for them King Arthur, the son of Uther, who was then crowned after him, and reigned victoriously. The old British histories ascribe to Arthur twelve great victories against the Saxons, which gave the Britons some peace during his life, and that of certain of his successors. (*This is the King Arthur of legend.*)

[77] A.D. 180-596.

After Arthur, the next king of the Britons was Constantine. After him Aurelius Conanus (or Caninus), Then Vortiporinus; after whom followed Malgo. And after him the last king of the Britons was Carecius, all of whom were continually engaged in civil war, execrable to God and man. Being chased out by the Britons themselves, the land came into the possession of the Saxons (A.D. 568), by whom all the clergy of the Britons were utterly driven out.

## Bk. II. The next 300 years in England till Egbert (462-794)

Theonus, archbishop of London, and Theodosius, archbishop of York, seeing their churches destroyed, and their parishes dispersed, left their sees in Britain, and fled into Cambria, which is now called Wales.

The race of the Saxon kings who thus expelled the British, divided their land into seven kingdoms. Many of them delighted in war and bloodshed, and few were sincere or good. But none escaped either being slain in war, or murdered in peace, or else being constrained to become a monk.

Now, although the example of those kings who became monks (in number seven or eight), is rare and strange, and much commended by the historians of the time, I cannot assent to their commendation. First, in altering their estate from kings to monks, if they did it to find more ease, and less trouble, I do not see how that excuse stands with the office of a good man, to change his public vocation for a private convenience. If fear of danger drove them to it, what praise or commendation do they deserve in so doing? Let the monkish histories judge what they like. I think that however much praise they deserve in providing for their own safety, they deserve to be discommended that much for forsaking the commonwealth. If they did it (as most likely they did) for holiness' sake, thinking to serve and please God better in that kind of life, or to merit more toward their salvation than in the estate of a king, they were greatly deceived. Not knowing that the salvation which comes from God is to be esteemed, not by man's merits, nor by any perfection of life, nor by any difference of vocation, but only by the free grace of the gospel, which freely justifies all those who faithfully believe in Christ Jesus. But here it will be said in reply, that perhaps in the solitary life of a monk there are fewer occasions for evil than in kings' courts. Therefore that life conduces more to holiness, and is more to be preferred than the other. To this I answer that to avoid the occasion of evil is good where strength is lacking to resist it. But otherwise, where duty and charge constrain us, to avoid the occasions of evil, where they should rather be resisted, only declares the weakness of the man, rather than deserving any praise.

These things thus premised, it remains to enter on such things as in the time of these kings happened in the church. First let me put the reader in mind of the former three or four persecutions within the realm, which happened before the coming of Austin into England.

The **first** was under Diocletian, and that was not only in England, but generally throughout all the Roman monarchy, as specified above. In this persecution Alban, Julius, Aaron, with many more Christian Britons were martyred for Christ's name.

The **second** persecution was by the invasion of the Huns and the Picts, who made miserable havoc of Christ's saints, spoiling and destroying churches without mercy either to women or children.

The **third** persecution was under Hengist and the Saxons, who likewise destroyed and wasted the Christian congregations within the land, like raging wolves flying upon the sheep, and spilling the blood of Christians, till Aurelius Ambrosius came, and restored again the destroyed churches.

The **fourth** destruction of the Christian faith and religion was by Gurmund, a Pagan king of the Africans, who joining in league with the Saxons, wrought much grievance to the Christians of the land; this persecution remained till the time of Ethelbert, king of Kent (A.D. 589).

In the reign of Ethelbert, who was the fifth king of Kent, the faith of Christ was first received among the Saxons by means of Gregory, bishop of Rome, in the following manner, as collected from the old histories.

***Augustine (Austin) comes to Britain.***

First then, the Christian faith received by King Lucius, endured in Britain till this time, over 400 years, when Gurmund (as said above) by fighting with the Saxons against the Britons, it was nearly made extinct in all the land, in the space of about 44 years. So that, the first springing up of Christ's gospel in this land was in A.D. 180. While the coming of Austin was not until A.D. 596. In that year Austin came into England, sent by Gregory I. The cause of Gregory sending him here was this:

In the days of Pelagius, bishop of Rome, Gregory chanced to see certain beautiful children in the marketplace of Rome, brought from England to be sold. He demanded to know where they were from. And understanding that they were heathens from England, he lamented the case of the land whose inhabitants, being so beautiful and angelic,<sup>98</sup> were subject to the prince of darkness. Asking moreover from what province they came, it was answered, out of Deira, a part of the North Saxons. Then, alluding to the name of *Deira*, he said, "These people are to be delivered '*De Dei ira*,' "that is, "from God's wrath." Moreover, understanding the king's name of that province to be Alle, and likewise alluding to his name, he said, "There *Allelujah* to be sung to the living God." Whereupon, being moved and desiring to go and help the conversion of that country, he sent Austin there, with forty other preachers. He directed letters to Austin and his fellows, exhorting them to go forward boldly to the Lord's work, as the following epistle indicates:

"Gregory, the servant of God's servants, to the servants of the Lord. Because it is better not to take good things in hand, than after they have begun, to think of turning back from them, therefore, you may not, nor cannot, dear children, turn back now. But with all fervent study and labor, you must go forward in that good business which, through the help of God, you have well begun. Do not let the labor of your journey, nor the slanderous tongues of men appall you. But with all urgency and fervency proceed and accomplish the thing which the Lord has ordained you to take in hand, knowing that your great labor shall be recompensed with a reward of greater glory hereafter. Therefore, as we send here Austin to you again, whom also we have ordained to be your governor, so humbly obey him in all things, knowing that it will be profitable for your souls, whatever you do at his admonition. May Almighty God with his grace defend you, and grant me to see in the eternal country the fruit of your labor. So that, although I cannot labor as I would with you, I may be found partaker of your recompense. For my good will is to labor in the same fellowship with you together. The Lord God keep you safe, most dear and well-beloved children.

*Dated the tenth before the kalends (1st day) of August, in the reign of our sovereign lord Maurice, most virtuous emperor, the fourteenth year of his empire." [i.e., 596]*

Thus being emboldened and comforted through the good words of Gregory, they went on their journey till they came to the Isle of Thanet. Near the landing-place then, was the palace of the king, not far from Sandwich. The king then reigning in Kent was Ethelbert, who had married a Christian Frenchwoman named Bertha. He had received her from her parents on the condition that he would permit her to retain her bishop, named Lebard, and to enjoy the freedom of her faith. By this means, he was soon induced to embrace the doctrine of Christ.

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<sup>98</sup> He asked what nation those beautiful children were from. He was told they were *Anglici* (English); on hearing this, he said that they should rather be called *Angelici* (Angelic). [ED.]

Austin having arrived, sent certain messengers to the king, signifying that he had come from Rome, bringing with him glad tidings to the king and all his people, of life and salvation to reign eternally in heaven with the only true and living God forever, if he would as willingly hearken to this message, as Austin had gladly come to preach and teach it to him.

[78]

### **King Ethelbert Converted To Christianity.**

The king, who had heard of this religion before from his wife, within a few days comes to the place where Austin was, to speak with him. Austin, as the histories affirm, erected a banner of the crucifix (such was the grossness of that time), and preached to him the word of God. The king responded saying,

“The words are very fair that you preach and promise; nevertheless, because it is new to me, I cannot soon start away from my country’s laws to which I have so long been accustomed, and assent to you. Yet as you have come (as you say) so far for my sake, you shall not be molested by me, but shall be treated well, having all things ministered to you that are necessary for your support. Besides this, neither do we debar you, but grant you free leave to preach to our subjects, to convert whom you may to the faith of your religion.”

When they had received this comfort from the king, they went with procession to the city of Canterbury, singing Allelujah with the litany. The words of the litany were, “We beseech you, O Lord, in all your mercies, that your fury and anger may cease from this city, and from your holy house, for we have sinned, Allelujah.” The king having given them a mansion for their abode, they continued there preaching and baptizing those whom they had converted in the old church of St. Martin (where the queen usually resorted), to the time that the king himself was converted to Christ. At length, when the king had well-considered the honest conduct of their life, and being moved with the miracles wrought through God’s hands by them, he heard them more gladly. And lastly, by their wholesome exhortations and example of a godly life, he was converted and christened. After the king was thus converted, innumerable others were daily joined to the church of Christ; Ting specially embraced these, but he compelled none. For he had learned that the faith and service of Christ ought to be voluntary, and not compulsory. Then he gave Austin a place for the bishop’s see at Christ’s Church, and built the abbey of St. Peter and Paul in the east side of the city, where afterwards Austin and all the kings of Kent were buried. That place is now called St. Austin.

At this time Austin sailed to France, to be consecrated archbishop by the command of Gregory. Having heard of Austin’s success, he sends to the church of England more coadjutors and helpers, such as Melitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Ruffianus, with books and other such matters as he thought necessary for the English church. He also sends to Austin a Pall (vestment robe) along with letters, in which he appoints the two metropolitan sees, the one to be at London, the other at York. But he grants to Austin during his life, to be the only archbishop. And after Austin’s time, to then return to the two sees of London and York, as contained in the following epistle of Gregory to Austin:

“To the reverend and virtuous brother Augustine, his fellow bishop Gregory, the servant of the servants of God. Although it is most certain that unspeakable rewards of the heavenly King lie laid up for all who labor in the word of the Almighty God, it shall be requisite for us to also reward them with our benefits, to the end that they may be more encouraged to go forward in their spiritual work. And now, as the new church of Englishmen is brought to the grace of Almighty God, through his mighty help and your labor, therefore we have granted to you the use of the pall, only to be used at the solemnity of your mass; so that it shall be lawful for you

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to ordain twelve bishops, those who will be subject to your province. So that hereafter the bishop of the city of London shall always be ordained and consecrated by his own proper synod, and to receive the pall of honor from the holy and apostolic see, in which I serve (by the permission of God). As regarding the city of York, we will also send a bishop there, whom you may think fit to ordain. So that if that city, with other places bordering it, receive the word of God, he will likewise have power to ordain twelve bishops, and to have the honor of a metropolitan. To him also, if God spares my life, I intend by the favor of God, to send a pall. This is provided that, notwithstanding, he will be subject to your brotherly appointment. But after your decease, the same metropolitan, to be over the bishops whom he orders, he will be in no way subject to the metropolitan of London after you. And hereafter, between these two metropolitans of London and York, let there be had such a distinction of honor, that he will have the priority, who is first ordained. With the common counsel, and affection of heart, let them both go together, disposing with one accord those things which are to be done for the zeal of Christ. Let them consider and deliberate together prudently; and what they deliberate wisely, let them accomplish with concord, not jarring or swerving one from the other. But as for your part, you shall be endued with authority, not only over those bishops that you constitute, and over the others constituted by the bishop of York, but you shall also have it over all other priests of the whole Britain, subject to our Lord Jesus Christ. This is to the end that through your preaching and holiness of life, they may learn both to believe rightly, and to live purely. And so in directing their life, both by the rule of true faith and virtuous manners, they may attain, when God calls them, the fruition and kingdom of heaven. God preserve you in health, reverend brother. *The tenth before the kalends of July, in the reign of our Lord Maurice most virtuous emperor.*”

Besides this, Gregory sends another letter to Melitus concerning his judgment as to what is to be done with the idolatrous temples and shrines of the English who are newly converted, which he thinks best not to pull down, but to convert the use of them, and so let them stand. And likewise concerning their sacrifices, and the killing of oxen, how these ought to be ordered, and how to be altered.

He directed another epistle to king Ethelbert, in which first he praises God, then commends the goodness of the king, by whom it pleased God to work such goodness for the people. Secondly, he exhorts him to continue in the profession of Christ's faith, and to be fervent and zealous in converting the multitude; in destroying the temples and works of idolatry; in ruling and governing the people in all holiness and godly conversation. Lastly, comforting him with the promises of the life and reward to come, with the Lord who reigns and lives forever.

Melitus, who was mentioned before, was sent specially to the East Saxons in the province of Essex, where he was made bishop of London, under Sigebert, king of Essex. Sigebert, together with his uncle Ethelbert, first built the church and minster (cathedral) of St. Paul in London, and appointed it to Melitus for the bishop's see. Austin, with Melitus and Justus, assembled and gathered together the bishops and doctors of Britain in a place which, taking the name of Austin, was called *Austin's Oak*. In this assembly, he charged the bishops that they should preach with him the word of God, and also that among themselves they should reform certain rites and usages in their church, for specially keeping Easter, baptizing in the manner of Rome, and other like things. The Scots and Britons would not agree to this, refusing to leave the custom which they had continued for so long time, without the assent of all who used it.

Then Austin gathered another synod, to which seven bishops of Britain came, with the wisest men of that famous abbey of Bangor. But first they took counsel from a certain wise

and holy man among them ,as to what to do; and whether they should be obedient to Austin or not. And he said, “If he is the servant of God, agree with him.” “But how will we know that?” they asked. He answered, , “If he is meek and humble of heart, then by that know that he is the servant of God.” To this they said again, “And how will we know him to be humble and meek of heart?” “By this,” (he says) “Seeing that you are the greater number, if at your coming into your synod he rises up, and courteously receives you, then perceive him to be a humble and a meek man. But if he scorns and despises you, being (as you are) the greater part, then despise him back.” Thus the British bishops entered into the council. Austin, in the Romish manner, kept his chair and would not move.

[79] A.D. 596-616.

Being not little offended at this, and after some heated words, they departed from there in disdain and great displeasure. Austin then spoke to them and said that, “If they would not make peace with their brethren, they would receive war with their enemies. And if they disdained to preach with them to the English nation, the way of life, then they would suffer the revenge of death by their hands.” Not long after, this came to pass by means of Ethelfride, king of Northumberland. Still being a pagan, and stirred with fierce fury against the Britons, he came with a great army against them. There was at the same time at Bangor in Wales, an exceeding great monastery, containing upwards of 2000 monks. They all lived by the sweat of their brow, and the labor of their own hands, having someone for their ruler, named Dino. Out of this monastery came the monks of Chester, to pray for the good success of Brocmaile, fighting for them against the Saxons. They continued three days in fasting and prayer. Ethelfride, seeing them so attentive to their prayers, demanded the cause of their coming there in such a company. And when he perceived it, he says, “Then, although they bear no weapon, they fight against us; and with their prayers and preachings they persecute us.” Upon which, after Brocmaile was overcome, the king commanded his men to turn their weapons against the unarmed monks. He slew, or rather martyred 1100. Only 50 persons of that number escaped; the rest were all slain.

The authors who write of this lamentable murder, declare how the saying of Austin was here proven true upon the Britons, who because they would not join peace with their friends, he said they would be destroyed by their enemies. The reader may judge what he pleases about both these parties; I think both were to be blamed. And just as I cannot accuse the one, so I cannot defend the other. First, Austin in this matter can in no way be excused. Being a monk before, and therefore a scholar and professor of humanity, he showed so little humility in this assembly, to seven bishops and an archbishop who came to the council at his command, that he would not rise up at their coming in. Much less would his pharisaical solemnity have girded himself, and washed his brethren’s feet after their journey, as Christ our great Master did to his disciples — seeing that his lordship was so high, or so heavy, or so proud, that he could not find it in his heart to give them a little moving of his body, so as to declare a brotherly and humble heart. Again, the Britons were as much or more to blame, who so neglected their spiritual duty in revenging their temporal injury, that they refused to join their helping labor, to turn the idolatrous Saxons to the way of life and salvation. In this respect, all private cases ought to give way and be forgotten. For this reason, although lamentable to us, it is no great marvel that the stroke of God’s punishment lighted upon them according to the words of Austin, as declared before. But especially, the cruel king was most of all to blame for flying so furiously upon those who had neither weapon to resist him, nor any will to harm him.

### **Death of Austin, Pope Gregory, and Ethelbert.**

About this time in Wales, St. David died (A.D. 600), who was first archbishop of Kaerlon. The see was then transferred from there to Menevia, near Cardiff, and is therefore called “David of Wales” (or, the diocese of St. David) Also about this time Gregory died (A.D. 604), bishop of Rome. It is said of him, that of all the bishops before him in primitive times, he was the worst; and of all those who came after him, he was the best. Not long after this, in England, Austin also died (A.D. 605).

Regarding the acts and deeds of Gregory I, it was sufficiently related at the beginning of this history (p. 17) — how he withstood the ambitious pride of John, patriarch of Constantinople, who wished to be the universal priest and only chief bishop of all the others, declaring that anyone who would assume that name and title for himself was no less than the forerunner of *antichrist* — and how and with what reasons he answered the letters of emperor Maurice in that matter. Gregory I, among many other things, introduced this title among the Roman bishops, to be called “the servant of the servants of God” — putting them in remembrance thereby, both of their humbleness and also of their duty in the church of Christ. Whoever wishes to read more concerning his decree for the single life of priests, which began and ended again; or concerning the order of Gregory’s mass book which was to be received by all churches, will find these when we come to the time of Pope Adrian I.

### **Pope Boniface III.**

After the death of Gregory came Sabinian. Because he was a malicious detractor of Gregory and of his works, he did not continue long — scarcely two years. Boniface III succeeded him. Although he reigned but one year, in that one year he did more harm than Gregory could do good, even with so much labor and so many years. For what Gregory kept out, Boniface brought in. He obtained an edict from the wicked emperor Phocas, for himself and his papal successors after him, that the See of Rome would have pre-eminence above all other churches, and that the bishop of Rome would be the universal head of all the churches of Christ in Christendom. He alleged this frivolous reason: that St. Peter had and left to his successors in Rome, the keys of binding and loosing, etc. And thus Rome first began to take headship over all other churches, by means of Boniface III. Just as he lacked no boldness nor ambition to seek it, so neither did he lack an emperor fit and able to give such a gift. This was Phocas, a man of such wickedness and ambition (most like his own bishop Boniface) that in order to gain the empire, he murdered his own master, the Emperor Maurice and his children. Thus coming to be emperor after this detestable villainy, and thinking to establish his empire with the friendship and favor of his people, and especially with the bishop of Rome, he quickly condescended to all the pope’s petitions. And so he granted him (as said) to be what he wished for — the universal and head bishop over all Christian churches. But as blood commonly requires blood in return, so it came to pass on Phocas. For as he had cruelly slain the lord and emperor Maurice before, so he in like manner had his hands and feet cut off by Heraclius, the emperor, who succeeded him; and he was cast into the sea. And thus wicked Phocas, who gave the supremacy to Rome, lost his own. But Rome would not so quickly loose this supremacy once given, as the giver quickly lost his life. Ever since that day, it has held, defended, and maintained the same, and does so to this present day, by all force and policy possible. And thus much concerning Boniface, whom, by the words of Gregory, we may well call the forerunner of antichrist.

Mention was made a little earlier of Ethelbert, king of Kent, and also of Ethelfride, king of North Saxony. Ethelbert, having under his subjection all the other Saxon kings up to the

Humber,<sup>99</sup> and after he had first received the Christian faith by the preaching of Austin, caused it to be received by others. When he had reigned 56 years, he left this mortal life, about A.D. 616. Some histories say he was slain in a fight with Ethelfride, king of the North Saxons.

In the meantime Ethelfride, after the cruel murder of the monks of Bangor, did not escape long. For after he had reigned 24 years, he was slain in the field by Edwin, who succeeded him in Northumberland.

This Edwin was not the son of Ethelfride, but of Alia. He was first a panim or idolater, but was afterwards converted, and was the first christened king in Northumberland.

Quicelinus, with Kinegilsus, his brother, kings of the West Saxons, conspiring in the death of Edwin, king of Northumberland, sent a swordman on Easter day to secretly slay him. This swordsman or cutthroat, came to a city beside the water of Derwent, in Derbyshire, there to wait his time. Having found the king accompanied by few, he attempted to run him through with a poisoned sword. But one Lilla, the king's trusty servant, not having a shield or any other weapon to defend his master, leaped between the king and the sword, and was stricken through the body and died, thus saving the king. However, the king was wounded with the same stroke.

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The assassin having wounded another knight, was at last taken, and confessed by whom he was sent to work that treason. The second knight that was wounded and died, and the king lay sick a long time before he was healed.

### **Controversy about Easter — Colman and Wilfrid.**

In this time there was such peace in Edwin's kingdom after his conversion, that a woman laden with gold might have gone from the one side of the sea to the other, and have no man molest her. Moreover, by the sides of the highway, throughout his kingdom, he caused a dish or bowl of brass to be chained by every well or spring, to take up water for refreshing those who went by the way. These bowls of brass remained there safe, and no man touched them during all the life of Edwin. Such was the tender care and study of Christian princes then, for the refreshing of their subjects.

This Edwin, who first brought the faith into the north parts, continued six years after his baptism. He was at length slain in battle by Cedwella, king of the Britons.

After the decease of Edwin and his son Offrick, Ofricus and Eaufridus reigned — the one in Deira, the other in Bernicia.

After them, the second son of Ethelfride succeeded, named Oswald. Much praise and commendation is written about this Oswald for his zeal in Christ's religion, his pity towards the poor, and other great virtues. Being well and virtuously disposed to setting forth Christ's faith and doctrine, he sent into Scotland for a certain bishop called Aidan, a famous preacher, to preach to his people. When he was in Scotland, the king had learned the Scottish tongue. Therefore, as this Aidan preached to the Saxons in his Scottish tongue, the king himself interpreted what he said. He did not disdain to preach and expound to his nobles and subjects in the English tongue.

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<sup>99</sup> *Humber*: An estuary in central northeastern England formed by the Ouse River and the Trent River.



One day Oswald was sitting at meal with Aidan, being served in the manner of kings, on silver, when one of the servitors comes to him. He brings word that there is a great multitude of poor people sitting in the street, who desired some alms from the king. Upon hearing this, his pity and tenderness towards the poor and needy was such that, notwithstanding his princely calling, he commanded not only the food prepared for his table to be carried to them, but he also took a silver platter which stood before him, broke it in pieces and sent it among them. And so, he relieved his poor subjects, not only with the food from his table, but with the dishes also.

After Oswald had reigned nine years, he was slain by wicked Penda, king of the Mercians. Penda, at length, after all his tyranny, was overcome and slain by Oswy, Oswald's brother.

Oswy succeeded Oswald, and with him was joined his cousin Oswine. This Oswine was gentle and liberal to his people, and no less devout toward God. He had once given a princely horse to Aidan, the bishop, with the trappings and all that pertained to it, so that he would not travel so much on foot. Aidan, as he was riding on his kingly horse, meets way a poor man by the, asking for his charity. Having nothing else to give him, Aidan lighted down, and gave him his horse with all the trappings as he was. On hearing this, king Oswine, not being pleased as he was entering to dinner with Aidan, said, "What did you mean, father bishop, to give away my horse that I gave you, to the beggar? Did I not have other horses in my stable that might have served him well enough, but you must give away that which was picked out for you from among the best?" The bishop answered back, rebuking the king, saying, "What are these words that you speak, O king? Why did you set a higher price by a horse, which is but the foal of a horse, than you do by one who is the Son of Mary, indeed, which is the Son of God?" He had but said this, when the king immediately ungirding his sword from about him (as he was then newly come in from hunting), falls down at the feet of the bishop, desiring him to forgive him, saying that he would never again speak a word to him for any treasure he would afterwards give away of his.

### ***Convocation concerning Easter and other practices***

Oswine was later slain by the king of Bernicia. Oswy, with his son Egfrid, then reigned in Northumberland. In their time the question of Easter, and of shaving, and other ecclesiastical matters being moved, it was determined that a convocation should be held in the abbey called Sternhalt, so that these questions might be determined. To this place came the kings, Oswy and Egfrid, Bishop Colman, with his clergy from Scotland, and Agilbert, with Agathon and Wilfrid, priests. James and Roman were on their side; Hilda the abbess, with her company, took the Scottish part; and Bishop Cedda was appointed prolocutor for both parties. King Oswy began first with an oration, declaring that it was necessary for those who served one God, to live in one uniform order. This being said, he commanded his Bishop Colman to declare what was the rite and custom that he used. Then Colman said,

"The Easter which I observe, I received from my ancestors who sent me here a bishop, which all our forefathers, being men of God, celebrated in like manner. And lest it be contemned or despised by any man, it is manifestly apparent to be the very same one which the holy evangelist St. John (a disciple especially beloved of the Lord), customarily used in all churches and congregations where he had authority."

When Colman had spoken many things to this effect, the king commanded Agilbert to declare his opinion, and to show the order that he used, where it came from, and by what authority he observed it. Agilbert requested the king that his scholar Wilfrid, a priest, might speak for him, inasmuch as they both, with the rest of his clergy, were of one opinion in this.

He said that Wilfrid could utter his mind better, and more plainly in the English tongue, than he could himself. Then Wilfrid, at the king's command, said,

“The Easter which we keep, we have seen at Rome, where the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, lived and taught, suffered, and were buried. The same manner is also used in Italy and in France, in which we have travelled for learning; and we noted it is celebrated by them all. In Asia and also in Africa, in Egypt and in Greece, and finally in all the world the same manner of Easter is observed that we use, except by those present here, with their accomplices, the Picts and Britons.”

Colman replied, saying,

“I marvel that you will call this order foolish, that was used by so great an apostle as was worthy to lie on the Lord's breast, whom all the world well knows lived most wisely.”

And Wilfrid answered,

“God forbid that I should reprove St. John of his folly, who kept the rites of Moses's law, according to the letter — the church still being Jewish in many points. The apostles were not as yet able to rescind all the observations of the law ordained before. For example, they could not reject images invented by the devil, which all men who believe in Christ, should of necessity forsake and detest, lest they be an offense to those Jews who were among the Gentiles. For this cause, St. Paul circumcised Timothy; for this cause he sacrificed in the temple, and shaved his head with Aquila and Priscilla at Corinth. All these things were done for no other purpose than to avoid offending the Jews. Hereupon James also said to Paul, ‘You see, brother, how many thousand Jews believe, and all these are zealous for the law. Yet seeing the gospel is so manifestly preached in the world, it is not lawful for the faithful to be circumcised, nor to sacrifice carnal things to God.’ Therefore John, according to the custom of the law, the fourteenth day of the first month at evening, began the celebration of the feast of Easter, not respecting whether it was celebrated on the Sabbath. But when Peter preached at Rome, remembering that the Lord arose from death on the first day after the Sabbath, thereby giving to the world hope of the resurrection, he thought it good to institute Easter on that day, and not on the fourteenth day of the first month according to the use and precepts of the law. Even so, John looking for the moon at night to see if it arose, and the next day after was Sunday (which was then called the Sabbath), he then celebrated Easter in the evening, like we are used to doing even at this day.

[81] A.D. 616-679.

“But if Sunday were not the next day after the fourteenth day, but fell on the sixteenth day, or seventeenth, or on any other day up to the twenty-first, he always waited for it, and began the holy solemnity of Easter on the next evening before the Sabbath. And so it came to pass, that Easter was always kept on the Sunday, and was not celebrated except from the fifteenth day to the twenty-first. Nor does this tradition of the apostle break the law, but fulfills it. In this it is to be noted that Easter was instituted from the fourteenth day of the first month at evening, to the twenty-first day of the same month at evening. All St. John's successors in Asia followed this practice after his death, and the catholic church throughout the whole world. That this is the true Easter was not newly decreed, but only confirmed by the Council of Nice. Upon this, it is manifest that you (Colman) neither follow the example of St. John, as you think, nor of St. Peter, whose tradition you willingly resist, nor of the church, nor yet of the gospel, in the celebration of Easter. For St. John, observing Easter according to the precepts of the law, did not keep on the first day after the Sabbath, but you precisely keep it on the first day after the Sabbath. Peter celebrated Easter from the fifteenth day of the moon to the twenty-first day. But you keep Easter from the fourteenth to the twentieth day. So that you oftentimes begin Easter the thirteenth day at night. Neither the law nor the gospel makes any mention of this

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manner. But our Lord in the Fourteenth day, either ate the old Passover at night, or else he celebrated the sacraments of the New Testament in remembrance of his death and passion. You also utterly reject from the celebration of Easter, the twenty-first day, which the law has chiefly willed to be observed. And therefore, as I said, in keeping Easter, you neither agree with St. John, nor with St. Peter, nor with the law, nor yet with the gospel.”

Then Colman again answered these things, saying,

“Did Anatholius then, a godly man, and one who is much commended in ecclesiastical history, write against the law and the gospel, who writes that the Easter was to be kept from the fourteenth day to the twentieth? Or should we think that Columba, our reverend father, and his successors, being men of God, who observed Easter in this manner, did it against the holy Scripture? Some of them were men of much godliness and virtue, as was declared by their wonderful miracles. And not at all doubting their holiness, I hereby endeavor to follow their life, order, and discipline.”

Then, Wilfrid said,

“It is certain that Anatholius was both a godly man, and worthy of great commendation. But what have you to do with him, seeing that you do not observe his order? For following the true rule in keeping his Easter, he observes the circle of nineteen years. Either you do not know this, or if you do, you condemn the common order observed in the universal church of Christ. And moreover, Anatholius so counts the fourteenth day, in observing Easter, that he confesses it to be the fifteenth day at night, in the manner of the Egyptians. And he likewise notes that the twentieth day in the feast of Easter, is the one landing on the twentieth in the evening. It appears that you do not know of distinction, in that you keep Easter on the thirteenth day before the full moon. Regarding your father Columba and his successors — whose order you say you follow, as moved to do by their miracles — I can answer you in this way. The Lord will answer many who will say in the day of judgment, that in His name they have prophesied and cast out devils, and have done many miracles, etc. that he never knew them. <sup>Mat 7.23</sup> But God forbid that I should say so about your fathers, because it is much better to believe well of those whom we do not know, than ill. <sup>100</sup>

“Thus I do not deny that they were the servants of God, and holy men who loved the Lord from a good intent, though of a rude simplicity. And I think the order which they used in observing Easter did not hurt them much, so long as they had none among them who could show them the right observation to follow. For I think, if the truth had been declared to them, they would have received it in *this* matter as they did in *others*. But you and your fellows, if you refuse the order of the Apostolical see, or rather of the universal church, which is confirmed by the holy Scripture, then without all doubt, you sin. And though your forefathers were holy men, is their fewness, being but a corner of an island, to be preferred before the universal church of Jesus Christ, dispersed throughout the whole world? And if Columba your father (and ours also, being of Christ Jesus) was mighty in miracles, is he therefore to be preferred before the prince of the holy apostles? The Lord said to him, ‘You are Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven.’ <sup>Mat 16.18</sup>

Wilfrid having thus ended his argument, the king said to Colman, “Is it true that the Lord spoke these things to St. Peter?” And Colman answered “Yes.” Then the king said, “Can you declare anything that the Lord gave to Colman?” Colman answered, “No.” Then the king

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<sup>100</sup> Easter falls on the first Sunday following the first full moon on or after March 21st (the Spring equinox), as set by the Council of Nicea in A.D. 325. However, Gregory XIII’s calendar reform in 1582 (replacing the Julian calendar with the Gregorian calendar) led to different dates for Easter between the Eastern and Western churches.

said, "Do both of you agree and consent in this matter without any controversy, that these words were principally spoken to Peter, and that the Lord gave him the keys of the kingdom of heaven?" And they both answered "Yes." Then the king concluded in this way:

"In so far that St. Peter is the door-keeper of heaven, I will not challenge him; but as far as I am able, I will obey his orders in every point, lest when I come to the gates of heaven, he shuts them against me."

Upon this simple and rude reasoning of the king, the multitude soon consented, and with them Cedda was also content to give up. Only Colman the Scot, then archbishop of York, left the realm in displeasure. And thus much concerning this matter of Easter.

***Theodore sent to England by Pope Vitalian.***

About this time, Theodore was sent by pope Vitalian from Italy to England, to be archbishop of Canterbury, and with him other monks of Italy. They were to set up here in England, Latin services, masses, ceremonies, and litanies, with other Romish practices. Theodore was made archbishop and metropolitan of Canterbury, but he began to act as if he was king, placing and displacing bishops at his pleasure. As for Cedda and Wilfrid, archbishops of York, he thrust them both out, under the pretense that they were not lawfully consecrated, notwithstanding that they were sufficiently authorized by their kings.

In Theodore's time, and by means of him, a provincial synod was held at **Thetford**, mentioned in Bede. The principal contents of which were these:

*First.* That Easter should be uniformly kept and observed through the whole realm, on one certain day, namely, the first full moon after the fourteenth day of the first month.

*Secondly.* That no bishop should intermeddle within the diocese of another.

*Thirdly.* That monasteries consecrated to God should be exempt and free from the jurisdiction of the bishops.

*Fourthly.* That the monks should not stray from one place (that is) from one monastery to another, without the license of their abbot; also to keep the same obedience which they promised at their first entering.

*Fifthly.* That no clergyman should forsake his own bishop, and be received in any other place, without letters of commendation from his own bishop.

*Sixthly.* That foreign bishops and clergymen coming into the realm, should be content with the benefit only of that hospitality offered to them; nor should they intermeddle any further within the precinct of any bishop, without his special permission.

*Seventhly.* That provincial synods should be held within the realm at least once a year.

*Eighthly.* That no bishop should prefer himself before another, but must observe the time and order of his consecration.

*Ninthly.* That the number of bishops should be augmented, as the number of people increases.

And *Tenthly.* That no marriage should be accepted, but that which was lawful; nor was any man to put away his wife for any cause, except fornication, after the rule of the gospel.

**Iva King of West Saxony— Shaven Crowns.**

In the year following was the sixth general council at Constantinople, at which Theodore was also present under Pope Agatho (r. 678-681). Here marriage was permitted to Greek priests, but forbidden to the Latin. In this council, the Latin mass was first openly said by John Portuensis, the pope's legate, before the patriarch and princes at Constantinople, in the temple of St. Sophia (*i.e.*, Hagia Sophia).

King Iva or Inas, who reigned in West Saxony after Cadwallader, the last king of Britain, began his reign about A.D. 689, and reigned with great valiantness over the West Saxons for thirty-seven years.

About the sixth year of the reign of Iva, we find mention of one whom they call St. Cuthlake, a confessor. At about twenty-four years of age, he renounced the pomp of the world, and professed himself a monk. Why this Cuthlake should be sainted for his doings, I see no great cause. Just as I cannot think that the fabulous miracles reported of him are true; such as, where the common people are made to believe that he enclosed the devil in a boiling pot, and caused wicked spirits to erect houses, with such other fables and lying miracles. Among these lying miracles may also be reckoned that which the stories mention to be done by one Brithwald, or Drithelme, who being dead a long season, was restored to life again, and told many wonders of strange things that he had seen, thereby causing great alms and deeds of charity to be done by the people!

About the sixteenth year of Iva, Ethelred, king of Mercia, after he had reigned there thirty years, was made a monk, and afterwards abbot of Bardney.

And about the eighteenth year of Iva's reign, the worthy and learned Bishop Adelme died. He was first abbot of Malmesbury, and afterwards bishop of Shirborne. There was learning and virtue in him above the rest at that time (after Bede), as the great number of books, epistles, and poems written by him will attest. However, concerning the miracles ascribed to him — such as, first, causing an infant only nine days old to speak at Rome, declaring that Pope Sergius, then suspected of being the father of that child, was indeed the father; also in hanging his vestment upon the sunbeams; also in making whole the altar-stone of marble brought from Rome; also in dragging a length one of the timber pieces used in building the temple in Malmesbury; also in saving the mariners at Dover, etc. These, and such other miracles attributed to him, I can only think are monkish contrivances, forged on behalf of their patrons, to establish the dignity of their houses.

Moreover, about the twenty-fifth year of Iva, St. John of Beverley died. He was then bishop of York, and was buried at the porch of the minster of Deirwood (or Beverley). In this porch it is recorded in monkish chronicles, that as John was praying in the porch of St. Michael in York, the Holy Spirit, in the form of a dove, sat before him on the altar in brightness shining brighter than the sun. This brightness being seen by others, the first to come running into the porch was one of his deacons. Beholding the bishop standing there in his prayers, and the whole place being filled with the Holy Spirit, he was struck by its light, having his entire face burnt, as it were, with hot burning fire! Notwithstanding, the bishop by and by cured the face of his deacon, charging him (as the story says) not to publish during his lifetime what he had seen, etc. This tale seems about as true as what we read done by St. Egwine, around the same time. When he had fettered both his feet in irons aboard ship, for certain sins done in his youth, and had fast locked them and cast the key into the sea, a fish afterward brought the key back into the ship, as he was sailing homeward from Rome!

Leaving these monkish fictions behind, we return again to the right course of the history. In the time of Iva, the correct observance of Easter day first began among the Picts and the Britons. In the observance of this day, three things are necessary to be observed: *First*, the full moon of the first month, that is, the month of March. *Secondly*, the dominical letter. *Thirdly*, the equinoctial day (Spring equinox), which was usually calculated in the eastern church, and especially among the Egyptians, to be about the seventeenth day of March.

So that, the full moon on the equinoctial day, or after the equinoctial day is observed, the next dominical day following that full moon, is to be taken for Easter day. Two things are to be diligently noted in this: *First*, the moon must be perfectly full, so that it is the beginning of the third week of the moon, which is the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the moon.

*Secondly*, it is to be noted that the perfect fulness of the moon, beginning the third week, must happen either in the very evening of the equinoctial day, or after the equinoctial day. For if it happens either on the equinoctial day before evening, or before the equinoctial day, then it belongs to the last month of the last year, and not to the first month of the first year, and so it does not serve the purpose.

This rite and usage in keeping Easter day being received in the Latin church, now began to take place among the Picts and Britons. This was through the exertions of Elbert the holy monk (as they call him), and of Colfrid, abbot of Sirwin in Northumberland. He wrote to Narcanus, or Naiton, the king of Picts, concerning this.

### ***Shaving Priests' Heads***

Among other things, he writes of the shaven crowns of priests, saying that it was as necessary for the vow of a monk, or the degree of a priest, to have a shaven crown to restrain their lust, as for any Christian man to bless him against evil spirits when they come upon him. I have annexed here a copy of this letter, as it is found in Bede. This is not for any great reason contained in it, but only to amuse the reader, so that he may see the foolish ignorance of that monkish age. The letter proceeds thus:

#### *Of the Shaving of Priests.*

“Concerning the shaving of priests (of which you wrote to me) I exhort you that it be decently observed, according to the Christian faith. We are not ignorant that the apostles were not all shaven in one manner; nor does the catholic church at this day agree in one uniform manner of shaving, as they do in faith, hope, and charity. Let us consider the former time of the patriarchs, and we will find that Job (an example of patience) even in the very point of his afflictions, shaved his head. And he also proves that in the time of his prosperity, he used to let his hair grow. And Joseph, an excellent doctor and executor of chastity, humility, piety, and other virtues, when he was delivered from prison and servitude, was shaved. By this it appears that while in prison, he was unshaven. Behold that both of these, being men of God, used an order in the habit of their body, one contrary to the other. Notwithstanding, their consciences well agreed in the like grace of virtues. But to speak truly and freely, the difference in shaving does not hurt those who have a pure faith in the Lord, and sincere charity towards their neighbor. Especially as there was never any controversy among the catholic fathers about diversity in this, as there has been about diversity in the celebration of Easter, and of faith.

“But of all the shavings that we find either in the church or elsewhere, there is none in my opinion that is so much to be followed and embraced, as that which Peter used on his head. The Lord said to him, ‘You are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven.’<sup>Mat 16.18-19</sup> Contrariwise, there is no shaving so much to be abhorred and detested, as that which Simon Magus used. St. Peter said to him, ‘Your money perish with you, because you thought the gift

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of God could be purchased with money — you have neither part nor lot in the matter.’ Act 8.20  
We should be shaven on the crown only, not because St. Peter was so shaven, but because Peter was so shaven in remembrance of the Lord’s passion. Therefore, we who desire to be saved by the same passion, must wear the *sign* of the same passion with him upon the top of our head, which is the highest part of our body. Every church that is made a church by the death of the Savior, usually bears the sign of the holy cross in the front, so that by the power of that banner, it may better be kept from invasion by evil spirits. Likewise, by the admonition of regular shaving, we are taught to crucify the flesh with its affections and lusts.

[83] A.D. 689-726.

“In like manner it behooves those who take the vows of monks, and have degrees of the clergy, to bind themselves with a stricter bit for the Lord’s sake. As the Lord bore a crown of thorns on his head in his passion, by which he took and carried away from us the thorns and pricks of our sins, so must every one of us, by shaving our heads, patiently bear and willingly suffer the mocks and scorns of the world for His sake. Thus we may receive the crown of eternal life which God has promised to those who love him, and who shall, by shaving their corporal crowns, bear the adversity and condemn the prosperity of this world.

But what faithful man does not detest the shaving which Simon Magus used, together with his magical art? At first appearance, this has a show of a shaven crown. But if you mark his neck, you will find that it curtailed in such a way that you might say it is better fit to be used by the Simonists than by Christians. And such are thought (by foolish men) worthy of the glory of the eternal crown! Whereas, indeed, for their ill living, they are worthy to be deprived not only of that, but also of eternal salvation. I do not say this against those who use this kind of shaving, and live catholicly in faith and good works. For I surely believe that various of them are very holy and godly men. Among them is Adamnan, the abbot and worthy priest of the Columbians (Columbanus). When he came as ambassador from his country to King Alfrid, he greatly desired to see our monastery. There he displayed a wonderful wisdom, humility, and religion, both in his manners and words. Among other talk, I asked him why, as someone who believed he would come to the crown of life that would never end, he used contrary to his belief, a defined image of a crown on his head? If you seek (I said) the fellowship of St. Peter, then why do you use the fashion of Simon Magus’ crown whom St. Peter accursed, rather than the crown of Peter with whom you desire to live eternally? Adamnan answered saying, ‘You know right well, brother, though I use Simon’s manner of shaving, in the custom of my country, I detest and with all my heart abhor his infidelity. Notwithstanding, I desire to imitate the footsteps of the holy apostle, as far forth as my power will extend.’ Then I said, ‘I believe this is so. But is it not apparent that you imitate those things which the apostle Peter did, from the bottom of your heart, if you do the same on your face, as you know he did. For I suppose your wisdom understands that it is right decent to *differ* in trimming or shaving your face, from the one whom you abhor in your heart. Contrariwise, just as you desire to imitate the actions of Him whom you desire to have as Mediator between God and you, so it is fitting that you imitate the manner of his apparel and shaving.’ Thus much I said to Adamnan, who then seemed to like our churches well. For he returned to Scotland and reformed many of his churches there, following our celebration. He could not do so among the monks, with whom he had limited authority. If able, he would also have endeavored to reform their manner of shaving.

And now, O king, I exhort your majesty to labor together with your people, over whom the King of kings, and Lord of lords has made you governor, to likewise imitate in all these points, the catholic and apostolical churches. So it shall come to pass, that at the end of your temporal kingdom, the most blessed prince of the apostles shall open to you the gates of the heavenly kingdom, together with the elect of God. The grace of the Eternal King preserve you, most dearly beloved son in Christ, long to reign over us, to the great tranquility of us all.”

When this letter was read before King Naiton, with other of his learned men, and diligently translated into his native language, he seemed to rejoice very much at the exhortation — so much that, rising up from among his noblemen, he kneeled on the ground, and gave God thanks that he had deserved to receive so worthy a present from England. And so, by public proclamation, he caused it to be immediately written out, learned, and observed throughout all the provinces of the Picts, voiding the errors that had been used there for 704 years. For all the ministers of the altar, and all monks were shaven on the crown, and all the people rejoiced for the new discipline of the most blessed prince of the apostle St. Peter, which they had received. (Beda, lib. 5. cap. 21.)

By this monkish letter annexed above, void of all Scripture, of all proofs and truth of history, the reader may note how this vain tradition of shaven crowns has come in, and upon how light and trifling an occasion. This indeed was none other than the dreaming fictions of monks of that time, falsely grounded upon the example of Peter, when by no old monument of any ancient record, can they ever prove that either Peter or Simon Magus had been shaven. In the letter it is also to be noted, how the Scottish clergy in that season, wore no such priestly crowns as our English churchmen then did.

**King Iva is persuaded by his wife Ethelburga to become a monk.**

But to cut off this matter of shaving, which is more worthy to be laughed at than recorded, let us now return to King Iva. By the importunate persuasion and subtle policy of his wife Ethelburga, he was allured to go to Rome, to be made a monk. Ethelburga had labored a long time to persuade him to leave the public world, but could not bring about her purpose. At one time, when the king and she had rested in a fair palace richly draped, and were to depart on the morrow, she caused the palace to be filled with all kinds of dirt and filth, and had hogs and vile beasts brought into the chambers as well as in the other parts of the house. A sow was laid in their own chamber, with her young pigs. And when she knew that this palace was thus deformed, she invited the king to visit it. Once she had brought him there, she said to him,

“I pray you, my lord, behold now this house, where now are the rich clothes of gold and silk and other apparel that we left here the other day? And where are the delicacies and pleasant servitors and costly dishes that you and I were recently served with? Have all these not passed and gone? My lord, in like manner *we* will vanish away. And our bodies, which are now delicately kept, will fall and turn into the refuse of the earth. Therefore bear in mind my words that I have often told you, and use your diligence to purchase that palace that shall ever endure in joy without changing.”

By means of these words, the queen turned the king’s mind, so that he shortly after resigned his kingdom to Ethelard his nephew, and took upon himself the habit of a poor man. And setting apart all the pomp and pride of this wicked world, he fellowshipped with poor men, and travelled to Rome with great devotion — when he had been King of the West Saxons for thirty-seven years. After his departing, Ethelburga his wife went to Barking, where she continued in the nunnery of Barking, and so ended the rest of her life, when she had been abbess of the place a certain time. Malmesbury also testifies that this Iva was the first king who granted a penny for every fire-house through his dominion, to be paid to the court of Rome. Afterward this penny was called Rome-shot, or Peter-pence, and was paid long after in many places of England.



### ***The Venerable Bede***

Here I must mention Bede, a man of venerable memory. As I see writers do not agree, some saying that he was not an Englishman, I thought to report as much of him as I find by his own words, testified about himself in his Ecclesiastical History of England.

Bede declares that he was born in the territory of the monastery of Peter and Paul, where at the age of seven years, he was committed to the tuition of Benedict, and of Celfrid, abbots of the monastery. Continuing in this monastery from that time forward, all his long life, he gave himself and all his study to the holy Scripture. Whatever time or leisure he had from his daily service in the church, he spent either in learning, or teaching, or writing something. About nineteen years of age, he was made deacon; at thirty he was made priest. From this time, to the age of fifty-nine years, he occupied himself in interpreting the works of the ancient fathers for his own use and the necessity of others; and in writing treatises which numbered thirty-seven volumes in all, which he digested into seventy-eight books.

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Some say that he went to Rome, either to defend his books there as consonant with catholic doctrine, or else if they were found to be faulty, to amend and correct them, as he might be commanded. Though the reporter of Bede's life does not certainly affirm that he was ever at Rome, yet it is manifest in histories, that Bede was invited and called there. Also the epistle of Pope Sergius sufficiently proves it, declaring moreover in what estimation Bede was held in the court of Rome, as well as in other places.

So notable and famous was Bede's learning, that the church of Rome stood in need of his help, and required it in discussing certain controversies pertaining to learning. Moreover, the whole Latin church at that time admitted his mastery in judgment and in knowledge of the holy Scriptures. In all his explanations, his greatest scope and purpose was always to simply instruct and inform his reader in the sincere love of God and neighbor, without any curious style. The holiness and integrity of his life are not to be doubted. For how could he attend to any sinful idleness, or have any leisure for it, having read and digested so many volumes, and consumed all his time and thoughts in writing on the Scriptures? For so he testifies about himself in the third book of Samuel, saying,

“Even if my Treatise and Expositions bring with them no utility to their readers, yet for myself they conduce not a little to this: that while all my study and cogitation were set upon them, I had little mind for the slippery enticements and vain cogitations of this world.”

Thus he continued in this labor of study till age sixty-two. At length, drawing near his end, and being sick for seven weeks — besides other occupations of his mind, and other studies which he did not intermit — he also translated the gospel of St. John into English. At length, with great comfort of spirit, he departed this life, pronouncing many comfortable sayings to those who stood about him.

### ***The Synod of Clovesho***

Ceolwulf, king of Northumberland (A.D. 729-737), after he had reigned eight years, was made a monk in the abbey of Farne.<sup>101</sup> His cousin Edbert succeeded him, brother to Egbert

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<sup>101</sup> Ceolwulf often consulted Bede. While praising Ceolwulf's piety, Bede had some reservations regarding Ceolwulf's ability to rule. Being a man with deep monastic interests, he was little suited to affairs of state. Bede dedicated his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (History of the English Church) to Ceolwulf in 731.

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(who was bishop of York at the time). Egbert erected a noble library in York, whose example I wish other bishops now would follow.

About the time of Edbert's reign (737-758), Cuthbert was archbishop of Canterbury. He collected a great synod of bishops and prelates in September (A.D. 747) near the place called Clovesho. In this synod the following decrees were enacted.

1. That bishops should be more diligent in seeing to their office, and in admonishing the people of their faults.
2. That they should live in a peaceable mind together, despite being in separate places.
3. That every bishop should go about all the parishes of his diocese once a year.
4. That the bishops, each in his own diocese, should admonish their abbots and monks to live regularly (orderly): and that prelates should not oppress their inferiors, but love them.
5. That they should teach the monasteries to live regularly, for secular men had invaded them, and could not then be taken from them.
6. That none should be admitted to orders, before his life was examined.
7. That in monasteries the reading of holy Scripture should be more frequent.
8. That priests should not be disposers of secular business.
9. That they should take no money for baptizing infants.
10. That they should both learn and teach the Lord's Prayer and Creed in the English tongue.
11. That all should join together in their ministry in one uniform rite and manner.
12. That they should sing in the church in a modest voice.
13. That all holy and festival days should be celebrated at one time together.
14. That the Sabbath day be reverently observed and kept.
15. That the seven canonical hours (times of prayer) be observed every day.<sup>102</sup>
16. That the rogation days (supplication), both the greater and lesser, should not be omitted.
17. That the feast of St. Gregory and St. Austin our patron, should not be omitted.
18. That the fast of the four times should be kept and observed.<sup>103</sup>
19. That monks and nuns should go regularly (properly) apparelled.
20. That bishops should see that these decrees are not neglected.
21. That the churchmen should not give themselves to drunkenness.
22. That the communion should not be neglected by the churchmen.
23. That the communion should also be observed by laymen, as time required.
24. That laymen should be first well tried before they entered into monkery.
25. That alms are not neglected.
26. That bishops should see that the people are notified of these decrees.
27. They disputed about the profit of alms.
28. They disputed about the profit of singing psalms.
29. That the congregation should be constituted according to the ability of their goods.
30. That monks should not dwell among laymen.

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<sup>102</sup> **Matins** (nighttime), **Lauds** (early morning), *Prime* (first hour of daylight), *Terce* (third hour), *Sext* (noon), *Nones* (ninth hour), and **Vespers** (sunset evening). Majors are in boldface, minors in italics.

<sup>103</sup> These were the Ember days, which occurred four times a year, with the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday of each ember week being days of fasting and abstinence.

31. That public prayer should be made for kings and princes.

These decrees and ordinances being thus concluded among the bishops, Cuthbert the archbishop, sent a copy of them to Boniface (c. 675-754), otherwise named Winfrid, an Englishman, and then archbishop of Mentz. He was afterwards made a martyr (as the popish stories term him). Boniface wrote a letter to Ethelbald, king of Merceland, who was also present at the synod. I thought this letter was not unworthy to be referenced here, not so much for the author's sake, as for some good matter that may perhaps be found in it. In this letter, is to be seen and noted,

*First*, the corruption and great disorder of life which from time to time has been found in these religious houses of nuns. Their compulsory vow of chastity has never yet been good for the church, nor profitable to the commonwealth, and least of all to themselves.

*Secondly*, No less are those also to be reprehended, who maintained these superstitious orders of unprofitable nuns and of other religions.

Among these was this Boniface. Although in this letter he justly reprehends the vicious enormities both of secular and religious persons, yet he himself is not without the same or greater reprehension. For he gave occasion for it in maintaining such superstitious orders of nuns and other religions, and restraining them from lawful marriage. For we discover in histories, that he was a great setter-up and upholder of such blind superstition, and of all popery. From this Boniface proceeded that detestable doctrine which now stands in the pope's registered decrees (*papal infallibility*, Dist. 40. cap. Si Papa).<sup>104</sup> In a certain epistle of his, is this doctrine: that if the pope were of the most abominable living, and forgetful or negligent of himself and of the whole of Christianity, so that he leads innumerable souls to hell with himself, yet no man ought to rebuke him in doing so. For he has power to judge all men, and ought not to be judged by any man.

About this time, Gregory III first brought into the mass-canon the clause for relics, the memorial, the offering, and sacrifice for the dead — just as Zachary brought in the priests' vesture and ornaments, and as Constantine was the first pope to have his feet kissed by the emperors.

[85] A.D. 747-794.

### **Ethelbert Murdered by Offa.**

But now to turn back to the course of our English history. In the latter part of the reign of Offa, king of Mercia, Ethelbert, who was a learned and godly prince, came to the court of Offa to sue for the marriage of his daughter. But the queen falsely suspected that Ethelbert had come with his company under the pretense of marriage, to work some violence against her husband. She persuaded king Offa to seize him and to strike off his head. And thus the innocent king was wrongfully murdered about the year A.D. 793. Afterwards Offa understood the innocence of this king, and the heinous cruelty of his own act. He gave a tenth of his goods to the holy church; and he bestowed great lands on the church of Hereford. He built the abbey of St. Albans, and certain other monasteries. And afterwards he went to Rome for his penance, where he gave the church of St. Peter a penny for every house in his dominion. This was commonly called Rome-shot or Peter-pence, paid to the church of St. Peter. And there, at length, Offa was transformed from a king to a monk, about A.D. 794.

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<sup>104</sup> [Papal infallibility was defined by the First Vatican Council \(1869-70\), under Pope Pius IX \(1846-1878\).](#)

## Bk. II. The next 300 years in England till Egbert (462-794)

A little earlier, in speaking of certain bishops of Rome, I mentioned Pope Constantine I, Gregory II, Pope Gregory III, and Pope Zachary, who deposed Childerick and set up Pepin as the French king, etc. Next after this Zachary followed Pope Stephan II, to whom Pepin, to gratify the See of Rome for receiving his kingship, gave and contributed to the See of Rome, the Exarchate or principedom of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards, and many other great possessions of Italy, with all the cities adjoining the borders of Venice. No doubt this donation of Pepin, if the truth were rightly tried, would be found to be the same one which has falsely been thought to be the “donation” of emperor Constantine (mentioned earlier).

Next to Stephan succeeded Paul I, who following his predecessors, thundered out great excommunications against Constantine, the emperor of Constantinople, for abrogating and plucking down the images set up in temples. Notwithstanding this, Constantine ignored the Pope’s vain curses, and persevered till the end of his life in his blessed purpose in destroying idolatry. Then came to be pope, Constantine II, a layman and brother to Desiderius, the king of Lombardy. For this cause he was shortly deposed, and thrust into a monastery, having his eyes put out.

In his stead succeeded Stephan III, who ordained that no layman should be pope. Moreover, he condemned the seventh Council of Constantinople as heretical, because in that council the worshipping of images was reprovved and condemned. Contrary to that Council, this pope not only maintained the filthy idolatry of images in Christian temples, but also advanced their veneration, commanding them, most heathenishly, to be incensed.

Then in this race of popes, after Stephan III, comes Adrian I, who likewise followed in the steps of his fathers the popes. He added and attributed to the veneration of images more than all the others had done before, writing a book on the adoration and utility proceeding from them. Moreover, he held a synod at Rome against Felix, and all others who spoke against setting up such stocks (wooden carvings) and images. And just as Paul I before him made much of the body of Petronilia, St. Peter’s daughter, so Adrian clothed the body of St. Peter all in silver, and covered the altar of St. Paul with a pall of gold. Pope Adrian ratified the order of St. Gregory’s mass, above the order of St. Ambrose’s mass. For up to his time (about A.D. 780), the liturgy of St. Ambrose was more used in the Italian churches. I insert the history of this here, because it is registered in Durandus, Nauclenis, and Jacobus de Voragine, and so that the reader may understand when this usual mass of the Papists first became universal and uniform, and was generally received in churches. Jacobus de Voragine, in the life of Pope Gregory I, thus speaks concerning this matter:

“In time past, when the service which Ambrose made was more used in churches than the one which Gregory had appointed, the bishop of Rome, then called Adrian, gathered a council together, in which it was ordained that Gregory’s service should be observed and kept universally. The Emperor Charles diligently put into execution this determination of the council, visiting various provinces, and informing all the clergy, partly with threatenings and partly with punishments, to receive that order. And as to the books of Ambrose’s service, he burnt them to ashes in all places, and threw into prison many priests who would not consent and agree to the matter. Blessed Eugenius, the bishop, coming to the council, found that it was dissolved three days before his coming. Notwithstanding, through his wisdom he so persuaded the lord pope that he called back all the prelates who had been present at the council, and had since departed for the space of three days. Therefore when the council was gathered again, all the fathers consented and agreed in this, that both the mass-books of Ambrose and Gregory should be laid upon the altar of blessed St. Peter the apostle, and the church doors diligently shut, and most warily sealed with the signets of many and diverse bishops. And that they should again, the whole night, give themselves to prayer, so that the Lord might reveal, open,

and show to them by some evident sign or token, which of these two services He would have used in the temples. Thus doing in all points as they had determined, in the morning they opened the church doors, and found both the missals or mass-books open upon the altar; or rather (as some say) they found Gregory's mass-book utterly plucked apart, one piece from another, and scattered over all the church. Regarding Ambrose's book, they only found it open on the altar in the very same place where they previously laid it. Pope Adrian, like a wise expounder of dreams, interpreted this miracle thus: that just as the leaves were torn and blown abroad over the whole church, so should Gregory's book be used throughout the world. Thereupon they thought themselves sufficiently instructed and taught by God, that the service which Gregory had made, ought to be sent abroad and used throughout the world, and that Ambrose's service should only be observed and kept in his own church at Mediolanum, where he was bishop."

Thus the reader has heard the full and whole narration of this mystical miracle, with the pope's exposition upon it. Concerning this miracle, I need not admonish the reader to smell out the blind practices of these night-crows, to blind the world with forged inventions instead of true stories. Even if we grant the miracle to be most true, as to the exposition of it, another man besides the pope might interpret this great miracle thus: that God was angry with Gregory's book, and therefore tore it to pieces, and scattered it about; and the other, as good, lay sound, untouched, and was at least to be preferred. Yet, whatever is to be thought of this miracle with the exposition, thus the matter fell out that only Gregory's service had the preference. And to this day, in the greatest part of Europe, the service of Ambrose is excluded. And thus much regarding the great act of Pope Adrian for setting up the mass. By the relation of this, the reader may at least understand how commonly in Christian nations abroad, no uniform order of any missal or mass book was yet received.

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### ***Charlemagne***

Now to return again from the popes to the emperors. Pepin, the father of Charles the Great, called Charlemagne, had given to the papal see all the principedom of Ravenna, with other donations and revenues and lands in Italy. So Charlemagne, following his father's devotion, confirmed it, adding the city and dominion of Venice, Istria, the dukedom Forojuleinse, the dukedom Spoletanum, and Beneventanum, and other possessions to the patrimony of St. Peter — thus making pope Adrian the prince of Rome and Italy. To recompense Charles' kindness, the pope gave him the title "most Christian king," and ordained him alone, to be emperor of Rome. For these reasons, Charlemagne bore no little affection for Adrian above all other popes.

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### **The Empress Irene— End of the Kingdom of Northumberland.**

This affection was also partly because Charlemagne's older brother Carloman had died, and his wife Bertha, with her two children, came to pope Adrian to have them confirmed in their father's kingdom. The pope, to show a pleasure to Charlemagne, would not agree to this. Instead, he gave the mother with her two children, and Desiderius, the Lombard king, along with his whole kingdom, and his wife and children, into the hands of Charlemagne, who led them captive into France with him, and he kept them there in servitude during their life.

Thus Charlemagne being proclaimed emperor of Rome, through Adrian and Pope Leo III, who succeeded Adrian, the empire was transferred from the Grecians to the French (about A.D. 801). There it continued over one hundred years, till the coming of Conrad and his

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nephew Otto, who were Germans. And so it has continued among the Germans to this present time. Charlemagne built many monasteries. He was beneficial to the churchmen, also merciful to the poor, valiant and triumphant in his undertakings, and skillful in all languages. He held a council at Frankfort where the Council of Nice was condemned, and also Irene, for setting up and worshipping images, etc. <sup>105</sup>

Concerning the Council of Nice, and the things concluded and enacted there (so that no one will think detesting images was something new) I find this recorded in an ancient history of Roger Hoveden:

“In A.D. 792, Charles, the French king, sent a book containing the acts of a certain synod, to Britain, directed to him from Constantinople. In this book (it is lamentable to be told) many things are to be found that are inconsistent and contrary to the true faith; especially that by the common consent of almost all the learned bishops of the Eastern church, numbering over three hundred, it was there agreed that images should be worshipped. The church of God has always abhorred this. Alcuine wrote an epistle against this book, substantially grounded on the authority of holy Scripture. Alcuine presented to the French king this epistle with the book, in the name and person of our bishops and princes.”

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And thus much of Romish matters, by the way. Now to return again to the Northumberland kings, where we left at Edbert who (as declared before) succeeded Ceolwulf, after he was made a monk. And Edbert, following the devotion of his uncle Ceolwulf, and Kenred before him, was likewise shorn a monk, after he had reigned twenty years in Northumberland. He left his son Osulphui to succeed him.

After the reign of King Edbert, there was such trouble and perturbation in the dominion of Northumberland — with slaying, and expelling and deposing their kings one after another — that after the murder of Ethelbert, none dared take the government upon himself, seeing the great danger. It went so far that the kingdom lay void and waste for thirty-three years, after which this kingdom of Northumberland, with the kingdoms of the other Saxons, came altogether into the hands of Egbert, king of the West Saxons (Wessex), and his progeny. This monarchy began A.D. 827.<sup>106</sup>

In the meantime, Irene, empress of the Greeks, was busy at Constantinople. First, through means of Pope Adrian, she took up the body of Constantine, emperor of Constantinople, her own husband's father. Once she had burned it, she caused the ashes to be cast into the sea because he disannulled images. Afterwards, she reigned with her son Constantine VI, who was son to Leo IV (who was excommunicated for removing images). Being at odds with him, she had him taken to prison. Afterward, through the influence of friends, he was restored to his empire. But at last she caused him, though her own son, to be cast into prison, and his eyes to be put out, so that within a short time he died. Afterward, Irene held a council at Nice, with the advice of Therasius, bishop of Constantinople. There it was decreed that images should again be restored to the church. This council was repealed by another council held at Frankfort by Charlemagne (as mentioned earlier). At length, she was deposed by Nicephorus (who reigned after her), expelled from the empire, and ended her life in much penury and misery.

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<sup>105</sup> Empress Irene of Athens ruled the Byzantine Empire from 797 to 802, becoming the first woman to rule as emperor in Byzantine history. During her reign, she restored the veneration of icons.

<sup>106</sup> Egbert reigned for 37 years, from 802-839, as recorded in Foxe's Book III. Egbert was accepted as king in Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Essex. But about 827 (or 829), he conquered *Mercia*, then lost it the following year.

Up to here I have laid out the confused and turbulent reigns of the seven Saxon kings who, after the expulsion of the Britons, ruled and reigned in sundry quarters of this land together, up to the time of Egbert, king of the West Saxons. Through him, it pleased God to begin to reduce and unite all these scattered kingdoms into one monarchical form of dominion. This is why, just as Egbert begins another alteration of the Commonwealth here in this land among the Saxons, my purpose (Lord willing) is to begin my third book with this same Egbert. But first I will briefly recapitulate those things in this second book which are to be noted, especially regarding the monasteries that were built, the kings who entered the monastic life and profession, and also the queens and queens' daughters who at the same time professed a solitary life in the monasteries which they or their ancestors had erected.

Up to now we have set forth and declared these seven kingdoms: first, the names and lineal descent of the kings; then what were their doings and acts same — how first being pagans, they were converted to the Christian faith; what things happened in their time in the church, how many of them were made monks; how devout they were then to the holy church and to the churchmen, and especially to the church of Rome. But the churchmen then were very different in life to what they afterwards declared themselves to be. Through the devotion of these kings, the Peter-pence or Rome-shots first entered this realm, as by Iva and then Offa. Afterwards they were brought in and ratified throughout the realm by Adelwulph.

### **Construction of Abbeys and Nunneries**

It is also to be noted that the greatest abbeys and nunneries in this realm were first begun and built by the kings and queens of the Saxons, as seen in part by the following examples.

- First, the church or minster of St. Paul in London was founded by Ethelbert, king of Kent, and Sigebert, king of Essex (about A.D. 604).
- The first cross and altar in this realm was set up in the northern parts in Hevenfield, on the occasion of Oswald, king of Northumberland, fighting against Cadwalla; in the same place he set up the sign of the cross, kneeling and praying there for victory, A.D. 635. (Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 12.)
- The church of Winchester was first begun and founded by Kinegilsus, king of the Mercians, having nine miles around it; afterwards it was finished by his son Kenwalcus, where Wine was first English bishop, A.D. 636. (Guliel. Malms, lib. de gestis pont. Ang.)
- The church of Lincoln was first founded by Paulinus, a bishop (A.D. 629).
- The church of Westminster was first begun by a citizen of London, through the instigation of Ethelbert king of Kent; before that it was an isle of thorns (A.D. 614).
- The common schools first erected at Cambridge by Sigebert. king of Eastangles (A.D. 636).
- The abbey of Knovisburgh was built by Furceus the Hermit (A.D. 637).
- The monastery of Malmesbury was built by one Meldulphus, a Scot, up to about A.D. 640, afterwards enlarged by Agilbert, bishop of Winchester.
- The monastery in Gloucester, first built by Ofricus king of Mercia, as Cestrensis says; but as William Malmesbury writes, it was by Ulferus and Ethelred, brethren to Kineburga, abbess of the same house (A.D. 679).
- The monastery of Melrose, by the flood of Tweed, by Aidanus, a Scottish bishop.
- The nunnery of Heorenton by Hevi, the first nun in Northumberland (Beda. lib. 4. cap. 1.)
- The monastery of Hetesey by Oswy king of Northumberland, who also with his daughter Elfrid, gave possessions for twelve monasteries in the parts of Northumberland (A.D. 606).
- The monastery of St. Martin in Dover, built by Whithred, king of Kent.



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- The abbey of Lestingy by Ceadda (whom we call St. Ced) through the grant of Oswald, son to St. Oswald, king of Northumberland (A.D. 651).

[87] A.D. 794—827.

- The monastery of Whitby, otherwise called Stenhalt, by Hilda, daughter to the nephew of Edwin, king of Northumberland (A.D. 607).
- A monastery called Hacanos, not far from the same place, built by Hilda the same year.
- The abbey of Abbingdon, built by Sissa king of Southsex (A.D. 666).
- An abbey, Joanno, in the east of Lincoln, by St. Botolph, A.D. 654 (Polych. lib. 5. cap. 16).
- The monastery in Ely, founded by Etheldred or Etheldrida, daughter of Anna, king of Eastangles, and the wife of Elfride king of Northumberland (A.D. 674).
- The monastery of Chertsey in Southery, by Erkenwald, bishop of London (A.D. 674), thrown down by the Danes, and afterward re-built by King Edgar.
- The nunnery of Berking, also built by Erkenwald, bishop of London, about the same time.
- The abbey of Peterborough, otherwise called Modehamsted, founded by King Ethelwald, king of the Mercians (A.D. 675).
- Bardney abbey by Ethelred, king of the Mercians (A.D. 700).
- Glastonbury by Iva, king of the West Saxons, and after repaired and enriched by King Edgar (A.D. 701).
- Ramsey built in the time of King Edgar, by Ailwinus. a nobleman (A.D. 973).
- King Edgar built forty monasteries in his time; he reigned A.D. 901.
- The nunnery of Winburne built by Cuthberga, sister to Ingilsus, King Iva's brother, A.D. 717.
- The monastery of Sealsey by the Isle of Wight, by Wilfridus, bishop of York (A.D. 678).
- The monastery of Wincombe by Kenulphus king of the Mercians (A.D. 737).
- St. Albans built by Offa, king of the Mercians (A.D. 755).
- The abbey of Evesham by Edwin, bishop (A.D. 691).
- Ripon in the north, by Wilfrid, bishop (A.D. 709).
- The abbey of Echlinghey, by King Alfred (A.D. 891).
- The nunnery of Shaftsbury, by Alfred, the same year.

Thus we see what monasteries began to be founded by the Saxon kings, newly converted to the Christian faith, within the space of 200 years. As they seemed to have a certain zeal and devotion to God, according to the leading and teaching that then was, so it seems to me that there were two things to be wished in these kings. *First*, that those who began to erect these monasteries of monks and nuns in order to live solely and singly by themselves, had foreseen what danger, and what absurd enormities might and did ensue, both publicly to the church of Christ, and privately to their own souls. *Secondly*, that to their zeal and devotion had been joined like knowledge and doctrine in Christ's gospel, especially in the article of our *free justification by the faith of Jesus Christ*. This is because by the lack of it, both the builders and founders, as well as those who professed the same faith, seem to have run the wrong way, and to have been deceived. Although there was a devotion and zeal of mind in those who thought to do well in doing this (which I will not reprehend here), the end and cause of their deeds and buildings cannot be excused, for it was contrary to the rule of Christ's gospel. For it appears they did these things seeking merit with God, the remedy their souls, and remission of their sins, as testified in their own records.



By the contents of these records, it may well be understood how great the ignorance and blindness of these men was. Lacking no zeal, only lacking knowledge to rule it with, they sought their salvation not by Christ alone, but by their own deservings and meritorious deeds. I do not recite this here to any infamy or reprehension of them, but rather to put us in mind of how much we at this present time are bound to God for the sincerity of His truth. It was hidden from our ancestors so long before, and is now opened to us by the good will of our God, in his Son Christ Jesus. I am only lamenting this by the way: to see them have such works, and to lack our faith; and for us to have the right faith, and to lack their works. The blind ignorance of that age was the cause not only for these kings to build so many monasteries, but also why so many forsook their vocation of princely government, to give themselves over to the monastic profession — or rather, to willful superstition.

### **Kings and Queens who became Monks and Nuns.**

It was sufficiently declared before concerning the names and number of kings who were professed monks. We showed seven or eight of them within these 200 years. Such then was the superstitious devotion of kings and princes; and it is no less to be noted also in the daughters of queens and kings, along with other noble women of the same age and time. It would take too long to recite all their names here. But they include Hilda, daughter to the nephew of Edwin king of Northumberland, abbess of Ely. Erchengoda, with her sister Ermenilda, daughters of Ercombertus king of Kent. Erchengoda was professed in St. Bridget's order in France. Edelberga wife and queen to King Edwin of Northumberland, and daughter of King Anna, was also made a nun in the same house of St. Bridget. Etheldreda, whom we call St. Eldred, wife to King Ecfride of Northumberland, was professed a nun at Helings. Werburga was the daughter of Ulferus King of Mercians, and made nun at Ely. Kenreda, sister of King Ulferus, and Kineswida her sister, were both professed nuns. Sexburga daughter of King Anna, king of Mercians, and wife of Ercombert, king of Kent, was abbess at Ely. Elfrida daughter of Oswy, king of Northumberland, was abbess of Whitney. Mildreda, Milburga, and Milguida, all three daughters of Merwardus, king of West Mercians, entered the profession and vow of devoted nuns. Kineburga, wife of Alfride king of Northumberland, and sister to Ofricus, king of the Mercians, and daughter of King Penda, was professed abbess of the monastery in Gloucester. Elfleda, daughter of king Oswy and wife of Peda (son of King Penda), likewise enclosed herself in the same profession and vow. Also Alfritha wife to King Edgar, and Editha, daughter to Edgar, with Wolfride her mother, etc. All of these holy nuns, with diverse more, have been canonized as saints by the Romish catholics, who put most of them in their calendar, only because of the vow which they solemnly professed. Concerning this I will say that even if they kept that vow ever so perfectly, it is not *that* which makes saints before God, but only the blood of Christ Jesus, and a true faith in him.

It likewise remains that as we have declared the devotion of these noble women who professing the monastic life, cast off all worldly dignity and delights, so we should also treat those noblemen who, among the Saxon kings in like zeal of devotion, have given themselves over from the world (as they thought) to the contemplative life of the monkish profession. There are nine of these.

1. Kinigils, king of the West Saxons.
2. Iva, king of the West Saxons.
3. Ceolulf, king of Northumberland.
4. Edbert, king of Northumberland.
5. Ethelred, king of Mercia.
6. Kenred, king of Mercia.
7. Offa, king of the East Saxons.
8. Sebbi, king of the East Saxons.
9. Sigebert, king of East Angles.

What is to be thought of these kings and their doings, the reader has seen before.

By these histories it is apparent what changes, what perturbations, and what alterations of state have been seen in this realm of Britain, first from British kings to Roman; then to British again; and afterward to Saxon. First, to seven reigning together, then to one, etc. And this alteration not only happened in the civil government, but it also followed in the ecclesiastical state. For as in the Britons' time the metropolitan see was in London, so in the Saxons' time, after the coming of Austin, it was moved to Canterbury. The catalogue and order of these metropolitans, from the time of Austin to Egbert, is thus described in the history of Malmesbury.

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### **The Archbishops of Canterbury, from Austin to the time of Egbert.**

Here are the names and order of the archbishops of Canterbury from Austin to the time of King Egbert, of whom the first seven were Italians or other foreigners.

- |                |                 |                                |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Austin.     | 7. Theodorus.   | 13. Lambrightus, or Lambertus. |
| 2. Laurentius. | 8. Berctualdus. | 14. Ethelardus.                |
| 3. Melitus.    | 9. Tacuinus.    | 15. Ulfredus.                  |
| 4. Justus.     | 10. Nothelmus.  | 16. Feolegeldus.               |
| 5. Honorius.   | 11. Cutbertus.  | 17. Celnothus.                 |
| 6. Deusdedit.  | 12. Berguinus.  |                                |

During the course of these seventeen archbishops of Canterbury, there were thirty-four popes in Rome, whom we have declared in part.

And thus much regarding the time of the seven kingdoms of the Saxons, ruling together in England, from the reign of Hengist to Egbert, the first monarch of the whole land, after the expulsion of the Britons.

It now remains (by the grace of Christ) in the next book, to give the history of those kings who, principally reigning alone, had this realm in their possession, from the time of Egbert king of the West Saxons, to the coming of William the Conqueror, the Norman. This will comprehend the rest of the next three hundred years, with the acts and state of religion in the church during that period. In this time, the decline of the church and of true religion may appear, preparing the way for antichrist, which followed not long after.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

## ACTS AND MONUMENTS

### BOOK III.

CONTAINING

#### *The 300 years from Egbert to Wm. the Conqueror A.D. 795-1067.*

What now remains, as I described before, is the descent and diversity of the seven kings, all reigning and ruling together in this land, so as to prosecute in a similar order the lineal succession of those who, after Egbert, king of the West Saxons, governed and ruled solely, until the conquest of William the Norman. And first, the succession of King Egbert.<sup>107</sup>

In the reign of Brightric, about A.D. 795, there was a noble personage called Egbert, who was feared by Brightric because he was of kingly blood, and he was by force and conspiracy chased out of Britain into France, till the death of Brightric. After hearing of it, Egbert came back to his country, where he obtained the government of the kingdom of the West Saxons.

Bernulph, king of Mercia, with other kings, held Egbert in much derision. They scoffed and made jests at him, all of which he sustained for a time. But when he was more established in his kingdom, he assembled his knights and battled Bernulph. He won the field. This being done, he made war on the Saxons of Kent, and obtained the victory. He subdued Northumberland, and caused the kings of these three kingdoms (West Saxon, Kent, and Northumberland) to live under him as tributaries. After these and other victories, he called a council of his lords at Winchester, where by their advices he was crowned king and chief lord over this land. Before that day the land was called *Britain*. But then Egbert sent out into all the land his commands and commissions, charging straitly that from that day forward, the *Saxons* should be called *Angles*, and the land be called *Anglia*.

About the thirtieth year of the reign of Egbert, the Danes had shortly before made a horrible destruction in Northumberland, especially in the isle of Lindefarne. There they pillaged the churches, and murdered the ministers, with men, women, and children, in a cruel manner. They now entered this land a second time with a great host, and pillaged the isle of Sheppy in Kent. Egbert assembled his people, and met with them at Charmouth. But he did not succeed as well in that conflict as he had done before. With his knights he was compelled to forsake the field. Notwithstanding, in the next battle Egbert overthrew a great multitude of them with a small force, and so he drove them back. The next year the Danes returned again. After that, they continually abided in one part or another of the realm of England, till the time of Hardecanute. Though they were often driven out of the land, and chased from one country to another, they always gathered new strength and power, and continued to abide in the land.

Egbert died after ruling the West Saxons and the greater part of England for thirty-seven years. He was buried at Winchester, leaving his kingdom to his son Ethelwolf, who first was bishop of Winchester, and afterwards, by necessity, was made king (A.D. 839-858).

Ethelwolf had entered into the order of sub-deacon; some say he was made bishop of Winchester. But afterwards, being the only son of Egbert, he was made king through the dispensation of the pope. Ethelwolf (having once been in that order) was always good and devout to holy church and religious orders, in that he gave them the tithes of all his goods and lands in West Saxony, with liberty and freedom from all servage and civil charges.

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<sup>107</sup> Also spelled Ecgberht.

From this it may appear how and when the churches of England began first to be endued with temporalities and lands; and became enlarged with privileges and exemptions.

Having done these things in his realm, Ethelwolf went to Rome in 853 with Alfred, his youngest son.<sup>108</sup> He committed himself to support Pope Leo IV (r. 847-855). He gave and granted to Rome a penny to be paid for every fire-house throughout his land, as King Iva in his dominion had done before. He also gave and granted, towards maintaining the light of St. Peter, 100 marks, to be paid annually; to the light of St. Paul, 100 marks; and for the use of the pope, another 100.

Ethelwolf always had two bishops about him, whose counsel he was most ruled by: Swithin, bishop of Winchester; and Adelstan, bishop of Sherborne. One was more skillful in temporal and civil affairs regarding the king's wars and filling his coffers. The other (Swithin) was of a contrary disposition, wholly inclined to spiritual meditation and to minister spiritual counsel to the king. He had previously been schoolmaster to the king. And in this appeared one good feature in this king's nature, among his other virtues — not only in following the precepts of his old schoolmaster, but also, like a kind and thankful pupil, he so revered Swithin, that he made him bishop of Winchester.

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From the time of Pope Adrian I, to Pope Adrian II, the emperors had some hand in the election (at least in the confirmation) of the Roman pope. But several of these popes began to endeavor to bring their own purpose about. Yet none of their devices could take full effect before Adrian III. So that all this while, the emperors had some authority in choosing the popes, and in assembling general councils. Therefore, by the commandment of Emperor Louis,<sup>109</sup> in the time of pope Gregory IV (r. 827-844), a general synod was commenced at Aquisgrane (or Aachen, A.D. 836), where the following things were decreed by Gregory and his assistants: first, that every church should have sufficient of its own proper lands and revenues to keep its priests, that none should lack or go begging. Also, that none of the clergy, of whatever order or degree, should use any vesture of any precious or scarlet color. Neither should they wear rings on their fingers unless it is when prelates are at mass, or give their consecrations. Also, that prelates should not keep too great a house or family, nor keep many horses, use dice, or be guilty of immoral conduct; and that the monks should not be excessive in gluttony or riot. Also, that none of the clergy, being either anointed or shaven, should use either gold or silver in their shoes, slippers, or girdles, like Heliogabalus.<sup>110</sup> By this it may be conjectured what sort of pomp and pride had crept into the clergy in those days. Moreover, the feast of All Saints was first brought into the church by Pope Gregory IV.

After this pope, came Sergius II, who first began the alteration of the pope's names, because he was previously named "Swines-snout." He also ordained that the *Agnus Dei* be sung three times at the mass, and the communion host be divided into three parts.

After him was Pope Leo IV (r. 847-855). It was first enacted by this pope, in a council, that no bishop should be condemned with less than 72 witnesses, as you see was practiced at the condemnation of Stephen Gardiner.<sup>111</sup> Also contrary to the law of his predecessor, Gregory

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<sup>108</sup> Then aged 5, later to be Alfred the Great (r. 871-886).

<sup>109</sup> Emperor Louis the Pious (r. 814-840), son of Charlemagne.

<sup>110</sup> Or Elagabalus (c. 203–222), the extravagant Roman Emperor mentioned on page [45].

<sup>111</sup> Stephen Gardiner, Catholic bishop of Westchester (1531-1555); he was John Foxe's arch-enemy.

IV, this pope ordained the cross (all set with gold and precious stones) to be carried before him ... like a pope.

**Pope Joan, a Female Pope.**

And next comes the whore of Babylon (Rev 17.5; 19.2), rightly in her true colors, by the permission of God, to appear manifestly to the whole world; and that is not only in the spiritual sense, but in the very letter. For after this Leo IV, mentioned above, the cardinals proceeding to their ordinary election (after a solemn mass of the Holy Spirit, to their perpetual shame, and that of the see), instead of a male pope, they elected a woman, called Joan VIII, to minister sacraments; to say masses; to give orders; <sup>1Tim 2.12</sup> to constitute deacons, priests, and bishops; to promote prelates; to make abbots; to consecrate churches and altars; to have the reign and rule of emperors and kings. This woman's proper name was Gilberta. She went out of the Abbey of Fulda in a man's apparel, with an English monk, to Athens; and through her wit and learning, she was promoted to the popedom. There she sat for two years and six months. <sup>112</sup> At last, openly in the face of a general procession, she gave birth to a child, and so she died. She was succeeded by Benedict III (r. 855-858), who first ordained that the dirge was to be said for the dead.

***The Epistle of Huldrike - Marriage of Priests is Lawful.***

After him came Pope Nicholas I (r. 858-867), who enlarged the pope's decrees with many constitutions, equalling their authority with the writings of the apostles. He ordained that no secular prince, nor the emperor himself, should be present at their councils unless in matters concerning the faith, to the end that those whom they judged to be heretics, they should execute and murder. Also, that no laymen should sit in judgment upon the clergymen, or reason upon the pope's power. Also, that no Christian magistrate should have any power over any prelate, alleging that a prelate is called God. Also, that all church services should be in Latin, yet allowing the Slavonians and Polonians (Polish) to still retain their native language. Sequences in the mass were first allowed by him.<sup>113</sup> By this pope, priests were first barred from marrying. Huldrike, bishop of Ausburgh (a learned and holy man), sent a letter to the pope about this. He gravely and learnedly refutes and declaims against the pope's indiscreet proceedings in this matter. I judged his lengthy letter fit for the instruction of the reader, and worthy to be inserted here, as follows:

*“A learned epistle of Huldrike, Bishop of Ausburgh, sent to Pope Nicholas I, proving by substantial proofs, that priests should not be restrained from marriage.*

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<sup>112</sup> This extraordinary event has naturally been disputed by the modern advocates of the church of Rome. The election and accession of a woman, who is incapable of orders, in the seat of the pontiff, is such a sundering of the links of apostolic succession in the papal chair, and such an impeachment of the orders of some in that church, that it would be passing strange if every effort that talent, learning, and ingenuity could devise, were not made to obliterate such a fact from the page of history. There is however this broad, plain, and unquestionable fact, which requires an answer more cogent than any it has yet received, namely, that for *five hundred years* after the time of Pope Joan, it was acknowledged as an historical event of as great notoriety as any other concocted with the papal chair, and that it was never called in question till the church of Rome began to feel the necessity of defending herself against those who openly opposed her assumed authority. Marianus Scotus, who lived very 'near the time of Pope Joan, mentions her as "Joanna Mulier," and adds that she was pope for two years, five months and five days, and all the historians for some centuries — even though all were members of the church of Rome — in like manner acknowledge the facts. And even since the Reformation, a large number of Romish divines (among whom are some of their best learned men) have admitted it.

This much at all events is certain: that if this matter is an invention or falsehood, it does not rest on Protestants, but on the Romanists themselves. [Ed.]

<sup>113</sup> Sequences are hymns or poems sung or recited during the Mass, particularly during Easter and Pentecost.

Bk. III. The 300 years from Egbert to Wm. the Conqueror (795-1067)

“Huldrike, bishop only by name, to the reverend father Nicholas, the vigilant provisor of the holy church of Rome, with due commendation, sends love as a son, and fear as a servant. Understanding, reverend father, that your decrees which you sent to me concerning the single life of the clergy, are far from all discretion, I was troubled partly with fear, and partly with heaviness. With fear because, as it is said, judging the pastor, whether it is just or unjust, is to be feared. For I was afraid lest the weak hearers of the Scripture (who scarcely obey the just sentence of their pastor, and much more despise this unjust decree) through the onerous transgression of their pastor, might show themselves disobedient. I was troubled with heaviness and with compassion, because I doubted what the members of the body might do, their head being so greatly out of frame. For what can be more grievous, or more to be lamented touching the state of the church, than for you, being the bishop of the principal see, to whom pertains the government of the whole church, to swerve ever so little out of the right way? Certainly you have not a little erred in this, in that you have gone about to constrain your clergy to singleness of life, through your imperious tyranny — those whom you should rather stir up to the honorable estate of marriage. For is this not to be accounted a violence and tyranny in the judgment of all wise men, when a man is compelled by your decrees to do that which is against the institution of the gospel and the proceeding of the Holy Spirit? Seeing, then, that there are so many holy examples in both the Old and New Testaments, teaching us, as you know, due information, I desire your patience not to think it grievous for me to bring a few here out of many.

“First, in the old law, the Lord permits marriage to the priests, which afterward in the new law we do not read to be restrained. But in the gospel He says thus: ‘There are some eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven’s sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it,’ Mat 19.12. Therefore, the apostle says, ‘Concerning virgins, I have no commandment of the Lord, yet I give my judgment,’ 1Cor 7.25. This counsel also, all men do not take, as with the commandment of the Lord before. But there are many false dissemblers and flatterers who seek to please men and not God, whom we see fall into horrible wickedness under a false pretense of holiness.

[91] A.D. 858-870.

“And, therefore, lest through the infection of this wicked pestilence, the state of the church should too much go to ruin, the apostle said, ‘Let every man have his own wife.’ Regarding this saying, our false hypocrites lie and pretend as though it only pertained to the laity, and not to them. And yet they themselves, seeming to be set in the most holy order, are not afraid to do outrageous things in all manner of wickedness.

“These men have not rightly understood the Scripture. For the saying of the apostle, ‘Let every man have his own wife,’ excepts none indeed, but only him who has the gift of continency. Therefore, O, reverend father it is your part to cause and oversee that whoever has made a vow of celibacy, and would afterward forsake it, should either be compelled to keep his vow, or else be deposed from his order by lawful authority.

“And to bring this to pass, you should not only have me, but also all others of my order, be helpers to you. But so that you may understand, those who do not know what a vow means, are not to be violently compelled to it. Hear what the apostle says to Timothy: ‘A bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife,’ 1Tim 3.2. This sentence, lest you turn and apply it only to the congregants, mark what he infers after: ‘If a man does not know how to rule his own house, how will he take care of the church of God?’ And ‘Let the deacon be the husband of one wife, ruling their children and their own houses well,’ 1Tim 3.5,12. And this wife, how she is customarily blessed by the priest, I suppose you sufficiently understand by the decrees of holy Sylvester the pope.

“To these and such other holy sentences of the Scripture, the writer of the rule of the clergy also agrees, writing in this manner about the clerics: ‘Let them have one wife.’ From this it is to be gathered that the bishop and deacon are noted infamous and reprehensible if they are married to more than one woman. Otherwise, if they forsake one under a pretense of religion, they (the bishop as well as the deacon) are here condemned by the canonical sentence which says, ‘Let no bishop or priest forsake his own wife, under the color and pretense of religion. If he forsakes her, let him be excommunicated. And if he so continues, let him be dragged.’ St. Augustine also (a man of discreet holiness) says that, ‘There is no offense that is so great or grievous; but it is meant to avoid a greater evil.’

“Furthermore, we read in the second book of the Tripartite History,<sup>114</sup> that when the Council of Nice was about to establish the same decree, which would enact that bishops, priests, and deacons, after their consecration, should either utterly forsake their own wives, or else be deposed, then Paphnutius (one of those holy martyrs, whose right eye the Emperor Maximus had put out, and hacked off their left legs) rising up among them, withstood their purposed decree. He confessed marriage to be honorable. And so he dissuaded the council from making that law, declaring what evil might come of it. This much Paphnutius (being unmarried himself) declared to them. And the whole council commending his sentence, agreed to it, and left the matter freely, without compulsion, to the will of every man to do in this as he thought.

“Notwithstanding, there are some who take St. Gregory for their defense in this matter, whose temerity I laugh at, and whose ignorance I lament. For they do not know, being ignorantly deceived, how dangerous the decree of this heresy was (the one being made by St. Gregory). He afterwards revoked it, with much repentance.

“Perhaps if these men had read with me what happened through this decree, I think they would not be so rash in their doing and judging, at least fearing the Lord’s commandment, ‘Do not judge, that you be not judged.’<sup>Mat 7.1</sup> And St. Paul says, ‘Who are you to judge another man’s servant? To his own master he stands or falls. Indeed, he shall be held up, for God is able to make him stand.’<sup>Rom 14.4</sup> Therefore let your holiness cease to compel and force those whom you should only admonish, lest through your own private commandment (which God forbid) you be found contrary to the Old Testament as well as to the New. For as St. Augustine says to Donatus, ‘This is only what we do fear in your justice, lest (not for the consideration of Christian lenity, but for the grievousness and greatness of transgressions committed) you be thought to use violence in executing punishment of that which we only desire you (by Christ) not to do. For transgressions are to be so punished, that the life of the transgressors may repent.’ Also another saying of St. Augustine we would have you remember, which is this, ‘Let nothing be done through the greediness of hurting, but all things through the charity of profiting. Nor let anything be done cruelly, nothing ungently.’ It also is written by the same Augustine, ‘In the fear and name of Christ I exhort you, who do not have the goods of this world, do not be greedy to have them. Those who have them, do not presume too much upon them. For, I say, to have them is no damnation; but if you presume upon them, *that* is damnation — if in having them you seem great in your own sight, or if you forget the common condition of man through the excellency of anything you have. Therefore, use due discretion in this, tempered with moderation. This cup of discretion is drawn out of the fountain of the apostolic preaching, which said, ‘Are you bound to a wife? Do not seek to be loosed. Are you loosed from a wife? Do not seek a wife.’ It follows there that, ‘those who have wives be as though they had none ... and those who use this world, as not abusing it.’ 1Cor 7.27-31.

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<sup>114</sup> *The Historiae Ecclesiasticae Tripartitae Epitome*, also known as the Tripartite History, is a compilation of church histories from the early Christian period. It was compiled around 550 AD by Epiphanius Scholasticus (Socrates) under the direction of Cassiodorus. It summarizes the works of Scholasticus, Sozomen, and Theodoret.



Bk. III. The 300 years from Egbert to Wm. the Conqueror (795-1067)

“Concerning the widow, he says, ‘She is at liberty to be married to whom she will, only in the Lord,’ 1Cor 7.39. To marry in the Lord is nothing else but to attempt nothing in contracting matrimony, which the Lord forbids. Jeremiah also says, ‘Do not trust in these lying words, saying. the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord are these,’ Jer 7.4. Jerome, expounding on this saying of Jeremiah, says, ‘This may agree also, and be applied to those nuns who boast of their vow, and do not know how the apostle defines the virgin, that she should be holy in body and also in spirit. For what does the purity of the body avail, if the mind is inwardly unholy? Or if it does not have the other virtues, which the prophetic sermon describes?’

“These virtues, in so far as we see them partly in you, and because we are not ignorant that this discretion, even though it is neglected in this part, yet in the other actions of your life, it is kept honestly by you, we do not despair of you soon amending the little which is still lacking. And therefore, with as much gravity as we can, we do not cease to call upon you to correct and amend your negligence in this. For although, according to our common calling, a bishop is greater than a priest, and Augustine was less than Jerome — notwithstanding, the good correction proceeding from the lesser to the greater was not to be refused or disdained, especially when the one who is corrected is found to strive against the truth to please men. For as St. Augustine says, writing to Boniface, ‘The disputations of all men, however catholic or approved these persons may be, they should not be had instead of the canonical Scriptures.’ So that, we may disapprove or refuse (saving the honor and reverence which is due them) anything that is in their writings, if anything there is found contrary to truth. And what can be found more contrary to the truth than this? The truth itself, speaking of abstaining from marriage, says, ‘He that can receive it, let him receive it.’ These men (moved by what, I do not know) turn this saying, and say instead, ‘He that cannot receive it, let him be accursed.’ What can be more foolish among men, than when any bishop or archdeacon runs himself headlong into all kinds of sin, and yet says that the marriage of priests is an abomination. And, as if void of all compassion and true righteousness, they do not desire or admonish their clerics, as their fellow-servants, to abstain from marriage, but they command them, and violently force them as servants, to abstain.

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“To this imperious commandment of theirs, or counsel (if you would call it that), they also add this foolish and wicked suggestion, saying that, ‘It is better to sin privately, than openly in the sight of men, to be bound to one wife.’ Truly they would not say this, if they were either of Him or in Him who says, ‘Woe to you, Pharisees, who do all things to be seen by men.’<sup>Luk 11.44</sup> And so the psalmist says, ‘Because they please men, they are confounded, for the Lord has despised them,’ Psa 53.5. These are the men who *ought* to teach us that we should be ashamed to sin secretly in the sight of Him to whom all things are open, rather than seem to be holy in the sight of men. These men therefore, even though through their sinful wickedness they deserve no counsel of godliness to be given to them, we do not forget our humanity, and will not cease to give them counsel by the authority of God’s word. For His word seeks all men’s salvation, desiring it out of the compassion of charity. We say with the words of Scripture, ‘You hypocrite; first take the beam from your own eye, and then you will see clearly to take the splinter from your brother’s eye.’<sup>Mat 7.5</sup>

“Moreover, we desire them to attend to what the Lord says about the woman taken in adultery. ‘He that is without sin among you, let him be the first to cast a stone at her.’<sup>Joh 8.7</sup> It is as though he said, ‘If Moses bids you, I also bid you. Yet I require you who are the competent ministers and executors of the law, take heed what you add to it. Take heed also ( I pray you) of what you are yourselves. For if (as the Scripture says) you well consider yourself, you will never defame another.’



“Moreover, it is also signified to us that there are some of them who (when they should, like good shepherds give their lives for the Lord’s flock) are puffed up with such pride, that without all reason they presume to rend and tear the Lord’s flock with whippings and beatings. St. Gregory bewails such unreasonable doings, saying, ‘What shall become of the sheep when the pastors themselves are wolves?’ Who is overcome, if not the one who exercises cruelty? Or who will judge the persecutor, if not the one who patiently gave his back to stripes? This is the fruit which comes to the church by such persecutors, and which comes to the clergy by such spiteful handling of their bishops, or rather infidels. For why may you not call them infidels, whom St. Paul speaks of in this way, and writes to Timothy about? That ‘in the latter days some will depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils: speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their consciences seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from foods,’ etc., 1Tim 4.1-3. These are the ones who bring heresy into the church of God (like blind guides leading the blind), that it might be fulfilled which the Psalm speaks of, foreseeing the errors of such men, and cursing them in this manner: ‘Let their eyes be darkened, that they may not see, and bow down their back always,’ Rom 11.10. For no man who knows you (O apostolical Sir) is ignorant that if through the light of your discretion you had understood and seen what poisoned pestilence might come into the church through the sentence of your decree, you never would have consented to the suggestions of certain wicked persons. Therefore we counsel you by the fidelity of our due subjection, that with all diligence you would put away so great a slander from the church of God. And that through your discreet discipline, you will remove this Pharisaical doctrine from the flock of God. Do not separate the holy people and the kingly priesthood from her spouse, who is Christ, through an unrecoverable divorce, seeing that no man without holiness shall see our Lord, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit lives and reigns forever. Amen.”

By this epistle of bishop Huldrike, it is easy to conceive what was then the opinion of learned men concerning the marriage of ministers.

After Pope Nicholas I, succeeded Adrian II (r. 867-872), John VIII (r. 872-882), and Martin II (actually Marinus I, r. 882-884). And after these came Adrian III (r. 884-885) and Stephen VI (896-897). It was first decreed by Adrian III that no emperor after that time should intermeddle or have anything to do in the election of the pope.<sup>115</sup> And thus the *emperors* first began to decay, and the *papacy* began to swell and rise.

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Now to return where we left King Ethelwolf. About the latter end of his reign, the Danes who before had invaded the realm in the time of King Egbert, made their re-entry again, with thirty-three ships arriving around Hampshire.

Concerning the occasion given by the Englishmen, which first moved the Danes to invade the realm, I find two causes most specially assigned in certain histories. The first was given by Osbright, the reigning under-king of the West Saxons. Osbright had treated with violence the wife of one of his nobles, called Bruer. Whereupon Bruer, after consulting with his friends, first went to the king, resigning into his hands all the service and possessions which he held from him. He then took shipping and sailed into Denmark. There he made his complaint to king Codrinus. He desired his aid in revenging the villainy of Osbright against him and his wife. Codrinus hearing this, and glad to have some just quarrel to enter that land, levied an army with all speed. Preparing all things necessary for the venture, he sends an innumerable multitude of Danes into England, who first arrived at Holderness. They burnt up the country, and killed without mercy both men, women, and children, whomever

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<sup>115</sup> In 1059, Pope Nicholas II decreed that only cardinals would elect the pope, laying the groundwork for the formal role of the College of Cardinals.

they could lay hands upon. Then marching towards York, they entered into battle with Osbriht, where he along with most of his army was slain. And so the Danes took possession of the city of York.

The second cause assigned by some historians for the invasion of the Danes is as follows. A certain Danish nobleman called Lothbroke, entering with his hawk into a skiff or small boat alone, was driven by a tempest to the coast of Norfolk. Being found and detained there, he was presented to king Edmund. The king understanding his parentage, and seeing his case, entertained him in his court accordingly. Every day, as the king perceived more and more Lothbroke's great dexterity in hunting and hawking, he bore special favor to him. It was so much that the king's falconer, or master of his game, bearing secret envy against Lothbroke, murdered him as they were hunting together in a wood, and threw him into a bush. In two or three days, Lothbroke began to be missed in the king's house; no tidings could be heard from him. But a spaniel dog of his, continued in the wood where the corpse of his master lay, and at various times the dog came and fawned upon the king. This went on for so long that at length they followed the trace of the hound, and were brought to the place where Lothbroke lay. Upon this discovery, an inquisition was made. At length, by certain evidence, it was known how Lothbroke was murdered by the king's huntsman. Being convicted, he was put into the same boat alone and without any tackle, to be driven by the sea — either to be saved by the weather, or drowned in the deep. Just as it chanced that Lothbroke was driven from Denmark to Norfolk, so it happened that the murderer was carried from Norfolk into Denmark, where Lothbroke's boat, being well known, hands were laid on the huntsman, and an inquisition was made. In his torments, in order to save himself, he uttered an untruth about King Edmund, saying that, "The king had put Lothbroke to death in the county of Norfolk," Whereupon, the Danes being very angry, appointed an army, and sent great multitudes into England to revenge that fact.

In the meantime. King Ethelwolf, when he had chased the Danes from place to place, causing them to take to the sea, departed from both land and life. He left behind him four sons, who reigned every one in his order, after the decease of his father.

King Ethelbald, the eldest son of Ethelwolf, succeeded his father in the province of West Saxony, and Ethelbright in the province of Kent. They reigned together for five years. After these two succeeded Ethelred, the third son, who in his time was so incumbered with the Danes bursting in on every side, especially around York, that in one year he stood in nine battles against them.

[93 ] A.D. 870-901.

In the latter part of Ethelred's reign, about A.D. 870, certain of the Danes being possessed of the northern country, took shipping from there, landed in Norfolk, and came to Thetford. Edmund, then under-king of that province, assembled a host and gave them battle. The king, put to the worse, fled to the castle of Framingham, where being compassed on every side by his enemies, he yielded himself to their persecution. And when he would not deny Christ, they most cruelly bound him to a tree, and shot him to death. Lastly, they struck his head from his body, and cast it into the thick bushes.

Tidings soon after were brought to king Ethelred, about the landing of Osrike, king of Denmark, who with the assistance of the other Danes had gathered a great host, and were encamped upon Ashdon. King Ethelred, with his brother Alured (called Alfred), hastened to this battle to withstand the Danes. The king stayed a little behind to offer up prayer to God. Alfred coming before him, had already entered into the fight with the Danes, who struck

together with huge violence. Afterwards, through the grace of God and their godly manhood, the king came with fresh soldiers, and so discomfited the Danes that in fleeing away, they not only lost the victory, but many of them lost their lives — their king Osrike, and five of their dukes were slain.

After this the Danes re-assembled their people, and gathered a new host. So that within fifteen days they met at Basingstoke, and there battled king Ethelred, and had the better of it. Then the king again gathered his men at the town of Merton, and he give the Danes a sharp battle. But they had the honor of the field, and king Ethelred was wounded there.

After these two battles were won by the Danes, they spread over a great circuit of ground, and destroyed man and child who would not yield to them. They turned churches and temples into stables, and used them for other vile occupations.

Thus the king was beset with enemies on every side. Seeing the land so miserably oppressed by the Danes, his knights and soldiers consumed, his own land of the West Saxons in such desolation, and being wounded himself, he wished to die honestly rather than reign in such trouble and sorrow. Not long after, he deceased, and was succeeded by his brother.

***King Alured, otherwise called Alfred the Great.***

Among the Saxon kings, I find none to be compared to Alfred, for great and singular qualities worthy of high renown and commendation. We behold in him the valiant acts and manifold trials which he sustained against his enemies in wars during almost all his reign, for the public preservation of his people. We consider his godly and excellent virtues, joined with a public and tender care, and a zealous study for the common peace and tranquility of the public weal. This appears in his prudent laws as well as by the virtuous institution of his life. We respect his notable knowledge of good letters, with a fervent love and princely desire to promote the same throughout his realm, which before his time was both rude and barbarous. All these heroic properties joined together in one prince, is a rare thing and seldom seen in princes now-a-days. So I thought these were more to be noted and exemplified in this good king. Therefore, to discourse about these things in order, we will first treat his acts and painful trials sustained in defense of the public realm, against the raging tyranny of the Danes.

King Alfred, the first of all the English kings,<sup>116</sup> took his crown and unction at Rome from Pope Leo.<sup>117</sup> In the beginning of his reign, Alfred perceived his lords and people were much wasted and decayed because of the great wars of Ethelred against the Danes. Yet he gathered his people as best he could, and in the second month that he was made king he met with the Danes beside Wilton, where he battled them. But being far out-numbered by the enemy, he was put to the worse there, although not without a great slaughter of the Pagan army. The next year the Danes left those parts, and withdrew to Lindsey, robbing and pillaging the towns and villages as they went, and holding the common people under their bondage. Afterwards, the three Danish kings joined forces, and grew in mighty force and strength, till the fourth year of King Alfred. In that year (A.D. 875) Alfred's men had a conflict on the sea with six of the Danes' ships. They took one, and the others fled away. The army of the three Danish kings returned again to West Saxony. They entered the castle of Wareham, where Alfred with a sufficient force was ready to assault them. But seeing his strength, the Danes dared not attempt it with him. In the meantime they were constrained

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<sup>116</sup> King Alred ruled over the Western Saxons 871-886, and over the Anglo-Saxons 886-899.

<sup>117</sup> It was Alfred's father (Ethelwolf) who received his crown from Leo IV in 853. Adrian II was pope in 871.

to seek a truce. Leaving sufficient pledges in the king's hand, and promising moreover upon their oath to leave the country of the West Saxons, the king let them go upon the surety. But falsely breaking their agreement, they secretly broke out in the night, taking their journey toward Exeter. In this voyage they lost 120 of their small ships by a tempest. Then king Alfred followed after the horsemen of the Danes, but could not overtake them before they came to Exeter. There he took from them pledges and fair promises of peace, and so he returned. Notwithstanding, the number of the Pagans only increased, so much that in one day 30,000 of them were slain; shortly after, they increased double as many again.

The next year, the Danes ruled the whole northern part of England, from the river Thames, disdainingly that Alfred would bear any dominion on the other side of the Thames southward. Whereupon the three kings, with all the forces and strength they could gain, marched with such a multitude that the king with all his people were not able to resist them. Of the people who inhabited there, some fled over the sea, some remained with the king, and many submitted themselves to the Danes. Thus Alfred being overrun with a multitude of enemies, and forsaken by his people, having neither land to hold, nor hope to recover what he had lost, withdrew himself with a few of his nobles, into a certain wood country in Somersetshire called Etheling. There he had little to live on but such as he and his people might procure by hunting and fishing. This Etheling stands in a great marsh or moor, so that there is no access to it without ship or boat. And it has in it a great wood called Selwood, and in the middle a little plain of about two acres of ground in which there was an isle with venison and other wild beasts, with fowls and fishes. At his first coming into this wood, king Alfred spied a certain cottage of a poor swineherd, keeping swine in the wood. The king who was then unknown to him, was entertained and cherished with such meager fare as the swineherd and his wife could make him. King Alfred afterwards set the poor swineherd to learning, and made him bishop of Winchester.

Notwithstanding, the king in process of time was strengthened and comforted through the providence of God, respecting the miserable ruin of the English. First, the brother of King Halden the Dane came with thirty-three ships, and landed about Devonshire. There, by chance, they were resisted by an ambush of King Alfred's men (who lay there in garrison for their safeguard); 1300 men were slain, and their ensign called the Raven was taken. Both commanders Ingvar and Hubba were slain among the other Danes. After this, King Alfred being better cheered, showed himself more at large, so that the men of Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and Hampshire daily resorted to him, till he was strongly accompanied.

### **The Danes Subdued**

Then the king undertook a bold and dangerous adventure. Dressing himself as a minstrel, with his musical instrument in hand (as he was very skillful in all Saxon poems), he entered into the camp of the Danes, which then lying at Eddendun. While playing his interludes and songs, he espied all their sloth and idleness, and heard much of their counsel. Shortly after, he fell upon the Danes suddenly in the night and slew a great multitude of them, and chased them from that coast. Through his strong and valiant assaults, he clearly voided the country of them between there and Selwood. His subjects soon heard of his valiant victories and manful deeds, and drew to him daily from all coasts. Through the help of God, he held the Danes so short, that he won from them Winchester and other towns.

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At length he forced them to seek peace, which was concluded on certain covenants, of which the principal was that Gutrum, their king, should be christened. The other was that those who would not be christened, would depart the country.

About the fifteenth year of the reign of Alfred, the Danes returned from France to England, landed in Kent, came to Rochester, and besieged that city. They lay there so long that they built a tower of timber against the gates of the city. But by the strength of the citizens, that tower was destroyed, and the city was defended, till King Alfred came and rescued them. The Danes were so distressed by this, and so nearly trapped, that for fear they left their horses behind, and fled to their ships by night. But the king, when he was aware of this, sent after them, took sixteen of their ships, and slew many of the Danes. This being done, the king returned to London, and repaired that city. He made it habitable, where before it was decayed and enfeebled by the assaults of the Danes.

About the twenty-first year of his reign, the Danes again landed in four places of this land — in the east, in the north, and in two places in the west.

When King Alfred ascertained that the Danes had landed, he went forth against them from where he was in East Anglia. He pursued them so sharply, that he drove them out from those parts. They then landed in Kent, where the king, with his people, in like manner drove them out. After this, the Danes took shipping and sailed into North Wales; there they robbed and pillaged the Britons.

The fourth host of the Danes, the same year, came to Chester, which at length they won. But then the country adjoining pressed so sorely upon them, and besieged them so long, keeping them within the city, that at last the Danes, wearied with the long siege, were compelled to eat their own horses for hunger. Meanwhile, Alfred marched there with his host. Then the Danes, leaving their strongholds and castles which were furnished with men and victuals, and again took shipping. They so set their course that they landed in Sussex, and came to the port of Lewes. From there they headed toward London, and built a tower or castle twenty miles from London. But the Londoners hearing of this, sent out a number of men of arms. With the assistance of those from that country, they pushed the Danes from that tower, and afterward beat it down to the ground. Soon after, the king came down there. To prevent the dangers that might ensue, he commanded the river of Lea to be divided in three streams; so that where a ship might have sailed previously, a little boat might scarcely row. From there the Danes left their ships and wives, and were forced to flee that country. They took their way again toward Wales, to the river of Severn. There, on its borders, they built a castle, resting themselves there for a time. The king soon pursued them with his army. The following year, the Danes divided their host. Part went to Northumberland, some to Norfolk, and part sailed to France. Others came to Westsax (Wessex), where they had conflicts with the English, both by land and sea. Some of them were slain, many perished by shipwreck, others were taken and hanged, and thirty of their ships were taken.

Not long after this, Alfred, when he had reigned twenty-nine years and six months, quit this mortal life. And thus much we write touching the painful labors and trials of this good king. He no less valiantly achieved these, than he patiently sustained them for the defense of his realm and subjects.

### **Character of King Alfred.**

Now if there are any who desire to see and follow the virtuous and godly disposition of this king, touching both the institution of his own life, and also concerning his careful government of the commonwealth, the histories record this:

That when young, perceiving himself disposed to dissoluteness and vice, he did not give himself to all kinds of license and dissolute sensuality, as many young princes and kings' sons in the world do now. But wishing to avoid the temptation, he besought God that he would send him some continual sickness, by which he might be kept from any dissolute habits, be more profitable to the public business of the commonwealth, and be more apt to serve God in his calling.

This bountiful goodness joined with prudence in this man, in the ordering and disposing of his riches and rents, is not unworthy to be recited. He divided his goods into two equal parts. The one he appropriated to secular uses, the other to spiritual or ecclesiastical uses. He divided the first of these two principal parts into three portions: the *first* to the support of his house and family; the *second* to the workmen and builders of his new works, in which he had great delight and cunning; and the third to strangers. Likewise the other half (for spiritual uses) he divided into four portions: one to relieving the poor, another to the monasteries, the third portion to the schools of Oxford for maintaining good letters; and the fourth he sent to foreign churches outside the realm.

He was most sparing and frugal with his time, as a most precious thing in this earth. He so divided the day and night into three parts (if he were not hindered by wars and other great business), so that he spent eight hours in study and learning, eight hours in prayer and alms-deeds (charity), and eight hours in his natural rest, sustenance of his body, and the needs of the realm.

His laws issued and devised by him may declare how careful he was of the commonwealth, and for maintaining public tranquility. In these, it was especially provided by him for the extirpating and abolishing of all thieves out of the realm. By this means the realm was brought into such tranquility, or rather perfection, that at every crossroads or turn through his dominion, he caused to be set up a golden brooch, or at least silver-gilded, and none were found so hardy as to take it down either by day or night. He diligently searched out the doings of his officers, and especially of his judges, so that if he knew any of them to err, either through covetousness or unskillfulness, he removed them from their office.

And thus much concerning the valiant acts and noble virtues of this worthy prince. Although there were other ornaments besides these, they were sufficient to set forth a prince worthy of excellent commendation. Now, besides these other qualities and gifts of God's grace in him, there remains another part of no little praise and commendation. This is his learning and knowledge of good letters. He was not only excellent and expert in them himself, but he was also a worthy maintainer of them throughout his dominions. There was no grammar or other science practiced, except through the industry of the king. Schools began to be erected, and studies to flourish — though among the Britons (Alfred was Saxon) in the town of Chester, both grammar, philosophy, and foreign languages were then taught. After that, some other writers record that in the time of Egbert, king of Kent (A.D. 664-673), this island began to flourish with philosophy. About this time also, some think that the university of Grantchester was founded by Bede, near what is now called Cambridge. Before these times, it is thought that there were two schools or universities within the realm, the one was for Greek, at the town of Greglade, afterward called Kirkelade; the other was for Latin, at a place then called Latinlade, afterward Lethelade, near Oxford.

But however it chanced, the knowledge and study of good letters, once planted in this realm, afterward went to decay. King Alfred deserves no little praise for restoring or rather increasing it. By this we may see what it means to have a prince who is learned himself, who feeling and tasting the price and value of science and knowledge, is thereby not only more

apt to rule well, but also to instruct and frame his subjects from a rude barbarity, to a more civil life. Although it was somewhat late before Alfred learned, such was the docility of his nature that, being a child, he had learned the Saxon poems (those which were used then in his own tongue) by heart and memory. Afterwards with age, he grew up in great perfection of learning and knowledge. This is even more to be marvelled at, for he was twelve years of age before he knew any letters at all.

[95] A.D. 901.

At this time his mother, having by chance a book in her hand which he wished to have, promised to give it to him if he would learn it. Upon which, through his desire to possess the book, he soon learned the letters. His master was Pleimundus, afterwards bishop of Canterbury. He so grew more and more in knowledge, that at length he translated a great part of the Latin library into English. Among the books translated by him, were Orosius,<sup>118</sup> Gregory's *Pastoral*, the history of Bede, and Boetius on the *Consolation of Philosophy*. He also wrote a book in his own tongue, which he called a Hand Book. Besides translating Bede's history into the Saxon tongue, he compiled a history himself in the same style, called *The History of Alfred*, etc. As he was excellently learned himself, so he likewise inflamed all his countrymen with the love of letters. He also allured his nobles to embrace good letters, so that they all sent their sons to schools; or if they had no sons, they caused their servants to be taught. Moreover, he began to translate the Psalter into English, and had almost finished it, when death prevented him.

### **John Scot.**

Moreover, among other learned men who were around King Alfred, histories mention John Scot (a godly divine, and a learned philosopher). He is described as having a sharp wit, of great eloquence, well expert in the Greek tongue, and of a pleasant and merry nature, as appears by many of his doings and answers. He left his own country of Scotland because of the great tumults of war, and went to France. There he was worthily entertained; and for his learning, he was held in great estimation by Charles the Bald, the French king; so that he was commonly and familiarly around the king. One day the king was sitting at meal, and seeing something in John Scot which did not seem very courtly, he merrily asked him what the difference was between a Scot and a sot? Scot sitting opposite the king, somewhat lower, replied suddenly, rather than advisedly (yet merrily), *only the table*. He thereby implied the king was the Scot, and so by craft, he was calling the king a sot. How other princes might have taken this word, I do not know, but Charles, for the great reverence he bore to Scot's learning, turned it to laughter among his nobles, and so he let it pass.

Another time, the same king being at dinner, was served with a certain dish of fish, in which there were two great fishes and a little one. After the king had his part of the repast, he sent the fish down to John Scot, to distribute to the other two clerics sitting with him. They were two tall and mighty persons, and he himself was but a little man. John, taking the fish, takes and carves for himself the two great ones; the little fish he offers to the other two. The king perceiving how his division was made, reprehended it. Then John, whose manner was ever to reveal some honest matter to delight the king, answered so as to prove that his division stood just and equal. "For here" (he said) "are two great, and a little," pointing to the two great fishes and himself; "and likewise, here again is a little one and two great, pointing to the little fish, and the two great persons. I ask you" (he said) "what odds is there, or what

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<sup>118</sup> Paulus Orosius (c. 375–420 A.D.), Roman priest, historian, and theologian, and student of Augustine of Hippo.



distribution can be more equal?" The king with his nobles being much delighted at this, laughed merrily.

Moreover, Scot compiled a book which contains the resolution of many profitable questions. But he is thought to follow the Greek church rather than the Latin, for he was considered by some to be a heretic. This was because there were some things in that book which do not accord in all points with the Romish religion. Therefore the pope, writing to King Charles, complains that a certain man called John, a Scottish man, had translated the book of Dionysius the Areopagite,<sup>119</sup> about the names of God and the heavenly orders, from Greek into Latin. This book, the pope said, according to the custom of the church, should first have been approved by our judgment. Thus, although Scot was said to be a man of great learning and science, in times past he was noted as a man who was not of upright or sound doctrine in certain points. And for this reason, he was constrained to leave France, and come to England. He was allured by the letters of King Alfred, who entertained him with great favor. Scot continued a long time in the king's company, till at length (whether before or after the death of the king is uncertain) he went to Malmesbury.<sup>120</sup> There he taught certain scholars for a few years, until at last he was most impiously murdered, slain by these scholars with their penknives; and so he died.

King Alfred having these helps of learned men about him, and no less learned himself, passed his time to the great utility and profit of his subjects. Alfred had two sons, Edward and Ethelward, and three daughters, Elfleda, Ethelgora, and Ethelguida. Edward, his eldest son, succeeded him in the kingdom. The second son, Ethelward, died before his father. Ethelgora, his middle daughter, became a nun, the other two were married, the one in Merceland, the other to the Earl of Flanders. Thus King Alfred, the valiant, virtuous, and learned prince, after he had thus Christianly governed the realm for twenty-nine years and six months, departed this life, November 5, 901. He lies buried at Winchester. Moreover, I find this greatly noted and commended in history, and not to be forgotten here for its rare example — that wherever he was, or wherever he went, he always carried with him a little book containing the Psalms of David, and certain other prayers of his own collecting. He was continually reading or praying these, whenever he had any leisure.

### ***Pope Formosus and the Succession of Popes.***

As to the course and proceedings of the Romish bishops, I last mentioned Pope Stephen VI. After his time there was so much brawling in the election of the bishops of Rome, one contending against another, that in the space of nine years, there were nine bishops! The first was Formosus, who succeeded Stephen VI. He was made pope against the mind of certain ones in Rome, who preferred Sergius. When he was a bishop, Formosus had offended Pope John VIII (r. 872-882). For fear of the pope, Formosus then left his bishopric. Being sent for by the pope, he would not return to Rome; and for this he was excommunicated. At length, coming to make his satisfaction to the pope, he was degraded from a bishop into a secular man's habit. He swore to the pope that he would no longer enter the city of Rome, nor claim his bishopric again. Moreover, he subscribed with his own hand, that he would continue from that time forward, in the state of a secular person. But then Pope Martin (*i.e.*, Marinus I, the next pope after John) released Formosus from his oath, and restored him again to his bishopric. By this means, Formosus not only reentered

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<sup>119</sup> Dionysius the Areopagite was converted by St. Paul at Athens (Act 17.34). He was said to be the first bishop of Athens. About 500, probably in Syria, some writings were forged in his name (referred to as *Pseudo-Dionysius*) by a Christian Neoplatonist with Monophysite leanings, hence the heresy referred to here. (*Ency. Brit.*)

<sup>120</sup> Site of Malmesbury Abbey, famed for its learning; and one of Alfred's fortified burgs to defend against the Vikings.



Rome again, but shortly after, he obtained the papacy. Thus being placed in the popedom, there arose a great doubt or controversy among the divines about his consecration, whether it was lawful or not. Some held against him, that as he was solemnly deposed, degraded, and unpriested, and also he was sworn not to reassume the ecclesiastical state, he should therefore not be taken to be other than a secular man. Others alleged again, that whatever Formosus was, for the dignity of the order and for the credit of those whom he ordained, his consecration ought to stand in force — especially as Formosus was afterwards received and absolved by Pope Martin from his perjury and degradation, etc. In the meantime, Formosus sent to King Arnulphus for aid against his adversaries.<sup>121</sup> When then marching toward Rome, he was kept from entering by the Romans. But Arnulphus obtaining the city of Rome, rescues Pope Formosus, and beheads his adversaries. To gratify him in return, the pope blesses and crowns him as emperor. Thus Formosus, sitting as pope for four or five years, followed his predecessors. After his time (as I said before) there were nine bishops within the space of nine years, as follows below. But concerning Formosus, I would gladly ask, and more gladly learn from some impartial good catholic person who, being a papist — not in obstinacy, but in simple error — would answer his conscience, whether he thinks the holy order of priesthood which he takes for one of the seven sacraments, is an indelible character or not? If it is not indelible, that is, if it is such a thing that it may be put aside, then why does the pope's doctrine pretend that it is indelible and unremovable?

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Or if it is indeed of an indelible character, as they teach and affirm, then why did (or could) Pope John annihilate and evacuate one of his seven pope-holy-sacraments, making of a priest a non-priest, or a layman, uncharactering his own order which (as he says) is a character which in no way may be blotted out or removed? Again, however Pope John is to be judged in this matter, as either good or not good, I would know this: whether he did well in dispriesting and discharacterizing Formosus for such private offenses? If he did well, then how does this stand with his own doctrine which teaches the contrary? If he did not do well, then how does his doctrine stand with his actions, which teaches that the pope, along with his synod of cardinals, cannot err? Moreover, if this Pope John did not err in disordaining Formosus, how then did his successor Martin not err in repealing the act of his predecessor? Or how did Pope Formosus not err, who being unpriested by Pope John without reiterating the character or order of priesthood, in taking it upon himself to be pope, and to make acts and laws in the church? Again, if Formosus, when he was pope, did not err, then how did Pope Stephen, his successor, not err afterwards, by annihilating the consecration and all other acts of Formosus as erroneous? Or, again, if we say that Stephen with his synod of cardinals did right, then how could it be that Pope Theodore, and Pope John IX, who came after Stephen, did not err, who approving of the consecration of Formosus, condemned and burned the synodical acts of Stephen and his cardinals, who had previously condemned Formosus?

After Formosus had governed the See of Rome for five years (r. 891-896), Boniface VI succeeded, who continued only twenty-five days. Then came Stephen VII,<sup>122</sup> who so hated the name of his predecessor Formosus, that he abrogated and dissolved his decrees. And digging up his body after it was buried, he cut two fingers off his right hand, and

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<sup>121</sup> Arnulf of Carinthia, ruled as king of East Francia from 887 and emperor from 896 until his death in 899.

<sup>122</sup> Pope Stephen VI is often numbered V, and Stephen VII is then numbered VI. Historians may say "Steven V or VI" and "Stephen VI or VII." There is no confusion as to the person meant, only his title. This period is called "obscure."

commanded them to be cast into the Tiber. And then he buried the body in a private or layman's sepulcher!

After Stephen had sat in the "chair of pestilence" one year (896-897), Pope Romanus succeeded, and sat three months (Aug-Dec 897), repealing the acts decreed by Stephen against Formosus. Next to him came Theodore II who, siding with Formosus against Stephen, reigned but twenty days. Then sat Pope John IX who, to confirm the cause of Formosus more surely, held a synod at Ravenna of seventy-four bishops, with the French king and his archbishops present. At this council all the decrees and doings of Formosus were ratified, and the contrary acts of the synod of Stephen VII were burned. John IX continued not quite two years. After him succeeded Benedict IV, who kept the chair three years. After him Leo V, who within forty days of his papacy, was taken and cast into prison by Christopher, his own chaplain. This Christopher, being pope for about seven months, was himself driven from his papal throne by Sergius III, as he had done to his master before.

And thus within the space of nine years, nine popes had succeeded one after another. Then Sergius III occupied the seat seven years (r. 904-911), after he had thrust out Pope Christopher (antipope from 903 to 904), shorn him as a monk, and put him into a monastery. Sergius was a rude and unlearned man, very proud and cruel, who had before been kept from the popedom by Formosus, mentioned above. Therefore, to revenge himself on Formosus, he caused the body of Formosus to be taken up from where it was buried. Afterwards, sitting in the papal see (in his pontificalibus, or vestments) he first degraded him, then commanded his head to be struck off, with the other three fingers that were left, and then commanded his body to be thrown into the Tiber. Likewise he deposed all those who had been consecrated and invested by Formosus. This body of Formosus, thus thrown into the Tiber, was afterward (our writers say) found and taken up by certain fishermen, and so it was brought into St. Peter's temple. At the presence of this (they say) certain images standing by, bowed themselves down and revered the body! But such deceivable miracles of stocks and images in monkish temples are no news to us, especially here in England, where we have been so inured with the like. There are so many, that such wily practices cannot be invisible to us, though this crown-shorn generation thinks it dances in this net. But the truth is, while they think to deceive the simple, these wily beguilers most of all deceive themselves, as they will find unless they repent. By this Pope Sergius first came up with the custom of carrying around candles on Candlemas-day for purifying the blessed Virgin <sup>123</sup> — as if the sacred conception of Jesus the Son of God were to be purified as an impure thing, with candlelight.

After Sergius came Pope Anastasius III (r. 911-913). After Anastasius had sat two years, Pope Lando followed, the father (some historians think) of Pope John XI. This John is said to have been set up by Theodora, an infamous woman of Rome, to succeed Lando. Another historian, Luitprand of Cremora, mentions Theodora and Pope John X, saying "Theodora had a daughter named Marozia, who had a son *by Pope Sergius*, who later became Pope John XI." Marozia then married Guido, marquis of Tuscia. Through Guido and his friends at Rome, she had Pope John X smothered with a pillow after he had reigned thirteen years, so that her son might succeed him, as John XI. But because the clergy and people of Rome did not agree to his election, Pope Leo VI was set up instead; he reigned seven months. After him Pope Stephen VII reigned for two years (928-931). Being poisoned, Pope John XI, the

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<sup>123</sup> [Candlemas commemorates Jesus' presentation at the Temple by Joseph and Mary, as well as Mary's purification 40 days after the birth of Jesus.](#)

son of Sergius and Marozia, was again set up in the papacy, where he reigned nearly five years (931-936). I will let pass the wickedness of Marozia, how she married two brothers, one after the death of the other, and how she governed all of Rome, and the whole church at that time. After John XI, followed Pope Leo VII, who reigned three years and four months. Pope Stephen IX, three years and four months. Pope Martin three years and six months; after him Pope Agapetus eight years and six months. About his time, or a little before, began the order of monks called, "The monks of Cluny," etc. But now to leave these monstrous matters of Rome behind, we return again to our country of England, where we left off.

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***King Edward the Elder.***

After the reign of Alfred, his son Edward succeeded. This Edward began his reign (A.D. 901) and governed valiantly and nobly for twenty-seven years. He was not to be compared to his father in knowledge of good letters and learning, but otherwise — in princely renown, in the civil government, and in martial prowess — he was not at all inferior, but rather excelled him. Through his valiant acts, he subdued first the principedom of Wales, then the kingdom of Scotland, under king Constantine II. Edward added moreover to his dominion, the country of East Anglia — that is, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex. He also recovered all Merceland and Northumberland out of the hands of the Danes. In all his wars, he never went lightly or without victory. The subjects of his provinces and dominions were so inured and hardened in continual practice and feats of war, that when they heard of enemies coming (never waiting to be bid by the king or his dukes) they straightway encountered them, always excelling their adversaries both in numbers and in the knowledge of the art of war.

About the twelfth year of his reign, the Danes repented of their covenants, and intended to break them. They assembled a host, and met with the king in Staffordshire, at a place called Totenhall, and soon after at Wodenfield. At these two places, the king slew two kings, two earls, and many thousands of Danes that occupied the country of Northumberland.

Thus the importunate rage of the Danes being assuaged, and King Edward now having some leisure given from wars to other studies, he gave his mind to building or repairing the cities, towns, and castles that had been razed, shattered, and broken by the Danes.

Regarding the laws and statutes of Edward, and also of his father Alfred, I omit to record them here on account of their length. Yet notwithstanding, I think it good to note that in the days of these ancient kings of England, the authority both of conferring bishoprics and spiritual promotions, and also of prescribing laws for churchmen as well as the laity, and of ordering and intermeddling in merely spiritual matters, was then in the hands of the kings ruling in the land, and not only in the hand of the pope, as appears by the laws of Alfred.

[97] A.D. 928—965.

From this it may appear how the government and direction of the church in those days did not depend on the pope of Rome, but on the king who governed the land. To this, the example of King Edward's time also gives testimony. For Edward, along with Pleimundus, archbishop of Canterbury, and other bishops assembled in a synod. They assigned and elected seven bishops in seven metropolitan churches of the realm. In this election, the king's authority alone then seemed to be sufficient, etc.

***King Ethelstan, or Adeleston.***

Ethelstan succeeded, after the death of Edward his father (A.D. 928), and was crowned at Kingston. He was a prince of worthy memory — valiant and wise in all his acts, not at all

inferior to his father. He was held in like worldly renown of civil government, joined with much prosperous success in reducing this realm under the subjection of one monarchy. For he both expelled the Danes, subdued the Scots, and quieted the Welshmen.

Among the victorious and noble acts of this king, one blot is written about him in which he is as worthy to be reprehended, as the others were to be commended; that is, the innocent death and murder of his brother Edwin. The occasion of was this. Ethelstan was born of Egwina, the wife of Edward, *before* he was married to her. He feared his younger brother Edwin, who was rightly born. Ethelstan was especially stirred to this fear by the sinister accusations of his butler. He felt such dislike for Edwin, that he had him put in an old rotten boat in the broad sea, without any tackling or other provision. There the young and tender prince, being dismayed by the rage of winds and floods, and now weary of his life, cast himself overboard into the sea, and so he was drowned. The king, afterwards coming to his senses, was stricken with great repentance for seven years. At length he was revenged against the one who was the accuser of his brother Edwin. This accuser was the king's cup bearer (as God the righteous judge of all things would have it) at a certain solemn feast. He was bearing the cup to the king, when he chanced in the middle of the floor to stumble with one foot, helping and recovering himself with the other. He said, "Thus one brother helps another." These words being spoken in the hearing of the king, so moved his mind, that he immediately commanded the false accuser of his brother to be executed. I would wish his just recompense to be a warning to all men, what it means to sow discord between brothers.

King Ethelstan (besides his seven years lamentation for this act) built the two monasteries of Middleton and Michlenes for his brother's sake, or (as the histories say) for his soul. By this it may appear what was the cause in those days of building monasteries — to wit, for releasing the sins both of those who were departed, and those who were alive. Let the Christian reader try and examine with himself, how this cause stands with the grace and verity of Christ's gospel, and of His passion. This cruel act of the king towards Edwin caused him afterward to be more tender and careful towards his other brothers and sisters left in his hands, unmarried. He bestowed these sisters in great marriages — one to the king of Northumberland; another to Louis king of Aquitaine;<sup>124</sup> and the third (Eadgyth) to Otto I, who was the first emperor of the Germans.

The fourth of his sisters being of singular beauty, Hugh the French king <sup>125</sup> required that she be given to him. He sent to King Ethelstan precious and sumptuous presents, such as were not seen in England before. Among these presents and gifts — besides the rare aromas of sundry favors, and fine spices; and besides the precious and costly gems, and besides many beautiful coursers and palfreys richly trapped — was especially one jewel. It was a certain vessel finely and subtly made of the precious onyx stone, so radiantly wrought, that in it appeared the lively corn growing, and men's images walking, etc. Besides these, there was also sent the sword of Constantine the Great, with the name of its possessor, written in golden letters. In the handle of it, all beaten in gold, was one of the iron nails with which our Savior was nailed on the cross. Among them, moreover, was the spear (it is reported) with which the side of our Savior was opened, with a portion likewise of the holy cross enclosed in crystal; also a part of the crown of thorns in like manner enclosed, etc. As to the truth of all these relics, I am not much disposed to say all that I suspect about them.

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<sup>124</sup> There was no such king. This sister, Eadgifu, is said to have married Charles III (the Simple), King of the West Franks (Aquitaine), and son of Louis the Stammerer. The king of Northumberland was actually the Norse king of York.

<sup>125</sup> Foxe is referring to Hugh the Great, duke of the Franks (r. 936-956). This half-sister was named Eadhild.

Ethelstan also prescribed certain constitutions concerning tithes, where he proclaimed:

“I, Ethelstan King, charge and command all my officers through my whole realm, to give tithes to God of my proper goods, in living cattle as well as in the corn and fruits of the ground, and that my bishops likewise tithe of their proper goods, and my aldermen, and my officers and headmen, shall do the same. Also this I will: that my bishops and other headmen declare the same to those who are under their subjection, and that is to be accomplished at the term of St. John the Baptist. <sup>Luk 3:8-14</sup> Let us remember what Jacob said to the Lord, “Of all that you give me I will surely give a tenth to you.” Gen 28.22.

And thus much briefly concerning the history of King Ethelstan, who reigned about sixteen years. And because he died without issue, his brother Edmund therefore succeeded him (A.D. 940). He reigned six years.

### **King Edmund.**

Edmund, the son of Edward, and brother of Ethelstan, was twenty years of age when he began his reign. He had two sons, Edwin and Edgar, who both reigned after him. Edmund continued his reign six and a half years. The Danes, Scots, Normans, and all foreign enemies were expelled out of the land by him, and then the king set his mind to redressing and maintaining the state of the church, all of which then stood in building monasteries and furnishing churches, either with new possessions, or restoring the old which were taken away before. In the time of Edmund, I find this written in an old history:

“In the time of this king, there was a scattering or dispersion made of the monks out of the monastery of Evesham, and canons (clergy) were substituted in their place, through the doing of Athelm and Ulric, laymen, and of Osulfus bishop,” etc.

Here, concerning this matter between monks and others of the clergy, it is first to be understood that in the realm of England, before the time of Dunstan, the bishops’ sees and cathedral churches were not filled with monks, but with priests and canons, then called clerics or clergy. After this, a difference begins to rise between these two parties, in strictness of life and in habit; so that those who lived after a strict rule were called *monks*, and professed chastity — that is, to live a single life (for so chastity was defined in those blind days) as though holy matrimony were not chastity. The other sort who were not monks, but rather priests or clergy, lived more freely from those monkish rules and observances. They were then commonly (or at least lawfully) married, and in their life and habit they came nearer to the secular state of other Christians. Because of this, there was great disdain and emulation among them. So that in many cathedral churches, where priests were before, monks were put in; and sometimes where monks had intruded, priests and canons were again placed there, and the monks were thrown out. More will be made apparent later (by the grace of Christ) when we come to the life of Dunstan. In the meantime, to satisfy the reader, who would know about monks first coming into this realm and church of England, the following is to be noted.

About this time of King Edmund, or shortly after, when strictness of life was joined with superstition, held in veneration, and counted for great holiness then either to win fame with men, or merits with God, men gave themselves to lead a strict life.

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They thought that the stranger their conversation was, and the further from the common trade of vulgar people, the more perfect it was towards God and man. At that time there was a monastery in France named Floriake, in the order of Benedict. From this monastery

sprung a great part of our English monks. Being professed there, and afterward returning into England, they congregated men daily to their profession. Partly for the strangeness of their rule, partly for their outward holiness of life, and partly for the opinion of holiness that many had of them, they were in great admiration, not only with the rude sort, but with kings and princes. They founded their houses, maintained their rules, and enlarged them with possessions. Among these monks was one Oswald, first a monk of Floriake, and then bishop of Worcester and York. He was a great patron and establisher of monkery. More will be said later about this Oswald, bishop of York; Dunstan, bishop of Canterbury; and Ethelwald, bishop of Winchester — how they filled various monasteries and cathedral churches with monks, and how they discharged married priests and canons from their houses, to plant monks in their cells.

In the time of king Edmund, **Dunstan** was not yet archbishop of Canterbury, but only abbot of Glastonbury. Many fabulous narrations pass among the writers about him, of which the following is one of the first. When Edgar was born, Dunstan being abbot of Glastonbury (as the monkish fables dream) heard a voice in the air, of certain angels singing in this tenor and saying, “Now peace comes to the church of England in the time of this child, and of our Dunstan,” etc. I mention this so that the Christian reader might better ponder the impudent and abominable fictions of this Romish generation. They have also forged from the same mint, how at another time Dunstan heard the angels sing — which is about as true as the harp hanging in a woman’s house, played the tune of an anthem by itself. What would these deceivers *not* pretend in matters that are likely, if in things that are so absurd they are not ashamed to lie and to forge so impudently and so manifestly?

Through the instigation of Dunstan, King Edmund built and furnished the monastery of Glastonbury, and made Dunstan its abbot. By the laws of King Edmund (ordained and set forth for the redress of church matters, as well as of civil government) it may appear that the state of both temporal and spiritual causes then pertained to the king’s right (despite the false pretended usurpation by the bishop of Rome) as seen by these laws:

- By the advice of his lords and bishops, the king enacted and determined laws concerning the pure life of ecclesiastical ministers, and those who were in the orders of the church, with penalties for those who transgressed them.
- Also for tithes to be paid by every Christian man, for church fees, alms fees, etc.
- Concerning professed women, whom we call nuns, etc.
- For every bishop to see his churches are repaired by his own proper charge; and to boldly inform the king whether the houses of God were well-maintained, etc.
- For fleeing into the church for sanctuary, etc.
- Concerning cases and determinations on matrimonial questions, etc.

All of these constitutions declare what interest kings took in those days in ecclesiastical matters as well as others within their dominion, and not only in disposing the ordinances and rites that pertained to the institution of the church, but also in placing and setting bishops in their sees, etc.

In Edmund’s time, Ulstan was archbishop of York, and Odo archbishop of Canterbury. Odo continued as bishop for twenty years. After him, through favor and money, Elsinus was elected and ordained by the king to succeed. He went to Rome for the pope’s pall, but on his journey over the Alps, Odo died through the cold, upon which Dunstan succeeded him. Before this, however, king Edmund died, and was buried by Dunstan at Glastonbury.

Edmund was succeeded by his brother Edrid, (A.D. 948), who governed as protector until Edwin, the eldest son of Edmund, came of age.

### **King Edwin.**

Edwin, sometimes called Edwy, began his reign A.D. 955, being crowned at Kingston by Odo the archbishop of Canterbury. It is reported that the first day of Edwin's coronation, while sitting with his lords, he suddenly left them for the company of a certain lady, whom he retained (it not being known whether she was his wife), to the great displeasure of his lords, and especially of the clergy. Dunstan was still but abbot of Glastonbury. Following the king, he brought him back, and accused him to Odo the archbishop, by whom the king was suspended out of the church. Because of this, the king was displeased with Dunstan, and banished him. About the same time, the order of Benedictine monks, or *black monks* (as they were called), began to multiply and increase in England. So that where there had been other priests and canons, these monks were installed, and the secular priests (as they were then called, or canons) were put out. But king Edwin, for the displeasure he bore to Dunstan, so vexed *all* the orders of monks, that in Malmesbury, Glastonbury, and other places, he threw out the monks, and set *secular* priests in their stead.

Notwithstanding, it was not long before these priests and canons were again removed, and the monks restored in their stead, both in the aforesaid houses, and in many other cathedral churches, besides. In brief, king Edwin being hated by all his subjects, he was removed from his kingly honor, and his brother Edgar was received in his stead.

### **King Edgar and the Spread of Monkeny**

Edgar, the second son of Edmund, being sixteen years of age, began his reign A.D. 959. But he was not crowned till fourteen years later. The causes of this will be declared shortly. In the beginning of his reign, Edward called home Dunstan, whom king Edwin had exiled. Then Dunstan, who was abbot of Glastonbury, was made bishop of Worcester, and then of London. Not long after this, Odo the archbishop of Canterbury deceased, after he had governed that church for over twenty years. After him Brithilinus, bishop of Winchester, was first elected. But because he was thought not sufficient, Dunstan was ordained archbishop, and the other was sent home again to his old church. Note by the way, how in those days the donation and assigning of ecclesiastical dignities remained in the king's hand. Except that they brought their pall from Rome as a token of the pope's confirmation. So Dunstan, being made archbishop by the king, took his journey to Rome for his pall from Pope John XIII. After obtaining his pall, and shortly after his return from Rome, Dunstan entreats king Edgar that Oswald might be promoted to be bishop of Worcester, which was granted to him. Not long after, through Dunstan, Ethelwold was made bishop of Winchester.

The monks began first to swarm into the churches of England, that is, in the days of Edgar, by means of these three bishops, Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald. Although Dunstan was the chief ringleader, Ethelwold now being bishop of Winchester, and Oswald bishop of Worcester, were not far behind. By the instigation and counsel of these three, King Edgar is recorded to have either newly built, or to have re-built more than forty decayed monasteries. In setting up and building, Ethelwold was a great founder under the king. Moreover, through the influence of Dunstan and his fellows, in many of the great houses and cathedral churches where there had been prebendaries and priests before, King Edgar displaced the priests and brought in monks.

After the king was thus persuaded to advance monkery, Oswald, bishop of Worcester, who was also made archbishop of York — having his see in the cathedral church of St. Peter —



began with fair persuasions to test the mindset of the canons and priests, whether they would be content to change their profession, and be made monks or not.

[99] A.D. 965.

When he saw that it would not take effect, he practiced this policy with them: near the church of St Peter, within the churchyard, he erected another church of our lady, which he filled with monks. He continually frequented there, and was always seen there, by which the other church was left naked and desolate, for all the people gathered where the bishop was. The priests seeing themselves so neglected both by the bishop and the people, were driven either to relinquish the house, or else become monks. Ethelwold also drove out the canons and priests from the new monastery in Winchester, and in Oxford, and Mildune, with other places. The secular priests with their wives were expelled to give way to monks. The cause of this is thus pretended by certain writers: the priests and clerics were thought negligent in their church service, and set vicars in their stead, while they themselves lived in pleasure, and misspent the patrimony of the church. Then king Edgar gave the vicars the same land which before belonged to the prebendaries. But not long after, they showed themselves to be as negligent as the others. Therefore king Edgar, by the consent of Pope John XIII, removed the priests and ordained monks there.

### **Monks in the Primitive Age were Laymen**

Having mentioned monks and nuns, and their profession that is so greatly commended in our monkish histories, perhaps the reader may be deceived by hearing that monks are such an ancient thing in Christian life (even from the primitive church after the apostles' time), and think that monkery is admirable. Therefore, to prevent all error in this, it will not be unprofitable to say something concerning the original institution of monks, what they were, who were called monks in olden times, and how monks in the primitive time differed from the monks of the middle ages, and from the monks of this later age. Moreover, how all three of these differ from priests (as we call them) and from the clergy.

To answer the superstitious scruple of those who allege the antiquity of the term *monks*, I grant that the name and order are of old continuance, from 300 years after Christ. Several old authors write about them, such as Augustine, Jerome, Basil (who was himself one of the first instituters and commenders of that superstition), Chrysostom, Nazianzen, Evagrius, Sozomen, Dionysius, and others. Among these monks (who then were divided into hermits or anchorites, and cenobites) were Antony, Paul, and John, with various other recluses. Cassian the ascetic mentions a certain monastery in Thebes, in which there were over 5000 monks, under the government of one abbot. And here also in England, mention was made before of Bangor, in which there were 2200 monks under one man's ruling (A.D. 596). By this, it appears that monks were then, and 200 years before then, in the primitive church. But these monks were those who were driven into solitary and desert places by persecution; or else those who were not constrained by anything, but by their own voluntary devotion (joined with some superstition) they withdrew from all company. And all these were then nothing else but **laymen** — of whom there were two sorts: one sort was of the vulgar and common people; these were only partakers of the sacraments; the other sort, following a monastic life, were called *monks* (but were nothing but laymen), leading a more severe and stricter life than the others.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> August, lib. de moribus ecclesiae, cap. 13. Item, lib. de operibus Monachorum. Item, Epistola ad Aurelium. Also by Hierome ad Heliodorum. Also the same appears likewise by the fourth canon of the Council of Chalcedon, where it is provided, “ne monachi se ecclesiasticis negotiis iramisceant;” that is, “that monks should not intermeddle with



Monks in the former age of the church, although they lived a solitary life, they were only laymen, differing from priests, and differing from the other monks who succeeded them in the middle age of the church. They differed in three points:

First, they were bound to no prescribed form, either of diet or apparel, or any thing else.

Secondly, they remained in the order of laymen (only having a stricter life than the rest) and had nothing to do in ecclesiastical matters.

Thirdly, the monks of that age (although most of them lived single) some of them were married; and certainly none of them were forbidden or restrained from marriage. Of those who were married, Athanasius says in *Epistola ad Dracontium*, that he knew both monks and bishops who were married men, and fathers of children, etc.

And yet the monks of the old time, though they were better than those who followed, superstition began to creep among them into the church, through the crafty subtlety of Satan, and all for the ignorance of our *free justification by faith in Jesus Christ*. Examples declare the vain and prodigious superstition of these men. Two or three will suffice for many, which I here insert, so that the mind of the godly reader may better consider and understand how shortly after the time of Christ and his apostles, the doctrine of Christian justification began to be forgotten; true religion turned to superstition; and the price of Christ's passion was obscured through the vain opinion of men's merits. A certain abbot named Moses thus testifies of himself in the collations of Cassian, that he so afflicted himself with fasting and watching, that sometimes for two or three days together, he not only felt no appetite to eat, but also had no remembrance of any food at all, and because of this, he was also driven from sleep. So that he was obliged to pray to God for a little refreshing sleep to be given him some part of the night. In the same author is mentioned a certain old man, a hermit, who because he had conceived in himself a purpose never to eat meat unless he had some guest or stranger with him, he was sometimes constrained to abstain for five days until Sunday, when he came to the church, and brought some stranger or other home with him.

I will add two other examples out of Cassian, to show how the subtlety of Satan, through superstition and a false color of holiness, blinds the miserable eyes of those who attend to men's traditions rather than to the word of God. A certain abbot named John, in the desert wilderness of Scythia, sent two novices with figs to someone who was sick, eighteen miles away from the church. It chanced that these two young novices, missing the way, wandered so long in the wild forest or wilderness, and could not find the cell, that for emptiness and weariness they waxed faint and tired. And yet they would rather die than taste the figs committed to them to carry, and so they did. For shortly after they were found dead, their figs were lying whole by them.

He recites another story of two monastical brethren, who making their progress in the desert of Thebes, purposed to take no sustenance except what the Lord himself would minister to them. It happened as they were wandering in the desert, and almost fainting for want, certain Mazises — a people who are fierce and cruel by nature — notwithstanding, were suddenly altered into a new nature of humanity. They came forth, and of their own accord, offered them bread. The one thankfully received this bread as sent by God; the other, counting it sent by man and *not* of God, refused it, and so he perished.

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matters of the church," etc. Et Leo Epistola, 62, vetat monachos et laicos, "etsi scientiae nomine gloriantur, admitti ad officium docendi et concionandi."

I might also add the story of Mucins who, to show his obedience, did not hesitate at the command of his abbot, to cast his son into the water, not knowing whether any were ready to rescue him from drowning. That is how far the monks in those days were drowned in superstition. What is this, if not for man's traditions and commandments to transgress the commandment of God, which says, "You shall not murder; you shall not tempt the Lord your God?" What man is so blind that he does not see by these and many other examples, what pernicious superstition began to creep into the church because of this monkery, almost from the beginning? I cannot marvel enough at this, seeing that that age of the church had so many learned doctors who not only approved and followed these monastical sects, but were themselves authors and institutors of the same. Among them may be reckoned Basil and Nazianzen, who with immoderate austerity so reduced themselves, that when they were called to the office of bishops, they were not able to bear the labor of it.

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### **Monks in the Middle and Later Ages of the Church.**

After these primitive monks, followed other monks of the middle age of the church. They increased both in multitude and in superstition, and began little by little to leave their desolate dens in the vast wilderness, and approach nearer to great towns. There they had solemn monasteries founded by kings and queens, and kings' daughters. I note that most of these monasteries were first erected after some great murder, either by war in the field, or privately committed at home. This will appear to those who read the books that I have mentioned. But to return to our monks again, they first began to creep from the cold field into warm towns and cloisters, then from towns into cities, and at length from their close cells and cities into cathedral churches. There they not only abounded in wealth and riches (especially these monks of our later time) but much more in superstition and Pharisaical hypocrisy. They were yoked and tied in all their doings, to certain prescribed rules and formal observances — in watching, sleeping, eating, rising, praying, walking, talking, looking, tasting, touching, handling — in their gestures and in their vestures. Every man was not apparelled as the proper condition of others would require, nor as the season of the year served, but as the rules and order of every sect enforced upon them. The number of these sects was infinite.

Some after Basil's rule, went in white; some after Benedict's rule in black; some were of Cluny; some after Jerome's rule were leather-girdled, and coped above their white coat; some Gregorians were copper-colored; some were grey monks; Grandimontenses wore a coat of mail on their bare bodies, with a black cloak on top; some were Cistercians, who had white rochets on a black coat; some were Celestines, all in blue, both cloak, cowl, and cap; some were charter monks, wearing haircloth next their bodies. Some were Flagellants, going barefoot in long white linen shirts, with an open place in the back where they beat themselves with scourges on the bare skin every day, right before the people's eyes, till the blood ran down. They said it was revealed to them by an angel, that in so scourging themselves, within thirty days and twelve hours, they would be made as pure from sin, as they were when they first received baptism. Some were starred monks; some Jesuits, with a white girdle and russet cowl.

But who can reckon the innumerable sects and disguised orders of their fraternities? Some holding of St. Benedict, some of St. Jerome, some of St. Basil, some of St. Bernard, some of St. Bridget, some of St. Bruno, some of St. Louis — as though it were not enough for Christians to hold to Christ alone. They were so subject to servile rules, that no part of Christian liberty remained among them. They were so drowned and sunk in superstition,

that they had not only lost Christ's religion, but almost the sense and nature of men. For men naturally are and ought to be ruled by the discreet government of reason in all outward doings, in which one rule can serve for all men. But the circumstance of time, place, person and business being so sundry and diverse, it was the contrary among these. No reason but the knock of a bell ruled all their doings — their rising, sleeping, praying, eating, coming in, going out, talking, and silence — altogether like insensible people, either not having reason to rule themselves, or else as persons ungrateful to God. They neither enjoyed the benefit of reason created in them, nor used the grace of Christ's liberty for which He redeemed them.

Thus the reader sees what the monks were in the primitive time of the church, and what they were in the middle age, and of these monks our later days of the church. Now join to this, that where the monks of elder times were mere laymen and not spiritual ministers, Boniface III afterwards made a decree (A.D. 606), that monks might be employed in the office of preaching, christening, hearing confessions, absolving people from their sins, etc. So then, monks who in the beginning were but laymen, and not spiritual ministers, who were forbidden by the general Council of Chalcedon to intermeddle with ecclesiastical matters, afterwards, in the process of time, they so encroached on the office of spiritual ministers, that at length the priests were discharged from of their cathedral churches, and monks were set in their places. That was because monks in those days, leading a stricter life and professing celibacy, had a greater countenance of holiness among the people than the priests did. And in the days of King Edgar, they had wives (at least as many who would) for no law forbade them, till the time of Hildebrand, who was called Gregory VII.

#### **King Edgar's Character, and his Oration to the Clergy.**

And thus much by the way, as to the order and profession of monks. Now to turn again to the matter of King Edgar. Those provinces and lordships which had not yet come under the king's subjection, he united to his dominion, and so he made one perfect monarchy of the whole realm of England, with all the islands and borders around it. Those who were wicked, he suppressed; those who were rebels he repressed; the godly he maintained. He was devout to God, and beloved by his subjects, whom he governed in much peace and quietness. And as he was a great seeker of peace, so God blessed him with much abundance of peace, and rest from all wars. He was a great maintainer of religion and learning, not forgetting in this the footsteps of King Alfred his predecessor.

It is reported about this Edgar, by diverse authors, that about the thirteenth year of his reign, he was at Chester. Eight kings, to wit, *petty* kings, came and did homage to him. All these kings, after they had given their fidelity to Edgar, the next day (for pomp or royalty), he entered with them into the river Dee. There, sitting in a boat, he took the helm, and caused these eight kings, every person taking an oar in his hand, to row him up and down the river, to and from the church of St. John to his palace again, in token that he was master and lord of so many provinces.

And thus you have heard, touching the commendation of King Edgar, such reports as the old monkish writers bestow upon him, as the great patron of their monkish religion, who had built as many monasteries for them as there were Sundays in the year.

Now on the other side, let us likewise consider what vices were in him, according to what the said authors described, who most wrote to his advancement. One vice is noted to be cruelty to others, as well as to a certain earl called Ethelwold. The story is this: Ordgar, Duke of Devonshire, had a certain daughter named Elfrida. Her beauty being highly commended to the king, he sent Ethelwold (whom he especially trusted) to the daughter, to see her and to

bring word back to him. And if her beauty was such as reported, he also desired Ethelwold to negotiate a marriage between them. Ethelwold finding the daughter, and seeing her beauty not at all inferior to her fame, and thinking to serve *himself*, he gave a false account of her to the king. Whereupon the king changed his mind, and in the end Ethelwold himself married the maiden.

Not long after the king heard how he was deceived, he set a fair face on the matter before Ethelwold, and merrily jesting with him, told him that he would come and see his wife, and indeed appointed the day when he would be there. Ethelwold perceiving this matter to go badly with him, made haste to his wife, declaring to her the coming of the king, and also revealing the whole order of what he had done. He desired her — upon her love for him, if she would save his life — to disfigure herself with such garments and attire that the king might not discover her beauty. But Elfrida upon hearing this, *contrary* to the request of her husband and the promise of a wife, in preparing for the king's coming, she trimmed herself at the mirror, and decked herself in her best array. When the king beheld her, he was not so much delighted with her, as with hatred for her husband who had so deceived him. Upon which the king shortly after, making as though he would go hunting in the forest of Harwood, sent for Ethelwold to join him, under the pretense of hunting. And there the king ran him through and slew him.

[101] A.D. 965—976.]

Besides the vices charged to King Edgar by our monkish writers, I also observe another, which was blind superstition and idolatrous monkery brought into the church of Christ, along with the wrongful expelling of lawfully married priests out of their houses. What inconveniences ensued after in this realm, especially in the House of the Lord, I leave to the consideration of those who have heard of the detestable enormities of those religious votaries (vow-makers). The occasion of this first and chiefly began in Edgar, through the instigation of Dunstan and his fellows. After they influenced the king, and brought him to their purpose, they caused him to call a council of the clergy, where it was enacted that the canons of various cathedral churches, parsons, vicars, priests, and deacons, with their wives and children, should either give up that kind of life, or else give their places to monks, etc.

And thus much concerning the history of King Edgar, and of those things which happened in his time in the church. When he had reigned for sixteen years, he died, and was buried at Glastonbury. He left behind two illegitimate children, Editha and Edward, and one lawful son, named Ethelred.

King Edgar is noted in all histories to have lived a riotous and debauched kind of life. In consequence of his having taken a nun named Elfled into his house, he was kept back from his coronation by Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, for seven years. And so the king began his reign when he was sixteen years old (A.D. 959), was crowned (A.D. 974). Concerning the coronation and the presumptuous behavior of Dunstan against the king, and his penance was enjoined by Dunstan, you will hear both Osbern, Malmesbury, and other historians speak in their own words as follow:

“After Dunstan understood the king's offense had been perpetrated with the professed nun, and that it was spread among the people, he came with great ire and passion of mind to the king. Seeing the archbishop coming, the king arose from his regal seat towards him, to take him by the hand, and to give him honor. But Dunstan refused to take him by the hand, and with stern countenance bending his brows, he spoke to this effect to the king. ‘You who have not feared to corrupt a virgin dedicated to Christ, presume to touch the consecrated hands

of a bishop? You have defiled the spouse of your Maker, and do you think by flattering service to pacify the friend of the bridegroom? No, Sir, I will not be his friend, who has Christ as his enemy,' etc. The king terrified with these thundering words of Dunstan, and touched with inward repentance of his sin, fell down weeping at the feet of Dunstan who, after he had raised him from the ground, began to utter the horribleness of his act. And finding the king ready to receive whatever satisfaction he would lay upon him, enjoined him this penance for the space of seven years, as follows:

“That he should wear no crown all that time; that he should fast twice a week; he should liberally distribute his treasure, left to him by his ancestors, to the poor; he should build a monastery of nuns at Shaftsbury, so that, as he had robbed God of one devoted maiden through his transgression, so he should restore to him many more in times to come. Moreover, he should expel clerics from evil life (meaning those priests who had wives and children), out of the churches, and place a community of monks in their place,' etc.

It follows then in the story of Osbern, that when the seven years of the king's penance were expired, Dunstan called together all the peers (noblemen) of the realm, with the bishops, abbots, and other ecclesiastical degrees of the clergy, in the public sight of all the multitude, and set the crown upon the king's head at Bath. This was the thirty-first year of his age, and the thirteenth year of his reign — so that he reigned only three years crowned king. All the other years, Dunstan probably ruled the land as he pleased.

Among his other laws, this king ordained that the Sunday should be solemnized from nine o'clock on Saturday evening till Monday morning. He also made a certain oration <sup>127</sup> to the clergy, not unworthy to be read, as follows:

*The Oration of King Edgar to the Clergy.*

“Because God has showed his great mercy to work with us, it is fitting (most reverend fathers), that we should answer his innumerable benefits with worthy works. For we do not possess the land by our own sword, and our own arm has not saved us — but his right hand and his holy arm, because he has delighted in us. Therefore it is fitting that we should submit both ourselves and our souls to Him who has subjected all these things under our government; and we should stoutly labor so that those whom he has made subject to us, might be subject to his laws. It belongs to me to rule the laypeople with the law of equity, to do just judgment between a man and his neighbor, to punish church-robbers, to suppress rebels, to deliver the helpless from the hand of the stronger, also the needy and the poor from those who rob them. It also belongs to my care to provide necessary things for the ministers of the churches, for the flocks of the monks, for the company of nuns, and to provide for their peace and quiet. The examining of all whose manners (way of life) belong to us — whether they live purely, if they behave themselves honestly toward outsiders, whether they are diligent at God's service, if they are earnest to teach the people, if they are sober in eating and drinking, if they keep measure in their apparel, and if they are discreet in judgment — if you had regarded these things with a trial of them (O reverend fathers, by your leaves I speak), then such horrible and abominable things of the clerics would not have come to our ears. I omit to speak of how their crown is not broad, nor their rounding convenient; for the wantonness of your life, the pride of your gesture, the filthiness of your words, declare the evil of the inward man.

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<sup>127</sup> Foxe had placed this oration at the end of the present book with this observation — “A certain oration of King Edsar's which should have been placed before, chanced in the meantime to come into my hands, not unworthy to be read: I thought by the way, in the end of this book, to insert the same (although out of order), yet I judge it better out of order, than out of the book.” It is here inserted in its proper place. [Ed.]

“Furthermore, what negligence is there in God’s service, in scarcely being present at the holy Vigils? And when they come to mass, they seem to be gathered to play and laugh rather than to sing. I will tell what good men will be sorry for, and what the evil will laugh at. I will speak with sorrow (if I may so express it) how they are so riotous in banquetings, in chambering, drunkenness and riotings, that now clerics’ houses may be thought to be convents of players. There is dice, there is dancing and singing, there is watching till midnight, with crying and shouting. Thus the goods of kings, the alms of princes, yes (and what is more) the price of that precious blood is not esteemed. Have our fathers then spent their treasure for this purpose? Have the king’s coffers decayed by taking away many revenues for this cause? Has the king’s liberality given lands and possessions to Christ’s churches for this intent: that clerics’ dancers and singers should be decked with them? that riotous feasts might be dressed? that hounds and hawks and other such toys might be gotten? The soldiers cry out about these things; the people grudge, minstrels sing and dance, and yet you do not regard it — you spare it, you dissemble it. Where is the sword of Levi, and the zeal of Simeon, which killed the Sichemites and the circumcised because they abused Jacob’s daughter, and who bore the sign of those who defile Christ’s church with filthy deeds? Where is Moses’ spirit which did not spare his own kinsfolk who worshipped the head of the calf? Where is Phineas, the priest’s dagger, who pacified God’s anger with holy zeal when he killed the one who sinned with the Midianite? Where is Peter’s spirit, by whose power covetousness is destroyed, and simoniacal heresy is condemned? Be earnest you priests, be earnest to follow the ways of the Lord, and the righteousness of our God. It is time to act against those who have broken the law of God. I have Constantine’s sword, and you have Peter’s sword in your hands.

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“Let us join right hands, let us couple sword to sword, that the lepers may be cast out of the temples, that the holy place of the Lord may be purged, and the sons of Levi may minister in his temple, those who said to his father and mother, I do not know you; and to his brother, I do not know you. Go to diligently, I pray you, lest we regret having done what we did, and having given what we gave, if we see that it is not to be spent in God’s service, but on the riotousness of wicked men, through vile and corrupt liberty of life, and lack of chastisement. Let the relics of holy saints, which they despise, and the holy altars before which they play the madmen, move you. Let the great devotion of our ancestors move you, whose alms the madness of the clerics abuse. My great grandfather (as you know) gave a tenth of all his lands to churches and abbeys. My great-great grandfather, Alfred, of holy memory, thought it not fitting to spare his treasures, his goods, nor costs, nor rents, that he might enrich the church. Your fatherhood is not ignorant of how my grandfather the elder Edward gave great things to the churches. It becomes you to remember with what gifts my father and his brothers enriched Christ’s altars. O father of fathers, Dunstan! behold (I pray you) the eyes of my father looking upon you from that bright place of heaven. Harken to his complaining words sounding in your ears, thus pitifully lamenting, Father Dunstan! you, *you* (I say) gave me counsel to build abbeys and churches. You were my helper and fellow-worker in all things. I chose you as a shepherd and bishop of my soul, and a keeper of my ways. When did I not obey you? What treasures did I prefer above your counsels? What possessions did I not despise, if you bid me? If you thought it fitting to give anything to the poor, I was ready. If you thought it fitting to give anything to churches, I did not defer. If you complained that monks or clerics lacked anything, I supplied it. You said that alms lasted forever, and that there was none more fruitful than that which was given to abbeys or churches. For with that, God’s servants are sustained, and what remains is given to the poor. O, worthy alms! O, worthy price of the soul! O, wholesome remedy for our sins, which now stinks in the sweet furs of priestly robes,<sup>128</sup> and

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<sup>128</sup> A priest’s long robe was belted, having full long sleeves, and often lined with fur.

that with which they adorn their ears, and deck their fingers, dressing their delicate bodies with silk and purple! O, father! Is this the fruit of my alms? Is this the effect of my desire, and of your promise? What will you answer to this complaint of my fathers? I know, I know: when you saw a thief, you did not run with him, nor have you put your portion with adulterers. You have rebuked, you have exhorted, you have blamed them. But your words have been despised; now we must come to stripes of correction. You have here with you the worshipful father, Edward bishop of Winchester. You have the reverend prelate, Oswald bishop of Worcester. I commit this business to you, so that both by bishoply correction, and the king's authority, those who live filthy lives may be cast out of the churches, and those who live orderly may be brought in," etc.

In this oration of King Edgar above, three things are chiefly to be noted and considered by those who have judgment to mark and understand: *first*, the religious zeal and devotion of kings, both in giving to the church, and also in correcting the manners of churchmen; *secondly*, the dissolute behavior of the clergy, who were then abusing the great donations and patrimonies of princes bestowed upon them; *thirdly*, the blind ignorance and superstition of that time in both states — ecclesiastical as well as temporal — in esteeming Christ's religion to consist chiefly in giving to churches, and in maintaining monkery. They were falsely persuaded that the remission of their sins and the remedy of their souls, lay in building monasteries, erecting churches and cloisters, placing monks in them, and in such other charitable deeds and works of devotion. In this it appears how ignorant those of that time were of the true doctrine of Christ's faith, and of *the free grace of the gospel*, which promises life, remedy, and justification, not by any devout merits of ours, nor by any works either of the law of God, or of the inventions of man, but *only and freely by our faith in Christ Jesus the Son of God*, in whom alone consist all the promises of God. Amen.

### ***King Edward the Martyr.***

After the death of King Edgar, no small trouble arose among the lords and bishops concerning the succession of the crown. The principal cause of this arose on this occasion: Immediately after the decease of the king, Alferus, duke of Mercia, and many other nobles sided with Ethelred, who was the only rightful heir and lawful son of Edgar. They disliked the placing and intruding of monks into the churches, and throwing out the secular priests, with their wives and children, from their ancient possessions. So they expelled the abbots and monks, and brought back the priests with their wives. Against them were certain others who offered resistance, such as Ethelwin duke of East Angles, Elfwold his brother, and the Earl Brithnoth. They said, on the contrary, that they would never permit the religious monks to be expelled and driven out of the realm, for they upheld all religion in the land. And thereupon, they levied an army to defend the monasteries by force.

In this hurly-burly among the lords, about the placing of monks, and putting out of priests, there also rose a contention about the crown, as to who should be their king. The bishops and those lords who favored the monks, sought to advance a king whom they knew would incline to their side. So that, the lords being thus divided, some of them would have Edward, the illegitimate son, and some would have Ethelred, the lawful son. Then Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, and Oswald, archbishop of York, with their fellow bishops, abbots, and other lords and dukes, assembled in a council together. In this council, Dunstan came in with his cross in his hand, and he brought Edward before the lords. He persuaded them in the end that Edward was elected, consecrated, and anointed as their king.

After Dunstan and his fellows had thus set up Edward as their king, they supposed all to be sure on their side, and that they had established the kingdom of monkery forever, through

the help of the young king, and the duke of East Angles, and certain other nobles whom they had drawn to their side. However, this matter did not pass so well with them as they hoped. For shortly after the coronation of the young king, Alfenis, duke of Mercia, stoutly standing on the other side, drove out the monks from the cathedral churches, and restored the priests with their wives. The words of the author are these,

“Alferus, duke of Mercia, with other great men more, drove out the monks from the great monasteries whom King Edgar had set in there before, and restored again the priests with their wives.” (*Hist. Jornal in vita Edgari.*)

Hereby it evidently appears that priests in those days were married, and had their lawful wives. The duke and nobles of England expelled the monks out of the monasteries after the death of King Edgar. Let us hear more of what the abbey of Crowland records.

“The monks being expelled out of certain monasteries, the clerics were again brought in, who distributed the manors or farms of the said monasteries to the dukes and lords of the land, so that, being obliged to them, they would defend them against the monks. And so the monks of Evesham were thrust out, and the secular clerics were placed, and the lands of the church were given to the lords, with whom the queen, the king’s stepmother, holding the same time, also took sides with the said clerics against the king. On the contrary side stood the king and the holy bishops, taking sides with the monks. However, the lords and peers of the realm, staying upon the favor and power of the queen, triumphed over the monks,” etc.

Thus, just as there was much ado through all quarters of the realm among the lords, no less contention arose between the priests and monks. The priests complained to the king and Dunstan, saying that it was inappropriate, uncharitable, and indeed unnatural, to put out an old known dweller for a new unknown one; and that God was not pleased that what was given to him by God, should be taken from the ancient possessor.

[103] A.D. 976-995.

On the other side, the monks said for themselves that Christ allowed neither the old dweller, nor the newcomer, nor did He look upon the person, but that whoever would take the cross of penance upon himself, and follow Christ in virtuous living should be His disciple. The monks made these and other such allegations. But whether a monk’s cowl, or a wifeless life, make a sufficient title to another men’s possessions or not, I refer to the judgment of the godly. The troublous cares in marriage, the necessary provision for house-keeping, the virtuous bringing up of children, the daily helping of poverty, and bearing public charges, with other manifest perturbations and encumbrances that are daily incident to matrimony, might appear to wise men to come nearer to the cross of penance, than the easy and loitering idleness of monkery. In the end, a council of bishops and other of the clergy was held upon this controversy, where the greater part of both the nobles and commons, judged the priests to have suffered great wrong, and sought by all means possible to bring them back to their old possession and dignities.

### **King Edward Murdered, Succeeded by King Ethelred.**

Not long after, King Edward, whom the writers describe to be a virtuous and a meek prince, very pitying of and beneficial to the poor, about the fourth year of his reign, came from hunting in the forest alone, without the company of his servants, to the place in the west country where Alfrith his mother lived with her son, Ethelred. When the queen-mother was warned of his coming, she called a specially trusted servant, showing him how and what to do to accomplish her wicked purpose. This being done, she made towards the king, and received him with all courtesy. She desired him to tarry that night; but in like courtesy he



excused himself. He desired only to see his brother, and to drink sitting upon his horse. Now, while the cup was at his mouth, the servant of the queen struck him in the body with a long two-edged dagger. After which the king struck the horse with the spurs, and it galloped towards the place where he was supposed to meet with his company. But he bled so much that he fell from his horse with faintness, one foot being caught in the stirrup. He was dragged by his horse over fields and lands till he came to a place named Corf-gate, where he was found dead.

### Succession of Popes

In the order and course of the Roman bishops, mention was made last of Agapetus II, after whom succeeded Pope John XII (A.D. 955-964).<sup>129</sup> This pope is noted to be very wicked and infamous, with abominable vices. He was an adulterer, gamester, extortioner, perjurer, fighter, murderer, and was cruel and tyrannous. He put out the eyes of some of his cardinals; some he cut off their tongues, some their fingers, some their noses, etc. In a general council before the Emperor Otto I, these objections were listed against him:

“That he never said his service; that in saying his mass he did not communicate (the Lord’s Supper); that he ordained deacons in a stable; that playing at dice he called for the devil to help; that for money he made boys bishops; that he committed adultery; that he put out the eyes of the Bishop Benedict; that he caused houses to be set on fire; that he broke open houses; that he drank to the devil; that he never crossed himself,” etc.

For these causes he was deposed by the consent of the emperor with the prelates, and Pope Leo VIII was substituted in his place (A.D. 963-964). But after his departure, Pope John was restored again to his place, and Leo was deposed. At length about the tenth year of the popedom of this John, being found outside the city with another man’s wife, he was so wounded by her husband, that eight days later he died.

After him the Romans elected Pope Benedict V (A.D. 964) without the consent of the emperor. Upon which Otto, the emperor, was not a little displeased for displacing Leo VIII, whom he had previously promoted, and also for choosing Benedict V. He came with his army, and laid siege to Rome, and so he set up Pope Leo VIII again (A.D. 964-965). To gratify his benefactor, Leo crowned Otto emperor, and entitled him to be called *Augustus*. Also, the power which Charlemagne had given before to the clergy and people of Rome, this Leo granted to the emperor and his successors; that is, touching the election of the bishop of Rome. The emperor again restored to the See of Rome all such donations and possessions which either Constantine (as they falsely pretend) or which Charlemagne took from the Lombards, and gave to them.

After Pope Leo, succeeded Pope John XIII. Peter, the head captain of the city, with two consuls, twelve aldermen, and various other nobles, gathered their power, and laid hands on the pope in the church of Lateran, and put him in prison for eleven months. The emperor hearing this, with all speed returned with his army to Rome. After executing the authors and chief perpetrators of that act, he committed Peter to the pope’s sentence. The pope caused him first to be stripped naked, his beard shaved, and to be hung by the hair a whole day.

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<sup>129</sup> The Reader must bear in mind that Foxe introduced Pope *Joan* as the 8th [see page 90], and therefore he arranges all the succeeding *Johns* under numbers successively higher in the numeric line of succession. Again, during the pontificate of Boniface VII, there was another *John*, whom Foxe reckons as the 15th (XV). He was elected after the election of Boniface VII and deposed before the death of Boniface. He is therefore generally omitted in the line of succession in the papal chair. These things occasion much difficulty for the general reader, by confusing the designations of the many popes of this name. Therefore, the designation of Pope John in the time of Boniface, as the 15th, is omitted in this edition; the others are styled in the usual way. [Ed.]

After that, he was set upon an ass (his face turned backward, and his hands bound under the ass's tail), and so he was to be led through the city, so that all men might see him. That being done, he was scourged with rods, and banished from the city. Thus you see how the holy father follows the injunction of the gospel, "Love your enemies."<sup>Mat 5.44</sup> From this pope first proceeded the christening of bells (A.D. 971).<sup>130</sup>

After him followed Pope Benedict VI, who in like manner was apprehended by Cinthius, a captain of Rome, and cast into prison, where he was strangled, or as some say, starved to death.

Boniface VII, son of Ferrucius, then became antipope.<sup>131</sup> He likewise saw the citizens of Rome conspire against him, and was constrained to hide himself. Seeing no place to tarry, he took the treasure of St. Peter's church, and secretly fled to Constantinople. In his stead, the Romans set up one Pope John. Not long after, Boniface returned from Constantinople. With his money and treasure, he procured a garrison or company to take his part. Pope John was taken, his eyes were put out, and he was thrown into prison. Some say he was starved to death there; others say he was slain by Ferrucius. Nor did Boniface reign many days afterward, but he suddenly died. His carcass was dragged by the feet through the streets of Rome in a most despicable manner, the people shrieking and crying out against him (A.D. 976).

The next pope after him was Benedict VII, by the consent of Emperor Otto II (the Red). He reigned nine years (A.D. 974-983). After Benedict, succeeded Pope John XIV; he died the eighth month of his papacy; next came John XV (A.D. 985-996), and after him Gregory V (A.D. 996). This Gregory was a German, and therefore he was more disliked by the clergy and people of Rome. And so Crescentius,<sup>132</sup> with the people and clergy, conspired against Gregory, and set up John XVI (A.D. 997-998). Gregory went in all haste to the emperor, who with his army went to Italy, got the city, and there took both Crescentius the consul, and John the pope. John first had his eyes put out, and then was deprived of his life. Crescentius the consul was set upon a vile horse, having his nose and ears cut off, and so he was led through the city, his face being turned to the horse's tail. Afterward, having his members cut off, he was hanged upon a gibbet. Pope Gregory, thus being restored, reigned four years in his papacy (till A.D. 999).

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***King Ethelred II, sometimes called Egelred and Elred.***

King Edward being murdered, as said before, the crown next fell to Ethelred. This Ethelred had a long reign given to him by God, which endured thirty-eight years; but it was very unfortunate and full of great miseries. He seems to have been a prince lacking the courage to govern a commonwealth. Our English histories, in writing of his reign, report that it was ungracious in the beginning, wretched in the middle, and hateful in the end. About the eleventh year (some say the ninth year) of this king's reign, Archbishop Dunstan died. Not long after Dunstan's death, the Danes again entered England, in many different places of the land. The king scarcely knew which coast he should go to first to withstand his enemies. But

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<sup>130</sup> A small hand-held bell, or set of bells, is sounded during mass at the consecration. It signals that a supernatural event is taking place on the altar, as the bread and wine are "transformed" into the body and blood of Christ.

<sup>131</sup> Foxe says here, "Then came Pope Donus II, after Boniface VII." His statement has been excised. Pope Donus II was a non-existent pope, mistakenly inserted in the *Annuario Pontificio* after Pope Benedict VI.

<sup>132</sup> Crescentius was the son of Theodora and brother of John XIII. He stirred up the insurrection that had Benedict VI thrown into prison, and elevated his successor to the papacy, who was Boniface VII (above).

in the end, he was compelled to appease the Danes with great sums of money. And when that money was spent, they fell to robbing the people, and assailing the land, not only around Northumberland, but at last they also besieged the city of London. Being repelled from there by the manhood of the Londoners, they strayed to other adjoining countries, burning and killing wherever they went. So that, for lack of a good head or governor, many things in the land perished. For the king gave himself to vice, and to taxing his subjects, and to disinheriting men of their possessions. He made them redeem these possessions with great sums of money, in order to pay great tributes to the Danes yearly. This was called *dane-gilt* (Danegeld). These tributes so increased, that from the first tribute of 10,000 pounds, it grew to 40,000 pounds in the course of five or six years.

To this sorrow was joined, moreover, hunger and penury among the commoners. It was so bad, that they were constrained to pluck and steal from others. From what was pillaged by the Danes, and by local thieves and bribers, this land was brought into great affliction.

The Danes prevailed more and more over the English. They grew in such pride and presumption, that they caused the farmers to reap and sow the land, and to do all other vile labor belonging to the house, while they sat at home at their pleasure. When the farmer came home, he could scarcely have as much of his own, as his servants had. So that the Dane had everything at his will, and fill, faring of the best, while the owner scarcely had his fill of the worst. Thus the common people, being so oppressed by them, were in such great fear and dread, that not only were they constrained to suffer the Danes in what they did, but they were also glad to please them.

And thus we have brought this history up to A.D. 1000. In this year, the twenty-first year of his reign, through the counsel of his companions about him, Ethelred began something that became the occasion of a new plague to the Saxons. For in this year the king married Emma, the daughter of Richard, duke of Normandy. Because of this marriage, King Ethelred was not a little enhanced in his own mind. He sent secret and strict commissions to the rulers of every town in England, that upon St. Brices' Day, at an appointed hour, the Danes should be suddenly slain.<sup>133</sup> And so it was performed.

Soon after, tidings came into Denmark of the murder of those Danes. King Swanus of Denmark landed in Cornwall with a great host and navy, and took Exeter, and beat down the walls. From there he proceeded further inland. They came to Wilton and Sherborne, where they cruelly pillaged the country, and slew the people. But Swanus, hearing that the king was coming to him, took to his ships. As soon as he heard of any host of Englishmen coming toward him, he took to his ships again. So that when the king's army sought to meet him on one coast, he would suddenly land in another. And thus they wearied the English, and in conclusion, brought them into extreme and unspeakable misery — to such an extent that king Ethelred was glad to make peace with them, and he gave King Swanus £30,000.

After this, Swanus heard of the increase of his people in England. He broke his covenants not to molest the English, and with a great army and navy, he landed in Northumberland and proclaimed himself king. There, when he had subdued the people after much vexation, and caused the earl with the rulers of the country to swear fealty to him, he crossed the river Trent, and subdued the people there. He forced them to give him pledges or hostages. These hostages, with his navy, he committed to his son Canute to keep, while he went further

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<sup>133</sup> [The St. Brice's Day massacre is dated in Nov. 13, 1002. The Anglo-Saxon chronicle relates that the massacre was carried out in response to an accusation that the Danes would "beshrew \[Aethelred\] of his life, and afterwards all his council, and then have his kingdom without any resistance."](#)

inland. And so, with a great host he came to Mercia, killing and slaying. Then by strength he took Winchester and Oxford, and did what he liked there. That being done, he came toward London. Hearing the king was there, he passed by the river Thames, came into Kent, and there besieged Canterbury, where he was resisted for twenty days. At length, by the treason of a deacon named Almaric, he won it and took the goods of the people, set the city aflame, and decimated the monks of St. Augustine's abbey (that is, they slew nine out of every ten by cruel torment, and the tenth they kept alive as their slave). So they slew 900 monks; of other men, and over 8,000 women and children. And finally, after they had kept the bishop Elphegus in prison for seven months, because he would not give them £3000, and did many villainies to him, they brought him to Greenwich, and there stoned him to death.

King Ethelred in the meantime, fearing how this persecution would end, sent his wife Emma, with his two sons Alfred and Edward, to the Duke of Normandy, with whom he also sent the bishop of London. The Danes still proceeded in their fury and rage. And when they had won a great part of West Saxony, they returned again to London. The Londoners hearing of this, sent them certain great gifts and pledges. At last, about the thirty-fifth year of his reign, the king was chased to the Isle of Wight, and with a secret company he spent a great part of the winter there. Finally, without cattle or comfort, he sailed to Normandy to his wife. Shortly after, Swanus died suddenly.

When King Ethelred heard of the death of Swanus, he returned to England. Canute, lacking provision, fled to Sandwich, and there he cut off the noses and hands of the hostages whom his father left with him. He then sailed into Denmark. The next year he returned again with a great navy, and landed in the south country. The eldest son of King Ethelred, called Edmund Ironside, made provision to meet him. At this time King Ethelred, at London, was taken with great sickness, and there he died. He had reigned thirty-six years. He left his eldest son Edmund, and also Elfred and Edward. Although Ethelred was miserably assailed and vexed by his enemies, together with his council, he issued many wholesome laws.

*Edmund Ironside, a Saxon, and Canute a Dane,  
Kings together in England.*

After the death of Ethelred a dispute arose between the Englishmen for the election of their king. The citizens of London, with certain other lords, named Edmund, the eldest son of Ethelred (a young man of lusty and valiant courage). In his martial adventures he was both hardy and wise, and could very well endure all pains. Therefore he was surnamed *Ironside*. But more of the lords favored Canute, the son of Swanus — especially the abbots, bishops, and other spiritual men, who before had sworn to his father. Because of this, many great battles were fought between these two martial princes, first in Dorsetshire, where Canute was compelled to flee the field. And after that, they fought another battle in Worcestershire. It was so hard-fought that none could tell who had the better. But either for weariness or for lack of day, they departed from one another. On the next morning they fought again; but then Canute was compelled to forsake the field.

[105] A.D. 995-1007.

After this they met in Mercia, and there they fought again; Edmund had the worse of it. Thus there were many great conflicts between these two princes. But one season, when the hosts were ready to engage, a certain time of truce was taken before the battle. A knight of Edmund's party stood on a high place, and said these words:

“We die daily and none has the victory: and when the knights are dead on either side, then the dukes, compelled by need, will either reach agreement, or else they must fight alone. And is

this kingdom not sufficient for two men, which sometimes sufficed for seven? But if the covetousness of lordship in these two men is so great, that neither can be content to take a part and live *with* the other, nor *under* the other, then let them fight alone who will be lords alone. If all men continue to fight, in the end all men will be slain, and none will be left to be under their lordship, nor able to defend the one who will be against foreign enemies and nations.”

These words were so well approved by both hosts and princes, that both were content to try the quarrel between the two princes alone. The place and time were appointed, where they would both meet in the sight of the two armies. When they had assailed each other with swords and sharp strokes, first by the motion of Canute (as some write), suddenly they both agreed and kissed each other, to the comfort of both hosts. Shortly after, they agreed upon the partition of the land. And after that, during their lives, they loved as brethren. Soon after, a son of the wicked duke Edric espied when King Edmund was unarmed, and with a spear (some say with a long knife) thrust him through. Edmund shortly died from this, after he had reigned for two years. He left behind him two sons, Edmund and Edward, whom the wicked duke Edric, after the death of their father, took from their mother (not yet knowing of the death of Edmund her husband) and presented them to king Canute. Thus Canute, after the death of Edmund Ironside, was king of the whole realm of England.

When Canute was established in the kingdom, he called a parliament at London, where this question was proposed to the bishops, barons, and lords of the parliament: whether in the covenant made between Edmund and Canute, any provision was made for the children of Edmund, for any partition of the land. The lords flattering the foreign king, and speaking against their own minds, and their native country, said there was not. They affirmed moreover with an oath (for the king's pleasure), that to the utmost of their powers, they would disregard the blood of Edmund in all that they might do. Because of this answer and promise, they thought to have purchased great favor with the king. But by the just retribution of God, it chanced far otherwise. For he distrusted many of them, and disdained them ever after; so that, some he exiled, and a great many he beheaded. Among them was wicked Edric the traitor. For as the king was in his palace, Edric coming to him, began to reckon up his benefits and labors — in forsaking and betraying Ethelred, then in slaying King Edmund his son, with many more such deeds — which he had done for the king's sake. “Well,” said the king, “You have here rightly judged yourself, and you shall die deservedly for slaying your natural prince, and my sworn brother.” And so he immediately commanded him to be bound hand and foot, and be thrown into the Thames.

Thus the Danes being settled in England, little by little became Christians. Canute went to Rome, and returning again to England, he governed that land for twenty years, leaving after him two sons, Harold and Hardicanute.

Harold (called Harefoot, for his swiftness), began his reign over England A.D. 1036. He reigned but four years.

### ***Hardicanute, the last Danish King in England***

Hardicanute was the next king of England (A.D. 1040). When he had reigned two years he was suddenly stricken dumb, and fell down to the ground. Within eight days he died without issue of his body. He was the last Danish king that reigned in England.

The earls and barons, after his death, assembled in council, and determined that no Dane should ever be king of England, for the contempt they had shown to Englishmen. Forever before, if Englishmen and Danes happened to meet on a bridge, the Englishmen were obliged to stand still till the Danes had passed. Moreover, if the Englishmen had not bowed

their heads to do reverence to the Danes, they would have been beaten. For such insults and villainies they were driven out of the land after the death of Hardicanute, and they never came back.

The earls and barons, by their common consent and council, sent to Normandy for these two brethren, Alfred and Edward; intending to crown Alfred the elder brother, and to make him king of England. The earls and barons made their oath to this. But the earl Godwin of West Sax, falsely and treacherously, thought to slay these two brethren as soon as they came into England, so that he might make his son Harold king. Godwin had this son by his wife, who was Hardicanute's daughter.

When Alfred heard these messengers, and perceived their tidings, he thanked God, and in all haste came to England, arriving at Southampton. There Godwin, the false traitor (having knowledge of his coming), welcomed and received him with joy, pretending to lead him to London where the barons waited to make him king. And so they passed on together toward London. But when they came to Guilddown, the traitor commanded his men to slay all who were in Alfred's company, who had come with him from Normandy. After that, they were to take Alfred, and lead him to the Isle of Ely, where they would put out both his eyes. So they slew the whole company that was there, numbering twelve gentlemen who came with Alfred from Normandy. After that, they took Alfred, and in the Isle of Ely, they cruelly murdered him. And so this innocent Alfred, being the rightful heir of the crown, died through the treason of wicked Godwin. When the lords of England heard of it, and how Alfred, who should have been their king, was put to death through the false traitor Godwin, they were very angry, and swore between God and them, that Godwin would die a worse death. They would have put him to death immediately, except that the traitor fled from there into Denmark, and there he continued more than four years, and lost all his lands in England.

### **Legends of Canute**

It is reported of king Canute, that following the superstition of Achelnot, archbishop of Canterbury, he went on a pilgrimage to Rome, and there he founded a hospital for English pilgrims. He gave the pope precious gifts, and burdened the land with a yearly tribute, called the "Rome-shot." He enshrined the body of Berinus, and gave great lands and ornaments to the cathedral church of Winchester. He built St. Benedict's in Norfolk, which before was a hermitage. Also St. Edmundsbury, which King Athlestan had previously ordained for a college of priests, he turned into an abbey for the monks of St. Benedict's order.

Henry, archdeacon of Huntington, mentions this Canute, as does Polydore. He says that after coming from Rome, Canute was walking one time by the port of Southampton (but Polydore says, and Fabian affirms, it was on the Thames side of London). His flatterers coming around him, began to exalt him with high words, calling him a king of all kings (most mighty) who had under his subjection both the people, the land, and also the sea. Canute turning this matter over in his mind (either out of the pride of his exalted heart, or to test and refute their flattering words) commanded that his chair of state be brought to the seaside at the time the tide should begin to rise. (Polydore says that no seat was brought, but that he sat upon his garments, folded under him). There he charged and commanded the tides rising and coming towards his feet, that they should touch neither him nor his clothes. But the water kept its ordinary course, coming nearer and nearer, first to his feet, and then rising higher, it began to wash over him. The king, abashed with this, and also partly afraid, started back. Looking to his lords, he said,

“Look, you call me such a mighty king, and yet I cannot command this little water to stay at my word, but it is ready to drown me. By this all earthly kings may know that all their powers are vain, and that none is worthy to have the name of a king, but Him alone who has all things subject to the power and authority of his word, which is the Lord of heaven and earth, the Creator of all things, the Father of Christ our Lord, who with him forever is to be glorified. Let us worship Him and extol our King forever.”

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After this (as historians witness) he never allowed the crown to be placed on his head, without going to Winchester or (as some say) to Canterbury. Both those may be true; for his going to Canterbury was to acknowledge that there was a Lord much higher and of more power than he himself, and with that, to render up his crown forever.

Here it is also to be noted of Canute, that although in the beginning of his reign he acted upon King Edgar’s laws, yet in the process of time, he issued specific laws of his own. Among these are several that concern ecclesiastical causes. By this it may appear that the government of spiritual matters did not then depend on the bishop of Rome, but pertained to the lawful authority of the temporal prince, no less than temporal matters and causes.

And here being an end of the Danish kings, we return to the English kings, whose right line comes in again as follows.

***King Edward, called the Confessor.***

The next election and right of the crown pertained to Edward, the younger son of King Ethelred and Emma, a true Englishman. He had been long banished in Normandy. He was a man of gentle and soft spirit, more pliable to other men’s counsel, than able to trust his own. He was so averse to all war and bloodshed, that being in his banishment, he wished to continue all his life in that private estate, rather than by war or bloodshed to aspire to any kingdom. This Edward came over, accompanied with a few Normans, and was crowned king (A.D. 1043). After he had thus taken upon himself the government of the realm, he guided it with much wisdom and justice for nearly twenty-four years. From him issued (as out of a fountain) much godliness, mercy, pity, and liberty toward the poor, gentleness and justice toward all men, and in all honest life he gave a virtuous example to his people.

In Edward’s time, his mother Emma was accused of being familiar with Alwin, the bishop of Winchester. Upon this accusation, Edward took many of her jewels from her, and caused her to be kept more strictly in the abbey of Warwel. He committed the bishop to the clergy to be examined by them. Polydore says they were both in prison at Winchester, where sorrowing over the defame of both herself and the bishop, and trusting upon her conscience, she desired justice. She offered herself as ready to abide any lawful trial, yes, even if it were the sharpest. Then many of the bishops petitioned the king for them both, and they would have obtained their wish, had not Robert, who was then archbishop of Canterbury, stopped the suit. Not well-pleased with their labors, he said to them,

“My brethren, how dare you defend this woman? She has defamed her own son the king, and degraded herself with the bishop. If so, the woman will purge the priest, who will then purge the woman who is accused of consenting to the death of her son Alfred, and who procured venom to poison her son Edward. But let her be tried in this way, to see if she is guilty or guiltless: if she will go barefoot for four steps, and the bishop for five, on nine red-hot plough-shares, then if she escapes harmless, he will be acquitted by this challenge, and she also.”

She consented to this, and the day was appointed. The king and a great part of his nobles were present, except Robert, the archbishop. Robert had been a monk of a house in Normandy, and a helper of the king in his exile. So he came over and was made first bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. Then she was led blindfolded to the place between two men, where the irons lay burning hot, and passed the nine shares un hurt. "At last," she says: "Good Lord, when shall I come to the place of my purgation?" When they then opened her eyes, and she saw that she was past the pain, she kneeled down giving God thanks. Then the king relented (says the history), and restored to her what he had taken from her, and asked her forgiveness.

About this time, William duke of Normandy came with a goodly company into England to see King Edward, and was honorably received. And the king, at his return, enriched him with many great gifts. And there (some write) Edward promised him that if he died without issue, William should succeed him in the kingdom of England.

This virtuous and blessed King Edward, after he had reigned twenty-three years and seven months, died, and was buried in the monastery of Westminster, which he had greatly augmented and repaired.

### ***King Harold and William of Normandy.***

Harold, the son of Earl Godwin, and the last king of the Saxons, succeeded Edward, but many of the nobles went with Edgar Adding, the next heir after Edmund Ironside. Despising the young age of Edgar, and also forgetting the promise he had made to Duke William, that he would marry his daughter and keep the kingdom for him, Harold took it upon himself to be king of England (A.D. 1066).

William duke of Normandy, Immediately sent an ambassage to Harold, king of England, reminding him of the covenants that were agreed between them — which was to keep the land for his use after the death of Edward. But because the daughter of Duke William (who was promised to Harold) was dead, Harold thought himself discharged of his promise.

Hearing Harold's answer, Duke William, now that the messengers had gone and come back, gathered his knights, and prepared his navy. He obtained the consent of the lords of his land to aid and assist him in his journey. He sent to Rome to Pope Alexander, concerning his title and voyage into England. The pope confirmed him, and sent him a banner, desiring him to bear it in the ship in which himself should sail. Thus Duke William took shipping at the haven of St. Valery. There he tarried a long time for a convenient wind. At last the wind came about, and they took ships with a great company, and landed at Hastings in Sussex.

There were three causes which induced Duke William to enter this land to subdue Harold. One was, that it was given to him by King Edward his nephew. The second was to avenge the cruel murder of his nephew Alfred and of the Normans, which he ascribed chiefly to Harold. The third was to revenge the wrong done to Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, who was exiled because of Harold.

Thus, while Harold was in the north, Duke William made such great speed, that he came to London before the king, who was kept out till William made good surety that he and his people would pass through the city without tarrying. Well observing this promise, he passed the bridge and went over to Sussex. From there he sent a monk to Harold, and proffered him three ways to go. First, to render to William the possession of the land, and so to take it back from him under tribute, reigning under him; secondly, to abide and stand to the pope's



arbitration; or thirdly, to defend this quarrel in his own person against the duke, and they two alone would try the matter by dint of sword, without any other blood-shedding.

But Harold refused all these offers, saying, "It should be tried by dint of swords, and not by one sword." And so he gathered his people and joined battle with the Normans, in the place where afterwards the Battle Abbey was built in Sussex. In the beginning of this fight, the Englishmen kept themselves in good array and were likely to vanquish the Normans. Therefore Duke William caused his men to give way, as though they were fleeing, whereby the Englishmen followed fast, and broke their array. Then the Normans, fiercely giving a charge upon them, and in conclusion obtained the victory through the just providence of God. Where King Harold had murdered Alfred before, the true heir of the crown, with his company of Normans so cruelly, he was now wounded by the Normans in his left eye with an arrow, and he died from it.

[106] A.D. 1066.

Gerard says, however, that Harold fled away to Chester, and after that lived as a monk in the monastery of St. James. This Duke William and King Edward were cousins on their father's side. For Richard I, who was the third duke of Normandy after Rollo, was father to Duke Richard II, and brother to Emma, who was mother to King Edward. Duke Richard II was father to duke Robert, who was William's father.

The church of Christ and the state of religion, first founded and grounded by Christ and his apostles, did not continually remain in the primitive perfection in which it was first instituted. In the process of time, it began to go from better to worse, to decrease and decline into much superstition and inconvenience. This was partly through the coming of Mahomet, partly through the increase of wealth and riches, and partly through the decrease of knowledge and diligence in those who should be the guides of Christ's flock. Yet the infection and corruption of that time (even though it was great) did not abound in such excessive measure as it did afterwards in the later times now following — that is, about a thousand years after Christ, which we must treat.

### ***Succession of Popes c. 1000-1073***

About this time and year came pope Sylvester II, who succeeded Gregory V, and occupied the See of Rome about A.D. 1000. After Sylvester, succeeded John XVII, by whom the Feast of All Souls was brought in (A.D. 1004)<sup>134</sup> — through the means and instigation of Odilo, abbot of Cluny, celebrated next after the feast of All Saints. This monk Odilo, thinking that purgatory should be in Mount Etna in the country of Sicily, dreamed that by his masses he had delivered various souls from there. He said moreover, "that he heard the voices and lamentations of devils, crying out because the souls were taken from them by the masses and dirges!" Not long after came John XVIII. and Sergius IV. After them succeeded Benedict VIII, then John XIX, who brought in the fast of the eve of John Baptist and St. Lawrence. After him followed Pope Benedict IX, who was glad to sell his seat to his successor, Gregory VI, for £1500.

At this time there were three popes in Rome, reigning and raging against one another — Benedict IX, Sylvester III, and Gregory VI. For this cause the emperor came to Rome to displace the three monsters, placing Clement II in the papal chair. Thereupon he enacted that no bishop of Rome should henceforth be chosen without the consent and confirmation

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<sup>134</sup> [The Feast of All Souls, celebrated on Nov. 2nd, is a day dedicated to praying for the faithful departed, believed to be in purgatory, cleansing their souls to prepare them for heaven.](#)

of the emperor. This constitution, though it was both agreeable and necessary for the public tranquility of that city, the Cardinals would not allow it to stand for long. They impugned it afterward by subtle practice and open violence. In the time of Clement II, the Romans made an oath to the emperors concerning the ejection of the bishops, to intermeddle no further in this unless the emperor consented. However, the emperor departed into Germany; by and by they forgot their oath; and nine months later they poisoned the bishop. Some impute this act to Stephen, his successor, called Damasus II. Some impute it to Brazutus. Within thirteen years (historians record), he poisoned six popes: that is, Clement II, Damasus II, Leo IX, Victor II, Stephen IX, and Nicholas II.

Clement being poisoned, after him succeeded Damasus II, neither by consent of the people, nor elected by the emperor, but by force and invasion. He too was poisoned within twenty-three days (A.D. 1049). Much contention and striving began in Rome about the papal seat. The Romans, through the counsel of the Cardinals, sent their concerns to the emperor, desiring him to give them a bishop. And so he did. His name was Bruno, afterward called Leo IX. Bruno was a simple man, easily led by evil counsel. He came from the emperor towards Rome in his pontifical apparel like a pope. He was met along the way by the abbot of Cluny, and Hildebrand, then a monk, who seeing him in his pontifical robes, began to berate him, charging that he would take his authority from the emperor, rather than the clergy of Rome and its people, as was the habit of his predecessors.

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And so they counselled him to lay down that apparel, and to enter in with his own habit, till he had been elected by them. Bruno following their counsel, and confessing his fault before the clergy of Rome, obtained their favor. And so he was called Leo IX, by whom Hildebrand was made a cardinal. Under this Pope Leo, two councils were held. One was at Versailles, where the doctrine of Berengarius against the real presence in the sacrament was first condemned (though Berengarius had not yet recanted; nevertheless, this was later done in the Council of Lateran, under Nicholas II, A.D. 1060). The other was held at Moguntia, where (among many other decrees) it was enacted that priests should be excluded and utterly debarred from marriage.

After the death of Leo, whom Brazutus poisoned in the first year of his popedom, Theophylactus strove to be pope. But to defeat him, Hildebrand went to the emperor, who assigned another bishop, called Victor II. This Victor, holding a council at Florence, deposed various bishops and priests for simony and fornication — for simony, in that they took their dignities from secular men for money; for fornication, in that contrary to their canon, they were married, etc. Just past the second year of his papacy, this pope too followed his predecessors, being poisoned by Brazutus, procured by Hildebrand and his master.

Here now the church and clergy of Rome began to wrest out of the emperor's hand the election of the pope. They elected Stephen IX as pope (A.D. 1057), contrary to their oath, and to the emperor's assignment. This Stephen was not ashamed to accuse Emperor Henry of heresy, for diminishing the authority of the Roman see. So this was their definition of *heresy* at that time, not to maintain the ambitious proceedings of the Romish prelate. And they defined *simony* as taking and enjoying any spiritual living at a secular man's hand.

In the meantime, Stephen the pope, tasting of Brazutus' cup, fell sick. Hildebrand, hearing that, returned home with all speed. So coming to Rome, he assembles all the companies and orders of the clergy together, making them swear that they would admit none to be bishop but the one who is appointed by the public consent of them all, together. This being done,

Hildebrand, takes his journey into Florence, to fetch the bishop of Florence to install him as bishop. The clergy swore to him that no bishop would be ordained before his return. But the *people* of Rome, not suffering the election to be delayed so long, after the death of Stephen, elected one from their own city, called Benedict X. Hearing of this, Hildebrand was not a little offended. Therefore, returning to Rome with Garhard, bishop of Florence, he caused the clergy to proceed to a new election, saying that Benedict was not lawfully called, but came in by force and bribing. But the clergy, not daring to attempt any new election at Rome, went to Sienna (in Tuscany), and there elected Garhard, whom Hildebrand brought with him. So there were then two popes in Rome. But Garhard, named Nicholas II, holding a council at Sutrium — through the help of Duke Godfrid and Guibert, and other bishops around Italy — caused the other pope to be deposed. Benedict understanding them to be set against him through the machinations of Hildebrand, unpoped himself, and went to Velitras. He lived there more quietly than he would have at Rome.

### ***Council of Lateran – 1060***

Nicholas was thus set up without the mind either of the emperor or of the people of Rome. After his fellow pope was driven away, he broke up the Synod of Sutrium, and came to Rome. There he assembled another council, called the Council of Lateran. In this council, the terrible sentence of ***excommunication*** was first promulgated, mentioned in its decrees. The effect of it was this: *First*, that using a subtle practice, Nicholas undermines the emperor's jurisdiction, transferring to a few cardinals and certain catholic persons the full authority of choosing the pope. *Secondly*, against all those who creep into the seat of Peter by money or favor, without the full consent of the cardinals, he thunders the terrible blasts of excommunication, cursing them and their children with devils, as wicked persons, to the anger of Almighty God; and also giving authority and power to cardinals, with the clergy and laity, to depose all such persons, and call a General Council wherever they will against them.

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In this Council of Lateran, Berengarius, an arch-deacon, was driven to recant his doctrine, in which he *denied* that the real substance of Christ's holy body and blood is in the sacrament, otherwise than sacramentally and in mystery. Thus, in the same council, this new-found device and term *transubstantiation* was also hatched and invented.

It would take too long here to declare the confederation between this Nicholas and Robert Guiscard, whom this pope (contrary to all right and good law, and displacing the rightful heir) made duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, and captain-general of St. Peter's lands. Thus, through force of arms and violence, Guiscard might better subdue all those who might rebel against Nicholas. Now, let all men who are godly and wise, judge and understand how this stands with the doctrine of Christ, the example of Peter, or the spirit of a Christian bishop — by outward arms and violence to conquer Christian men and countries, under the obedience of a bishop's see. Thus Pope Nicholas II, by might and force, continued three and a half years. But at length, he met with Brazutus' cup, and so he died.

At the beginning of this, or somewhat before (about A.D. 1057), after the decease of Henry III, Henry IV was made emperor. He was but a child, and reigned fifty years; but not without great molestation and much disquietude. And all of this was through the ungracious wickedness of Hildebrand, as it will be declared later (the Lord permitting).

Here, by the way, is an example to be noted, by which all princes may learn and understand how the pope is to be handled, whoever looks to have any goodness at his hand. If a man stands in fear of the pope's curse, he will be made his slave; but if the pope is despised by

you, then you will have him as you like. For the pope's curse may well be likened to Domitian's thunder. If a man gives ear to the noise and crack, it seems a terrible thing; but if you consider the causes and effect of it, it is most vain and ridiculous.

In the reign of this Nicholas (A.D. 1060), Aldred bishop of Worcester was appointed archbishop of York. Coming to Rome for his pall with Tostius, Earl of Northumberland, he could not obtain it, but was deprived of all dignity. Whereupon, returning again to Rome with Tostius, he made his complaint there, but would not be heard till Tostius, a man of stout courage, taking the matter in hand, told the pope to his face, that "his curse was not to be feared in far countries when the pope's own neighbors, and indeed, the vilest vagabonds derided and despised it at home." Therefore he required the pope, either to restore Aldred again to his goods, or else it would be known that they were lost through Nicholas' means and subtlety. Tostius said that the king of England, upon hearing this, would debar him of St. Peter's tribute, thinking it a shameful treatment of him and his realm if Aldred should come from Rome both deprived of his dignity, and spoiled of his goods. The pope being thus persuaded by the argument of his *purse*, was content to send Aldred home with his pall, according to his request.

After the death of Nicholas, the Lombards having been oppressed by Pope Nicholas, and brought under fear, were more desirous, and thought it good, to have a bishop of their own company. And so they elected the bishop of Parmen, called Cadolus, to be pope. They sent to the emperor, desiring his favor and support in this. For the election of the pope (they said) most properly pertained to him. The emperor, well-pleased and content, gave them his voice and support. But Hildebrand, a stout maintainer of popish liberties against good emperors, hearing this, set up by a contrary faction another bishop, *Anselm*, later called Alexander II (1061-1073). Cadolus, thus elected by the emperor and the cardinals, set out to Rome with a sufficient army and strength of men.

Alexander, no less prepared, met him there with another army. They had a great conflict, and many were slain on both sides. But Cadolus, though he had the better cause, had the worse fortune. The emperor seeing this hurly-burley, sent his ambassador Otto, archbishop of Cullen, to take up the matter. Coming to Rome, he sharply chides the pope for taking this upon himself without the leave or knowledge of the emperor. He declared how the election of that see, should chiefly pertain to the right of the emperor, as it had done for the most part in the time of his predecessors. But Hildebrand, all set on wickedness and ambition, and also not a little puffed up with his recent victories, did not allow the ambassador to speak to the end, interrupting him in the middle of his tale. He affirmed that if they were to stand to law and custom, then the liberty of that election would belong to the *clergy* rather than to the *emperor*. In short, Otto the ambassador, agreeing more with the clergy than with the emperor, was content to be persuaded. He only required *this* in the emperor's name: that a council should be held to decide the matter, at which the emperor himself would be present. This was agreed.

#### ***Council of Mantua – 1064.***

In that council, held at Mantua, Alexander was declared pope, and the other had his pardon granted. In this same council, among many other considerations, it was concluded concerning priests, that they should have no wives; that priests' children were not to be secluded from holy orders; that no benefices (priestly offices) were to be bought for money;

that the use of “halleluiah” outside of the church was to be suspended during Lent, etc.<sup>135</sup> This also was decreed (which most furthered Hildebrand’s purpose): that no spiritual man (clergy), whatever his office, should be appointed to any church by a secular person,<sup>136</sup> and that the pope should be elected only by the cardinals, etc.

Cardinal Benno<sup>137</sup> writes of Alexander, that after he perceived the frauds of Hildebrand, and of the emperor’s enemies, and understanding that he was set up and enthroned only for a purpose; being at his mass, as he was preaching to the people, told them he would not sit in the place, unless he had the license of the emperor. When Hildebrand heard this, he was stricken with such fury, that he could scarcely keep his hands off him, while mass was ongoing.’ After the mass was finished, by force of soldiers and strength of men, he had him taken into a chamber, and there he struck Pope Alexander with his fists, berating and rebuking him because he would seek for favor of the emperor.

— Thus Alexander being kept in custody, and being stinted to a certain allowance (about five groats, or twenty pennies a-day), Hildebrand appropriated the whole revenue of the church to himself. Alexander, under the miserable endurance of Hildebrand, died after eleven and a-half years of his popedom. And thus much of Romish matters.

### **Succession of the Archbishops of Canterbury.**

Now returning again to the history of our own country, we enter upon the reign of William the Conqueror, the next king following in England. But first, as at the end of the former book, we will give the order of the archbishops of Canterbury; beginning with Ethelred, who succeeded Celnoth, the last mentioned above (Book II, p. [88]).

*The names and order of the archbishops of Canterbury,  
from the time of King Egbert to William Conqueror.*

- |                         |               |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| 18. Ethelred.           | 27. Siric.    |
| 19. Pleimund.           | 28. Elphege.  |
| 20. Athelm.             | 29. Livinge.  |
| 21. Ulfelm.             | 30. Egenold.  |
| 22. Odo.                | 31. Edsius.   |
| 2A. Elfius, or Elfinus. | 32. Robert.   |
| 24. Dunstan.            | 33. Stigand.  |
| 25. Ethelgar.           | 34. Lanfranc. |
| 26. Elfric.             |               |

### THE END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

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<sup>135</sup> During Lent, the Catholic Church suspends the use of “Alleluia” or “Hallelujah” in the liturgy to emphasize the penitential nature of the season.

<sup>136</sup> Originally, “that no spiritual man, whatsoever he be, should enter into any church, by a secular person...” This refers to the **Investiture Controversy**, a conflict between Church and State, as to which will choose and install (invest) bishops, abbots, and even the pope himself.

<sup>137</sup> Cardinal Benno, or Beno (fl. 1082-1098), was involved in the *Investiture Controversy*. He wrote the *Gesta Romanae ecclesiae contra Hildebrandum*, an account of the alleged misdeeds of Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand).

# ACTS AND MONUMENTS

## BOOK IV.

CONTAINING

### *The 300 years from Wm. the Conqueror to Wycliffe A.D. 1066-1364.*

In which is described the proud and mis-ordered reign of antichrist,  
beginning to stir in the church of Christ.

William, duke of Normandy, surnamed *the Conqueror*, was the illegitimate son of Robert, the sixth duke of Normandy, and nephew to King Edward. After his victory against Harold, he was received as king over the realm of England, not so much by assent, as for fear and necessity; for the Londoners had promised their assistance to Edgar Etheling. But being weakened and wasted so greatly in former battles, the duke coming so fast upon them, and fearing that they could not make their party good, they submitted themselves. William was crowned on Christmas day (A.D. 1066), by the hands of Aldred, archbishop of York. For at that time Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was absent, or else he dared not or would not come into the presence of the king.

This king reigned over England twenty-one years and ten months, with great severity towards the English, burdening them with tributes and exactions. He required for every hide of ground containing twenty acres, six shillings.<sup>138</sup> Some parts of the land rebelled, and especially the city of Exeter. But at last William overcame them, and punished them. On account of that and other severities of William, several of the Lords departed into Scotland. Therefore he kept the other lords who tarried even stricter, and exalted the Normans, giving them the chief possessions of the land. Having obtained the kingdom by the sword, he changed the whole state of the government, and ordained new laws at his own pleasure, profitable to himself, but grievous and hurtful to the people. He abolished the laws of King Edward, even though he was sworn to observe and maintain them.

William endeavored to establish a form of government both in the church and commonwealth, answerable his own mind. However he allowed the clergy a kind of jurisdiction of bringing persons before them and of exercising such ecclesiastical discipline as that age and time used.

Besides this, William, as he was a warrior delighting in forts and bulwarks, built four strong castles; two at York, one at Nottingham, and another at Lincoln, whose garrisons he filled with Normans.

About the third year of his reign, Harold and Canute, sons of Swanus, king of Denmark, entered into the north country. The Normans within York, fearing that the Englishmen would aid the Danes, set fire to the suburbs of the town. The flame was so great and the wind so strong that it took to the city, and burned a great part of it, including the minster of St. Peter. No doubt many worthy works and monuments of books were consumed there. The Danes, by the favor of some of the citizens, entered the city and slew more than 3000 of the Normans. But not long after, King William chased them out, and drove them to their ships. He was so displeased with the inhabitants of that country, that he destroyed the land from York to Durham. The province still lay waste nine years later; and the inhabitants were kept

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<sup>138</sup> *Hide of ground: a unit of land and tax assessment, sufficient to support one household with dependents.*

in such penury by the war of the king, that (as our English history relates) they ate rats, cats, and dogs, with other vermin.

In the fourth year of the reign of this king, Malcolm king of Scots entered Northumberland, destroyed the country, and slew many of the people there — men, women, and children — in a lamentable way; and they took some prisoners. But within two years, King William made such war upon the Scots, that he forced Malcolm their king to do him homage.

And thus much concerning the outward calamities of this realm under this foreign conqueror, which is now the fifth time that the land has been scourged by the hand of God. First, by the Romans, then by the Scots and Picts, afterwards by the Saxons; and then by the Danes. And yet the indignation of God did not cease, but stirred up the Normans against them, who conquered and altered the whole realm. So that, besides the introduction of new laws, coins, and possessions, there was scarcely an English bishop in any church of England, but only Normans and foreigners placed through all their dioceses. This land was then brought to such a misery, that of all the English nobility, not one house was standing, and it was also thought reproachful to be called an Englishman.

Also in the fourth year of this king, a solemn council of the clergy of England was held at Winchester. At this council two cardinals sent from Pope Alexander II were present. In this council, the king being present, several bishops, abbots, and priors were deposed (by means of the king) without any cause. It was so that his Normans might be promoted to the rule of the church, just as he had promoted his knights to the rule of the temporality.

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Among those deposed was Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury. He was deprived of his dignity, and kept in Winchester as a prisoner during his life. Stigand was noted as a man so covetous and stingy, he would take nothing from his own stores. He swore that he did not have a penny. Yet, using the key fastened around his neck, a great treasure of his was found hidden underground.

### **The Primacy between York and Canterbury.**

At the same time, Thomas, a *Norman*, was preferred to the archbishopric of York, and Lanfranc, an *Italian*, was made archbishop of Canterbury.

After this, Lanfranc and Thomas came to Rome, with Remigius, bishop of Dorchester, to receive their palls, as was the manner. Without this pall, no archbishop or bishop could be confirmed, however lawful their election was. And this pall must be asked for nowhere but from the pope or his assigns. And that request must be made within three months, which was no small gain to the Romish see. For although at the beginning the pall was given without money, according to the decree (Dist. 100), or for a small sum, over the years it grew to great excess. Where the bishopric of Mentz was accustomed to giving Rome only 10,000 florins, afterwards it could not be obtained for less than 20,000. And from there it grew to 25,000, and then 27,000 florins. James, archbishop of Mentz, was obliged to pay these sums a little before the Council of Basel, so that at his death (which was four years after), he said that his death did not grieve him so much as to recall how his poor subjects would be constrained to pay so terrible a fine for the pope's pall. Now, by this may be easily calculated the enormous sum which comes to the pope in the whole of Germany, which contains over fifty bishoprics. [1,350,000 florins]

Lanfranc, coming to Rome with the other two bishops, obtained two palls from Alexander, for the fame of his learning — one of honor, the other of love. He also obtained for the other



two bishops their confirmation. While they were there, the controversy was first moved (or rather renewed) for the primacy between the two metropolitans — that is, between the archbishop of Canterbury, and the archbishop of York. Which would have pre-eminence? Canterbury claimed for himself the prerogative and primacy over all Britain and Ireland. This contention continued a long time between these two churches, and it was often renewed in the days of several later kings; as in the reign of Henry I, between Thurstan of York, and Radulph of Canterbury. Again, in the twenty-seventh year of the same king, at his second coronation. For Radulph would not allow the first coronation to stand, because it was done by the bishop of York, without his consent. Also, in the reign of Henry II, where pope Alexander made a decretal letter between these two Metropolitans, for bearing the cross (A.D. 1159). And at another time, in the reign of that king, between Richard of Canterbury, and Roger of York. Again, about A.D. 1170, Thomas Becket heard that the king was crowned by Roger bishop of York; he complained grievously to Pope Alexander III.<sup>139</sup> Also A.D. 1176, between Richard and Roger, as to which would sit at the right hand of Cardinal Hugo in his council in London. Moreover, at the beginning of the reign of King Richard I (A.D. 1190), between Baldwin of Canterbury, and Godfrid of York, etc.

Now to proceed in the history of this controversy. After this question was brought to the pope's presence, not being disposed to decide the matter, he sent them home to England, to have their cause determined there. Upon which (A.D. 1070), they brought the matter before the king and the clergy at Windsor. Lanfranc first alleged for himself, how from the time of Austin to the time of Bede (about a 140 years) the bishop of Canterbury ever had the primacy over the whole land of Britain and Ireland; how he kept his councils several times within the precincts of York; how he called and cited the bishops of York to these. Some of these he constituted, some he excommunicated, and some he removed. He also alleged various privileges granted by princes and prelates to the primacy of that see.

Thomas, archbishop of York, replied to this, beginning with the origin of the Britons' church. He declared in order of time how the Britons, the first possessors of this kingdom of Britain, had endured for 2076 years, from Brutus and Cadwallader, under a 102 kings, until at length they received the Christian faith in the year 162. This was in the time of Lucius their king, and Eleutherius, bishop of Rome. He had sent the preachers Fagan and Damian to them.<sup>140</sup> At this time, after their conversion, they assigned and ordained twenty-eight bishops in the realm, with two archbishops — Theonus, the archbishop of London, and Theodosius, archbishop of York. The church of Britain was governed under those bishops and archbishops for almost 300 years after their conversion. At length the Saxons, being then infidels, with Hengist their king, subdued the Britons, and by fraudulent murder invaded their land. This was about A.D. 449. After this, the Britons were driven into Cambria (which we now call Wales), as the Saxons over-ran the land. They divided themselves into seven kingdoms. And so they continued being infidels and pagans, till the time that Gregory, bishop of Rome sent Austin to preach to them. Coming first to Dover, then head-city of Kent (called Dorobernia in Latin), and planting himself there, Austin first converted the king of Kent, called Ethelbert, who had then subdued certain other kings up to the Humber.<sup>141</sup> Because of this, Austin was made archbishop of Dover, by the appointment of Gregory I, who sent him certain palls with his letter from Rome, as

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<sup>139</sup> [Thomas à Becket was archbishop of Canterbury from 1162 to 1170; murdered following his opposition to Henry II's attempts to control the clergy \(1118-1170\).](#)

<sup>140</sup> Some allege 162 instead of 180, for the introduction of the Christian faith. It appears this Thomas alleged the former date. [Ed.]

<sup>141</sup> [Humber: an estuary in central northeastern England formed by the Ouse River and the Trent River.](#)



mentioned in Book II. <sup>142</sup> This letter being recited, Thomas then declares how Gregory's meaning in this letter was to reduce the new church of the Saxons to the order that was among the Britons. That is, to be under *two* metropolitans, one of London, the other of York. Notwithstanding, he gives Austin this prerogative *during his lifetime* — to have authority and jurisdiction, not only over his twelve bishops, but over all other bishops and priests in England. And *after his decease*, these two metropolitans, London and York, were to oversee the whole clergy, as in times past among the Britons. He enjoins both these two, after the death of Austin, to constitute bishops, and to oversee the church. And by that, he meant London was to be *equal* with York. This appears by four arguments:

First, he ordains that London is not to be consecrated by a bishop, but by his own synod.

Secondly, he ordains no distinction of honor between London and York, but only according to which one of them is elder in time (longer-ruling).

Thirdly, he places these two equally together in common council, and with one agreement to consent together in doing such things as they consult about in the zeal of Christ Jesus; and that in this way, one should not dissent from the other. What does this mean, if not that they should govern together?

Fourthly, where he writes that the bishop of York should not be subject to the bishop of London, what does this mean, if not that the bishop of London should be equivalent with the metropolitan of York, rather than superior to him?

And thus he expounded the meaning of Gregory in the letter. Lanfranc answers that, he was not the bishop of London, and that the question did not pertain to London. Thomas replies,

“This privilege was granted by Gregory to Austin alone, to have all other bishops subject to him; but after his decease there should be equality of honor between London and York, without distinction of priority; except by priority of time. And although Austin transferred the see from London to Kent, yet if Gregory's mind had been to give the same prerogative to the successors of Austin (which he gave to him) then he would have expressly uttered it in the words of his epistle.

[111] A.D. 1070-1073.

“He wrote thus to Austin: ‘That which I give to you, Austin, I also give and grant to all your successors after you.’ But as he makes no here mention of his successors, it appears thereby, that it was not his mind so to do.”

To this Lanfranc argued again:

“If this authority had been given to Austin alone, and not to his successors, it would have been but a small gift, proceeding from the apostolic see, to his special and familiar friend, especially seeing also that Austin, all his life, constituted no bishop of York, nor was there any such bishop to be subject to him. Again, we have privileges from the apostolic see, which confirm this dignity in the successors of Austin, in the same see of Dover. Moreover, all Englishmen think it both right and reasonable to fetch the direction of right-living, from that place where they first took the sparkle of right-believing. Further, whereas you say that Gregory might have confirmed with plain words the same thing to the successors of Austin, which he gave to him — I grant all that. Yet, this is not prejudicial to the see of Canterbury. For if you know your logic, what is true in the whole is also true in the part, and what is true in the greater, is also true in the lesser. Now, the church of Rome is like the whole, to whom all other churches are

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<sup>142</sup> See page [78].

its parts. The church of Rome is greater than all churches; and what is worked there ought to work in the lesser churches also. So that the authority of every chief head of the church ought to stand in those who succeed him, unless a precise exception is named. Therefore, just as the Lord said to all the bishops of Rome the same thing which he said to Peter, so what Gregory said to Austin, in like manner, he said to all the successors of Austin. So I conclude this: just as the bishop of Canterbury is subject to Rome, because he had his faith from there; so York ought to be in subjection to Canterbury, which sent the first preachers there.

“Now, whereas you allege that Gregory desired Austin to be resident at London, that is utterly uncertain. For how is it to be thought that such a disciple would do something contrary to the mind of such a master? But granting (as you say) that Austin moved to London, what is that to me, who am not bishop of London? Notwithstanding all this controversy unceasing between us, if it pleases you to come to some peaceable composition with me (all contention set aside) you will find me not out of the way, so far as reason and equity extend.”

### **Lanfranc, bishop of Canterbury, obtains the Primacy.**

With these reasons of Lanfranc, Thomas gave up, conceding that his province should begin at the Humber. Upon this, it was then decreed that from that time, York would be subject to Canterbury in all matters pertaining to the rites and government of the catholic church. So that, wherever within England the archbishop of Canterbury would hold his council, the archbishop of York should resort there with his bishops, and be obedient to his canonical decrees. Provided that when the archbishop of Canterbury decease, York should repair to Dover, there to consecrate with others the bishops who should be elect. And if York should decease, his successor should resort to Canterbury, or else where the bishop of Canterbury appoints, to receive his consecration there, making profession there, with an oath of canonical obedience. Thomas being content with this, Lanfranc, the Italian, triumphed with no small joy, and immediately put the matter in writing, so that the memory of it might remain to his successors.

Yet that decree did not stand long. For shortly after, the same scar, so superficially cured, burst out again. So that in the reign of king Henry I, A.D. 1121, Thurstan, archbishop of York, could not be compelled to swear to the archbishop of Canterbury. And yet, by letters of Calixtus II, he was consecrated without any profession made to that bishop. There was much more matter for contention, but to recite all of it were take too long. But I thought to commit this to history, that men might see the lamentable decay of true Christianity among the Christian bishops who, inflamed with glorious ambition, so contended for honor, that without the force of law, no modesty could take place.

About A.D. 1016, the bishopric of Lindaffarne, otherwise named Holyland, was transferred to Durham. So likewise in the days of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 1076), several bishops' sees were altered and removed from townships to larger cities. Thus the bishopric of Selese was moved to Chichester, that of Cornwall to Exeter; from Wells to Bath; from Sherborne to Salisbury; from Dorchester to Lincoln; and from Litchfield to Chester. This bishopric of Chester, Robert being then bishop, was moved from Chester to Coventry. Likewise, after that, in the reign of William Rufus (A.D. 1095), Herbert, bishop of Thetford, moved the see from there to Norwich, etc.

I do not find it expressly defined in histories concerning Dover and Canterbury, whether the see was likewise transferred from the town of Dover to the city of Canterbury in the time of Theodore; or whether Canterbury in the old time had the name of Dorobernia (as pretended in the letter of Lanfranc to Pope Alexander mentioned above). Except that I read by the words of William, while he was still the duke of Normandy, charging Harold to make a well

of water for the king's use in the castle of Dorobernia. That Dorobernia was then taken for what we now call Dover. But whether Dorobernia and the city of Canterbury are one, or different, is not important. Notwithstanding, I read that the names of Dorobernia and Canterbury are indifferently taken as the same. I read this in the epistle of Pope Boniface to King Ethelbert; also to Justin, archbishop: also in the epistle of Pope Honorius to Bishop Honorius: also of Pope Vitalian to Theodore: of Pope Sergius to King Ethelred, Alfred, and Adulphus, and to the bishops of England. Likewise of Pope Gregory III to the bishops of England: Also of Pope Leo to Athelard, archbishop of Canterbury: of Formosus to the bishops of England, and of Pope John to Dunstan.

In this time (and by the management of Lanfranc), in the ninth year of William I, a council was held at London, where these were the principal things concluded:

1. For the order of sitting, that the archbishop of York should sit at the right hand, and the bishop of London on the left hand, or in the absence of York, London would have the right, and Winchester the left hand of the archbishop of Canterbury sitting in council.
2. That bishops should transfer their sees from villages into cities, whereupon those sees above named were transferred.
3. That monks should have nothing as private possessions; and if any did, then upon dying unconfessed, he would not be buried in the churchyard.
4. That no cleric or monk of any other diocese should be admitted to orders, or retained without letters of commendation or testimony.
5. That none should speak in the council, except bishops and abbots, without leave of the arch-metropolitans.
6. That none should marry within the seventh degree, with anyone either of his own kindred, or of his wife's.
7. That none should either buy or sell any office within the church.
8. That no sorcery or any divination should be used or permitted in holy church.
9. That no bishop or abbot, or any of the clergy, should be at the judgment of any man's death or dismembering, nor should he favor any of those judged.

Moreover in the days of this Lanfranc, many good bishops of the realm began to take sides with the priests against the monks in displacing them out of their churches, and to restore the married priests again. So that Walkelm, bishop of Winchester, had replaced over forty monks in his diocese with canons; but this godly enterprise was stopped by Lanfranc.

***Pope Gregory VII, called Hildebrand.***

After the death of Pope Alexander mentioned above, next followed Hildebrand, surnamed Gregory VII. This Hildebrand, just as he was a sorcerer, so he was the first and principal cause of all this trouble that is now and has been since his time in the church.

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Through his example, all this ambition, boldness, and pride entered into the church of Rome, and has continued ever since. For before Hildebrand came to Rome, working his feats there — setting up and displacing whatever bishops he chose; corrupting them with pernicious counsel; setting them against emperors; destroying matrimony under the pretense of chastity; and under the title of liberty breaking peace and resisting authority.

Before this, I say, the church of Rome was in some order, and the bishops were quietly governed under Christian emperors, and were also defended by them. For example, Marcellus, Miltiades, and Sylvester, were under obedience to Constantine (A.D. 340); Siricius to Theodosius (A.D. 388); Gregory to Maurice (A.D. 600); Adrian and Leo to Charlemagne (A.D. 801); Paschal and Valentius to Louis the Pious (A.D. 830); Sergius II. to Lothaire (A.D. 840); Benedict III and John VIII to Louis, son of Lothaire (A.D. 856). But Hildebrand first began to spurn this obedience and subjection; and by his example, he taught all other bishops to do the same.

At length they brought to pass that it would be lawful for a few cardinals (contrary to ancient ordinances and decretal statutes) to choose whatever pope they liked, without any consent of the emperor at all. Before, it stood in the emperor's gift to give and to grant bishoprics, archbishoprics, benefices, and other ecclesiastical preferments within their own jurisdictions, to whomever they chose. Now the popes, through much wrestling, war, and contention, have extorted all that into their own hands. Indeed, they have plucked all the riches and power of the whole world. And not content with that, they have usurped and prevailed so much above emperors, that whereas before, no *pope* might be chosen without the confirmation of the *emperor*, so now no *emperor* may be elected without the confirmation of the *pope*. They have taken upon themselves more than princes, to place or displace emperors at their pleasure for every light cause; to put down or set up when and whom they pleased. For example, Frederic I, for holding the left stirrup of the pope's saddle, was persecuted almost to excommunication. This moves me to use more diligence here, in setting out the history, acts, and doings of Hildebrand, from whom — as their first patron and founder — sprang all this ambition and contention about the liberties and dominion of the Roman church.

First, I have partly declared how this Hildebrand behaved himself before he was pope. For even though he was not yet pope in name, yet he was then pope indeed, and he ruled the popes and all their doings as he liked. I have also expressed by what devices he had attempted to magnify and maintain false liberty against true authority, ever since his first coming to the court of Rome; what practices he wrought by councils; what factions and conspiracies he made in stirring up popes against emperors, striving for superiority; and what wars followed. Now let us see further the worthy virtues of this princely prelate, after he came to be pope, as they are described in the histories of several writers.

*The Tragic History of Gregory VII, named Hildebrand.*

Previously, the bishops of Rome had been elected by the voices and suffrages of all sorts and degrees of priests and clergy, as well as the nobility, people, and senate, all assembling together. And I find this election in force, if ratified by the Roman emperors, who had authority to call and assemble all these in councils, including bishops, as the case required. Under the authority and jurisdiction of these emperors in Germany, France, Italy, and through the whole dominion of Rome, all patriarchs, bishops, masters of churches and monasteries, were subject by the decree of councils, according to the old custom of our ancestors. The holy and ancient fathers, (as Christ with his disciples and apostles both taught and did) honored and esteemed their emperors as the supreme potentate next under God on earth. They were set up, ordained, elected, and crowned by God, above all other mortal men, and so they counted them, and called them their lords. They yielded tribute to them, and paid their subsidies, and also prayed every day for their life. Those who rebelled against them they regarded as rebels, and resisters against God's ordinance and Christian piety. The name of the emperor was of great majesty, and was accepted as given from God.

Then these fathers of the church never intermeddled or entangled themselves with political affairs of the commonwealth, much less occupy themselves in martial arms, and feats of chivalry. All their contention with other Christians was only in poverty and modesty, as to who would be the poorest and most modest among them. And the more humility that appeared in anyone, the higher opinion they had of him. They took this sharp two-edged sword given to the church of Christ, to save and not to kill; to quicken and not destroy; and they called it the *Sword of the Spirit*, which is the word of God, the life and the light of men, who revokes from death to life, making gods of men; immortal of mortal. They were far from throwing out any prince or king from his kingdom (however far out of the way he was, even an Arian) — or to curse him, or release his subjects from their oath and allegiance, to change and transfer kingdoms, to subvert empires, to pollute themselves with Christian blood, or to war with their Christian brethren for rule and principality. This was not their spirit and manner then, but rather they loved and obeyed their princes. And in return, princes also loved them like fathers and fellow-princes with them of the souls of men.

***Marriage of Priests Forbidden by Hildebrand.***

Now this Gregory VII, otherwise named Hildebrand, was the first of all others who, contemning the authority of the emperor, invaded the See of Rome, vaunting himself as having both the ecclesiastical and temporal sword committed to him by Christ, and that fulness of power was in his hand to bind and loose at his will. Thus he presumed to grasp both governments, to challenge the whole dominion, of both the eastern and western churches, yes, and all power to himself alone, admitting none as equal, much less superior, to him. He derogated from others, and arrogated to himself their due right and honor; he set at naught Caesars, kings, and emperors. He kept bishops and prelates in awe, like his underlings, suspending, and cursing, and cutting off their heads, stirring up strife and wars, sowing discord, making factions, releasing oaths, and defeating fidelity and due allegiance of subjects to their princes. Indeed, if he had offended or injured the emperor himself, yet notwithstanding, *he* ought to be feared, as he himself glories in an epistle, as one who could not err, and had received from Christ our Savior, and from Peter, the authority to bind and unbind at his will and pleasure. Priests in those days had wives openly and lawfully (no law forbade it) as it appears by the deed and writings of their chapter-seals and donations, which were given to temples and monasteries, in which their wives are also cited with them as a witness, and were called *presbyterissae* (priestesses). As for bishops, prelates, parsons of churches, governors of the clergy, masters of monasteries, and religious houses — all these were in those times in the emperor's appointment, to assign to whomever he would.

Now Gregory could not endure these two things, and for these two causes only came all his striving from his first beginning to abolish the marriage of priests, and to transfer imperial authority to the clergy. To this scope alone tended all his labor, as appeared before in the Council of Lateran, under Pope Nicholas; and also in the Council of Mantua, under Alexander, making priestly marriage to be heresy, and imperial authority to be simony. And what he previously went about doing by others, he now he practiced by himself, condemning ministers who were married, as Nicolaitans, and receiving any spiritual charge by secular persons as simony. He directed his letters to Henry the emperor, to dukes, princes, potentates, and tetrarchs — namely, to Berchtold, to Rudolph of Swabia (in Germany), to Whelpe, Adalberon, and to their wives; and also to bishops, archbishops, priests, and to all the people.

[113] A.D. 1074.

In these letters he denounces those who were married, as no priests, forbidding men to greet them, to talk, eat, or company with them, to pay them tithes, or to obey them if they would not be obedient to him. Among others, he directed special letters to Otto, bishop of Constance, concerning this matter. But Otto perceiving the ungodly and unreasonable pretense of Hildebrand, would never separate from their wives those who were married, nor forbid those to marry who were unmarried. The following is the letter of Hildebrand sent to the bishop of Constance against priests' marriages:

“Gregory, bishop, servant of servants of God, to the clergy and laity, both more and less, within the diocese of Constance, salvation and benediction. We have directed to our brother Otto, your bishop, our exhortatory letters in which we enjoined him, according to the necessity of our duty, by the apostolical authority, that he should utterly abolish out of his church the heresy of simony, and should also cause to be preached with all diligence, the chastity of priests. But neither moved with reverence for St. Peter's precept, nor with regard for his duty, he neglected to do these things to which we have so fatherly exhorted him. Thereby he incurs a double offense, not only of disobedience, but also of rebellion, in that he has gone and done clean contrary to our commandment (indeed, rather the commandment of blessed St. Peter). So that he has permitted his clergy not only those who had wives, not to put them away, but also those who had none, to take them. Whereupon, being truly informed and grieved with this, we have directed another letter to him, declaring the motion of our displeasure and indignation. In these letters we have also cited him to our council at Rome, to appear there and give account of his disobedience in the audience of the whole synod. And now, therefore, we thought it best to signify this to you (our dear children) by which in this behalf we might better provide for your health and salvation. For if your bishop continues so obstinately to repugn and resist our commandment, he is not fit to sit over you. Therefore, these shall be to command you, and all those who are obedient to God, and to blessed St. Peter, by our apostolical authority, that if your bishop persists in his obstinacy, you who are his subjects, hereafter give to him no service or obedience. For which we here discharge you before God and your souls. For if your bishop will act contrary to the decrees and apostolical injunctions, we — through the apostolical authority of St. Peter — discharge and absolve you from the band of your allegiance to him. So that if you are sworn to him, so long as he is a rebel against God and the apostolic seat, we loose you from the peril of your oath, so that you need not fear any danger in it,” etc.

In the council held at Rome, Hildebrand, with other bishops of Rome, then enacted, among many other things, these three especially. *First*, that no priest hereafter should marry. *Secondly*, that all those who were married should be divorced. *Thirdly*, that none hereafter should be admitted to the order of priesthood, except those who would swear perpetual celibacy, etc. This Council of Rome being ended, the act of Hildebrand concerning the single life of priests was proclaimed immediately, and published in all places, and strict commandment was given to bishops to execute the same. The following is the copy of his bull sent into Italy and Germany:

“Gregory the pope, otherwise Hildebrand, the servant of the servants of God, sends the apostle's blessing to all within the kingdoms of Italy and Germany, who show true obedience to St. Peter. If there are any priests, deacons, and subdeacons, who will still remain in the sin of marriage, we forbid them the church's entrance, by the omnipotent power of God, and by the authority of St. Peter, till in time they amend and repent. But if they persevere in their sin, we charge that none of you presume to hear their service; for their blessing is turned into cursing, and their prayer into sin, as the Lord testifies to us by his prophets, ‘I will turn your blessing,’” etc.

The bishops of France being called upon daily by the pope's letters, were compelled to obey the decree of the council. But the rest of the clergy manfully and stoutly withstood the pope's decree and their bishops, and would not agree, and said that the council manifestly opposed the word of God. And they said that the pope took from priests that which both God and nature had given them. And therefore, he was a heretic and the author of a wicked doctrine. He did not rule by the Spirit of God, but by Satan. They said the decree and act set forth was directly against the word of God and the saying of Christ, "Not all men can receive this saying." <sup>Mat 19.11</sup> It was against the sound doctrine of St. Paul, writing these words, "Concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord," etc. 1Cor 7. 25. Again, "Let them marry," 1Cor 7.9. And it was against the canons both of the apostles, and of the Nicene council. Moreover, it was against the course of nature, that men being separated from their wives, should be compelled to live as angels. And therefore, the bishop opened a pernicious window to immorality and vice. In short, they concluded that they would rather give up their benefices than forsake their lawful wives. And finally, if married priests could not please them, they ought to call down angels from heaven to serve the churches. But Hildebrand, unmoved either by honest reason, or the authority of holy Scripture, or the determination of the Nicene council, or an thing else, follows up on this matter and still calls upon the bishops, accusing them of negligence and threatening them with excommunication unless they cause the priests to obey his decree. Upon this threat a great number of bishops, for fear of the pope's tyranny, labored the matter with their priests by all means possible, to bereave them of their accustomed matrimony.

Among others, the archbishop of Mentz, perceiving this might produce no little trouble, talks with his clergy gently, admonishes them about the pope's mind and decree, and gives them half a year's respite to deliberate upon the matter; exhorting them diligently to show themselves obedient to the pope and to him. The time of deliberation expired, the archbishop assembles his clergy at Erpsford, and there requires them either to abjure all matrimony or to renounce their benefices. The clergy defend themselves against the decree with Scripture, with reason, with the acts of general councils, with examples of ancestors, and by strong arguments, declaring that the pope's decree is inconsistent with all of them, and that it should not take effect. But the archbishop said he was compelled by the pope, and could but execute what he was enjoined to do.

The clergy seeing that no reason, no prayer, no disputation would serve, consulted among themselves what was best to be done. Some counselled not to return to the synod. Some thought it good to return and throw out the archbishop from his see, and to punish him with death, so that by his example others might be warned never to attempt it again to the prejudice of the church and the rightful liberty of ministers. After this was signified to the archbishop by certain spies, to prevent the matter, he sent certain messengers to the priests as they were coming out, bidding them be of good hope, and they should have what would content their minds. So being thus persuaded, they came again to the council. The bishop promised he would do what he could to change the mind of the bishop of Rome, desiring them in the meantime to continue as they had done in their ministry. The next year Hildebrand, the soldier of Satan, sent his legate to the archbishop of Mentz, and assembled a council. There the archbishop again proposed the matter, commanding all the clergy, under pain of the pope's curse, either to renounce their wives or their livings. The clergy defended their cause again with great constancy. But when no defense would avail, but all went by tyranny, at last it burst into an uproar and tumult, where the legate and the archbishop barely escaped with their lives, and so the council broke up.

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By this schism and tumult the churches afterwards, in choosing their priests, would not send them to the bishops (the enemies and suppressors of matrimony) to be confirmed and inducted, but elected them within themselves. And so they put them in their office without leave or knowledge of the bishops, who then agreed and were determined to admit no priests except those who would take an oath never to marry. And thus the oath and profession of single priesthood first came up. Notwithstanding, if other nations had followed in like manner the constancy and concord of those German ministers, then the devilish decree of this Hildebrand (or rather hell-brand), would have been frustrated. But the greediness of livings in weak priests made them yield their liberty to wicked tyranny. And thus much for the prohibition of matrimony.

***Emperor Henry IV Excommunicated by Hildebrand.***

Now let us proceed to the contention between Hildebrand and the emperor. But it will not be amiss first to say a little of the character of this pope, as we find it described in the epistles of Benno a cardinal, written to other cardinals of Rome. This Cardinal Benno lived at the same time as Hildebrand, who was thus described in one epistle of Benno to his brother cardinals as follows:

“We have mentioned before of some colleges of the church of Rome which refused to hold communion with him, such as Leo, Benno, Ugobald, and John (all cardinals), and Peter, chancellor and cardinal. All were instituted before the time of Hildebrand. These three also — Natro, Innocent, and Leo — though consecrated by him, forsook him, cursing the detestable errors which he held. Also Theodine, whom he constituted arch-deacon, and other cardinals — John, surnamed Primicerius, and Peter Oblationarius — with all that belonged to them, except for one man. And when Hildebrand saw that also the bishops would forsake him, he called the laymen to himself, and made them his privy councilors. He thought thereby to separate the bishops, so that they would have no conference with the cardinals. Then he called the bishops together, and being guarded with bands of laymen, he forced the bishops — partly through fear, and partly through his menacing words — to swear that they would never oppose what he wished to have done, and that they would never defend the king’s quarrel, and that they would never favor nor obey any pope who might be instituted in his stead.

“As soon as Pope Alexander was dead, who died just before night the same day, contrary to the canons, Hildebrand was chosen pope by the laymen. But the cardinals did not subscribe to his election. For the canons prescribed (under an anathema or curse) that none should be chosen pope before the third day after the burial of his predecessor. But Hildebrand removed the cardinals from being members of the council. And then, contrary to the minds of the cardinals, and to the regular order of pronouncing judgment by the canons, he rashly excommunicated the emperor, although he had not been solemnly accused in any synod before. None of the cardinals would subscribe the sentence of excommunication.

“The emperor was often in the habit of going to St. Mary’s church to pray. Hildebrand, when he knew all the doings of the emperor, caused the place where the emperor was accustomed to pray, either standing or prostrate on his face, to be marked. And he hired an assassin to gather and lay together a heap of great stones directly over the place in the vault of the church, where the emperor would stand, so that in throwing them down upon his head, he might slay the emperor. As the assassin hastened, and was busy removing to the place a stone of great weight, it broke the plank on which it lay. And because the assassin was also standing on it, they fell together from the roof to the pavement of the church, by which he was killed. After the Romans learned of the matter, they fastened a rope to one of the feet of the assassin, and had him drawn through the streets of the city for three days, as an example to others.



“During Easter week, when the clergy and the people were assembled at St. Peter’s church to hear mass, after the gospel Hildebrand went into the pulpit as he was in his pontifical attire, and in the presence of the bishops, cardinals, senate, and people of Rome he openly preached that the emperor should die before the feast of St. Peter next ensuing. Or at least that he would be so hurled from his kingdom, that he would not be able to gather more than six knights. He preached this to the bishops and cardinals, and to all who were present, crying out of the pulpit in these words, ‘Never accept me for pope any more, but pluck me from the altar if this prophesy is not fulfilled by the appointed day.’ About the same time he sought to kill the emperor by murderers; but God preserved the emperor.

“When the time had expired that Hildebrand named, and when the king was not dead, nor the power of the empire impaired, Hildebrand subtly turned his words, saying that, ‘he did not mean the body of the king, but his soul.’”

It would be too long and tedious here to recite all the detestable doings and diabolical practices of Hildebrand. There is a long narration in the epistles of cardinal Benno to the other cardinals. The reader may refer to these, who has either leisure to read or the mind to understand more of the abominable parts and devilish acts of this pope.

Now let us proceed to set forth the vexation which the virtuous and godly emperor sustained by that ungodly pontiff.

When Henry IV was encumbered with civil dissension in Germany, the time seemed very opportune to Hildebrand to work out his objects. His focus from the beginning was to advance the Romish seat above all other bishops, and also to press down the authority of the temporal princes, under the spiritual men of the church. The emperor, busied in his wars, had no leisure to attend to councils. But the pope proceeded to assemble his council. He even threatened to excommunicate the emperor, and depose him from his royal kingdom, unless he would renounce the right to award benefices and do penance. The council being ended, Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, persuaded Centius to take the emperor’s side against the pope. Biding his time in the temple of St. Mary, on Christmas day in the morning, he took the pope and locked him up in a strong tower. The next day the people of Rome hearing this, proceeded to help the pope, whom they loosed from prison, and then they besieged the house of Centius, and pulled it down to the ground. His family had their noses cut off, and were cast out of the city. Centius escaped, and fled to the emperor. The emperor being moved with the arrogant presumption of the proud prelate (Hildebrand), called a council at Worms. In this council, all the bishops not only of Saxony, but of the whole empire of Germany, agreed and concluded to depose Hildebrand, and that no obedience should hereafter be given to him. This being determined in the council, Roland was sent to Rome with the sentence. In the name of the council, he commanded the pope to resign his seat, and charged the cardinals to resort to the emperor for a new election of another pope. The following was the sentence of the **Council of Worms** against Pope Hildebrand:

“Because your first ingress and coming in has been spotted with so many perjuries, and also the church of God brought into no little danger through your abuse and newfangledness — moreover, because you have defamed your own life and conduct with so much and such great dishonesty, we see no little peril or slander to arise from it. Therefore the obedience which yet we never promised you, hereafter we utterly renounce, and never intend to give it to you. And as you have never accepted us as bishops (as you have openly reported of us) so neither will we hereafter accept you as apostolic.”

The pope being outraged by this sentence, *First* he condemns it in his Council of Lateran with an excommunication. *Secondly*, he deprives Sigifrid, archbishop of Mentz, of his dignities and ecclesiastical livings, with all other bishops, abbots, and priests, as many as took the emperor's side. *Thirdly*, Hildebrand accuses Henry the emperor himself, depriving him of his kingdom, and releasing all his subjects from their oath of allegiance in the following excommunicatory sentence against Henry the emperor.

[115] A.D. 1076-1080.

“O blessed St. Peter, prince of the apostles, bow down your ears I beseech you, and hear me your servant, whom you have brought up even from my infancy, and have delivered me until this day from the hands of the wicked, who hate and persecute me because of my faith in you. You are my witness, and also the blessed mother of Jesus Christ, and your brother St. Paul, fellow partner of your martyrdom, how I did not enter this function willingly, but enforced against my will — not that I take it as though a robbery, to lawfully ascend into this seat, but because that I would rather pass over my life like a pilgrim or private person, than to climb up to it for any fame or glory. I acknowledge (and worthily); that all this comes of your grace, and not of my merits, that this charge over Christian people, and this power of binding and loosing is committed to me. Therefore, trusting upon this assurance for the dignity and tuition of holy church in the name of God omnipotent, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, I hereby depose Henry, the son of Henry, once the emperor, from his imperial seat and princely government, who has so boldly and presumptuously laid hands upon the church. And furthermore, all those who up to now have sworn to be his subjects, I release from their oath by which all subjects are bound to the allegiance of their princes. For it is fit and convenient that he should be void of dignity, who seeks to diminish the majesty of your church. Moreover, because he has contemned my admonitions tending to his health and the wealth of his people; and has separated himself from the fellowship of the church (which he studies to destroy through his seditions), I therefore bind him by virtue of excommunication, trusting and knowing most certainly, that you are Peter (in the rock of whom as in the true foundation) Christ our king has built his church.”

The emperor, thus assaulted with the pope's censure, sends his letters through all nations to clear himself, declaring how wrongfully he was condemned. The princes of Germany partly fearing the pope, and partly rejoicing that an excuse was given to rebel against the emperor, assembled and consulted together. And so they concluded to elect another emperor, unless he would submit to and obtain pardon from the pope.

Here we may see the lamentable affections of the Germans in those days, to thus forsake such a valiant emperor, and to regard so much a vile bishop. But this was the ignorance and rudeness of the world then, for lack of better knowledge. The emperor, seeing the chief princes ready to forsake him, promised them with an oath, that if the pope would repair to Germany, Henry would ask forgiveness.

Upon this, the bishop of Treves was sent to Rome, to entreat the pope to come to Germany. The pope was content and entered into Germany, thinking to come to Augsburg; but in fear he retired to Canusium.

### **The Emperor's Servile Submission to the Pope – 1077.**

Henry (immediately coming out of Spires with his empress and his young son) resorted to Canusium. All his peers and nobles had left him for fear of the Pope's curse, nor did any accompany him. Therefore the emperor, being not a little troubled (laying apart his regal ornaments) came barefoot with his empress and child to the gate of the city, where from morning to night (fasting all day) he most humbly desired absolution. Thus he continued for

three days. At length an answer came, that the pope's majesty had no leisure yet to speak with him. The emperor patiently and humbly waited outside the walls, with no little grievance and pain; for it was a sharp winter, and freezing with cold. At length it was granted, through the entreaty of Matilda the pope's favorite, and of Arelaus earl of Sebaudia, and the abbot of Cluny, that Henry should be admitted to the pope's presence. On the fourth day, now being admitted, he yields his crown to the pope, with all other imperial ornaments, and confessed himself unworthy of the empire if he should ever do hereafter against the pope, what he had done before, desiring to be absolved and forgiven for that time. The pope answered that he would neither forgive him, nor release the bond of his excommunication, except upon certain conditions.

First, to promise that he would be content to stand to the pope's arbitration, and to accept such penance as the pope enjoins him;

Also that he will be ready to appear in whatever place or time the pope appoints him.

Moreover, that being content to accept the pope as judge of his cause, he will answer to all objections and accusations laid against him, and that he will never seek any revenge in return.

Also that he will submit to the pope's mind and pleasure, whether he will have his kingdom restored or not.

Finally, that before his trial, he will neither use his kingly ornaments, scepters, or crown, nor usurp authority to govern, nor to exact any oath of allegiance from his subjects, etc.

These things being promised to the pope by an oath, and put in writing, the emperor was released from his excommunication. The pope with his cardinals vaunted and triumphed with no little pride, that they had so quailed the emperor, and brought him on his knees to ask forgiveness. Yet mistrusting themselves and what might befall them if fortune should turn, and God were to give the emperor a quieter kingdom; they study and consult secretly how to displace Henry from his kingdom. They determined to offer the empire to Rudolph of Swabia, a man of great nobility among the chief states of Germany. To better bring this purpose to pass, legates were sent from the pope, who would persuade all France, that Henry was rightfully excommunicated, and that they should give to the bishop of Rome their consent in choosing Rudolph to be emperor.

While this conspiracy was in hand, Henry was absent. In the meantime, Rudolph was elected emperor. Upon this, the bishop of Strasburg came to the emperor, certifying to him what was done. He mustered his men with expedition, marched forward to defend his right, and attempted battle against Rudolph. A great slaughter took place on both sides, but the victory was certain on neither part; so that both captains still claimed the empire. Their armies being refreshed, they soon had another conflict; but victory was again doubtful. Thus both captains being wearied in wars, that Romish beast, the pope, who was the cause of it all, sent his legates to call together a council in Germany, where it would be determined to whom the empire should belong.

But emperor Henry would not permit the legates to hold any council within Germany unless they first depose Rudolph. The pope hearing this, and seeing his purpose was so thwarted by the emperor, drew out another excommunication against him (A.D. 1080), and again deprived him of his kingdom.

### **Second Excommunication of Henry by Hildebrand – 1080.**

“Blessed St. Peter, prince of the apostles, and you St. Paul also, the teacher of the Gentiles, give ear to me, I beseech you a little, and gently hear me, for you are the disciples and lovers of

truth. The things that I will say are true. This matter I take in hand for truth's sake, that my brethren (whose salvation I seek) may more submissively obey me, and better understand how — trusting your defense (next to Christ, and his mother the immaculate Virgin) — I resist the wicked, and am ready to help the faithful. I did not enter this seat of my own accord, but much against my will and with tears, for I accounted myself unworthy to occupy so high a throne. And this I say, not that I have chosen you, but you have chosen me, and have laid this great burden upon our shoulders. And now, whereas by your assignment, I have ascended up this hill, crying to the people and showing them their faults, and to the children of the church their iniquities; the members of Satan have risen up against me, and have laid hands together to seek my blood. For the kings of the earth have risen up against me, and the princes of this world, with whom certain of the clergy also have conspired against the Lord and against us his anointed, saying, "Let us break their bonds apart, and cast their cords away from us."

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"This they have done against me, to bring me either to death or to banishment. In their number is Henry, whom they call king, the son of Henry the emperor, who has lifted up so proudly his horns against the church of God, conspiring with various other bishops, Italians, French, and Germans. Your authority has prevailed up to now against his pride. Being broken rather than amended, he came to me in Cisalpina, made humble suit to me for pardon and absolution. Thinking there was true repentance in him, I received him again to favor, and restored him only to the communion from which he was excommunicated, but I did not restore him to his kingdom (from which he was worthily expelled in the synod of Rome), nor did I grant to him the rents and fruits of it (so that he might return to the faith again). And I did that for this purpose: that if he should defer to agree with certain of his neighbors whom he has always vexed, and to restore again the goods both of the church and otherwise, then he might be compelled to it by the censures of the church, and force of arms. Whereby diverse and sundry bishops and princes of Germany (whom he had long troubled) being helped by this opportunity, elected Rudolph their duke to be king in place of Henry, whom they had removed for his transgressions and dispatched from his empire. But Rudolph, first in this matter using a princely modesty and integrity, sent his messengers to me, declaring how he was constrained to take that regal government upon himself, even though he was not so desirous of it. But he would rather show himself obedient to us, than to the other who offered him the kingdom. Whatever our arbitration should be in this, he would be under obedience both to God and to us. And for more assurance of his obedience he has sent his own children here as pledges.

"Upon this Henry began to be angry, and first entreated us to restrain and inhibit Rudolph through the pain of our curse, from the usurpation of his kingdom. I answered I would see which of them had the best right and title to it, and so I sent our legates there to know the whole state of the matter. Thereupon I would decide between them, which had the true right. But Henry would not allow our legates to come to take up the matter, and slew many, both secular men and clergy, spoiling and profaning churches. And so by this means he has endangered himself in the bonds of excommunication. Therefore, trusting in the judgment and mercy of God, and in the support of the blessed virgin, and also upon your authority, I lay the sentence of curse upon the said Henry and all his adherents. And here again I take his regal government from him, charging and forbidding all Christian men who have been sworn to him, whom I discharge here of their oath, so that hereafter they will obey him in nothing, but take Rudolph as their king, who is elected by many princes of the province. For it is right and convenient that, just as Henry is deprived of his dignity and possession for his pride and stubbornness, so Rudolph being acceptable to all men for his virtue and devotion, is exalted to the imperial throne and dominion.

“Therefore, O you blessed princes of the apostles, grant this, and confirm with your authority what I have said, so that all men may understand, that if you have power to bind and loose in heaven, then you also have power on earth to give and take away empires, kingdoms, principalities, and whatever here on earth belongs to mortal men. For if you have power to judge in those matters which pertain to God, then what should we think you have of these inferior and profane things? And if it is in your power to judge the angels, ruling over proud princes, then what will it suit you to do with their servants? Therefore let the kings understand by this example, and all other princes of the world, what you are able to do in heaven, and what you are with God — so that thereby they may fear to contemn the commandment of holy church. And now exercise this judgment quickly upon Henry, by which all men may see this son of iniquity fall from his kingdom, not by any chance, but by your provision and only work. Notwithstanding this, I would crave of you, that being brought to repentance through your intercession, he may yet in the day of judgment find favor and grace with the Lord.”

After this, Henry and Rudolph, to try the matter by the sword, contended together in battle. Henry, by the favor of God, and contrary to the judgment of Hildebrand, had the victory. Rudolph being severely wounded in the conflict, was taken out of the army, and carried to Hyperbolis, where he commanded the bishops and chief movers of his conspiracy to be brought before him. When they came, he lifted up his right hand in which he had received his deadly wound, and said, “This is the hand which gave the oath and sacrament of fidelity to Henry my prince, and which through your instigation so often has fought against him and fought in vain. Now go and perform your first oath and allegiance to your king; for I must go to my fathers.” And so he died. Thus the pope gave battle, but God gave the victory.

### **Council at Brixia condemns Hildebrand – 1083.**

Henry, after his enemy was thus subdued, did not forget the injuries received from Hildebrand, by whom he was twice excommunicated and expelled from his kingdom. Therefore he called a council of the bishops of Italy, Lombardy, and Germany, at Brixia (A.D. 1083). There he cleared himself, and then accused Hildebrand of various crimes, such as usurper, perjured, necromancer, and sower of discord. He complained, moreover, of wrongs and injuries done by the bishop and church of Rome. His father, who was emperor before him, had installed many bishops by his assignment, without the election of any other. And now this pope, contrary to his oath and promise, thrust himself in without the will and knowledge of the one who was the emperor and chief magistrate. For in the time of his father, Henry III, this Hildebrand and others, bound themselves with an oath, that so long as the emperor and his son should live, they would neither themselves presume, nor allow any other to aspire to the papal seat, without the assent and approval of the emperors — which this Hildebrand, contrary to his oath, had now done. Therefore the council, with one agreement, condemned this Hildebrand, decreed that he should be deposed, and passed the following sentence against him.

“Because it is known that this bishop was not elected by God, but has intruded himself by fraud and money — who has subverted all ecclesiastical order — who has disturbed the government of the Christian empire — menacing death of body and soul against our catholic and peaceable king — who has set up and maintained a perjured king — sowing discord where there was concord — causing debate among friends — slanders and offenses among brethren — divorce and separation among the married (for he took away the marriage of priests) — and finally disquieting the peaceable state of ail quiet life:

“Therefore we here, in the name and by the authority of God, congregated together with the legates and nineteen bishops on this day of Pentecost, at Mentz, proceed in canonical judgment against Hildebrand — a most wicked man, preaching sacrilege and burning,

maintaining perjury and murders, calling into question the catholic faith of the body and blood of the Lord, a follower of divination and dreams, a manifest necromancer, a sorcerer, and infected with an evil and heathen spirit, and therefore departed from the true faith — we judge him to be deposed and expelled. And unless, upon hearing this, he yields and departs the seat, he is to be perpetually condemned.”

This being enacted and sent to Rome, they elected Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna in place of Hildebrand, to govern the church of Rome, under the title of Clement III. But when Hildebrand would neither give up his hold, nor give way to Clement, the emperor gathered an army and came to Rome to depose him, and to place Clement. But Hildebrand sending to Matilda of Tuscany, who possessed great power and authority in Italy, required her, in remission of all her sins, to withstand Henry, and so she did. But Henry prevailed, and came to Rome. There he besieged the city all Lent long, and after Easter he got it. The Romans were compelled to open the gates to him. And so, coming to the temple of St. Peter, he places Clement in his papacy there. Hildebrand flees straight into Adrian’s tower with his adherents. There, being beset all around, he sent for Robert Guiscard his friend, a Norman.

[117] A.D. 1033-1087.

In the meantime, while Robert collects his power, the abbot of Cluny, conferring with Gregory, exhorts him to crown Henry as emperor in Lateran. If he would do this, the other promises to induce Henry to depart with his army into Germany. The people of Rome likewise moved him to this. Gregory answered that he was content to do so, but on the condition that the emperor would submit himself to ask pardon to amend his fault and to promise obedience. The emperor did not agree to those conditions, and went to Senas, taking Clement the new pope with him.

#### ***Death of Hildebrand and William the Conqueror – 1087.***

After the return of the emperor, Robert Guiscard, approaching with his soldiers, burst in at one of the gates, and pillaged the city. And not long after, he delivered Hildebrand out of his enemy’s hands, and carried him away to Campania, where not long after he died in exile.

Antony writes that Hildebrand, as he lay dying, called one of his chief cardinals to him, bewailing to him his fault, and the disorder of his spiritual ministry in stirring up discord, war, and dissension. He thereupon desired the cardinal to go to the emperor, and ask his forgiveness, absolving him from the danger of excommunication — both him and all his partakers both quick and dead.

Thus the reader has the full history of Pope Gregory VII, called Hildebrand, which I have laid out more at large because from this pope sprang all the occasions of mischief, pomp, pride, presumption, and tyranny, which since that time have reigned in the cathedral church of the Romish clergy. Here is where the subjection of the temporal authority under spiritual jurisdiction first came; emperors who before were the clergy’s masters, were now made their underlings. Here entered the suppression of priests’ marriage. Moreover, here entered the authority of both the spiritual and secular swords into spiritual men’s hands. So that Christian magistrates could do nothing in election, in giving bishoprics or benefices, in calling councils, in hearing and correcting the excesses of the clergy, but the pope alone must do it all. And finally, here entered the first example of persecuting emperors and kings with rebellion and excommunication.

Now we may return to the history of England. About the death of Pope Hildebrand, or not long after, followed the death of King William the Conqueror, in the year 1087, after he had reigned in England for twenty-one years and ten mouths.

By the life and acts of this king, what histories report of him may appear true — that he was wise but guileful; rich but covetous; a fair speaker but a great dissembler; glorious in victory and strong in arms, but rigorous in oppressing those whom he overcame; and he surpassed all others in imposing taxation. Insomuch, that he enrolled and numbered in his treasury every hide of land and its owner; whatever fruit and revenues were derived by every lordship, every township, castle, village, field, river, and wood within the realm of England; how many parish churches, how many living cattle there were, what and how much every baron in the realm could spend; what fees were belonging to them; what wages were taken, etc. The tenor and contents of all of this still remains in rolls.

The king took such pleasure in hunting and in parks, that in the county of Southampton, for the space of thirty miles, he tore down churches and townships, and there he made the new forest. He loved his deer so dearly, it was as though he had been a father to them, making sharp laws for increasing them, under pain of losing both eyes. He was so hard to Englishmen, and so favorable to his own countrymen, that there was no English bishop remaining except Wolstan of Winchester. Being commanded by the king and Lanfranc to resign his staff — partly for inability, and partly for lack of the French tongue — he refused to resign it to anyone but the one who gave it. And he so went to the tomb of King Edward where he thought to resign it, but he was permitted to enjoy it still.

Among William's other conditions, this is noted, that he was so given to peace and quiet. So that any maiden laden with gold or silver, might pass through the whole realm without harm or resistance. In his time, William built two monasteries, one in England at Battle in Sussex, where he won the field against Harold — called the Abbey of Battle; and another besides, named Barmondsey, in his own country of Normandy.

A little earlier (page 111), mention was made of the bishop's see of Sherborne, transferred from there to Salisbury. The first bishop of Salisbury was Hirman, a Norman, who first began the new church and minster of Salisbury. After him succeeded Osmund, who finished the work, and endowed the house with great revenues and much good singing. Osmund first began the ordinary (hymn) which was called "*Secundum usum Sarum*" (A.D. 1076). I found the occasion for it in an old storybook entitled "*Eulogium*," as follows:

In the days of William the Conqueror a great contention chanced at Glastonbury, between Thurstan the abbot, and his convent. The cause of this contention was that Thurstan scorned their choir service, then called *the use of St. Gregory*, compelled his monks to use one of William, a monk of Fiscam in Normandy. Whereupon strife and contentions arose among them, first in words, then from words to blows, and after blows, then to armor. The abbot, with his armed guard, fell upon the monks, and drove them to the steps of the high altar, where two were slain, and eight wounded with arrows, swords, and pikes. The monks then driven to such a straight and narrow shift, were compelled to defend themselves with images and candlesticks, with which they wounded some of the soldiers. One monk (an aged man), instead of his shield, took an image of the crucifix in his arms for his defense. This image was wounded in the breast by one of the bowmen, whereby the monk was saved.

My story adds that the striker immediately fell mad, which seems to be some monkish addition. This matter being brought before the king, the abbot was sent back to Cadonum, and the monks, by the command of the king, were scattered in far countries. Thus Osmund,

bishop of Salisbury, devised that ordinary which is called "*the use of Sarum*," and it was afterward received in a manner throughout England, Ireland, and Wales.

**William Rufus – son of William the Conqueror.**

William Rufus, the second son of William the Conqueror, began his reign (A.D. 1087), and reigned thirteen years. He was crowned at Westminster by Lanfranc. After his coronation, he released out of prison (at his father's request), several English lords who had been in custody. It happened that at the death of William the Conqueror, Robert, his eldest son, was absent in Germany. Hearing of the death of his father, and how his younger brother William had taken the kingdom upon himself, he was greatly incensed. He laid his dukedom in pledge to his brother Henry,<sup>143</sup> and gathered an army, and landed at Hampton. But William Rufus sent fair and gentle words to him, promising subjection to him as the more worthy and elder brother. He only required that, as he was already in possession, he might enjoy it during his life. He would pay Robert 3000 marks yearly, with the condition that whichever of them outlived the other should enjoy the kingdom. The occasion of this variance between these brothers brought great dissension between the Norman lords and bishops, both in England and in Normandy. But Duke Robert, by the advice of his council, was content to consent to all that was desired, and returned shortly after to Normandy.

Rufus was so disliked by the Normans, that there was frequently dissension between him and his lords. All the Normans took sides against him, so that he was forced of necessity to draw the Englishmen to himself. Again, he was so covetous and so immeasurable in his taxes and takings, in selling benefices, abbeys, and bishoprics, that he was hated by all the Englishmen as well.

King William was an exceeding plunderer of church goods. After he had given the bishopric of Lincoln to his chancellor, Robert Blevet, he then began to cavil, avowing that the see of Lincoln belonged to the see of York, until the bishop of Lincoln pleased him with a great sum of money, viz., 5000 marks.

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And as nothing could come in those days without money, so Herbert Loginga, by paying the king a sum of money, was made Bishop of Thetford, just as he had paid a little before to be made abbot of Ramsay. He removed his see from Thetford to the city of Norwich, and there erected the cathedral church with the cloister, where he furnished the monks with sufficient living and rents from his own charges, besides the bishop's lands. Afterwards, repenting of his open and manifest simony, he went to Rome, where he resigned his bishopric into the pope's hands, but he immediately received it back again.

We heard a little before of the death of Pope Hildebrand, after whose time the emperors began to lose their authority in the pope's election, and in giving benefices. Next after Hildebrand came Pope Victor III, through the influence of Matilda of Tuscany and the Duke of Normandy (A.D. 1087), with the faction and retinue of Hildebrand. He likewise showed himself stout against the emperor. But God restrained his power. Victor being poisoned in his chalice (as some say) sat but one and a half years. However, the example of Hildebrand continued in those who followed him. And just as the kings of Israel followed in the steps of Jeroboam for the most part, till the time of their desolation, so the popes followed in the steps and proceedings of Hildebrand, their spiritual Jeroboam, in maintaining false worship

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<sup>143</sup> Henry was the youngest of three surviving sons, later to become Henry I of England. Matilda of Scotland would be his Queen Consort, by whom he had a daughter also named Matilda; she in turn would marry emperor Henry V.



and chiefly in upholding the dignity of that see against all rightful authority, and the lawful kingdom of Sion.

Next after Victor sat Urban II, by whom the acts of Hildebrand were confirmed, and also new decrees were enacted against Henry the emperor. At this time there were two popes at Rome, Urban II and Clement III, whom the emperor set up. Under Pope Urban II, the white monks of the Cistercian order came in. In this order, the monks lived by the labor of their hands; they paid no tithes nor offerings; they wore no furs nor lining; they wore red shoes, white cowls, and black coats, all shorn, save a little circle round their heads; they only ate flesh in their journeys.

Urban held several councils. One was at Rome, where he excommunicated all those lay persons who gave investiture of any ecclesiastical benefice; and also all those of the clergy who degraded themselves so as to be the underlings or servants of lay persons in return for ecclesiastical benefices.

### ***First Crusade under Urban II.***

Urban held another council at Cleremont in France, where among other things, the bishop made an oration to the lords who were present there, concerning recovering the Holy Land from the Turks and Saracens. This cause first sprang from Peter, a monk or hermit, who having been in Jerusalem, and seeing the great misery of the Christians under the pagans, declared it to Pope Urban II. He was a great advocate for the crusade to all Christian princes. After the oration of Pope Urban II, 30,000 men (taking on them the sign of the cross), made preparation for that voyage. Their chiefs were Godfrey, duke of Loraine, with his two brothers, Eustace and Baldwin; the bishop of Pody; Bohemond, duke of Puell, and his nephew Tancred; Raymond, earl of St. Egidius; Robert, earl of Flanders, and Hugh le Grand, brother of Philip the French king. Joining them also was Robert Curthoise, duke of Normandy, with other noblemen, together with **Peter the hermit**, who was the chief cause of the undertaking.

At that time many of the noblemen laid their lands and lordships to mortgage, to assist in this crusade. For example, Godfrey, duke of Loraine, sold the dukedom of Bologna to the bishop of Eburone for a great sum of money. Also Robert Curthoise, duke of Normandy, pledged his dukedom to his brother William, king of England, for 10,000 pounds.

Thus the Christians who first passed over the Bosphorus,<sup>144</sup> under the guidance of Peter the hermit (a man more devout than expert in guiding an army), being trapped by their enemies, were slain and murdered in great numbers.

When the nobles and the whole army met together at Constantinople (where Alexius was emperor), passing over by the Hellespont on their way to Jerusalem, they took the cities of Nice, Eraclea, Tarsis, and subdued the country of Cicilia.

Antioch was besieged. In the ninth month of the siege, it was yielded to the Christians by Pyrrhus. About this time many strong battles were fought, to the great slaughter and desolation of the Saracens, and not without the loss of many Christian men. The government of this city was committed to Bohemond, duke of Puell, whose martial knighthood was frequently proved in the time of the siege. And not long after, Corbona, master of the Persian chivalry, was vanquished and slain, with a 100,000 infidels. In this defeat 15,000 camels were taken.

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<sup>144</sup> [The Bosphorus strait connects the Mediterranean and Black Seas at Constantinople.](#)

On the thirty-ninth day of the siege, Jerusalem was conquered by the Christians, and Robert, duke of Normandy, was elected its king. However, he refused it, hearing of the death of William Rufus, king of England, which is why he never succeeded well in all his affairs afterwards. Then Godfrey, captain of the Christian army, was proclaimed the first king of Jerusalem. At the taking of the city, such was the murder of men, that blood was congealed in the streets a foot thick. Then after Godfrey, Baldwin his brother reigned; and after him Baldwin II, his nephew. Then Gaufride, duke of Gaunt, and after him his son Gaufride, by whom many great battles were fought against the Saracens, and all the country thereabout was subdued, save Ascalon, etc. And thus much touching the voyage to the Holy Land. Now to our own land again.

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About this time (as Matthew Paris writes <sup>145</sup>) the king of England did not much favor the See of Rome, because of the impudent and insatiable exactions which they required; nor would he allow any of his subjects to go to Rome.

By Pope Urban II. it was decreed,

- That no bishop should be made, but under the name and title of some certain place.
- That matins and hours of the day should be said every day.
- Also that every Saturday there should be said the mass of our lady, and all the Jews' sabbath should be turned to the service of our lady.
- That all those of the clergy who had wives should be deprived of their order.
- That it would be lawful for subjects to break their oath of allegiance with all those who were excommunicated by the pope.

### ***Anselm of Canterbury.***

In the year 1093, the king gave the archbishopric of Canterbury to Anselm, abbot of Beck in Normandy. Anselm was an Italian, born and brought up in the abbey of Beck in Normandy, where he was so strict a follower of virtue, that (as the story records) he wished to be without sin in hell, rather than with sin in heaven. This saying and wish (if it really was his) seems to proceed from a mind neither in accord with the words and understanding of the Scripture, nor sufficiently acquainted with the justification of a Christian man.

It is reported of Anselm, that he was so unwilling to take the archbishopric, that king William had much ado to thrust it upon him. And the king was so desirous to have Anselm take it, that the city of Canterbury, which was previously held by Lanfranc only at the king's good will and pleasure, he now gave absolutely to Anselm (A.D. 1093). But as desirous as the king then was to place Anselm there, he as much repented of it afterwards, seeking all possible means to defeat Anselm if he could. Such strife and contention arose between them for certain matters, but the first ground and occasion of it was this:

After Anselm had thus been elected to the see of Canterbury, and before he was fully consecrated, the king communicated to him that those lands and possessions of the church of Canterbury which the king had given and granted to his friends since the death of Lanfranc, they might still enjoy as their own lawful possessions. But Anselm would not agree to this. The king, being greatly displeased with Anselm, stopped his consecration till in the process of time, the king was forced by the daily complaints and desires of his people,

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<sup>145</sup> [Matthew Paris was an English Benedictine monk and chronicler \(c. 1200-1259\). His extensive and detailed historical writings are significant sources for events in Europe between 1235 and 1259.](#)

and for lack of an archbishop to moderate the church, was constrained to admit him. Thus Anselm, taking his consecration, and doing his homage to the king, went to his see of Canterbury. Not long after, the king sailed over to Normandy.<sup>146</sup>

[119] A.D. 1087-1098.

### **Dispute between King Henry and Anselm.**

About this time there were two striving in Rome for the popedom, as mentioned before, Urban and Guibert. Some realms consented to the one, some to the other. England, taking part with the king, rather inclined to Guibert, called Clement III. But Anselm went with Urban II. After the king returned from Normandy, the archbishop came to him and asked leave to go to Rome to obtain his pall from Urban. When he could not at first obtain that leave, he appealed from the king to the pope. The king being justly displeased, charged the archbishop with breach of his fealty, contrary to his promise made that without his license he should not appeal either to Urban, or to any other pope. Anselm answered it was to be referred to some greater council, where it would be disputed whether this was breach of a man's allegiance to an earthly prince, if he appeals to the vicar of St. Peter. And here there was much arguing and contending on both sides. The king's reason proceeds thus:

“The custom,” he says, “from my father's time, has been in England, that no person should appeal to the pope without the king's license. Whoever breaks the customs of the realm, violates the power and crown of the kingdom; and whoever violates and takes away my crown is a traitor and enemy against me,” etc.

To this Anselm replied,

“The Lord, he says, easily discusses this question, briefly teaching what fidelity and allegiance we should give to the vicar of St. Peter, where he says, ‘You are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and to you I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven; whatever you bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatever you loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven,’ etc. Again, he says generally to them all, ‘Whoever hears you, hears Me; and whoever despises you, despises Me.’ And in another place, ‘Whoever touches you, touches the apple of My eye.’ On the other side, he also shows what duty we owe to the king. ‘Give to the emperor, what belongs to the emperor, and to God, what belongs to God.’ Therefore, in those things which belong to God, I will yield, and must yield by good right and duty, my obedience to the vicar of St. Peter. And in those things which belong to the earthly dignities of my prince, I will not deny my faithful help and counsel so far as they can extend.”

Thus you have the arguments of this prelate against his prince, to which perhaps was joined also some piece of a stubborn heart. But in this conclusion, none of his fellow bishops dared take Anselm's part, but were all against him— namely, William, bishop of Durham, to whom Anselm thus protests, saying, “Whoever would presume to prove it any breach of allegiance or fealty to his sovereign, if he appealed to the vicar of St. Peter, he was ready to answer at all times to the contrary.” The bishop of Durham answered back, — “Whoever would not be ruled by reason, must be constrained with force.” etc. The king, having on his side the agreement of the bishops, thought to deprive the archbishop of his pastoral see, and to expel him from the realm. But he could not perform this. For Anselm, as he was ready to depart the realm, said that whenever he went, he would take his office and authority with him, even if he took nothing else. Whereupon the matter was deferred till a future time. In the meanwhile, the king had privately sent two messengers to Pope Urban, to entreat him to send his pall to the king, for him to give it to whomever he chose. By this time, these

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<sup>146</sup> [William Rufus invaded Normandy in 1091 to reclaim territories from his brother Robert Curthose.](#)

messengers had returned, bringing with them from Rome, Galtar, bishop of Alban, the pope's legate, with the pall that was to be given to Anselm. This legate, first landing at Dover, came privately to the king (unknown to Anselm), declaring and promising that if Urban was received as pope in England, then whatever the king required to be obtained, the pope would ratify and confirm by his privilege from the apostolical see. The only exception was that when the king required of the legate that Anselm be removed, the legate would not agree to this, saying, "That was impossible for such a man as he, being lawfully called, to be expelled without manifest cause." In conclusion, although the king could not obtain his request of the legate, yet the legate so managed with the king, that Urban was proclaimed lawful pope throughout the realm.

Then certain bishops were sent to Anselm, to influence his mind, declaring what charges and pains the king had taken in his behalf, to procure the pall for him from Rome, which otherwise would have stood him in great expense; and the king had done all this for his sake. Therefore it was but good reason and proper that, to gratify the king, he should yield something in return to his request. But even with all this Anselm, the stout archbishop, would not be moved. Therefore the king, seeing no other remedy, was compelled to grant to him the full right of his archbishopric. And so on the appointed day, when the pall was to be brought to Canterbury (being carried with all solemnity in a silver box), the archbishop, with a great concourse of people, came forth barefoot with his priestly vestments, to meet it. And so being brought in, the pall was laid upon the altar, while Anselm, spreading over his shoulders his popish vestments, proceeded to his popish mass. Thus agreement was made between the king and the bishop, so long as it would hold.

It happened the following year, that the king entered into Wales with his army, to subdue those who rebelled against him there. After his victory, the king returned home in triumph. He found Anselm coming to congratulate him on his success. But the king prevented him by messengers, laying to the bishop's charge both the small number and the evil service of the soldiers that were sent to him in his time of need. At hearing this, all the hopes of Anselm were dashed to the ground, for he thought to obtain and accomplish many great matters with the king, touching the state of the church. But here all turned contrary to his expectation; so that he was charged against the next court of parliament, to give his answer. But he avoided that by appealing to Rome. So he made his suit and interest with the king for license to go to the pope. The king answered,

"He should not go, nor was there any cause for him to do so; for he both knew him to be of so sound a life, and had done no such offense, for which he needed to crave absolution at Rome. Nor was there any such lack of science and knowledge, that he needed to borrow any counsel there. Insomuch," says the king, "that I dare say Pope Urban has to give way to the wisdom of Anselm, rather than Anselm have any need of Urban. Therefore, as he has no cause to go, so I charge him to tarry. And if he continues in his stubbornness, I will assuredly seize his possessions, and convert his archbishopric into my coffers, because he transgresses and breaks fidelity and obedience, promising before to observe all the customs of my kingdom. Nor is it the fashion in this realm, that any of my nobles should go to Rome without my sending them. And therefore let him swear to me, that he will never for any grievance appeal hereafter to the See of Rome, or else let him leave my realm."

Anselm thinking it best not to reply by any message, except by word of mouth, comes personally to the king, and places himself at the right hand of the prince, where he made his reply to the message sent to him by the king.

“Whereas you say I should not to go to Rome, either in regard to any trespass, or for an abundance of counsel and knowledge in me (although I grant neither of them to be true), yet whatever truth is in this, I refer it to the judgment of God. And whereas you say that I promised to keep and observe your customs, that I grant. But with a condition: to so far keep them, and to observe those of them which were consonant to the laws of God, and ruled with right and equity. Moreover, whereas you charge me with breach of my fidelity and allegiance, for that, contrary to your customs I appeal to the apostolic see (my reverence and duty to your sovereignty reserved). If another person would say it, it would be untrue.

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“For the fidelity and obedience that I owe to you, O king! I have it by the faith and fidelity of God, whose vicar St. Peter is, to whose seat I appeal. Further, whereas you require me to swear that for no cause shall I hereafter at any time appeal to Rome, I pronounce openly that a Christian prince has no right to require such an oath of his archbishop. For if I were to forswear St. Peter, I would deny Christ. And when at any time I deny Christ, then I will be content and ready to stand to the satisfaction of my transgression to you, for asking license to go to Rome. And perhaps when I am gone, the goods of the church will not so serve your temporal desires and commodities as you think.”

The king and his nobles were not a little incensed at these words of the bishop. He declared again, that “in his promise to observe the king’s customs, there was neither condition, nor any clause put in, either of God or right,” etc. At length the king, after many threatening words, told Anselm that he should carry nothing out of the realm with him. “Well,” said the bishop; “if I may neither have my horse nor any garments with me, then I will walk on foot.” And so he prepared to set out on his journey. All the other bishops forsook him; none would take his part. But they said if he came to them for counsel, he was wise enough, and did not need their counsel, being one who for his prudence knew best what was to be done; and also for his holiness, he was willing and able to follow what he knew. As for them, they neither dared nor would stand against the king their lord, whose favor they could not be without, for the peril that might happen both to themselves and their kindred.

Anselm coming to Rome, made his complaint to Pope Urban about the king. Having written to the king on behalf of Anselm, the pope’s letters and commands were despised. In the meantime, while the pope’s letters were sent to the king, Anselm was bid to wait around the pope for an answer back. Perceiving at length how little the king regarded the pope’s letters, he began to be weary of waiting. He desired of the pope that he might be discharged from his archepiscopal office. The pope would not consent to this, but added, “Touching these matters, we will sufficiently provide at the next council to be held at Bayonne, where I require you to be present.”

#### **Articles in which the Greek Church differs from the Latin.**

When the time for the council had come, Anselm among others was called for. First sitting outside the bishops, he was afterwards placed at the right foot of the pope. The same place was appointed by the decree of Pope Urban to the successors of the see of Canterbury in every general council. In this council there was great stir and much reasoning against the Grecians, concerning the matter and order of the proceeding of the Holy Spirit. Here it is to be noted that the Greek church had for a long time dissented from the Latin church in many points, numbering from twenty to twenty-nine Articles. I have collected twenty-five of them from the register of the church of Hereford, as follows:

1. They are not under the obedience of the church of Rome, because the church of Constantinople is not subject to, but equal to that church.

Bk. IV. Wm. the Conqueror to Wycliffe (1066-1364)

2. They hold that the bishop of the apostolic See of Rome does not have greater power than the four patriarchs. And whatever the pope does apart from their knowledge, or without their approval, is of no value.
3. They say whatever has been done or concluded since the Second General Council (held at Constantinople in 381) is of no authority, because from that time they account the Latins to be in error, and excluded from the holy church.
4. They hold that the eucharist consecrated by the church of Rome is not the very body of Christ. Also where the Romish church consecrates with unleavened bread, they consecrate with leavened bread.
5. They say that the Romish church errs in the words of baptism, by saying, "I baptize you;" when they should say, "Let this creature of God be baptized," etc.
6. They hold moreover that there is no purgatory, and that the suffrages of the church do not avail the dead, either to lessen the pain of those who be destined to hell, or to increase the glory of those who are ordained to salvation.
7. They hold that the souls departed out of the bodies (whether they have done good or evil) do not have their perfect pain or glory, but are reserved in a certain place till the day of judgment.
8. They condemn the church of Rome for mixing cold water in their sacrifice.
9. They condemn the church of Rome, for allowing women as well as priests to anoint children (when they baptize them) on both shoulders.
10. They call our bread *panagia*.
11. They blame the church of Rome for celebrating their mass on other days besides Sundays, and certain other appointed feasts.
12. Also the Greek church varies from the Latin in this: for they have neither cream nor oil, nor a sacrament of confirmation.
13. Nor do they use extreme unction or anointing in the manner of the Roman church, expounding the passage in St. James to be about *spiritual* infirmity, not *corporal* (bodily).
14. They enjoin no satisfaction for penance, but only that they show themselves to the priests, anointing them with simple oil as a token of the remission of sins.
15. They consecrate for the sick only on Maundy Thursday (the Thursday before Easter), keeping it for the whole year after, thinking it to be holier on that consecrated day than any other. Nor do they fast on any Saturday throughout the year, but only on Easter-eve.
16. They have only five orders — clerics, subdeacons, deacons, priests, and bishops; whereas the Roman church has nine orders following the alleged nine orders of angels.
17. Moreover. the Grecians in their orders make no vow of celibacy, alleging for them the fifth canon of Nice, requiring that priest or deacon will not forsake his wife for honesty' sake.
18. Every year the Grecians, on certain days, used to excommunicate the church of Rome, and all the Latins as heretics.
19. Among the Grecians, those are excommunicated who beat or strike a priest. Nor do their religious men live in such priestly celibacy as the Roman priests do.
20. Their emperor among them ordains patriarchs, bishops, and others of the clergy, and deposes the same at his pleasure; he also gives benefices to whom he chooses, and retains the fruits of those benefices as pleases him.

21. They blame the Latin church because they eat no flesh, eggs, and cheese on Fridays, and do eat flesh on Saturdays.

22. They hold it against the Latin men for celebrating outside the consecrated church, either in the house or in the field; and fasting on the Sabbath day; also for allowing dogs and other beasts to enter the church.

23. The Grecians used not to kneel in all their devotions, and not to the body of Christ, but one day in the whole year; saying and affirming that the Latins are goats and beasts, for they always prostrate themselves on the ground in their prayers.

24. The Grecians moreover do not permit the Latins to celebrate on their altars. And if it happens that any Latin priest celebrates on their altar, they wash the altar as a token of that abomination and false sacrifice. And they diligently observe that whenever they do celebrate, they do only one liturgy or mass on one altar or table that day.

25. They dissent from the church of Rome concerning the order and manner of the proceeding of the Holy Spirit. <sup>147</sup>

These articles declare the difference between the eastern and western churches, between the Grecians and the Romans. Because I found them articulated and collected in an ancient and authentic register of the church of Hereford, I thought to insert them here, and leave them to the consideration of the reader.

[121] A.D. 1098-1100.

There are four other articles in the same register that expressed more concerning simony and usury, which are not forbidden by them. They also touch their emperor; and how they teach their children to hurt or damnify the Latin priests in all manner of ways. Because these articles do not seem truly collected out of their teachings, or are not greatly pertinent to the doctrine of religion, I pass them over, and return to our history again.

When some of these questions were moved in the council to be discussed — namely, concerning the proceeding of the Holy Spirit, and the use of leavened bread in the ministration of the Lord's supper — Anselm was called for. In handling and treating the articles in the council, he well pleased the pope and others about himself.

Then it follows in the history, after long debating and discussing these matters in the council, when they had published their judgment on them, and the pope had blasted out his thundering excommunications against the Grecians, and all who took their part — at length the complaints and accusation against the king of England were brought in. Pope Urban with his adherents was ready to proceed on this in excommunication against the king. But Anselm kneeling before the pope, after he had first accused his king, afterwards obtained for him that a longer time be given for further trial.

### **The Vacillating Conduct of the Pope.**

Thus the council broke up, the pope returned again to Rome. He directed his letters to the king, commanding him that Anselm should be reinvested in his archbishopric, and all other possessions there pertaining. The king sent his answer to this by messengers. Coming to the pope, they declared in the king's behalf, that the king their master did not a little marvel about what induced the pope to command Anselm to be reinvested in his archbishopric, seeing the king plainly told him before, that if he departed England without his leave, the

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<sup>147</sup> *The Filioque Controversy*. The Catholic Church teaches that the Holy Spirit proceeds from both the Father “and the Son” (Filioque). The Eastern Orthodox Church teaches that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.



king would deprive him of it. "Well," said the pope, "have you no other matter against Anselm but this?" "No," they said.

"And have you taken all this travel," said the pope "to come here so far, to tell me this: that the primate of your country is dispossessed, because he has appealed to the apostolical see and judgment? Therefore, if you love your lord, speed home and tell him, if he would not be excommunicated, that he quickly reinvest Anselm again to all that he had before. And lest I have you hanged for your labor, look to your time, and see that you bring me an answer back from him to this city, by the next council, the third week after Easter."

The messenger or speaker being somewhat astonished at hearing of this tragic answer, and thinking yet to work out something for his king and master, he came secretly to the pope, saying that he would confer a certain mystery from this king privately with his holiness. What that was mystery, or what passed there from the king to the pope and the court of Rome, my author does not show. But that mystery was handled so cunningly, that with a full consent both of the pope and all the court of Rome, a longer delay was given, from Easter to Michaelmas (Sept. 29th), and the pope's choleric heat was so assuaged, that when the council came (which was held at St. Peter's church at Rome) even though great complaints were denounced against the king, yet such favor was found that he suffered no harm. The sentence of excommunication was pronounced only against those laypersons who gave investiture of churches, and those who were so invested. Also against those who consecrated them, or subjection themselves to laymen for ecclesiastical livings, as mentioned before.

The council being finished, the archbishop seeing the unsteadfastness of the pope (which pleased him but little) took his journey to Lyons, where he continued his abode a long time, till the death first of pope Urban, and then afterwards of the king.

Many things are differently recorded about King William, some to his commendation, and some to his blame. One of these, which some will ascribe to his hardiness, I rather ascribe to his rashness. Once, as the king was engaged in his sport of hunting, word suddenly came to him that Cenourona (a city in Normandy) was besieged. Without tarrying or advice, the king took the straight way toward the sea-side, sending to his lords that they should follow after. They advised him to stay till his people were assembled, but he would not be stayed, saying that those who loved him (he knew) would follow him shortly; and so he went and took ship. The shipmaster seeing the weather so dark and cloudy was afraid, and counselled the king to tarry till the wind would change, and the weather be more favorable. But the king persisted, and commanded him to make all the speed he could for his life, saying, "That he never heard that any king was ever drowned." And so he passed the sea in safety, and came to Normandy.

In the thirteenth year of his reign, King William had in hand three bishoprics — Canterbury, Winchester, and Sarum — and also twelve abbeys in farm (paying rent). He was wounded to death as he was hunting in the New Forest, by a glancing arrow shot by a knight named Walter Tyrrel. He was carried speechless to Westminster, and there he was buried. His life was such that it is hard for a history that would tell the truth, to say whether William was more to be commended or reproved. Among other vices, there is especially to be rebuked in him immeasurable and unreasonable covetousness; so that he coveted to be every man's heir. I find in him this one example of a liberal and princely nature:

One time when a certain abbot of a place was dead, two monks of the same house came to his court. They had gathered much money, and tried to influence the king. They severally made large offers to be promoted to that dignity. There was also a third monk of the same place, who out of meekness and humility followed the other two, in order that whomever the king



admitted for abbot, this third monk might attend him, and return with him as his chaplain. The king called before him the two monks severally, of whom the one outbid the other. As the king cast his eye aside, he espied that third monk standing by, supposing that his coming had also been for the same matter. Then the king called him, and asked what he would do, whether he would give more than his brethren had offered, to be appointed abbot. He answered that he neither had nor would (if he could) offer money for it, by any such unlawful means. When the king had well-pondered this third Monk's answer, he said that he was best worthy to be the abbot, and to have the rule of so holy a charge. And so he gave him that benefice without taking any money.

Urban II, bishop of Rome, who (as said earlier) succeeded Victor, ruled the church of Rome for about twelve years. Among his other acts, he excommunicated Henry IV, the Holy Roman Emperor, as a man not very devoted to the See of Rome. Yet Henry was a worthy and victorious prince, in whom some vice might also perhaps be noted, yet none for which any prelate or minster of Christ ought to excite his subjects to rebel against public authority appointed by God. This Emperor Henry IV was excommunicated by four popes severally; by Hildebrand (1076), by Victor III (1080), by Urban II (1088), and by Paschal II (1101). His excommunication so worked in the ignorant and blind hearts of the people, that many nobles as well as the multitude, contrary to their sworn allegiance, rebelliously conspired against their king and emperor.

### ***King Henry I of England.***

Henry, the first of that name, the third son of William the Conqueror, succeeding his brother Rufus, began his reign in England (A.D. 1100). For his knowledge and science in the seven liberal arts, he was surnamed Clerk or Beauclerk. In him it may well appear how knowledge and learning greatly conduce to the government and administration of any realm or country. At the beginning, he reformed the state and condition of the clergy, released the grievous payments introduced against King Edward's laws, with amendments of them. He reformed the old and untrue measures, and made a measure according to the length of his arm. He greatly abhorred excesses of food and drinks; he reformed many abuses; and used to convince by counsel rather than by sword.

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### **Dispute between the King and Anselm.**

In the second year of his reign, Robert his elder brother, duke of Normandy, was occupied in the Christian wars against the Turks. Being elected king of Jerusalem, but hearing of the death of William Rufus, he refused the kingdom of Jerusalem. Thus returning to Normandy, he made his preparation there, and came over to England with a great army to challenge the crown. But by mediation of the lords, it was agreed that Robert would have 3000 marks yearly during his lifetime, as it was promised him before by King Rufus his brother. And whichever of them outlived the other, would be the other's heir. In process of time, there was again a dispute between King Henry and Robert. At length, Robert was taken prisoner in the wars and brought over to England. He was put into the castle of Cardiff in Wales, where he continued a prisoner as long as he lived.

It has been already stated how Anselm went to the pope, and remained in Rome. After the death of King William, he was sent for again by King Henry, and he returned to England. He was at the council of the king at Westminster, where the king, in the presence of the lords, temporal as well as spiritual, ordained and invested two bishops, Roger bishop of Salisbury, and Roger bishop of Hereford.

After this council, Herbert bishop of Norwich had much ado with the priests of his diocese. For they would neither leave their wives, nor give up their benefices as had been decreed in the council. Whereupon he wrote to Anselm the archbishop for advice. Anselm required him to persuade the people of Norfolk and Suffolk, that as they professed Christianity, they would subdue them as rebels against the church, and utterly drive both them and their wives out of the country, placing monks in their places.

Gerard, the archbishop of York also had much trouble in depriving the priests of his province of their wives, which he could hardly bring about with all his excommunications and thunderings,.

About the end of the third year of the reign of King Henry, which was A.D. 1103, a variance arose between King Henry and Anselm. The occasion was this: you heard a little before how Henry had, by his own authority invested two bishops, one Roger, who was chancellor, bishop of Salisbury; and another was bishop of Hereford. Besides these he also invested others. And he took several other things upon himself in the ecclesiastical state, which he might lawfully do, God's word allowing it. But because he was restrained by the bishop of Rome, and forbidden to do so, Anselm was so enraged that he would neither consent to it, nor confirm them, nor communicate or be friendly with those whom the king had instituted and invested. But Anselm contemptuously called them abortives, or children of destruction, disdainfully rebuking the gentle king as a defiler of religion, and polluter of their holy ceremonies. The king was much displeased with this unseemly outrage, and so he required Gerard, the archbishop of York, to consecrate them. He did so without delay, except that William Gifford, to whom the king had given the bishopric of Winchester, refused to take his consecration by the hands of the bishop of York. For this cause the king deprived Gifford of both bishopric and goods, and banished him from the realm.

Moreover, the king required of Anselm, to do homage in the manner of his ancestors. It was also asked whether he would join with the king in giving investitures, as Lanfranc his predecessor had done. Anselm answered that he would not do homage to the king, alleging the pope's excommunication. In his Council of Rome a little before, the pope had given an open sentence of excommunication upon all those lay persons (whoever they might be) who would henceforth confer or give any spiritual promotions; also upon those who received such promotions at their hands, and those who consecrated any such receivers. Moreover, he pronounced all those accursed, who for benefices or other ecclesiastical promotions, would subject themselves under the homage or service of any great man, king, prince, duke, or earl, of the laity. For (the pope said) it was unseemly and a very execrable thing, that the hands which were converted into so high a working as was granted to no angel (that is, to create Jesus Christ in the mass, even Him who created all, and to offer Him up in the sight of the Father for the salvation of the whole world) should be brought to such slavery, as to be subject to those filthy hands which are polluted with robberies and bloodshed, etc. Anselm alleging this decree of Pope Urban, refused to do homage, fearing (as he said) the pope's excommunication.

In the meantime, while there was long disputation on both sides about investiture, the nobles of the realm contended that investings belonged to the king's dignity. Therefore the king called for Anselm again, requiring him either to do homage to him or else to leave his kingdom. Anselm replying back, required the pope's letters to be brought forth, and the matter to be decided according to the tenor of them. For now the messengers had returned from Rome with the pope's answer, altogether agreeing with Anselm. Then the king said, "What have I to do with pope's letters? I will not forego the liberties of my kingdom for any

pope.” Thus the contention continued between them. Then other ambassadors were sent again to the pope, so that he might somewhat qualify and moderate (or rather abolish) the sternness of the Roman decree mentioned before. Two monks, Baldwin and Alexander, were sent on behalf of Anselm. On the king’s behalf two bishops were sent, Robert bishop of Lichfield, and Herbert bishop of Norwich.

After the ambassadors (thus sent on both sides to Rome) had pleaded their causes, the pope was glad to gratify the king. Yet he was loath to grant his request, being against his own profit, and therefore he was more inclined to Anselm’s side. He sent his letters to Anselm, signifying that he would not repeal the statutes of his holy fathers for one man’s pleasure. Moreover, he charged him not only to *not* yield in the cause of investiture, but to constantly adhere to the decree of Pope Urban, etc. Besides this letter to Anselm, he directed another to the king himself. This letter the king suppressed and did not show, only declaring by word of mouth what the ambassadors had said to him from the pope. Which was this: that he permitted him the license of investing, on the condition that in other things he would execute the office of a good prince, etc. The contention still continuing, it was agreed by the king and his nobles, that Anselm should go to Rome himself. And much entreaty was made that he would take that journey in hand, in his own person, to present himself to the pope, for the peace of the church and of his country. And so at length, being persuaded, he went to Rome and spoke with the pope. He was also followed by the king’s ambassador, William Warlwast, newly elected bishop of Exeter. There it was decreed that the bishops who were invested by the king, should be excommunicated. The absolution and satisfaction of them was left to Anselm, only the king being excepted, who had invested them.

Thus Anselm, leaving Rome, took his journey toward England. But the ambassador, pretending to go to St, Nicholas, remained behind, to see whether he could win the pope’s mind to the king’s purpose. When he saw he could not do this, he overtook Anselm by the way, at Placentia, and told him the king’s pleasure.

“The king,” he said, “gives to you in charge and commandment, that if you will come to England, and there behave yourself toward him, as your predecessor did toward his father, you will be received and retained in the realm accordingly. If not — you are wise enough to know what I mean, and what will follow.”

And so with these words, parting from him, he returned again to the king. Anselm remained at Lyons a year and a half, and wrote to the king as follows:

*“To his Reverend Lord Henry, King of England — Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, faithful Service, with Prayers.*

“Although you understand by William Warlwast what we have done at Rome; yet I will shortly show you what belongs to me. When I came to Rome, I declared the cause for which I came to the lord pope.

[123] A.D. 1100-1106.

“He answered that he would not swerve from the statutes of his predecessors. Furthermore, he commanded me that I should have no fellowship with those who received investings of churches at your hands, after the knowledge of this prohibition, unless they would do penance, and forsake what they had received, without hope of recovery; also that I should not communicate with the other bishops who had consecrated such men, unless they would present themselves to the judgment of the apostolic see. The aforesaid William can be a witness of all these things if he will. This William, when we departed asunder (reckoning up in your behalf, the love and liberality which you always had towards me) warned me as your

archbishop, that I should show myself such a one, that if I would come into England, I might be with you as my predecessor was with your father, and you might treat me with the same honor and liberty that your father treated my predecessor. By this I understand that unless I show myself to be such a one, you would not have me come into England. For your love and liberality I thank you. But that I should be with you as my predecessor was with your father, I cannot do it. For I dare not do homage to you, nor communicate with those who take investings of churches at your hands, because of this inhibition made, I myself hearing it. Therefore I desire you to send me your pleasure in this if it pleases you, whether I may return into England (as I said) with your peace and the power of my office.”

In the meanwhile there was great debate, and many messengers were sent to and fro between the king, the archbishop, and the pope, but nothing was done. For the pope would not agree to the king, nor would the king condescend to the archbishop. At last the archbishop, seeing that he could by no means prevail against the king, thought to revenge himself by excommunication, and so he went about the same. The king, hearing of this by the Countess Adela his sister, desires her to come to him into Normandy, and bring Anselm with her. Up which (through the means of the countess) the king and Anselm were reconciled, and the archbishop was restored to his former possessions again. Only his return was deferred, because he would not communicate with those whom the king had invested. So the king took his passage over into England, and Anselm abided at the abbey of Beche.

In the meantime complaints were daily brought from England to Anselm, against the priests and canons who, in his absence, and contrary to the recent council held at London, received their wives into their houses again, and were permitted to do so by the king, with them paying him certain money for it. Anselm, the sore enemy of lawful marriage, grieved with this, addressed his letters to the king, requiring him to refrain from taking any more of such exactions, declaring and affirming moreover, that the offenses of all such ecclesiastical ministers must be corrected by the bishops, and not by laymen.

It was not long after that the king, as he had promised, went again to Normandy, and meeting with Anselm at the abbey of Beche, agreed with him in all those points which the archbishop required. As first, that all his churches, which before were made tributary to King William, should now remain free from all tribute; that he would require nothing of those churches or provinces while the seat was vacant. Moreover, concerning those priests and ministers who had given money to the king for the liberty to keep their wives, it was agreed that they should cease from all ecclesiastical functions for three years.

Thus Anselm, the stout champion of popery and superstition, after he had gained this victory over the king, for which he had fought so long, sailed into England with joy and triumph, having obtained all his popish requests. First he pounces like a lion on the married priests, contrary to the word of God, and divorces and punishes by man's authority, those whom the Eternal and Almighty God had coupled. Next, he looks to those who held any church by farm (leased) under the king. Likewise, he proceeds with his full pontifical authority against simony and against those who married within the seventh degree.

Shortly after, as King Henry had finished his war in Normandy, he returned again with victory into England, about the sixth year of his reign. Anselm, now archbishop of Canterbury (by the permission of the king), assembled a great council of the clergy and prelates of England at Westminster in London. In this (by the bishop of Rome's authority) he so worked with the king, that at length (though not without great difficulty) it was newly confirmed and enacted that no temporal man after that day would make investiture with cross or with ring, or with pastoral hook. In this council various injunctions were given to

priests and deacons. Because we are mentioning here the synodal acts concluded in the time of Anselm, I place them all together here, taking them from Malmesbury and other authors.

The first thing decreed by Anselm in his synodal councils, touched the fault of simony, by which many bishops and abbots (as mentioned before) were deposed at the time. And laymen were forbidden to confer any ecclesiastical promotion.

Also it was decreed that no bishop would bear any office in secular men's business or meetings: and that those should not go apparelled as laymen did, but should have their vestures decent and appropriate for religious persons. And that they should never go in any places without someone to bear witness of their conduct.

That no archdeaconries should be let out to farm.

That no archdeacon should be under the degree of a deacon.

That no archdeacon, priest, deacon, sub-deacon, collegian, or canon, should from that time marry, nor keep his wife if he was already married.

That every sub-deacon, being under the degree of a canon, marrying a wife after a profession of celibacy, should be subject to the same rule.

That any priest who did not put away his wife would be reputed to be unlawful, and may not say mass, and if he said mass, he should not be heard.

That none should be admitted to orders from that time forward, from the degree of a sub-deacon, unless he professed celibacy.

That priests' sons should not claim the benefices of their fathers by heritage, as the custom had always been before.

That no spiritual person should sit in any secular office, so as to be procurators or judges of blood.

That priests should not resort to taverns or banquets, nor sit drinking by the fireside.

That the garments of priests should be of one color, and that their shoes should be decent.

Besides all these synodal acts published by Anselm, with others which we omit, he also directed other new injunctions to the *priests*.

That they and their wives should never meet in one house, nor dwell in their territories.

That the priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, should keep no female in their house unless they were their next kin.

That those who had separated themselves from the society of their wives, and yet for some cause had to communicate with them, might do so if it were out of doors, and before two or three witnesses.

That if any of them should be accused by two or three witnesses, and could not clear himself again by six able men of his own order if he is a priest; or if he be a deacon, by four; or, if he is a sub-deacon, by two; then he should be judged a transgressor of the statutes, deprived of his benefice, made infamous, or be put to open reproach by all men.

That any who rebelled, and still held his wife in contempt of this new statute, and presumed to say mass, upon the eighth day after (if he did not make due satisfaction) should be solemnly excommunicated.

That all archdeacons and deacons should be straitly sworn not to wink or dissemble at their meetings, nor to carry money with them. And if they would not be sworn to this, then they were to lose their offices without recovery.

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That those priests who forsook their wives, and were still willing to serve and remain in their holy order, must first cease forty days from their ministrations, setting vicars to serve for them in the meantime, and taking such penance upon themselves, as might be enjoined by their bishop.

### **LETTERS OF POPE PASCHAL AND ARCHBISHOP ANSELM.**

Thus you have heard of the life and doings of Anselm, how superstitious he was in his religion, how stubborn against his prince, what occasions for war and discord he ministered by his complaints (if they had been taken) — what zeal without right knowledge, what fervency without cause he pretended, and what pains without profit he took. If he had bestowed that time and labor in preaching Christ at home to his flock, which he took in going to Rome to complain about his country, in my mind he would have been better occupied. Moreover, you have heard what violent and tyrannical injunctions he set forth concerning investiture and other things; but especially against the lawful and godly marriage of priests. It may appear what a vehement adversary he was in this matter, by these extracts from his letters, which we annex here as follows:

#### **A Letter of Anselm.**

*Anselm, Archbishop; to his Brethren and Dearest Sons  
the Lord Prior and others at Canterbury.*

“As concerning priests, of whom the king commanded that they should have both their churches and their wives as they had in the time of his father, and of Lanfranc archbishop — both because the king has re-vested and re-seized the whole archbishopric, and because so cursed a marriage was forbidden in a council in the time of his father and of the said archbishop — I boldly command by the authority which I have by my archbishopric, not only within my archbishopric but also throughout England, that all priests who keep wives, shall be deprived of their churches and ecclesiastical benefices.”

#### **A Letter of Pope Paschal to Anselm.**

*Paschal, Bishop, Servant of God's Servants; to his Reverend Brother Anselm,  
Archbishop of Canterbury, greeting and apostolical blessing.*

“We believe your brotherhood is not ignorant of what is decreed in the Romish church concerning priests' children. But because there is so great a multitude of such within the realm of England, that almost the greater and better part of the clerics are reckoned to be on this side, we therefore commit this dispensation to your care. For we grant these to be promoted to holy offices because of the need at this time, and for the profit of the church (such as learning and life commends among you) so that notwithstanding, the prejudice of the ecclesiastical decree hereafter be heeded,” etc.

#### **Another Letter of Anselm.**

*Anselm, Archbishop; to the Rev. Gudulph, Bishop; and to Arnulph Prior;  
and to William, Archdeacon of Canterbury; and to all in his Diocese, greeting.*

“William, our archdeacon, has written to me, that some priests who are under his custody (taking back their wives who were forbidden) have fallen into the error from which they were

drawn by wholesome counsel and commandment. When the archdeacon would amend this thing, they utterly despised with wicked pride his warning and worthy commandment to be received. Then he, calling together many religious men and obedient priests, worthily excommunicated the proud and disobedient, who despised the curse, and were not afraid to defile the holy ministry, as much as it lay in them to do so," etc.

And thus much concerning Anselm archbishop of Canterbury; whose stout example gave no little courage to Thurstan <sup>148</sup> and Becket, his successors, and others who followed after, to do the same against their kings and princes, as it will appear hereafter by the grace of Christ.

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About the same time and year when King Henry began to reign, Pope Paschal II entered his papacy, succeeding Urban II (about A.D. 1100). He did not swerve at all from the steps of Hildebrand his superior. About the same time (A.D. 1101), the bishop of Florence began to teach and preach of antichrist, who was then to be born and be manifest, as the historian Sabellicus testifies. Whereupon Paschal, assembling a council, put to silence that bishop, and condemned his books. In this council at Trecas, priests who were married were condemned as Nicolaitans.

It was sufficiently declared before concerning the excommunication and other troubles that Hildebrand wrought against Emperor Henry IV. Paschal renewed this excommunication against Henry. And not only that, he also convened the princes of Germany in a general assembly, and set up the emperor's own son against him. This caused the bishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Worms to deprive him of his imperial crown, and to place his son, Henry V, in his father's kingdom. So coming to the place at Hilgeshem, they first required from him his diadem, his purple, his ring, and other ornaments pertaining to the crown. The emperor demanded the cause, being then excommunicate and void of friends. They pretended it was for selling bishoprics, abbacies, and other ecclesiastical dignities for money. They also alleged the pope's pleasure and that of other princes. Then he inquired first of the bishop of Mentz (and likewise of the other two, whom he had preferred to their bishoprics before) asking them in order, if he had received one penny from them for promoting them to their dignities. This they could not deny to be so. "Well," (he says) "and do you repay me with this treatment?" And with many other words of exhortation he admonished them to remember their oath and allegiance to their prince. But the perjured prelates, neither reverencing his majesty, nor moved with his benefits, nor regarding their fidelity, did not cease for all this. But first they plucked from him (sitting in his throne) his imperial crown, then disvestured him, taking from him his purple and his scepter. The good emperor, being left desolate and in confusion, said to them: "Let God see and judge." Thus leaving him, they went to his son to confirm him in his kingdom, and made him drive his father out. In the end, being utterly dispossessed of his kingdom, the king was brought to such distress, that coming to Spire, he begged of the bishop there, whom he had done much for before, to have a prebend (stipend) in the church. And as he had some skill in his book, he desired to serve in our lady's choir. Yet he could not obtain so much at the bishop's hand, who swore by our lady that he would have nothing there. Thus the woeful emperor came to Leodium, and there he died for sorrow, after he had reigned fifty years.

After the decease of this emperor, his son Henry V. reigned for twenty years. Coming to Rome to receive his crown from the pope, he could not obtain it before he would fully assent to have this ratified: that no emperor should have any thing to do with the election of the

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<sup>148</sup> Thurstan or Turstin of Bayeux (c. 1070-1140) was Archbishop of York. He served kings William II and Henry I of England before his election to the see of York in 1114.

Roman bishops or with other bishoprics. Soon after, however, the emperor prevailed against the pope, and compelled him to agree to restore to him his right in the election of the pope and other bishops. But as soon as the emperor had returned again to Germany, the pope immediately called a synod, and not only revoked all that he had agreed to before, but he also excommunicated Henry, as he had done to his father before him.

The emperor seeing no end of these conflicts (unless he would yield to the pope) was obliged to give over, and forego his privilege, agreeing not to meddle with matters pertaining to the pope's election, nor with investing, nor other such things belonging to the church and churchmen. And thus the peace between them was concluded, and proclaimed to no small rejoicing both the armies then lying by Worms, near the river Rhine.

[125] A.D. 1109-1126.

After the death of Paschal (A.D. 1118), Pope Gelasius succeeded him, chosen by the cardinals, but without the consent of the emperor, whereupon there rose no little variance in Rome. At length another pope was set up by the emperor, called Gregory. Gelasius was driven away into France, and there he died. After him came Calixtus II, chosen likewise by a few cardinals, without the voice of the emperor, who, coming up to Rome to enjoy his seat, first sent his legate into Germany to excommunicate the Emperor Henry; who then, having diverse conflicts with his fellow Pope Gregory, at length drove him out of Rome.

In conclusion, the emperor being overcome, and fearing the dangerous thunderbolt of his curse, was obliged to condescend to the unreasonable conditions of the pope. First, to ratify his election, although the other pope was yet alive. Secondly, that he should resign up his right and title in matters pertaining to the election of the pope, and investiture of bishops.

This being done and granted, and the writings set up in the church of Lateran, as a triumph over the emperor, the pope went after Gregory his rival pope, who was then in a town called Sutrium; which being besieged and taken, Gregory also was taken. Calixtus the pope setting him upon a camel (his face to the camel's tail), brought him so through the streets of Rome, holding the tail in his hand instead of a bridle; and afterwards being shorn, he was thrust into a monastery.

The same Calixtus, holding a general council at Rheims, decreed that priests, deacons, and sub-deacons should put away their wives; and whoever was found to keep his wife should be deprived of his benefice, and all other ecclesiastical livings.

### **The Two Metropolitans Contend About The Primacy.**

After the death of Anselm (A.D. 1109), the church of Canterbury stood empty for five years; and the goods of the church went to the king's use. When he was asked to appoint a pastor, the king's answer was that as his father and brother had been accustomed to set the best tried and approved men in that see, he might do the same; so he took more time. And he delayed the time, while he filled his coffers with the riches of that benefice.

After this (A.D. 1115), Rudolph, bishop of Rochester (an Englishman), was promoted to be archbishop of Canterbury; and Thurstan, the king's chaplain, was elected archbishop of York. Being content to receive his benediction or consecration from the see of Canterbury, and yet, because he refused to make his profession of obedience to that see, Thurstan was deprived of his dignity (office) by the king.

Then (by the instigation of certain of his clerics at York) Thurstan journeyed to Rome to make his complaint to pope Paschal. He brought back with him a letter from the pope to the king, in which among other words, it contained the following:



“We hear and understand, that the archbishop elect of the church of York (a discreet and industrious man) is sequestered from the church of York, which stands against both divine justice and the institution of holy fathers. Our purpose is that neither the church of Canterbury should be impaired, nor again that the church of York should suffer any prejudice, but that the same constitution which was by blessed Gregory (the apostle of the English nation) set and decreed between those two churches, should still remain inviolate in force and effect. Therefore, as touching the foresaid elect archbishop, let him be received back by all means, as is right and proper to his church. And if there is any question between the foresaid churches, let it be handled and decided in your presence, both parties there being present.”

On the occasion of this letter, a solemn assembly was appointed at Salisbury, to hear this controversy. The variance between these two prelates increased more and more. Rudolph, archbishop of Canterbury, in no case would yield or condescend to lay on hands for Thurstan unless he made his profession of obedience. Thurstan said again that he would willingly receive and embrace Rudolph’s benediction; but he would not agree to the profession of his subjection. Then the king signified to Thurstan, that without his subjection and professed obedience to the archbishop of Canterbury, he would not enjoy the archbishopric of York. Upon this, Thurstan renounced his archbishopric, promising moreover to make no more claim to it, nor to molest those who should enjoy it.

Shortly after this, it happened that pope Paschal died (A.D. 1118). After him, as related above, succeeded pope Gelasius, who did not live more than a year, and died in France. The cardinals (who then followed Pope Gelasius to Cluny) created another pope of their own choosing, whom they called Calixtus II. The other cardinals who were at Rome chose another pope called Gregory. There was much stir in the Christian world about these two rival popes. Calixtus remained in France, and called a general council at Rheims. Thurstan the archbishop of York desired permission from the king to go to the council, purposing to open the cause of his church there. He first promised the king that he would attempt nothing that would be prejudicial to the church of Canterbury. In the meantime, the king had sent secret word to the pope, by Rudolph and other proctors, that he would in no case consecrate Thurstan. Yet, notwithstanding the faithful promise of the pope made to the king, the pope was inclined to consecrate him, and gave him the pall. He required of the king that he would license Thurstan to return with favor into his realm. But the king utterly refused, unless he would profess subjection to the church of Canterbury, as his predecessors had done before him. Thurstan excused himself from his oath which he had made to the king before. To this the pope replied that, by his apostolical authority, he would easily dispense with that promise or oath. Then the king said that he would consult his council, and send an answer. His answer was this, “That for the love and request of the pope, he was content that Thurstan should re-enter his realm, and quietly enjoy his prelateship on this condition: that he would profess his subjection to the church of Canterbury.”

The following year (A.D. 1120), Pope Calixtus directed his letters for Thurstan to the king, and to Rudolph archbishop of Canterbury. In this epistle, by his full apostolical power, he interdicts <sup>149</sup> both the church of Canterbury and the church of York, with all the parish churches within those cities, from the burial of the dead, also from all divine service, except for the baptizing of children, and absolution of those who are dying, *unless* within a month after the receipt of the letter, Thurstan (without any exaction of subjection) was received and admitted to the see of York; and he also said that the king would be excommunicated unless he consented to this. Whereupon, for fear of the pope’s curse, Thurstan was

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<sup>149</sup> *Interdiction*: a papal decree prohibiting the administration of the sacraments within a political region.

immediately sent for and reconciled to the king, and was placed quietly in his archepiscopal see of York.

It followed not long after (within two years) that Rudolph archbishop of Canterbury died. William de Turbine succeeded him in his see. About this time (the twenty-seventh year of the king's reign, or a little before), king Henry called a council at London, where the spiritual leaders of England consented to the punishment of married priests. By reason of this, the priests, paying a certain fine to the king, were allowed to retain their wives, by which the king gathered no small sum of money (Rog. Hoved. Guliel. Gisburnesis).

Matilda (or Maud),<sup>150</sup> daughter of king Henry I, was married to emperor Henry V. After the emperor's decease (A.D. 1125) she returned with the imperial crown, to her father in Normandy, bringing with her a relic, the hand of St. James. For the joy of obtaining this relic, the king built the abbey of Reading, where the hand was deposited. Matilda was received by the council as next heir to the king, her father, for lack of male issue. Soon after, she married Geoffrey Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou, from whom Henry II would be born, king of England after Stephen (as explained below).

After Calixtus, succeeded Pope Honorius II, notwithstanding that the cardinals had elected another. Yet by means of certain citizens, he obtained the papacy (A.D. 1125).

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About the second year of his induction, a certain legate of his called John Cremensis was sent to England. This legate came with the pope's letters. After he had refreshed himself in the bishops' houses and among the abbots, at length he resorted to London, where he assembled the whole clergy together. He inquired concerning priests' wives, and thereupon he made a statute in the synod of London in this tenor:

“To priests, deacons, subdeacons, and canons, we utterly inhibit by apostolical authority, all manner of society and conversation with all kinds of women, except their mother, sister, or aunt, or those from whom no suspicion can arise. And whoever is found to violate this decree, being convicted of it, shall thereby sustain the loss of all that he has by his order.”

But see how God works against such ungodly proceedings. It happened that the same cardinal was found to be guilty of gross vice, even though he had so strictly given out his precepts the day before. As Matthew Paris writes, this was to no little slander and shame of the whole clergy.

After Honorius succeeded Pope Innocent II (A.D. 1130). But it was with him, as it had been with his predecessors before him. That at every change of popes new troubles came. And very commonly when a pope was elected, someone else was set up as a rival against him (sometimes two or even three popes together). For after he was chosen, the Romans elected another pope, named Anacletus. There was much trouble and great conflicts between these two popes.

About this time (A.D. 1135), King Henry I was in Normandy. By a fall from his horse, as some say, or a by a surfeit in eating lampreys (eels), as others say, he fell sick and died. He had reigned for over thirty-five years. For his heirs, he left his daughter, the empress Matilda, with her young son Henry, to succeed after him. All the prelates and nobility of the realm were sworn to her. But contrary to their oath made to her, in the presence of her

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<sup>150</sup> Empress Matilda's mother was Matilda of Scotland (christened Edith). She took the name Matilda upon marrying Henry, to placate the Normans; for she had then become the Duchess of Normandy. She died in 1118.

church father William archbishop of Canterbury, and the nobles of the realm, they crowned Stephen, earl of Boulogne, on St. Stephen's day in Christmas week. Stephen was the nephew of Henry I, by his sister Adela.

### **King Stephen.**

Thus, when king Stephen, contrary to his oath, had taken the crown upon himself, he swore before the lords at Oxford, that he would not hold the benefices that were vacant, and that he would remit the *dane-gilt*, with many other things, which afterwards he little fulfilled. As he dreaded the coming of the empress, he gave license to each of his lords, to build strong castles or fortresses upon their own ground. All his reign he was torn with wars, especially with David king of the Scots, with whom at length he made peace, however. Yet the Scottish king would not pay him homage, even though Henry, David's son, paid homage to king Stephen. But repenting of this, David entered into Northumberland with a great army, and burnt and slew the people in a most cruel manner, neither sparing man, woman, or child. The children they tossed on spear points, and laying the priests upon the altars, they mangled and cut them all to pieces, in a most terrible manner.<sup>151</sup> But by the valor of the English lords and soldiers, and through means of Thurstan, archbishop of York, they were met and defeated, and a great number of them were slain. David their king was constrained to give his son Henry as hostage, for surety of peace. In the meantime, king Stephen was occupied in the South countries, besieging various castles of bishops and other lords. He took them by force, and fortified them with his knights and servants, to withstand the empress Matilda, of whose coming he was ever afraid.

About the sixth year of his reign, the empress came into England from Normandy, and with the aid of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and Ranulph of Chester, she made war upon king Stephen. In the end, the king's party was chased, and he himself was taken prisoner and sent to Bristol, there to be kept in close confinement.

After this battle the queen. King Stephen's wife, made great entreaty to the empress and her council, to have the king released and put in to some monastery; but she could not obtain it. Also, the Londoners made great suit to the empress to have Saint Edward's laws back, and not the laws of her father, which were stricter and stranger to them than the other. When they could not obtain this request from her and her council, the citizens of London, being discontented, would have taken the empress. But she fled privately from London to Oxford. Then the Kentish-men and Londoners, taking the king's side, joined battle against the empress. Robert, earl of Gloucester and illegitimate brother to the empress, was taken. And so by exchange, both the King and Robert the Earl were released from prison. Then Stephen without delay gathered a strong army, pursued Matilda (or Maud) with her partisans, besieging them in the castle of Oxford. During the siege a great snow fell, and the frost was so hard that a man heavily-burdened might pass over the water. Upon this, the empress arranged with her friends and retinue to clothe themselves in white sheets, and issue out by a posterngate.<sup>152</sup> They went upon the ice over the Thames, and so escaped to Wallingford. After this, the king gained the castle, but when he did not find the empress, he was much displeased. He pursued the empress and her company so hard, that at last he caused them to flee the realm, which was the sixth year of his reign.

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<sup>151</sup> The Battle of the Standard (or of Northallerton), took place Aug. 22, 1138 on Cowton Moor near Yorkshire. English forces under William of Aumale repelled a Scottish army led by King David I of Scotland.

<sup>152</sup> A postern gate is a secondary door or gate, often located in a concealed or less exposed area of a fortification such as a city wall or a castle curtain wall.

The second year after this, which was the eighth of his reign, there was a parliament at London, to which all the bishops of the realm resorted. There they denounced the king as accursed, and all those with him who did any hurt to the church, or to any minister of it. Upon this the king began somewhat to amend his proceedings for a time. But afterwards he was as bad as before. The empress having fled the realm, returned to Normandy and to her husband, Geoffrey Plantagenet. After he had valiantly won and defended the duchy of Normandy against King Stephen, he ended his life, leaving his son Henry to succeed in that dukedom. Meanwhile, Robert earl of Gloucester, and the earl of Chester, had several conflicts with king Stephen. At a battle at Wilton the king was nearly taken, but escaped.

### **Stephen King of England, Succeeded by Henry II.**

Soon after this (A.D. 1153), Henry duke of Normandy, with a great army, entered England and won the castle of Malmesbury, the tower of London, and afterward the town of Nottingham, the castles of Wallingford, with other holds and castles. Many battles were fought between him and king Stephen. During this time, Eustace the king's son died. On this occasion, the king caused Theobald archbishop of Canterbury to mediate with the Duke for peace. This was concluded on this condition, that Stephen, during his lifetime, would hold the kingdom, and Henry in the meantime would be proclaimed heir-apparent in the chief cities throughout the realm. These things being concluded, duke Henry returned to Normandy, and king Stephen, some say for sorrow, ended his life, after he had reigned nineteen years.

As Theobald succeeded William, archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 1138), so in York, William Maclagan succeeded Thurstan (A.D. 1140/41). He was called St. William of York, but he was poisoned in his chalice by his Cistercian chaplains (A.D. 1154).

Matthew Paris writes how Stephen, king of England, reserved to himself the right and authority to bestow spiritual livings, and investing prelates. Emperor Lotharius (Lothar III) would have done the same in recovering the right and privilege taken from his predecessor Henry V, had Bernard of Clairvaux not given him contrary counsel.

At this time, the manner of cursing (excommunicating) with **bell, book, and candle**, came into the church. It was devised in the Council of London held by William, bishop of Winchester under pope Celestine II, who succeeded Innocent II (A.D. 1145).

### ***King Henry II of England.***

Henry II was the son of Geoffrey Plantagenet and Empress Maud, daughter of Henry I. He began his reign after King Stephen (A.D. 1154), and continued for thirty-five years. The first year of his reign he subdued Ireland. Not long after, Thomas Becket was made Lord Chancellor of England. Henry went into the north, where he subdued William king of Scotland (who at that time held a great part of Northumberland), and then joined Scotland to his own kingdom, from the South Ocean to the North Isles of Orcades.

[127] A.D. 1130-1155.

Henry also put under his dominion the kingdom of Wales. So that by his great manhood and policy, the dominion of England was increased with the addition of Scotland, Ireland, the Orcades, Brittany, Poitou, and Guienne. Also he had in his rule Normandy, Gascoyn, Anjou, and Chinon; also Auvergne and the city of Toulouse. Besides these (by the title of his wife Eleanor, daughter to the Earl of Poitou) he obtained Mount Pyrame in Spain. So that we read of none of his progenitors, who had so many countries under his dominion.

***Emperor Frederick I – Barbarossa.***

Now the time requires us to proceed to the history of Frederick I (called Barbarossa), successor to Conrad in the empire (A.D. 1155).<sup>153</sup> He marched into Italy to subdue certain rebels there. The Pope hearing this, came with his clergy to meet Frederick in hopes of obtaining his assistance against his enemies. The emperor, on seeing the bishop, alighted from his horse to receive him, holding the stirrup to the prelate on the left side, when he should have held it on the right, at which the pope showed himself somewhat annoyed. The emperor smiling, excused himself, that he was not accustomed to holding stirrups; and as it was done only of good will, and not of duty, it was little matter which side of the horse he held. The next day, to make amends to the bishop, the emperor sent for him, and received him holding the right stirrup, and so the matter was settled.

After this, as they came in and sat together, Adrian IV, the pope, began to declare to Frederick how his ancestors before him, those who sought the See of Rome for the crown, were in the habit of always leaving behind them some special token or monument of their benevolence for obtaining it. Therefore he required some benefit to proceed likewise from the emperor to the church of Rome — say, restoring the country of Apulia to the church of Rome. If he would do this, then for the pope's part, he would do what pertained to him to perform — meaning giving Frederick the crown. For at that time the popes had brought the emperors to seek their crown from the pope's hand.

Frederick with his princes perceived that unless he would of his own proper costs and charges recover Apulia out of Duke William's hands, he could not secure the crown. He promised all that the pope required; and so the next day he was crowned. This being done, the emperor returned to Germany, while Adrian, not liking to be idle, issued his excommunication against William, duke of Apulia. Not content with this, he also sent to Emmanuel, Emperor of Constantinople, inciting him to wage war against William. Duke William perceiving these intrigues, sent to the pope asking for peace, promising to restore to him whatever he wished.

But the pope, through the malignant counsel of his cardinals, would grant no peace, thinking to get more by war. The duke, seeing nothing but war ahead, expeditiously prepared himself. He arrived at Apulia, and there put Emperor Emmanuel to flight. Then he proceeded to the city of Bonaventure where the pope and his cardinals were looking for victory. He so besieged and pressed the city, that the pope and his cardinals were glad to treat for peace, which they had refused to do before. The duke granted peace on certain conditions, viz. that he would not invade those possessions which belonged to Rome, and that the pope would make him king of both Sicilies.<sup>154</sup>

**Correspondence Between the Pope and the Emperor.**

The emperor Frederick Barbarossa, sitting quietly at home all this while, began to consider with himself how the pope had extorted from the emperors, his predecessors, the investiture of prelates; how he had sickened and taxed all the nations by his legates, and also had been the sower of seditions throughout his empire. He therefore began to require homage from all the bishops of Germany, and an oath of allegiance. He also commanded the pope's legates, if they came into Germany without his sending for them, were not to be received. Moreover, he charged all his subjects that none of them should appeal to Rome. Besides

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<sup>153</sup> Frederick Barbarossa was the Duke of Swabia from 1147 to 1152. He followed Conrad III as Holy Roman Emperor.

<sup>154</sup> The term "Two Sicilies" refers to the Kingdom of Sicily and the Kingdom of Naples. Apulia, a region in southern Italy, was part of the Kingdom of Naples.

this, in his letters he set and prefixed his name *before* the pope's name. Upon seeing this, the pope was not a little offended. He directed his letter to Emperor Frederick in the following tenor:

“Adrian, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Frederick, emperor, health and apostolical benediction. The law of God as it promises to those who honor father and mother long life, so it threatens the sentence of death to those who curse father and mother. We are taught by the word of truth, that everyone who exalts himself shall be brought low. Therefore, my well-beloved son in the Lord, we marvel not a little at your wisdom, in that you seem not to show that reverence to blessed St. Peter, and to the holy church of Rome, which you ought to show. Why is this? In your letters sent to us, you place your own name before ours, by which you incur the note of insolence, indeed, rather of arrogance. Why should I recite to you here the oath of your fidelity, which you swore to blessed St. Peter and to us, and how you observe and keep it? Seeing that you so require homage and allegiance from those who are gods, and all the sons of the high God, and presume to join their holy lands with yours, working contrary to us — seeing that you also exclude our cardinals not only out of your churches, but also out of your cities, those whom we direct as legates from our side — what shall I say then to you? Amend, therefore I advise you, *amend*. For while you go about to obtain from us your consecration and crown, and to get those things you do *not* have, I fear greatly that your honor will lose the things you *have*. Thus, fare you well.”

*The Answer of Frederick the Emperor to the Pope.*

“Frederick by the grace of God, Roman Emperor, ever Augustus, to Adrian, Bishop of the Roman church, and to all those who are willing to cling to those things which Jesus began to do and to teach, greeting. The law of justice gives to every person accordingly that which is his. Nor do we derogate from our parents, from whom, as we received our dignity from the imperial crown and governance, so in this same kingdom of ours, we render their due and true honor back to them. And for so much as duty is to be sought out in all sorts of men, let us see first in the time of Constantine (Sylvester then being bishop of Rome) what patrimony or regality he had of his own, that was due him and that he might claim. Did not Constantine, of his liberal benevolence, give liberty and restore peace to the church? And whatever regality of patrimony the see of your papacy has, was it not given to them by the donation of princes? Revolve and turn over the ancient chronicles (if either you have not read or neglected what we affirm) where it is to be found. Of those who are gods by adoption, and hold their lordships from us, why may we not justly require their homage, and their sworn allegiance, when he who is both your master and ours (taking nothing from any king or man, but giving all goodness to all men) paid toll and tribute for him and Peter to Caesar, giving you an example to do the same. Therefore he says to you and all men, ‘Learn from me, for I am meek and lowly,’ etc.

“Therefore, either render back your lordships and patrimonies which you hold from us; or else if you find them so sweet to you, then give that which is due to God unto God; and that which is due to Caesar, unto Caesar. As for your cardinals, we shut them out of both churches and cities, because we see they are not preachers but prowlers; not makers of peace, but rakers for money; not pillars and upholders of the church, but the insatiable taxers of the world, and collectors of money and gold. When we see them otherwise (and as the church requires them to be) as members and makers of peace, shining out like lights to the people, assisting poor and weak men's causes in the way of equity, etc., then they will find us forward and ready to relieve them with salaries and all things that are necessary. And where you bring such questions as these to secular men (little conducing to religion) you thereby incur no little note and blemish of your humility, which is keeper of all virtues, and of your meekness. Therefore let your fatherhood beware and take heed, lest in pushing such matters as seem to us unseemly for you, you thereby give offense to those who depend on your word (giving ear to



your mouth, as it were, to an evening shower). For we cannot help but tell you of what we hear; seeing now the detestable beast of pride creeps into the seat of Peter — Providing always as much as we may (by God's grace) for the peace of the church. Fare you well."

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### **Dissension Between the Pope and the Emperor.**

Upon this, Adrian the pope directs a bull against Frederick I, excommunicating him with public and solemn ceremonies, and then conspiring with William Duke of Apulia, he sought all manner of ways to plague the emperor, and to set all men against him, especially the clergy. The pope understanding the intent of the emperor, and how loth he was to come under subjection to his see, devised by all crafty ways to bring it to pass. He sent some sharp letters to him, and yet not so sharp as they were proud and disdainful. In the first of these, the salutation by his legates was this: "Our most blessed father the pope greets you, and the universal company of the cardinals — he as your father, they as your brethren." Meaning that the emperor should understand himself to be a subject and underling to the pope, no less than the cardinals were. The emperor with his princes, perceiving upon perusing the letters, what the pope was aiming at by his legates, could not brook such intolerable presumption; whereupon there was much contention between the legates and the princes. "And from whom, then," ask the legates, "does the emperor receive the empire, if not from the pope?" The German princes were so offended by this, that if the emperor had not stopped them (with some difficulty), they would have used violence against the legates. But the emperor would not permit that. He commanded the legates away, charging them to make no turn on the way, but to depart straight home. And to certify to the whole state of the empire, the truth of the matter, he directs these letters that follow:

### **The Emperor's Letter sent throughout his empire.**

"For so much as the providence of God (on which all power depends, both in heaven and earth) has committed to us, his anointed, this our empire to be governed, and the peace of his churches to be protected by our imperial arms, we cannot but lament and complain to you with great sorrow of heart, seeing such causes of dissension, the root and fountain of evils, and the infection of pestiferous corruption, to thus rise from the holy church, imprinted with the seal of peace and love of Christ.

"Because of this (unless God turns it away) we fear the whole body of the church is likely to be polluted, its unity to be broken, and schism and division arise between the spiritual and temporal governments. Being recently at Bisunze (Büdingen), and there entreating busily about matters pertaining to the honor of our empire, as well as to the wealth of the churches, ambassadors of the apostolical see came, declaring that they brought a legacy to our majesty of great importance, redounding in no small measure to the commodity of our honor and empire.

"The first day of their coming, being brought to our presence, and received by us (as the manner is) with honor accordingly, audience was given them to hear what they had to say. They immediately burst out about the mammon of iniquity, haughty pride, stoutness, and arrogance. Out of the execrable presumption of their own swelling heart, they delivered their message with an apostolical letter. Its tenor was this: "That we should always have before our eyes, how our *sovereign lord* the pope gave us the imperial crown, and that it does not repent him, if we have received greater benefits at his hand.' And this was the effect of that so sweet and fatherly legation, which should nourish the peace of both the church and the empire, to unite them fast together in the band of love.

"And at the hearing of this so false, untrue, and most vain-glorious presumption of so proud a message, not only did the emperor's majesty conceive indignation, but also all the princes

(there present) were moved with such anger and rage at this, that if our presence and request had not stayed them, they would not have kept their hands from “these wicked priests, or else they would have proceeded with the sentence of death against them.

“Furthermore, because a great number of other letters (partly written already, partly with seals already signed for letters that would be written as they thought good for the churches of Germany) were found about them. By these they would work their conceived intent of iniquity here in our churches, to destroy the altars, to carry away the jewels of the church, and to tear off the limbs and plates of golden crosses, etc. To the intent that their avaricious meaning would have no further power to reign, we commanded them to depart the same way they came. And now, seeing that our reign and empire stands upon the election of princes from God alone, who in the passion of his Son subdued the world to be governed with two swords; and again, seeing that Peter the apostle has so instructed the world with this doctrine, ‘Fear God, honor your king;’ therefore, whoever says that we have and possess our imperial kingdom *by the benefit of the lord pope*, is contrary both to the ordinance of God, and to the doctrine of Peter, and shall also be reproved as a liar.

“Therefore, as our endeavor up to now has been to help and to deliver the servile captivity of the churches out of the hand and from the yoke of such Egyptians, and to maintain the right of their liberties and dignities, we desire you all with your compassion, to lament with us this slanderous ignominy cast upon us and our kingdom. We trust that your faithful good will, which has been ever trusty to the honor of this empire (never yet blemished from the beginning of this city, and of religion) will provide that it will have no hurt through the strange novelty and presumptuous pride of such men. Rather than have this thing come to pass, know this for certain: I would rather incur the danger of death, than suffer such confusion to happen in our days.”

This letter of the emperor fretted the pope not a little, who wrote back to the bishops of Germany, accusing the emperor, and requiring them to work against him what they could.

This pope did not continue very long, only four years and a few months. (1154-1159)

Although Adrian was bad enough, the next pope was much worse. Alexander III was not elected alone, for the emperor with nine cardinals set up another pope named Victor IV. Between these two popes arose a great discord that long continued. So that the emperor, being required to take up the matter, sent for them both to appear before him, so that in hearing them both, he might judge their cause better. Victor came, but Alexander refused to appear. Whereupon the emperor, with the full consent of his bishops and clergy, ratified the election of Victor. Alexander flying into France accursed them both, sending his letters through all Christendom against them, as men to be avoided and cast out of all Christian company. Also at Rome, by flattery and money, he got most of the city on his side. After this, Alexander, coming from France to Sicily, and from there to Rome, was there received with much favor through the help of Philip, the French king.

Emperor Frederick, hearing of this, marched with great force into Italy. Coming at length to Rome, he required the aid of the citizens so that the cause between the two popes might be decided, and that whichever had the best right might be accepted. Alexander mistrusting his side, and doubting the will of the citizens, fled to Venice.

The emperor sent his son Otto, with men and ships against Venice, charging him not to attempt anything before his coming. The young man, more hardy than circumspect, joined battle with the Venetians, was overcome, and taken prisoner by Alexander.



The father, to help the captivity and misery of his son, was compelled to submit himself to the pope, and to entreat for peace. So the emperor coming to Venice (at St. Mark's church, where the bishop was, to get his absolution there) was obliged to kneel down at the pope's feet. The proud pope, setting his foot upon the emperor's neck, said this verse of the psalm, "You shall tread upon the adder and the serpent, the lion and the dragon you shall tread under your feet." <sup>Psa 91.13</sup>

[129] A.D. 1155-1164.

The emperor answered, "Not to you, but to Peter." The pope replied, "Both to me and to Peter." The emperor, fearing to give any occasion for further quarrelling, held his peace, and so he was absolved, and peace was made between them. The conditions were *first*, that he should receive Alexander as the true pope, and *secondly*, that he should restore to the church of Rome all that he had taken away. And thus the emperor, obtaining his son's release, departed.

Here, as I noted, a great diversity and variety exists in various writers concerning this matter. Some say the emperor encamped in Palestine before he went to Venice; some say after. So I marvel to see in Volateran (a great favorer of the pope) such a contradiction in his twenty-second book. He says that Otto, the emperor's son was taken in this conflict, which was the cause of peace between his father and the pope. In his twenty-third book he says that the emperor himself was taken prisoner in the same battle. And so, *after* the peace was concluded, he took his journey to Asia and Palestine. During his papacy (which continued twenty-one years), Pope Adrian IV kept sundry councils both in Turin and at Lateran, where he confirmed the wicked proceedings of Hildebrand and his other predecessors, so as to bind all orders of the clergy to the vow of celibacy.

### ***The Life and History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury.***

Now, as Thomas Becket (1119-1170) lived in the time of Pope Alexander III (r. 1159-1181), let us narrate something about him, so far as seems worthy of knowing. This is to the end that the truth being sifted from all flattery and lies of those popish writers who record his history, men may better judge both about him, and about his cause.

If it is the *cause* that makes a martyr, I do not see why we should esteem Thomas Becket a martyr, more than any other whom the prince's sword punishes for their crimes. To die for the church I grant is a glorious matter. But the church (as it is a spiritual and not a temporal church) stands upon a heavenly foundation, such as faith, religion, true doctrine, sincere discipline, obedience to God's commandments — and not upon things pertaining to this world, such as possessions, liberties, exemptions, privileges, dignities, patrimonies, and superiorities. If these things are given to the church, I pray God that church-men may use them well. But if they are *not* given, then the church cannot claim them; or if they are taken away, such a matter is in the prince's power. To contend with princes about it, does not in my mind make a *martyr*, but rather a *rebel*. Therefore, though I suppose Thomas Becket was far from the title of a martyr, I wish the law had discovered his fault, rather than have the swords of men strike him down, without the command of either prince or law to do so. It would have been the better way, for the laws to have executed their justice upon him; and certainly it would have been the safest way for the king (Henry II). And also, thereby his death would have been without any suspicion of martyrdom, nor would there have been that enshrining and sainting of him that followed. If the emperors had dealt according to the law with the popes who contended against them, when they had taken them prisoners. That is, if they had used the law of the sword against them, and chopped off the heads of one or two

according to their traitorous rebellions, then they would have broken the neck of much of that disturbance, which long after troubled the church. But the emperors — having both the sword and the truth on their side, would not use their sword. Rather, standing in awe of the pope's vain curse, and reverencing his seat for St. Peter's sake, they dared not lay hands on him, even though the pope was ever so abominable and traitorous a malefactor. The popes, *perceiving* that, took so much upon themselves, not as the Scripture would give them, but as the superstitious fear of emperors and kings would allow them to take.

**Now back to the history.** If that is true which is set forth by those four men who took it upon themselves to narrate the life of Thomas Becket, then it appears that he was a man of stout, severe, and inflexible temper. Once he had conceived some opinion in his mind, he would in no way, or hardly be removed from it. Threatenings and flattering were both alike to him, following no man's counsel so much as his own. He had more natural than cultivated talents, although he was somewhat skilled in civil law. He had a good memory, and was well trained in courtly and worldly matters. Besides this, he was of a chaste and strict life, if the histories are true. Although in the first part of his life (still being archdeacon of Canterbury, and afterward lord chancellor) he was very civil, courtly, pleasant, much given both to hunting and hawking, according to the manner of the court. And he was highly favored by his prince, who not only had thus promoted him, but had also committed his son and heir to his instruction and government. In this, his first beginning, he was not so well beloved; but afterward he was much hated, both by the king, and also by most of his subjects, with the exception of certain monks and priests (and those who were persuaded by them), who magnified him not a little for upholding the liberties of the church — that is, the licentious life and excesses of churchmen. He was full of devotion, but without any true religion; zealous, but without knowledge. And therefore, just as he was stiff and stubborn of nature, so (a blind conscience being joined with all this) it turned into plain rebellion. He was so superstitious in his obedience to the pope, that he forgot his obedience to his natural and most beneficent king. And in maintaining so contentiously the constitutions and decrees of men, he neglected the commandments of God. But here he is most of all to be reprehended: that he not only (contrary to the king's knowledge) sought to convey himself out of the realm, when holding so high place and calling, but he also set a matter of discord between the pope and his king, and also between the French king and him, contrary to all propriety, good order, natural subjection, and true Christianity. Upon this followed no little disquiet to the king, and damage to the realm.

His first preferment was to the church of Branfield, near the gift of St. Alban.<sup>155</sup> After that, he entered into the service of the archbishop of Canterbury, by whom he was then preferred to be his archdeacon. In time, king Henry made him lord chancellor, and he then left playing the archdeacon, and began to play the chancellor. He fashioned his proceedings like the king's, both in weighty matters and trifles. He would hunt with him, and watched the time when the king dined and slept. He began to love the merry jestings of the court, to delight himself with the great applause of men, and praise of the people. And to pass by his household stuff, he had a bridle of silver, and the bosses of his bridle were worth a great treasure. At his table and in other expenses Becket surpassed any earl. He also acted the good soldier under the king in Gascony, and both won and kept towns. In the forty-fourth year of his age, he was made priest, and the next day he was consecrated bishop.

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<sup>155</sup> Braintfield (St. Andrew's), a parish in the union of Hertford, hundred of Cashio, or *liberty of St. Alban's*, 3½ miles N.W. from Hertford. The living is a rectory, valued in the king's books at £11. 6. 8, with about 35 acres of farmland. Matthew Paris wrote that this was Thomas à Becket's first preferment. (*Topographical History of England*, 1848).

Concerning the priesthood of this man, I find histories vary. For if he was beneficed, and chaplain to Theobald (archbishop of Canterbury 1139-1161), and afterwards archdeacon (as some say) then it is likely that he was a priest *before*, and was not (as most English histories say) made priest in one day, and archbishop the next.

**Conflict Between Henry II and Thomas Becket.**

The chief cause of the conflict that sprung up between the king and Thomas Becket, was this: a canon reviled the king's justices, and the king was offended. The archbishop, to pacify the king, commanded the canon to be whipped and deprived of his benefices for a number of years. But the king was not content with this gentle punishment, because it rather increased the boldness of the clergy. Therefore the king called the archbishop, bishops, and all the clergy, to assemble at Westminster. When they were assembled, the king commanded that such wicked clerics should have no privilege of their clergy, but be delivered to the jailors. And this, he said, their own canons and laws had decreed. The archbishop, counselling with his bishops and learned men, heartily desired the king's gentleness, that under Christ our new king, and under the new law of Christ, he would bring no new kind of punishment into this realm against the old decrees of the holy fathers.

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Becket frequently said that he "neither should nor could suffer it." The king being angered at this, alleges the old laws and customs of his grandfather, observed and agreed upon by archbishops, bishops, prelates, and other privileged persons. He inquired likewise of the archbishop, whether he would agree to the same. To these laws and customs Thomas partly granted, and partly would not grant. There were 28 or 29 of these laws. I thought to recite some of them here, that are not unworthy to be known.

*The Copy of the old Laws and Customs  
to which Thomas Becket agreed.*

"1. That no order should be given to husbandmen's children and bondmen's children, without the assent or testimonial of the lords of the country where they were born and brought up: and if their sons become clerics, they shall not receive the order of priesthood without license of their lords.

"2. That if a man of holy church holds any lay fee in his hand, he shall therefore do the king the service that belongs to it, such as juries, assize of lands and judgments, except the execution of death.

"3. That if any man were the king's traitor, and had fled into the church, it would be lawful for the king and his officers to take him out.

"4. That if any felon's goods were brought to holy church, none should keep them there; for every felon's goods are the king's.

"5. That no land should be given to the church, or to any house of religion, without the king's license."

The following Articles, Thomas did not agree to.

"1. If there were any striving for church-goods, between a cleric and a layman, the plea should be done in the king's court.

"2. That neither bishop nor cleric should go out of the land without the king's license, and then he should swear that he would procure no hurt against the king, nor any of his.

Bk. IV. Wm. the Conqueror to Wycliffe (1066-1364)

“3. If any man were denounced accursed, and came back to amendment, the king would not have him sworn, but only find sureties to stand to it, which holy church would award.

“4. That no man, held by the king in chief or in service, should be accursed without the king’s license.

“5. That all the bishoprics and abbeys that were vacant, should be in the king’s hands, until such time that he chose a prelate for it; and he should be chosen from the king’s chapels; and before he was confirmed, he should do his homage to the king.

“6. If any plea were brought to the consistory, they should appeal from there to the archdeacon, and from there to the bishop’s court, and from the bishop’s court to the archbishop’s, and from there to the king, and no further. So that in conclusion, the complaints of holy church must come before the king, and not the pope.

“7. That debts which were owing to a pledge of marriage, should not be pleaded in spiritual, but in temporal courts.

“8. That the Peter-pence, which were gathered to the pope, should be taken to the king.

“9. If any cleric were taken for a felony and so proved, he should first be degraded, and then through judgment be hanged, or if he was a traitor, be drawn.”

Other Laws and Constitutions made at Clarendon in Normandy, and sent to England, to which Becket and the Pope would not agree, for the pope had then fled the realm.<sup>156</sup>

“1. If any person is found to bring from the pope, or from the archbishop of Canterbury, any writing containing any interdict or curse against the realm of England, the same man is to be apprehended without delay as a traitor, and is to be executed.

“2. That no monk or any cleric shall be permitted to pass into England without a passport from the king or his justices: whoever does the contrary, is to be seized and imprisoned.

“3. No man is to be so bold as to appeal to the pope, or to the archbishop of Canterbury outside of England.

“4. That no decree or commandment, proceeding from the authority of the pope, or the bishop of Canterbury, be received into England, under pain of arrest and imprisonment.

“5. In general, to forbid any man to carry over any commandment or precept, either of cleric or layman, to the pope, or to the archbishop of Canterbury, under pain of imprisonment.

“6. If any bishop, cleric, abbot, or layman does contrary to this inhibition, or keeps the sentence of interdicting, that person is to be thrust out of the land, with all their kindred, and is to leave all their goods behind them.

“7. All the possessions, goods, and chattels of those who favor the pope or the archbishop of Canterbury, are to be seized and confiscated for the king.

“8. All those of the clergy who are from outside the realm, and derive their rents and profits from the land, are to be summoned and warned through every shire to return home within three months, or else their rents and goods are to return to the king.

“9. That St. Peter’s-pence should no longer be paid to the apostolical see, but are to be reserved diligently in the king’s coffers, and there to be at his commandment.

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<sup>156</sup> Pope Alexander III fled to France in April 1162 to escape the antipope Victor IV, who was elected with imperial support. Alexander sought refuge in France to avoid a total victory by Emperor Frederick I (Barbarossa) and to build support in France and England.

“10. That the bishops of Salisbury and Norwich are at the king’s mercy, and are summoned by the sheriff and bealdes (police), that before the king’s justices they do right to the king and his justices, because (contrary to the statutes of Clarendon) by commandment they interdicted the land of Earl Hugh, and published it in their diocese without license from the king’s justices.”

By these and other such laws and decrees it may appear that the abolishing of the pope’s authority is nothing new in the realm of England. The only difference is that the pope then being driven out, could not be kept out so long as he is now. The reason is that the time had not yet come that antichrist should be so fully revealed; nor was his wickedness then so fully ripe as in our time. We will now return to,

*The Communication and Controversy between the King  
and Thomas Becket, with his Clergy.*

The king assembling his nobles and clergy, required the punishment of some delinquent clergymen. But Thomas Becket did not assent. The king demanded whether he would consent, so that the customs set forth in the realm (meaning the first part of those decrees above specified) should be observed. To which the archbishop, consulting with his brethren, answered that he was content, but adding this: *Salvo ordine suo*; that is, *Saving his order*. And in like manner all the other bishops answered with the same addition, *Salvo ordine suo*.<sup>157</sup> Hilarius, bishop of Chichester, alone agreed to observe them *bona fide*. The king was greatly offended at this exception, or saving clause. Turning to the archbishop and prelates, he said that, “he was not well content with that clause of theirs, *Salvo ordine suo*, which was captious and deceitful, having some venom lurking under it. And therefore he required an absolute agreement, without any exception, to the king’s ordinances.” The archbishop answered that, “They had sworn to him their fidelity, both life, body, and earthly honor, *Salvo ordine suo*; and those ordinances were also comprehended in the same earthly honor. They would bind themselves to observing them in no other form, but as they had sworn before.” The king was very angry with this, as were all his nobility. As for the other bishops, there was no doubt they would easily have changed their minds, had the boldness of the archbishop not made them more constant than they would have been otherwise.

[131] A.D. 1164.

**Becket Yields to the King, but Afterwards Repents.**

The day being nearly spent, the king departed in great anger, giving no salutation to the bishops. The following day, the king took from the archbishop all the honors and lordships he had given him before in the time that he was chancellor, showing the great displeasure of the king against him and the clergy. Not long after this, the king left from London (unknown to the bishops) and sailed over to Normandy, to where the bishop of London resorted to crave the king’s favor. He counselled him how to win over some of the other bishops. By this means, most of the bishops were reconciled again to the king. Only the archbishop, with a few others, remained in their obstinacy. The king, to try every means, when he saw that no fears or threats could change Becket’s mind, tried gentleness; but it would not serve. Many of the nobles labored between them to influence Becket, but it would not be. The archbishop of York, with other bishops and abbots, especially the bishop of Chester, did the same. Besides this, his own household daily called upon him, but no one could persuade him. At length, learning what danger might happen not only to himself but to the other clergy, from

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<sup>157</sup> Its meaning is essentially *excepting the duty and honor owed to God and His Church*. In respect to the Constitution of Clarendon, mentioned above, he was saying that all should follow them *except* those belonging to his order, whose first duty is to the Church, and thus to the pope — even with regard to some temporal matters.

the king's displeasure, and considering the love and kindness of the king towards him in times past, he was content to give way to the king's wishes. He came to the king at Oxford, and reconciled himself. The king being somewhat softened by this, received him with a more cheerful countenance, yet not so familiarly as before. He said that, "He would have his ordinances and proceedings in the prescribed form, confirmed in the public audience and open sight of all his bishops and all his nobles." After this, the king called all his peers and prelates before him at Clarendon, requiring all of them to have performed what they had promised, in consenting to observing his grandfather's ordinances and proceedings. The archbishop at first drew back from his promise, but at last he was induced to assent. First the bishops of Salisbury and of Norwich came to him, weeping and lamenting to the archbishop, desiring him to have some compassion from them, and to cease this opposition to the king, lest it exasperate the king's displeasure, and cause him to be imprisoned, and the whole clergy to be endangered. Besides these two bishops, two noble peers of the realm went to him, influencing him to relent and yield to the king's wishes. Or if not, that they would be forced to use such violence as would not be consistent with the king's fame, and much less with his quietness. Yet the obstinacy of Becket would not relent. After this, two rulers of the temple came to him, called templars, along with their company, lamenting and bewailing the great danger which they declared was hanging over his head. Yet neither with their tears, nor with their kneelings, would he be persuaded. At length the last message came from the king, signifying with express words, and also with tears, what Becket might expect, if he would not relent.

By this message, either terrified or persuaded, Becket at last submitted. The king immediately assembled the states. The archbishop, before everyone, promises the king obedience and submission, and does so *cum bona fide* (in good faith) leaving out his former addition, *Salvo ordine*. Instead, he promised *in verba veritatis* (in words of truth) to observe and keep the king's customs, and swear to it. After him, the other bishops took the same oath. Upon which the king commanded certain obligatory instruments to be drawn up, of which the king would have one, the archbishop of Canterbury another, the archbishop of York the third, and requiring the latter prelate to also set his hand and seal to it. Though he was ready to do so, Becket desired a little delay so that he (having but newly come to his bishopric) might better peruse the customs and ordinances of the king. This request, because it seemed only reasonable, was easily granted.

Alanus, one of the four writers of the life of Thomas Becket, records that the archbishop on his journey to Winchester, began to greatly repent of what he had done through the instigation chiefly of his cross bearer, who earnestly expostulated with him to yield to the king's request. This was against the privilege and liberties of the church, polluting not only his fame and conscience, but also giving a pernicious example to those that would come after. To make the matter short, the archbishop was touched with such repentance, that keeping himself from all company, lamenting with tears, and with fasting, and afflicting himself with much penance, he suspended himself from all Divine service. He would not be comforted, till he was absolved by the pope, who, compassionating the tears of his dear chick, directed letters to him by the same messenger which Becket had sent to him. In these letters he not only absolved him, but also with words of great consolation encouraged him to be determined in the affair which he took in hand. A copy of that consolatory letter follows here:

"Alexander bishop, etc. Your brotherhood is not ignorant that it has been advertised to us, how upon the occasion of a certain transgression or excess of yours, you have determined to cease from saying of mass hereafter, and to abstain from the consecration of the body and blood of

the Lord. This determination, I wish you advisedly to consider, and to discreetly ponder how *dangerous* it is (especially in such a personage), and also what inconvenience may rise from it. Your wisdom should not forget what difference there is between those who advisedly and willingly offend, and those who through ignorance and for necessity's sake offend. For, as you read, willful sin is so much the greater, as the same sin is lesser when it is not voluntary. Therefore if you remember you have done anything that your own conscience accuses you of, whatever it is, we counsel you (as a prudent and wise prelate) to acknowledge it. This being done, the merciful and pitiful God, who has more respect toward the *heart* of the doer than to the *thing* that is done, will remit and forgive you for it according to His accustomed great mercy. And we, trusting in the merits of the blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, absolve you from the offense committed, and by the apostolical authority we release you to your fraternity, counselling you and commanding you that henceforth you do not abstain (for this cause) from the celebration of the mass."

This letter, with others of the same kind, the pope wrote to him, animating and comforting him in this quarrel which so nearly pertained to the pope's profit. Becket took no small courage and consolation from this. In the meantime, the king heard how he now refused to set his seal to those sanctions which he yielded to before. He felt no small displeasure against Becket, so that he threatened him. He began to call him to account, and to burden him with payments, so that all men could perceive that the king was against him. The archbishop thought to escape out of the realm, and went in the night (with two or three stealing away with him out of his house), to secretly take shipping elsewhere. Now, among others of the king's ordinances and laws, was this one: "That none of the prelacy or nobility, without the king's license, or of his justices, should depart out of the realm." Yet Becket twice attempted to take shipping to flee to the See of Rome. But the weather not being favorable, he was driven home again, and for that time he was frustrated in his purpose. After his flight became known, the king's officers came to Canterbury to seize Becket's goods in the king's behalf. But the night before their coming, Becket had returned, and was found at home, so they did not proceed in their purpose.

Upon this, the archbishop (understanding the king's displeasure against him, and that the seas would not serve him) made haste to the court, which was then at Woodstock. The king received him, but not so familiarly as he used to do, taunting him jestingly and merrily, as though one realm were not large enough to hold them both. Becket, although he was permitted to go and come at his pleasure to the court, he could not obtain the favor that he wanted. The archbishop of York labored to make peace between them. But the king would not be reconciled unless Becket would subscribe to his laws.

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#### **Dissimulation of the Pope. Becket Cited to Northampton.**

The king, considering his regal authority, thought it too much that any subject should stand against him. And the archbishop, emboldened by the authority of the pope, thought himself strong enough against the king and all his realm. So that the archbishop would not yield, but by virtue of his apostolical authority, he censured these laws and constitutions of the king, condemning some, and approving others. Besides this, Rotrodus, archbishop of Rothomage (sent from the pope), also came to make peace between the king and Canterbury. The king was content with this, provided the pope would agree to ratify his ordinances. But when that could not be obtained at the pope's hands, the king being stopped by Becket's apostolic



legacy (being *legatus a latere*<sup>158</sup>), sent to the pope to obtain from him that same authority of apostolic legacy for the archbishop of York: but the pope refused. However, the pope was willing that the king himself should be *legate* — at which the king felt great indignation (as Roger of Hoveden writes), so that he sent back the pope's letters.

The pope being perplexed, began according to the old practice of popish prelacy, to play with both hands. He secretly conspired with the one, and openly dissembled with the other. First he granted to the king's ambassadors their request to have the legate removed, and to place the archbishop of York in that office. And then, to protect the cause of Thomas Becket, he adds a promise that Becket would receive no harm or damage thereby. Thus the pope craftily managed the matter between them both. He writes to the king openly, and he secretly directs another letter to Becket. The contents of that letter follow here:

*Alexander the pope,  
to Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury.*

“Although we, condescending to the king's request, have granted the gift of our legacy according to his mind, let not your mind be discomforted by this, nor brought into sighs of despair. For before we had granted that, or given our consent to it, the king's ambassadors firmly promised in the word of truth (also ready to be sworn upon it, if I required it) that their letters which he had also obtained, should not be delivered to the archbishop of York without our knowledge and consent to it. This is certain, and so persuade yourself boldly without any scruple, doubt, or mistrust, that it was never my mind or purpose, nor ever shall be (God willing) to subdue you or your church under the obedience of any person, to be subject to anyone except to the bishop of Rome. And therefore we warn you and charge you, that if you perceive the king delivering these foresaid letters, which we trust he will not attempt without our knowledge, then immediately — by some trusty messengers or by your own letters — you will let us know. Thereby we may provide both for your person, your church, and also the city committed to you, to be clearly exempt by our apostolical authority, from all power and jurisdiction of any legacy.”

The king, after he received the letters from the pope, began to put more strength behind his purposed proceedings against the archbishop, beginning with inferiors of the clergy — those who were offenders under his laws, such as felons, robbers, quarrellers, breakers of the peace; and especially those who had committed homicide and murders, of which more than a hundred at that time were proved upon the clergy.<sup>159</sup> He urged and constrained them to be arraigned according to the order of the temporal law, and justice was to be administered to them according to their deserts — such as, first, to be deprived, and so be committed into secular hands. This seemed to Becket to derogate from the liberties of holy church, that the secular power should pass in criminal causes, or sit in judgment against any ecclesiastical person. The clergy had forged this *Law of Exemption* out of popes Anacletus (d. A.D. 92) and Evaristus (d. A.D. 108). By this falsely alleged and pretended authority, they have concocted this constitution from the apostles, giving immunity to all ecclesiastical persons, freeing them from secular jurisdiction! Becket, therefore, like a valiant champion (fighting for his liberties, and having the pope on his side) would not permit his clerics to be examined and deprived for their crimes, unless it was before ecclesiastical judges; no secular judge was to proceed against them. But after their deprivation, if they should commit the same offense again, then the temporal judge might proceed against them. This obstinate and stubborn rebellion of the archbishop stirred up much anger and vexation in the king.

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<sup>158</sup> A *legatus a latere* (a legate sent from the pope's side, as it were) represents the pope on some special assignment.

<sup>159</sup> Guliel. Neuburgensis, de gestis Anglorum, lib. 2. cap 16.



And it was not only in him, but also in the nobles and most of the bishops, so that he was almost alone, and a wonder to all the realm.

The king's wrath daily increased more and more against Becket. He had him cited to appear by a certain day at the town of Northampton, there to answer those things which would be laid to his charge. So when the day had come (all the peers and nobles, with the prelates of the realm upon the king's proclamation being assembled in the castle of Northampton) great fault was found with the archbishop. For though he was personally cited to appear, he did not come himself, but sent another in his stead. The reason why he came not, Hoveden assigns to this: that the king had lodged his horses and horse-men in the archbishop's lodging. Being offended by this, Becket sent word that he would not appear unless his lodging was cleared of the king's horsemen, etc. Upon which, by the public sentence of all the nobles, as well as of the bishops, all his movables were adjudged to be confiscated for the king, unless the king's clemency remitted the penalty.

The next day the king laid an action against Becket on behalf of his marshal, for certain injuries done to him, and required the archbishop to repay a certain amount of money lent to him when he was chancellor, amounting to 500 marks. The archbishop did not deny that he received this money from the king, but he said it was a gift, though he could bring no proof of this. The king required him to give security for the payment. The archbishop was so called upon, that either he would be accountable to the king for the money, or else he would incur present danger, the king being so bent against him. Being brought to such a strait, and destitute of his own suffragans, he could not have escaped if five persons, of their own accord, had not stepped in and bound themselves for him, every man for 100 marks each. This was concluded on the second day.

The next morning, which was the third day of the council, the archbishop was sitting below in a conclave with his fellow bishops around him, consulting together. The doors were fast locked on them, as the king had commanded. It was propounded to him on behalf of the king, that he had diverse bishoprics and abbeys in hand which were vacant. Their fruits and revenues were due the king for certain years, of which he had not yet rendered an account to the king. Therefore it was demanded that he bring a full and clear reckoning of them.

#### **Advice of the Bishops, and Becket's Reply.**

Thus, while the bishops and prelates were in council, advising and deliberating what was to be done, at length it came to voices. Every man was to speak his mind, and give sentence of what was the best course for their archbishop to take. First was Henry bishop of Winchester, who took part with Becket so much as he dared for fear of the king. He said, "I remember that the archbishop, first being archdeacon, and then lord chancellor, when he was promoted to the church of Canterbury, was discharged from all bonds and reckonings of the temporal court, as all the other bishops could not help but remember and witness."

Next, Gilbert bishop of London spoke, exhorting the archbishop, that he should call to mind from where the king took him and set him up; what and how great the things were that he had done for him; also that he should consider the dangers and perils of the times, and what ruin he might bring upon the whole church (and upon all those present there) if he resisted the king's mind in the things he required. And if it were to render up his archbishopric, even if it were ten times better than it is, he should not hesitate in the matter. To this the archbishop answered, "Well, well. I perceive well enough, my Lord, where you tend toward."

[133] A.D. 1164.

Then Winchester spoke.

“This form of counsel seems to me very pernicious to the catholic church, tending to our subversion, and to the confusion of us all. For if our archbishop and the primate of all England lean toward this example — that every bishop should give up his authority and the charge of the flock committed to him, at the command and threat of the prince — to what state will the church be brought, but that all will be confounded at his pleasure and judgment, and nothing will remain certain by any order of law. As the priest is, so shall the people be.”

Hilary, the bishop of Chichester replies to this statement:

“If it were not that the urgency and the great danger of the times required otherwise and forced us, I would think this counsel would be good to follow. But now seeing that the authority of our canon fails, and cannot serve us, I judge it not best to go so strictly to work, but to so moderate our proceedings, that dispensation with sufferance may win what severe correction may destroy. Therefore my counsel and reason is to give way to the king’s purpose for a time, lest by proceeding too hastily, we exceed so far, that it may redound both to our shame, and to being unable to rid ourselves again, when we would.”

Robert, bishop of Lincoln, spoke much to the same end:

“Seeing it is manifest that the life and blood of this man is sought, one of these two things must be chosen: either he must part with his archbishopric, or else with his life. Now, I do not greatly see what profit he will take in this matter of his bishopric, if his life is lost.”

Next followed Bartholomew bishop of Exeter with his advice. Inclining his counsel to the state of the times, he affirmed how the days were evil and perilous. And if they could escape the violence of that raging tempest by bearing and relenting, it would not be refused. But that could not be, unless strictness gave way to moderation. And the state of the times required no less, especially as that persecution was not general, but personal and particular. And he thought it more holy and convenient for one head to run into some danger, than the whole church of England be exposed to inevitable inconvenience.

The answer of Roger, bishop of Worcester advised neither the one, nor the other. He said that he would give an answer to neither part:

“For if I said that the pastoral function and cure of souls ought to be relinquished at the king’s will or threatening, then my mouth will speak against my conscience, to the condemnation of my own head. And if I give contrary counsel to resist the king’s sentence, they are here who will hear it, and report it to his grace, and so I will be in danger of being thrust out of the synagogue, and accounted among the public rebels, to be condemned with them. Therefore I neither say this, nor counsel that.”

Against these voices and censures of the bishops, archbishop Becket replies, expostulating and checking them with words of rebuke:

“I perceive and understand you go about to maintain and cherish but your own cowardliness under the colorable shadow of sufferance, and under pretense of dissembling softness, to choak the liberty of Christ’s church. Who has thus bewitched you, O insatiable bishops? What do you mean by this? Why, under the impudent title of *forbearing*, do you bear a double heart, and cloak your manifest iniquity? What do you call this ‘bearing with the times,’ to the detriment of the church of Christ? Let terms serve the matter. Why do you pervert that which is good with untrue terms? For you say we must bear with the malice of the time. I grant that with you. Yet we must not heap sin upon sin. Is God not able to help the state and condition of ‘his church, without the sinful dissimulation of the teachers of the church? Certainly God is disposed to try you. And so tell me, when should the governors of the church put themselves in

danger for the church? In time of tranquility, or in time of distress? And now then — the church lying in such great distress and vexation — why should the good pastor not put himself in peril for it? For I do not think it is a greater act or merit for the ancient bishops of the old time, to lay the foundation of the church *then* with their blood, than it is for us to shed our blood *now* for the liberties of that same church. And to tell you plainly, I think it is not safe for you to swerve from an example which you received from your holy elders.”

On the next day, because it was Sunday, nothing was done. So the day after, the archbishop was cited to appear before the King. But the night before he was taken with a disease, so he kept to his bed that day, and was not able to rise. The morning after, some who were about him, fearing that some danger might happen to him, counselled him in the morning to have a mass in honor of the holy martyr St. Stephen, in order to keep him from the hands of his enemies that day. When the morrow had come (being Tuesday) the bishops and prelates came to him, counselling and persuading him covertly by insinuation (for they dared not speak openly) that he should submit himself with all his goods (and also his archbishopric) to the will of the king — if perhaps by that means his indignation might be assuaged. They added that unless he did so, perjury would be laid against him. For being under the oath of fidelity to keep the king’s laws and ordinances, he would not now observe them. To this Becket the archbishop answered again,

“Brethren, you see and perceive well how the world is set against me, and how the enemy rises and seeks my confusion. And although these things are dolorous and lamentable, yet the thing that grieves me most of all, is this: the sons of my own mother are pricks and thorns against me. And although I hold my peace, yet posterity will know and report how cowardly you have turned your backs, and left your archbishop and metropolitan alone in his conflict, and how you have sat in judgment against me (even though guiltless of crime) now for two straight days. And you are ready to do the same not only in the civil and spiritual court, but also in the temporal court. But in general, I charge and command this (on the virtue of pure obedience, and in peril of your order) that you be present personally in judgment against me. And that you not fail to do so, I here appeal to our mother (the refuge of all those who are oppressed) the church of Rome. And if any secular men lays hands on me (as it is rumored they will) I strictly enjoin and charge you, in the same virtue of obedience, to exercise your ecclesiastical censure upon them, as it becomes you to do for a father and an archbishop. And this I would have you understand, that though the world rages, and the enemy is fierce, and the body trembles (for the flesh is weak), yet God so favoring me, I will neither cowardly shrink from it, nor vilely forsake my flock committed to my charge,” etc.

But the bishop of London, contrary to this commandment of the archbishop, immediately appealed from him. And thus the bishops departed from him to the Court, except two — Henry of Winchester, and Joceline of Salisbury. They returned with him secretly to his chamber, and comforted him. This done, the archbishop (who yesterday was so sorely sick that he could not stir out of his bed) now addresses himself to his mass of St. Stephen with all solemnity, as though it had been a high festival day, with his metropolitan pall, which was not used except upon the holy days, etc.

The mass being ended, the archbishop (putting off his pall, his miter, and other robes) proceeded to the king’s court. Yet, not trusting to the strength of his mass, in order to make the matter more sure, he also takes the sacrament privately with him, thinking himself sufficiently defended by it against all evils. In going to the king’s chamber (there to await the king’s coming) as he entered the door, he takes from Alexander his crozier, the cross, with the cross-staff, in the sight of all who stood by, and carried it in himself. The other bishops followed him, saying that he was doing other than what became him. Among others, Robert,

bishop of Hereford offered to bear his cross, rather than have Becket do so, for it was not seemly; but the archbishop would not allow him. Then the bishop of London said to him, “If the king sees you come armed into his chamber, he may perhaps draw out his sword against you, which is stronger than yours, and then what will this profit you?” The archbishop answered again, “If the king’s sword cuts carnally, yet my sword cuts spiritually and strikes down to hell. But you, my lord, as you have played the fool in this matter, so you will not yet leave off your folly for anything I can see.” And so he came into the chamber.

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### **Becket Accounted a Traitor and Flees the Kingdom.**

The king hearing of his coming, and of his manner, did not tarry long. First, the crier called the prelates and all the lords of the temporality together. That being done (and everyone placed in his seat according to his degree) the king began with a great complaint against the archbishop for his manner of entering into the court, “not as a subject into a king’s court, but as a traitor, showing himself in such a way as has not been seen before in any Christian king’s court, professing the Christian faith.” To this all there present gave witness with the king, affirming Becket had always been a vain and proud man, and that the shame of his act not only redounded against the prince himself, but also against his whole realm. They said, too, that this had so happened to the king, because he had done so much for such a man, advancing him so highly. And so all together, on every side and with one cry, called Becket a traitor, as someone who refused to give earthly honor to the king, in keeping his laws and ordinances (as he had sworn to do), and at whose hands he had also received such honor and great preferments. Therefore he was well worthy (they said) to be handled like a perjured traitor and rebel. Whereupon there was great doubt and fear what would befall him. The archbishop of York, coming down to his men, said that he could not abide to see what the archbishop of Canterbury was likely to suffer. Likewise, the tipstaves<sup>160</sup> and other ministers of the assembly, coming down with an outcry against him, crossed themselves at seeing his haughty stubbornness, and the business that was about him. Some of his disciples were sitting at his feet, comforting him softly, and bidding him to lay his curse upon them. Others bid him not to curse, but to pray and forgive them; and if he lost his life in the quarrel of the church and its liberty, he should be happy. In the meantime, Bartholomew bishop of Exeter came, desiring Becket to have regard and compassion for himself, and also of the others, or else they were all likely to suffer. For “a precept comes out from the king that whoever takes your part shall be taken, and suffer as an open rebel. It is said, too, that Joceline bishop of Salisbury, and William bishop of Norwich, are to be brought to the place of execution, for resisting and making intercession for the bishop of Canterbury.” When he had said this, the archbishop, looking upon the bishop of Exeter, “From hereafter avoid me,” he said. “You do not understand, nor do you savor those things that are of God.”

The bishops and prelates then went aside by themselves, away from the other nobles, which the king permitted them to do. They took counsel together what was to be done. Here the matter stood in a doubtful perplexity, for they must either incur the dangerous indignation of the king, or else they must proceed with the nobles in condemnation against the archbishop for resisting the king’s sanctions. In this strict necessity, at length they agreed upon this, that with common assent they would cite the archbishop to the See of Rome for perjury. And that they would oblige and bind themselves to the king with a sure promise, to

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<sup>160</sup> A tipstave or tipstaff refers to a staff with a metal tip, carried as a sign of office by officers such as bailiffs or constables. The term can also denote the officers themselves who carry such a staff.

work their diligence in deposing the archbishop, on this condition: that the king would promise their safety, and discharge them from the peril of the judgment which was against them. So all the bishops, thus obliging themselves to the king, went to the archbishop, one speaking for the rest (which was Hilary bishop of Chichester), saying, "Once you were our archbishop, and so long we were bound to your obedience. But now, having once sworn your fidelity to the king, you resist him, neglecting his injunctions and ordinances concerning and pertaining to his civil honor and dignity. We hereby pronounce you perjured, nor are we bound to give obedience to an archbishop who is thus perjured. But putting ourselves and all ours in the pope's protection, we cite you to his presence." They assigned him his day and time to appear. Upon this, the archbishop sent to Rome in all haste to the pope, informing him by letters of the whole matter — how, and why, and by whom he was cited.

The archbishop thus being cited up to Rome, still sat with his cross in the court, neither giving way to the king's request, nor abashed with the clamor of the whole court against him, calling him traitor on every side. At length the king, by certain earls and barons, commanded him that without delay he should come and render a full account of all that he had received as the profits and revenues of the realm during the time he was chancellor, and specifically for the 150,000 marks for which he was accountable to the king. The archbishop answered,

"The king knew how often he had made his reckoning of those things which were now required of him; and that Henry, his son and heir of his realm, with all his barons, and also Richard Lucy, chief justice of England, told him that he was free and clear before God and holy church from all receipts and reckonings, and from all secular exactions on the king's behalf. And that, thus taking his discharge at their hands, he entered into his office; and therefore he would make no other account besides this."

When this word was brought to the king, he required his barons to enforce the law against him. They sentenced Becket to be apprehended and laid in prison. This done, the king sent the earl of Cornwall and Devonshire, and the earl of Leicester, to declare his judgment to Becket. The archbishop answered,

"Hear, my son, and good earl, what I say to you: how much more precious the soul is than the body, so much more ought you to obey me in the Lord, rather than your earthly king. Neither does any law or reason permit the children to judge or condemn their father. Therefore, to avoid both the judgment of the king, of you and all others, I put myself wholly to the arbitration of the pope, under God alone, to be judged by him, and by no other. To his presence I appeal here before you all. I commit the ordering of the church of Canterbury, my dignity, with all other things pertaining to it, under the protection of God and him. And as for you, my brethren and fellow bishops, who would rather obey man than God, you also I call and cite to the audience and judgment of the pope, and depart hereafter from you, as from the enemies of the catholic church, and of the authority of the apostolic see."

While the barons returned with this answer to the king, the archbishop, passing through the throng, takes his palfrey (horse), holding his cross in one hand, and his bridle in the other, with the courtiers following after, and crying, "Traitor! traitor! Tarry, and hear your judgment." But he passed on. While the king was at supper, Becket prepared his journey to escape secretly. Changing his garment and his name, he went first to Lincoln, and from there to Sandwich, where he took ship and sailed to Flanders. From there he journeyed into France, as Hoveden writes. However Alanus, differing somewhat in the order of his flight says that, "he did not depart that night; but at supper-time the bishops of London and Chichester came to him, declaring to him that if he would surrender his two manors of

Oxford and Wingham to the king, there was hope to recover the king's favor, and to have all forgiven. But when the archbishop would not agree, as those manors belonged to the church of Canterbury, the king hearing of it took great displeasure. So that the next day Becket was glad to send to the king for leave to depart the realm. The king answered, "He would pause till the next day, and then he would have an answer." But Becket did not wait for his answer. He conveyed himself away secretly to Louis the French king. But before he came to the king, Gilbert the bishop of London, and William, the earl of Arundel, were sent from the king of England to France, requiring the French king, on the part of the king of England, not to receive or retain in his dominion the archbishop of Canterbury.

The French king, understanding the matter, and thinking to have some advantage thereby against the king of England, not only harbors Becket, but he also writes to the pope, and entreats him to support the cause of the archbishop.

[135] A.D. 1165.

The king sent another embassy to Pope Alexander. The ambassadors sent on this journey were Roger archbishop of York, Gilbert bishop of London, Henry bishop of Winchester, Hilary bishop of Chichester, Bartholomew bishop of Exeter; with other doctors and clerics; also William earl of Arundel, with other lords and barons. Coming to the pope's court they were received in a friendly way by some of the cardinals. Among the cardinals there arose some dissension about the matter. Some judged that the bishop of Canterbury, in defense of the liberties of the church, was to be maintained. Some thought again, that he (being a disturber of peace and unity) was to be bridled for his presumption, rather than fostered and encouraged. But the pope wholly inclined to Becket. Therefore the following day, the pope was sitting in consistory with his cardinals. The ambassadors were called to a hearing of Becket's matter. First began the bishop of London; next, the archbishop of York; then Exeter; and the other bishops, each one in order. Their orations were not well received by the pope; some of them were disliked. The earl of Arundel perceiving this, began in this manner:

"Although it is unknown to me, who am both unlettered and ignorant, what these bishops have said here, and I am unable to express my mind in language as they have done — yet being sent and charged to this by my prince, I neither can nor should do anything but declare (as well as I may) what is the cause of our being sent here. It is not indeed to contend or strive with any person, nor to offer any injury or harm to any man, especially in this place, and in the presence here of such a one to whose beck and authority all the world stoops and yields. But for this time, our legation is directed here to present before you, and in the presence of the whole church of Rome, the devotion and love of our king and master, which he has ever had, and still has towards you. And that the same might better appear to your excellency, he has assigned and appointed to this legation, not the least, but the greatest, not the worst, but the best and greatest of all his subjects — both archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, plus other potentates — of such worthiness and parentage, that if he could have found greater in all his realm, he would have sent them, both for the reverence of your person, and of the holy church of Rome.

"Over and beside this, I might add more (which your holiness has sufficiently tried and proved already) the true and hearty fidelity of our king and sovereign toward you (in his first entrance to his kingdom) — wholly submitting himself, with all that is his besides, to your will and pleasure. And truly, to testify of his majesty, how he is disposed to the unity of the catholic faith. We believe there is none more faithful to Christ than he, nor more devout to God, nor yet more moderate in keeping the unity of peace to which he is called. And as I may be bold to profess this of our king and master, so I do not affirm the archbishop of Canterbury to be a

man who is destitute or unfurnished with gifts and qualities in his calling. Rather, he is a man both sage and discreet in those things which pertain to him, except that he seems to some to be quicker and sharper than he needs to be. If not for this blot alone, and if the breach between our king and him had not so happened, both authorities together (the temporal and spiritual) might quietly have flourished, one with the other, in much peace and concord, both under a prince so worthy, and a pastor so virtuous. Therefore, the case so standing as it does, our message here, and our supplication to your vigilant prudence, is that (through your favor and wisdom) the neck of this dissension may be broken, and that reformation of unity and love (by some good means) may be sought.”

This oration of his, although it was liked for its softness and moderation, it did not persuade the Romish bishop to condescend to their request — which was to have two legates or arbitrators sent into England, to examine the controversy between the king and the archbishop. But the pope would not grant their petition, as it would be prejudicial and tending to the oppression of the archbishop. Therefore he desired them to await his coming. Otherwise, Becket being absent, the pope would not in any case proceed against him. But alleging that their appointed time had expired, they said, “We cannot wait for the coming of Becket, but must return to the king with our cause frustrated, and without the pope’s blessing.” Within four days after, Becket came to the pope’s court. Prostrating himself at his feet, he brought out of his bosom a scroll containing the customs and ordinances of the king. The pope received the scroll, and read it in the open hearing of his cardinals. He condemned and accursed most of the decrees of the king, which he called “his grandfather’s ordinances.” Besides this, the pope blamed Becket for having yielded so much at the beginning. Yet, because he was repentant, the pope was rather content to absolve him for it. And because of Becket’s great troubles which he had sustained for the liberties of holy church, the pope dismissed him for that day, with great favor.

### **Thomas Becket Resigns His See to the Pope.**

The next day, pope Alexander assembled his cardinals together in his secret chamber. Archbishop Becket appeared before them, making this oration to the pope and his popelings, which here I thought to set out in our English tongue, so that posterity hereafter may understand either the vain superstition or vile slavery of the churchmen in those days. Not being content with their own natural prince and king given to them by God, they must seek further to the pope.

#### *The Oration of Becket resigning his bishopric to the Pope.*

“Fathers and lords, I ought not to lie in any place, much less before God and in your presence here. Therefore, with much sighing and sorrow of heart, I grant and confess that these troubles of the church of England were raised through my miserable fault. For I entered into the fold of Christ, but not by the door of Christ. For the canonical election did not call me lawfully to it, but terror of public power drove me in. And although I took this burden upon myself against my will, yet it was not the will of God, but man’s pleasure that placed me in that office. Therefore it is no wonder all things have gone contrary and backward with me. And as for resigning it again, if I had so done, and given into their hands the privilege of my episcopal authority, which had been granted to me at the command of the king (as my fellow bishops urgently called upon me to do), then I would have left a pernicious and dangerous example to the whole catholic church. Therefore I thought it good to defer that to your presence. And now acknowledging my ingress not to be canonical, and therefore fearing it to have a worse end — and again pondering my strength and ability (as insufficient for such a charge) lest I be found to hold that office to the ruin of the flock to whom I was appointed an unworthy pastor, I here render up to your fatherly hands the archbishopric of Canterbury,” etc.

And so, removing his ring from his finger, and offering it to the pope, he desired a bishop to be provided for the church of Canterbury, seeing that he thought himself not fit to fulfill the office. And so (with tears, as the history says) he ended his oration.

This done, the archbishop was bid to stand aside, and the pope conferred with his cardinals about the resignation of Becket, what was best to be done. Some thought it best to take the opportunity offered, thinking that thereby the king's wrath might easily be assuaged, if the church of Canterbury were assigned to some other person, and Becket otherwise provided for. Others again thought otherwise, whose reason was,

“If he (who for the liberties of the church had ventured not only his goods, dignity, and authority, but also his life) should now be deprived at the king's pleasure, it might be a precedent to others hereafter. And so it might redound not only to the weakening of the Catholic church, but also to the derogation of the pope's authority.”

To be brief, this latter sentence at length prevailed. And so Becket received his pastoral office from the pope's hand again, with commendation and much favor.

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But as he could not very well be placed in England, the pope in the meanwhile sent him with a monk's habit into the abbey of Pontigny in France, where he remained for two years. From there he moved to Senon, where he abode for five years. So the time of his exile continued seven years in all.

Upon this, the king being certified by his ambassadors of the pope's answer, how his favor inclined more to Becket than to him, was moved (very naturally) with displeasure. And upon sailing from England to Normandy, he directed certain injunctions against the pope and the archbishop of Canterbury.

These and other injunctions Becket partly specifies in a letter, writing to a friend of his in this manner:

“Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, to his well-beloved friend, etc.

“Be it known to your brotherly goodness that we, with all ours here (by God's grace) are safe and in good health. Having a good hope and trust in your faithful friendship, I charge you, and require you, that either by the one who brings this, or by some other (whom you know faithful and trusty to our church of Canterbury, and to us) you write with all speed what is done. As to the king's decrees set out here, they are these: That all havens and ports should be diligently kept, that no letters of the pope's interdict or curse be brought in. And if any monks bring them in, they shall have their feet cut off; if he is a priest or cleric, he shall be mutilated; if he is a layman, he shall be hanged; if he is a leper he shall be burned. And if any bishop departs for fear of the pope's interdict, let him have nothing else besides his staff in his hand. Also the king's will is that all scholars and students beyond the seas shall repair home, or else lose their benefices. And if they still remain, they shall lose the liberty of ever returning. Further, if any such priests are be found who for the pope's suspension or interdict refuses to officiate, they shall be mutilated. In short, all such priests who show themselves to be rebels to the king, let them be deprived of their benefices,” etc.

Besides these and similar injunctions, it was also set forth by the king's proclamation (A.D. 1166). That all manner of persons, both men and women, whoever were found of the kindred of Thomas Becket, should be exiled, without taking any part of their goods with them, and be sent to him wherever he was. This was no little vexation to Becket to behold these. Moreover, as he was then living with Gwarine, abbot of Pontigny, to whom the pope



had commended him, the king wrote to the abbot, and required him not to retain the archbishop of Canterbury in his house. For if he did, the king would drive out of his realm all the monks of his order; upon which Becket was forced to move. He went to Louis the French king, who placed him at Senon, where he remained for five years.

**Letter of the pope to King Henry. And his answer to the pope.**

In the meantime the pope wrote to King Henry, to exhort and charge him to show favor to Thomas Becket. In the course of the epistle, are these words:

“Therefore we desire, admonish, and exhort your honor by these our apostolical writings, and also enjoin you upon the remission of your sins, on behalf of Almighty God, and of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, by our authority, that you will receive back the aforesaid archbishop into your favor and grace, for the honor of God, his church, and of your own realm,” etc.

Thus have we heard the pope’s entreating letter. Now here is another letter sent to the king, in which the pope menaces him.

“Bishop Alexander, servant of the. servants of God, to King Henry, king of England, health and apostolical blessing,

“How fatherly and gently we have oft-times entreated and exhorted, both by legates and letters, your princely honor, to be reconciled again with our reverend brother Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, so that he and his may be restored again to their churches and other possessions pertaining to them. Your wisdom is not ignorant of this, seeing it is notified and spread almost throughout Christendom. Therefore, as up to now we could not prevail with you, nor move or stir your mind with fair and gentle words, it laments us not a little, to be so frustrated and deceived in the hope and expectation which we had conceived of you. Especially seeing that we love you so dearly, as our own dearly beloved son in the Lord, and understand that so great a jeopardy hangs over you.

“But as much as it is written, ‘Cry out and do not cease, lift up your voice like a trumpet, and declare to my people their wickedness, and to the house of Judah their sins.’<sup>Isa 58.1</sup> Also so far as it is commanded in Solomon, that ‘the sluggish person should be stoned with the dung of oxen,’<sup>161</sup> we have thought it good, therefore, not to forbear or support your stubbornness any longer against justice and salvation. Nor should the mouth of the archbishop be stopped any longer; but that he may freely prosecute the charge of his office and duty, and revenge with the sword of ecclesiastical discipline, the injuries both of himself, and of his church committed to his charge.

“And here I have sent to you two legates, Peter de ponte Dei, and Bernard de Corilio, to admonish you about the same. But if you will neither be advised by us, nor give ear to them in obeying, it is to be feared, doubtless, that such things as they shall declare to you from us in our behalf may happen and fall upon you. Dated at Benevent, the ninth day before the kalends (1st day) of June.”

*An answer to the Pope*

To answer these letters, there was another letter drawn out and directed to the pope, made by some of the clergy, it seems. But it was not without consent of the king, as may appear by the title, inveighing against, and disapproving the misbehavior of the archbishop. The tenor of it follows here, and it begins:

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<sup>161</sup> There is no such verse, whether in Songs, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, or Sirach.

“Time now requires us to seek help more than to make complaints. For the holy mother church (our sins deserving it), lies in a dangerous state of great decay, which is likely to ensue unless the present mercy of the Lord supports her.

“Such is the wickedness now of schismatics, that the father of fathers, Pope Alexander (for the defense of his faith, and for the love of righteousness) is banished out of his country; not able to keep free residence in his own proper see, because of the hardened heart of Frederick the Pharaoh (Barbarossa).

“The church of Canterbury also is miserably impaired and blemished, in the spiritual as well as in the temporal estate. Much like a ship in the sea, being destitute of her guide, it is tossed in the floods, and wrestles with the winds, while the pastor being absent from his province, dares not remain there through the power of the king. Being overly wise (to the jeopardy of himself, his church, and us also), he has brought and entangled us likewise with himself in the same partaking of his punishments and labors, not considering how we ought to forbear, and not resist superior powers. Also he shows himself unkind to us, who with all our affections bear with him the burden of his afflictions, yet not ceasing to persecute us who stand in the same condemnation with him. For between him and our sovereign prince, the king of England, a certain matter of contention arose, upon which they were both agreed, that a day should be appointed to have the controversy discussed by equity and justice.

“The day having come, the king commanded all the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the church to be called in a solemn assembly, So that the greater and more general this council was, the more manifest the detection of this stubborn malice should appear and be seen.

“Therefore, at the day mentioned above, this troubler of the realm and of the church (Becket), presents himself in the sight of our catholic king. Not trusting the quality and condition of his cause, he arms himself with the armor of the cross, as if brought into the presence of a tyrant. Because of this, the king’s majesty being somewhat aggrieved (yet because he would be delivered from all suspicion) commits the matter to the hearing of the bishops.

[137] A.D. 1166.

“This done, it rests in the bishops to decide and cease this contention, and to set agreement between them, removing all occasion of dissension. Going about this thing, this archbishop comes in to them, forbidding and commanding that no man should proceed in any sentence upon him before the king.

“This being signified to the king, his mind was grievously provoked to anger. His anger, notwithstanding, would have been easily assuaged if the other would have submitted himself, and acknowledged his default. But adding stubbornness to his trespass, through the greatness of his excess, he was the author of his own punishment, which he now bears by the civil law. And yet he shames to crave pardon for his deserts at the king’s hand, whose anger he does not fear to stir up in such a troublesome time of the persecution of the church. Thus he augments and increases thereby the persecution which the church now lies under. It would have been much better for him to have tempered himself with the bridle of moderation, in the highest estate of his dignity, lest in exceeding too far in straining the strict points of things by over presumption, perhaps *through* his presumption (it not being in lowly and tolerable things), he might fall from higher. And if the detriment of the church would not move him, yet the great benefits and preferments of riches and honors ought to persuade him not to be so stubborn against the king. But here perhaps his friend and our adversary will object that his bearing and submitting to the king in this behalf would be prejudicial against the authority of the apostolical see. Although he did not, or might not, understand that the dignity of the church would suffer a little detriment in that judgment, he might and ought to have dissembled for the time being, to obtain peace for the church. He will object again, alleging the name of

*father*, that it sounds like a point of arrogance for children to proceed in a judgment of condemnation against the father, which is not convenient. But he must understand again, that it was necessary that the obedience and humility of the children should temper the pride of the father, lest afterward the hatred of the father might redound upon the children. Therefore, by these premises, you, father, may understand that the action of our adversary ought to fall down as void and of no effect, who has thus proceeded against us only under the influence of malice, having no just cause or reason to stand upon.

“And as much as the care and charge of all churches (as you know) lies upon us, it stands upon us to provide concerning the state of the church of Canterbury, by our diligence and circumspection. This, so that the church of Canterbury, by the excesses of its pastor, are not driven to ruin or decay.”

By this epistle it may appear that Becket (being absent from England) went about to work some trouble against some of the clergy and the laity, in excommunicating those whom he took to be his evil-willers.

Now, to understand further what his working was, or who he excommunicated, this letter sent to William bishop of Norwich, will declare.

*A Letter of Becket to the Bishop of Norwich.*

“He binds himself to the penalty of the crime, whoever receiving power and authority by God, does not use and exercise it with due severity in punishing vice: but winking and dissembling, ministers boldness to wicked doers, maintaining them in their sin. For the blood of the wicked is required at the hand of the priest, who is negligent or dissembles. And as the Scripture says, ‘Thorns and brambles grow in the hands of the idle drunkard.’ Therefore, lest (through our too excessive sufferance and dissembling) the transgressions of manifest evil-doers should also be laid to our charge, and redound to the destruction of the church through our guilty silence; we therefore, following the authority of the pope’s commandment, have laid our sentence of curse and excommunication upon the Earl Hugo: commanding you throughout all your diocese to publicly denounce the said earl as accursed, so that, according to the discipline of the church, he will be sequestered from the fellowship of all faithful people. Also, it is not unknown to your brotherhood, how long we have born with the transgressions of the bishop of London who, among other acts, I would to God were not a great doer and favorer of this schism, and a subverter of the rites and liberties of holy church. Therefore, being supported with the authority of the apostolic see, we have also excommunicated him. Besides him, also the bishop of Salisbury, because of his disobedience and contempt: and others likewise, upon diverse and sundry causes, whose names follow here subscribed: Hugo Bernard’s son, Rudolph de Brock, Robert de Brock a cleric, Hugo de St. Clare, and Letardus a cleric of Norfolk, Nigellus of Scacavil, and Richard Chaplin, William of Hasting, and the friar who possesses my church of Monchot. We therefore charge and command you by the apostolical authority and ours, and on the virtue of your obedience, and on the peril of salvation, and of your order, that you cause these to be openly proclaimed excommunicate, throughout all your diocese, and to command all the faithful to avoid their company. Fare you well in the Lord.

“Let not your heart be troubled, nor fear: for we stand sure through the assistance of the apostolic see, God being our support against the shifts of the malignant sort, and against all their appeals. Furthermore, all those who have been solemnly cited by us will sustain the like sentence of excommunication, if God wills, on Ascension-day, unless they otherwise agree with me. That is, to wit, Geoffrey archdeacon of Canterbury, and Robert his vicar, Rice of Wilcester, Richard de Lucy, William Giffard, Adam of Cherings, with others: who, either at the command of the king, or upon their own temerity, have invaded the goods and possessions either pertaining to us, or to our clerics about us. With these also we excommunicate all those

who are known, either with aid or council, to have incensed or set forward the proceeding of our king against the liberties of the church, and exiling of the innocents. And those also who are known to impeach or hinder by any manner of way the messengers (sent either from the pope, or from us) for the necessities of the church. Fare you well again, and ever.”

Up to here the reader has seen diverse and sundry letters of Thomas Becket, from which we may collect a sufficient history of his doings and demeanor — even if nothing further were said about him — concerning his lusty and haughty spirit, about whatever suited either his degree or cause which he took in hand. And here perhaps I may seem to tarry too long in the history of this one man, having to write about so many others who were better than he was. Yet for the weaker sort who have considered him a saint, and still consider him so, having little understanding to judge or discern in the causes of men, I thought to add one more letter below. In this letter, he complains about his king to a foreign power — doing all in his power to stir up for his own cause, mortal war to the destruction of many. For suppose that wrong had indeed been done to him by his prince, was it not enough for him to flee? What cause did he have for his own private revenge, to drive potentates into public discord? Now, having no just cause, but rather offering injury in a false quarrel, to so complain about his prince — whatever is to be said about this, let every man judge who sees this letter.

*An Epistle of Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury  
to Pope Alexander.*

“To our most loved father and lord, Alexander, by the grace of God bishop, Thomas the humble minister and servant of the church of Canterbury, due and reverend obedience. Long enough and too long most loving father have I forborne, still looking for the amendment of the king of England, but I have reaped no fruit from my long patience. Rather, while I thus forbear unwisely, I augment and procure the detriment and diminishing of my authority, and also of the church of God.

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“For oftentimes I have by devout and religious messengers invited the king to make condign satisfaction. And also by my letters (copies of which I have sent you) I have intimated and pronounced God’s severity and vengeance against him, unless he repents and amends. But notwithstanding that, he grows from evil to worse, oppressing and crushing the church and sanctuary of God; persecuting both me and those who take part with me. So that with fearful and threatening words, his purpose is to terrify those who (for God’s cause and my own) seek any way to relieve and help me. He also wrote letters to the abbot of the Cistercian order, that as he valued the abbacy of his order (which he said was under his power) he should not receive me into its fellowship, nor do anything else for me. Why should I use many words? So much has the rigor and severity of the king, as well as his officers, showed itself under our patience and sufferance. So that, if a great number of men, yes and of the most religious sort, were to show you the matter as it is indeed, I partly doubt whether your holiness would give credit to them or not. Therefore, with heaviness of mind considering these things, and beholding the peril of the king as well as of ourself, I have publicly condemned not only those pernicious customs, but all those perversities and wicked doings by which the church of England is disturbed and brought to confusion, and also the writings by which they were confirmed. I excommunicated generally the observers and exacters of these things, as well as their inventers and patrons, along with their favorers, counsellors, and whatever coadjutors either of the clergy or laity. I also absolved our bishops from their oath, by which they were so strictly enjoined to observe these things.

“These are the articles which in that writing I have principally condemned. First, that it is inhibited to appeal to the apostolic see for any cause, except by the king’s license. That a

bishop may not punish any man for perjury, or for breaking his vow of fidelity. That a bishop may not excommunicate any man who holds from the king *in capite*,<sup>162</sup> or interdict either their lands or offices without the king's license. That clerics and religious men may be taken from us to secular judgment. That the king or any other judge may hear and decide the causes of the church and tithes. That it shall not be lawful for any archbishop or bishop to go outside of the realm, and to come at the pope's call, without the king's license; and diverse others such as these. I have also excommunicated John of Oxford, who has communicated with that schismatic and excommunicate person (Reginald Coloniensis) who also, contrary to the commandment of the lord pope and ours, has usurped the deanery of the church of Salisbury, and has (to renew his schism) taken an oath in the emperor's court. I have also denounced and excommunicated Richard of Worcester, because he has fallen into the same damnable heresy, and communicated with that famous schismatic of Cologne — devising and foregoing all mischief possible, with the schismatics and Flemings, to the destruction of the church of God, and especially of the church of Rome, by a composition made between the king of England and them. Also Richard de Lucy, and Jocelin de Baliol, who have assisted the favorers of the king's tyranny and workers of their heresies. Also Rudolph de Brock, and Hugo de St. Clare, and Thomas the son of Bernard, who have usurped the possessions and goods of the church of Canterbury without our license and consent. We have also excommunicated all those who, without our license, stretch out their hands to the possessions and goods of the church of Canterbury. We have not yet excommunicated the king himself personally, still waiting for his amendment. Notwithstanding, we will not defer to excommunicate, unless he quickly amends, and is warned by what he has done. And therefore, so that the authority of the apostolic see, and the liberty of the church of God, which in these parts are almost utterly lost, may by some means be restored, it is fitting and very necessary that what we have done in this should be ratified by your holiness, and confirmed by your letters. Thus I wish your holiness to prosper and flourish long.”

By this epistle, whoever wishes to understand the doings of Becket, may partly judge what is to be thought of them. In some part they may be imputed either to ignorance of mind, or blindness of zeal, or human frailty. Yet in this point, to so vilely complain about his natural prince, he can in no way be defended. But such was the blindness of the prelates in those days, who measured and esteemed the dignity and liberties of Christ's church by nothing else than by the goods and possessions flowing and abounding in the clergy. They thought there was no greater point of religion in the church, than to maintain them. For this cause they most abominably abused Christian discipline and the excommunication of the church. And what wonder if the acts and doings of this archbishop now seem to us in these days both fantastical and strange, when the suffragans of his own church and clergy, writing to him, could but reprehend him, as may be seen in this their epistle:

*An effectual and pithy letter, full of reason and persuasion,  
sent from all the Suffragans of the Church of Canterbury,  
to Thomas Becket their Archbishop.*

“Such troubles and perturbations as happened through the strangeness of your departure out of the realm, we hoped by your humility and prudence would have been reduced again (God's grace working with them) into a peaceable tranquility. And it was no little joy to us, to hear of you in those parts where you are conversant, how humbly you behaved yourself there, not vaunting yourself at all against your prince and king; and that you attempt no uprisings or wrestlings against his kingdom, but that you bear with much patience the burden of poverty;

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<sup>162</sup> *In capite*: An ancient English tenure, by which either person or land was held immediately by the king, or by his crown, by either knight-service or socage (payment of rent).

and gave yourself to reading and prayer, and to redeem the loss of your time spent, with fasting, watchings, and tears; and so, being occupied with spiritual studies, to tend and rise up to the perfection of virtue, etc. But now, through the secret relation of some, we hear (what we are sorry for) that you have sent a threatening letter to him, in which there is no salutation premised. In this letter you also pretend no entreating nor prayers for obtaining favor, nor use any friendly manner in declaring what you write. But menacing with much austerity, you threaten to interdict him, and to cut him from the society of the church. If you accomplish this thing with like severity, as you threaten to do in words, you will not only put us out of all hope of any peace, but also put us in fear of hatred and discord without measure, and without any redress among us. But wisdom will consider before the end of things, laboring and endeavoring to finish that which she wisely begins. Therefore your discretion would do well to diligently forecast and consider what you tend toward; what end may ensue from it, and where you are going with it. Certainly, for our parts, hearing what we hear, we are discouraged from what we hoped for. Previously, having some good comfort of tranquility to come, we are cast from hope to despair. So that, while one is drawn thus against another, there is scarcely any hope or place left to make entreaty or supplication. Therefore, writing to your fatherhood, we exhort and counsel you by way of charity, that you not add trouble to trouble, nor heap injury upon injury. But that you so behave yourself, that all menaces being set aside, you rather give yourself to patience and humility, and yield your cause to the clemency of God, and to the mercy of your prince. And in so doing you will heap coals of charity upon the heads of many. Thus charity shall be kindled, and that which menacings cannot do (by God's help and good men's counsel) perhaps pity and godliness will obtain. It would be better to sustain poverty with praise, than in great promotions to be a common note to all men. It is right well known to all men, how kind the king has been to you — from what baseness to what dignity he has advanced you, and also into his own familiarity he has so much preferred you. So that, from the northern ocean to the Pyrenean mountains, he has subdued all things to your authority. It went so far that whoever could find any favor with you, were accounted fortunate men among all others.

[139] A.D. 1166-1169.

“And, furthermore, lest your estimation be over-matched by any nobility, he (against the mind of his mother, and of his realm) has placed and ratified you substantially in ecclesiastical dignity, and advanced you to this honor in which you stand: trusting through your help and counsel to reign more safely and prosperously. Now, if he finds disquietude in which he trusted to have quietness, what will all men say or think of you? What recompence or retribution will this be thought to be, for so many and great benefits received? Therefore (if it pleases you), you would do well to favor and spare your fame and estimation, and to overcome your lord and sovereign with humility and charity. If our advice cannot move you to this, the love and fidelity you bear to the bishop and holy church of Rome ought to incline you not to attempt any such thing whereby the troubles of the church our mother may increase, or whereby her sorrow may be augmented in the loss of those, whose disobedience she now bewails. For what if it so happens through provocation, that the king (whom all his subjects and kingdoms obey) relinquishes the pope, which God forbid, and denies all obedience to him, just as the pope denies help or aid to the king against you? What inconvenience would grow from it? And do you think he does not have great instigations, supplications, gifts, and many fair promises to do so? Yet (notwithstanding) he abides firm up to now, in the rock, despising with a valiant mind all that the world can offer. This one thing we fear, lest his mind (whom no worldly offers can assail, no glory, riches, or treasure can overturn) be subverted only through indignation of unkindness. This thing, if it chances to happen through you, then may you sit down and sing the song of the Lamentation of Jeremiah, and weep your full.

“Consider therefore, if it pleases you, and foresee well with yourself, this purpose of yours, if it proceeds, how hurtful and perilous it will be — not only to the pope, and to the holy church of Rome, but also to yourself most especially. But perhaps some around you, of haughty and high-minded stoutness, more stout than wise, would not have you take this way, but would give you contrary counsel, to rather prove and declare what you are able to do against your lord and prince, and to practice against him and all his, the utmost of your power and authority. This power and authority of yours, to the one who offends is fearful; and to the one who will not amend, it is terrible. Some perhaps will whisper such counsel as this in your ear. But we say this in response to them, and we answer for our king, whom notwithstanding we do not affirm to be without fault. Yet we speak confidently and protest in his behalf, that he is always ready to amend and make satisfaction.

“The king, appointed as the Lord’s anointed, provides for the peace of his subjects all that he is able. And therefore to the intent that he may preserve this peace in his churches and among his subjects committed to him, he wills and requires that such ordinances as are due to the kings, and were exhibited to them before this time, are to be exhibited to him also. If any contradiction has sprung up between him and us in this, when he was admonished from the pope by the reverend bishops of London and Hereford, he did not burst into any defiance. But he meekly and humbly answered that in whatever the church or any ecclesiastical person can show himself aggrieved, he would stand to the judgment of the church of his kingdom. Also he is ready no less to perform this, thinking nothing more sweet to him than to be admonished of his fault, if he has offended the Lord, and to reform it. And not only to reform and amend his fault, but also to satisfy it to the utmost, if the law so requires him. Therefore, seeing that he is so willing to recompense and satisfy the judgment of the church in all things pertaining to the church — refusing no order that will be taken, but in all things submitting his neck to the yoke of Christ — by what right, by what canon, or reason can you interdict him, or excommunicate him? It is a laudable thing and a virtue of great commendation in wise men, to wisely go with judgment and reason, and not be carried away with puffs of hasty violence.

“Whereupon this is the only and common petition of us all, that your fatherly care will diligently provide for your flock and sheep committed to you, so that they do not miscarry, or run to any ruin through any inconsiderate or too much heady counsel in you. But rather, that through your softness and sufferance, they may obtain life, peace, and security. It moves us all, what we hear of late was done by you against the bishop of Salisbury, and the dean of the same church, prosperously, as some men suppose. You have given out against him the sentence of excommunication and condemnation, before there was any question of their crime, following in this, it seems, more the heat of hastiness than the path of righteousness. This is a new order of judgment, unheard of to this day in our laws and canons, first to condemn a man, and after to inquire of the fact committed. Lest you hereafter attempt to exercise this order in like manner against our sovereign and king, or against us and our churches, and the parishes committed to us, to the detriment of the pope, and the holy church of Rome, and to no little confusion for us all, we therefore lay here against you, for ourselves, the remedy of appeal. And as before, openly in the public face of the church with lively voice, we appealed to the Pope for certain perils that might have happened, so now again, in writing, we appeal to the pope, assigning as the term of our appeal the day of the Lord’s ascension.

“Most humbly and reverently beseeching your goodness, that you, taking a better way in this matter, will let your cause fall, sparing in this both the labors and charges of yourself, as well as ours. And thus we wish you right well to fare, reverend in the Lord.”

*The Letter of Matilda the Empress, and Mother of the King,  
to Thomas Becket.*

“My Lord the Pope commanded me, and upon the forgiveness of my sins enjoined me, that I should be a mediator and means of peace and concord between my son and you, by reconciling yourself to him, which (as you know) you requested me to do. Therefore, with more earnest and more affection (for the divine honor as well as for holy church) I took the enterprise upon myself. But I assure you, by the way, that the king, his barons, and council, take it grievously, that you, whom he entirely loved, honored and made greatest in all this realm with the intent to have more comfort and better trust in you, should thus rebel (as it is reported), and stir his people against him. Yes and further, that as much as it lies in you, you went about to disinherit him, and deprive him of his crown. On the occasion of this, I sent Lawrence to you, our trusty and familiar servant archdeacon, by whom I pray that I may understand your mind in this, and your good will toward my son, and how you mean to behave yourself toward his Grace (if my prayer and petition may be heard by him in your behalf). But this one thing I assure you, that unless it is through your great humility and moderation, evidently appearing in you, you cannot obtain the favor of the king. What you mean to do in this, I pray you send me word by your proper letters and messengers.”

Now to proceed further in the order of the history. After these letters were sent to and fro (A.D. 1169), which was the fifteenth year of the reign of King Henry II, the king doubted and feared that the archbishop would proceed in his excommunication against him. So he made his appeal to the presence of the pope. He requested to have certain legates sent down from Rome, to take up the matter between the archbishop and him. Moreover, he requested that those who were interdicted might be absolved. Thereupon two cardinals came to Normandy, sent from Alexander the Pope with letters to the king. They appointed the archbishop to meet them there before the king, on St. Martin’s day. But the archbishop, neither agreeing with the day nor the place, delayed his coming till the eighth day after. Nor would he go any further than to Grisortium. where the two cardinals and archbishop, with other bishops meeting together, had a treaty of peace and reconciliation. But it came to no conclusion.

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**Letter of Two Cardinals to the Pope, Concerning Becket.**

Because the content of this treaty or action is sufficiently contained in the letters written to the pope by cardinals William and Otto, it requires no further labor than to give the letter itself, as follows.

*A copy of the Epistle written and sent by two Cardinals to the Pope,  
concerning the matter of Archbishop Becket.*

“William and Otto, cardinals of the church of Rome to Alexander the Pope, etc. Coming to the land of the king of England, we found the controversy between him and the archbishop of Canterbury sharper and more vehement than we wished. For the king, and the greater part of those around him, said that the archbishop had grievously stirred up the French king against him (Louis VII); and he also made the earl of Flanders, his kinsman (who bore no displeasure toward him before), his open adversary, ready to war against him, as is most certain by diverse evidences. Thus when we came to Cadomus, into the king’s presence, we gave the letters of your fatherhood into his hands. After he had received and considered them (bringing out other letters received from you before, which were somewhat different and altering from these which he received from us) he was moved with no little indignation. He said that after our departure from you, the archbishop had received from you other contrary letters, by virtue of which he was exempted from our judgment, so that he would not be compelled to answer us.



“Moreover, the king affirmed to us, and the bishops present there testified the same, that concerning the old and ancient customs of his progenitors (about which a complaint had been made to you), what was intimated to you was, for the most part, false and untrue. They further offered to us, that if there were any such customs or laws in his time, which seemed prejudicial or disagreeable to the statutes of the church, he would willingly be content to revoke and disannul them. Whereupon we, with other archbishops, bishops, and abbots of the land, hearing the king be so reasonable, labored by all the means we might, that the king should not utterly break from us, but rather would incline to have the matter between him and the forenamed archbishop, brought before us. Because of this, we directed our chaplains to the archbishop, with letters appointing for him both the time and place where he might safely meet with us at the feast of St. Martin. Nevertheless, pretending certain excuses, he made delays, putting off the time from the day of St. Martin to the eighth day following, which stirred the king’s heart more than is to be thought.

“Thus although we offered safe conduct to the archbishop, yet when he refused to meet us in the borders of the king, to satisfy his mind we condescended to meet him within the land of the French king, in the place where he himself appointed — because there should be no hindrance in us by which to stop his profit. After we had entered communication, we began to exhort him, all that we could, to submit and humble himself to his sovereign and king, who had heaped such benefits and dignities upon him. Being thus moved and exhorted by us, he departed aside to consult with his council on the matter. At length, after counsel was taken, he came again, answering in this manner: that he would submit and humble himself to the king, ‘Saving the honor of God, and liberty of the church, saving also the honesty of his person, and possessions of churches; and moreover, saving the justice of him and of all his in all things,’ etc. After this communication, we moved and required him more urgently, that he would come to the specialties.<sup>163</sup> Likewise we demanded of him, if he would stand and submit himself to our letters, if the king and the bishops were contented to do so. To which he said that, ‘he had received from you a commandment, not to answer until he and all his were restored fully to all their possessions; and then he would proceed in the matter, according to what commandment he would receive from the apostolic see.’

“Thus breaking off communication, seeing that he neither would stand to judgment, nor come to conformity, we thought to relate this to the king, and so we did. We declared what he had expressed to us — yet not uttering all, but keeping back a great part of what we had heard and seen. When the king and his nobles understood this, he affirmed to us again, that in this he was cleared so much the more, for the archbishop would not stand to their judgment, nor abide their trial. After much heaviness and lamentation by the king, the archbishop, bishops, and abbots of the realm requested of us, whether we had any such power, by virtue of our commission, to withstand Becket and proceed against him. And perceiving that our authority would not serve this end; and fearing lest the archbishop, refusing all order of judgment, would again work disquietude to some noble personages of the realm; and seeing that our authority could not extend so far as to help them against him, they consulted among themselves. They agreed with one consent, to make their appeal to your audience, prefixing accordingly the terms of their appeal.”

By this epistle of these two cardinals sent to the pope, all the discourse and manner of that assembly concerning the confidence between the cardinals and the archbishop may sufficiently appear. When William, who was the more eloquent of the two cardinals, had reasoned long with Becket concerning the peace of the church — which Becket said he preferred above all things — the cardinal said,

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<sup>163</sup> *Specialties*: in law, a contract or obligation under seal, with its promises, conditions, and penalties.

“Well then, seeing all this contention between the king and you rises upon certain laws and customs to be abrogated, and that you regard the peace of the church so much, then what do you say? Will you renounce your bishopric, and the king will renounce his customs? The peace of the church now lies in your hands, either to retain or to let go; what do you say?”

Becket replied, “The proportion is not the same. For (saving the honor of my church and my person) I cannot renounce my bishopric. On the other hand, it becomes the king for his soul’s health and honor, to renounce his ordinances and customs.” This he proved, because the *pope* had condemned those customs; and he likewise with the church of Rome had done the same, etc.

After the cardinals had returned, the French king seeing the king of England disquieted and solicitous to have peace (or at least pretending to set up an agreement between them) brought the matter to a communication among them. In this communication, the French king made himself an umpire between them. The king of England, hearing that the archbishop would commit himself to Louis’s arbitration, was more willing to allow his presence. Whereupon, many being present there, the archbishop, prostrating himself at the king’s feet, declared to him on his knees, that he would commit the whole cause of the dissension that rose between them, to Louis’s arbitration; adding (as he did before) “Saving the honor of God.” The king (as said before) was greatly offended at this word, hearing and seeing the stiffness of the man sticking so much to this word. He was highly displeased, rebuking him with many grievous words, as a proud and stubborn man, and also charging him with being an ungrateful person, having sundry and great benefits bestowed upon him, and forgetting what Henry had so gently done and bestowed upon him. Speaking to the French king present there, the king of England says,

“See, sir, if it pleases you, whatever displeases this man, he calls it ‘contrary to the honor of God.’ And so by this means he would vindicate and claim for himself both what is his and what is mine also. And yet as I will not do anything contrary or prejudicial to God’s honor, I offer him this: there have been kings in England before, both of greater and less puissance (power) than I have. Likewise there have been many bishops of Canterbury, both great and holy men. What the greatest and most holy of all his predecessors before him have done to the least of my progenitors and predecessors, let him do the same to me, and I am content.”

All those who stood by, hearing these words of the king, cried with one voice, “The king has debased himself enough to the bishop.” The archbishop made no answer, but kept silent. “What,” says the French king to him, “my lord archbishop, will you be better than those holy men? Will you be greater than Peter? Why do you stand doubting? Here now you have peace and quietness placed in your own hands, if you will take it.”

[141] A.D. 1169-1170.

To this the archbishop replied,

“It is true. My predecessors were both much better and greater than I, and every one of them for his time, although he did not extirpate all, yet he plucked up and corrected somewhat, whatever seemed adverse and repugnant to God’s honor. For if they had taken these all together away, no such occasion then would have been left for any man to raise up this fiery trial now against us — that we, being so approved with them, might also be crowned with them, being likewise partakers of praise and reward, as we are partakers of their labor and travel. And though some of them have been slack, or have exceeded their duty, we are not bound to follow their example in that. When Peter denied Christ, we rebuke him; but when he resisted the rage of Nero, we commend him in that. And therefore, because he could not find it in his conscience to consent to what he should in no way dissemble, he did not. And because of

this, he lost his life. By such like oppressions, the church has always grown. Our forefathers and predecessors, because they would not dissemble the name and honor of Christ, they therefore suffered. And shall I, to have the favor of one man, allow the honor of Christ to be suppressed?"

The nobles standing by, hearing him speak this way, were greatly grieved by him, noting in him both arrogance and willfulness, in perturbing and refusing such an honest offer of agreement. But especially one among the rest was most grieved, who openly protested there, that seeing the archbishop had so refused the counsel and request of both kingdoms, he was not worthy to have the help of either of them. But as the kingdom of England had rejected him, so the realm of France should not receive him.

### **Dissimulation of King Louis. Becket Returns to England.**

Alan, Herbert, and another of his chaplains who committed to history the doings of Becket, record (whether truly or not I cannot say) that the French king sent for him, as one who greatly sorrowed and lamented the words that Becket had spoken. At his coming, Becket prostrated himself at Louis's feet, confessing his fault, in giving counsel to him in such a cause (pertaining to the honor of God) to relent in this, and to yield to the pleasure of man. Therefore, declaring his repentance, he desired to be absolved of it. So that after this, the French king and Becket were great friends together. It was to much and extent, that when King Henry sent to the king to entreat him, and desire that he would not support or maintain his enemy within his realm, the French king utterly denied the king's request. He took part with the archbishop, rather than with Henry.

Besides these quarrels and grudges between the king and the archbishop mentioned above, there followed yet another, which was this: shortly after this communication between the king and Becket, the king of England returned from Normandy to England (A.D. 1170, in the sixteenth year of his reign). He kept his court of parliament at Westminster, in which (through the assent both of the clergy and the lords temporal) he caused his son Henry to be crowned king.<sup>164</sup> This coronation was done by the hands of Robert archbishop of York, with the assistance of other bishops — such as Gilbert of London, Jocelin of Salisbury, Hugo of Durham, and Walter of Rochester. Becket of Canterbury, who was neither mentioned nor called for, took no little displeasure in this; nor did Louis the French king, hearing that his daughter Margaret was not crowned with her husband. Gathering a great army, he immediately marched into Normandy. But the matter was soon composed by the king of England, who sent his son to him in Normandy, and there entreated and concluded peace with him, promising that his son would be crowned again, and then his daughter would be crowned also. But the archbishop, not ceasing his displeasure and emulation, sent to the pope, complaining of these four bishops, especially of the archbishop of York, who dared be so bold in his absence, and without his license, to crown the king, being a matter that was proper and peculiar to his jurisdiction. At this request, the pope sent down the sentence of excommunication against the bishop of London. He suspended the other three bishops with the archbishop of York.

This being done, the archbishop of York with the other bishops resorted to the king with a grievous complaint, declaring how miserably their case stood, and what they had sustained for fulfilling his commandment. The king, hearing this, was highly moved, and no wonder.

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<sup>164</sup> Not Henry III, but Henry the Young King, co-ruler with Henry II, or titular king of England (1170-1183).

But what was the remedy? The time of the ruin of the pope had not yet come; and what prince then could withstand the injurious violence of that Romish potentate?

In the meantime, the French king with his clergy and courtiers, lost no occasion to excite and solicit pope Alexander against the king of England, to excommunicate him also, thinking to gain some advantage against the realm. Nor was king Henry ignorant of this, which made him even more ready for reconciliation. At length, two legates came down from the pope — the archbishop of Rothomage and the bishop of Navern — with the direction and full commission either to drive the king to be reconciled, or to be interdicted by the pope's censures out of the church. The king understanding he was in greater straits than he could avoid, at length through the mediation of the French king and of other prelates and great princes, was content to yield to peace and reconciliation with the archbishop, whom he both received to his favor, and also permitted and granted him free return to his church again. Concerning his possessions and the lands of the church of Canterbury, although Becket labored greatly for it, yet the king (then in Normandy) would not grant it before he returned to England, to see how he might agree with his subjects.

Thus a sort of peace being concluded between the king and him, the archbishop returned to England, after six years banishment. There he was right joyfully received by the church of Canterbury; although he was not so greatly welcomed by Henry the Young King. So that coming up to London to the king, he was sent back to Canterbury, and told to keep his house there. Roger Hoveden mentions in his chronicle, that the archbishop (on Christmas day) excommunicated Robert de Brock for cutting off the tail of a certain horse of his the day before. In the meantime, the four bishops mentioned before, whom the archbishop excommunicated, sent to him, humbly desiring to be released from their censure. When the archbishop would not grant this clearly and simply, without cautions and exceptions, they went over to the king, declaring to him and complaining of their miserable state, and the discourteous handling by the archbishop. The king then conceived great sorrow in his mind, and displeasure toward Becket. He lamented to them, that among so many that he had done things for, there was none who would revenge him against his enemy.

***Becket Slain at Canterbury by Four Soldiers.***

On the occasion of these words, four of those who were around the king, hearing him thus complain and lament, addressed themselves in great heat and haste, to satisfy the grieved mind and quarrel of their prince. Within four days after Christmas, sailing over to England, they came to Canterbury, where Becket was commanded to keep. After certain consultations among themselves, they pressed at length into the palace where the archbishop was setting with his company about him. First they tried him with words, to see whether he would relent to the king's mind, and come to some conformity. They brought to him, they said, commandment from the king, and bid him choose whether he would rather receive it openly there, or secretly. Then the company was asked to leave, and Becket sat alone. They said, "You are commanded from the king beyond the sea, to repair to the king's son here, and to do your duty to him, swearing your fidelity to him for your barony and other things, and to amend those things in which you have trespassed against him." The archbishop refusing to swear, and perceiving their intent, called in his company again. In multiplying words to and fro, at length they came to the matter of the bishops who were excommunicated for the coronation of the king. They commanded in the king's name that he absolve and set them free again. The archbishop answered that, "He neither suspended nor excommunicated them, but the pope did. Therefore, if that was the matter that grieved them, they should resort to the pope. He had nothing to do with the matter."

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Then Reginald, one of the four, said to him, "Although you in your own person did not excommunicate them, yet through your instigation it was done." To whom the archbishop replied, "And if the pope, in settling the injuries done to me and my church, wrought this revenge for me, I confess it does not offend me at all." They said,

"Thus then it well appears by your own words, that it pleases you right well (in contempt and revilement of the king's majesty) to sequester his bishops from their ministry, who at the commandment of the king served in the coronation of his son. And seeing that you have so presumed to stand thus against the exaltation of our sovereign, our *new* king, it seems likely that you aspired to take his crown from him, and to be exalted to king yourself."

Becket replied,

"I do not aspire to the crown and name of the king, but rather, if I had four more crowns to give him, I would set them all upon him. Such good will I bear to him, that only his father the king excepted, there is none whose honor I more tender and love. And concerning the sequestering of those bishops, I give you to understand this, that nothing was done in that behalf without the knowledge and assent of the king himself. When I had made my complaint to him at the feast of Mary Magdalene, of the wrong and injury done to me and my church in this, he gave me his good leave to obtain at the pope's hand such remedy as I could, moreover promising his help to me in the same."

Reginald responded,

"What is this that you say? Do you make the king a traitor, and a betrayer of the king, his own son? That when he had commanded the bishops to crown his son, he would give you leave afterward to suspend them for doing so? Certainly, it would have been better for you not to have so accused the king of this treachery."

The archbishop said to Reginald, that he was present there at that time, and heard it himself. But he denied that, and swore it was not so. "And do you think (they said) that we, the king's subjects, will or ought to suffer this?" And so approaching near to him, they said he had spoken enough against his own head; upon which followed loud shouts with many threatening words. Then the archbishop said, "I have, since my coming over, sustained many injuries and rebukes, concerning both myself, my men, my cattle, my wines, and all other goods — notwithstanding that the king, writing to his son, required of him that I should live in safety and peace. And now, beside all the other things, you come here to threaten me." To this Reginald answered, "If there are any who work you any injury other than is right, the law is open, why do you not complain?" "To whom (asked Becket) should I complain?" "To the Young King," they said. Then Becket said,

"I have complained enough, if that would help, and I have sought remedy at the king's hands, so long as I could be suffered to come to his speeches. But now, seeing that I am stopped from that, nor can find redress of such great vexations and injuries as I have and do daily sustain, nor can have the benefit of the law or reason — such right and law as an archbishop may have, that I will exercise, and I will be hindered by no man."

At these words one of them, bursting out in exclamation, cried, "He threatens, he *threatens*. What? will he interdict the whole realm and us altogether?" "No, that he shall not do (says another). He has interdicted too many already." And drawing nearer to him, they protested and denounced him, as having spoken words to the jeopardy of his own head. And so departing in great fury and with many high words, they rushed out the doors. But returning to the monks, they charged them in the king's name, to keep him available, that he should

not escape away. “What,” asked the archbishop, “do you think I will flee away? No, not for the king, nor for any man alive, will I stir one foot from you.” “No (they said), you shall not leave, even if you would.” And so they departed, the archbishop following them out the chamber door, crying after them, “Here, here, *here* you will find me,” laying his hand upon his crown.

The names of these four soldiers mentioned above were Reginald Bereson, Hugh Mortevil, William Thracy, and Richard Brito. Having gone to put on their armor, they returned the same day. But finding the hall door of the palace of Canterbury shut against them, they went to an inward back door leading into the orchard. There they broke a window, and opened the door, and so they got into the palace. The monks (it being about even-song time) had gotten the archbishop into the church. Being persuaded by them, he had his cross borne before him. And through the cloister, by a door broken open for him, he proceeded into the choir. The armed men following after, at length came to the church-door. The monks would have shut this door against them, but as the history says, the archbishop would not allow them. So the armed men approached into the church; and the archbishop meeting them on the stairs, there he was slain. Every one of the four soldiers struck Becket in the head with a sword. Afterward, fleeing into the north, at length, and with much ado, they obtained their pardon from the pope by the king’s procurement, and as some histories record, they went to Jerusalem.

### **Epilogue concerning Becket**

Thus you have the life and death of Thomas Becket. As to what judgment we should form respecting him, let his own actions and conduct declare. Although the Scripture ought to be the only rule for us to judge all things by, yet if anyone requires further testimony to satisfy the mind respecting his conduct, we have the judgments of certain men, who in years and times, are almost as ancient as Becket.

We begin first with the testimony of someone of his own religion and church, and also not far from his own time. In writing of Becket’s martyrdom and miracles, he gives us the judgment and opinion of others concerning his promotion and behavior. The Chronicle being written in Latin, it is translated here for the English reader:

“There are many who, as to his promotion, do not regard it as canonical. For it was effected by the influence of the king (thinking him to be a man ready and useful to him) rather than by the assent either of the clergy or of the people. It is remarked in him as presumption and lack of discretion, that when scarcely worthy to take the oar in hand, he would take it upon himself to sit at the helm and guide the ship of the church, where the crew being religious in gesture and vesture, customarily have their prelate from the same profession. Whereas Becket scarcely bearing the habit of a clergyman, and going about in his changes and soft apparel, is more conversant among the delicate rufflers in the court. He savors of worldly things, not refusing to climb up to the high preferment of such a holy dignity, but rather *aspiring* to it, willingly and of his own accord. Moses, we read, did otherwise. Being the friend of God, and sent by Him to conduct his people Israel out of Egypt, he *trembled* at the message, and said, ‘Who am I, Lord, that I should go to Pharaoh, and bring your people Israel out of Egypt?’” etc. <sup>Exo 3-11</sup>

And although scarcely any testimony is to be accepted from that age (all being blinded and corrupted with superstition), let us hear what the ancient historian Neubergensis says. Being a contemporary, and continuing his history to the time of King Richard I, he has these words, writing about Thomas Becket:

“Many are prone, in those whom they love or praise (judging them more by affection than prudence) to allow and approve whatever they do. Yet if I might judge this reverend man truly, I do not think his doings and actions were praiseworthy or allowable, in so far as they were unprofitable and only stirred up the anger of the king, from which afterward sprang many and great mischiefs — even if what he did might have proceeded from a laudable zeal.”

Also, the words of Caesarius the monk refer to this matter, written about 48 years after the death of Thomas Becket (A.D. 1220). His words are to this effect:

“There was a question moved among the masters of the university of Paris, whether Thomas Becket was saved or damned? To this question Roger, a Norman, answered that he was worthy of death and damnation, because he was so obstinate against God’s minister, his king. On the other hand, Peter Cantor, a Parisian, disputed this, saying and affirming that his miracles were great signs and tokens of salvation, and also of great holiness in that man. Moreover, they affirmed that the cause of the church allowed and confirmed his martyrdom, for which church he died,” etc.

[143] A.D. 1170-1171.

### **False Miracles Ascribed to Becket, Blasphemous Anthem.**

Thus you have the judgment and censure of the school of Paris, touching this question of the sainting of Thomas Becket. In this judgment, the greatest argument rests in the miracles said to have been wrought by him *after his death*. Let us therefore pause a little, and examine these miracles. In this examination we will find one of two things will be true.

(1) If the miracles were wrought, they were not wrought by God, but by a contrary spirit, whom Christ our Lord warns us about in his gospel, saying, “There will arise false Christs and false prophets, and they will show great signs and wonders such that, if possible, they would deceive even the elect,” Mat 24.24; 2The 2.9; Rev 13.14.

(2) Or else we will find that no such miracles were ever wrought at all, but were feigned and forged by idle monks, and by nuns and friars, for the exaltation of their churches and the profit of their purses.

This second thing, indeed, seems rather to be the truth, as may appear by the miracles themselves, set forth by one of his own monks, and of his own time. This monk, in five solemn books, has included all the revelations, virtues, and miracles of the archbishop. I have seen and perused these books. In them is contained the whole sum of his miracles, numbering 270. And they are far beyond all truth and reason. Some are ridiculous, some monstrous, vain, and absurd, some blasphemous, and some so impudent that not only they deserve no credit (altogether savoring of mere forgery), but also they would abash a modest pen to write them down. Now, if miracles serve for convincing infidels, then what necessity was there, in a Christian realm that has the word of God, for God to work such miracles after the death of a man who never wrought any miracle in his entire life? Then if we consider the *object* of these miracles, what purpose they tend to, but merely to bring men to Canterbury, with their vows and offerings to enrich the Convent?

Besides the number of these miracles, which is said to be so great that they lose all credit, what disease is there, belonging to man or woman, in the curing of which some miracle has not been wrought by this wonder-worker — such as fevers, gout, tooth-ache, palsy, consumption, falling sickness, leprosy, headache, broken arms, maimed legs, swelling throats, raising up the dead who have been departed two days, with numberless others.



To recite all these prodigious revelations and fantastical miracles, falsely imagined and ascribed to this archbishop, would be nothing less than to write a legend of lies, and to occupy the people with trifles. And because it rather pertains to the idle profession of such dreaming monks and cloisterers, who have nothing else to maintain their religion with, I will not take their profession out of their hands. Therefore, I omit all vain and lying apparitions and miracles, such as how this angry saint (three days after his death) appeared by vision at the altar in his Pontifical robes, commanding the choir not to sing, but instead to say this office of his mass, *Exurge, quare ohdormis, Domine*, etc.<sup>165</sup> To omit also the blasphemous lie, how in another vision the archbishop said that, “his blood cried out of the earth to God, more than the blood of righteous Abel.” Also in another vision that appeared to a monk, how this saint Thomas had his place in heaven appointed with the apostles, above Stephen, Lawrence, Vincent, and all other martyrs, for which this reason is given — that St. Stephen, Lawrence, and others, suffered only for their own cause; but this Thomas Becket suffered for the universal church. Also, how it was shown to a young man twelve years before the death of Becket, that among the apostles and martyrs in heaven there was a vacant place left for a certain priest of England, which was credibly supposed to be him. Also, how a certain knight’s son, being dead for two days, was revived again as soon as he had the water of Canterbury put into his mouth, and had four pieces of silver offered by his parents in Canterbury, in the child’s behalf. All these, I say, with others like them, I omit, giving only this one story, or another that follows, which will suffice to express the vanity and impudent forgery of all the rest.

There is a miracle of a countryman of Bedfordshire, whose name was Edward. In his drunkenness, bursting into another man’s house, who was his debtor, he took from his house a whetstone, and a pair of hedging gloves. The other party seeing this value was not sufficient for his condemnation, entered an action of felony against him for other things besides, such as for stealing his wimble, his axe, his net, and other cloths. Whereupon Edward was condemned, and sentenced to have both his eyes put out. This punishment being executed on him by the malice of his adversary, and lying in great danger of death by bleeding, he was counselled to make his prayer to this Thomas of Canterbury. This done, says the miracle, someone appeared to him by night, in white apparel, bidding him to watch and pray, and to put his trust in God and our lady, and holy St. Thomas à Becket. In conclusion, the miracle fell out as follows. The next day at evening, the man, rubbing his eyelids, began to feel his eyes restored again; first, in a little measure, after in a greater measure, so that one was grey in color, the other black.

I thought to describe this one miracle here, so that by this one you might judge the rest of his miracles. This is why, as I said, if the holy sainting of Thomas Becket stands on nothing but his miracles, what credit is to be given to it? And it may easily be seen by this, on what a weak ground his shrine has stood for so long. Another fable as notable as this, we read in the history of Gervasius. Thomas Becket appearing to a certain priest named Thomas, declared to him that he had so brought it to pass, that all the names of the monks of the church of Canterbury, with the names of the priests and clerics, and with the families belonging to that city and church of Canterbury, were written in the book of life!

But whatever is to be thought of his miracles, or however the testimony of the school of Paris, or of these ancient times, went with him or against him, it is certain that this anthem,

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<sup>165</sup> [Arise, why do you sleep, Lord? \(Psa 44.34\).](#)



recently written and used in his praise, is blasphemous, and derogates from the praise of Him to whom alone all praise and honor are due.

By the blood of Thomas,  
Which he for you did spend,  
Grant us, Christ, to climb,  
Where Thomas did ascend.

**The King's reaction to Becket's murder.**

After the death of Thomas Becket, the king feared the pope's wrath and curse. He sent the archbishop of Rothomage, with other bishops and archdeacons, to the pope with his excuse, which the pope would in no way hear. After other messengers were sent, it was shown to them that on Good Friday, the pope customarily absolved or cursed, and it was rumored that the king of England, with his bishops, would be cursed, and his land interdicted, and that they would be put into prison. After this, certain of the cardinals showed the pope that the messengers had power to swear to the pope, that the king would obey his punishment and penance. So that, on the same day the pope cursed the perpetrators of Becket's murder, and all who either aided or harbored them.

The king's ambassadors could find no grace or favor for a long time at the pope's hands. At length it was agreed that two cardinals should be sent down to inquire into the matter concerning those who were consenting to Becket's death. The king, perceiving what was being prepared at Rome, and still being uncertain what the design of the pope and the arrival of the cardinals would tend to, prepared himself to invade Ireland with a great army. He gave charge and commandment that no bearer of any brief or letter should come into England, or leave the realm, without special license and assurance that he would bring nothing that would be prejudicial to the realm.

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**Penance Enjoined on the King for the Death of Thomas Becket.**

This being ordained, the king, with 400 great ships, took his voyage to Ireland, where he subdued in a short time the whole land. At that time it was governed under five kings, of whom four submitted themselves to King Henry. Only the fifth refused to submit, keeping to the woods and marshes.

While the king was thus occupied in Ireland, the two cardinals that were sent from the pope, Theodine and Albert, had come to Normandy. The year following, the king went to meet them (October, A.D. 1172). The king, returning from Ireland, into England by Wales, and from there to Normandy, cleared himself there of the charge, before the pope's legates, as to the death of Becket. He swore he was neither aiding nor consenting, but only that he spoke severely against him, because his knights would not avenge him against Thomas. For this reason, the following penance enjoined him under his oath:

First, that he would send so much money into the Holy Land, as would supply 200 knights or soldiers for the defense of that land.

Also, that from Christmas-day next following, he would set forth himself to fight for the Holy Land, for the space of three years, unless he were otherwise dispensed with by the pope.

Also, that if he would make his journey into Spain, he would fight there against the Saracens, and for as long as he abided there, he might prolong his journeys to Jerusalem.

Also, that he would not hinder, nor cause to be hindered by him, any appeal made to the pope of Rome.

Also, that neither he nor his son would depart or dissever from Pope Alexander, or from his catholic successors, so long as they in turn would count him or his son as catholic kings.

Also, that the goods and possessions taken from the church of Canterbury would be restored, as they stood the year before Thomas Becket departed the realm; and that free liberty would be granted to all those who were outlawed for Becket's cause, to return again.

Also, that the customs and decrees established by him against the church, would be extinct and repealed (except those that concerned his own person, etc.), besides other private fastings and alms enjoined of him.

All these conditions the king with his son agreed to, debasing himself in such submission before the two cardinals, that they took no little glory from it, using this verse of the Psalm: "He looks on the earth, and it trembles, He touches the hills, and they smoke," Psa 104.32. It is mentioned, too, that a little after, the king returning from Normandy to England, came first to Canterbury, (A.D. 1174). And as he came within sight of Becker's church, lighting off his horse, and putting off his shoes, he went barefoot to the tomb, the steps of which were found bloody, through the roughness of the stones. Not only that, but he received the further penance of the discipline of the rod, by every monk of the cloister. By this great degradation of the king (if it were true), we may see the blind and lamentable superstition and ignorance of those days.

### ***Strife revives between York and Canterbury***

The next year (A.D. 1175), a convocation of bishops was held at Westminster by Richard archbishop of Canterbury. All the bishops and abbots of the province of Canterbury and of York were present. They determined, as was done in the days of King Henry I (A.D. 1113), the obedience that York would pay to Canterbury. That is, whether the archbishop of York might bear his cross in the diocese of Canterbury or not. Something of this was mentioned before in this history. Upon these and other such matters, such controversy arose between these two sees, that the one appealed the other to the bishop of Rome.

In these and similar causes, how much better it would have been if the supremacy had remained nearer home, in the king's hands. Not only much labor and travelling would have been saved by this, but also the great and wasteful expenses at Rome might have been spent with much more fruit and profits among the cures and flocks committed to them.

We stated already, among the acts and doings of Pope Alexander III, how he had brought the emperor's head under his foot in St. Mark's church at Venice, when the peace was concluded there; and a compact was made between the pope and Emperor Frederick. This is the pacification that historians Roger Hoveden, and Walter Gisburn refer to at about this time (A.D. 1177), bringing in two letters sent from the pope to Richard archbishop of Canterbury, and to Roger archbishop of York, and Hugh bishop of Durham. Out of these letters, the portions that serve our present purpose, I have inserted here.

#### *The Letter of Pope Alexander.*

"Alexander servant of the servants of God, to his reverend brethren Roger archbishop of York, and Hugh bishop of Durham, greeting and apostolical blessing. The submissiveness and service of your kind devotion, which till now you are known to have given both devoutly and laudably to us and to the church, requires that we should describe to you, as to our special friends, the prosperous success of the church, and to let you know, as spiritual children of the

church, what has happened to the same. For it is appropriate, convenient, and also honest, that you, whom we have had so firm and sure in our devotion, should now be cherished and made joyous in the prosperity of us and of the church.”

And about the end of the epistle it follows thus:

“The next day, which was the feast of St. James, the emperor so requesting us, we came to the church of St. Mark to celebrate our solemn mass there — where (as we were coming in the way) the emperor met us outside the church, and placing us on his right hand, he so brought us into the church. After the mass was done, placing us again on his right hand, he brought us to the church door. And moreover, when we would mount our palfrey,<sup>166</sup> he held our stirrup, exhibiting to us such honor and reverence, as his progenitors usually exhibited to our predecessors. Therefore, these will serve to excite your diligence and zeal towards us, that you may rejoice with us and the church in these our prosperous successes, and also that you may open the same source of peace to other devout children of the church: that those who are touched with the zeal of the house of the Lord, may be thankful and rejoice in the Lord for the great peace which he has given. *Given at Venice, the 26th of July.*”

And yet, in this same year, the contention revived again between the two archbishops of York and Canterbury. The occasion of it was this: the manner and practice of the pope, when he wants money, to send some cardinal abroad to gather in his harvest. So in this year, a cardinal came from Rome into England, called Hugo, who would keep a council at Westminster. A great concourse of bishops, abbots, priors, doctors, and others of the clergy resorted to this council. As every one was placed in his order there, and according to his rank, first comes the archbishop of York. Anticipating the other archbishop, he came somewhat sooner, and placed himself at the right hand of the cardinal. The archbishop of Canterbury following shortly after, and seeing the first place occupied, refuses to take the second place, complaining of the archbishop of York, as having prejudiced his see. So while the one would not rise, and the other would not sit down, there arose no small contention between them. The archbishop of Canterbury claimed the upper seat by the pre-eminence of his church. On the other hand, the archbishop of York alleged the old decree of Gregory, by which this order was appointed between the two metropolitans of Canterbury and York — that whichever of them should be first in election, should have the preeminence in dignity before the other. Thus contending to and fro, they grew so heated in words, that at last they turned to blows. How strong the archbishop of York was in reason and argument, I cannot tell; but the archbishop of Canterbury was stronger at the arm's end. His servants being more in number and like valiant men, not allowing their master to take up with such a trick, so succeeded against York, as he sat at the right hand of the cardinal, that they plucked him down from the hand to the foot of the cardinal onto the ground, treading and trampling upon him with their feet, so that it was a marvel he escaped with his life. His robes were all rent and torn from his back.

[145] A.D. 1172-1189.

But what did the noble Roman cardinal Hugo do? Standing up in the midst, and seeing the house in such a broil, he committed himself to flight. The next day the archbishop of York brings his torn robes to the cardinal, to bear witness what injury and violence he had sustained; appealing and citing the archbishop of Canterbury to the bishop of Rome. And thus the holy council was dissolved the same day it was begun.

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<sup>166</sup> *Palfrey*: a light saddle horse.

***Death of Henry II – 1189.***

Under the reign of King Henry II, the dominion and crown of England extended so far as had not been seen in this realm before him. Histories record him as possessing under his rule and jurisdiction, first, Scotland, to whom William king of Scots, with all the lords temporal and spiritual, did homage both for them and for their successors (the seal of which remains in the king's treasury); also Ireland, England, Normandy, Aquitaine, Gaunt, etc., to the mountains of the Tyrenees. He was also protector of France; to whom Philip the French king yielded both himself and his realm wholly to his government (A.D. 1181). He was also offered to be made king of Jerusalem, by the patriarch and master of the hospital there. Being distressed by the Sultan, brought him the keys of the city, desiring his aid against the infidels. He refused this offer, alleging the great charge which he had at home, and the rebellion of his sons, which might happen in his absence.

The wisdom, discretion, manhood, and riches of this prince was so spread abroad and renowned in all quarters, that messages came from Emmanuel emperor of Constantinople, Frederick emperor of Rome, and William archbishop of Treves in Germany, the duke of Saxony, and from the earl of Flanders, and also from the French king, to ask counsel and determination in difficult questions from this King Henry, as one who is most wise, and schooled in all wisdom and justice, so as to solve their questions and doubts. Alphonso king of Castile, and Sancius king of Navarre, being in strife for certain castles and other possessions, submitted them (of their free accord, and by their oath) to abide the award of this King Henry; who made his award and pleased them both. It is to be supposed by this, that this king, to whom other princes so resorted as their arbiter and judge, was not given either to sloth or vicious living. From this it may appear that the acts of this prince were not so vicious as some monkish writers describe.

Among many other memorable things in this king, one is that he reigned thirty-five years. Despite having such wars with his enemies, he never put upon his subjects any tribute or tax. And yet his treasury after his death amounted to over 900,000 pounds, besides jewels, precious stones, and household furniture. But as there is no felicity or wealth in this mortal world so perfect, as not to be darkened with some cloud of adversity; so it happened to this king. Among his other princely successors, this affliction followed him: that his sons rebelled and stood in arms against him, taking the part of the French king against their father.

At the coronation of his son Henry, whom the father joined with him as king — being both father and king — notwithstanding, he set down the first dish before his son, as if he was only an attendant, renouncing the name of a king. The archbishop of York, sitting at the right hand of the Young King, said, “Sir, you have great cause this day to joy, for there is no prince in the world who has such an attendant this day,” etc. And the young king disdainful of his words, said, “My father is not dishonored in doing this, for I am a king and a queen's son, and he is not.” And not only this, but afterwards he even persecuted his father. And so in his youth, when he had reigned but a few years, he died, teaching us what is the reward of breaking the commandment of God. Exo 20.12

After him likewise, Henry's son Richard (who was called Richard *Coeur de Lion*) rebelled against his father. And also John, his youngest son, did not depart much from the steps of his brethren. It went so far that Richard, taking part against his father, brought him to such distress of body and mind, that for sorrow of heart Henry fell into a fever, and within four days departed (A.D. 1189), after he had reigned thirty-five years.

And thus much concerning the reign of Henry II, and the death of Thomas Becket in the days of Pope Alexander III. This pope had usurped the keys of the ecclesiastical government for twenty-one years (or as Gisburn writes, twenty-three years), governing the church with much tumult.

This pope, among many other acts, had certain councils, some in France, some at Rome, in Lateran. In these it was decreed that no archbishop should receive the pall, unless he would first swear to obey the pope.

### **The Solemnity of the Pall**

Concerning the solemnity of this pall, as to the order and manner of giving and taking it, with obedience to the pope, I thought it good to present it as contained in their own words.

*The form and manner, how and by what words,  
the pope traditionally gives the pall to the Archbishop.*

“To the honor of Almighty God, and of blessed Mary the virgin, and of blessed St. Peter and Paul, and of our lord Pope \_\_\_\_\_, and of the holy church of Rome, and also of the church of \_\_\_\_\_, committed to your charge, we give to you the pall taken from the body of St. Peter, as a fulness of the pontifical office, which you may wear within your own church upon certain days which are expressed in the privileges of the said church, granted by the apostolic see.”

In like manner, the oath of every bishop swearing obedience to the pope proceeds thus:

“I, \_\_\_\_\_, bishop of \_\_\_\_\_, from this hour henceforth, will be faithful and obedient to blessed St. Peter, and to the holy apostolic church of Rome, and to my lord \_\_\_\_\_. the pope. I shall be in no council, nor help either with my consent or deed, whereby either of them, or any member of them may be impaired, or whereby they maybe taken with any evil taking. The counsel which they shall commit to me either by themselves, or by messenger, or by their letters wittingly or willingly I shall utter to none to their hindrance and damage. As to retaining and maintaining the papacy of Rome, and the regalities of St. Peter, I shall be an aider (so my order be saved) against all persons, the legate of the apostolic see, both in going and coming, I shall honorably treat and help in all necessities. Being called to a Synod I shall be ready to come, unless I am hindered by some lawful and canonical impeachment. I shall visit the palace of the apostles every third year either by myself or my messenger, except otherwise being licensed by the apostolic see. All such possessions as belong to the table and diet of my bishopric, I shall neither sell, nor give, nor lay to mortgage, nor lease out, nor remove away by any manner of means without the consent and knowledge of the bishop of Rome; so God help me and the holy gospel of God.”

### ***The History and Doctrines of the Waldenses.***

In the reign of King Henry (about A.D. 1178), I find in Roger Hoveden and others, that in the city of Toulouse there was a great multitude of men and women whom the pope’s commissioners prosecuted and condemned as heretics. Some of them were scourged naked, some were chased away, and some were compelled to abjure. Concerning their opinions I can give no certain account, because I find the papists so often falsified things in their accusations, untruly collecting men’s words, not as they meant them, but twisting and depraving men’s assertions in such a way that pleased themselves. But I find that one of the commissioners or inquisitors (Henry the abbot) wrote in a letter about one of them, that “Following a new opinion, he affirmed that the holy bread of eternal life, consecrated by the ministry of the priest, was not the body of the Lord,” etc.

In the time of Pope Alexander, the doctrine and name commenced of those who were called “Poor men of Lyons,” who from Waldus or Waldo, a chief senator in Lyons, were named “Waldenses” (about A.D. 1100, or as Laziard writes A.D. 1170).

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Not long before this time lived Gratian, master of the decrees, and Peter Lombard, master of the sentences, both arch-pillars of all papistry. Two others followed them, as bad or worse than they were, Francis and Dominic,<sup>167</sup> maintaining blind hypocrisy no less than the others maintained proud prelacy. As these labored one way — to corrupt the simplicity of the Christian religion by superstition and worldly advancement— so it pleased Christ on the contrary, working against them, to raise up the Waldenses against the pride and hypocrisy of the others.

Thus we never see any great corruption in the church, that some sparks of the true and clear light of the gospel by God’s providence do not remain. Whatever doctors Austin, Reinerius, Sylvius, Cranzius, with others write about them in their popish histories — defaming them and accusing them as disobedient to orders, rebels to the catholic church, and despisers of the Virgin Mary — yet in weighing their articles, those who judge impartially, trusting truth rather than wavering with the times, will find it otherwise. They maintained nothing but the same doctrine which is now defended in the church.

*The history of the Waldenses concerning  
their origin and doctrine, with their persecutions.*

The origin of these Waldenses was one Waldus, (or Waldo <sup>168</sup>), a man of great substance in the city of Lyons. About the year 1160 some of the best and chief inhabitants of the city of Lyons, walking in a certain place in their old accustomed manner, especially in the summertime, conferred and consulted together on various matters, either to pass the time, or to debate their measures. Among them, it chanced that one suddenly fell dead. Waldus was among them at the time. Looking at the matter more earnestly than the others, and terrified with so awful an example, and God’s Holy Spirit working within him, he was stricken with a deep and inward repentance. Upon this followed a great change, with a careful study to reform his prior life. So that *first* he began to minister large alms of his goods to those who were in need. *Secondly*, he instructed himself and his family with the true knowledge of God’s word. *Thirdly*, he admonished all who resorted to him on any occasion, to repentance and virtuous amendment of life. Partly through his extensive charities to the poor, partly through his diligent teaching and wholesome admonitions, more of the people frequented about him daily. And when he saw them ready and diligent to learn, he began to give them certain easy portions of the Scripture, which he had translated himself into the French tongue. For as he was wealthy in riches, so he was also not unlearned in languages.

Although Laziard, Volateran, with others, describe him as utterly unlearned, and charge him with ignorance, yet to others who have seen his works still remaining in old parchment documents, it appears that he was able to declare and translate the books of Scripture, and also to collect the comments of the learned upon them.

But whatever he was, whether lettered or unlettered, the bishops and prelates seeing him thus intermeddle with the Scriptures, and have such followers about him, even though it

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<sup>167</sup> Founders of the Franciscan (1209) and Dominican Orders (1216).

<sup>168</sup> Peter Waldo (1140-1205).

was only in his own house and in private conference, could not abide that the Scriptures should be explained by anyone other than themselves. And yet they would not take the pains to explain it themselves. So they threatened to excommunicate him if he did not cease to do so. Waldus seeing that his proceedings were godly, and that their malice was stirred up without just or godly cause, neglected the threatenings and frettings of the wicked. He said, "God must be obeyed rather than man."<sup>Act 4.19</sup> To be brief, the more diligent he was in setting forth the true doctrine of Christ against the errors of antichrist, the more maliciously their fierceness increased. So that when they saw their excommunication was despised, they did not cease to persecute him with prison, with sword, and banishment, till at length they had driven both Waldus and all those who favored his true preaching out of the city.

This is when they were first called *Waldenses*, or the poor men of Lyons — not because they would have all things in common among them, or that professing any willful poverty, they would imitate to live as the apostles did (as Eneas Sylvius<sup>169</sup> falsely said of them); but because being thrown out from country and goods, they were *compelled* to live poorly, whether they would or not.

And thus much touching the first occasion and beginning of these men, and of the restoring and maintaining of the true doctrine of Christ's gospel, against the proud proceedings of popish errors. Now, concerning their articles, I find them to be the following, in order and in number:

1. Only the holy Scripture is to be believed in matters pertaining to salvation, and no man's writing, or man besides.
2. All things necessary to salvation are contained in holy Scripture, and nothing is to be admitted in religion, but only what is commanded in the word of God.
3. There is one only Mediator; other saints are in no way to be made mediators, or to be invoked.
4. There is no purgatory, but all men are justified by Christ to life, or without Christ they are condemned; and besides these two, there is no third or fourth place.
5. That all masses, namely, such as those sung for the dead, are wicked and ought to be abolished.
6. All men's traditions are to be rejected, or at least not to be reputed as necessary to salvation; therefore this singing and superfluous chanting in the chancel should cease — constrained and prefixed fasts bound to days and times; differentiating meats; the variety of degrees and orders of priests, friars, monks, and nuns; superfluous holy days; the various benedictions and hallowing of creatures, vows, pilgrimages; with all the rites and ceremonies brought in by man — all ought to be abolished.
7. The supremacy of the pope usurping rule above all churches, and especially above all realms and governments, and his usurping of the jurisdiction of both the swords (spiritual and temporal), is to be denied; and no degree of orders is to be received in the church, except priests, deacons, and bishops.
8. The communion under both kinds (both bread and wine) is necessary to all people, according to the institution of Christ.
9. The church of Rome is the very Babylon spoken of in the Apocalypse; and the pope is the fountain of all error, and the very antichrist.

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<sup>169</sup> Eneas Sylvius, or Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405-1464), later became Pope Pius II.



10. They reject the pope's pardons and indulgences. <sup>170</sup>

11. The marriage of priests and of ecclesiastical persons is godly, and also necessary in the church.

12. Those who hear the word of God, and have a right faith, are the right church of Christ. And the keys of the church are given to this church to drive away wolves, and to institute true pastors, and to preach the word, and to minister the sacraments. <sup>171</sup>

These are the principal articles of the Waldenses, although there are some who add more to them; and some again divide these into more parts.

The Waldenses, exiled at length, were dispersed into many and various places. Many remained long in Bohemia. Writing to their king, Vladislaus, to clear themselves against the slanderous accusations of Dr. Austin, they gave their confession together with an apology of their Christian profession. They defended with strong and learned arguments the same defense and confession which is now received in most reformed churches concerning grace, faith, charity, hope, repentance, and works of mercy. As for purgatory, they say that Thomas Aquinas was the creator of it. <sup>172</sup>

[147] A.D. 1189.

Concerning the supper of the Lord, their faith was that it was ordained to be eaten, not to be shown and worshipped; for a memorial, not for a sacrifice; to serve for the present ministrations, and not for reservation; to be received at the table, not to be carried out of doors — according to the ancient use of the primitive church, when they used to have communion sitting. And they prove this both by an old chronicle called *Chronica Gestorum*, and also by ancient Origen writing upon the third book of Moses. They bring in his words, which are these, proving that this sacramental bread should not be reserved:

“Whoever receives this bread of the supper, of Christ upon the second or third day after, his soul shall not be blessed, but polluted. Therefore because the Gibeonites brought old bread to the children of Israel, they were enjoined to carry wood and water,” etc. <sup>Jos 9.27</sup>

Dr. Austin, disputing against them about this matter of the holy eucharist, urges them with this question, whether it is the same Christ present in the sacrament, which is present at the right hand of the Father? If it is not the same Christ, then how is it true in the Scripture, “One faith, one Lord Jesus Christ?” <sup>Eph 4.5</sup> If it is the same Christ, then how is he not to be honored and worshipped here as well as there?”

To this the Waldenses answer and grant that Christ is one and the same with his natural body, in the *sacrament*, which he is at the *right hand* of his Father — but not in the same existence of his body. For the existence of his body in heaven is personal and local, to be apprehended by the faith and spirit of men. In the sacrament, the existence of the body is not personal or local, so as to be apprehended or received by our bodies in a personal or corporeal manner, but in a sacramental manner. That is, where our bodies receive the *sign*, and our spirit receives the thing *signified*. Moreover, in heaven the existence of his body is

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<sup>170</sup> This article seems to be written about those in Bohemia not long after, for indulgences did not come in before Boniface VIII (r. 1294-1303).

<sup>171</sup> Some ancient authors add another article — viz. “They receive and approve of two sacraments only, Baptism and the Communion.” [Ed.]

<sup>172</sup> Some attribute the doctrine of purgatory to Clement of Alexandria (d. 202); some as a solution to the Donatist schism (303); some to Gregory of Nyssa (335-394); some to Gregory I (A.D. 590). It became dogma at the Second Council of Lyons (1294), which cited pope Innocent IV (r. 1243-1254). Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) expounded on it in his *Summa Theologica*.



complete with the full proportion and quantity with which he ascended. Here, the existence of his complete body, with its full proportion, measure, and stature, does not and *cannot* stand in the sacrament.

That answer being made to the captious proposition of Dr. Austin, the Waldenses (retorting a similar question to him) demand that he answer them: Whether it is all one Christ substantially and naturally, which sits in heaven, and which is under the forms of bread and wine, and in the receivers of the sacrament? If he grants it to be so; then they bid him say — seeing that Christ is in the sacrament as well as in heaven, and as well in the receiver as in the sacrament, and it is all one Christ in substance and nature — then why is the same Christ not to be worshipped in the breast of the receiver, as well as under the forms of bread and wine in the sacrament; seeing that he is there in a more perfect manner in man, than in the sacrament? For in the sacrament he is there only for a time, and not for the sacrament's sake, but for the man's sake. But in man he is not there for the sacrament's sake, but for his own sake. And that is not for a season, but forever, as it is written, “He that eats this bread shall live forever,” etc. <sup>Joh 6.51</sup>

Besides this, seeing that *transubstantiation* is the passing of one substance into another, they question him again, whether the forms of bread and wine remaining, the substance is changed into the whole person of our Lord Christ Jesus — that is, into his body, soul, and divinity — or *not* into the whole Christ? If he grants the whole, then they say that it is impossible (concerning the divinity) both to nature and to our faith, that any creature can be changed into the Creator. If he says, the bread is changed into the body and soul of Christ, but not into his divinity, then he separates the natures in Christ. If he says, into the body alone, and not the soul, then he separates the natures of the true manhood, etc. And so it cannot be the same Christ who was betrayed for us; for he had both body and soul. To conclude, to whatever part Austin would answer, this doctrine of *transubstantiation* could not be defended without great difficulties.

Besides this, Eneas Sylvius, writing of their doctrine and assertions (as he found them, perhaps making worse of them than they taught or meant, reports of them in this manner:

“The bishop of Rome is equal with other bishops. Among priests there is to be no difference of degree. No priest is to be reputed for any dignity of his order, but for the worthiness of his life.

“The souls of men departed enter either into everlasting pain, or everlasting joy. There is no fire of purgatory. To pray for the dead is vain, and a thing only invented for the lucre of priests.

“The images of God (e.g. the Trinity) and of saints should be abolished. The hallowing of water and palm are a mere ridicule. The religion of begging friars is an invention of the devil. Priests should not pursue riches in this world, but rather follow poverty, being content with their tithes, and men's devotion. The preaching of the word should be free to all men called to it.

“No deadly sin is to be tolerated for the sake of a greater convenience. The confirmation which bishops exercise with oil, and extreme unction, are not to be counted among the sacraments of the church. Auricular confession is but a childish thing; it is enough for every man to confess himself in his chamber to God. Baptism ought to be administered only with pure water, without any mixture of hallowed oil. The temple of the Lord is the wide world. The majesty of God is not restrained within the walls of temples, monasteries, and chapels, such that his grace should be found in one place more than in another.

“Priests' apparel, ornaments of the high altar, vestments, corporals, chalices, plates, and other churchware, are of no use. It makes no matter in what place the priest consecrates or ministers

to those who require it. It is sufficient to use only the sacramental words without other superfluous ceremonies.

“The suffrages (intercessions) of saints, reigning with Christ in heaven, are prayed for in vain; they are unable to help us. In saying or singing the hours and matins of the day, the time is lost. A man ought to cease from his labor on no day, except Sunday.

“The feasts and festivals of saints ought to be rejected. Those fasts which are compulsory and enjoined by the church, have no merit in them.”

I thought it good to give the doctrines of the Waldenses in English, being thus specified by Eneas Sylvius (who afterwards was pope), so that they are less to be doubted, being described by the pen of this pope. Thus we may better know what their opinions were, and also understand how this doctrine that is now preached and taught in the protestant church, is not new doctrine, inasmuch as we see it both taught and persecuted almost 400 years ago.

Having sufficiently spoken of their doctrine, we will now somewhat briefly touch upon the order of their life and conversation, as we find it registered in a certain old book of the inquisition.

“The manner of the Waldenses is this: kneeling and leaning on some bank or stay, they continue in their prayers with silence so long as a man may say the Lord’s prayer thirty or forty times. And they do this every day both before and after dinner, with great reverence among themselves and those who are of their own religion, but no strangers with them; likewise before and after supper; also when they go to bed, and in the morning when they rise, and at certain other times also, in the day as well as in the night. They use no other prayer but the Lord’s prayer, without any ‘Hail, Mary,’ or the creed, which they affirm is not by Christ, but only by the church of Rome. Although, they use the seven articles of faith concerning Christ’s divinity, and the seven articles concerning Christ’s humanity,<sup>173</sup> and the Ten Commandments, and the seven works of mercy,<sup>174</sup> which they have compiled together in a compendious book.

“Before they go to meal they ask a blessing, and that the Lord Christ may have mercy upon them, and they say the Lord’s prayer. This being said, the elder among them begins thus in their own tongue:

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‘God who blessed the five barley loaves, and two fishes in the desert before his disciples, bless this table, and what is set upon it, or will be set upon it: In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, Amen.’ And likewise, when they rise from the meal, the senior gives thanks, saying the words of the Apocalypse, ‘Blessing, and worship, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, honor, virtue, and strength to God alone for ever and ever. Amen.’ And he adds, ‘God reward those in their hearts, and be beneficial to all those who are beneficial to us, and bless us. And may the God who has given us bodily food grant us his spiritual life; and may God be with us, and we always with him.’ To which they respond, ‘Amen.’ And thus saying grace, they hold their hands upward, looking up to heaven. After their meal, and grace being said, they teach and exhort one another, conferring together upon their doctrine.”

In their doctrine and teaching they were so diligent and painstaking, that Reinerius, a writer about their time, and a violent enemy against them, in a long process in which he describes their doctrine and teaching, testifies that he heard of one who knew the party, that a certain

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<sup>173</sup> The fourteen articles of faith concerning the Godhead, are outlined by Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa Theologiae*, but originally articulated in the Apostle’s Creed. That creed is presumably is what the Waldenses recited.

<sup>174</sup> The seven *blesseds* from the Sermon on the mount, Mat 5.3-9.

heretic (as he calls him, merely to turn a person away from our [Roman] faith, and to bring him to that of the Waldenses) swam in the night, and in the winter time, over the river Ibis, to come to him, and to teach him. So perfect were they in the Scriptures, Reinerius says, that he heard and saw an unlettered countryman who could recite the whole book of Job word by word, without book, and others who knew the whole New Testament perfectly by heart.

And although some of them rather strangely and unskillfully expounded the words, "*Sui non receperunt eam,*" Joh 1.11; "swine did not receive him;" yet they were not so ignorant and devoid of learning, nor so few in number, that they did not greatly spread. So that Reinerius has these words:

"There was none who dared to stop them for the power and multitude of their favorers. I have often been at their inquisition and examination, and there were forty churches infected with their heresy, so that in one parish of Cammach, there were ten open schools of them," etc.

And Reinerius, when he had said all he could in slandering and impugning them, he is yet driven to confess this, where he distinguishes their sect from every other sect.

"This sect of the Lyonists has a great show of holiness, they live justly before men, and believe all things well of God, and hold all the articles contained in the creed; only they blaspheme the Romish church, and hate it," etc.

Now to say a little about their persecutions. After they were driven out of Lyons, they were scattered into various places (the Providence of God so permitting it), that the sound of their doctrine might be heard abroad in the world. Some went to Bohemia; many fled into the provinces of France; some into Lombardy, others into other places, etc. But as the cross commonly follows the true and sincere preaching of God's word, so neither could these be allowed to live or remain at rest. There are yet to be seen the consultations of lawyers, archbishops, and bishops of France, which still remain in writing, for the extirpation of these Waldenses, written over 300 years ago. By this it appears that there was a great number of them in France.

Besides, there was a council held in Toulouse about 350 years ago, (A.D. 1229) against these Waldenses, who had been condemned in another council at Rome before that.

What great persecutions were raised up against them in France by the pope's commissioners, alluded to before, appears by their writings. I will recite some of their words, which towards the end are these:

"Who is such a stranger that he does not know of the condemnation decreed of the heretical Waldenses — so many years ago, so famous, so public, followed up with such great labors, expenses, and travel of the faithful, and sealed with so many deaths of these infidels, who were so solemnly condemned and openly punished?"

By this we may see that persecution is no new thing in the church of Christ, when antichrist so long before (even 300 years ago) began to rage against these Waldenses. Likewise afterwards in Bohemia, under the name of Taborites (as Sylvius records) they suffered no little trouble. But never was persecution stirred up against them, or against any other people, more terrible than in these later years by the French king, Francis I (A.D. 1545). The lamentable story is described in Sleidan.<sup>175</sup> And hereafter in the course of this book, when we come to the proper period, it will be narrated more at large (by the grace of Christ). In this persecution it is stated that in one town, Cabriera, 800 persons were slain at once,

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<sup>175</sup> Johannes Sleidan (1506-1556) was one of the first historians of the Reformation epoch.

without respect to women or children of any age. Forty of these — women and most of them great with child — were thrust into a barn. The windows kept shut with pikes, and fire being applied to them, they were all consumed. Besides these, in a cave not far from the town Mussium, 25 persons were at the same time destroyed with smoke and fire. At Merindolum (when all the rest had fled away) one young man, being found, was tied to an olive-tree, and most cruelly killed with torments. There was much more persecution, as will appear hereafter in the history translated out of Sleidan.

There is also an old document of process, in which it appears that 443 were brought to examination in Pomerania, Marchia, and places thereabouts (c. A.D. 1391).

And thus much touching the origin, doctrine, and lamentable persecutions of the Waldenses who, as declared, first began about the time of King Henry II of England (1154-1189).

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It now remains in the order of time, to narrate other incidents which occurred during the reign of this king, that are not unworthy to be observed.

There was a great war in Palestine, when the city of Jerusalem, with the cross and king of the city, and others of the temple, were taken by the Saracens, and most of the Christians there were either slain or taken. There was cruel murder and slaughter by the Turks,<sup>176</sup> who caused all the chief Christians to be brought out and beheaded before his face. So that Pope Urban III died for sorrow (1187), and Gregory VIII, the next pope after him, did not live two months. Then, in the days of Pope Clement III, sorrow was growing daily for the loss of Palestine, and the destruction of the Christians. King Henry of England, and Philip the French king, the duke of Burgundy, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Campania, with other Christian princes, with a general consent on St. George's day, took the mark of the cross upon themselves, promising together to voyage into the Holy Land. At this time (the histories say), the king of England first received the red cross, the French king took the white cross, the earl of Flanders took the green cross, and likewise other princes took various colors, so that everyone would be known by his proper cross. But King Henry II (after the three years had expired in which he promised to perform his voyage) sent to the pope for a further delay of his promise, offering to erect three monasteries instead.

Almaric, king of Jerusalem, destroyed Babylon (A.D. 1170),<sup>177</sup> so that it has never to this day been restored, but lies waste and desolate. In this was fulfilled what the prophets threatened against Babylon. Almaric had a son named Baldwin, and a daughter called Sibylla.

Sibylla was first married to Willerm, marquis of Mount Ferrat, by whom she had a son also named Baldwin. After him she was married to another husband named Guido de Liziniaco, earl of Joppa and of Ascalon. After the death of Baldwin, and the next heir, by descent his crown fell to Sibylla the wife of Guido. The peers and nobles, joining together in council, offered Sibylla as the lawful heir to the crown, that she should be their queen, with this condition, that she should separate, by solemn divorce, from her husband Guido. But she refused the kingdom offered to her on that condition, till at last the magistrates, with the nobles in general, granted to her, and confirmed by their oaths, that whoever she would choose as her husband, they would all obey as their king.

[149] A.D. 1000-1190.

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<sup>176</sup> The Turks (*i.e.*, Ottomans) didn't arise till c. 1299. These were Muslims, loosely known as *Saracens*.

<sup>177</sup> This is sheer fiction. In 1170, Almaric defended the Templar fortress at Darum against Saladin's forces.

Guido her husband, among the rest, humbly requested her that the kingdom might not be destitute of government on his account, or for his private loss. At length, consenting to their entreaty with tears, she was solemnly crowned their queen, and received their allegiance by their oath. Upon this, Guido, without any hope of wife and kingdom, departed quietly to his own place. Then the queen, assembling her states and prelates together, conferred with them about choosing a king according to what they had promised and sworn to her, that they would obey as their king whomever she named as her husband. Thus, while they were all in great expectation, every man waiting to see whom she would nominate, the queen with a loud voice said to Guido, who stood among them, "Guido, my lord, I choose you for my husband, and yielding myself and my kingdom to you, I openly proclaim you to be the king." At these words all the assembly, amazed, wondered that one simple woman had beguiled so many wise men. She was worthy, no doubt, to be commended and extolled for her singular virtue, both of faithfulness and prudence. She so managed the matter, that she obtained for her husband the kingdom, and retained for herself her husband, whom she faithfully loved.

### **Character of King Henry II of England.**

Having previously described the public acts of King Henry, I now mean to say something about his private condition. He was of mean stature, eloquent and learned, manly and bold in chivalry, fearful of the mutability and chance of war, lamenting the death of his soldiers, more than loving them when alive. No one was more courteous and liberal for obtaining his purpose. In peace and tranquility none was rougher; stubborn against the stubborn; sometimes merciful to those he had vanquished; strict toward his household servants, but liberal to strangers; liberal of public things, sparing of his own; whoever he once took a displeasure against he hardly or never would receive again to favor; somewhat lavish with his tongue, a willing breaker of his promise; a lover of his ease, but an oppressor of his nobility; a severe avenger and promoter of justice; variable of word and crafty in his talk; a nourisher of discord among his children; moreover the papists, bearing him no good will (for Thomas Becket's quarrel, and such like, as may be gathered), term him an adversary of the faith. He died in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, in the castle of Chinon in Normandy.

### ***King Richard I – Slaughter of the Jews.***

King Richard, the eldest son of Henry II, succeeded his father (A.D. 1189); at which time Pope Clement III sat at Rome (r. 1187-1191), succeeding Gregory, who died shortly before from sorrow for the loss of the holy cross.

It happened that the day before his coronation, by public edict, the king had commanded the Jews and their wives not to presume either to enter the church or palace during the solemnization of his coronation among his nobles and barons. Yet while the king was at dinner, the chief of the Jews, with several others, entered the court gates. A Christian man, being offended, struck one of them, and bid him stand further from the court gate, as the king had commanded. Others, following the example and displeased against the Jews, offered similar insults. Others also, supposing that the king had so commanded, fell upon all the Jews who stood outside the court gate. First they beat them, but afterwards they took up stones and other such things as they could get, and threw them at the Jews from the court gates. Some they wounded, some they slew, and some they left for dead.

Among the Jews, there one who was called *the blessed Jew of York*. He was so severely wounded, that for fear of his life, he said he would become a Christian, and was baptized, thus escaping death and the persecutors' hands. In the meanwhile, a great rumor spread throughout London, that the king had commanded to destroy all the Jews. Upon which, the

citizens, and innumerable people, being assembled to see the king's coronation, armed themselves and came together. The Jews thus being slain for the most part, the rest fled into their houses where, for a time, they were defended. But at length their houses were set on fire, and they were destroyed within them.

These things being declared to the king while he was with his nobles and barons at dinner, he immediately sent Ranulfe de Glanville, the lord high steward of England, with other noblemen to accompany him, so that they might stay and refrain these excesses of the Londoners. But all was in vain; for in so great a tumult, there was none who either regarded what the nobility said, or revered their persons, but rather with stern looks and threatening words, they advised them to depart, and quickly. Thinking it best to do so, they departed. The tumult and insurrection continued till the next day. At that time the king, sending certain of his officers into the city, commanded them to apprehend and present those who were the chief of the malefactors. Three were condemned to be hanged; one, because he had robbed a Christian's house in the tumult; and the other two because they set fire to the houses to the great danger of the city. After this, the king sent for the man who was converted to Christianity from a Jew, and in the presence of those who saw where he was baptized, the king asked him whether he had become a Christian or not? He answered the king, "No; but to the intent he might escape death, he promised to do whatever the Christians would have him do." Then the king asked the archbishop of Canterbury (other archbishops and bishops being present) what would be best to do with him? Unadvisedly answering, he said, "If he will not be a man of God, let him be a man of the devil;" and so the man returned to Judaism.

Then the king sent his writs to the sheriffs of every county, to inquire for the authors of this outrage. Three of them were hanged; and several were imprisoned. So great then was the hatred of Englishmen against the Jews, that as soon as they began to be removed from the court, the Londoners fell upon them, set their houses on fire, and destroyed their goods. The countryside, following the example of the Londoners, did the same. And thus the year which the Jews took to be their Jubilee, was a year of confusion for them. In the city of York, the Jews obtained a certain castle for their preservation. Afterward, there were not willing to return it to the Christians. When they saw no other remedy, but to be vanquished by force, they first offered money for their lives. When that would not be accepted, by the counsel of an old Jew among them, every one of them, with a sharp razor, cut another's throat, by which 1500 of them perished.

### **King Richard goes to the Holy Land – A.D. 1189.**

King Richard, after the death of his father, coming to his senses, and remembering his rebellion against his father, sought absolution. And, in satisfaction for it, he agreed with Philip the French King, to take a voyage with him for the recovery of *Christ's Patrimony*, as they call the Holy Land (this was the Third Crusade).

After this, King Richard, preparing to set all things in an order before his going, committed the whole government of the realm principally to William, bishop of Ely, his chancellor, and to Hugh, bishop of Durham, whom he appointed the chief justice of all England in his absence. He also sent to Pope Clement, in behalf of William, bishop of Ely, that he might be made the pope's legate throughout England and Scotland, which also was obtained. Thus the bishop, being advanced to high authority, provides out of every city in England, two palfreys, and two sumpters (mules), and also out of every abbey, one palfrey, and one sumpter, for the king's service in Palestine.

These things being set in order, the king, according to his appointment, sailed into France, where the French king and he conferring together, postponed their voyage till after midsummer. In the meantime, the king occupied himself in redressing and establishing those things which were requisite. He appointed the captains and constables over his navy, and set the laws to be observed in his voyage upon the seas, but especially his care was to make unity and concord between parties who were at variance, and to reconcile them.

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After King Richard had composed those things which were to be redressed within the realm, he advanced on his journey, and came to Touraine, France, to meet with Philip II, the French king. After that he went to Vezelay, where the French king and he, joining together for the continuance of their journey, assured themselves by solemn oath, swearing fidelity to one another. The form of their oath was this:

“That either of them should defend and maintain the honor of the other, and bear true fidelity to him of life, members, and worldly honor; and that neither of them should fail one another in their affairs; but the French king would aid the king of England in defending his land and dominions, as he would himself defend his own city of Paris if it were besieged; and that King Richard of England likewise would aid the French king in defending his land and dominions, not otherwise than he would defend his own city of Rouen if it were besieged,” etc.

But how slenderly this oath held these two kings. The chief occasion by which it first fell apart, will be declared in the sequel of the history (the Lord willing).

The laws and ordinances appointed by King Richard for his navy were these:

1. That whoever killed any person on shipboard, should be tied with the one who was slain, and thrown into the sea.
2. And if he killed him on the land, he should in like manner be tied with the party slain, and be buried with him in the earth.
3. Whoever is convicted by lawful witness to draw out his knife or weapon, with the intent to strike any man, or that has struck anyone to the drawing of blood, shall lose his hand.
4. Also, whoever strikes any person with his hand, without an effusion of blood, will be plunged three times in the sea.
5. Whoever speaks any offensive or disrespectful words in reviling or cursing one another, for as often as he has so reviled, he shall pay that many ounces of silver.
6. A thief or felon who has stolen, being lawfully convicted, shall have his head shorn, and boiling pitch poured upon his head, and feathers or down strewed upon it, whereby he maybe known; and so at the first landing-place they come to, he will be cast up there, etc.

King Richard sent his navy by the Spanish seas, and by the straits of Gibraltar, to meet him at Marseilles. But again, he went himself to Vezelay, to the French king. The two kings from there went to Lyons. There, the bridge over the Rhone gave way with the press of people, and many, both men and women, were drowned. The two kings were then constrained to separate for the rest of their journey, arranging to meet in Sicily. And so Philip made his way to Genoa, and King Richard to Marseilles, where he remained eight days, where he had appointed his navy to meet him. From there he crossed over to Genoa, where the French king was. He passed on by the coast of Italy, and entered the Tiber not far from Rome. Meeting with Ottoman, who was the cardinal and bishop of Hostia, he complained greatly about the filthy simony of the pope and the pope's court — for receiving 700 marks for



consecrating the bishop Cenomanensis; 1500 marks from William the bishop of Ely for his office as legate; and likewise, an infinite sum of money from the bishop of Bordeaux, for acquitting him when he should have been deposed for a certain crime laid to his charge by his clergy, etc.

### **Kings of France and England at Messina.**

August 7, 1189, King Richard departed from Marseilles. September 23d he arrived at Messina (Sicily), with such a noise of trumpets and shawms,<sup>178</sup> with such a rout and show, that it was to the great wonder and terror both of the Frenchmen and all others who heard and beheld the sight.

The French king had come to the town of Messina before September 16th, and had taken for his lodgings the palace of Tancred, king of Sicily. After his own arrival, King Richard soon went to him. After the two kings had conversed together, immediately, the same day, the French king set sail for the land of Jerusalem. But after he was out of the haven, the wind rose against him, and he returned to Messina. The last day of September, Richard passed over the flood of Delfar, and there gained a stronghold called De la Bagmare, or Le Bamre. After placing a sufficient garrison there, he returned to Messina. October 2nd he won another stronghold, and deposited all his store and provision there, which came from England or other places.

The citizens of Messina saw that the king of England had won the castle and island in De la Bagmare, and also the monastery of the Griffons. Fearing that the King might extend his power further to invade their own city — and if he could, the whole Isle of Sicily — they were stirred up against the king's army, to shut the Englishmen outside the gates, and to protect their walls against them. The Englishmen seeing this, made for the gates, and would have broken them open by force. They were so incensed that the king, riding among them with his staff, and breaking some of their heads, could not assuage their fierceness. Such was the rage of the Englishmen against the citizens of Messina.

October 4th, the archbishop of Messina came to King Richard with two other archbishops, and also with the French king, and other earls, barons, and bishops, to seek peace. As they were consulting with one another, and had almost concluded the peace, the citizens of Messina poured out of the town. Some went up on the mountains, some with open force invaded the mansion or lodging of Hugh Brun, an English captain. The noise of this, came to the king's ears. He abruptly broke off the conference with the French king and the rest, and departed. Coming to his men, he commanded them to immediately arm themselves. Then, with some of his soldiers, he made it to the top of a mountain and put the citizens to flight, chasing them down the mountain, to the very gates of the city. Some of the king's servants pursued them within the city, where five valiant soldiers, and twenty of the king's servants were slain. The French king looking on, did not once desire to rescue those men, contrary to his oath and league with the king of England. Rather, the French king being present there with his men, rode in the midst of them safely and without harm back and forth. He might well have assisted the king Richard's men if he wished.

The English army learned how their comrades were slain, and the Frenchmen were permitted in the city, and that they were excluded and the gates barred against them. They were also stopped from buying food and other things. With great indignation, they gathered their weapons, burst open the gates, and scaled the walls. And so, winning the city, they set

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<sup>178</sup> *Shawm*: a medieval oboe.



up their flags, with their English arms (heraldic shields) upon the walls. When the French king saw this he was offended. He requested the king of England that the arms of France might also be set up and joined with his, but King Richard would not agree. However, to satisfy his mind, he consented to take down his arms, and commit the custody of the city to the Hospitallers and Templars of Jerusalem, till Tancred king of Sicily and he could agree on the conditions.

In the meantime, as these two kings of France and England were wintering at Messina, the emperor Frederick I <sup>179</sup> and his son Conrad, with a mighty army of 15,000 Germans and others, were likewise coming overland to relieve the Siege of Acre, which had begun in 1189. But on June 10, 1190 the emperor fell off his horse into the Saleph river (S. Turkey), and was drowned. Conrad, his son, taking command of his army, came to the siege of Acre in Palestine, in which he too died. As a consequence of the arrival of this German army, there was famine in the camp, which lasted two months. A loaf of bread, which sold for one penny before the German army came, afterward sold for three pounds. For this reason, many Christian soldiers perished through famine. The chief food which the princes had to feed on was horse-flesh. This famine being so miserable, some good bishops who were in the camp — namely, Hubert bishop of Salisbury, with certain others — took up a general collection throughout the camp, for the poor.

[151] A.D. 1190.

They made such a provision that in this penury of all things, no man was so destitute and needy, that he did not have something for his relief. A few days after this, by the merciful providence of God, who is the feeder of all creatures, ships came to them with an abundance of corn, wine, and oil.

### **Richard Overcomes Cyprus, and Proceeds to the Siege of Acre.**

The siege of this town of Acre lasted a long time (1189-1191). Just as it was ably assailed by the Christians, so it was strongly defended by the Saracens, especially by the help of wildfire, which the Latins called *Greek fire*; so that, there was great slaughter on both sides.

The year following (A.D. 1191), King Richard sent over his galleys to Naples,<sup>180</sup> there to meet his mother Elenor, and Berengaria (the daughter of Sancius king of Navarre), whom he purposed to marry. In the meantime, King Richard showed himself exceedingly bountiful and liberal to all. He gave several ships to the French king; he bestowed rich rewards upon others; and from his goods and treasure he distributed largely to his soldiers and servants about him. It was reported that he distributed more in one month, than any of his predecessors did in a whole year. By this he obtained great love and favor, which not only redounded to the advancement of his fame — but also to his great advantage and profit, as the sequel would prove.

Now to proceed in the progress of King Richard. He left the city of Messina and went to Catana where Tancred king of Sicily then stayed. He was honorably received and remained with King Tancred three days and three nights. On the fourth day, as he was departing, Tancred offered him many rich presents in gold and silver, and precious silks. King Richard would receive nothing but one little ring, as a token of his good will. For this, King Richard

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<sup>179</sup> That is, Barbarossa, the one on whose neck Pope Alexander trod in the church of Venice, saying this verse of the psalm, "You shall tread on the serpents and the adders." (see bottom of p. 128)

<sup>180</sup> *Galley*: A large medieval vessel with a single deck propelled by sails and oars, with guns at stern and prow; a complement of 1,000 men; used mainly in the Mediterranean for war and trading.

gave Tancred a rich sword. At length, when King Richard took his leave, King Tancred would not let him part without giving him four great ships and fifteen galleys. And he himself would accompany Richard for two days journey to a place called Tavernium.

The next morning as they took their leave, Tancred declared to Richard the message which the French had sent him king a little earlier by the duke of Burgundy. It was this:

“That the king of England was a false traitor, and would never keep the peace between them. If Tancred would war against him, or attack him secretly by night, Philip would assist him with all his power, and join with him to the destruction of Richard and all his army,” etc.

Richard the king protested that he was no traitor, nor ever was. And as to the peace begun between them, it would never be broken through him. Nor could he believe that the French king, being his good lord and his sworn partner in that voyage, would utter any such words by him. When Tancred heard this, he produced the letters of the French king sent to him by the duke of Burgundy. He affirmed that if the duke of Burgundy denied bringing the letters, he was ready to meet him by any of his dukes. King Richard receiving these letters, and musing not a little upon them, returned to Messina.

From that time, King Richard being angered against King Philip, never showed him any gentle countenance, peace, or amity, as he had customarily done before.

Soon after this, King Philip sailed for Acre. The next month King Richard also sailed towards Acre with 150 great ships, and 53 great galleys, well-manned and appointed. On Good Friday there rose a mighty tempest, which scattered his entire navy. The king with a few ships, was driven to the isle of Crete. The ship that carried the king's sister, queen of Sicilia, and Berengaria, daughter of the king of Navarre, with two other ships, were driven to the isle of Cyprus. The king moaned greatly for the ship of his sister, and Berengaria his intended wife, not knowing where they were. After the tempest had blown over, he sent his galleys diligently to search for the ship in which his sister was, and the maiden whom he was to marry. At length they were found safe and well at the port of Limisso in the isle of Cyprus. However, the two ships which were in their company in the same haven, were lost. The king of Cyprus was then Isakius (also called the emperor of the Griffons). He captured and imprisoned all the Englishmen who were cast by shipwreck upon his land; and he would not allow the ship carrying the two ladies to enter the port.

The tidings of this was brought to King Richard. In his great wrath, he gathered his galleys and ships together, landed in Cyprus, and there — first in gentle terms — he signifies to King Isakius how he and his Englishmen, coming as strangers to the support of the Holy Land, were driven upon his borders by distress of weather. And therefore, with all humble petition, he besought Isakius in God's behalf, and for reverence of the holy cross, to release those prisoners which he had in captivity. And he asked this king to restore the goods which he detained in his hands, that belonged to those who were drowned, to be employed for the benefit of their souls, etc. And this the king, once, twice, and thrice requested of Isakius. But answering proudly, Isakius sent the king word that he would neither let the captives go, nor return the goods of those who were drowned, etc.

When King Richard heard how little Isakius made of his humble and honest petition, and how nothing could be gotten without force; he soon commanded his army to put on their armor and to follow him, to revenge the injuries received from that proud and cruel king of Cyprus. He desired them to put their trust in God, and not to doubt that the Lord would stand with them, and give them the full victory. Isakius in the meantime, stood guarding the sea coasts where the Englishmen would arrive, with swords, bills, and lances, and such

other weapons as they had. They set boards, stools, and chests before them as a wall. However, only a few of them were in armor, and for the most part they were inexpert and unskilled in the feats of war. Then King Richard with his soldiers, issuing out of their ships, first set his bowmen forward. With their shots, they made a way for others to follow. The Englishmen thus gaining the land, pressed so fiercely upon the Griffons, that after long fighting, and many blows, Isakius was put to flight. King Richard valiantly pursued and slew many. Several he took alive, and would have taken the king if night had not come on and parted the battle. Thus King Richard returned with much spoil and great victory to the port of Limisso, which the townsmen had abandoned for fear. There he found a great abundance of corn, wine, oil, and provisions.

The same day, Joan the king's sister, and Berengaria the maiden, entered the port and town of Limisso, with fifty great ships and fourteen galliots (small, light ships). So that the whole navy, meeting there together, numbered 254 tall ships, and over 60 galliots. Then Isakius, seeing no way to escape by sea, pitched his tents five miles off, swearing that the third day he would give battle to King Richard. But Richard attacked the tents of the Griffons early, while they were unawares and still asleep, and made a great slaughter of them. Isakius was compelled to run away naked, leaving his tents and pavilions to the Englishmen, full of horses and rich treasure; also the imperial standard with a costly streamer. The lower part of it was all covered and wrought with gold. King Richard then returned with victory and triumph to his sister and Berengaria. Shortly after, he married Berengaria, in the isle of Cyprus.

Isakius was afterwards captured and sent in chains of silver and gold to Tripoli. All things having been set in order regarding the possession of the isle of Cyprus, he committed the keeping of it to Radulph, son of Godfrey, lord chamberlain. King Richard departed from the isle of Cyprus, with his ships and galleys, towards the siege of Acre.

On his voyage he met with a great bark, filled with 1500 soldiers and men of war. They pretended to be Frenchmen, and showed their flag with French arms, but were really Saracens in disguise. They were secretly sent with wildfire, and barrels of unknown serpents, to defend the town of Acre. King Richard perceiving this at length, soon set upon them, and vanquished them. Most of them were drowned; some were taken alive. The next day King Richard came to Acre. Soon after his arrival, the Pagans within the city seeing their walls undermined, and towers overthrown, were driven to escape with life and limb, and to surrender the city to the two kings.

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Another great help to the Christians in winning the city was this: in the city of Acre there was a secret Christian among the Saracens, who during the siege, used to toss over the walls, into the camp of the Christians, certain letters written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, in which he disclosed to the Christians from time to time, the doings and counsels of their enemies, revealing how and by what way they would work, and what to beware of. His letters always began thus: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." By this, the Christians were greatly advantaged in their proceedings. But it was a source of great heaviness to them, that he would never tell his name. Nor when the city was taken, could they ever discover who he was.

To make a long siege into a short narration, on July 12, 1191, upon agreement, the princes and captains of the Pagans came to the tent of the Templars, to commune with the two kings regarding peace and surrendering their city.

On July 20th, King Richard, speaking with the French king, desired that they two with their armies would bind themselves by oath to remain there in the land of Jerusalem for three years, to win and receive back those countries. But Philip said he would swear no such oath. So about the beginning of August, Philip the French king, went from Acre to Tyre, even though King Richard and all the princes of the Christian army, with great entreaty, desired him to tarry. This shows what a shame it was for him to come so far, and now to leave undone that for which he came. After his departure the Pagans refused to keep their covenants. They would neither restore the holy cross, nor the money, nor the captives, as they had pledged. They sent word to King Richard, that if he beheaded the hostages left with him at Acre, they would chop off the heads of those captives of the Christians who were in their hands. Shortly after this, Saladin, sending great gifts to King Richard, requested that the time limited for beheading the captives might be prolonged past the agreed forty days. But the king refused to take his gifts, or to grant his request. Whereupon Saladin caused all the Christian captives in his possession to be immediately beheaded. This was August 18th. Yet King Richard would not shorten the time previously prescribed for the execution of his prisoners, which was August 20th. On that day he caused the prisoners of the Saracens, openly in the sight of Saladin's army, to lose their heads. The number came to 2500. He excepted certain principal ones, whom he reserved for future purposes and considerations — especially to exchange for the holy cross, and for some of the Christian captives.

After this, King Richard purposed to besiege the city of Joppa. But along the way between Acre and Joppa, Saladin with a great multitude of his Saracens came fiercely against the king's rear. But through God's merciful grace, the king's warriors acquitted themselves so well, that Saladin was put to flight (whom the Christians pursued for three miles). The same day many of his nobles and captives were lost. Saladin had not been put to such confusion for forty years. From there King Richard went to Joppa, and then to Ascalon, where he found the city of Joppa forsaken by the Saracens, who dared not abide the king's coming. And at Ascalon, Saladin threw down to the ground, and forsook the holy land of Syria. Through all of this territory, the king had free passage without resistance, nor did the Saracen prince dare to encounter King Richard afterward.

### **Richard Taken by the Duke of Austria.**

Many other valiant and famous acts were achieved by king Richard and the French king, and more would have been accomplished had those two kings not fallen into discord, and separated themselves. Philip, the French king, returned home within a short while, and soon invaded Normandy. He urged John, the brother of King Richard, to seize the kingdom of England in his brother's absence. John then made league with the French king, and did homage to him. Richard being in Syria at the time, heard of this, and made peace with the Turks for three years. Not long after (the following spring) King Richard returned home also. But during his return he was driven by severe weather into parts of Istria (Croatia), and to a town called Synaca. There he was taken by Leopold V, duke of Austria, and sold to Emperor Henry VI, for 60,000 marks.<sup>181</sup>

King Richard, thus being shipwrecked, and traitorously taken and sold to the emperor by the Duke of Austria, was kept in custody there for a year and three months. In some histories, it is affirmed that King Richard, returning out of Asia, came to Italy with prosperous winds, where he desired from the pope to be absolved from an oath that was

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<sup>181</sup> The Austro-Hungarian Empire then included Slovenia and Croatia on the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea, where King Richard was driven ashore by the storm.

made against his will; but he could not obtain the absolution. And so setting out from there towards England, passing by the country of Conrad, the marquis — whose death was falsely imputed by the French king to the king of England — was there traitorously taken, as said before, by Leopold, duke of Austria. However, in another history I find the matter more credibly laid out, which says, “King Richard slew Leopold’s brother, while playing chess with him in the French king’s court. Leopold, taking his advantage of the situation, treated Richard cruelly by delivering him to the emperor. The French king in the meantime, started a war in Normandy; and Earl John, the king’s brother, invaded England. But the barons and bishops of the land mightily withstood John, and besieged him in the castle of Windsor. There they took from him all the castles and forts which he had gotten. Thus the earl, seeing no hope of prevailing in England, and suspecting the deliverance of the king his brother, went to France, and stayed with the French king. At length it was agreed and concluded with the emperor, that King Richard should be released for 100,000 pounds. That sum of money was gathered and made in England, out of chalices, crosses, shrines, candlesticks, and other church plate — also with public contributions from friars, abbeys, and other subjects of the realm. Part of this sum was immediately paid, and hostages and pledges were taken for the remainder. This was about the fifth year of Richard’s reign. Then it was obtained from the pope, that priests might then celebrate with chalices of pewter and tin; and so it was granted and continued long after.

Thus King Richard being ransomed, was restored and returned to England. At his return, Earl John his brother, coming to him with humble submission, desired to be pardoned for his transgressions. King Richard answered, “I would to God that your misconduct, just as it dies in oblivion with me, so may it remain in remembrance with you;” and so he gently forgave him. After he had recovered his holds and castles, Richard caused himself to be crowned again. This being done, he went with his forces against the French king, and drove him out of Normandy. After that, he went against the Welshmen, and subdued them.

The year following (A.D. 1197), Philip the French king broke the truce made between him and King Richard, and the king was compelled to sail over again to Normandy to withstand the malice of his enemy. About that time, my history records a man that some called *Fulco*. Some say he was the archbishop of Rouen, named Walter. Fulco then being in England, and coming into the king’s presence, said to him with great courage and boldness; “You have, O mighty king, three daughters, very vicious and of evil disposition. Take good heed of them, and at once provide good husbands for them, lest, by an untimely bestowal in marriage, you not only incur great loss and injury, but also utter ruin and destruction for yourself.” The king in a rage said,

“You lying and mocking hypocrite! You do not know where you are, or what you say. I think you are mad, or not within your wits. For I never had a daughter, as all the world knows, and therefore, you open liar, get out of our presence.”

[153] A.D. 1191-1205.

Fulco answered,

“No, and like your grace, I do not lie. but say the truth. For you have three daughters which I continually frequent your court, and wholly possess your person, and such three naughty ones as never before were heard of. I mean, mischievous *strife*, greedy *covetousness*, and filthy *luxury*. And therefore I say again, O king, beware of them, and at once provide marriages for them, lest in not doing so, you utterly undo both yourself and the whole realm.”

The king took his words in good humor, with correction of himself, and confession of it. Whereupon he immediately called his lords and barons before him, to whom he declared the conversation of Fulco, who desired him to beware of his three daughters, *pride*, *avarice*, and *luxury*, with advice to marry them off immediately, lest further inconvenience ensue both to himself and to the whole realm:

“His good counsel (my lords) I intend to follow, not doubting all your consent to it. Therefore here before you all, I give my daughter swelling *pride* to wed the proud Templars; my greedy daughter *avarice* to the covetous order of the Cistercian monks; and last of all, my filthy daughter *luxury* to the riotous prelates of the church, whom I think to be very appropriate men for her. They are so severally well-agreeing to all their natures, that like matches in our realm are not to be found for them.”

And thus much concerning Fulco.

### ***Death of Richard I. Succeeded by John – 1199.***

Not long after this, a certain noble personage found a great treasure both of gold and silver hidden in the ground, a great part of which he sent to King Richard, as chief lord and prince over the whole country. The king refused it, saying that he would have all or none, for he was the principal chieftain over the land. But the finder would not condescend to that. Therefore the king laid siege to a castle of his, called Galuz, thinking that the treasure lay there. But the keepers and warders of the castle, seeing themselves insufficient to withstand the king, offered him the castle, desiring to depart with life and armor intact. The king would in no way grant this, but he bid them to re-enter the castle again, and to defend it in all the forcible ways they could. It so turned out, that as the king with the duke of Brabant went about the castle, viewing its various places; a soldier within, named Bertrand Cordoun, struck the king with an arrow in the arm. The iron remained and festered in the wound, so that the king would die within nine days. Because he was not content with half the treasure that another man found, the king lost all his own treasure that he had.

The king being thus wounded, had the man who shot him brought to him. He asked him the reason why he wounded him? The man answered (as the history says) that he thought to kill rather than be killed. And whatever punishment he should sustain, he was content, if he might kill the man who had earlier killed his father and brothers. The king, hearing his words, freely forgave him and had a hundred shillings given to him. Although (as the history adds) after the death of the king, the duke of Brabant caused the man to be hanged after great torments. The history of Gisburn, however, says that the killer of King Richard coming to the French king, thinking to have a great reward, was commanded to be drawn apart with horses, and his quarters to be hung up. Another history affirms, and Gisburn partly testifies the same thing, that a little before the death of King Richard, three abbots of the Cistercian order came to him, to whom he was confessed. And when he saw them hesitate at his absolution, he added these words — that he willingly committed his body to be eaten by worms, and his soul to the fire of purgatory, there to be tormented till the judgment, in the hope of God’s mercy.

### **King John.**

After the death of King Richard, called *Coeur de Lion*, his brother John, earl of Morton, began his reign, A.D. 1199. The archbishop put the crown on his head, and swore him to defend and to maintain the church. Unless he resolved in his mind to do so, the archbishop charged him not to presume to take this dignity upon himself. On St. John the Baptist’s day next following, King John sailed into Normandy and came to Rouen, where he was royally

received. A truce was concluded between him and the French king for a time. And there the earl of Flanders came to him, and all other lords of France who were of King Richard's band and friendship, and were sworn to him. Not long after this, Philip the French king made Arthur of Brittany a knight in 1202,<sup>182</sup> and received his homage for Normandy, Brittany, and all his other possessions beyond the sea; and he promised him assistance against King John. After this, King John and the French king conferred with their lords for about one hour. The French king asked for so much land for himself and Knight Arthur, that King John would grant him *none*. And so John departed in wrath. That same year, a legate came into France, and commanded the king, upon pain of an interdict, to release someone named Peter out of prison, who was elected to a bishopric. He was accordingly released.

After that, the legate came into England, and commanded King John, also under pain of an interdict, to deliver the archbishop whom he had kept as prisoner for two years. The king refused to do this till the legate had paid him six thousand marks. This is because he had defeated the archbishop in armor, in a battle against him (when the "bishops of the land mightily withstood John," p. 152); and John had him swear that upon his deliverance, the archbishop would never wear armor against any Christian man.

At this time King John divorced his wife, daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, because they were in the third degree of kindred. Afterwards, on the advice of the French king, King John wedded Isabel, daughter of the Earl of Angouleme; and in return, Arthur of Brittany paid homage to King John for Brittany and other lands.<sup>183</sup>

At this time there was a contention between King John and Geoffrey the archbishop of York. This was because, *first*, the archbishop would not permit the sheriff of York to proceed in those duties which he had to perform for the king within his diocese. *Secondly*, because he had excommunicated the sheriff. *Thirdly*, because Geoffrey would not sail with the king to Normandy, to perform the marriage between Louis, the French king's son, and his niece.

In the year 1202, Philip the French king required that King John should part with all his lands in Normandy and Pictavia, giving them to Arthur, John's nephew, or else Philip would war against him. When King John refused, the next day the French king with Arthur attacked his towns and castles in Normandy, and caused him much trouble. However, the French king received such a repulse at the Englishmen's hands, that the English, so pursued the Frenchmen in their flight, that they not only took Arthur prisoner with many others, but so overthrow them, that none was left to bring tidings home.

**Progeny of Henry II.** Arthur of Brittany was nephew to King John, and son to Geoffrey, who was the elder brother to John. King Henry II had eight children; one was William, who died in childhood; the second, Henry, died also while his father was still alive; the third, Geoffrey, earl of Brittany, who likewise died during his father's days, leaving behind him two children, Arthur and Brecca; the fourth, Richard *Coeur de Lion*, king; the fifth, John, now reigning; and three daughters besides.

Arthur being captured, was brought before king John, and having been exhorted with many gentle words to leave the French king, and to incline to his uncle, he answered boldly and with great indignation. He demanded the kingdom of England, with all the other dominions

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<sup>182</sup> Arthur, duke of Brittany, was recognized as the heir presumptive to the English throne by his uncle, King Richard I, in 1190, despite being just a child at the time. His uncle John usurped the throne from him.

<sup>183</sup> Arthur of Brittany paid homage to King John of England as part of a truce between John and Philip II of France. In January 1200, Philip agreed to withdraw his support for Arthur in return for John paying homage to Philip for his French possessions. As part of this agreement, Arthur gave homage (payment) to John for Brittany.



belonging to it, as the lawful heir of the crown. By this he provoked the king's displeasure against him and was sent to the tower of Rouen. There at length he finished his life. Whether it was by leaping into the ditch, thinking to make his escape, or by some other secret hand, or some other chance, it is not yet agreed upon in history. King John was under great suspicion; whether justly or unjustly the Lord knows.

The year following, John lost all his holds and possessions in Normandy, through the power of the French king. After these losses, other troubles came upon him, with as great or greater enemies — that is, with the pope and his popelings in the affair of the archbishop of Canterbury.

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### **Dispute Concerning the Archbishopric of Canterbury.**

In A.D. 1205, Hubert the archbishop of Canterbury died. Before his body had yet been committed to the earth, the younger monks gathered themselves together at midnight, and elected their superior Reginald. Without the king's license, or even his knowledge, they placed him in the metropolitan seat. And lest the king should make the election void, they charged him by virtue of his oath to keep it all secret, and to reveal nothing till he came to the pope. But contrary to his oath, as soon as he came into Flanders, he published abroad the whole matter. The next day the elder monks sent to the king, desiring him, of his gracious license, to choose canonically their archbishop. The king most gently and favorably granted their petition, desiring that for his sake they would show favor to John Gray, then bishop of Norwich, as indeed they did, electing him to that See of the primacy. As the authority of kings and princes was then but small in their own dominions, without the pope's consent and confirmation; he also sent to Rome to have the election ratified by the pope. The suffragans of Canterbury, not a little offended at these two elections, then sent speedily to Rome to have them both stopped; for they had not been consulted about them. And from them grew a most prodigious tumult.

In this year the clergy grew so unruly that they neglected their charge. They incensed the king's displeasure so much against them, that he ordered the goods be taken of those who were faulty.

#### *A Letter of King John, Regarding the Lands and Goods of those Clergymen who refused to celebrate Divine Service.*

“The king to all clerical and lay persons within the bishopric of Lincoln, greeting. Know that from Monday next before the feast of Easter, we have committed to William of Cornhill, archdeacon of Huntingdon, and to Joseline of Canvil, all the lands and goods of the abbots and priors, and of all the spiritual persons; and also of all clerics within the bishopric of Lincoln, who will not from that time celebrate divine service. And we command you, that from there you assist them as our bailiffs; and believe them in those things which they tell you privately on our behalf. — Witness ourself at Clarendon the 18th day of March, in the 9th year of our reign.”

But to proceed in this troublesome election: the next year the *suffragans* of the province of Canterbury on one side, and the *monks* of Canterbury on the other, came before the pope with their brawling matter. First, the monks, presenting Reginald their superior, desired that their election might be confirmed. The suffragans likewise complained that the monks should presume to choose the archbishop without their consent, and therefore desired the first election to be annulled. The pope, deciding the matter, pronounced with the monks; charging the suffragans and bishops to meddle no more with that election, but to let the



monks alone. The monks of Canterbury, now having the whole election in their hands, fell out among themselves. The younger ones who had chosen Reginald as their superior, wished that election to stand. The elder monks replied that the first election was done by stealth and by night, and by the younger ones among them, without the counsel of the other monks. Besides this, it was done without the king's license and appointment, and without due solemnity.

When they had spoken at length on both sides, and could not agree on one person, Pope Innocent III (r. A.D. 1198-1216) condemned both their elections, commanding them to choose Stephen Langton for their archbishop, who was then cardinal of St. Chrysogon. The monks then answered that they dared not so do without consent of their king. The pope in a passion, taking the words out of their mouths, said to them,

“We desire you to know that we have full power and authority over the church of Canterbury, and are not accustomed to tarry for the consent of princes. Therefore we command you, on pain of our great curse, that you choose him alone whom we have appointed.”

The monks abashed and terrified at these words, consented, though they murmured much in their hearts. And thus Stephen Langton was made archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>184</sup>

On this occasion King John conceived an exceeding displeasure against the clergy and monks of Canterbury for doing so many things against his prerogative. Without his license they elected their archbishop, and set aside the bishop of Norwich, whom he had appointed. They wasted a great part of his treasure, and to bring all to the devil, they made Stephen Langton their high metropolitan. In his anger, John banished 64 of them from the land.

The king then sent messengers to the pope with his letters, in which he sharply remonstrates with the pope, because he so discourteously refused the election of the bishop of Norwich, and set up Stephen Langton, consecrating him archbishop of Canterbury. And among other things he adds that he will stand for his liberties, if need be, unto death. He concludes, saying,

“That if he is not heard in this request, he will so provide for the sees that there shall be no such gadding and coursing any more over to Rome, allowing no longer the riches of the land to be transported there. And seeing that from his own archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the church, he has been sufficiently provided and instructed in all kinds of knowledge, he shall not need to seek judgment and justice abroad.”

When these came to the pope, he directs letters in return to the king in this form:

“Innocent, pope, servant of the servants of God, to our well-beloved son in Christ, the king of England, health and apostolical blessing. Whereas we have written to you previously, exhorting and entreating you in a humble, diligent, and gentle way; you have written to us in reply, in a threatening and upbraiding manner; both spitefully and frowardly. And whereas we have borne with you and given way to you above what our right and duty required, you for your part have given to us not so much as by right and duty you are bound to do. And though your devotion, as you say, has been very necessary to us, yet consider again that ours also is not a little opportune and expedient for you. And whereas we have not shown at any time the like honor to any prince as we have to you, you again have so much derogated from our honor, as no other prince has presumed to do besides you alone — pretending certain frivolous causes and occasions,” etc.

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<sup>184</sup> In 1225 Stephen Langton would identify and number all the chapters of the Bible, just as we have them today.

Then alluding at length to the election of Langton, the pope thus proceeds:

“Therefore, be it known to your discretion or kingly prudence, that as this election of Stephen Langton has proceeded without fraud or deceit upon a person fit for the office, we therefore will for no man’s pleasure, neither may we without danger of fame and of conscience defer or protract any longer the consummation of the said election. Therefore, my well-beloved son, seeing that we have had respect to your honor, above what our right and duty required, study to honor us so much as your duty requires in return, so that you may more plentifully deserve favor both at God’s hand and ours; lest by doing the contrary you bring yourself into such a sea of troubles of which you will afterwards scarcely free yourself again. For know this for a certainty, that in the end it must fall out that he shall have the better, to whom every knee of ‘things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth’ will bow, whose place I serve in earth, though I am unworthy. Therefore, do not set yourself to obey their persuasions, who always desire your unquietness, so that they may fish better in the troubled water. But commit yourself to our pleasure, which will undoubtedly turn to your praise, glory, and honor.”

Not long after this letter was sent, a charge and commandment proceeded into England to certain bishops, requiring them by apostolic authority, that if the king would not receive the prior of Canterbury and his monks, they should interdict him throughout his realm. For the execution of this, four bishops were appointed by the pope’s bulls, namely, William, bishop of London; Eustace, bishop of Ely; Walter, bishop of Winchester; and Giles, bishop of Hereford. These bishops went to the king, and showed their commission from the pope, and wished him to consent. But the king refused, and would by no means grant their request. The next morning, after the Annunciation of the Virgin, they went and pronounced the general interdict throughout all England, so that the church doors were shut with keys and other fastenings, and with walls, etc.

[155] A.D. 1205-1210.

### **The Pope Curses King John.**

Now when the king heard of this, he was moved against them, and took all the possessions of the four bishops into his hands, appointing certain men to keep the livings of the clergy throughout the realm, and that they should enjoy no part of it. This being done, the bishops cursed all those who kept or meddled with church goods.

After a time, certain prelates on the king’s part, made an arrangement with these bishops. And when the form of agreement was concluded, it was engrossed in two indentures. The four bishops set their seals to one part, and the other part the bishops, earls, and abbots carried to the king. When the king saw the arrangement he liked it well, only he would not agree to make restitution of the church goods. So he sent to the four bishops again, that they should remove that point of restitution. But they answered stoutly that they would not remove one word. Then the king sent word to the archbishop, by the four bishops, that he would come to Canterbury to speak with him. When the archbishop Stephen came to Canterbury, the king sent his treasurer to him, the bishop of Winchester, to persuade him to remove from the indentures the clause of restitution. But he refused to alter a word of it, which so angered the king that immediately it was proclaimed throughout England at the king’s command, that all those who had any church livings, and went overseas should come back to England by a certain day, or else lose their livings forever. And in that proclamation, he further charged all sheriffs within the realm, to inquire if any bishops, abbots, priors, or any other churchman (from that day forward) received any command from the pope, that they should take his or their body and bring it before him: and also that they should take

into their hands, for the king's use, all the church lands that were given to any man by the Archbishop Stephen, or by the priors of Canterbury, from the time of the election of the archbishop. He further charged that all the woods that were the archbishop's, should be cut down and sold.

When tidings came to the pope that the king had acted this way, he was moved with fiery wrath, and sent to the king two legates (Pandulph and Durant), to warn him in the pope's name that he should cease his doings to the holy church, and amend the wrong he had done to the archbishop of Canterbury, to the priors and the monks of Canterbury, and to all the clergy of England. And further, that he should restore the goods that he had taken against their will, or else they would curse the king by name. And for this purpose, the pope gave them his bulls and letters patent.<sup>185</sup> These two legates, coming into England, came to the king, and informed him of the pope's pleasure. Then the king answered,

“All that you have said I would gladly do, and all other things that you would ordain; but as to the archbishop, I will tell you as it lies in my heart. Let the archbishop leave his bishopric, and if the pope then entreats for him, perhaps I may give him some other bishopric in England; and upon this condition I will receive and admit him.”

Then said Pandulph to the king, “Holy church was never accustomed to degrade an archbishop without reasonable cause; but she was ever accustomed to correct princes who were disobedient to her.” “What? How now?” said the king, “Do you threaten me?”

“No,” said Pandulph, “but you have now openly told us how it stands in your heart; and now we will tell you what is the pope's will. He has wholly interdicted and cursed you for the wrongs you have done to the church and to the clergy. And for so much as you continue in your malice, and will come to no amendment, you are to understand that from this time forward the sentences against you have force and strength. And all those who have had intercourse with you before this time, whether they be earls, barons, knights, or any other, we absolve them safely from their sins up to this day. But from this time forward we accurse them openly, and specially by this our sentence, who hold intercourse with you. And we absolve, moreover, earls, barons, knights, and all other manner of men, of their homages, services, and fealties. Also, Sir King, all the kings, princes, and great dukes of Christendom, have requested the pope to give license to them to cross themselves, and to war against you, as God's great enemy, and to win your land, and to appoint for king whomever the pope pleases. And we here now absolve of their sins all those who will rise against you here in your own land.”

Then the king, hearing this, answered, “What further shame may you do to me than this?”

Pandulph again: “We say to you, by the word of God, that neither you, nor any heir that you have after this day, shall be crowned.”

So the king said, “By him who is Almighty God, if I had known of this thing before you came into this land, and that you had brought me such news, I would have made you stay away these twelve months from my realms.”

Then Pandulph answered,

“Full well we thought, at our first coming, that you would have been obedient to God and to holy church, and have fulfilled the pope's commandment which we showed and pronounced to you. And now you say that if you had known the cause of our coming, you would have made us stay away a whole year. You might as well say that you would have taken a whole year's respite

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<sup>185</sup> (Law) *Letters patent*: official documents granting a right or privilege.

without the pope's leave. But even if we were to suffer death for it, we will not shrink from telling all the pope's message and will, that he gave us in charge."

In another chronicle I find the words between the king and Pandulph somewhat other than as described, as if the king had threatened him with hanging if he had foreknown of his coming. Pandulph answered, that he looked for nothing else at the king's hands, but to suffer for the church's rights. Whereupon the king, being mightily incensed, departed. The king, being then at Northampton, desired the sheriffs and bailiffs to bring out all the prisoners there, who had deserved to be put to death, to the intent (as some think) to make Pandulph afraid. Among them was a certain clergyman who, for counterfeiting the king's coin, was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. To anger Pandulph, the king commanded that he be hanged higher than the rest. Pandulph hearing of this, though he began to fear lest he be hanged himself, still went with courage to the church to bring out bell, book, and candle, charging that no man, under pain of cursing, should lay hands upon the clergyman. Upon this, the king and the cardinal parted in no little anger. Pandulph went to Rome, and reported to the pope and the cardinals what had been done.

Then the pope summoned all the bishops, abbots, and clergy of England, to repair to Rome, to consult about what was to be done. In this council it was decreed that John king of England should be accursed, with all those who held with him. However, it was not yet permitted that the people should assume the cross to fight against him, because as yet John had shed no blood. But afterwards the pope, seeing that King John would not stoop under his subjection, sent to the French king, that upon remission of all his sins, and those of all who would accompany him, he should invade the realm of England.

Pope Innocent again commanded, on pain of his great curse, that no man should obey King John. He forbid all persons to eat and drink with him, or talk with him, or to commune or counsel with him. Indeed, he forbid his own familiar household to do king John any kind of service, either at bed, or at board, in church, in hall, or in stable. Nor was the pope content with this, but he gave a definitive sentence that King John should be removed from his regal seat and deposed, and another put in his place. And for the speedy execution of this sentence, he appointed the French king Philip, promising to give him full remission of all his sins, and the clear possession of the whole realm of England, to him and his heirs, if he either killed him or expelled him.

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The next year the French king began his attempt, being well-manned with bishops, monks, prelates, priests, and their servants. But behold the work of God, the English navy took 300 of the French king's ships, well-laden with wheat, wine, meal, flesh, armor, and other such materials for the war; and burnt 100 within the harbor, taking the spoils with them. In the meantime the priests within England had provided them a false prophet, called Peter Wakefield of Poiz, who was an idle wanderer and talkative fellow. They made this Peter prophesy lies, rumoring his prophesies abroad, to bring the king out of all credit with his people. This knavish fellow prophesied about King John, that he would reign no longer than Ascension-day (A.D. 1213), and this, he said, he had by revelation. Then it was demanded of him whether John would be slain, or expelled, or resign the crown? He answered that he could not tell. But he was sure of this, that neither John, nor any of his stock or lineage, would reign after that day. The king, hearing of this, laughed much at it. "Tush, (he said), it is but an idiot knave, and one out of his wits." But while this foolish prophet had escaped the king's displeasure, he talked so much that those who loved the king apprehended that this man was a malefactor; and so he was thrown into prison without the king knowing it.

Soon after, the fame of this prophet went all over the realm. His name was known everywhere, especially because he was imprisoned for the matter. From there old gossips' tales went abroad; new tales were invented; fables were added to fables; and lies grew upon lies; so that every day new slanders were raised against the king, rumors arose, blasphemies were spread, the enemies rejoiced, and treasons were maintained by the priests.

When Ascension-day had come, because of what was prophesied before, King John commanded his regal tent to be spread abroad in the open field, passing that day with his noble council and men of honor, in the greatest solemnity he had ever done, solacing himself with musical instruments and songs, and always in sight among his trusty friends. When that day was passed in all prosperity and mirth, his enemies turned it all to an allegorical understanding, to make the prophesy good. They said, "He is no longer king, for the pope reigns, and not he." Then the king was persuaded by his council, that this false prophet had troubled the realm, perverted the hearts of the people, and excited the commons against him. The king therefore commanded that he should be hanged and drawn like a traitor.

### **King John Resigns His Crown to the Pope.**

Then the popish prelates, monks, canons, priests, etc., began to practice with Pope Innocent and the French king abroad, the treasons which they wrought within the realm. Besides this, they blinded the nobility and commons by their confessionals. The king was thus surrounded with enemies. He knew the conspiracies that were being worked against him by the pope, as well as by Philip the French king. He was also aware that his lords and barons were rebelliously incited against him. He saw the effects of the pope's curses and interdicts against those who took his part, and the pope's absolutions and dispensations for all those who would rebel against him — commanding them to keep from himself such homage, service, duties, debts, and all other allegiance that godly subjects owe and are bound to yield and give to their liege lord and prince. The king, I say, in the thirteenth year of his reign, seeing all this, and that the French king was planning an invasion of his realm, sent ambassadors to the pope, the fountain of all this mischief. He promised to do whatever the pope might command him in the reformation of himself, and restitution of all wrongs done to holy church.

Then the pope sent back into England his legate Pandulph, with others. The king awaited their coming at Canterbury, where on the thirteenth day of May, the king received them. He made an oath that of and for all things in which he stood accursed, he would make ample restitution and satisfaction. All the lords and barons of England (so many as were there with the king) swore in like manner, that if the king would not accomplish everything the oath which he had taken required, they would compel him to hold and confirm the same.

Then the king submitted himself to the court of Rome, and resigned his dominions and realms of England and Ireland, for himself and for his heirs forever, with this condition: that the king and his heirs would take back these two dominions of the pope, in order to farm, paying 1000 marks of silver yearly to the court of Rome. Then the king took the crown from his head, and kneeling in the presence of all his lords and barons of England, he gave it to Pandulph, saying, "Here I resign the crown of the realm of England into the hands of the pope, Innocent III, and place myself wholly at his mercy." Then Pandulph took the crown,

and kept it for five days as a possession and seizin-taking <sup>186</sup> of these two realms of England and Ireland, confirming also all things promised by John's charter obligatory, as follows:

*Copy of the Letter Obligatory that King John made to the Pope, concerning the yielding up of the Crown and Realm of England into the Pope's hands, for a certain sum of money to be paid yearly.*

“To all Christian people throughout the world, John, by the grace of God, king of England, greeting. Be it known to you all, that as we have grieved and offended God, and our mother church of Rome, and as we have need of the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, and we can offer nothing so worthy, or make so competent satisfaction to God and to holy church, as with our realms of England and of Ireland, then by the grace of the Holy Spirit, we desire to humble ourselves, for the love of Him who humbled himself to death upon the cross. And through counsel of the nobles, earls, and barons, we offer and freely grant to God, and to the apostles St. Peter and Paul, and to our mother church of Rome, and to our holy father Pope Innocent III, and to all the popes who come after him, all the realm, patronages of churches of England and of Ireland, with all the appurtenances, for remission of sins, and help and health of our kings' souls, and of all Christian souls. So that from this time afterward, we will receive and hold of our mother church of Rome, as in farm, doing fealty to our holy father the pope, Innocent III, and to all the popes who come after him, in the manner above said. And in the presence of the wise Pandulph, the pope's legate, we make liege homage, as if it were in the pope's presence; and we bind us to it, and all who come after us, and our heirs forever, without any dispute to the pope. And in token of this, we will confirm, and ordain, that he be our special renter of the aforesaid realms, saving St. Peter-pence, in all things. To the mother church of Rome, paying by the year 1000 marks of silver, at two periods of the year, for all customs that we should do for the said realms, that is to say, at Michaelmas, and at Easter; that is, for England 700 marks, and 300 marks for Ireland, saving to us and to our heirs, our justices and our other franchises. And all these things, we will so that they are firm and stable without end, and to that obligation, we and all our successors, and our heirs in this manner are bound, that if we or any of our heirs through any presumption fail in any of these things, and he being warned and not amending, he shall then lose the aforesaid realms forever; and this charter of obligation and our warrant forever, shall be firm and stable without dispute. We shall from this day afterward be true to God, and to the mother church of Rome, and to you, Innocent III, and to all who come after you, and the realms of England and of Ireland we shall maintain against all manner of men, by our power through God's help.”

Upon this obligation, the king was discharged on July 2nd, from that tyrannical interdict under which he had continued for five years and three months. But before the release, he was thus miserably compelled to give over both his crown and scepter to that antichrist of Rome, for five days, and as his client, vassal, feudary, and tenant, to receive it back from him at the hands of another cardinal, being bound both for himself and for his successors, to pay yearly (as an acknowledgment of it) 1000 marks for England and Ireland.

[157] A.D. 1210-1216.

In (A.D. 1215), as Paulus Aemilius and other historians witness, Pope Innocent III held a general synod at Rome, called the **COUNCIL OF LATERAN**. The chief causes of that council were these: in the days of Innocent III, heresy (as he calls the truth of God), or the doctrine that rebukes sin, began to spread out its branches. Many princes were excommunicated, such as Otto the emperor, John king of England, Peter king of Aragon, Raimund the earl of

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<sup>186</sup> *Seizin* (or *seisin*): a legal concept that denotes the right to legal possession of a thing, usually a fiefdom, fee, or an estate in land. It is similar, but legally separate from the idea of ownership.

Toulouse, Aquitaine, Sataloni, and others. Therefore this council was proclaimed, and prelates from all nations were called to it. The pope published that his intent was only to have the church universally reformed, and the Holy Land recovered from the Turks. But all this was craft and falsehood, as the sequel proved. For his purpose was to subdue all princes, and to make himself rich and wealthy. For there he made this antichristian act, and established it by public decree — that the pope should have from then on, the correction of all Christian princes, and that no emperor should be admitted, unless he was sworn before, and also crowned by him. He ordained, too, that whoever spoke evil of the pope, should be punished in hell with eternal damnation (*Conradus, Urspergensis, Hieronymus, Marius.*)

*Transubstantiation* was first codified in this Lateran Council. John Scot (*Duns Scotus*) mentions this in his fourth book, writing these words:

“The words of the Scripture might be expounded more easily, and more plainly, without transubstantiation. But the church chose this sense, which is harder, being moved to it, as it seems, chiefly because men ought to hold about the sacraments, as the holy church of Rome holds,” etc.

### **King John Poisoned by a Monk.**

Now let us return to King John again, and mark how the priests and their adherents were plagued for their treatment of his majesty’s will. In this Fourth Council of Lateran (1215), Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, was excommunicated,<sup>187</sup> along with all those bishops, prelates, priests, barons, and commons who in the former rebellion had been with him. When the archbishop sued to be absolved, the pope answered with great indignation, “I swear by St. Peter, you shall not so soon at my hand obtain the benefit of absolution.” The pope, shortly before, had been so deeply offended and angered with the barons of England, that he rent and destroyed the great charter of the liberties of England (that is, the Magna Carta, granted by king John that year). By the pope’s sentence he condemned it forever, and cursed all the other rebels with bell, book, and candle.

About the same time, such treasons and conspiracies were wrought by the bishops, priests, and monks throughout all the realm, that the king did not know where to find trusty friends. He was compelled to travel from place to place, but not without a great army of men, looking every day when his barons and their confederates would cruelly set upon him. For the space of three months he remained in the Isle of Wight, in the open air, to quiet himself for a time from all tumults. He led a solitary life among the rivers and watermen there. He coveted to die rather than to live, being so traitorously handled by his bishops and barons, and not knowing how to be avenged. Therefore, he took upon himself “the cross,” *i.e.*, a crusade against the Turks for the recovery of Jerusalem — influenced by the doubts which he had about his people, rather than by any devotion. He said to his familiar servants, “Since I submitted myself and my lands (England and Ireland) to the church of Rome, nothing has ever prospered with me, but all has gone against me.”

In this year (A.D. 1216), Pope Innocent III died. After him succeeded Cintius, called Honorius III, a man of very great age. Yet he lived ten and a half years more in the papacy.

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<sup>187</sup> Stephen Langton was not excommunicated but suspended when Langton refused to enforce the pope’s orders to excommunicate them as disturbers of the peace. Langton left England soon after the issuance of the Magna Carta, to attend the Fourth Lateran Council, where the sentence of suspension was confirmed by Innocent III.



In the same year, King John came to Swinstead abbey (not far from Lincoln), and rested there for two days. This is where (as most writers testify) he was most traitorously poisoned by a monk of that abbey.

Among other peculiar traits belonging to this king, there was one which is not to be reprehended, but rather commended in him: for being above the superstition which kings at that time were commonly subject to. He did not regard the popish mass. I find it testified of him, that one time in his hunting, coming where a very fat stag was cut up and opened, the king beheld the fatness of the stag, and liking it he said: "See how easily and happily he has lived, and yet for all that he never heard a mass."

It is recorded in the chronicle of William Caxton, that the Monk Simon being much offended with the king, cast it in his wicked heart as to how he might most speedily bring John to his end. First of all he counselled with his abbot, showing him the whole affair, and what he designed to do. He alleged the prophesy of Caiaphas, "It is expedient for us that one man die for the people, and that the whole nation not perish," Joh 11.50. "I am well contented," he says, "to lose my life, and so become a martyr, that I may utterly destroy this tyrant." The abbot wept for gladness, and greatly commended his fervent zeal. The monk then being absolved by his abbot beforehand for doing this act, put poison into a cup of wine, and with a smiling and flattering countenance, said to the king, "If it pleases your princely majesty, here is such a cup of wine as you never drank better in all your lifetime. I trust this wassail will make all England glad." And with that, he drank a great draught of it himself, with the king toasting him. The monk died. From then on, three monks would sing mass for his soul, confirmed by their general chapter! What became of King John, you shall now learn. I would have you mark well the wholesome proceedings of these holy votaries — how virtuously they obey their king, whom God has appointed, and how religiously they bestow their confessions, absolutions, and masses!

The king a short while later (feeling great pain in his body) asked for Simon the monk. The answer was that he was dead. "Then God have mercy upon me," he said, "I suspected as much, after he said that all England would be glad of it." With that he commanded his chariot to be prepared, for he was not able to ride. So he went from there to Sleaford castle, and from there to Newark on Trent. And there, in less than three days, he died. Upon his deathbed he much repented of his former life, and forgave all those who had done him injury. He desired that his elder son Henry might be admonished by his example, and learn by his misfortunes to be natural, favorable, gentle, and loving to his people. His soldiers, both Englishmen and strangers, were still about him, and followed his body in their armor, till they came to the cathedral church of Worcester. There he was honorably buried by Silvester the bishop, between St. Oswald and St. Wolstan, two bishops of that church. He died October 19, 1216, after he had reigned in such calamity, eighteen years, six months, and odd days.

There are many opinions among the chroniclers of the death of King John. Some of them write that he died of sorrow and heaviness of heart, such as Polydore; some of surfeiting in the night, such as Radulph Niger; some of a bloody flux, such as Roger Hoveden; some of a burning fever; some of a cold sweat, some of eating apples, some of eating pears, some of plums, etc. Thus you see what variety there is among the writers concerning the death of King John. Of these writers, although most of them agree that he was poisoned by the monk, Matthew Paris writes this,

"That going to Lincolnshire, and there hearing of the loss of his carriage and of his treasures upon the washes, he fell into great heaviness of mind, so much that he thereby fell into a



burning fever at the abbey of Swinsted. This ague was increased through evil surfeiting and improper diet, by eating peaches and drinking of new ciser, or as we call it, *cider*. Thus being sick, he was carried from there to the castle of Sleaford, and from there to the castle of Newark. There, calling for his son Henry, he gave him the succession of his crown and kingdom, writing to all his lords and nobles to receive him as their king. Shortly after, on St. Lucy's eve, he departed this life, being buried at Worcester," etc.

In the reign of King John, the citizens of London first obtained the right to yearly choose a mayor. It was also in his time that the London bridge was first built of stone; it was made of wood before.

**Progeny of King John.** After he had reigned seventeen years, he died. He left behind him four sons and three daughters. First was Henry, the second Richard earl of Cornwall, the third William of Valentia, the fourth Guido Disenaie. He had also another son, who afterwards was made bishop. Of his daughters, the first was Isabel, married to the emperor Frederick, the second Elenor, married to William earl marshal,<sup>188</sup> the third to Mountford the earl of Leicester, etc. Another history says that he had but two daughters, Isabel and Elenor, or as another calls her, *Joan*, who was later queen of Scotland.

[188]

***King Henry III – reigned 1216-1272.***

Henry the eldest son was then nine years of age, when the majority of the barons of England adhered to Louis the French king's son, whom they had previously invited to come to England. In their opposition to King John, who was then under the pope's curse, they proposed to elect Louis as their king, and had sworn their allegiance to him. Then William, earl marshal, a nobleman of great authority, and a grave and sound counsellor, in a friendly and quiet way called together several earls and barons. And taking this Henry the young prince, he sets him before them, using these words,

“Behold, right honorable and well beloved. Although we have persecuted the father of this young prince for his evil demeanor, and worthily so, yet this young child whom you see here before you, as he is tender in years, so is he pure and innocent from his father's doings. Therefore in as much as every man is charged only with the burden of his own works and transgressions, neither shall the child (as the Scripture teaches us) bear the iniquity of his father. We should therefore, out of duty and conscience, pardon this young and tender prince, and have compassion for his age. And now, because he is the king's eldest son and must be our sovereign and king and successor of this kingdom, come and let us appoint him our king and governor. And let us remove from us Louis, the French king's son, for it is a shame to our nation. And let us cast off the yoke of our servitude from our shoulders.”

To these words the earl of Gloucester answered; “And by what reason or right,” he said, “can we do so, seeing that we have called him here, and have sworn our fealty to him?”

The earl marshal replied,

“Good right and reason we have, and out of duty we ought to do no less. For contrary to our mind and calling, he has abused our affiance and fealties. It is true, we invited him, and meant to prefer him to be our chieftain and governor. But he has scorned and despised us. And if we suffer him to do so, he will subvert and overthrow both us and our nation, and so we will remain a spectacle of shame to all men, and as outcasts of the whole world.”

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<sup>188</sup> *Earl marshal*: a hereditary royal official responsible for organizing major ceremonial events and maintaining the College of Arms (responsible for heraldry and the regulation of coats of arms).

At these words they all cried with one voice, “Be it so! *Henry* shall be our king.” And so the day was appointed for his coronation. Notwithstanding this, Louis did not forego his claim, but laid siege to the castle of Dover. When he could not succeed there, he took the castle of Berkhamstead, and also the castle of Hertford, doing much harm in the countryside, in pillaging and robbing the people where he went. So that the lords and commons, who held with the king, assembled together to drive Louis out of the land, and battle him. In conclusion, Louis lost the field and fled to London, which was in the hands of his friends. There he had the gates shut, and waited there for more succor from France. In the meantime, Eustace, a French lord, came with a grand army and a hundred ships to assist Louis. But before they arrived, they were encountered on the seas by Richard, King John’s natural son. Having no more than eighteen ships to keep the cinque ports,<sup>189</sup> he set eagerly upon them, and through God’s grace he overcame them and struck off the head of Eustace. The rest of the French lords, numbering ten, he brought ashore with him. There he imprisoned them in the castle of Dover. He slew almost all their men, and sunk their ships in the sea, so that only fifteen ships escaped. Louis, hearing of this loss of his ships and men, proposed terms, and left the kingdom.

The life and acts of Pope Innocent III were partly described before.

- How he intruded Stephen Langston into the archbishopric of Canterbury, against the king’s will, stirring up 64 monks of the church of Canterbury to secretly work against the king.
- How he excommunicated the king as a public enemy of the church, putting him and his whole kingdom under interdict for five years and three months, and at length deposed and deprived him of his scepter, keeping it in his own hands for five days.
- How he absolved his subjects from their due obedience and subjection to the king.
- How he gave away the king’s kingdoms and possessions to Louis, the French king’s son, commanding Louis to spoil him of both lands and life.
- Whereupon the king, being forsaken by his nobles, prelates, and commons, was forced against his will to submit and swear obedience to the pope, paying a yearly tribute of one thousand marks a year, for receiving his kingdom back. By this, both he and his successors after him were vassals to the pope.

These were the apostolical acts of this holy vicar of Jesus Christ in the realm of England!

Moreover,

- He condemned Almeric, a learned man and a bishop, as a heretic, for teaching and holding against the use of images.
- This pope first brought into the church the paying of private tithes.
- He ordained receiving the communion once a year at Easter.
- To the papal decretals he added the decree which declares every human creature to be subject to the pope.
- Also, reserving the sacrament (in a locked cabinet), and going with the bell and light before the sacrament, was appointed by him.
- In the COUNCIL OF LATERAN he ordained that the canon of the mass should be received with equal authority, as though it had proceeded from the apostles themselves.
- And in this council, it was he who first formally established *transubstantiation* as the doctrine of the church of Rome.

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<sup>189</sup> *The Cinque Ports*: a group of coastal towns in southeast England, primarily in Kent and Sussex, with one in Essex. The name means “five harbors” in Old French, originally Hastings, New Romney, Hythe, Dover, and Sandwich.

In this Council of Lateran, there were 61 archbishops and primates present, with 400 bishops, 12 abbots, 800 priors and conventuals, besides other innumerable ambassadors and legates, doctors and lawyers, etc.

In the history of Herman Mutius, we read how in A.D. 1212, in this pope's time, several noblemen and others in the country of Alsatia, held contrary to the tradition of the Romish popes, that *every* day was free for eating flesh, if done in moderation. They held also that it was wicked to restrain priests and ministers from their wives. For these opinions, pope Innocent and his bishops caused 100 of them to be burned and martyred in one day!

***Origin of the Dominicans and Franciscans.***

In the days of Pope Innocent III (r. 1198-1216), the two orders of friars began — one called “The Preachers’ Order, and the Black Friars of St. Dominic;” the other called “The Minorites of St. Francis.”

The preachers of the black friars order began with Dominic, a Spaniard, near Toulouse. After he labored ten years in preaching against the Albigenses, and others who held doctrines contrary to the church of Rome, he came to the Council of Lateran, and desired of Innocent, to have his order of preaching friars confirmed. The pope refused to grant this for a great while. At length he had a dream that the church of Lateran was ready to fall; and that this Dominic propped up the church with his shoulders, and so preserved the building from falling, etc. And this dream may right well seem verified, for the friars have always been the chief pillars and upholders of the pope's church. Upon this, the pope, waking out of his dream, called Dominic to him, and granted his petition. And so arose this order of the Dominicans!

The order of the minors or Minorite friars, was descended from Francis of Assisi, an Italian. Hearing how Christ sent forth his disciples to preach, he thought to imitate this in himself and in his disciples. And so he took off his shoes, and had but one coat, made of coarse cloth. Instead of a latchet to his shoe, and a girdle, he tied a cord of hemp around himself, and so he apparelled his disciples. He taught them to fulfil (for so he speaks) the perfection of the gospel, to embrace poverty, and to walk in the way of holy simplicity. He left to his disciples and followers, his rule, which he called “The Rule of the Gospel,” as if the gospel of Christ were not a sufficient rule to all Christian men, but it must take its perfection from Francis!

[159] A.D. 1220.

Just as this Francis was superstitious in all things; so by way of penitential deception he covered his body in the winter season with ice and snow! These Franciscan or *begging* friars (mendicants), although they are all under one rule of St. Francis, they are yet divided into many orders. Some go about on treen shoes (wooden), or pattens (clogs or sandals), some barefooted. Some are called *Regular Franciscans* or *Observants*, some *Minors* or *Minorites*, others *Minimi*, others *Gospelers*, others *De Caputio*. They differ in many things, but agree in their superstition and hypocrisy. As we have here entered into the matter of these two orders of friars, I thought to digress from our history a little, in reciting the whole catalogue or rabblement of monks, friars, and nuns of all sects, rules, and orders, set up and confirmed by the pope. The names are as follow:

**The Rabblement of Religious Orders.**<sup>190</sup>

- Ambrosians, two sorts; 409  
 Ammonites and Moabites.  
 Antony's Hermits 324  
 Armenians.  
 Augustinians, the first order. A.D.  
 Austin's Hermits 498  
 Austin's Observants 490  
 Barefooted Friars 1222  
 Basiliu's Order 384  
 Beghearts or White Spirits 1399  
 Benedict's Order 524  
 Bernardus' Order 1120  
 Brethren of Jerusalem 1103  
 Brethren of St. John de Civitate, Black Friars  
 1220  
 Brethren of Willful Poverty.  
 Bridget's Order 1370  
 Camaldulensi's Order 950  
 Canons of St. Augustine 1080  
 Carmelites, or White Friars 1212  
 Celestine's Order 1297  
 Chapter-Monks.  
 Charter-house Order 1086  
 Cistercian Order 1098  
 Clare's Order 1225  
 Cluny, Order of 913  
 Constantinopolitan Order.  
 Cross-bearers, or Crossed Friars 1216  
 Cross-bearers.  
 Cross-starred Brethren.  
 Dominican Black Friars 1220  
 Dutch Order 1216  
 Franciscans 1224  
 Galilei, or Galileans.  
 George's Order 1407  
 Gerundinensis Order.  
 Grandmountain Order 1076  
 Gregory's Order 594  
 Gulielmites (Williamites) 1246  
 Helen's Brethren. Humiliati 1166  
 Hermits.  
 Holy Spirit Order.  
 Hospital Brethren.  
 Indian's Order.  
 Injesuati 1365  
 James' Brethren Order.  
 James' Brethren with the Sword.  
 Janu's Order.  
 Jerome's Hermits 490  
 Jerome's Orders, two sorts 1412  
 John's Hermits.  
 John's Order, Joannites 380  
 Joseph's Order.  
 Justin's Order 1432  
 Katharine of Sienna Order 1455  
 Keyed-monks. Knights of Rhodes.  
 Knights of Rhodes 1308  
 Lazarites of Mary Magdalene's, our Lady  
 Brethren 1034  
 Lords of Hungary.  
 Malay's Servants 1304  
 Marovinies.  
 Menelaish and Jasonish Sect.  
 Minors or Minorites 1224  
 Minorites are divided into:  
     Conventuals. Observants. Reformed.  
     Collectane. De Caputio. De Evangelio. Amedet.  
     Clarini, and others.  
 Monachi and Monachae.  
 Monks of Mount Olivet 1046  
 Morbonei and Meresti.  
 Nalheart Brethren.  
 Nazareans.  
 Nestorini.  
 New Canons of St. Austin 1430  
 New Order of our Lady.  
 Paul's Hermits 345  
 Peter the Apostle's Order 1409  
 Praemonstre Order 1119  
 Preacher-Order or Black Friars.  
 Purgatorean Brethren.  
 Rechabites.  
 Sambouites 1199  
 Sarrabites.  
 Sclavonian Order.  
 Scopenits or St. Salvator's Order 1367  
 Scottish Brethren Order.  
 Scourgers, the first Sect 1266  
 Scourgers, the second Sect, called Ninevites.  
 Sheer Order.  
 Sicarii.  
 Soldiers of Jesus Christ 1323  
 Specularii, or the Glass Order.  
 St. Sepulcher's Order.

<sup>190</sup> This list is very far from satisfactory. The various orders of monks and nuns were far more numerous than given here. Erailliane specifies half as many more, while he omits some that are specified here by Foxe. "The Lords of Hungary," or Teutonic Knights, "The Templars," etc. as inserted here, are a very small portion of the military orders. It is not easy to explain the insertion of such names as Galileans, Rechabites, Waldenses, etc. They seem to have been taken without correction from some list which confounded sects and orders without distinction — an error very natural to writers before the Reformation, and not infrequently committed. [Ed.]

Bk. IV. Wm. the Conqueror to Wycliffe (1066-1364)

St. Sophia's Order.  
Starred Friars.  
Starred Monks.  
Stool Brethren.  
Sword's Order.  
Templar Lords 1110  
Templar Knights 1120

The Valley of Jehoshaphat's Order.  
Vallis Umbrosa 1400  
Waldenses Sect.  
Wentzelaus Order.  
Wilhelmer Order.  
White Monks of Mount Olivet 1406  
Zelote's Order.

The reader sees what orders and what sects of religion have been set up by the pope — the catalogue and number of them all (101), so far as we could search them out.

Now, as I have reckoned up the names and varieties of these prodigious sects, I will add the words of Hildegardis (a celebrated nun in 1146) against the Romish prelates, and especially against the friars. Hildegardis is held among the papists themselves as a great prophetess, and therefore let us hear her opinion about these men, long before the Reformation.

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**The Prophecy Of Hildegardis, A Nun.** <sup>191</sup>

“In those days a senseless people shall arise, proud, greedy, without faith, and subtle, who shall eat the sins of the people, holding a certain order of foolish devotion under the feigned cloak of being “mendicants,” preferring themselves above all others by their “feigned devotion; arrogant in understanding, and pretending holiness, walking without shame or the fear of God, in inventing many new strong and stout mischiefs. But this order shall be accursed by all wise men and faithful Christians. They shall cease from all labor, and give themselves over to idleness, choosing rather to live through flattery and begging. Moreover, they shall together study how they may perversely resist the teachers of the truth, and slay them together with the noblemen; how to seduce and deceive the nobility, for the necessity of their living and pleasures of this world. For the devil will graft in them four principal vices — that is to say, flattery, envy, hypocrisy, and slander. *Flattery*, that they may have large gifts given to them; *envy*, when they see gifts given to others, and not to them; *Hypocrisy*, that by false dissimulation they may please men; *Backbiting*, that they may extol and commend themselves, and backbite others, for the praise of men, and seducing the simple. Also they shall instantly preach, but without the devotion, or following the example of the martyrs, and shall speak evil of the secular princes, taking away the sacraments of the church from the true pastors, receiving alms from the poor, diseased, and miserable, and also associating themselves with the common people; instructing women how they shall deceive their husbands and friends by their flattery and deceitful words, and to rob their husbands in order to give to them. For these mendicants will take all these stolen and evil-gotten goods and say, ‘Give it to us, and we will pray for you;’ so that being eager to hide other men’s faults, they utterly forget their own. And alas, they will receive all things from rovers, pickers, spoilers, thieves, and robbers, from sacrilegious persons, usurers, and adulterers, heretics, schismatics, apostates, noblemen, perjurers, merchants, false judges, soldiers, tyrants, princes, from those who live contrary to the law, and from many perverse and wicked men — following the persuasion of the devil, the sweetness of sin, a delicate and transitory life, and fulness even unto eternal damnation.

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<sup>191</sup> This prophecy was given over 60 years before the founding of the Franciscans and Dominicans, but long after the Benedictines (c. 530) and Cluniacs (c. 910). They were all major players in the political intrigues of the pope. They drained the nations financially, while funding the papal machinations that toppled kings, queens, and emperors. They charged for their “services” at births, deaths, weddings, masses, hearing confessions, preaching, and even praying!

“All these things shall manifestly appear in them to all people, and (day by day) they shall grow more wicked and hard-hearted. And when their wickedness and deceits are found out, then their gifts shall cease, and then they shall go about their houses hungry, and like mad dogs looking down upon the earth, and drawing in their necks like doves, that they might be satisfied with bread. Then the people shall cry out upon them,

‘Woe unto you, you miserable children of sorrow! The world has seduced you, and the devil has bridled your mouths; your flesh is frail, and your hearts without savor; your minds have been unsteadfast, and your eyes delighted in much vanity and folly; your dainty appetites desire delicate meats, your feet are swift to run into mischief.

‘Remember when you were apparently blessed, yet envious; poor in sight, but rich; simple to see to, but mighty flatterers — unfaithful betrayers, perverse detractors, holy hypocrites, subverters of the truth, overly righteous, proud, unashamed, and unsteadfast teachers, delicate martyrs, confessors for gain — meek, but slanderers; religious, but covetous; humble, but proud; pitiful, but hard-hearted liars — pleasant flatterers, persecutors, oppressors of the poor, bringing in new sects newly invented by yourselves.

‘You were thought merciful, but found wicked; lovers of the world, sellers of pardons, spoilers of benefices, unprofitable orators, seditious conspirators, drunkards, desirers of honors, maintainers of mischief, robbers of the world, insatiable preachers, men-pleasers, seducers, and sowers of discord. You have built up on high, and when you could ascend no higher, then you fell even as Simon Magus fell, whom God overthrew, and struck with a cruel plague. So you likewise through your false doctrine, naughtiness, lies, detractions, and wickedness have come to ruin.’

And the people shall say to them,

‘Go, you teachers of wickedness, subverters of the truth, brethren of the Shunamite, fathers of heresies, false apostles, who have feigned to follow the life of the apostles, and yet have not followed it in any part. You sons of iniquity! You will not follow the knowledge of your ways, for pride and presumption have deceived you, and insatiable covetousness has subverted your erroneous hearts. And when you would ascend higher than was fit or attractive for you, by the just judgment of God, you have fallen back into perpetual opprobrium and shame.’”

About the same time that these Franciscans and Dominican friars began, the Cross-Bearers, or Crutched Friars, also sprang up (1216). Innocent III raised an army, signed with a cross on the breast, to fight against the Albigenses in the neighborhood of Toulouse, whom the pope accounted as heretics. What these Albigenses were, cannot be well gathered from the old popish histories. For if anyone held, taught, or maintained anything against the pope or his papal pride, or withstood and challenged his traditions, rites, and religions, etc., the historians of that time so depraved and misrepresented them, that they paint them as worse than Turks and infidels. And it was that, I suppose, which caused the popish historians to write about them as they did. I find in some records that the opinions of the Albigenses were sound enough, holding and professing nothing but what was against the wanton wealth, pride, and tyranny of the prelates; and denying that the pope’s authority had any ground in the Scriptures. Nor could they bear with the ceremonies and traditions, images, pardons, and purgatory of the Romish church, calling them (as some say) blasphemous occupings, etc. These Albigenses were slain and burned in great multitudes by means of the pope, Simon de Montfort, and others.

As mention is made of these superstitious sects of friars, and other such mendicant orders, it might not seem out of place, as I did with Hildegardis, to annex another ancient treatise

compiled by Geoffery Chaucer (1343-1400), by way of a dialogue or questions, moved in the person of a certain uplandish and simple ploughman of the country.<sup>192</sup>

The author titled it “Jack Upland.” In it, Chaucer shows to the world the blind ignorance and discord of these irreligious monks. By this it may be seen that it is nothing new, but their blasphemous doings have been detected by various good men in olden times.

*A Treatise of Geoffrey Chaucer, entitled Jack Upland.*

I, Jack Upland, moan to God, and to all who are true in Christ, that antichrist and his disciples (by color of holiness) are walking and deceiving Christ’s church by many false figures, where many virtues have been transposed to vices (by antichrist and his).

But the most fallen folk that antichrist ever found, have been at last brought into the church and in a wonderful way; for they are from diverse sects of antichrist, sown by diverse countries and kindreds.<sup>193</sup> And all men have known well, that they are not obedient to bishops, nor are they liegemen to kings. They neither till nor sow, weed nor reap, neither tree, corn, nor grass, nothing that might help man, but only help themselves to sustain their lives. And these men have all manner of power from God, as they have seen in heaven and on earth, to sell heaven and hell to whomever they like, and to where these wretches have never been themselves.

And therefore (Friar), in your orders and rules grounded on God’s law, tell me, says Jack Upland, what I ask of you. And if you are, or think you are on Christ’s side, keep your patience.

Saint Paul taught that all our deeds should be done in charity, otherwise it is worth nothing, but is displeasing to God and a harm to our own souls. And because friars claim to be the greatest clerics of the church, and next following Christ in living, men should for charity ask them some questions, and pray them to ground their answers in reason and holy writ, for otherwise their answer would be worth nothing, however embellished and fair it may be, and as I think men might skillfully ask thus of a friar.

1. Friar, how many orders are on earth, and which is the most perfect order? Of what order are you? Who made your order? What is your rule? Is there any more perfect rule than Christ himself made? If Christ’s rule is most perfect, why do you not rule yourself after it?

[161] A D. 1220.

Without more, why should a friar be more punished if he breaks the rule that his patron made, than if he breaks the behests that God himself made?

2. Does Christ approve any more religions than the one that St. James speaks of? If he approves no more, then why have you left his rule and taken another? Why is a friar apostate who leaves his order and joins another sect, if there is but one religion of Christ?

3. Why are you wedded tighter to your habits than a man is to his wife? For a man may leave his wife for a year or two, as many men have done; but if you leave your habit a quarter of a year, you would be held apostate.

4. Do you men make your habit of religion or not? If you do, then as often as it is worn, your religion is worn; and as your habit is better, your religion is better; and when you have laid it aside, you lay aside your religion, and have become apostates. Why do you have such precious clothes? since, as St. Gregory says, no man seeks these but for vain glory.

What does your great hood, your scalperly, your knotted girdle, and your wide cloak signify?

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<sup>192</sup> We have two printed copies of this. The earliest is dated 1536. The other is this one in Foxe’s 2nd edition. It is unlikely that Chaucer wrote it; more likely a Lollard (a follower of Wycliffe), as a “sequel” to *Piers Plowman*.

<sup>193</sup> They are “sown” into the church by Satan, like tares sown into the wheat field of the Lord, Mat 13.25-40.



Bk. IV. Wm. the Conqueror to Wycliffe (1066-1364)

5. Why do you all use one color more than other Christian men do? What does it signify that you are all clothed in one manner of clothing?

If you say, it signifies love and charity, then certainly you are often hypocrites when any of you hates another, and yet you are said to be holy by your clothing.

Why may a friar not wear clothing of another sect of friars, if holiness does not stand in the clothes?

6. Why do you keep silence in one house more than another, since men should speak the good over all and leave the evil?

Why do you eat flesh in one house more than another, if your rule and your order are perfect, and also the patron who made it?

7. Why do you get your dispensations, to have it easier? Certainly, either it seems that you are imperfect, or he that made it so hard that you may not keep the rule of your patrons, and be assured, if you do not keep it, you are not then their friars, and so you lie about yourselves.

8. Why do you act like dead men when you are professed, and yet you are not dead, but livelier beggars than you were before? It seems evil for a dead man to go about begging.

9. Why will you not allow your novices to hear your councils in your chapter-house before they have been professed, if your councils are true and follow God's law?

10. Why do you make such costly houses to dwell in, if Christ did not do so? Dead men should have but graves, as suits dead men. Yet you have more courts than many lords of England. For you now travel throughout the realm, and each night will live in your own courts, as but few actual lords may do.

11. Why do you hire limiters (begging friars) to farm, giving each year a certain rent, and will not permit one in another's limitation (precinct), as if you were yourselves lords of countries?

Why are you not under your bishops' supervision, and liegemen to our king?

Why do you not ask for letters from other brotherhoods, of men's prayers, as you desire that other men might ask for letters from you? If your letters are good, why do you not grant them generally, to all manner of men, for more charity?

12. May you make any man a more perfect brother for your prayers, than God has by our belief, by our baptism, and by his own grant? If you may, then you are certainly above God.

Why do you make men believe that your golden trental song, for which you therefore take ten shillings, or at least five shillings, will bring souls out of hell, or out of purgatory? If this is true, then certainly you might bring all souls out of pain; and that you will not do, for then you would be out of charity.

13. Why do you make men believe that whoever is buried in your habit shall never go to hell, and yet you do not know of yourself whether you will go to hell or not? And if this were true, you should sell your high houses to make many habits to save many men's souls.

14. Why do you steal men's children to make them of your sect, if that theft is against God's behests, and if your sect is not perfect? You do not know whether the rule that you bind him to, is best for him or worst.

15. Why do you not confront your brethren for their trespass against the law of the gospel, if that confrontation is the best possibility? But you often put them in prison when they follow God's law, and live by St. Augustine's rule. If any do amiss and would not amend himself, then you should put him away from you.

16. Why do you covet shrifts (confessions) and burying other men's parishioners, yet no other sacrament that falls to Christian folk?



Bk. IV. Wm. the Conqueror to Wycliffe (1066-1364)

Why do you not busy yourself to hear the confessions of poor folk as well as those of rich lords and ladies, since the rich may have plenty more fathers to confess to, than poor folk may.

Why do you not say the gospel in houses of bed-ridden men, as you do in rich men's houses, who may go to church and hear the gospel?

Why do you covet not to bury poor folk among you? since they have been most holy (as you say that you are for your poverty?)

17. Why will you not be at his dirges as you have been at rich men's? since God praises him more then he does other men.

What is your prayer worth? If you would therefore take, of all chapmen (peddlers) you need to be most wise, for dread of simony.

What cause do you have not to preach the gospel, as God says that you should? since it is the best story and also our belief.

Why do you satisfy evil, that secular priests might preach the gospel? since God himself has called them.

18. Why do you hate the gospel to be preached, if you are so firmly held to it? For you win more by year with *in principio*, than with all the rules that your patrons ever made; and in this, even minstrels have been better off than you, for they do not contradict the mirth that they make, but you contradict the gospel in both word and deed.

19. Friar, when you receive a penny to say a mass, whether you sell God's body for that penny, or your prayer, or else your travel? If you say you would not travel to say the mass, except for the penny, then certainly, if this is true, you love too little a reward for your soul: and if you sell God's body, or your prayer, then it is simony, and you have become a chapman worse then Judas, who sold it for thirty pence.

20. Why do you write their names in your tables who give you money? since God knows all things. For it seems by your writing, that God would not reward him, unless you write in your tables; otherwise God would forget.

Why do you bear God in hand, and yet slander Christ by saying that he begged for his food? If he was Lord over all, then he would have been unwise to beg, having no need for it.

Friar, by what law do you rule yourself? Where do you find in God's law that you should beg?

21. What manner of men need to beg? For whom do such men owe, that they beg?

Why do you beg so for your brethren?

If you say, because they have needs, then you do it for more perfection, or else for the least, or else for the mean (average). If it is for the most perfection of all, then all your brethren should do so, and then no man needs to beg except for himself; for no man should beg unless he needs to. And if it is the least perfection, then why do you love other men more then yourself? For so you are not well in charity, since you should seek more perfection in your power, living most after God. And thus leaving behind that imperfection, you should not so beg for them. And if it is a good mean to beg as you do, then no man should do so, except those who are in this good mean; and yet, such a mean granted to you may never be grounded on God's law. For then both servant and vassal, who have been in a mean degree of this world, should go about and beg as you do. And if all should do so, then certainly nearly all the world should go about and beg as you have done, and so there would ever be ten beggars to one.

Why do you procure men to give you their alms, and say it is so needful, and yet you will not win that reward yourself?

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22. Why will not you beg for poor bed-ridden men who have been poorer than any of your sect? Who have lain around and may not go about to help themselves? since we are all brethren in God, and that brotherhood surpasses any other that you or any man could make.

And where there is most need, there is most perfection, otherwise you do not hold them as your pure brethren, but worse; and then would you not be imperfect in your begging?

Why do you make so many masters among you? since it is against the teaching of Christ and his apostles?

23. Whose are all your rich courts that you are in, and all your rich jewels? since you say that you have nothing, not in proper, nor in common. If you say they are the pope's, then why do you gather from poor men and lords — that much out of the king's hand — to make your pope rich? And since you say that it is great perfection to have nothing in proper, nor in common, why are you so quick to make the pope rich. who is your father, and put imperfection on him? since you say that your goods are all his, and he should by reason be the most perfect man, it seems obvious that you are cursed children to so slander your father and make him imperfect. And if you say that the goods are yours, then you act against your rule, and if it is not against your rule, then you might have both plough and cart, and labor as other good men do, and not beg so in laxness and idleness as you do. If you say that it is more perfection to beg, than to travel or to wash with your hand, then why do not preach that openly and teach all men to do so? since it is the best and most perfect life to the help of their souls, as you make children beg who might have been rich heirs.

Why make you not your feasts to poor men and give him gifts, as you do to the rich? since a poor man has more need than the rich.

What does it signify that you go two and two together? If it is not out of charity, then you are not in accord in soul.

Why do you beg and take salaries for it more than other priests? since he that takes most, has most charge.

24. Why do you not hold to St. Francis' rule and his testament? since Francis says that God showed him this living and this rule: and certainly if it were God's will, the pope might not forgo it; or else Francis was a liar who said all this. And either this testament that he made accords with God's will, or else he erred as a liar who was without charity. And as the law says, he is accursed who hinders the rightful last will of a dead man. And this testament is the last will of Francis who is a dead man; it seems therefore that all his friars are cursed.

25. Why will you not touch any coined money with the cross, nor with the king's head, as you do other jewels both of gold and silver? Certainly if you despise the cross or the king's head, then you are worthy to be despised by God and the king. And since you will receive money in your hearts, and not with your hands, it seems that you hold more holiness in your hands than in your hearts, and then you are false to God.

26. Why have you exempted yourselves from our king's laws and from visiting our bishops more than other Christian men who live in this realm, if you are not guilty of being traitors to our realm, or trespassers to our bishops? But you would have the king's laws for the trespass done to you, and you would have power of other bishops more than other priests, and also have leave to imprison your brethren, and lords in your courts, more than other folks who have been the king's liegemen.

27. Why should some sect of your friars pay each a year a certain amount to their general provincial or minister, or else to their sovereigns? But if he steals a certain number of children (as some men say) and certainly if this is true, then you are constrained upon a certain pain to commit theft against God's commandment, *Non furtum facies* (You shall not steal).

28. Why are you so eager to grant letters of fraternity to men and women, so they will have part and merit in all your good deeds, and you never know whether God is repaid with your deeds because of your sin? Also you never know whether that man or woman is in a state to be saved or damned; then he will have no merit in heaven for his own deeds; no, for no other

man's. And if it were so, that he would have part of your good deeds, yet he would have no more than God would give him if he was worthy; and so much will each man have of God's gift without your limitation. But if you will say that you are God's fellows, and that he may not do anything without your assent, then you are blasphemers to God.

29. What does it signify when you ordain, but that when such a person has been made your brother or sister, and has a letter with your seal on it, that letter might be brought to your holy chapter and read there — or else you will not pray for them. But if you will not specially pray for all others who were not made your brothers or sisters, then you would not be in right charity, for that ought to be common, and namely in *spiritual* things.

30. Friar, What charity is this, to overcharge the people by mightily begging under the color of preaching or praying, or of singing masses? since holy writ does not bid this, but even bids the contrary; for all such spiritual deeds should be done freely, as God gives them freely?

31. Friar, What charity is this, to beguile children or those of common discretion, and to bind them to your orders, which are not grounded in God's law, against their friends' will? since by this folly many apostates, both in will and deed, during their whole life, would gladly be discharged if they knew how; and so many have been apostates who in other states would have been true men.

32. Friar, What charity is this, to make so many friars in every country to take charge of the people? since parsons and vicars alone — yes secular priests alone, yes monks and canons alone, with bishops above them — would be enough for the church, to perform the priest's office. And to add more than enough is a foul error, and a great cost to the people. And this is openly against God's will, who ordained all things to be done in weight, number, and measure. Christ himself was accompanied with twelve apostles and a few disciples, to preach and do the priest's office to the whole world. Then it was done better than it is now by a thousand more. Just as four fingers with a thumb on a man's hand help a man to work, and double the number of fingers on one hand would hinder him more; and so the more in number there are that exceed the measure of God's ordinance, the more a man is hindered from working. Just so (it seems) it is with these new orders that have been added to the church, without the ground of holy writ and God's ordinance.

33. Friar, What charity is this, to lie to the people, and say that you follow Christ in poverty more than other men are doing? And yet in ornate and costly housing, and fine and precious clothing, and delicious and pleasant feeding, and in treasure and jewels, and rich ornaments, friars surpass lords and other rich worldly men, and they would bring about their cause the quickest (however costly), even if God's law is set aside.

34. Friar, What charity is this, to gather up the books of holy writ, and put them in treasury, and so imprison them from secular priests and curates, and by this to hinder them from preaching the gospel freely to the people without worldly reward, and also to defame good priests with heresy, and bind them openly to keep them from showing God's law by the holy gospel to the Christian people?

35. Friar, What charity is this, to feign so much holiness in your bodily clothing (which you call your habit) that many blind fools desire to die in that, more than in another? And also that a friar who leaves his habit, later found by men, may not be absolved till he takes it back, but is apostate (as you say), and cursed by God and man alike? The friar believes in truth, and chastity, meekness and sobriety, yet failing in these for the greater part of his life, he may soon be absolved by his prior; and if he brings home to his house many goods for the year (however falsely begged and swindled from the poor and needy people in the surrounding countryside) he will be held a noble friar. O Lord, can this be charity?

[163] A.D. 1220.

36. Friar, “What charity is this, to prey upon a rich man, and entice him to be buried among you from his parish-church, and give letters of fraternity to such rich men, confirmed by your general seal, and thereby convey to him that he will have a part in all your masses, mattens, preachings, fastings, wakings, and all other good deeds done by your brethren of your order (both while he lives, and after he is dead). And yet you never know whether your deeds are acceptable to God, nor whether that man who has that letter is able by good living to receive any part of your deeds. And yet a poor man (whom you know well, or suppose in certainty to have no gain from) you give no such letters, even if he is a better man to God than such a rich man. Nevertheless, this poor man is not revolted by this. For men suppose such letters, and many others that friars give to men, are false deceits of friars — beyond all reason, and God’s law, and Christian men’s faith.

37. Friar, What charity is this, to be confessors of lords and ladies, and of other mighty men, and not amend them in their living? But rather, it seems, to be even bolder to pillage their poor tenants, and to live in riot, and there to dwell in your office of confessor for winning worldly goods, and to be considered great by the color of such spiritual offices? This seems rather the pride of friars, than the charity of God.

38. Friar, What charity is this, to say that whoever lives according to your order, lives more perfectly, next after the state of apostles, in poverty and penance. And yet the wisest and greatest of your clerics wend or send, or solicit the court of Rome, to be made cardinals or bishops of the pope’s chaplains, and to be absolved of the vow of poverty and obedience to your ministers — in which (as you say) stands more perfection and merit for your orders. And thus you act like Pharisees who say one thing and do another to the contrary.

Why do you name the patron of your order in your *confiteor*<sup>194</sup> when you begin mass, more than other saints, apostles, or martyrs (which holy church holds more glorious than them), and call them your patrons and your protectors?

Friar, Was St. Francis. in making his rule that he set your order in, a fool and a liar, or else wise and true? If you say that he was not a fool, but wise; not a liar but true; then why do you show the contrary by what you do, when by your suggestion to the pope you said that your rule which Francis made was so hard, that you may not live to hold it without a declaration and a dispensation from the pope, and so by your deed? No, let your patron be a fool who made a rule so hard that no man may well keep it; and thus your deed proves him a liar, where he says in his rule, that “he took and learned it from the Holy Spirit.” For how might you, for shame, ask the pope to undo what the Holy Spirit bid, as when you asked him to dispense with the hardness of your order?

Friar, Which of the four orders of friars is best to a man who does not know which is the best, but would gladly enter into the best and no other? If you say that *yours* is the best, then you are saying that none of the others is as good as yours. And in this, each friar in the other three orders would say that you lie, for in the self-same manner each other friar will say that his order is best. And thus to each of the four orders, the other three are contrary in this point, in which if any of them spoke truly, there is one alone; for only one may be the best of the four. So it follows that if each of these orders answered this question as you do, three would be false, and only one true; and yet no man would know who it is. And thus it seems that most friars are or would be liars in this point, and they would answer to it. If you say that another order of the friars is better than yours, or as good, why did you not join the better one when you might

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<sup>194</sup> *Confiteor*: a form of prayer in which public confession of sins is made.

have chosen it at the beginning? And else, why would you be an apostate to leave your order and join the one that is better, and so why do you *not* go from your order to that one?

Friar, Is there any more perfect rule of religion than Christ God's Son gave in his gospel to his brethren? Or than that religion that St. James mentions in his epistle? If you say yes, there is, then you put on Christ (who is the wisdom of God the Father) ignorance, impotence, or an evil will. For he could not make his rule as good as another had made his. And so he was ignorant in not making his rule as good as another man might; and so too he was impotent, and not God, because he could not make his rule as perfect as another had made his; and so he would have been evil-willed, namely to himself.

For if he might, and could, and would have made a perfect rule without fault, and yet he did not, then he was not God's Son Almighty. For if any other rule is more perfect than Christ's, then Christ's rule must lack that perfection by as much as the other was more perfect; and so it was faulty, and Christ had failed in making his rule. But to put any fault or failing on God is blasphemy. If you say that Christ's rule, and that religion which St. James mentions, is perfect, then why do you not hold that rule without more? And why do you call it St. Francis' rule, or St. Dominic's rule, or religion, or order, rather than *Christ's* rule, or *Christ's* order?

Friar, Can you assign any fault to Christ's rule of the gospel (with which he taught all corrupt men to be saved) if they kept it to their end? If you say it was too hard, then you say Christ lied; for he said of his rule, "My yoke is easy, and my burden light." <sup>Mat 11.30</sup> If you say Christ's rule was too light, that may not be assigned as a fault, for the better it may be kept. If you say that there is no fault in Christ's rule of the gospel, since Christ himself says "It is light and easy," then what need was there for the patrons of friars to add more to it, and so make it a harder religion to save friars than the religion that Christ's apostles and disciples held and were saved by. But if they would have their friars sit above the apostles in heaven, for the harder religion they keep here, they would sit above Christ himself, for their larger and stricter observations — and then they would be better than Christ himself by accident.

Now go forth and train your clerics, and ground yourselves in God's law, and give Jack an answer. And when you have absolved me, that what I have said sadly is truth, I will convict you of your orders, and save you to heaven.

If friars cannot or may not excuse themselves from these questions asked of them, it seems that they are horribly guilty against God, and even being Christian. For these guilts and faults, it would be worthy that the order which they call their order should be done away with. And it is a wonder that men sustain them or allow their living in such a manner. For holy writ bids that you "do good to the meek, and do not give to the wicked, but forbid to give them bread, lest thereby they be made mightier through you." <sup>195</sup>

After these digressions, we may now return to the course of our history again.

### ***Council Held at London, 1221 — The Pope's Exactions Refused.***

After England had been subjected by King John, and made tributary to the pope, it is incredible how the insatiable avarice of the Romans oppressed and wrung the commons and all estates of the realm, especially beneficed men, and those who had anything of the church. They were brought into such slavery and penury that, although the king dared not remedy their wrongs by himself, yet by his advice, Simon Montfort and the Earl of Leicester, with other noblemen, thought to bridle and restrain the insatiable ravaging of these greedy wolves. They devised a letter, giving command to the ecclesiastics, and to those who had

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<sup>195</sup> There is no such text in the Bible, nor in the apocrypha, though Psa 37.1-3 is akin.

churches to farm, so that they would not pay the Romans such farms (fees) and rents anymore. The letter is as follows:

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*“A complaint of the nobles of England against the intolerable  
covetousness of the Pope and Prelates of Rome.”*

“To such and such a bishop, and such a chapter; all the university and company of those who would rather die than be confounded by the Romans, wishes health. How the Romans and their legates have up to now behaved themselves toward you and other ecclesiastical persons of this realm of England is not unknown to your discretion, in disposing and giving away the benefices of the realm according to their own fancies, to the intolerable prejudice and grievance of both you and all other Englishmen. For whereas the collation of benefices should and does properly belong to you and your fellow bishops (ecclesiastical persons), they thunder against you the sentence of excommunication, and ordain that you should not bestow them upon any person of this realm, until in every diocese and cathedral church within the realm, five Romans, whom the pope shall name, are provided for, to the sum of a hundred pounds a year for every man. Besides these, the Romanists inflict on the laity and nobles of the realm many other grievances for the patronages and alms bestowed by them and their ancestors, for the support of the poor of the realm, and also for the clergy and ecclesiastical persons of the realm regarding their livings and benefices. And yet the Romans, not content with these, also take from the clergy of this realm the benefices which they have to bestow on men of their own country, etc.

“Therefore, we consider the rigorous austerity of these aforesaid Romans, who once came here as mere strangers, but now take it upon themselves not only to judge, but also to condemn us, laying upon us insupportable burdens, to which they will not put one of their own fingers to move. And putting our heads together, upon a general and full advice had among ourselves concerning these things, we have thought it good, although very late, to withstand them, rather than be subject to their intolerable oppressions, and greater slavery to be looked for hereafter. For this cause we straitly charge and command you (as your friends going about to deliver you, the church, the king, and the kingdom from that miserable yoke of servitude) that you do not intermeddle, or take any part concerning such exactions or rents to be required or given to these Romans. We are leaving you to understand for a truth, that in case you are (God forbid) found culpable in this, not only your goods and possessions shall be in danger of burning, but you also in your persons shall incur the same peril and punishment as the Romish oppressors themselves. Thus fare you well.”

In the reign of Henry III, cardinal Otto was sent from the pope with letters to the king, as other letters also were sent to other places for exactions of money.

The king, opening the letters and perceiving the contents, answered that, “He alone could say nothing in the matter which concerned all the clergy and commons of the whole realm.” Not long after, a council was called at Westminster (A.D. 1221), where the letters were opened. The form was this:

“We require to be given to us, first, from all cathedral churches, two prebends,<sup>196</sup> one for the bishops’ part, the other for the chapter; and likewise from monasteries where there are diverse portions, one for the abbot, another for the convent; from the convent so much as pertains to one monk, the portion of the goods being proportionally divided; from the abbot likewise as much,” etc.

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<sup>196</sup> *Prebend*: The stipend assigned by a cathedral to a canon.

When those proposals of the legate were propounded in the assembly on the pope's behalf, answer was given that the matter concerned especially the king; but in general it touched all the archbishops, with their suffragans, the bishops, and all the prelates of the realm. Seeing that the king was absent because of his sickness, and the archbishop of Canterbury, with other bishops, also were not there, in their absence, therefore, they had nothing to say in the matter, nor could they do so without the prejudice of those who were absent. And so the assembly broke up.

Not long after, Cardinal Otto, coming again from Rome, called another council at London, and caused all prelates, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and others of the clergy, to be summoned to the council, to be held in the church of St. Paul's, at London. The pretense of this council was for the redress of matters concerning benefices and religion. But the chief and principal object was to hunt for money, and to put them in fear and in hope, some to lose, some to obtain spiritual promotions at his hand. He thought some gain would rise thereby, and so it did. For in the meantime, precious gifts were offered to him in palfreys, in rich plate and jewels, in costly and sumptuous garments, richly furred; in coin, in victuals, and similar things of value, well worthy of acceptance. In this, one endeavored to exceed another in munificence.

The time of the council drawing near, the cardinal commanded that at the west end of St. Paul's church, a high and solemn throne be prepared, rising up with a glorious scaffold upon substantial stages strongly built, and of great height. Thus, on the day assigned, the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and others of the prelacy, assembled both far and near throughout all England, wearied and vexed with the winter's journey, bringing their letters procuratory. Being assembled together, the cardinal was about to begin his sermon, when a great dispute broke out between the two archbishops of Canterbury and York, about sitting at the right hand and left hand of the glorious cardinal, for which the one appealed against the other. The cardinal, to pacify the strife between them, brought out a bull of the pope; in the midst of this bull, was pictured the figure of the cross. On the right side of the cross stood the image of St. Paul, and on the left side St. Peter.

“Lo!” said the cardinal, holding open the bull with the cross, “here you see St. Peter on the left hand of the cross, and St. Paul on the right, and yet there is between these two no contention, for both are of equal glory. And yet St. Peter, for the prerogative of his keys, and for the preeminence of his apostleship and cathedral dignity, seems most worthy to be placed on the right side. Yet because St. Paul believed in Christ when he had not seen him, he therefore has the right hand of the cross; for ‘blessed are those,’ says Christ, ‘who do not see, and yet have believed.’” Joh 20.29

And from that time forth, the archbishop of Canterbury enjoyed the right hand, and the archbishop of York the left. The reason why the pope was so greedy and needy of money, was this. He had mortal hatred and had waged continual battle against the good emperor Frederick II, who had married Isabel, the sister of King Henry.

Therefore, because the pope's war could not be sustained without charges, it made the pope more importunate to take money in all places, but especially in England. So that he was not ashamed to require one fifth of every ecclesiastical man's living, as Matthew Paris writes. And he bargained with the citizens of Rome that if they would join with him in vanquishing Frederick, he would grant to them, that all the benefices in England, which might be vacant, would be bestowed at their own will to their children and kinsfolk! Upon this, it follows thus Paris's history:

“The pope sent commandment to the archbishop of Canterbury and four other bishops, that provision should be made for 300 Romans in the chief and best benefices in all England at the next vacancies, so that the archbishop and bishops should be suspended in the meantime from all collation or gift of benefices, until the foresaid 300 were provided for.”

At length the bishops, abbots, and archdeacons came to the king, lamentably complaining of the exactions of the pope. Seeing that the matter did not affect them alone but the whole church, and seeing that the valuation of churches was better known to their archdeacons than to themselves, they desired of the king that there might therefore be a general calling and conference on the matter. During the octaves of St. John the Baptist, the day and place was assigned where they would confer. At that day and place the prelates of England, assembling together, dared not give any direct denial of that contribution, but in a modest way they insinuated certain exceptions against it.<sup>197</sup>

[165] A.D. 1226.

At length the ambassadors who were at Rome came home, bringing word that the pope, hearing what was done in the Council of Westminster, and by the king, was greatly displeased with him and the realm, denouncing the king and his people as half schismatics. The king was incredibly incensed at this, and commanded by general proclamation throughout his realm, that no man should hereafter consent to any tax or subsidy of money for the court of Rome. But afterwards, for fear of the pope, and partly through the persuasions of the bishop of Worcester and other prelates, the king gave in.

### **Insolent Conduct of the Pope's Legate at Oxford.**

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<sup>197</sup> Not long after, followed a general council at Lyons (A.D. 1245) called by pope Innocent IV. in which the English nation exhibited the following articles of their grievances.

- I. The kingdom of England is grieved that the pope, not being content with his Peter-pence, requires and extorts from the clergy great exactions, without the consent of the king, and against the customs of the realm.
- II. The church and kingdom of England is grieved, that the patrons of the same cannot present as they were accustomed, to their churches because of the pope's letters; but the churches are given to Romans, who know neither the realm nor the language, both to the great peril of souls and robbing away the money out of the realm.
- III. It is grieved, because the pope having agreed by his letters, that in requiring pensions and provisions in the realm of England he would require only twelve benefices; now, contrary to his agreement and letter, many more benefices and provisions are given away by him.
- IV. The realm is grieved and complains that in the benefices in England, one Italian succeeds another, the Englishmen not only being excluded, but also compelled for determining their matters, to seek to Rome, contrary both to the customs of the realm, and also to the privileges granted by the pope's predecessors to the king and kingdom of England.
- V. The fifth grievance is for the frequent recourse of that infamous legate, by whom both faith and fidelity, the ancient customs of the realm, the authorities of old grants, statutes, laws, and privileges, are annulled and abrogated, whereby an infinite number in England are grievously afflicted and oppressed.
- VI. The realm is also grieved in general taxings, collections and assessments made without the king's consent, the appeal and contradiction of the king's proctors to the contrary notwithstanding.
- VII. The realm complains and is grieved, that in the benefices given to Italians, neither the old ordinances, nor relief of the poor, nor hospitality, nor any preaching of God's word, nor care of men's souls, nor service in the church, nor yet the walls of the churches are kept up and maintained, as the manner and custom of the realm requires.

Over and above these grievances, other letters also came from the pope, charging and commanding the prelates of England to find at their own costs and charges for one whole year, some ten armed soldiers, some five, some fifteen, to be ready at the pope's command wherever he should appoint.

After these and other grievances and enormities of Rome, the states of England, consulting together, direct their letters to the pope, for their reformation. First the abbots and priors, then the bishops and suffragans, afterward the nobles and barons, last of all the king himself. [ED.]



At this time it is said of the legate Otto, that as he left no place unsought where any advantage might be gotten. So among others, he came to Oxford, where he was received with great honor. The scholars presented him honorably with such dishes and rewards as they had, thinking to gratify the cardinal in the best manner. This being done before dinner, and the dinner being ended, they came reverently to see and welcome him, supposing that they also might be entertained with like courtesy. As they came to the gate, the porter (an Italian) asks what they wanted. They said they came to see the lord legate. But the porter holding the door half open, with proud and insolent language thrust them out, and would not allow them to enter. The scholars seeing this, thrust open the gate by force and came in. And when the Romans who were within tried to repel them with their fists, and such staffs as they had in their hands, they fell to much heaving and pushing, and many blows were given on both sides. In the meantime, while some of the scholars ran home for their weapons, a poor scholar (an Irishman) happened to stand at the gate waiting for his alms. When the master-cook saw him at the gate, he took hot scalding water and cast it in his face. One of the scholars, a Welshman, who came with his bow and shafts, seeing this, let fly an arrow, and shot this master of cooks clean through the body, and slew him at once. When the cook fell dead, there was a mighty uproar and a great clamor throughout the house. The cardinal, hearing the tumult and great noise about him, like a valiant Roman, he ran as fast as he could into the steeple, and there locked the doors tight, where he remained till midnight. The scholars in the meanwhile, not yet pacified, sought all about for the legate, exclaiming and crying out, "Where is that usurer, that simonist, that pilferer and taxer of our livings, that prowler and extortioner of our money, who perverts our king, and subverts his kingdom, enriching himself with our spoils:" etc. The cardinal heard all this and held his peace. When the night approaching had broken up the field, the cardinal coming out of his fort, and taking his horse in the silence of night, was privately conveyed over the river to the king.

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Mention was made a little earlier of the Albigenses living around the city of Toulouse. These Albigenses, because they began to expose the pope, and control the inordinate proceedings and discipline of the See of Rome, the pope therefore considered them a heretical people. He excited Louis, the young French king, through the example of Philip his father, to lay siege against Toulouse in order to eradicate and extinguish these Albigenses. Whereupon Louis reared a mighty army to beset the city. But after he had long wearied himself and his men, there fell upon the French host such famine and pestilence of both men and horses, besides the daily slaughter of the soldiers, that Louis was forced to retire and return to France. In the slaughter, besides many others. Earl Simon de Montfort was slain. He was general of the army, to whom the lands of the earl of Toulouse were given by the pope.

In the year 1226, Pope Honorius III died, a great adversary against the Emperor Frederick. He was succeeded by Gregory IX (r. 1227-1241). In this same year, Louis, the perjured French king, died at the siege of Avignon. The pope had set him up for the second or third time to fight against Reymond the good earl of Toulouse, and against the Albigenses of that country. The origin of the conflict was this. In the days of Philip the French king, Reymond (earl of Toulouse) was disdained by the pope for siding with the Albigenses. And therefore, by the instigation of the pope, the lands of the earl were taken from him and given to Simon Montfort. But when Earl Reymond would not be removed from the right of his possessions, the pope had Philip make war against him. Whereupon Louis VIII (his son) was sent, as declared above, to besiege the city of Toulouse. But being repulsed, he returned home after he had lost most of his army by pestilence and other calamity. And thus the good earl

continued in quiet possession till this present time (A.D. 1226). Then the pope — not forgetting his old malice against the earl, and no less inflamed with insatiable avarice — sent his legate Romanus to France for two purposes: one was to extirpate the earl, the other was to enlarge his own revenues. Thus the legate summoned a council, requiring the French king, along with the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of France, to appear before him at Bitures. The council being set, and the pope's letters read, Reymond earl of Toulouse appears before them on the one part, and Simon Montfort on the other. Simon demanded the lands and possessions of Reymond, which the pope and Philip the French king had given to him and to his father before him, as confirmed by the donation of the pope and of the king. Moreover, Earl Reymond was deprived and disinherited in the general council at Rome for the heresy. This is called *the heresy of the Albigenses*.

Earl Reymond responded to this, offering himself as ready to perform all duty and office both towards the French king and to the church of Rome, whatever duly pertained to him.

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As to the heresy with which he was charged, in that council he not only offered himself before the legate, but most humbly entreated him, that he might take the pains to come into every city within his precinct, to inquire of every person what were the articles of his belief. And if he found any person or persons holding to what was not catholic, he would see that person corrected and amended according to the censure of holy church, to the uttermost. Or if he should find any city rebelling against him, he would to the uttermost of his might, compel the inhabitants to make satisfaction. As to himself, if he had committed or erred in anything, he offered to make full satisfaction to God and the church, as became any faithful Christian man to do, etc. But the legate despised all this, nor could the catholic earl find any grace there, unless he would give up his heritage, both for himself and his heirs forever.

After much altercation on both sides about the matter, the legate required every archbishop to call aside his suffragans to deliberate with them on the case, and to give in writing what was concluded. This being done accordingly, the legate denounced excommunication against anyone who would reveal any part of what was concluded there, before the pope and the king had intelligence of it.

#### **Siege of Avignon, A.D. 1226 — Perjury of the Pope's Legate.**

In the meantime, certain preaching friars were directed by the legate, throughout France, to incite and stir up the French to take up the cross, and to war against the earl and the people of Toulouse, whom they accounted as heretics. He did not cease to prosecute the pope's fury against the earl and his subjects, stirring up the king and the French, under pain of excommunication, to war against them. Louis thus being forced by the legate, answered that for his own safety he would not achieve that expedition, nor venture against the earl, unless the pope first wrote to the king of England, commanding him that, during the time of that expedition, he would invade and molest no piece of his lands and possessions. All this being done and accomplished, the French king and the legate, crossing themselves to the field, appointed a day for the French army to meet together at Lyons to set upon the Toulousians with horse and armor, under pain of the pope's excommunication.

When the day had come, the French king marched forward with a mighty host. After him came the legate with his bishops and prelates. The number of fighting-men in his army, besides the victuallers and waggons, were fifty thousand men. The legate openly excommunicated the earl of Toulouse, and all who took his part, and interdicted his whole land. Thus the king came marching forward till he came into the province of Toulouse. The

first city of the earl's which he came to was Avignon, which they thought first to besiege, and then to destroy and waste the whole province belonging to the earl. First the king demanded that they give him passage through the city, pretending peace, saying that he desired only to pass through. The citizens, consulting with themselves as to what was to be done, answered that they, "mistrusted their coming, and supposed it was by deceit that they required entrance into their city, and not for the necessity of their journey."

The king being much offended at this, swore an oath that he would not depart till he had taken the city, and immediately he began to make assaults. The citizens manfully defended themselves, and casting stone for stone, shooting shot for shot, they slew and wounded many of the French. Thus when the French had long besieged the city, and could not win it, at length provisions began to fail in the French camp, and many of the French army died for hunger. The earl of Toulouse, as a wise man of war, hearing of their coming, had taken into the town all the provision that was abroad, and left nothing outside to serve for the defense and succor of the French. He ploughed up the fields so there would be no pasture to serve their horses; he put all the old people and young children out of the town before the French arrived. He sent them far away, lest those who kept the town would lack provisions; so that within the town they had plenty, and without they died of famine. Besides this, in seeking forage, many of the French fell into the hands of those who kept the city, who secretly lay in wait for them abroad, and slew many of them. A great number of cattle and horses died for lack of forage; and poor soldiers, who had no great store of money, died for lack of victuals. Because of this mortality a pestilence broke out among them, so that the king and also the legate were greatly dismayed, thinking it would be no little disgrace to the realm of France, as well as also to Rome, that they should depart and break up their siege. And the soldiers also thought that it was much better for them to end their lives in battle, than to starve and die like dogs. Therefore, with one consent, they determined to make a new assault at the bridge that goes over the river Rhone into the town. They came to this place in such numbers, that either by the weakness of the bridge, or by the subtlety of the soldiers who kept the town, the bridge broke, and three thousand men, with bridge and all, fell armed into the violent stream, and were drowned. There was nothing then but joy and gladness among the citizens of Avignon, and much lamentation and heaviness among the others. Shortly after, the citizens suddenly came upon the French (when they saw a convenient time for it), and slew two thousand of them, then safely returned to the town. Louis the king, to avoid the pestilence that was in the camp, went into an abbey not far off, where he died shortly after. There are various opinions about his death, some saying that he was poisoned; some that he died of dysentery.

The legate thought to keep Louis' death secret till the town surrendered; for he thought he would be disgraced forever if he departed before the town was taken. So he considered how he might betray them by falsehood. He sent certain heralds to ask the citizens to consult among themselves about articles of peace, and bring them to the French camp. They faithfully promised the safe conduct of the messengers, both in coming and going. And when they had given their pledges, the messengers from the citizens talked with the legate, who promised them that if they would deliver up their city, they would have their lives, goods, and possessions in as ample a manner as they now enjoyed them. But the citizens and soldiers refused. After much talk on both sides, the legate requested that he and his prelates might come into their city to examine what faith and belief they were of. He said that he neither sought nor meant any other thing, but their own safety of body as well as of soul, which he faithfully swore to. "For," he says, "the report of your great infidelity has come to the lord pope's ear, and therefore he desired us to truly certify it." The citizens, not

mistrusting his oath and promise, granted entrance to him and the clergy. But the soldiers of the camp, as privately arranged by the legate, made themselves ready. So that at the entrance of the prelates at the gate, disregarding their oath and fidelity, the soldiers suddenly and with violence rushed in, slew the porter and warders, and at length won the city and destroyed it. Thus, when they had taken this noble city by falsehood and policy, they carried the king's corpse to Paris, where they buried it. Of the whole number of the French soldiers who were destroyed in this siege by famine, pestilence, and drowning, there were 22,000.

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In the former part of this history, it was stated how the church and commons of England were miserably afflicted by the intolerable oppression of the pope, who, through his violent extortion, had procured the best benefices to be given to his Romans, and the chief fruits of them to be reserved to his own coffers. You heard before what complaints had been made, yet no redress could be had. Such was the insatiable avarice of these Roman exactors, prowling and taking wherever they came, with their provisions and exactions beyond measure, and never satisfied. These importunate exactions and contributions to these Italian harpies, besides the Peter-pence, besides the common tribute, increased daily more and more, to the great grievance of the realm. So that the wealth of this land was almost sucked out, and transferred to the court of Rome.

[167] A.D. 1226-1232.

The king was not ignorant of this, but he could not help the matter. Therefore it was devised by some of the nobles (A.D. 1231), that certain letters, under the pretended authority of the king, should be sent abroad, commanding that whatever corn and grain, with other revenues, were taken up for the pope, should be stayed until a certain day appointed in the letters.

At that time, (about A.D. 1232), there was a great consistory of abbots, priors, archdeacons, with several both of the nobility and clergy at St. Albans. As this consistory was breaking up, a certain cleric named Cincius, a Roman, was carried away by the soldiers; and John, archdeacon of Norwich, a Florentine, barely escaped and got to London, where he hid himself. Cincius, after being kept five weeks, when they had well emptied his bags, was safely sent back to London without any more injury.

Not long after this, the barns of a beneficed man, a Roman, being full of corn, were broke up by a similar company of armed soldiers, and the corn was brought out to be sold and given away to the poor people.

The same year, about Easter, all the barns in England which were in the hands of any Roman or Italian, were likewise pillaged, and the corn sold to the best advantage for the poor commoners. Great alms of these were distributed, and many times money together with corn was scattered for the poor people to gather up. Nor was there anyone who would or dared stand against them. As for the Romans and Italians themselves, they were struck with such fear, that they hid themselves in monasteries and cells, not daring to complain of their injuries, but thought it better to lose their goods, than to lose their lives. The authors and workers of this feat numbered eighty armed soldiers, of whom the principal captain was someone calling himself William Withers, surnamed Twing.

This coming to the pope's knowledge, he sent his letters immediately to the king, with sharp threats and imperious commands, charging him for allowing such villainy within his realm,

strictly enjoining him, under pain of excommunication, to search out the perpetrators with all diligence, and to so punish them, that all others might take example from them.

Thus, after an inquisition was made of all parties, and witnesses were sworn and examined, many were found culpable in the matter, some who were actors, some who were consenters, of whom some were bishops and chaplains to the king; some were archdeacons and deans, with soldiers and laymen. Among them was the Robert Twing mentioned above, a handsome young man, and a tall soldier. Of his own accord, with five other servitors whom he took with him abroad to work that feat, he came to the king, openly admitting that he was the author of that deed. He said he did it for hatred of the pope and the Romans, because by the sentence of the bishop of Rome, and the fraudulent circumvention of the Italians, he was bereaved of the patronage of his benefice, having no more to give but that one. Therefore, to be revenged of that injury, he enterprised what was done, preferring to be justly excommunicated for a season, rather than be spoiled of his benefice forever. Then the king, and other executors of the pope's commandment, counselled him, that seeing he had so incurred the danger of the pope's sentence, he should offer himself to the pope to be absolved by him, and there make his declaration to him, that he was justly and canonically possessed of that church. Moreover, the king sent with him his letters testimonial to the pope, urgently desiring the pope that he might be heard with favor. At this request, Pope Gregory both released him of the sentence, and restored to him his patronage, writing to the archbishop of York, that he might again enjoy the right of his benefice, in as ample a manner as he did before it was taken from him.

#### **Variance between Pope Gregory IX and the Romans.**

At this time, dissension and variance began in Rome, between the pope and the citizens. The citizens claimed by old custom and law, that the bishop of Rome might not excommunicate any citizen of the city, nor suspend the city with any interdict for any manner of excess.

To this the pope answered, "That although he was less than God, yet he was greater than any man — and therefore, greater than any citizen, even greater than king or emperor." And as he is their spiritual father, he both should, and lawfully may chastise his children when they offend, as being subject to him in the faith of Christ.

The citizens alleged again for themselves that the authorities of the city, and the senators, received a yearly tribute from the church of Rome, which the bishops of Rome were bound to pay to them, both by new and also ancient laws. They had ever been in possession of this yearly tribute prior to Pope Gregory IX.

To this the pope answered that although the church of Rome in time of persecution, for defense and peace, usually respected the rulers of the city with gentle rewards, yet that should not be taken as a custom; for only that custom should stand, which does not consist in examples, but upon right and reason.

By these and such other controversies rising between the pope and the Romans, such dissension was kindled that the pope with the cardinals, leaving the city of Rome, removed themselves to Perusium (Perugia), there to remain and to plant themselves. But the Romans overthrew several of his houses in the city, for which he excommunicated them. The Romans then fled to the emperor, desiring his aid and succor. But to please the pope, he gathered an army and went rather against the Romans. Then the pope's army, whose captains were Raymond the earl of Toulouse (to purchase the pope's favor), and Peter the bishop of Winchester, whom the pope had sent for — partly for his treasure, partly for his skill in feats of war — and the emperor's army, joined together. Going about the city of

Rome (A.D. 1228), they tore down eighteen of the castles or mansions belonging to the citizens round about the suburbs, and destroyed all their vines and vineyards about the city. The Romans not a little enraged, broke out of the city with more heat than order, numbering 100.000, to destroy Viterbium (Viterbo), the pope's city, with sword and fire. But the multitude being in disorder, and out of battle-array, and unprepared for contingencies, fell into the hands of their enemies who laid in wait for them, destroying a great number. On both sides, 30.000 were slain; but the greater portion was of the citizens. And this dissension thus begun, was not soon ended, but continued long after.

By these and other such histories, who does not see how far the church of Rome has degenerated from the true image of the right church of Christ? By the rule and example of the gospel, the Church ought to be a daughter of peace, not a mother of debate, not a revenger of herself, nor a seeker of wars; but a forgiver of injuries, humbly and patiently referring all revenge to the Lord; not a raker for riches, but a winner of souls; not contending for worldly mastership, but humbling themselves as servants; and not vicars of the Lord, but jointly serving together like brethren, bishops with bishops, ministers with ministers, deacons with deacons; and not as masters separating themselves by superiority one from another, but briefly communicating together in doctrine and counsel, one particular church with another; not as a mother, one over another, but rather as a sister, one church with another, seeking together the glory of Christ, and not their own. And such was the church of Rome at first, in the beginning of her primitive state, especially while the cross of persecution kept the bishops and ministers in humility of heart, fervently calling upon the Lord for help. So that, happy was that Christian then, who with liberty of conscience might only hold onto his life, however meagerly he lived. And as for the pride and pomp of the world, such as striving for patrimonies, buying bishoprics, grasping for benefices, this was so far off from them, that they had little leisure then, and less desire to so much as once think of them. Nor did the bishops of Rome then fight to be consuls of the city, but sought how to bring the consuls to Christ, being glad if the consuls would permit them to dwell with them in the city.

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Nor did they then presume so high as to bring the emperors' necks under their yoke, but were glad to save their own necks in any corner, from the sword of the emperors. Then they lacked outward peace, but they abounded with inward consolation — God's holy Spirit mightily working in their hearts. Then there was one catholic unity of truth and doctrine among all churches, against errors and sects. Neither did the east and west, nor distance of place divide the church; but both the eastern church and western church, the Greeks and Latins, made all one church. And although there were then five patriarchal sees appointed for order's sake, differing one from another in regions, and perhaps also in some rites, yet all these consented together in one unity of catholic doctrine, having one God, one Christ, one Spirit, one faith, one baptism, one head. They were linked together in one bond of charity, and in one equality of honor. They made altogether one body, one church, one communion, called one Catholic, Universal, and Apostolic Church. And so long as this knot of charity and equality joined them in one unity together, so long the church of Christ flourished and increased. One was ready to help and harbor another in time of distress, such as Agapetus and Vigilius fleeing to Constantinople, where they were aided by the patriarch, etc. So that all this while, no foreign enemy, nor Saracen, nor Suldan, nor Sultan, nor Calipha, nor Corasmine, nor Turk, had any power to greatly harm it.

***Separation of Eastern and Western Churches – 1230.***

But through the malice of the enemy, this catholic unity did not long continue. It was all because the bishop of Rome, not content to be like his brethren, began to extend himself, and to claim superiority above the other four patriarchal sees, and all other churches in the world. And thus, just as equality among Christian bishops was oppressed by pride, so unity began to be dissolved little by little; and the Lord's vesture, which the soldiers left whole, began to be divided. <sup>Joh 19.24</sup> This vesture of Christian unity, though for a long time it was torn asunder by the aforesaid occasion, it held together in part by some mean agreement, under subjection to the See of Rome, till the time of Pope Gregory IX (A.D. 1230). At that time this rupture and schism of the church broke out into obvious division, utterly dissevering the eastern church from the western church, on the following occasion.

There was a certain archbishop elected to an archbishopric among the Grecians. Coming to Rome to be confirmed, he could not be admitted unless he promised a great sum of money. When he refused to do this, and detested the execrable simony of the court of Rome, he returned home again to his own country, unconfirmed. He declaring there, to the whole nobility of that land, how the case stood. There were others also, who having come recently from Rome, and having experienced the same or worse treatment, came in and gave testimony to the truth of what he said. Upon which all the churches of the Grecians, hearing this, departed utterly from the church of Rome — in the days of Pope Gregory IX.

It happened shortly after this separation of the Grecians from Pope Gregory (A.D. 1237), that Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, wrote to the pope, humbly desiring him to study and seek some means of unity, so that the seamless coat of the Lord Jesus, thus lamentably rent, not with the hands of soldiers, but by the discord of prelates, might be healed again. Besides this, he offered that if he would take the pains to do so, he for his part, notwithstanding his old age and feeble body, would not refuse to meet Gregory mid-way — so that the truth on both sides being debated by the Scriptures, the wrong may be reduced, the slander stopped, and unity reformed between them.

This request of the patriarch, as it was both godly and reasonable, so it should have been the pope's part, with like humility, to have yielded and agreed to it, and to have been glad with all his might to help forward the reformation of Christian unity in the church of Christ. Thus he would have shown himself to be the son of peace. But the proud bishop of Rome, more like the son of discord and dissension, still standing upon his majesty, refused. He wrote an answer to Germanus' letters, with great disdain, seeking nothing else, but how to advance his see above all other churches. And not only that, but shortly after, he sent forth his preaching friars, to move all Christians to take up the sign of the cross, and to fight against the Grecians, no less than against the Turks and Saracens. So that in the isle of Cyprus, many good men and martyrs were slain, as seen by the letters of Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople.

Shortly after, pope Gregory prepared to send men-of-war (ships) signed with the cross, to fight against the Grecians. Whereupon the archbishop of Antioch, with Germanus, solemnly excommunicated the pope, after he had first excommunicated them. In the meantime, by the tenor of the letters of the patriarch sent to the pope and to the cardinals, the following is evident to all men.

*First*, that the whole universal church of Christ from the east to the west, in ancient times, was altogether united in one consent of doctrine, and linked together in brotherly charity, one church brotherly helping another with both temporal aid and spiritual counsel, as the case required. Nor was there any one mother-church above other churches, but the whole universal

church was the mother church and spouse of the Lord to every faithful believer. Under the universal church in general, were comprehended all other particular churches in particular, as sister churches together, not one greater than another, but all in like equality, as God gave his gifts so serving one another, ever holding together the unity of faith and sisterly love. And it was so long, it might rightly be called "the catholic church," having in it true unity, universality and free consent. Unity in doctrine, universality in communicating and joining together of voices, consent in spirit and judgment. For whatever was taught at Rome touching faith and salvation, was none other than what was taught at Antioch, Syria, etc.

*Secondly*, how over time, through the occasion of the tyranny and violent oppression of the bishops of Rome, this ring of equality being broken, all flew into pieces, the eastern church from the western, the Greeks from the Latins, and that which was one before, was now made two; unity turned to division, universality to singularity, and free consent to dissension.

*Thirdly*, here it is also to be noted following this piteous breach of equality, how many and what great nations departed from the communion of the church of Rome, and especially about this time (A.D. 1230), so that both before and after that time, many councils were held, and many things were concluded in the western church, to which one half of Christendom in the east never agreed. On the other hand, many councils were held with them, which were not received in the Latin church. So that the church now, just as she lost the benefit of universal consent, so too she lost the name *catholic*. Upon which, this question is to be asked: When the Fourth Council of Lateran (A.D. 1215) under pope Innocent III ordained the doctrine of transubstantiation, and auricular confession here in the western church, without the free consent of the eastern church, is that doctrine to be considered catholic or not?

*Fourthly*, in the departing of these churches from the bishop of Rome, there is also to be noted that the churches of the Greeks, although they separated themselves from the church of Rome, and justly so, yet they still kept their unity with their God, and still received the true and sincere doctrine of faith, ready to discuss and try the truth of their religion by the Scriptures. Therefore the church of Rome has done them open wrong. For when the Greeks offered so gently, to try and to be tried by the truth of God's word, Rome not only would stand no trial, nor abide any conference, but even excommunicated as heretics, those who appear to have been more orthodox Christians than they were themselves.

*Fifthly*, these things being so, we have to conclude that the church of Rome falsely pretends to be catholic, for if the name *catholic* must import a universal consent of the whole, how can that be catholic where the consent of so many famous and true Christian churches has been lacking, and further, where the consent that existed among themselves, has been constrained rather than being any true or free consent.

[169] A.D. 1232-1237.

And this is easily proved. For let the fires and faggots (kindling) cease; let kings and princes leave off pressing their subjects with obedience to the pope; let the Scripture and the bishops alone, every one in his own diocese, to govern their flock according to the rule of God's word, and how few there are in this western world, who would not do the same that these Grecians, Ethiopians, and Syrians have done before us.

When I consider the acts of Gregory IX, and then the conduct of the Greek church, I cannot but commend their wisdom, and judge their state happy and blessed in shaking off from their necks the miserable yoke of the pope's tyranny. And on the other side, considering the wretched thralldom of these our churches here in the western part of the world under the bishop of Rome, I cannot tell whether I am more to marvel at or to lament their pitiful state. They were brought into such oppression and slavery under him, that they could neither



abide him, nor dare to cast him off. So intolerable were his exactions, so terrible was his tyranny, his suspensions and excommunications — like a madman's dagger, drawn at every trifle — that no Christian patience could suffer it, nor nation abide it. Again, so deep did he sit in their consciences, that they falsely believed him to have the authority of St. Peter, and that for conscience' sake neither king nor emperor dared withstand him, much less their poor subjects. Although his takings and spoilings in this realm of England were such that neither the laity nor spirituality (clergy) could bear them, yet there was no remedy. They must bear them, or else the pope's sentence was upon them, to curse them as black as pitch.

In reading the histories of these times, any good heart would lament and rue to see the miserable captivity of the people suffered under this thralldom of the bishop of Rome.

*A brief Table or Declaration of the Pope's unreasonable gatherings, exactions, and oppressions in the realm of England.*

First, to begin with the elections of the bishops, abbots, deans, and priors within this realm, it cannot be told what mass of money flowed to the popes by them in this king's time. For no election happened either of archbishop, bishop, abbot, or any dignity, but that the convent or chapter had chosen one, and the king would set up another. In that case, when the other appealed to Rome, no small rivers of English money went flowing into the pope's sea. And even if the election was ever so clear, the new elect must respect the Holy Father with some gentle reward. A number of examples follow.

A contention happened between the king and the monks of Winchester, about the election of William Rale, whom the monks had chosen, but the king refused. And therefore he sent to Rome, with no small sum of money to evacuate the election of William Rale. He also commanded that the gates of Winchester should be shut against him; and that no man should be so hardy as to receive him into the house. Upon this, William being excluded, after he had laid his curse upon the whole city of Winchester, repaired to Rome, where for promising eight hundred marks to the pope, his bishopric (in spite of the king) was confirmed (Ex. Mat. Paris, fol. 164 and 240).

After the death of Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, the monks had elected Walter, a monk of Canterbury. But to stop that election, the king sent to the pope to annul it. Perceiving at first how hard and unwilling the pope and cardinals were to do this, and considering how all things might be bought for money, rather than have the king fail in his purpose, his proctors promised to the pope on the king's behalf, a tenth of all the movables in the realm of England and Ireland. At the contemplation of this money, the pope soon began to pick quarrels with Walter for not rightly answering his questions about Christ's descending to hell; the making of Christ's body on the altar; the weeping of Rachel for her children, she being dead beforehand; about the sentence of excommunication, and certain causes of matrimony. Walter was therefore put aside, and the king's man preferred, which cost the whole realm of England and Ireland a tenth of their moveable goods. (Ex. Mat. Paris, fol. 71.)

There was also a similar dissension between the king and the convent of Durham for not choosing Master Lucas the king's chaplain, whom the king offered to be their bishop, after much money had been bestowed on both sides. The pope defeated them both. He admitted neither Master William (the monks' choice), nor Master Lucas, but ordained the bishop of Sarum to be their bishop (A.D. 1228).

Between the monks of Coventry, and the canons of Lichfield there arose another quarrel, as to which of them should have the superior voice in choosing their bishop. In this suit, after

much money was bestowed in the court of Rome, the pope (to requite each for their money) gave this order: that each by course would have the choosing of the bishop. (A.D. 1228)

What business likewise arose between Edmund archbishop of Canterbury, and the monks of Rochester, about the election of Richard Wendour to be their bishop? And what was the end? First, the archbishop was obliged to travel to the pope, and the convent also sent their proctors. Being better monied, they weighed down the cause, so that the good archbishop was condemned by the pope to pay 1000 marks, of which the greatest part (no doubt) redounded to the pope's coffers. (A.D. 1233) After Edmund archbishop of Canterbury returned from Rome, the monks of Canterbury had elected their prior without his assent; for which he excommunicated the monks, and evacuated their election.

Not long after this, the pope's exactors went about extorting from the churchmen a fifth of their goods for the service of the pope, who was then fighting against the emperor. This cruel exaction being resisted a great while by the prelates and clergy, at length the archbishop, thinking thereby to get the victory against the monks, was content to grant the exaction, adding moreover of his own, for an overplus, 800 marks; whereupon the rest of the clergy were obliged to follow suit, and contribute to the pope's exactors. (A.D. 1240)

In the church of Lincoln there arose a contention between Robert Grosthead, then bishop, and the canons of the cathedral church, about their visitation — whether the bishop should visit them, or the dean; the bishop and the chapter both went to Rome. After they had well wasted their purses, they received at length their answer, but paid dearly for it. (A.D. 1239)

Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, having a great anxiety to bring the privileged orders of religious houses within his precinct, under his subjection and discipline, went to Rome, and there with great labor and much money procured from the pope a mandate, by which all such religious orders were commanded to be under his power and obedience. Not long after this, the monks (who could soon weigh down the bishop with money) sent to the pope, and with their golden eloquence they so persuaded him, and stirred his affections, that they soon purchased for themselves freedom from their ordinary bishop. Robert Grosthead having intelligence of this, again went up to Rome, and there he complained to the pope. He declared how he was disappointed and confounded in his purpose, contrary to the promises and assurance made to him before. Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243-1254) looking with a stern countenance, gave this answer, "Brother what is that to you? You have delivered and discharged your own soul. It has pleased us to show favor to them. Is your eye bad, because I am good?" And thus the bishop was sent away, murmuring to himself, yet not so softly, but that the pope heard him say these words: "O money, money! what can you not do in the court of Rome?" With this, the pope being somewhat pinched, gave this reply, "O you Englishmen, Englishmen! Of all men most wretched, for all your seeking, is how you may consume and devour one another," etc. (A.D. 1250).

It also happened the same year, that Robert Grosthead excommunicated and deprived one Ranulph, a beneficed person in his diocese. He was accused of immorality. After the term of forty days, Ranulph refusing to submit himself, the bishop wrote to the sheriff of Rutland to apprehend him as willfully rebellious. The sheriff, because he deferred or refused to do so (having favor toward the party), was therefore solemnly excommunicated by the bishop. The sheriff uttered his complaint to the king.

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The king taking great displeasure with the bishop for excommunicating his sheriff, and not first making his complaint to him, sends immediately to pope Innocent, a substantial

messenger, by virtue of whose words the pope, easily entreated, sends a proviso to the abbot of Westminster, charging that no prelate nor bishop in the realm of England, should molest or enter action against any of the king's bailiffs or officers, in such matters as to which the king's jurisdiction pertained. And thus the strife was ended, but not without some help and a heap of English money. So that, no wind of any controversy stirred here in England, however small, that it did not blow some profit for the pope's advantage.

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We come now likewise to touch only briefly on some of the pope's dispensations, provisions, exactions, contributions and extortions in England in the days of king Henry III. For if I were to tell of it all, not one book would contain it.

Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester, had married Elenor, the king's sister, who had taken the mantle and ring of a nun. This is why the king, and his brother Richard, earl of Exeter, were greatly offended by the marriage. Earl Simon had taken a large sum of money and posted over to Rome. After speaking a few words in Pope Innocent's ear, the marriage was found good enough. Letters were sent to Otto, the pope's legate here, to give sentence solemnly with the earl. Notwithstanding this, the Dominican friars, and others of the religious fraternity, stoutly withstood the sentence of the pope, saying that the pope's holiness was deceived, and souls were in danger; that Christ was jealous over His wife; and that it could not in any way be possible that a woman who had vowed marriage with Christ, could afterward marry with any other, etc. (A.D. 1238).

As there was nothing too hard in the wide world, for which the pope would not dispense for money, so by these dispensations much mischief was wrought abroad. For the people trusting upon the pope's dispensation, little regarded what they did, what they promised, or what they swore. This as well appeared by King Henry. Being a great exactor<sup>198</sup> of the poor commoners, and thinking to win the people to his devotion, he most faithfully promised them once or twice — and bound himself to this with a solemn oath, both before the clergy and laity — to grant them the old liberties and customs of *Magna Carta*, as well as *Charta de Foresta*,<sup>199</sup> to be perpetually observed. Whereupon a fifteenth of the revenue was granted to the king. But after the payment was sure, the king, confident of the pope's dispensation discharging him from his oath and covenant (in return for a little money), departed from what he had promised and sworn before.

Another time, in like manner, the king was in need of money. He signed himself with the cross, pretending and swearing deeply in the face of the whole parliament, that he would himself personally fight in the Holy Land against the Saracens. But as soon as the money was received, small care was taken for performing his oath — for the pope, for a hundred pounds or two, would quickly discharge him from it.

Out of the same corrupt spring of these popish dispensations, have proceeded many other foul absurdities. For there were many young men in those days who enjoyed benefices, and yet were not priests. And when by the procurement of Robert Grossthead, bishop of Lincoln, these young men were forced to enter orders, whether they would or not, they laid their purses together, sent to Rome, and obtained from the pope a dispensation to remain as they were. That is, they were to have the fruits of these benefices to keep them at school or at university, and yet they were neither ministers to take charge, nor would they yield any

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<sup>198</sup> *Exactor*: one who demands or enforces payment, especially with excessive severity.

<sup>199</sup> The Charter of the Forest of 1217, re-established rights of access for free men to the royal forest that had been eroded by King William the Conqueror and his heirs. Many of its provisions were in force for centuries afterwards.

service for the profits taken. Besides these, other innumerable heaps of enormities proceeded from the pope's dispensations: such as allowing one man to have several bishoprics; holding multiple benefices; making children parsons; legitimizing natural (illegitimate) children; and other such acts. For brevity's sake, I omit the particulars of these till further opportunity.

*The intolerable oppression of the Realm of England by the Pope's exactions and contributions, and other sleights used in the time of King Henry III.*

These emoluments entering the pope's purse daily by simony and bribery, by elections and dispensations, might seem sufficient to satisfy his greedy appetite. Yet the avarice of that see was so insatiable that the pope, not yet content, continually sent some legate or other into this realm, forcibly exacting and extorting continual provisions, contributions, and sums of money to be levied out of cells, abbeys, priories, fruits of benefices, and bishoprics, and also laymen's purses, to the miserable impoverishment of both the clergy and temporality.

Next after Pandulph, Cardinal Otto was sent into this realm. Great preparation was made for receiving him. Many rich and precious gifts in scarlet, in plate, jewels, money and palfreys were given to him. The king himself also went as far as the seaside to receive him, bowing down his head in low courtesy to the cardinal's knees. The bishop of Winchester for his part also gave towards the keeping of his house, fifty fat oxen, a hundred bushels of wheat, and eight great vessels of pure wine. At his first coming, this legate began to bestow those benefices which he found vacant, upon those whom he brought with him, without respect to whether they were fit or unfit for the office.

After this, the pope — hearing how the nobles and commons of the realm began to dislike the cardinal for his excessive procurations and exactions — sent for him to come home. But as the king stood in fear of his nobles, and thought to have some support from the cardinal against all occurrences, he entreated him to stay while he wrote to the pope to obtain further license for him to tarry. And so he did, not without some English money you may be sure.

In the meantime, Otto, thinking to lose no time gathering some crumbs in Scotland also, made as though he would set things in order there. And so he came to the king of Scots, Alexander II, who was then in York with King Henry, to gain leave to enter. The king answered that he never, to his remembrance, saw any pope's legate in his land, nor was there any need for such (God be praised). Matters there were well enough, and needed no help of his. And as he could not discover, either in the days of his father, or any of his predecessors, that any such entrance was granted to any legate, he for his part would not begin now.

“But as I hear (he said) that you are a good man, I tell you this beforehand, that if you venture in, do it warily, and take care of yourself, lest it happen to you otherwise than I would wish. For they are a savage and unruly people, given much to murder and shedding blood. I myself am scarcely able to bridle them. So that if they fall upon you, I will not be able to help you. You recently heard how they also invaded me, and sought to expel me from my kingdom. And therefore I warn you beforehand, take heed in time what you think best to do.”

After the cardinal heard the king speak these words, he drew in his horns, and dared proceed no further, but kept by the side of King Henry. Shortly after, however, coming to the borders of Scotland, he called the bishops to him, and when he had well filled his bags, he came back again.

Not long after, license came from Pope Gregory IX to his legate Otto, for his longer stay here, also with new authority to proceed in the pope's affairs. After showing to the bishops

and the clergy his letters to tarry there longer, he required of them — as no man (he said) wars at his own expense <sup>1Cor 9.7</sup> — to be supported with new procurations. He was to have four marks from every able church; and where one church was not able to reach this, other churches should join with it to make up the money. Notwithstanding, the bishops stood in denial of this a great while. Besides this, the cardinal assembled together all the black monks of St. Benedict's order, giving them strict orders, which shortly after (for money) he released them from.

[171] A.D. 1238-1244.

Moreover, a collation of benefices taken from the hands of their patrons, were given to light and vile runagates,<sup>200</sup> coming from Italy and other places, such as the pope and his legate pleased to give them to. This was to the great prejudice of the ancient liberty and right of the true patrons. Upon this the earls, and barons, and nobles of the realm, addressed letters to Pope Gregory by Sir Robert Twing, a knight, for the redress of such wrongs and injuries. Otherwise they would be forced (they said) to invoke the succor of their king, who they trusted was both able and no less willing, according to his duty, to reform such enormities, and to defend the liberties of his realm. The tenor of their writing may be read in Matthew Paris's history (fol. 128, a).

Not long after (A.D. 1240), a new precept came from Pope Gregory, by Peter Rubeus, the pope's *nuncio* (ambassador), that all beneficed clergy in England as well as in France, should pay to the pope a fifth of their revenues. Upon this, when the clergy made their complaint to the king, seeking to be relieved by him, the king answered that he neither would nor dared stand against the pope. And so he sent them away without any hope of assistance. Then the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and prelates of the church were commanded to assemble together at Reading to hear the pope's pleasure concerning the payment of this fifth part, where in the end, the matter thus concluded. The prelates desired a further time to be given them to advise upon the matter; and for that season, the assembly broke up. Notwithstanding, many excuses had been made by the clergy. First, because the money was gathered to fight against the emperor, they should not contribute their money, being contrary to the liberties of the church. Also, because they had paid a tenth not long before to the pope, on condition that no more such payments would be required of them, much less the fifth part should now be exacted from them, because an action twice done, makes a custom. Also, seeing that they had oftentimes repaired to the court of Rome, if they were to give this money against the emperor, it would become dangerous for them to come through his land. Also, seeing that their king had many enemies, against whom they must relieve the king with their money, they could not do so if the realm were thus impoverished, etc. They were compelled at length, however, to conform to the pope's good pleasure, through the example given by Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury. To obtain his purpose against the monks of Canterbury (with whom he was then in strife) he first yielded to the legates 800 marks for his part, by which the rest were also obliged to follow.

The same year, the pope agreed with the people of Rome, that if they would aid him against the Emperor Frederick, whatever benefices were vacant in England would be bestowed on their children. Whereupon a commandment was sent to Edmund, archbishop, and to the bishops of Lincoln and Sarum, that all the collations of benefices within the realm were to be suspended, till provision was first made for 300 children of the citizens of Rome!

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<sup>200</sup> *Runagates*: people who behave in a disreputable or unprincipled manner.

This done, Peter Rubeus (the pope's nuncio) and Ruffin went into Scotland, from where they brought out with them 3000 pounds for the pope's use, about All-Hallows the same year. At this time also, another harpy came from the pope to England, named Mumeilius, who brought with him into the realm twenty-three Romans to be benefited. Thus, with the king on one side, and Cardinal Otto, Peter Rubeus, Ruffin, and Mumelius on the other side, poor England was in a wretched case.

Another pretty practice of the pope to prowl for money was this: Peter Rubeus, coming into religious houses, and into their chapters, caused them to contribute to the pope's holiness, by the example of this bishop and that abbot, pretending that of their own voluntary devotion, they had given so much and so much, and so he seduced them. Also the pope craftily suborned certain friars, authorized with full indulgence, that whoever had vowed to fight in the Holy Land, and was disposed to be released from his vow, need not repair to Rome for absolution, but paying as much money as it would cost to go there, by resorting to the friars, they might be absolved at home.

**Thus passed A.D. 1240.** Now all these troubles laid together, were enough to vex the meekest prince in the world. The king also had much ado with the prelates and clergy, who were always tampering with his title, especially in their assemblies and councils. He sent Geoffry Langley to the archbishop of York, and to other bishops who purposed to meet at Oxford, to appeal for him lest in the council they should presume to ordain anything against his crown and dignity. This was done in A.D. 1241. In this year, an apostolical command also came to the house of Peterborough, that they must grant the pope some benefice, the fruits of which were worth at least a hundred pounds; and if it were more, it would be better welcomed — so that they would be the farmers, and he would receive the profits. In brief, the convent excused themselves by the abbot not then being at home. When the abbot came home, he excused himself by the king being the patron and founder of the house. The king being grieved with the unreasonable ravening of these Romanists, utterly forbade any such example to be given.

In the time of the Council of Lyons, Pope Innocent IV (because the written instrument by which the realm of England stood tributary to the pope was thought to be burned in the pope's chamber a little earlier) brought out either the same or another charter like it, to which he straitly charged and commanded every English bishop present at the council to set his hand and seal. This unreasonable demand of the pope, although it went sorely against the hearts of the bishops, none of them dared but accomplish the pope's request, both to their own shame, and to the prejudice of the public freedom of the realm. You can see in what miserable subjection the pope had all the bishops under him. When the king and the nobility understood this act, they were mightily and worthily offended by it (A.D. 1245).

When Cardinal Otto was sent for by Pope Gregory to come to the general council in all haste, two others remained there in his place. Their names were Peter Rubeus (see above), and Peter de Supino. The one made himself out to be the pope's kinsman. He brought out his bills and bulls under the pope's authority, to such an abbot, or such a prior, or to such and such a bishop; and so he extorted from them a great quantity of gold and silver. The other, Peter de Supino, sailed to Ireland, from where he brought back with him 1500 marks for the pope's use (A.D. 1241). All of this money, however, fell into the hands of Frederick the emperor, who had it restored, as near as he could, to those from whom it was taken.

***Pope Innocent IV - 1244.***

After these men, Master Martin came from the new pope, Innocent IV (A.D. 1244), armed with full power to suspend all prelates in England from giving benefices, till the pope's kinsmen were first preferred. Nor would he accept the fruits of any benefice, unless it were above the value of thirty marks. At his first coming, he required prelates, and especially religious houses, to furnish him with horses and palfreys, such as were convenient for the pope's special chaplain and legate to sit upon. He also required plate, raiment, provision for his kitchen and cellar, etc. And those who denied or excused these, he suspended, such as the abbot of Malmesbury, and the prior of Merton. All prebends (stipends) that were void, he sought out and reserved for the pope. Among these was the golden prebend of Sarum, belonging to the chancellor of the choir, whom he preferred to the bishopric at Bath. And so he seized upon the prebend being void, against the wills of both the bishop and the chapter. He brought with him blank paper and parchment, signed in the pope's chamber with his stamp and seal, in which he might afterward write to whom, and what amount he would. Moreover, he required of the king, in the pope's behalf, to help his holiness with a contribution to be taxed among his clergy, at least 10,000 marks.

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And to the end that the pope might win the king sooner to his devotion, he wrote to the nobles and commons of the realm, that they should not fail, upon pain of his great curse, to grant whatever subsidy of money to the support of the king, as he then demanded of them. But they stood firm in not granting it to him.

There was no end to the insatiable avarice of the pope in gathering riches and goods together in England. The nobles and barons, with the community of the clergy as well as the laity, weighed the miserable state of the realm, and especially of the church. They now had no liberty left to choose their own ministers, nor could they enjoy their own livings. They put their heads together, and exhibited an earnest intimation to the king, beseeching him to consider the pitiful affliction of his subjects under the pope's extortion. They were living in more thralldom than the people of Israel under Pharaoh. Whereupon the king, at last beginning to look up and to consider the injuries and wrongs received in this realm through the avarice of the court of Rome, directed the following letter to Pope Innocent IV. Its tenor is as follows:

*The king's letter to Pope Innocent IV.*

"To the most holy father in Christ, and lord Innocent IV, by the grace of God, chief bishop, Henry, by the same grace, king of England, etc. Greeting and kissings of his blessed feet. The more devout and obsequious the son shows himself in obeying the father's will, the more favor and support he deserves to find at his father's hands in return. I therefore write this because both we and our realm have ever and in all things up to now, been at the devotion and commandment of your fatherhood. And although in some certain affairs of ours and of our kingdom, we have found your fatherly favor and grace sometimes propitious to us, yet in some things again, such as in provisions given and granted to your clerics from foreign nations, both we and our kingdom have felt no small detriment. Because of these provisions, the church of England is so sorely charged and burdened, so that not only the patrons of churches to whom the donations pertain, are defrauded of their right, but also many other good works of charity thereby decay. For such benefices which have been mercifully bestowed upon religious houses, as to their sustenance, are now wasted and consumed by your provisions.

"Therefore as your apostolic see ought to be favorable to all who are petitioners to it, so that no person is wronged in that which is his right, we thought to be suitors to your fatherhood, most humbly beseeching your holiness, that you will desist and cease for a time from such

provisions. In the meantime, it may please your fatherhood, we beseech you that our laws and liberties (which you may rightly repute are none other but your own), you will receive to your tuition, to be conserved whole and sound, nor allowed to be violated and infringed by any sinister suggestion in your court. Nor let your holiness be any whit moved with us, therefore, if in some such cases as these, we do or shall hereafter resist the tenor of your commandments. For because the complaints of those who daily call upon us, necessarily compel us, who should by the charge of our office and the kingly dignity committed to us by Almighty God, foresee that no man is injured in that which is their right, but that we would truly minister justice to every one, in that which duly pertains to him.”

This letter was sent the 28th year of the king’s reign. (*Ex Parisiensi*, fol. 172.)

A man would think that this very gentle and obedient letter of the king to the pope would have wrought some good effect in the apostolical breast. But the sequel well declares how little all this prevailed to stop the pope’s insatiable greediness and intolerable extortions and oppressions,. Shortly after, the pope sent Master Martin with blanks, being bulled for a contribution of 10,000 marks, to be paid in all haste, even immediately upon receiving this letter. And after all this great submission of the king, and such manifold benefits and payments received yearly out of his realm, the pope was not ashamed to take from David, prince of North Wales, 500 marks a-year, to set him against the king of England, and to exempt him from his fealty and obedience due to his own liege lord and king, to whom both he and all other Welshmen had sworn their subjection before. (*Matth. Parisiensi*, fol. 172.)

Nor did Master Martin in the meanwhile slip his business, in making up his market for the pope’s money of 10,000 marks, but still was calling upon the prelates and clergy who, first excusing themselves by the absence of the king and the archbishop of Canterbury, afterward being summoned again by new letters, gave their answer by the dean of St. Paul’s, their prolocutor (spokesman):

That the poverty of the realm would not allow them to consent to it.

That, whereas they had given before a contribution to Cardinal Otto, for paying the pope’s debts, and knew the money was not employed to the end for which it was demanded, they had more cause to doubt now, lest this contribution in his hands (who was a much inferior messenger than the cardinal) would come to the same or worse effect.

That, if they were now to agree to a new contribution, they feared lest it grow into a custom, seeing that one action, twice done, makes a custom.

That, because a general council was shortly looked for, where every prelate of the realm must bestow both his travel and expenses, and also his gift to the pope, if the prelates were now bound to this tax, they would not be able to abide this burden.

That, seeing it is alleged that the mother church of Rome is so far in debt, it would be reason and right that the mother so oppressed should be sustained by *all* her devout children meeting together in the general council; for by the help of many, more relief might come than by one nation alone.

And, last of all, they alleged,

That for fear of the emperor and his threatenings, they dared not consent to the contribution.

While these things were thus discussed between the pope’s priests and the clergy of England, in comes John Mariscal and other messengers from the king, commanding in the



king's name, that no bishop who held his baronage from the king, should enfeoff<sup>201</sup> his lay fee to the court of Rome, which they owed only to him, etc.

Not long after this (in A.D. 1245), the whole nobility of the realm, by general consent, and also not without the king's knowledge, caused all the ports by the seaside to be watched, so that no messenger with the pope's letters and bulls from Rome would be permitted to enter the realm; some were taken at Dover, and stayed there. But notwithstanding, when a complaint was brought to the king by Martin, the pope's legate, there was no remedy, but the king must cause these letters to be restored again, and executed to their full effect.

Then the king, on advice, caused a review to be made through every shire in England, to discover what sum the whole revenues of the Romans and Italians amounted to, which by the pope's authority, left England. The whole sum was found to be yearly 60,000 marks. Even the revenues of the whole crown of England did not amount to this sum (Ex Matt. Parisiensi, fol. 185. a.)

The nobles then understanding the miserable oppression of the realm, being assembled together at Dunstable for certain causes, sent a man named Fulco, in the name of the whole nobility, to Martin, the pope's legate, with this message: that immediately upon receipt of this warning, he should prepare to leave the realm, under pain of being cut to pieces. The legate being sorely aghast at this, went straight to the king, to know whether he consented to it or not. When he found little comfort from the king, he took his leave of him, who bade him adieu in the devil's name, says Matthew Paris, and thus the realm was rid of Master Martin (A.D. 1245).

[173] A.D. 1245-1246.

As soon as Pope Innocent had intelligence of this by the legate's complaint, he was in a mighty rage. Remembering how the French king, and the king of Aragon, not long before had denied him entrance into their land, and therefore being likewise displeased with the English, he began in great anger to knit his brows. He said,

“It is best that we fall in agreement with our prince, by which we may sooner bring these little petty kings under our control; and so the great dragon being pacified, we will handle these little serpents at our own pleasure, as we please.”

After this, the general COUNCIL OF LYONS immediately followed, to which the lords and states of the realm, with the consent of the commonalty, sent two bills. One contained a general supplication to the pope and the council, and the other contained the articles of those grievances which they desired to be redressed, as related above. The other bill of the supplication, because it was not described earlier, I thought to exhibit here for two reasons.

*First*, so that men these days may see the pitiful blindness of those ignorant days in which our English nation so blindly humbled itself and submitted to the pope's courtesy, whom they should rather have shaken off as the Grecians did.

*Secondly*, so that the pride of the pope might better appear in his true colors, who so disdainfully rejected the humble suit of our lords and nobles, when they had much more cause to rather disdain and stamp him under their feet.

The tenor of their supplication was this:

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<sup>201</sup> *Enfeoff*: in feudal society, to put in possession of land in exchange for a pledge of service.

Bk. IV. Wm. the Conqueror to Wycliffe (1066-1364)

*Copy of the supplication written in the names of all the nobles and commons of England, to Pope Innocent IV, in the general council at Lyons (A.D. 1245).*

“To the reverend father in Christ, Pope Innocent, chief bishop, the nobles, with the whole commonalty of the realm of England, sends commendation with kissing of his blessed feet.

“Our mother, the church of Rome, we love with all our hearts, as is our duty, and covet the increase of her honor with so much affection as we may, as to whom we should always fly for refuge, whereby grief lying upon the child, it may find comfort at the mother’s hand. The mother is bound to succor her child as much as she finds he has been kind and beneficial in relieving her necessity. Nor is it unknown to our mother how beneficial and bountiful a giver the realm of England has been for a long time now, for further amplifying her exaltation, as appeared by your yearly subsidy, which we call Peter-pence. Now the said church, not content with this yearly subsidy from us, has sent various legates seeking other contributions, at diverse and sundry times, to be taxed and levied out of the same realm. All these contributions and taxes notwithstanding have been lovingly and liberally granted.

“Furthermore, neither is it unknown to your fatherhood, how our forefathers, like good catholics, both loving and fearing their Maker, for the soul’s health of themselves, as well as of their progenitors and successors, have founded monasteries, and have largely endowed them both with their own proper lands, and also patronages of benefices. By this, such religious persons professing the first and greatest perfection of holy religion in their monasteries, might with greater peace and tranquility occupy themselves devoutly in God’s service, as pertained to the order. And also the clerics presented by them into their benefices might sustain the other exterior labors for them in that second order of religion, and so discharge and defend them from all hazards. So that, these religious monasteries cannot be defrauded of their patronages and collations of benefices, without touching us very near, and working intolerable griefs into our hearts.

“And now see, we beseech you, what is lamentable to behold, and what injuries we sustain by you and your predecessors who, not considering our subsidies and contributions remembered above, also suffer your Italians and foreigners beyond number to be possessed of our churches and benefices in England, pertaining to the right and patronage of those monasteries. These foreigners, neither defending the said religious persons whom they ought to see to, nor having the language by which they may instruct the flock, take no regard of their souls, but utterly leave them to be devoured by wild wolves. Therefore it may truly be said of them, that they are not good shepherds, for they neither know their sheep, nor do the sheep know the voice of their shepherds, nor do they keep any hospitality. But they only collect the rents of those benefices, carrying them out of the realm, by which our brethren, our nephews, and our kinsfolks might be sustained, who could and would dwell upon them, and employ such exercises of mercy and hospitality as their duty required. A great number of these now, for mere necessity, are laymen and obliged to flee from the realm.

“And now with the intent to more fully certify you of the truth, you will understand that the Italians and strangers receiving yearly rents out of England, not so little as 60,000 marks per year, besides other avails and excises deducted, reap in our kingdom of England more emoluments of mere rents than the king himself, being both tutor of the church, and governor of the land.

“Furthermore, whereas at the first creation of your papacy we were in good hope, and still are, that by means of your fatherly goodness we would enjoy our franchises, and free collation of our benefices and donatives, to be reduced again to the former state. Now comes another grievance which we cannot but signify to you, pressing us above measure, which we receive by Master Martin, who, entering recently into our land without leave of our king, with greater

power than was ever seen before in any legate. Although he does not bear the state and appearance of a legate, yet he has doubled the acts of a legate, charging us every day with new mandates; and so he has most extremely oppressed us.

“First, in bestowing and giving away our benefices if any were above thirty marks, as soon as they were vacant, to Italian persons.

“Secondly, after the decease of those Italians, unknown to the patrons, he has intruded other Italians, whereby the true patrons have been spoiled and defrauded of their right.

“Thirdly, Master Martin does not cease to assign and confer such benefices still to the same persons; and some he reserves to the donation of the apostolic see; moreover, he extorts from religious houses immoderate pensions, excommunicating and interdicting whoever dares withstand him.

“Therefore, because Master Martin has so far extended his jurisdiction to the great perturbation of the whole realm, and no less derogation to our king’s privilege, to whom it has been fully granted by the apostolic see that no legate should have dealings in his land, except those whom he sent for by special letters — with most humble devotion we beseech you, that as a good father will always be ready to support his child, so your fatherhood will reach out your hand of compassion to relieve us, your humble children from these grievous oppressions.

“And although our lord and king, being a catholic prince, and wholly given to his devotions and service of Christ Jesus our Lord, so that he does not regard the health of his own body, will fear and reverence the apostolic see. And as a devout son of the church of Rome, he desires nothing more than to advance the estate and honor of the same. Yet we who labor in his affairs, bearing the heat and burden of the day, and whose duty, together with him, is to tender the preservation of the public wealth, neither can patiently suffer such oppressions so detestable to God and man, and intolerable grievances, nor by God’s grace will suffer them, through means of your godly remedy, which we well hope and trust to speedily obtain from you. And thus may it please your fatherhood, we beseech you to accept this our supplication. In so doing we will worthily deserve from all the lords and nobles, with the whole commonalty of the realm of England, fitting and special thanks accordingly.”

A.D. 1245. (Ex Mat. Paris, fol. 188.)

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This supplication was sent by the hands of Sir R. Bigot, knight, W. de Powick, esq., and Henry de la Mare, with other knights and gentlemen. After it was opened and read there, Pope Innocent, first keeping silent, delayed giving an answer, making haste to proceed in his detestable excommunication and curse against the good emperor Frederick. This curse being done, and the English ambassadors still waiting for their answer, the pope told them flatly that they would not have their request fulfilled. At this, the Englishmen departed in great anger, and swore with terrible oaths that they would never more suffer any tribute or fruits of any benefices of which the noblemen were patrons, to be paid to that insatiable and greedy court of Rome, who was worthy to be detested in all worlds.

The pope hearing these words, although not replying then, thought to bide his time, and he did so. During the Council, he caused every bishop of England to put his hand and seal to the obligation made by King John for the pope’s tribute. He threatened, moreover, that once he had brought down the emperor Frederick, he would bridle the insolent pride of England.

But here, on the occasion of this council at Lyons — so that the reader may see what slippery uncertainty and variableness the state of the king depended on — it is material to introduce a letter sent by Henry III to the prelates of his land, before they were transported over the

sea to Lyons. In this letter it may be gathered that the king suspected they would be pushing and heaving against his royalty, and therefore he directed these letters to them, to prepare their affections otherwise. The tenor of it follows:

*A Letter of Charge to the Prelates of England, purposed to assemble in the Council at Lyons, that they should ordain nothing to their King's prejudice.*

“The king to the archbishops, bishops, and to all other prelates of his land of England, appointed to meet at a council at Lyons, greeting: you are (as you know) bound to us by oath, by which you ought to keep all the fealty that you can to us, in all things concerning our royal dignity and crown. Therefore we command you, upon the fealty and allegiance in which you are firmly bound to us, enjoining that you endeavor to your uttermost to get, as well as to keep, and also to defend our rights and our kingdom. And that neither to the prejudice of us, nor of this kingdom, nor yet against us or our rights which our predecessors and we by ancient and approved custom have used, you presume to procure or attempt anything in your council at Lyons; nor that you give assent to anyone who would procure or ordain anything in this case, upon your aforesaid oath, and the loss of your temporalities which you hold from us. Therefore, in this behalf so behave yourselves, that for your good dealing and virtue of thankfulness, we may specially commend you, rather than reprove your unthankfulness for attempting the contrary (which God forbid), and reserve vengeance for you in due time. Witness myself, etc., the twenty-ninth year of our reign.”

In the same way, he wrote to the archbishops and bishops, etc. of Ireland and Gascony.

In the beginning of the following year (A.D. 1246), Pope Innocent came to Cluny, where a secret meeting was then appointed between the pope and Louis the French king (who was then preparing his voyage to Jerusalem). The pope sought by all means to persuade the French king, in revenge for his injury, to war against the weak and feeble king of England, as he called him, either to drive him utterly from his kingdom, or else to damnify him. By this, Henry would be constrained, whether he would or not, to stoop to the pope's will and obedience. Also, the pope would assist Louis with all the authority he could. Nevertheless, the French king would not agree to this.

Straight upon this followed the exaction<sup>202</sup> of Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, which he had bought from the pope. This was to have the first year's fruits from all benefices and spiritual livings in England for the space of seven years, until the sum came to 10,000 marks. The king was at first greatly grieved at this. But he was obliged at last to agree with the archbishop, and so the money was gathered.

Over and above all other exactions with which the pope miserably oppressed the church of England, what is not to be passed over in silence is how the pope, sending down his letters from the apostolic see, charged and commanded the prelates to find him some ten, some five, and some fifteen able men, well-furnished with horse and armor for one whole year, to fight in the pope's wars. And lest the king know of it, they were enjoined, under pain of excommunication, that they reveal it to no one, but keep it secret to themselves only.

Pope Innocent IV learned of certain rich clerics leaving a great substance of money, who died intestate — such as Robert Hailes, archdeacon of Lincoln, who died leaving thousands of marks and much plate behind him. All of this, because no will was made, came into the hands of temporal men. Also Almarike, archdeacon of Bedford, was found worth a great substance when he died; and likewise another, John Hotosp, archdeacon of Northampton,

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<sup>202</sup> *Exaction*: a severe tribute; a fee, reward, or contribution, demanded or levied with severity or injustice.

who died suddenly intestate, leaving behind him 5000 marks, and 30 standing pieces of plate, with other infinite jewels besides. The pope sent out a statute to be proclaimed in England, that whatever ecclesiastical person thereafter deceased in England intestate, that is, without making his will, all his goods would redound to the pope's use.

The pope, not yet satisfied with all this, addressed new letters to the bishop of Winchester, and to William bishop of Norwich, for gathering up among the clergy, and religious houses in England, 6000 marks for the holy mother church, without any excuse or delay, by virtue of obedience. The king, being greatly grudged by the clergy, when this came to his ear, he directed contrary letters to all the prelates, commanding them, upon forfeiting their temporalities to the king, that no such subsidy-money should be gathered or transported out of the realm. But the pope then hearing of this, wrote in great anger to the prelates of England, that this collection of money, upon pain of excommunication and suspension, would be provided, and brought to the new Temple in London, by the feast of the Assumption, next ensuing.

And as he perceived the king would oppose his proceedings, and taking great disdain at this, he was about to interdict the whole land. Then one of his cardinals, called John Anglicus, an Englishman, speaking to him for the realm of England, desired his fatherhood, for God's cause, to mitigate his moody ire, and with the bridle of temperance, to assuage the passion of his mind:

“Which to tell you plain, is here stirred up too much without cause. Your fatherhood may consider that these days are evil. First, the Holy Land lies in great perils to be lost. All the Greek church has departed from us. Frederick the emperor is against us, who is the mightiest prince this day in all Christendom. Both you and we, who are the peers of the church, are banished from the papal see, thrust out of Rome, yes, excluded from Italy. Hungary, with all its coastal borders about it, looks for nothing but utter subversion by the Tartars. Germany is wasted and afflicted with inward wars and tumults. Spain is fierce and cruel against us, even to cutting out the bishops' tongues. France is so impoverished by us that it is brought to beggary, which also conspires against us. Miserable England, being so often plagued by our manifold injuries, even much like Balaam's ass, beaten and bounced with spurs and staffs, begins at length to speak and to complain of her intolerable griefs and burdens — being so wearied and damnified, that she may seem past all recovery. And we, in the manner of Ishmael, hating all men, provoke all men to hate us.”

[175] A.D. 1246.

Despite all these words of John Anglicus, his cardinal, the pope's passion could not yet be appeased. But immediately he sent a commandment to the bishop of Worcester, with full authority, that in case the king would not speedily cease his rebellion against his apostolical proceedings he would interdict his land. So that in conclusion, the king, for all his stout enterprise, was obliged to relent at last, and the pope had his money, (A.D. 1246).

What man having eyes, is so blind he does not see that these execrable dealings of the pope are such that they would cause any nation in the world to do as the wise Grecians did, and perpetually renounce the pope, and well consider that the usurped authority of that see is not of God? But such was the rude dullness then of miserable England, for lack of learning and godly knowledge, that feeling what burdens were laid upon them, they would yet play the ass of Balaam,<sup>Num 22.23-32</sup> or else the horse of Aesop's fable (*The Horse and the Stag*), which upon receiving the bridle in his mouth, could afterward neither abide its own misery, nor recover its liberty. And so it fared with England under the pope's thralldom.

And so it follows in the history of Matthew Paris, how the pope, taking more courage by his former abusive boldness, and perceiving what a tame ass he had to ride upon, did not cease in this, but directed a new precept that same year (A.D. 1246), to the prelates of England. He commanded them by his apostolic authority, that all beneficed men in the realm of England, who were resident in their benefices, should yield to the pope a third of their goods. And those who were not resident should give one-half of their goods, and do it for the space of three years, with terrible threatenings to all those who might resist; and ever with this clause, *non obstante*,<sup>203</sup> which was like a key that opened all locks. The sum total amounted to 60,000 pounds. This sum of money could scarcely be found in all of England to pay for King Richard's ransom. (Paris, fol. 207.) The execution of this precept was committed to the bishop of London, who conferred about the matter with his brethren in the church of St. Paul's, as they were busily consulting together. Bewailing the insupportable burden of this contribution, which was impossible for them to sustain, certain messengers from the king suddenly came in. Sir John Lexinton, knight, and Master Lawrence Martin, the king's chaplain, strictly forbade them, in the king's name, to consent in any case to this contribution, which would be greatly to the prejudice and desolation of the whole realm.

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And thus much up to now about these matters, with the intent that all who read these histories, and see the doings of this western bishop, may consider what just cause the Grecians had to separate from his subjection and communion. For what Christian communion can be held with someone who, so contrary to Christ and his gospel, seeks worldly dominion; who so cruelly persecutes his brethren; who is so given to avarice, so greedy in getting, so injurious in oppressing, so insatiable in his exactions, so malicious in revenging; who stirs up wars, deprives kings, and deposes emperors, playing the monarch in the church of Christ; who is so erroneous in doctrine, so abominable in abusing excommunication, so false in promise, so corrupt in life, so void of God's fear; and briefly, is so far from all the qualifications of a true evangelical bishop? For what does he seem to care for the souls of men, who would place boys and outlandish Italians in the benefices; and who further appoints one Italian to succeed another, those who neither know the language of the flock, nor can bear to see their faces? And who can blame the Grecians, then, for dis severing themselves from such an oppressor against Christ?

If this realm had followed their wise example, as it might have, then our predecessors would have been rid of an infinite number of troubles, injuries, oppressions, wars, commotions, long journeys and charges, besides saving thousands of pounds, which this bishop of Rome falsely raked and transported out of this realm. But as I must not exceed the bounds of my history, my purpose not being to stand upon declamations, nor to dilate on common places, I will pass by this, and leave the judgment of it to the further examination of the reader. For if I wished to prosecute this argument so far as the matter would lead me, and as truth perhaps requires me to say, then I might not only say, but I could well prove that the pope and court of Rome are the fountain and principal cause, not only of much misery here in England, but of all the public calamities and notorious mischiefs which have happened these many years, through all these western parts of Christendom. And especially the cause of the lamentable ruin of the church, which not only we, but the Grecians also this day, suffer by the Turks and Saracens. Whoever well considers by reading histories, and by viewing the doings and acts passed by the bishop of Rome, will see good cause to think as I do. I am

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<sup>203</sup> *Non obstante*: notwithstanding anything to the contrary, whether statute, custom, or circumstance.

disposed to set only one narrative touching this argument before the readers. It happened about this present time of King Henry's reign (A.D. 1244).

### **Sickness and Supposed Miraculous Recovery of the French King.**

It happened that Louis IX the French king, son to Queen Blanch, fell very sick, lying in a trance for some days. He was in such a way that few thought he would live, and some said he was gone already. Among others, his mother was with him. She sorrowed bitterly for her son, and was given somewhat to superstition. She went and brought out a piece of the holy cross, with the crown and the spear; and blessing him with them, she laid the crown and spear against his body, making a vow in the person of her son, that if the Lord would visit him with health, and release him from that infirmity, he would be crossed or marked with the cross. And he would visit the holy sepulcher, and solemnly render thanks in the land which Christ had sanctified with his blood. Then as she, with the bishop of Paris and others present there, were praying, the king, who was supposed by some to be dead, began with a sigh to move his arms and legs. Stretching himself, he began to speak, giving thanks to God, who from on high had visited him, and called him from the danger of death. The king's mother, with others, took this as a great miracle wrought by virtue of the holy cross. So too the king, amending more and more, as soon as he was well recovered, solemnly received the badge of the cross.

After this, there was great preparation and much ado in France toward setting out to the Holy Land. For after the king was first crossed, most of the nobles of France, with several archbishops and bishops, with earls, and barons, and gentlemen to a mighty number, also received the cross upon their sleeves. A.D. 1246. (*Ex Matt. Parisiensi*, fol. 204. 6.)

The next year, the French king still persevered in his purposed journey. Lady Blanch, his mother, and the bishop of Paris, his brother, with the lords of his council and other nobles, and his special friends, all advised him with great persuasions to alter his mind as to that adventurous and dangerous journey. For his vow, they said, was unadvisedly made, and in time of sickness when his mind was not perfectly established. What dangers might happen at home was uncertain, with the king of England on one side, the emperor on the other, and the Pictavians in the midst, so fugitive and unstable. As to his vow, the pope would dispense with it, considering the necessity of his realm, and the weakness of his body.

To this the king answered, "As you say, I took this vow in the feebleness of my senses. Behold, as you wish of me, I lay down the cross that I took up." And putting his hand to his shoulder, he tore off the badges of the cross, saying to the bishop, "Here I resign to you the cross with which I was signed." At the sight of this, there was no small rejoicing among all who were present. The king then, altering his countenance and his speech, thus spoke to them: "My friends, whatever I was in my sickness, I now thank God that I am of perfect sense and sound reason, and now I require my cross to be restored to me again." He said moreover, "He would eat no food until he was recognized again with the same cross, as he was before." At this all present were astonished, supposing that God had some great matter to work, and so they proposed no more questions to him.

Upon this, the feast of John Baptist drew near, which was the time appointed for setting out. Being in readiness, the king would enter upon his journey a few days later; yet one thing was lacking. The king, perceiving the mortal variance between the pope and good Frederick the emperor, thought it best before going, to have that matter appeased. By this means, his way might be safer through the emperor's countries, and there would also be less danger at home after his departure.

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Therefore, he first went to Lyons, where the pope was, partly to take his leave, but especially to make reconciliation between the emperor and the pope.

Here it may be noted by the way, that there was no difficulty or hindrance with the good emperor. He rather sought all means by which to compass the pope's favor, but never could obtain it. So that, before he was excommunicated in the Council of Lyons, he not only answered sufficiently by his attorney, discharging himself against whatever crimes or objections could be brought against him, but he so far humbled himself to the pope and the council, that for all detriments, damages, losses, or wrongs done on his part, whatever amends the pope might require, he would recompence it to the uttermost. But this the pope would not take.

He then offered that if the pope could not abide his remaining in his own dominions and empire, he would go and fight against the Saracens and Turks, never to return into Europe again. He offered there to recover the lands and kingdoms that at any time belonged to Christendom, provided that the pope would be contented that Henry, his son, who was nephew to King Henry here in England, should be emperor after him. Nor would this be accepted by the pope.

Then he offered for the security of his promise, to put in the French king and the king of England to be his sureties, or else for the trial of his cause, to stand by their award and arbitration. Nor would that be granted by the pope.

At last he desired that he might come himself and answer before the council. But the proud pope in no case would abide that, saying, "He did not yet find himself so ready and fit for martyrdom, to have him to come to the council; for if he did, he would depart himself," etc.

Such was the obstinate rancor and devilish malice of Pope Innocent IV and his predecessor, against that valiant emperor, and against the Grecians. What disturbance and mischief it wrought for the whole church; what strength it gave to the Saracens and Tartars; how it impaired Christian concord, and weakened all Christian lands — not only the army of the French King, found shortly after, but Christendom even to this day may and does feel and rue it. Nor can there be found in history any greater cause that made the Turks so strong, and to gain so much ground over Christendom as they have, than the pestilent working of this pope, in deposing and excommunicating this worthy emperor.

In the meantime, when the French king came thus to the pope at Lyons to entreat for the emperor, he could find no favor. He took his leave, and departed with great heaviness, setting forward on his journey.

### ***Contests Between the French and the Saracens – 1249.***

About the beginning of October 1249, the French took Damietta (Heliopolis), the principal fort or hold of the Saracens in Egypt (Seventh Crusade, 1248-54). After winning Damietta, the Saracens, being terrified at the loss, offered to the Christians great ground and possessions — more than ever belonged to Christendom before — on the condition that they might have Damietta restored to them again. But the pride of the earl of Artois, the king's brother, would not accept the offers of the Saracens. He required both Damietta and Alexandria, the chief metropolitan city of all Egypt, to be surrendered. The Saracens, seeing the pride and greediness of the Frenchmen, would not abide that. This afterwards turned to the great loss of the Christians. At length, after long conferences between them, the Sultan proposed to have the city of Damietta resigned to him, with everything they found in it, and



the French would have in return all the country around Jerusalem, with all the captive Christians restored to them. The Christians, he said, ought to be contented with this, and seek no more, but only to possess the land of Jerusalem. This being granted to them, they should not encroach into lands and kingdoms to which they had no right. This form of peace well pleased the lower sort of the poor soldiers, and many of the council and nobility. But the proud earl of Artois, the king's brother, would not assent to it, but still required the city of Alexandria to be yielded to him, which the Egyptians would by no means agree to.

From that time, the French army, being surrounded by sea and by land, began every day more and more to be distressed for provisions, and with famine, being driven to such misery that they were obliged to eat their own horses in Lent time, which should have served them for other uses. Nor could any Christian power, nor emperor Frederick (being deposed by the pope) send them any succor. The more misery the Christians were in, the more fiercely the Saracens pressed upon them on every side, detesting their froward willfulness. Many of the Christian soldiers deserted. Not able to abide the affliction, they secretly went over to the Saracens, who gladly received and relieved them. Some were permitted to keep their faith; some married wives among them, and apostatized for hope of honor. The Sultan, being perfectly informed by these fugitives of everything in the king's army, sent to the king, derisively asking where were all his picks, forks, and rakes, scythes, ploughs, and harrows, which he brought over with him? Or why he did not employ them, but let them lie beside him to rust and canker? The king with his Frenchmen were obliged to bear with all this and much more.

The French king, with his army, seeing himself distressed, and that nothing was done against the Sultan of Egypt after he had fortified the city of Damietta with an able garrison, he left it with the duke of Burgundy. He then moved his camp from there to go eastward. In his army followed William Longspath. He came from England to fight in the Holy Land, accompanied by a number of select English warriors. But such was the hatred of the French against William Longspath, and the English, that they could not abide them, but flouted them in an insulting manner — calling them “English tails” — insomuch that the good king himself had much ado to keep peace between them.

The original cause of this grudge between the French and English began thus. There was, not far from Alexandria in Egypt, a strong fort or castle, filled with noble ladies, and rich treasure from the Saracens. It happened that William Longspath, with his company of English soldiers, got possession of this stronghold, more by good luck and political dexterity, than by open force of arm. He and his followers were greatly enriched by this. When the French learned of this, they began to conceive a heartburn against the English soldiers, and could not speak well of them after that. It happened again, not long after, that William Longspath had intelligence of a company of rich Saracen merchants going to a fair around the parts of Alexandria. Their camels, asses, and mules, were richly laden with silks, precious jewels, spices, gold and silver, with cartloads of other wares, besides victuals and other furniture of which the soldiers then stood in great need. Having secret knowledge of this, Longspath gathered all the English, and so falling upon the merchants by night, some he slew, some he took, and some he put to flight. He took and brought with him the carts with their drivers and oxen, and the camels, asses, and mules, with the whole carriage and provisions. He lost in the whole skirmish but one soldier, and eight of his servitors.

This being known in the camp, out came the French, who all this while loitered in their pavilions. Meeting the carriages along the way, they took all the spoils wholly to themselves, berating Longspath and the English for adventuring and issuing outside of the camp

without leave or knowledge of their general, contrary to the discipline of war. William Longspath said he had done nothing but what he would answer for, and that his purpose was to have the spoil divided among the whole army. When this would not serve, being grieved in mind at being spoiled in so cowardly a way, of that for which he had so adventurously travelled, he went to the king to complain. But when no reason nor complaint would serve — owing to the proud earl of Artois disliking him — he bid the king farewell, and said he would serve him no longer. And so William Longspath, with his followers, breaking from the French host, went to Acre. Upon their departure, the earl of Artois said, “Now the army of the French is well rid of these tailed people.” These words, spoken in great spite, were badly taken by many good men who heard him.

[177] A.D. 1246-1250.

### **Overthrow of the French Army by the Saracens.**

The king, setting out from Damietta, directed his journey towards Cairo. The Sultan in the meantime, hearing of the coming of the French host, in great hopes of conquering all, sent to the king, offering to the Christians the quiet and full possession of the Holy Land, with all the kingdom of Jerusalem, and more — besides other infinite treasures of gold and silver, or whatever else might please them, only on this condition: that they would return Damietta, with the captives there, and so they would join together in mutual peace and amity. Also, they would have all their Christian captives delivered home. And so both countries might freely pass, one to another, with their wares and traffic, such as they chose to venture. It was also firmly asserted that the Sultan, with most of his nobles, were willing to leave the filthy law of Mahomet, and receive the faith of Christ, so that they might quietly enjoy their lands and possessions. Then great quietness would no doubt have pervaded in all Christendom, with the end of bloodshed and misery, had it not been for the pope and his legate, who (having a command from the pope, that if any such offers came, he should not take them) would in no way receive the conditions offered. (Paris, fol. 233).

After this, everything was prepared on both sides for war. The king came to the great river Nile, thinking to pass over on a bridge of boats. On the other side the Sultan pitched himself to oppose his passage. In the meantime a certain festival occurred among the Saracens, in which the Sultan was absent, leaving his tents by the waterside. This was observed by a Saracen recently converted to Christ, serving with Earl Robert, the king's brother, who pointed out a shallow ford in the river, where they might more easily pass over. The earl and the master of the Templars, with a great force of about a third of the army, passed over the river, followed by William Longspath with his band of English soldiers. Being joined together on the other side of the water, they encountered the Saracens remaining in the tents, and put them to flight. After this victory, the French earl was elated with pride and triumph, as if he had conquered the whole earth. He would press forward, dividing himself from the main host, thinking to win the conflict alone. Some wise men among the Templars advised him not to do so, but rather to return and take their whole strength with them, so that they would be more sure against all deceits and dangers. They said they knew well the practice of that people, and had more experience with them than he had. They also alleged their wearied bodies, tired horses, famished soldiers, and the insufficiency of their number to withstand the multitude of their enemies, with other similar words of persuasion.

When the proud earl heard them, being inflamed with no less arrogance than ignorance, he reviled them, called them cowardly dastards and betrayers of the whole country, objecting to them the common report which said that the land of the holy cross might be won to

Christendom, if it were not for the rebellious Templars, with the Hospitallers and their fellows, etc.

To these disrespectful rebukes, the master of the Templars answered for himself and for his companions, bidding the earl to display his ensign whenever he would, and wherever he dared. They were quite as ready to follow him, as he was ready to go before them. Then William Longspath the worthy knight began to speak, desiring the earl to give ear to those men of experience, who had better knowledge of those countries and people than he had, commending their counsel as discreet and wholesome. And so, turning to the master of the temple, he began with gentle words to soften and appease him. The knight had not half ended his talk, when the earl, taking the words out of his mouth, began to fume and swear, crying out about these cowardly Englishmen with tails. He said, "What a pure army we would have here, if these tails, and tailed people were purged from it!" with other like words of great villainy and much hatred. The English knight answered "Well, Earl Robert, wherever you dare to set your foot, my step will go as far as yours; and I believe we go this day where you will not dare to come near the tail of my horse." In the event, it proved true.

Now, seeing that Earl Robert would set off to get all the glory for himself, he attacked a place called Mansor. Then the Sultan immediately came with all his main power. Seeing the Christian army was divided, and brother separated from brother, he had that which he had long wished for. And so enclosing round about them, so that none should escape, he fell on them and there was a cruel fight. Then the earl began to repent of his rashness, but it was too late. Then seeing William Longspath the English knight gallantly fighting in the chief brunt of the enemies, he cried out to him in a most cowardly way to flee, seeing that God (he said) fights against us. The knight answered "God forbid that my father's son should run away from the face of a Saracen." The earl then turning his horse fled away, thinking to escape by the swiftness of his horse. And so taking to the river of Thafnis, but pressed down with his armor, he sunk and was drowned. Thus the earl being gone, the French began to despair and scatter. Then William Longspath, bearing all the force of the enemy, stood against them as long as he could, wounding and slaying many a Saracen, until at length his horse being killed, and his legs maimed, he could no longer stand, yet as he was down, he mangled their feet and legs, and did the Saracens much sorrow, till at last, after many blows and wounds, being stoned by the Saracens, he yielded his life. After his death, the Saracens set upon the rest of the army, whom they had compassed on every side. They destroyed them all, so that scarcely one man escaped alive, except for two Templars, one Hospitaller, and one poor soldier, who brought tidings of it to the French king.

These things being known in the French camp to the king and his soldiers, there was no little sorrow and heaviness on every side, with great fear and doubt in themselves as to what was best to do. At last, when they saw no remedy, but to stand manfully to revenge the blood of their brethren, then the king with his host passed over the Nile. Coming to the place where the battle had been, there they beheld their fellows and brethren, pitifully lying with their heads and hands cut off. For the Saracens, being promised a reward by the Sultan, to those who could bring the head or hand of any Christian, had mangled the Christians, leaving their bodies to the wild beasts. Thus as they were sorrowing and lamenting the rueful case of their Christian fellows, suddenly there appeared the coming of the Sultan, with a multitude of innumerable thousands. The Frenchmen quickly prepared to encounter them. And so the battle being struck up, the armies began to join. But alack for pity, what could the French do, their number was so lessened, their hearts wounded with fear and sorrow, their bodies consumed with penury and famine, their horses not able to serve them for febleness? In conclusion, the Frenchmen were overthrown, slain, and dispatched. And

seeing that there was no fleeing, happy was the man who first could yield himself. In this miserable conflict, the king with his two brethren, and a few that clung to him, were taken captives, to the confusion of all Christian realms, and presented to the Sultan. All the rest were put to the sword, or else stood to the mercy of the Saracens, whether to be slain or to remain in woeful captivity. And this was the end of that sorrowful battle, in which almost all the nobility of France was slain. There was scarcely one man in the multitude who escaped free, but was either slain, or taken prisoner.

The Sultan, after taking the French king, deceitfully disguised an array of Saracens to the number of the French army, with the arms and ensigns of those who were slain, and made toward Damietta, where the duke of Burgundy, with the French queen, and Otto, the pope's legate, and other bishops, and their garrisons were remaining. They supposed that under the show of Frenchmen they would be let in. But the captains mistrusting their hasty coming, and doubting their visages, unlike Frenchmen, shut the gates against them.

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As the Sultan missed his purpose, he thought by advice of his council, to use the king's life for his own advantage in recovering the city of Damietta, as in the end it came to pass. For although the king at first was greatly unwilling, and would rather die than surrender Damietta back to the Saracens, yet the conclusion fell out, that the king was ransomed, and the city of Damietta was also resigned — having been twice won, and twice lost by the Christians. The Sultan (or Soladine) afterward caused it to be utterly razed to the ground. The ransom of the king, on condition that the Sultan would see him safely conducted to Acre, came to 60,000 marks. The number of French and others who died in that war by water and by land, came to 80,000 persons.

And thus you have a brief narration of this lamentable pilgrimage of Louis the French king, all occasioned by the pope and Otto his legate; by whose sinister means and pestilent pride, not only were the lives of so many Christians lost, but also the loss of other cities and Christian regions bordering the same quarters is to be ascribed to them. For by the occasion of all this, the hearts of the Saracens on the one side were so encouraged, and the courage of the Christians on the other side were so discomfited, that a short while later, both the dominion of Antioch, and of Acre, with all other possessions belonging to the Christians, were lost, to the great diminishing of Christ's church.

Another reason, too, why the ruin of this French army is deservedly imputed to the pope, is this: when Louis the French king perceived what a necessary friend and helper Frederick the emperor might be to him against the Saracens, and therefore was an earnest suitor for him to the pope, to have him released, yet neither he nor the king of England could obtain it by any means. Through this, not only the French king's army went to wreck, but also such a fire of mischief was kindled against Christendom, that to this day it cannot be quenched. For the Saracens, and after them the Turks, got such a hand over Christendom, that to this day we all have great cause to rue and lament.<sup>204</sup>

### ***The Tragic History of Emperor Frederick II – r. 1220-1250.***

The chief and greatest cause of all this was that the emperor, who could have done the most, was deposed by the pope's tyranny, by which all those churches in Asia were left desolate. As for Emperor Frederick, whom we frequently mentioned before, just as his history is strange, his acts are wonderful, and his conflicts are tragic which he sustained against four or five

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<sup>204</sup> [The Turks did not suffer a single naval defeat until 1571, at the battle of Lepanto.](#)

popes, one after another, I thought it good to lay out his history here, backtracking a bit. Thus, the reader may know what is to be thought of this See of Rome, which wrought such abominable mischief in the world, as may be seen in the sequel of the following history.

*The whole tragic history of the Emperor Frederick II,  
translated out of the Latin book of Nicholas Cisnerus  
(1193 to 1250).*

Frederick II was of the noblest lineage, being grandson to Frederick Barbarossa, and son to the Emperor Henry VI, and Constantia, daughter of the king of Sicily.

The Emperor Henry VI, when he died, which was shortly after the birth of Frederick II, committed his protection to Constantia his wife, to Philip his brother, governor of Etruria, and to the bishop of Rome, then Innocent III.

Constantia, not long after the death of Henry her husband, being sickly and growing old, resigned, and willed by her testament the safety both of her son Frederick, and also of his dominions, to the protection and government of Innocent III.

This Pope, as soon as he had the protection of the young emperor, became instead of a patron and protector to him and his dominions, both an enemy and conspirator. The examples are many; he persuaded Sibylla, the wife of Tancred (whom Henry put out of the kingdom of Sicily), to recover it again. "Whereupon Walter, who was married to the daughter of Tancred, by the instigation, counsel, and aid of the French king, with the pope, invaded Campania and Apulia. At this time also, the same worthy protector, Innocent III, sent his legates with letters of excommunication against all who would not take Walter as their king.

Again, when the princes, electors, and other nobles, had promised by their oath to Henry, that they would make Frederick his son emperor after his decease, the pope absolved them all from the oath which they had taken and given for the election of Frederick. He then went about to procure that Otto, the son of Henry Leo, should be made emperor. He deprived all those bishops whom he knew were favorable to Philip, who ruled the empire during the minority of his nephew Frederick. But Philip, by God's help, defeated the other. His cause was better, and his skill in martial affairs was greater, and he was stronger in power after many and great conflicts, and the fearful disturbance and desolation of the whole empire. All of these calamities and mischiefs, Conrad Lichtenau, living at that time, most pitifully complains of in his annals, and accuses the bishop of Rome and his adherents to be the chief authors and devisers of this great and lamentable mischief.

Thus you may see how it was by the counsel and consent of Pope Innocent, and by his instigation (besides his secret conspiracies) that this good Frederick and his dominions were hurt and damaged.

At this time Frederick had come to the age of twenty. By the provision of Constantia, his mother, he was so well instructed in letters, and so accomplished with other arts and virtues, that at this time there appeared and shone in him excellent gifts both of wisdom and knowledge. He was excellently well-versed in the Latin and Greek languages, although at that time his learning began to decay, and his barbarousness to increase. He also knew the German tongue, the Italian tongue, and the Saracen tongue. He daily exercised and put into practice those virtues which nature had planted in him, such as piety, wisdom, justice, and fortitude. So that he might well be compared to and counted among the worthiest and most renowned emperors, his predecessors.

When Frederick had gathered his armies, he was crowned. And after that, he set the empire at rest and in order, and appeased the whole of Germany. Then he returned to Rome with all his nobles and princes. He was consecrated with great solemnity by Pope Honorius III, and called Augustus. This Honorius succeeded Innocent in the papal see.

After the consecration of Frederick was finished with great solemnity, he departed from Rome, to set in order and settle the cities and great towns of Italy, for the better tranquility of himself, and the safety of his subjects. There he heard of some who began to raise and make new factions against him. Among them were Thomas and Richard, the brothers of Innocent III, who kept some castles from him by force. He besieged those castles and beat them down. He captured Richard and sent him as a prisoner to Sicilia; but Thomas escaped to Rome. Certain bishops and others who were conspirators against Frederick also repaired there, and were maintained and defended by this bishop of Rome (Innocent). Frederick began to expostulate with the pope, who on the other side, was so chafed and vexed that immediately, without further delay, he thunders out against Frederick his curses and excommunications.

Thomas Fazel declares in a different manner the detestation or defiance that broke out between them. There were, he says, among those who were found to be traitors to the emperor, certain bishops who, flying to the pope, requested his aid. Upon which the pope sent his legates to the emperor, and requested him to admit and receive to favor those bishops whom he had banished and put from their offices, and that Frederick should not intermeddle with any ecclesiastical charge which he had nothing to do with. And he said further, that the correction and punishment of such matters pertained to the bishop of Rome, and not to him. Moreover, the oversight of those churches in that kingdom, from which he had expelled the bishops, pertained and belonged to the pope.

[179] A.D. 1195-1250.

To this Frederick replied, "In so much that 400 years and more had passed (from the time of Charlemagne), all emperors and kings in their dominions might lawfully commit to meet and fit men for these, such ecclesiastical functions and charges as were within their territories and kingdoms. He also looked to have the like privilege and authority which his predecessors had before him." Being chafed and moved with these demands of the pope, he breaks forth and says, "How long will the bishop of Rome abuse my patience? When will his covetous heart be satisfied? To where will his ambitious desire grow?" With such words, he repeated certain injuries and conspiracies, both against him and his dominions, plotted by Honorius as well as by Innocent. "What man, (he says), can suffer and bear this incredible boldness and intolerable insolence of so proud a bishop? Go," he says, to the legates, "and tell Honorius, that I will risk both the dominion of my empire, and the crown of my kingdom, rather than suffer the pope to thus diminish the authority of our majesty."

While Frederick was in Sicilia, his wife Constantia died. In the meantime the Christians sailed into Egypt with a great navy, and took the city Heliopolis, commonly called Damietta. Although in good hope of driving the Sultan out of Egypt, they experienced a great and marvellous overthrow by the water of the Nile (which overflowed their camp). They were obliged to agree to a truce with the Sultan for some years, and to surrender the city again. Upon this, John surnamed Brennus, king of Jerusalem, arrived in Italy, and prayed the aid of the emperor, in whom he had great hopes of finding a remedy for these calamities. From there he went to Rome to the pope, describing to him the great discomfiture, and also the present peril and calamity they were in. By his means, the emperor was reconciled again to the pope, and promised that he would prepare an army for the recovery of Jerusalem, and

go there himself. In the meantime, pope Honorius, to whom he was recently reconciled, purposed to make some great and secret attempt against him — had the pope not been prevented by death.

After him succeeded Gregory IX (r. 1227-1241), who was just as great an enemy of Frederick. Gregory was scarcely settled in his papacy, when he threatened the emperor with excommunication unless he proceeded into Asia according to his promise. You will hear shortly the reason why the pope so hastened the journey of Frederick. For he could not well bring to pass what he had devised in his mischievous mind, unless the emperor were farther from him. However, Frederick it would seem smelled a rat, or mistrusting somewhat (as well he might), alleged different excuses for delay.

Fazell, a Sicilian writer, says that the special cause of the emperor's stay was the oath of truce and peace during certain years, which was made between the Saracens and Christians, and that time was not yet expired. The same historian also writes of King John of Jerusalem, that when his daughter was brought to Rome, the emperor and the pope were reconciled. And being called up to Rome to celebrate the marriage of the emperor with Joella, the daughter of John, Pope Gregory (as is the manner of those proud prelates) offered his right foot to the emperor to kiss. But the emperor, not stooping so low, scarcely touched the upper part of his knee with his lip, and would not kiss his foot — which the pope took very badly, and was shockingly offended. But no opportunity at that time served to revenge his malice. So he dissembled then, thinking to recompence it to the full as time would serve.

After this, the emperor hearing how the Christians were oppressed by the Sultan in Syria, and that there came a great army against the Christian princes, he made more haste; and with more desire, he was encouraged to set forth on his journey into Asia.

With all his power, he made speedy preparation for the wars (the Sixth Crusade, 1228-29). He rigged and manned a powerful navy; he had the most select men and the best soldiers that were in every country, and made warlike provision for everything pertaining to such a voyage and expedition. Great bands assembled and mustered, of both German soldiers and others. Appointed under their captains, they set forth and marched to Brundusium. Because the emperor was delayed by sickness, they encamped a long time waiting for him. A great pestilence broke out among them, through the great heat of that country; and many a soldier there lost his life; among them died Thuringus, one of their generals. The emperor, when he had somewhat recovered his health, launched with all his navy, and set forward to Brundusium. When he came to the straits of Peloponnesus and Crete, he suddenly fell sick, his diseases returning upon him again. And so, he sent before him all or most of his bands and ships into Palestine, promising to follow them as soon as he recovered whatever health he could. He himself with a few ships returned to Brundusium; and from there, for lack of health, he went into Apulia.

When tidings of this came to the pope's ear, he sent out his thundering curses and excommunications against the emperor. The pretended cause of this, I find noted and mentioned in the pope's own letters: how when Frederick had robbed and taken from Brundusius, prince of Thuring, his horses, money, and other rich furniture from his house at the time of his death, Frederick sailed into Italy — not to make war against the Turk, but to lure his prey away from Brundusius. And so, neglecting his oath and promise which he had made, and feigning his sickness, he came home again. By his default, Damietta was lost, and the host of the Christians were sorely afflicted (or so the pope wrote in his letters). But then Frederick, to repel and refute this slander, sent the bishop of Brundis and other legates to Rome. But the pope would not permit them to come to his presence, nor to the councils of

the cardinals, to make Frederick's vindication. Therefore the emperor, to purge himself of the crimes which the pope so falsely accused him of — both to all Christian kings, and especially to the princes of Germany, and to all the nobles of the empire — writes his own letters that those things were both false, feigned, and invented by the pope's own head. And he shows how his ambassadors, with his vindication, were not permitted to come into the pope's presence. Historian Matthew Paris writes,

“Among other catholic princes, he also wrote letters to the king of England, embossed with gold. He declared in them, that the bishop of Rome was so inflamed with the fire of avarice and manifest covetousness, that he was not content with the goods of the church, which were innumerable, but also that he was not ashamed to bring princes, kings, and emperors to be subjects and contributors to him, and thus to disinherit them, and put them away from their kingly dignities; and that the king of England himself had good experience of this. His father, King John, was so long excommunicated by the popes, till they had brought both him and his dominions under servitude, in order to pay tribute to the pope. Behold the manners and conditions of our Roman bishops! Behold the snares with which these prelates seek to entangle men; to wipe their noses with their money; to make their children bondmen; to disquiet those who seek to live in peace — being clothed with sheep's clothing, when indeed they are but ravening wolves. They send their legates hither and thither to excommunicate and suspend; as having power to punish whomever they please — not sowing the seed, that is, the word of God, to fructify, but so that they may bribe and tax men's persons, and reap what they never sowed. Thus it comes to pass, that they spoil the holy churches and houses of God, which should be the refuge for the poor, and the mansion houses of saints, which our devout and simple parents built for that purpose, and ordained for the relief of poor men and pilgrims, and for the sustenance of those who were well disposed and religious. But these degenerate scoundrels, whom letters have only made both mad and impudent, strive and gape to be both kings and emperors.

“Doubtless the primitive church was built and laid in poverty and simplicity of life. And then, as a fruitful mother, she begat her holy children, whom the catalogue of saints now mentions; and truly no other foundation can be laid by any other church, than that which is laid by Jesus Christ. But *this* church, just as it swims and wallows in all superfluity of riches, and builds and raises the frame in all superfluous wealth and glory, so is it to be feared, lest its walls fall into decay; and when the walls are down, utter ruin and subversion follow after,” etc.

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But now, so that Frederick might indeed stop the mouth of the cruel pope, who persisted in his excommunication against him after he had prepared all things for the war, and levied a great army, Frederick departed, and came by sea to Cyprus with his army.

From Cyprus the emperor sailed to Joppa, which he fortified; but it came to pass, that in a short time they lacked provisions, and were afflicted with famine. Then they made their humble supplication to God, and the great tempest and foul weather ceased. The seas now being calm, they had provisions and all other necessary things brought to them.

Immediately the emperor and his army, as also the inhabitants of Joppa, were greatly refreshed and animated. On the other side, their enemies being disappointed of their purpose, were greatly discouraged. So that the king of Egypt, who had encamped with a great army, within one day's journey of Joppa, thinking to besiege it, was now content to treat for peace. Whereupon ambassadors were sent with the emperor's demands, and the Saracens immediately granted them. A ten-year peace was concluded, and confirmed by solemn oath on behalf of both princes, according to their several usages and manner. The form and condition of these articles of peace, briefly collected, are these:



“First, That Frederick the emperor should be crowned and anointed king of Jerusalem, according to the manner of the kings of Jerusalem before him.

“Secondly, That all the lands and possessions which were situated between Jerusalem and Ptolemais, and the greatest part of Palestine, and the cities of Tyre and Sidon, which were in Syria, and all other territories which Baldwin IV at any time had and did occupy there, should be delivered to him, only certain castles being reserved.

“Thirdly, That he might fortify and build whatever fortresses and castles, cities and towns, he thought good in all of Syria and Palestine.

“Fourthly, That all the prisoners which were in the Saracens’ hands, would be ransomed freely and sent home. And again, that the Saracens might have leave, without armor, to come into the temple where the Lord’s sepulcher is, to pray; and that they should still hold and keep Chratum and the king’s mount.”

As Frederick thought the conclusion of this peace to be both necessary, and also profitable for all Christians, and as he had gotten as much by it as if the wars had continued, he sent his legates with letters to all Christian kings, princes, and potentates, as also to the bishop of Rome, declaring the circumstance and success of his journey and wars, as you have partly heard. He requested that they also would praise and give God thanks for his good success and the profitable peace concluded. And he desired of the pope, that as he had now accomplished his promise, and there was no cause why he should be displeased with him, he might be reconciled and obtain his favor.

In the meantime the emperor with all his army marched to Jerusalem, where on Easter day (A.D. 1229) he was solemnly crowned king, with great triumph and to the joy of all his nobles, and also the magistrates of that kingdom.

After this he rebuilt the city and its walls, which were beaten down by the Saracens. He supplied it with munitions; he built up the churches and temples that were in ruins; he fortified Nazareth and Joppa with strong garrisons, provisions, and all other necessary things.

Now see and behold, I pray you, that while Frederick was thus occupied, the pope was about his nefarious practices in Italy. He was not at all careful in the affairs of the Christian commonwealth, but was studying and laboring to see what mischief he might work against the emperor. First, he caused the soldiers whom the emperor sent for out of Germany for maintaining the holy wars, to be stopped as they passed through Italy, preventing their journey, and despoiling them of all the provisions they had. Not only this, but he secretly sent letters into Asia, to the patriarch of Jerusalem, and to the soldiers who kept the temple and the hospital, enticing and inciting them to rebel against the emperor. And furthermore, he dissuaded the princes of the Saracens, that they should make no league or truce with Frederick, nor deliver up to him the crown and kingdom of Jerusalem. These letters, were manifest testimonies of the pope’s treachery and treason towards Frederick, whom God had instituted and made His liege lord and sovereign, and the mightiest potentate on earth. So too, it was God’s will that Frederick should gain knowledge of this, and that those letters should fall into his hands. He protests in his last epistle to the Christian princes, that he kept those letters for a more certain testimony of all this.

When the pope had thus conspired against Frederick, and betrayed him as far as he could to the public enemy of all Christians, the Turk, he could no longer dissemble his mischievous treason, nor content himself with it, but he must devise and practice another. For he incited John, Frederick’s father-in-law, to make war against him, and the pope caused the subjects

of the empire to withdraw their allegiance from him, and also the inhabitants of Picenum and of Lombardy. Thus joining themselves together, they sought further assistance from the French king, by which they gained great power. That done, they divided their force in two armies, invading the empire with one, and with the other, the territories belonging to the inheritance of Frederick.

But when the pope saw that fortune neither favored his designs, nor served his longings, he was like a man bereft of his wits, especially at these tidings of the prosperous success of the emperor against the Saracens. He tore and threw all his letters on the ground, and with all insulting language, he rebuked and reviled the legates for their master's sake, the emperor.

These injuries of the pope against Frederick, are great and most wicked treasons. But still his cruel and tyrannical mind was not content, but it went so far as is scarcely credible. For he not only set a variance between Frederick and his son Henry, but he also caused the son to become an enemy to his father. This was the drift of all his policy: that at one instant, in different and many places far one from another, war might be made against the emperor.

When the emperor understood what commotion the pope kept up in all his dominions, in his absence, and thinking to prevent the pope's purpose, and also to confirm the friendship of those whom he found to be his trusty subjects, Frederick left Asia, and with all speed came to Calabria. During his time there, he assembled his forces, and made all the preparation he could. From there he went to Berletta, where the duke of Spoletanum, with all his garrisons came to him. And from there he went into Apulia, and within a short time, by God's help, he recovered again all his dominions there. Then going into Campania, he won as many towns and holds as the pope had there, almost to Rome. Now, even though the emperor had gotten this entrance into the pope's dominions, by which he might have revenged himself for all the injuries done to him, he preferred nothing above Christian and public tranquility. For love of this, restraining his wrath, he sent his legates to treat for peace. Furthermore, to also decide all controversies between them, he sent eight or ten of the noblest and greatest men about him, princes and dukes of the empire.

Yet, so great was the insolence and pride of the pope, that by no gentleness or kindness could he be brought to promote the profitable concord of the church and the Christian commonwealth. O, worthy head, who claims all authority for himself in the church of Christ, and for his own willful revenge, cares nothing for the health and advantage of Christendom! The next year a peace was concluded between them, by the help of Leopold of Austria. The pope absolved the emperor of his excommunication (and therefore took 120,000 ounces of gold from him), restoring the titles both of his empire, and also of his kingdoms.

[181] A.D. 1193-1250.

Although Frederick concluded with the pope this unprofitable peace for himself, yet he faithfully performed those things that were agreed upon. But the pope, who thought it but a trifle to break his promise, would not stand to the conditions of the peace. For to pass over other things, he neither restored, as he promised, the customs of the land of Sicily, nor yet the city of Castellana. Yet Frederick, for the quietness and advantage of the commonwealth, bore and suffered these small injuries, and studied in all that he could, by liberal gifts as well as otherwise, to make the pope a trusty friend.

While these things were done in Italy and Sicily, great rebellions against the emperor were active in Germany, by his sons Henry Caesar, and Frederick of Austria. Henry being shaken off from his lord pope because of the peace between his father and the pope, he now began to make an open claim to the empire.

When intelligence of these things was brought to the emperor, he sent his legates, and commanded that both Henry Caesar his son, and other princes of Germany, who had assembled their armies, should break up and disperse. As he saw his son make so apparent a rebellion against him, and fearing greater insurrections in Germany, he thought it good to prevent it with all expedition. So he determined to go in all haste to Germany with his army, from which he had been absent fourteen years. The pope promised the emperor that he would write letters in his behalf to all the princes of Germany, but persuaded him to the utmost of his power, that he should in no case go into Germany himself. Why? The pope's conscience accused him that he had written to the nobles in Germany, even from the beginning of his papacy, that they should not allow the emperor nor any of his heirs to enjoy the empire; and had stirred them all up to rebel against Frederick. He had also motivated Henry, the emperor's son, by bribes and fair promises, to conspire against his father. And to conclude, he was the author and procurer of the conspiracy which the Lombards then made against Frederick. Fearing lest these things come to the emperor's ear, the pope was greatly troubled. But the emperor not thinking it good to be absent at so important a time, went speedily into Germany. Assembling a council there, Henry Caesar's conspiracy was manifestly detected (of which the pope was the chief author). He was convicted of high treason by the judgment and sentence of seventy princes. Being commanded by his father to be bound, he was brought to Apulia where, not long after, he died in prison. Furthermore, by public commandment, the emperor renounced his son Frederick of Austria, and had him proclaimed an enemy to the public welfare. And when he saw that this punishment did not cause his son to come to his senses, and acknowledge his misconduct, the emperor, with a great army, took from him all of Austria and Syria, and brought them back under his own obedience and fidelity.

Then when he had set Germany in quietness, he left his son Conrad Caesar there, and returned to Italy, to punish those who had conspired against him, whose treasons were all detected at the condemnation of his son, chiefly instigated by the pope. The pope understanding that the emperor marched towards Italy, pretended to be reconcile, and a friend to Frederick, yet notwithstanding, he was a most secret and dangerous enemy. He advised the rebellious to join together, and to strongly fortify their cities with garrisons, that they should send to their friends for aid, and that with all the force they were able to muster, they should prepare for war.

And the pope sent his ambassadors to the emperor, to whom, under the pretense of promoting a peace, he had given a secret commandment that they should interdict him and his army, as soon as he came within the borders of Italy.

The emperor then prosecuted his purpose, and marched into Italy, where he brought under his subjection those cities that rebelled against him. And then he set upon the great host of the confederators, of whom he took one thousand prisoners, and also their general, and slew several captains, and took all their ensigns.

The pope now somewhat dismayed at this overthrow of his confederates, began to fear the emperor; and whereas before, he worked secretly and by others, now he went to work with might and main to subdue and deprive the emperor. Though the emperor saw and perceived what hatred and mortal malice the pope bore towards him, he desired that no fault be found in him for the breach of the peace. So he sent four legates to the bishop of Rome, who would answer and refute those incriminating charges which the pope laid to him.

When the bishop understood that the ambassadors were not far from Rome, he thought that in hearing the excuse and reasonable answer of the emperor, he might perhaps be provoked

to desist from his purpose. So he refused to speak with them, and at the day appointed he pronounced the sentence of proscription against the emperor, depriving him of all his dignities, honors, titles, prerogatives, kingdoms and the whole empire. Calling the Venetian and Genoese legates, he made a peace between them, and covenanted with them that at their charges they should rig and man thirty-five galleys, which were to spoil and burn all along the seacoasts of the kingdoms and dominions of Frederick.

But when the pope saw the good will and fidelity which the good duke of Venice bore to the emperor, and also saw what aid the emperor had from him, and that he was not likely to win him to his purpose, he then resorted again to his old crafty practices and subtleties. He devised to proclaim an edict at Rome to the universal church and people, in which he declares the reasons why he curses and gives the emperor to the devil of hell, and has dejected him from all his princely dignity. In the same edict he accuses Frederick of many great crimes that are detestable even to name. And besides that, he restrains his sovereign lord and emperor from the appeal which every private man may have by law. He accuses Frederick of treason, perjury, cruelty, sacrilege, killing his kindred, and of all impiety. He accuses him as a heretic, a schismatic, and a miscreant. To be brief, whatever mischief the pope can devise, he charges and burdens the emperor with that. The pope issued two other mandates, in which he commanded all bishops, prelates, and others of the clergy, that they should solemnly recite in their churches instead of their sermon, that by his decree he had excommunicated Frederick out of the fellowship of Christian men, removed him from the government of the empire, and that he had released all his subjects of their allegiance and fidelity towards him. And he charges them, and all other Christian men, under pain of cursing and damnation, that they neither succor the emperor, nor so much as wish him well.

Among the other noblemen of Germany at that time, was Otto, a prince of great honor, riches, and estimation., The pope, with both fair promises and rewards, enticed this prince away from the emperor. Otto in turn caused three other princes and dukes to revolt from the emperor to the pope. Frederick of Austria, Frederick's son, was easily won to the pope, and also came to Otto.

The emperor was at Patavium when this news was brought to him. Therefore he commanded Peter of Venice his secretary, on Easter day, to make a narration to the people of his great and liberal munificence to the bishops and church of Rome, and again, of the injuries by them toward him in recompence; also of his innocence in that of which the pope had accused him, and of the unseemliness of such an act or deed, of the right use of the ecclesiastical censure, and of the errors and abuse of the church of Rome. By this oration, he removed the cloud of blind superstition from many men's hearts, and the conceived opinion of the holiness of the church of Rome, and of its bishops. He revealed their usurped power and subtle persuasion, so that the people plainly saw the vices of the church of Rome, of the bishops of that see, and also their fraudulent deceits and atrocious doings. The people most vehemently lamented and complained about these things. By his letters and legates, the emperor also gave intelligence to all Christian kings, to the princes of his own empire, to the college of cardinals, and to the people of Rome, of the pretended crimes with which he was charged, as well as the cruelty of the bishop of Rome against him. A copy of that letter or epistle is as follows:

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*The Emperor to the Prelates of the World.*

“In the beginning and creation of the world, the inestimable foreknowledge and providence of God (who asks counsel of none) created in the firmament of heaven two lights, a greater and a lesser; the greater he created to rule the day, and the lesser to rule the night: which two so perform their proper offices and duties in the zodiac, that although oftentimes the one is in an oblique aspect to the other, yet the one is not an enemy to the other; but rather the superior communicates his light to the inferior. Even so, the same eternal foreknowledge has appointed upon the earth two authorities, that is to say, priesthood and kingly power; the one for knowledge and wisdom, the other for defense; so that man, who is made of two parts, might have two reins to govern and bridle him with, so that thereby peace and love might dwell upon the face of the earth.

“But alas, the bishop of Rome sitting in the chair of perverse doctrine or pestilence — that Pharisee anointed with the oil of iniquity above the rest of his consorts in our time, who for his abominable pride has fallen from heaven — endeavors with his power to destroy and to undo all. And he thinks, I believe, to star himself again there, from where he fell. His purpose is to darken and to shadow the light of our unspotted life, while altering the truth into lies. His papal letters, stuffed with untruths, are sent into various parts of the world, of his own corrupt humor, and upon no reasonable cause, blemishing the sincerity of our religion. The lord pope has compared us to the beast rising out of the sea, full of names of blasphemy, and spotted like a leopard. But we say that he is that monstrous beast of whom it is said, and of whom we thus read: ‘And there went out another horse that was red, and power was given to him who sat on it to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another,’ Rev 6.4. For since the time of his promotion, he has not been the father of mercy, but of discord; a diligent steward of desolation instead of consolation; and he has enticed all the world to commit offense. And to take the words in a right sense and interpretation, he is that great dragon that has deceived the whole world; he is that antichrist, of whom he has called us the forerunner; he is that other Balaam hired for money to curse us; the prince of darkness, who has abused the prophets. This is the angel leaping out of the sea, having his vials filled with bitterness, so that he may hurt both sea and land; the counterfeit vicar of Christ, who sets forth his own imaginations.

“He says that we do not rightly believe in the Christian faith, and that the world is deceived with three manners of deceivers, which to name, God forbid that we should open our mouth; seeing that we openly confess only Jesus Christ our Lord and Savior to be the everlasting Son of God, coequal with his Father and the Holy Spirit, begotten before all worlds, and in process of time sent down upon the earth for the salvation of mankind; conceived by the Holy Spirit; who was born of the glorious Virgin Mary, and after that suffered and died, regarding the flesh; and by his godhead, the third day he raised from death that other nature which he assumed in the womb of his mother. But we have learned that the body of Mahomet hangs in the air, and his soul is buried in hell: whose works are damnable and contrary to the law of the Most High. We also affirm that Moses was the faithful servant of God and a true teacher of the law; and that he talked with God on Mount Sinai. By whom also God wrought miracles in Egypt, and delivered the law written to the Israelites; and that afterwards, with the elect, he was called to glory. In these and other things our enemy and the envier of our state, causing our mother the church to accuse her son, has written venomous and lying slanders against us, and sent the same to the whole world. If he had rightly understood the apostle’s meaning, he would not have preferred his violent will (which bears such sway with him) before reason. Nor would he have sent out his mandates at the suggestion of those who call light darkness, and evil good; who suspect honey to be gall, for the great good opinion they had conceived of that holy place, which indeed is both weak and infirm, and converts all truth into falsehood, and affirms that to be which is not.

“Truly my opinion, so impartial on every side, should not in any case be infringed and turned from the faith, to such enemies of so corrupt a conscience. Therefore we are greatly forced to marvel not a little, which also much disquiets us to see. that you, who are the pillars and assistants in the office of righteous dealing, the senators of Peter’s city, and the principal beams in God’s building, have not remedied the disturbances of so fierce a judge — as do the planets of heaven in their kind, which to mitigate the passing swift course of the great orb or sphere of heaven, draw a contrary way by their opposite movings. Indeed our imperial felicity has been, almost from the beginning, spurned and envied by the papal see and dignity; like Simonides being asked why he had no more enemies and enviers of his state, answered, ‘Because I have had no good success in anything that I ever took in hand.’ And whereas we have had prosperous success in all our enterprises (the Lord’s name therefore be blessed), especially in the overthrow recently of our rebellious enemies, the Lombards, to whom in their quarrel, the pope promised life and absolution, with remission of their sins And our success is the reason why his apostolical bishop mourns and laments. And now he labors to oppose our felicity, not by your counsels, I suppose, but out of his own power of binding and loosing, of which he glories so much. But presently, where power and ability lack redress, abuse takes place. We see in him who was so mighty a king, and the worthiest prince among all the prophets, a desire and craving for the restitution of God’s Holy Spirit, when he had polluted the dignity of his office. <sup>Psa 51.11</sup> But the proverb is, ‘As things indissoluble are not to be loosed, so things that cannot be bound, are not to be bound.’ This thing is manifestly proved in him. For why, the Scriptures of God instruct men how to live; they mortify our souls which are immortal; and quicken those who are dead for lack of life.

“And doubtless He is able to humble and bring down those who are unworthy of dignity — as much as He pleases, and whenever He pleases. Doubtless if the bishop of Rome were a true bishop indeed — innocent, unpolluted, and not associated with wicked livers and evil men — then his life would prove him to be so. He would not then be an offeror of dissentious sacrifice, but a peaceable offeror of love and charity; and he would cense, not with the incense of grief and hatred, but with the sweet smelling incense of concord and unity; nor yet would he make an execrable abuse of a sanctified office. If he were such a bishop as he ought to be, he would not twist or abuse the preaching the word into the fruit and gain of his own dissension. Nor would we be accused of being such an enemy of our mother the true church, as is laid to her Son’s charge by such a bishop. This true and mother church we honor with all reverence and embrace, being so beautified and adorned with God’s holy sacraments. Some singular persons notwithstanding, feigning themselves to be our brethren by that mother, and who yet are not — those, I say, who are subject and slaves to corruptible things — we utterly reject (putting them out from among us). Especially because injuries done by them, with which our majesty is so molested, vexed, and grieved, are not merely transitory and belonging to this life. Therefore we cannot so easily mitigate our mood, nor indeed should we do so; and therefore we are forced to take greater revenge for them. You therefore, who are men of grave and deliberate counsel, having the excellent gift (as from God) of wisdom and understanding, oppose that roaring enemy of ours in his proceedings, whose beginnings are so wicked and detestable, wisely comparing things past, with those to come. Otherwise you who are under our subjection, of our empire as well as our other dominions, will feel and perceive (both of my chief enemy and persecutor, and also of the princes who are his favorers and adherents) what revenge by the sword Frederick Augustus shall take upon them, God so permitting.”

The bishops and prelates, with one assent supported the emperor, and scorned the pope’s mandates and writs, and also the curses and threats of Albert his legate. They accused, reproved, and greatly blamed his temerity, and also the tyranny which he usurped

[183] A.D. 1193-1250.

against the churches of Germany, and especially against the good emperor; that without his consent he dared be so bold as to meddle in churches committed to the emperor's government, against the old and ancient customs; that he had excommunicated the emperor without just cause; that he had condemned the emperor's faithful subjects as enemies to the church, for standing with their liege and sovereign prince (which allegiance they might not violate without horrible iniquity), and so he had sought to disquiet them likewise in their charges and administrations; and that in quarrel, he had also given such defiance to the emperor. They accused and condemned Albert (the pope's legate) as a most impudent impostor, and as a most pestiferous botch (embarrassment) and sore of the Christian commonwealth. They give him to the devil <sup>1Cor 5.5</sup> as a ruinous enemy of the church, as well as of his own natural country. And further, they think him worthy to have his reward with the rest of the pope's pursuivants, being one of the most wicked inventors and devisers of mischief that were in all of Germany. This done, they informed the emperor of it by their letters. And further, they notified all the princes of Germany (especially those which were of the pope's faction or rebellion, and favorers of Albert), that they should take heed and beware in any case of his subtle deceits and pernicious deceivable allurements, and that they should not assist the pope against the emperor.

While these things were thus at work in Germany, Frederick came to Etruria. After he had allayed certain insurrections there, he went from there to Pisa, where he was received and welcomed with great amity and honor. This city was always faithful to the emperors of Germany. Frederick then getting on his side the Lucenses, the Volaterans, the Genenses, the Aretines, and several other cities in Etruria, he came to Viterbium, which sided with him.

When the pope understood that Frederick was come to Viterbium he was very heavy, for he feared he would come to Rome, the good-will of which city the pope much mistrusted. He therefore caused a supplication to be drawn up, portraying the heads of Peter and Paul, and with a sharp and disrespectful oration he much defaced the emperor, promising everlasting life and the badge of the cross to as many as would arm themselves and fight against the emperor, as against the most wicked enemy of God and the church. Now when the emperor, marching somewhat near the gates of Rome, he beheld those whom the pope had stirred up against him with his goodly spectacle of St. Peter and St. Paul, and with his alluring oration. They were marked with the badge of the cross, and were coming out in battle against him. Frederick disdained being considered the enemy of the church, when he had been so beneficial to it. He made a fierce charge upon them, and soon put them to flight. As many as he captured (cutting off that badge from them), he caused to be hanged.

After this, when the emperor had greatly afflicted by battle, those who conspired with the pope against him, he marched to vanquish the rest of his enemies in Italy, and besieged Asculinum. Understanding what the pope's assistants had done with the princes electors, and other princes of Germany, he wrote letters to them. In them he first showed how those disrespectful and spiteful words which the pope blustered out against him, lighted upon the pope himself; and how the bishops of Rome not only seek to bring emperors, kings, and princes under their obedience, but also seek to be honored as gods, and say that they cannot err, nor be subject or bound to any religion. And further, like princes, these men command (under pain of cursing) that men believe everything they say, however great a lie it is. It goes so far, that by this covetousness of the pope's, all things go backward, and the whole commonwealth is subverted. Nor can any enemy be found more hurtful or perilous to the church of God than the pope. Frederick wrote to them further, that seeing their good wills and actions towards him, he would, with all the power and ability that God had given him, endeavor that the one who in the likeness of the shepherd of the flock, and the servant of

Christ, and chief prelate in the church, shows himself so very much a wolf, a persecutor and tyrant, may be removed from that place, and that a true and careful shepherd of God's flock may be appointed in the church. Therefore he exhorts them, that if they desire the safety and preservation of the whole state of the commonwealth and empire, that they further his purpose and proceedings, lest they too fall into the same snare of servitude with the bishop of Rome.

When the pope, as said before, would not hear the emperor's legates who came to treat for peace, the pope called to a council at Rome, all those prelates out of Italy, France and England, that he thought would favor him and his proceedings. So that thereby, as his last strategy and only refuge, he might deprive Frederick of his empire by their help, as an utter enemy to God and to the church. Frederick having knowledge of all these things, he determined to prevent their passage to Rome, by sea as well as by land. So that all the passages by land being now stopped and prevented, he commanded his son Henry with certain galleys, to go and keep the coasts of Sardinia; from there, go to Pisa and rig out a navy with the Pisans to meet with those who might come to aid the pope at Rome. The pope's champions understanding that they could not safely repair to Rome by land, procured forty galleys and ships out of Genoa to sail for their defense. They thought that if they should happen to meet with any of the emperor's ships or galleys, they would be able to make their part good, and repulse them. Encius in like manner, and Hugolinus (the captain and admiral of the Pisan navy for the emperor) launched forth to sea with forty ships and galleys. They met with the Genoese ships, and fiercely began to grapple with them and board them. In this fight at length three of the Genoese ships were sunk, with all the riches and treasure in them. In these ships, three legates of the popes were taken, of whom there were two cardinals, all cruel enemies against the emperor, and many other prelates. Besides these, there were a great number of legates and procurators of cities, innumerable monks and priests, plus 6000 soldiers, with others.

Pandolph Colonutius, in describing the circumstances of the great loss and misfortune of these champions of the pope by sea, declares that besides the great spoil and booty, they also found many writings and letters against Frederick, which had greatly helped them in the defense of those causes in which they had labored against him.

News of this was brought to the emperor not long after, who immediately led his army towards Rome. On the way, he reconciled the city of Pisa to the cause. But the coastal city of Fanum (Fano), because the townsmen had shut their gates and would not allow the emperor to come in, he took by force and destroyed it. The emperor, seeing that he do no good with the pope either by petition or lawful excuse, thought by his sudden coming there, and the fear of imminent peril, the pope might be brought to abandon his pertinacity. Even though the emperor was too strong for the pope, yet because he regarded nothing more than the public tranquility of the empire, and that he might then take the Tartar wars in hand, he did not refuse to treat for peace, as if he had been much the pope's inferior in force and fortune.

While this ruffle was going on between the emperor and the pope, the son of the Tartars' emperor invaded the borders adjoining to him. There he won Roxolanum, Bodolium, Mudanum, with many other cities, towns, and villages. He destroyed, wasted and burned the countries all about, killing and slaying man, woman, and child, sparing none of any sex or age. At this sudden invasion, and the people being in such fear and perplexity — having no city, no refuge, nor any aid to stand in their defense — were obliged to leave all that they had. They dispersed themselves into the woods, and fled into marshes and mountains, or wherever any succor offered itself to them.



The emperor thought it requisite that this mischief should be remedied and prevented with all speed. But his great enemy the pope was the only hindrance. For when he saw and perceived that he himself could do no good, and only labored in vain in seeking peace with the pope, he commanded Boiemus and Boius, to entreat and persuade with him.

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And (considering the imminent peril to the whole state of Christendom, that was likely to ensue because of such civil dissension) he thought that the pope would take up and conclude a peace, and mitigate somewhat his fierce and wrathful mood. But when he saw further, that neither by that means of entreaty nor by any other, would the pope desist from his stubborn and malicious purpose, he wrote to the king of Hungary. He said that he was right sorry and greatly lamented their miserable state, and that he much desired to relieve the need and necessity that he and all the rest stood in. But that he could not redress it, nor be of any assistance to him, because as the bishop of Rome refused all entreaties of peace, he could not depart from Italy without great peril to himself, lest by the pope's mischievous imaginations, he would be in peril of losing all at home. This was the loving zeal and affection of the pope and his adherents in this time of calamity towards the Christian state and commonwealth. The pope would rather bend his force, and revenge his malice upon this good and Christian emperor, than either himself withstand, or suffer and permit by any profitable peace, that this most bloody and cruel Tartar should be restrained from so great a havoc, spoil, and slaughter of Christian men. And yet truly, of all others, these men should have the greatest regard for Christian preservation, and should think this must have the supremacy! What else is this, if not manifest mockery and deceiving of the people?

When Frederick saw there was no other remedy, and that he labored in vain to have peace with the pope, he prosecuted this war against the pope to the uttermost. When he had gotten Tudertum, he destroyed the towns of Geminum and Narvia, and gave the spoil to his soldiers. He gently received the surrender of Siburnium, and wasted all the country around Rome. The pope, dismayed and troubled, and seeing that things did not prosper so well with him and against the emperor as he wished, he died for very anger.

In Gregory's stead, succeeded Celestine IV. The eighteenth day after he was made pope, he died. When the cardinals were all assembled again, they made Sinibald pope, whom they called Innocent IV. When Frederick was informed of his election, he was well pleased. And as he had been his friend in all this troubled time, he hoped the Christian commonwealth might now be brought to much peace and concord.

The legates of Frederick, with the assistance of Baldwin, the emperor of Constantinople, labored very diligently to conclude the promise of peace between Frederick and the pope. To be brief, every man was in good hope, and looked for no less. But the matter fell out far otherwise, and contrary to all their expectations. For the pope was secretly set upon, and encouraged by the cardinals and others, *against* Frederick. While the emperor's legates waited for the answer from the pope, Rainerus, the cardinal, went secretly to Viterbium with a number of soldiers, and took the town.

The emperor, hearing of this, mustered his bands, and with a sufficient force entered the pope's territory to recover Viterbium. From there he sent ambassadors to Rome, and with them also the emperor of Constantinople, and the earl of Toulouse, who he thought were able to do much with the pope in the prosecuting of this peace. But when the legates perceived no conclusion of peace was purposed, they began to despair of the matter; and so sent word to the emperor. The emperor yet doubted not, but if he might himself speak with

the pope, he should, upon reasonable conditions, accord with him; so by his legates and letters, he desired him to appoint a place where the emperor might resort to him. The pope seemed to be contented, and appointed a day at Fescennia, where they would talk together. The pope promised that he would be there before him, and await the emperor's coming. But the pope had made a confederacy with the French king against Frederick. And when he knew the three galleys previously hired were ready, he secretly took ship in the night, and came to Genoa, and from there to Lyons in France, where, calling a council, with a loud voice he summoned Frederick. And appointing him a day, he commanded him to come there personally to plead his cause.

Frederick's sudden departure from Italy made a plain demonstration that there had been no conclusion of a peace. And yet this most modest emperor, using the innocency and uprightness of his cause — as one who is most desirous of peace and Christian concord — sent the patriarch of Antioch, the bishop of Panormia, and Thadeus Suessanus. the president of his court (a most skillful and prudent civilian) to the Council of Lyons. They signified to them that the emperor would be there for the defense of his own cause; and as the day was very short, required a more convenient time for him to repair there. The emperor also entreated that he might postpone the day of hearing till he might conveniently travel there. But the pope would not give so much as three days space, in which time the ambassadors assured them of the emperor's presence. When the day had come, the pope, with his confederates beside him, took it upon himself to be both adversary and judge. He condemned the emperor in his absence — against God's law, against Christian doctrine, against both the precept of the law of nature and reason, against the rule of equity, against the constitutions of emperors and also the decrees of the empire, without any observation of the law, or granting dilatory days, without proof of any crime, nor allowing the emperor's cause to be pleaded, nor hearing what might be answered in this. What more wicked sentence was ever pronounced? What more cruel act could be committed, considering the person? Or, what more brutish thing could have been imagined or devised?

When the emperor heard of this cruel and tyrannical sentence of the pope, passed and pronounced against him, he thought it good, by his letters, to let all Christian princes and potentates understand what injurious and manifold displeasure he had sustained by the four preceding popes in their times, as well as the cruelty and tyranny of this particular pope, in pronouncing the sentence of judgment and condemnation against him, passing the bounds both of justice, equity, and reason.

The pope used this policy to disturb Germany and the whole empire; and to utterly destroy and subvert them. And thus Germany was divided, some taking part with Frederick the emperor; some with those who would, by the pope's appointment, be the electors of the new emperor. And thus the public peace and quiet was broken and all together in tumult.

By these CIVIL WARS, Germany suffered no little calamity. In every place there was manslaughter and murder; the countryside despoiled; the towns and villages set on fire and burnt; the churches and temples in which the farmers had put their goods and substance, violated and robbed; houses pulled down, the goods divided, and every man's cattle driven away. To conclude, in this turmoil and contention of deposing and choosing another emperor, in this faction of princes, and this liberty of wearing armor; in this license of hurting and sinning — the impudent boldness of private soldiers, and especially of those who were horsemen, then counted as the better sort of soldiers — was so great, and their unbridled and insatiable desire in robbing, spoiling and taking booties, catching and

snatching all that came to hand, was so much, that nothing could be sure and safe that any good man might enjoy.

Otto Boius, however, kept his promise and faith which he had pledged before to the emperor Frederick and Conrad his son. Whereupon Philip Javavensis, Albert and others calling a council at Mildorsus by the pope's commandment, sent for Otto, to whom they opened the pope's pleasure and commandment. To which, when he had heard all of it, Otto answered, "I cannot marvel enough at some of you, that before now you persuaded me to leave and forsake the part I took with the bishop of Rome, whom you yourselves affirmed to be Antichrist, and that I should take part with the emperor, you yourselves will not keep your fidelity and promise made to those good princes." And he said, "that he perceived in them a great inconstancy and levity, both in their words and deeds, who now call that wicked, unjust and violent wrong, that only recently they thought was equal, just, and right."

[185] A.D. 1229-1250.

He said further, that "they were overcome with pleasures, corrupted with superfluity, won with bribes, gaping for honor and estimation; and that they neither regarded honesty, godliness, nor their duty and office; but studied how to make dissension and commotions, and longed after war and bloody battle."

He then said that for his part he would obey God and his prince, to whom he had sworn fidelity; and that he did not at all esteem the feigned holiness and detestable practices of such prelates. He said he believed in Christ, and would trust to his mercy; and he believed how those whom they cursed and gave to the devil, were in the greatest favor with God. However, those prelates took in good part this expostulation of his, and seemed to bear Otto no malice or grudge for what he had said, but only to be desirous of peace and unity. Yet not long after, Otto was cursed as black as all the rest, and counted as bad as the worst.

Albert, the pope's champion, now conceived a mischievous device against Conrad Caesar, the emperor's son. Albert with certain of his confederates, by means of Ulric, a chief officer of the monks, came in the dead of night into the chamber where the Caesar with a few others about him was lying down. Falling upon them, they took some, and slew others. Finding no other body in the chamber or lodging, they thought that Caesar had been slain among the rest. But hearing the noise, Caesar had forsaken his bed, and hidden himself under a bench, and so he escaped their hands. The next day he indicted the bishop and his companions, and also the monk's bailiff for treason, and seized all the goods of the house. But at the suit of the guiltless monks, he released all to them again, levying a of fine one hundred pounds. Ulric lost his office, and Albert, to escape punishment, donned the habit of a monk. Conrad Hochenfouseus, who was the murderer of these men, though he escaped the punishment of man's hand, yet he did not escape the vengeance of God. For as he was riding abroad in the daytime, he was suddenly struck with a thunderbolt and died.

During all this busy and contentious time, it may well be gathered that Frederick was not still, but had his hands full suppressing these rebellious Popish tumults. And having strictly executed those who had conspired against his person, he came to Cremona. He took with him the wisest, most virtuous, and best learned men that there were, was thinking (with them) to go himself to Lyons to the pope, and there discuss the sentence, and also the conclusion of some peace, if he might by any means do that. And when all things were prepared and ready, he took the journey in hand. When he was within three days' journey of Lyons, he was notified that the city of Parma was taken by the outlaws of various factions of the pope. When he understood this, and that the pope was the chief actor, he saw manifestly

that it would little prevail to attempt any longer the thing he went for. At length, when he saw no other remedy, he put away from him all hope of peace. He prepared himself for the wars, with all his force and might. Thus altering his purpose and journey, he took the straightest way into Lombardy, and with an army of 60,000 men he besieged Parma. In the beginning all things prospered well with Frederick, and had good success; for he sharply repelled the charges of those who defended the city of Parma. Further, Robert Castilion, who was the emperor's lieutenant in Picenum near Auximum, discomfited the pope's army, and slew more than 4000 of them, and took prisoner many who were of the confederate cities. But this good success and prosperous fortune did not last long. For when Frederick, to recreate himself (as he seldom had his health) rode about the fields with some of his horsemen to hawk and hunt, many of the soldiers wandered and ranged unarmed about the fields. The soldiers in Parma, having this opportunity, entered the emperor's camp with all possible force and speed. Not being strongly fenced, nor having gates to shut against them, this was easy enough to do. When they had killed and slain a great number of the emperor's soldiers, and burnt and destroyed the camp, they came back to Parma.

After this, in another conflict in Picenum, Richard defeated the pope's soldiers, and slew their captain Hugolinus, besides 2000 others slain or taken prisoner. When Frederick had again gathered, and newly mustered his bands at Dominum, he marched to Cremona; and notwithstanding that he understood the good success and victory that Encius had at Rhegium, he perceived the defection from him of most of Lombardy. So he determined to take his journey into Apulia. And when he had levied a strong and sufficient army there, he purposed to make his speedy return into Lombardy.

News was brought to him that Encius his son (coming to aid the Mutinenses against the Bononians) was taken prisoner two miles from Mutina; and also that in his absence, the pope's captains, with their bands and garrisons, went throughout Lombardy, Emilia, Flaminia, and Etruria, to stir up and procure the cities to revolt from the obedience of the emperor. The pope worked this partly by subtle policies, and partly by force and sinister means, to bring them to his purpose. Frederick determined, with all the force and power he might procure by any means, to begin afresh, and prosecute this war to the utmost. Nor was it to be doubted that he would have wrought some marvellous exploit and great attempt, but that he was prevented by unlooked-for death. When he fell into this ague (fever), which led to his death, he made and ordained his last testament. When he had given and appointed to Conrad and his other children, the great and innumerable mass of money which he had collected and levied for the maintenance of his wars, and godly purpose (as it is called), and had also given all his kingdoms and dominions (to each one according to their ages and years) he departed this wretched and miserable world.

Pandolph writes that Frederick was very willing to die, and as they made certain report to him who were present at his death, his mind was altogether set and bent on heavenly joy and felicity. He died in A.D. 1250, the 13th of December, in his fifty-seventh year of life, and thirty-seventh year of his reign.

Frederick had no equal in martial affairs; and in warlike policies, none could be compared to him among all the princes of that age. He was a wise and skillful soldier, a great endurer of painful labors, most bold in the greatest perils, prudent in foresight, industrious in all his doings, prompt and nimble about what he took in hand, and in adversity he was most stout and courageous. But as in this corruption of nature, there are few who attain perfection, neither is there any prince of such government and godly institution, both in life and

doctrine, as is required of them. So neither was Frederick without his fault and human frailty, for the writers impute to him some faults with which he was stained and spotted.

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***Faithful Teachers in an Age of Corruption.***

As you have heard of the iniquity and raging pride of the popish church against the lawful emperor, so now you will hear how God begins to resist and withstand the corruption of that church, by stirring up certain faithful teachers in sundry countries; such as in Swabia (about A.D. 1240), where many preachers mentioned in *Urspergensis*,<sup>205</sup> and in Crantzius (lib. viii. cap. 16 and 18),<sup>206</sup> preached against the pope. These preachers (as Crantzius says) ringing the bells, and calling together the barons in Hallis of Swabia, preached that the pope was a heretic, and that his bishops and prelates were Simoniacs and heretics; and that the inferior priests and prelates had no authority to bind and loose, but were all deceivers. That no pope, bishop, or priest could restrain men from their duty of serving and worshipping God; and therefore such cities or countries as were then under the pope's curse, might lawfully resort to receiving the sacraments as well as before. That friars, both Dominican and Franciscan, subverted the church with their preaching; and that the indulgence of the pope was of no value. And thus much I thought to recite here, by which it may appear how resisting the pope's usurped power and corrupt doctrine is nothing new in these days [*i.e.*, 1500s].

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Not long after this, ARNOLD DE NOVA VILLA rose up, a Spaniard, a famously learned and great writer (A.D. 1250), whom the pope condemned as a heretic for holding and writing against the corrupt errors of the popish church. His teaching was that Satan had seduced the world from the truth of Christ Jesus; that the faith (which Christian men then were commonly taught) was such a faith as the devils had — meaning (as we now affirm) akin to what the papists teach as the historical faith; that most Christian people are led by the pope into hell. That all monks and nuns are void of charity and damned; that masses are not to be celebrated; and that they should not sacrifice for the dead.

Just as Arnold was condemned, so JOHN SEMECA, at the same time — the gloss-writer of the pope's decrees, and provost of Halberstat — was also excommunicated and deprived of his provostship, for resisting Pope Clement IV in gathering his exactions in Germany. And therefore he appealed from the pope to a general council, and had many great favorers on his side, till at last both the pope and he died.

Then followed the worthy and valiant champion of Christ, and adversary of antichrist, WILLIAM DE ST. AMORE (c. 1200-1272), a master of Paris, and chief ruler of that university. In his time he had no small ado writing against the friars and their hypocrisy, condemning their whole order. All the testimonies of Scripture that make against antichrist, he applied against the clergy of prelates, and the popish spirituality. He compiled many worthy works in which, though he uttered nothing but truth, he was condemned by antichrist as a heretic, exiled, and his books burnt.

In William's days, there was a most detestable and blasphemous book published by the friars, which they called "The Everlasting Gospel," or "The Gospel of the Holy Spirit." In this

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<sup>205</sup> Burchard of Ursperg, also called Burchard of Biberach (c.1177–1230) was a German priest and chronicler. His *Ursperger Chronicle* (or *Chronicon Urspergensis*) is the most important universal history of the late Stauffer era.

<sup>206</sup> Crantzius (1448-1517), or Albert Krantz or Albertus Crantzius, was a German historian and theologian. He is best known for his work "Wandalia," published in Cologne in 1519.

book were contained many abominable errors of the friars, so that the gospel of Jesus Christ was utterly defaced — which this book said was not to be compared with this Everlasting Gospel, no more than the shell is to be compared with the kernel, than darkness to light, etc. Moreover, the gospel of Christ (it said) should be preached no longer than fifty years, and then this “Everlasting Gospel” should rule the church, etc. Also, that whatever was in the whole bible, was likewise contained in this new gospel. At length, this friars’ gospel was accused to the pope, and six persons were chosen to peruse and judge the book. Among them was this William, who mightily impeached this pestiferous and devilish book. These six, after perusing the book, were sent to Rome. The friars likewise sent their messenger. There they were refuted, and the book condemned. But the pope commanded that the book was not to be condemned publicly, but privately, wishing to preserve the estimation of the religious orders, as his own chief champions.

Among the others of that age, who withstood the bishop of Rome and his antichristian errors, was one LAWRENCE, an Englishman, and master of Paris; another was PETER JOHN, a Minorite. Lawrence was about the year A.D. 1260. In his teaching, preaching, and writing, he stoutly defended William de St. Amore against the friars. He also wrote other things in which, by various proofs and testimonies, he argued that antichrist’s coming was not far off. The other, Peter John, was about the year A.D. 1290. He taught and maintained many things against the pope, proving that he was antichrist, and that the synagogue of Rome was Babylon.

To these may be added ROBERT GALLUS, born of noble parentage, who for devotion’s sake was made a Dominican friar about the year A.D. 1290. This man calls the pope an idol, who having eyes sees not, nor desires to see the abominations of his people, nor the excessive enormity of their licentiousness, but only to see to the heaping up of his own treasure.

### **The Account of Robert Grossthead, Bishop of Lincoln.**

It is time that we return to our own country again. Following the course of time, we will now add the bishop of Lincoln, named Robert Grossthead (or Grosseteste, c. 1170-1253), a man famously learned in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and in all liberal sciences. His works and sermons are still extant. He was a man of excellent wisdom, of profound doctrine, and an example of all virtue. He set forth many books concerning philosophy. Afterward, being doctor in divinity, he drew out several treatises from the Hebrew glosses, and translated various works out of the Greek. Many other works and volumes besides were written by Grossthead.

This godly and learned bishop, after many conflicts sustained against the bishop of Rome, after great labor and trouble of life, at length finished his course, A.D. 1253. Matthew Paris writes thus of his decease, (fol. 278); —

“Out of the prison and banishment of this world (which he never loved) was taken the holy bishop of Lincoln, Robert; who was an open reprover of the pope and of the king, a rebuker of the prelates, a corrector of the monks, a director of the priests, an instructor of the clerics, a favorer of scholars, a preacher to the people, a persecutor of the incontinent, a diligent searcher of the Scripture, a mallet against the Romans, and a contemner of their doings,” etc.

What a mallet he was to the Romans will better appear in the sequel. Pope Innocent IV had a certain cousin or nephew (so popes customarily called their sons) named Frederick. Still being young and under years, Innocent would prefer him to be a canon or prebendary in the church of Lincoln, in Robert’s time, who was bishop of that church; and so he directed letters to certain men here in England for the execution of it.

It is no great wonder if this godly bishop Robert Grossthead was offended by these letters; he deserves a double commendation, in that he was so firm and constant in standing against the pope, as his answer to the pope indicates. In it he denounces the pope's attempt to appoint someone who would not be a true pastor, saying among other things:

“This would be a great apostasy, corruption, and abuse of the seat and fulness of power, and an utter separation from the glorious throne of our Lord Jesus Christ, and a near approach to the two principal princes of darkness, sitting in the chair of pestilence, prepared for the pains of hell (*i.e.* Lucifer and antichrist). Neither can any man, who is faithful to the see, obey with sincere and unspotted conscience such precepts and commandments, or other such attempts, even though proceeding from the high order of angels themselves, but rather ought with all their strength to withstand and rebel against them. Wherefore, my reverend lord, I, like an obedient child, upon my bounden duty of obedience and fidelity which I owe to the holy and apostolic see, and partly for love of unity in the body of Christ, do not obey but withstand and utterly rebel against these things contained in the letter, and which especially urge and tend to the aforesaid wickedness, so abominable to the Lord Jesus Christ, so repugnant to the holiness of the holy apostolic see, and so contrary to the unity of the catholic faith.”

Then it follows, in the history both of Matthew Paris, and of Florilegus,<sup>207</sup> in these words:

“That when this epistle came to the knowledge of the pope, fuming and fretting with anger and indignation, he answered with a fierce look and proud mind, saying, What old dotting frantic wretch is this, to so boldly and rashly judge my doings? By St. Peter and Paul, were it not but that we are restrained by our own clemency and good nature, we would hurl him down to such confusion that we would make him a fable, a gazing stock, an example and wonderment to all the world. For is the king of England not our vassal? and, to say more, our errand-boy or page, who may at our pleasure and beck both hamper him, imprison him, and put him to utter shame? When the pope in his great fury and rage had uttered this among his brethren the cardinals, they were scarcely able to appease his furious rage.”

“Not long after this, this reverend and godly Robert, bishop of Lincoln, fell grievously sick, and within a few days departed. During his sickness he called to him a certain friar of the preaching order, a man expert and cunning in both medicine and divinity, partly to receive from him some comfort of his body, and partly to confer with him in spiritual matters.

[187] A.D. 1250-1260.

“Thus on a certain day, the bishop reciting the doings of the pope, rebuked and reprehended severely the preaching friars, and also the other order of the minors. The vehemency of his disease more and more increasing, and because the nights were somewhat longer, the third night before his departure, the bishop, feeling his infirmity growing, directed certain of his clergy to be called to him, so that he might be refreshed with some conference or communication with them. To them the bishop — mourning and lamenting in his mind for the loss of souls — reprov'd such detestable enormities of the court of Rome, such as all kinds of avarice, the usury, the simony, the extortion, all kinds of filthiness, gluttony, and their sumptuous apparel in that court. Afterwards he went about charging more, how the court of Rome (the pope), like a gulf, was never satisfied, ever gaping so wide that the flood of Jordan might run into his mouth, aspired how to possess himself of the goods of those who die intestate, and of legacies bequeathed without form of law; and how, in order to licentiously to bring this to pass, they used to join the king, as a partaker with them in their spoils, extortions, and robbing. ‘Nor,’ he says, ‘will the church be delivered from the servitude of Egypt, except by violence and force, and the bloody sword. Although these are still but light matters, shortly

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<sup>207</sup> Foxe may be referring to the “Florilegium,” a compilation of excerpts from other historical writings.



greater and more grievous things than these will be seen.' At the end of this, which he could scarcely utter without sighing, sobbing, and weeping, his tongue and breath began to fail, and so his voice being stopped, he made an end of both his speech and life. ( Matth. Paris.)

You have heard it often complained of, how the pope violently encroached upon the church of England, in giving benefices and prebends to his Italians and strangers, to the great damage and ruin of Christ's flock. This injury could by no lawful and gentle means be reformed. So about this time it was somewhat bridled by means of another kind. In the reign of this king (Henry III), the bishop of London, named Fulco, had given a certain prebend, in the church of St. Paul, to one Rustand, the pope's messenger here in England, who died shortly after. The pope immediately conferred the prebend on one of his specials, a stranger like the other was. About the same instant, it happened that the bishop of London also died, by which the vacant bishopric fell into the king's hands. Upon hearing of the death of Rustand, the king gave the prebendship to one John Crakehale, who, with all solemnity, took his installation, not knowing as yet that it was already bestowed by the pope on another. Not long after, this being broadcast at Rome, immediately a proctor comes down with the pope's letters, to receive collation to the benefice, in which John Crakehale had already been installed by the king's donation.

This matter coming before Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, who inquired and searched out which donation was first. And finding it was the pope's grant, he pronounced sentence with the pope against the king. So that in conclusion, the Roman cleric had the advantage of the benefice, even though the other had long enjoyed the possession. Thus the pope's man being preferred, and the Englishman excluded — after being invested and installed, and thinking himself in sure possession, Crakehale attempted to enter the chapter-house. But he was not permitted, whereupon the pope's clerk, giving way to force and number, went to the archbishop to complain. This being known, certain monks pursued the clerk, and one in the thickness of the throng, who was never after known, suddenly rushed upon him, and cut off his head. This heinous murder being famed abroad, a strict inquiry was made; but the murderer could not be known. Although great suspicion was laid upon Crakehale, the king's chaplain, no proof could be brought against him. But most men thought this bloody act was done by certain ruffians in the city or the court, who disdained that Romans should be so enriched with Englishmen's livings. Because they saw the church and realm of England in such subjection, and so trodden down by the Romans and the pope's messengers, they thought by such means to prevent them from coming into this land so much.

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Besides many other matters, I will lightly touch on the conflict — not between the frogs and the mice, which Homer writes of <sup>208</sup> — but the mighty pitched field fought in A.D. 1259, between the young students and scholars of the university of Oxford. It had no other occasion but the difference of the country where they were born. For the northerns joining with the Welsh to test their manhood against the southerners, fell on them with their ensigns and warlike array, so that in the end, several on both sides were slain. This heavy and bloody conflict increased among them, and the end was that the northern lads with the Welsh had the victory. After fury and fiery fierceness had done what it could, the victors thinking partly of what they had done, partly of how it would be taken by the higher powers, and fearing punishment, took counsel together. They offered to king Henry 4000 marks, to Edward his son 300, and to the queen 200, to be released from all punishment. But the king answered that he set a higher value on the life of one true subject than on all they offered, and would

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<sup>208</sup> The "Battle of the Frogs and Mice," is a comic epic that parodies Homer's *Iliad*, perhaps written by Pigres.



not receive the money. The king, however, then being occupied in great affairs and wars, and partly involved in discord at home with his nobles, had no leisure to attend to the correction of these university men. (Matth. Paris.)

***Contest between Henry III and the Barons – 1260.***

What follows concerning the commotion between the king and the nobles is lamentable, and it contains a fruitful example, both for princes and subjects, of what mischief grows in the commonwealth when the prince does not regard offending his subjects, and when the subjects forget the office of Christian patience in suffering the injuries of their princes. Therefore, I thought it not unprofitable to occupy the reader a little in perusing this lamentable matter.

King Henry married Elenor, daughter of the earl of Provence, a foreigner, by which a great door was opened for foreigners, not only to enter the land, but also to fill the court. The king seemed to incline his favor more toward them, advancing them to greater preferment, than his own English lords, which was no little grievance to them. The king also had several brothers by his mother Isabel, who was a foreigner, and whom he supported with great livings and possessions, and large pensions. This was another heart-sore and hindrance to his nobles. Over and besides this, there were unreasonable collections of money from time to time, levied by the king, on the spirituality as well as on the laity. Because of all these collections, the commonwealth of the realm was utterly stripped, to the great impoverishment of the English.

In the year 1260, a great number of aliens resorted to England, and had the management of all the principal matters of the realm under the king, which not a little troubled the nobility of England. So that Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester, offering to risk death for the liberties of the realm, conferred with other lords and barons on the matter. Then they came to the king with a humble sort of petition, declared how his entire realm and his own affairs were altogether disposed by the hands and according to the wills of strangers, which was neither profitable to him, nor to the public welfare. For his treasures being wasted, and himself in great debt, he was not able to satisfy the provision of his own house. And now therefore, they said, if your highness will please to be informed by our advice, and to commit your house to the guiding and government of your own faithful and natural subjects, we will take upon us to discharge your whole debt within one year, out of our own proper goods and revenues, so as that within five years we may repay ourselves.

To these words so lovingly declared — so humbly pretended — so heartily and freely offered, the king as willingly condescended. He assigned to them both the day and place where to confer and to deliberate further on the matter. This would be at Oxford the fifteenth day after Easter. At this day and place all the states and lords, with the bishops of the realm, were summoned to appear. An oath was taken there, first by the king himself, then by the lords, that whatever decrees or laws should be provided in the said assembly, to the profit of the king and of the realm, they would be universally be kept and observed to the honor of God, and utility of his church, and wealth of the realm.

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Besides these lords and the king, there were also nine bishops, who swearing to the same, would excommunicate all those who might withstand the provisions made there — the king holding a burning taper in his hand, and the lords openly promising to rise with all their force against all who would stand against these provisions. In this assembly it was enacted, ordained, and established, among various other provisions, that all strangers and aliens of

whatever estate or condition, would immediately leave the realm on pain of death; that if any held [estates] from the king in whole or in part, and should die (while his heir was under age), the wardship of the heir should belong to the king.

Moreover, it was there decreed, that the wool of England should be wrought only within the realm, nor would it be exported to foreigners; that no man should wear any cloth but that which was wrought and made within the realm; that garments too sumptuous should not be imported nor worn; and that all excessive and prodigal expenses, wasted upon pleasure and superfluity, should be avoided by all persons.

Many other laws and decrees were ordained in this assembly which lasted fifteen days.

### **The King Absolved by the Pope From His Oath Made at Oxford.**

After the promulgation of the laws, many things displeased the king, and he began to repent of his oath. But because he could not at that time choose otherwise, he dissembled for a season. The following year (A.D. 1261), the king sent to the pope, praying both for himself and his son Edward, to be released from their oath made at Oxford. This absolution being easily obtained (or rather bought at the pope's hands) the king stepped back from all that was previously concluded, called another parliament at Oxford. There, before the lords and nobles, he declared how in the late Council of Oxford they had agreed on certain measures for the common utility of the realm of the king, as they pretended, for increasing his treasure and diminishing his debt. And thereupon they bound themselves with an oath, causing himself and his son Edward to be bound to it. But now they, contrary to the covenant they made, did not seek so much the profit of him and of the realm, as their own. They did not take him as their lord, but went about to bring him under their subjection. And moreover, his treasure greatly decreasing, his debts increasing, and his princely liberality cut short and trodden under foot, they should not marvel if he would no longer be ruled by their counsel, but would provide himself with some other remedy. Moreover, as to the oath with which he and his son stood bound to them, he had already sent to Rome, and had obtained absolution and dispensation of the same, both for him, and his son Edward, and for all others who would take his part. Therefore he required of them to be restored again to that state and condition he had enjoyed in times past.

To this, the nobility answered on the other side, in the number of whom was Simon Montfort earl of Leicester, Richard Clare earl of Gloucester, with many more. Their answer to the king was, "that the provisions made at the council at Oxford, to which they were sworn, they would hold, defend, and maintain to their lives' end." All this while, the pope's absolution for the king, although it was granted and obtained at Rome, yet it was not brought down in solemn writing.

At length, the writing of the king's absolution being brought from Rome, the king soon commanded it to be published throughout the realm. And so he applied to the French king and other strangers for help. Moreover, he seized all his castles into his own hand, rejecting the counsel of the lords, to whose custody they were committed before. He also removed the former officers, such as justices, the chancellor, with others installed before by the lords, and appointed new ones in their stead.

The following year (1263), the barons of England, confederated themselves together, for maintaining the statutes and laws of Oxford, and partly moved by their old dislike conceived against the foreigners, joined all their forces, and attacked the foreigners who were around the king. They wasted and spoiled their goods and manors, whether they were ecclesiastical or temporal persons. Because of this it came to pass, that a great number of foreigners,

especially monks and rich priests, were urged to such extremity, that they were glad to flee the land.

In the meantime, the king then staying in the Tower, and seeing most of his nobles and commoners, with the Londoners set against him, agreed to a peace with the barons, and was content to assent again to the ordinances and provisions of Oxford, even though the queen, by all means possible, went about persuading the king not to assent to it. So that, as she was endeavoring to cross by barge from the Tower to Windsor, the Londoners standing on the bridge with their exclamations, cursing and throwing stones and dirt at her, interrupted her course, forcing her to return to the Tower again.

When this contention was conveyed to the French king, and he decided against the barons, it wrought great indignation in their hearts; so they hastened home to defend themselves with all their strength and power. The king called his council together at Oxford, from where he excluded the university of students for a season. Hearing that the barons were assembled in a great number at Northampton, he went there with his host, and with his banners displayed. The king commanded the barons who were within, to yield the city to him, or he would immediately destroy them. But boldly and with one mind they answered that they would not obey the king's will, but would rather defend themselves and the city, if need be, even to the death. When the noblemen on the king's side heard of this, they sent word back that they would at least come to the wall of the city to speak to the king, if by any means peace might be made. And suspecting no deceit, they came to the wall. But in the meantime, while matters were reasoned and addressed, the Lord Philip Basset, with picks and other instruments, undermined the wall of the city, and the wall fell down. A great plain was made, so that forty horsemen abreast might have gone through. The foreign monks were thought to be the workers of this subtlety, because they made way and entrance for those who came in. But when those who passed by saw this, and the king's banners were erected ready to enter in, a great howling was made. The noise of the people came to the ears of the barons, and they made speed to resist them, but it was all in vain, because they were already prevented by a great company of their enemies. But the clerics of the university of Oxford, (which university was transferred there by the barons' command) did the king's men more hurt than the barons, with their slings, long bows, and crossbows. For they had a banner by themselves, that was set up on high against the king. The king being greatly moved, swore upon his entering in, that they should all be hanged. When they heard this, many of them shaved their crowns, and those who were able ran away as fast as they could. When the king entered the city, many fled in their armor into the castle; others left their horse and armor, and ran into the churches; and a few were slain, and those were of the common people. But there was not much bloodshed, because all things were done suddenly. When the city at length was quieted, the king commanded his oath to be executed upon the clerics. But his counsellors said to him, "Far be this from you, O king, for the sons of your nobles, and of other great men of your kingdom, were gathered there together into the university. If you would cause them to be hanged or slain, even those who now take your part would rise up against you, not suffering, to the utmost of their powers, the blood of their sons and kinsfolk to be shed." And so the king was pacified, and his wrath against the clerics was appeased.

The king then went to Rochester, and raising the siege, he proceeded to Tunbridge, and from there he continued his journey to Winchester, where he received to peace the seamen of the haven towns. Three days after, he came to the town of Lewes, and was received into the abbey, and his son Edward into the castle.

[189] A.D. 1263

The barons now drew near to the king; for they were not far distant from Lewes. And the king's troops being without provision for their horses, it was commanded that they go out and find hay — when they were attacked by their enemies, and most of them killed. Then the barons, coming to the full plain, descended there, and girding and trimming their horses, they put on their armor. There Earl Simon created the earl of Gloucester, and Robert de Vere, and many other new knights. This being done, he divided and distinguished his host into four separate divisions, and appointed noblemen to guide and govern every division. In the meantime the king's host came forth, preparing themselves for the field in three divisions, of which Edward the king's son led the first. Most part of the king's army were but young men, for the king did not think his barons would have come so near. Their armies being on both sides set in array and order, they exhorted one another on either side to fight valiantly. After they buckled together, the battle was great, and many horsemen were overthrown even in a moment. But by and by the king's son Edward, with his band, as a fierce young gentleman and valiant knight, fell upon his enemies with such force that he compelled them to recoil back a great way, so that many of the hindmost (thinking because of their giving way, that the foremost were slain) ran away. Straightway the Londoners, not knowing how the battle went, took to their heels. Edward pursued them with his band, killing them for the space of two or three miles; for he hated them because they had rebelled against his father, and disgraced his mother when she was in her barge on the Thames, as mentioned before.

While Prince Edward was thus in chase of the Londoners, the main division of the barons set upon the king's main division, of which the king of Almain, brother of King Henry, had the leading. He was soon discomfited, and he with his son Henry and other captains were taken prisoners. The reserve where the king himself fought was immediately attacked, and seeing his knights and soldiers on every side about him beaten down and slain, and his soldiers forsaking the field, the king retired into the abbey. Shutting up the gates, he had them strongly guarded with soldiers. The barons thus getting the field after a long fight, with many men slain on both sides, entered the town of Lewes.

In the meantime, when Prince Edward returned from chasing the Londoners, he came to the place where the bloody battle had been fought, and saw the great discomfiture and overthrow, which in his absence, had happened with great slaughter. His heart was much dismayed, and his countenance altered. Yet comforting and encouraging his knights and soldiers, of whom he had a valiant company, he marched in battle array toward the town. The barons came against him again with all their power. And thus was begun between them a fresh field and a new battle, and many men were slain on both sides. At length the earl de Warenia, with the king's two brothers, forsook the field and fled. After them, more than 700 chosen soldiers went, who were of their house and family. The same day they came to Pevensey, and there they took shipping over the sea. Also Hugh Bigot fled, with several others, and left the valiant prince fighting in the field, upon which he retreated to the town. When he did not find the king at the castle, he went from there to the abbey where the king was. In the meantime, the town was divided into parts, some fighting, some spoiling, some getting spoils. But when the barons had assembled some company, they assaulted the castle, thinking to rescue John Gifford and others whom the king's soldiers had taken prisoners and put there. But the soldiers within manfully defended it, and in throwing out balls of wild-fire for its defense, they set fire to part of the town. The barons then retired and left the castle, and purposed to set upon the abbey where the king and his son Prince Edward were. This too was set on fire by the assault; yet shortly it was recovered and quenched. Then

Edward the king's son, perceiving the bold enterprise of the barons, prepared with the courageous knights and soldiers who still remained in the abbey, to issue out and make a new charge against them. But the barons, perceiving this, sent messengers to the king to entreat a truce for the day, and on the morrow talk and conclude a further peace between them — when Prince Edward was given as hostage for the king and his party, and Henry, son of the king of Almoyn, was given as hostage for his father.

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In this year also (1263), Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, a foreigner, had for some years been beyond the seas in disgrace with the king of England, on the occasion of some misdemeanor. The king, being of a relenting nature, though bearing much with the insolence of the clergymen, consulted with his nobles about the return of Boniface into England.

After much ado, we read that Boniface returned, and becoming more holy towards his death, he went with other bishops to the king, requesting that being mindful of the decay of his kingdom by ecclesiastical livings bestowed on foreigners, Boniface would hereafter prefer learned and godly men of the king's own nation. The king answered that he would willingly do it. "Therefore I think it fitting that you, who are yourself a foreigner and unlearned, and also my brother Ethelmer, bishop of Winchester, whom I have preferred to such dignities only for kindred's sake, should first give examples to others, and forsake your churches, and I will provide other learned men to serve in them." The king's answer so pierced Boniface, that he ever after lived a wearisome life in England. Therefore, perceiving himself to be disliked by the king and the people, Boniface desired to return to his country. Thereupon, first felling and selling the woods, letting out the archbishopric, taking great fines from his tenants, and collecting a great mass of money from the clergy of his province, he went with the curse of all men to Savoy, and soon after died.

After the death of Pope Urban, succeeded Pope Clement IV (A.D. 1265). Clement (as Nic. Trivet affirms) was first a married man, and had a wife and children, and was solicitor and counsellor to the French king. Then, after the death of his wife, he was bishop and afterwards archbishop of Narbon. At last he was made cardinal; and being sent as a legate by Pope Urban, he was in his absence elected pope by the cardinals.

Now, after all the tumults and broils of the king and his barons, to the vexation of the whole land, it was thought appropriate and necessary that all parties at variance should be reconciled. Whereupon peace was made between them. The king was now at leisure to reform the abuses of the church. As he considered that non-residence being a blameworthy abuse, required reformation, he wrote his mind to the bishop of Hereford for the redress of this. His letter, because it is memorable, and the matter contained in it is applicable to non-residents of our own time, we have inserted it here.

*A Letter of King Henry III to the Bishop of Hereford  
concerning Non-residence.*

"The king to the bishop of Hereford sends greeting: Pastors or shepherds are set over flocks, so that by exercising themselves in watching over them day and night, they may know their own cattle by their look, bring the hunger-starved sheep into the meadows of fruitfulness, and the straying ones into one fold by the word of salvation and the rod of correction; and to endeavor that indissoluble unity may be kept. But there are some who damnably despising this doctrine, and not knowing how to discern their own cattle from others, take away the milk and the wool, not caring how the Lord's flock may be nourished. They gather up the temporal goods, and whoever perishes in their parish with famishment, or miscarries in manners, they do not

regard. These men do not deserve to be called pastors, but rather hirelings. <sup>Joh 10.12</sup> And even in these days, when removing ourselves to the borders of Wales, to take order for the disposing of the garrisons of our realm, we have found this fault in your church of Hereford.

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“We report it with grief; for we have found there a church destitute of a pastor’s comfort, having neither bishop nor official, vicar nor dean, who may exercise any spiritual function and duty in it. But the church itself, which in times past usually flowed in delight (and had canons who attended upon service day and night, and who ought to exercise works of charity, have forsaken the church, and lead their lives in countries far from here), has put off her stole or robe of pleasure, and fallen to the ground, bewailing her widowhood; and there is none among all her friends and lovers who will comfort her. Truly, while we beheld this, and diligently considered it, pity moved our sympathy, and the sword of compassion inwardly wounded our heart sorely, so that we could no longer dissemble so great an injury done to our mother the church, nor pass by it uncorrected.

“Therefore we command and strictly charge you, that all occasions set aside, you endeavor to remove yourselves with all possible speed to your church, and there personally execute the pastoral charge committed to you in the same. Otherwise we would have you know for certain that if you do not take care to do this, we will wholly take into our own hands all the temporal goods, and whatever else belong to the barony of that church, which goods, it is certain our progenitors of godly devotion have bestowed upon it for the sake of spiritual exercise. And such goods and duties as we have previously commanded to be gathered and safely kept and turned to the profit and commodity of the same church, that cause now ceasing, we will seize. And we will no longer suffer that he reaps temporal things, who irreverently does not fear to withdraw and withhold spiritual things to which he is bound by office and duty; or that he receives any profits, who refuses to undergo and bear the burdens of that office. Witness the king at Hereford, the first of June, in the forty-eighth year of our reign.”

### **Prince Edward Escapes from Custody. — Battle of Evesham.**

But leaving these affairs of the church, and churchmen, we will now enter into other troubles of the temporal state. You heard before about a pacification concluded between the king and his barons, when Prince Edward was given as hostage (A.D. 1264). But it came to pass among the lords and barons, that no such firm reconciliation was made as was likely to last long. For in the year 1265, the sons of Earl Simon did something that so displeased the earl of Gloucester, that he challenged Henry, the eldest son of Earl Simon Montfort. This affair, however, was settled without fighting. But afterwards the earl of Gloucester sent to the Lord Roger Mortimer, who always took the king’s part, desiring that they might talk together about the interests of the king. When they met, the earl of Gloucester showed him all that he purposed to do, and lamenting that he had so offended the king, said that he would now make amends, and would deliver Prince Edward. So they sent secretly to Robert the brother of the earl of Gloucester, who was near Earl Simon, and made him consent with them. And to work this more circumspectly, Roger Mortimer sent to Edward, the king’s son, a horse excelling all others in fleetness, to which he might safely trust, when he saw a convenient opportunity. After these things were thus contrived, Prince Edward desired leave from Earl Simon to prove his courser against such time as he might ride at the tilt. As soon as he had gotten leave, and had wearied several of their horses with galloping and ranging the field, he at last got upon that fleet horse which was sent for that purpose, and spying a servant on horseback coming toward him with two swords, he turned about to his keeper, and to others who were with him, saying, “My loving lords, thus long I have kept your company, and have been in your custody. And now, not purposing to use your company any

longer, I commit you to God.” Quickly turning his horse about, he put it to the spurs, and away he went. The others charged after him apace, but could not overtake him. When the prince’s escape was publicly known, many people came to him from every quarter, with great joy. Among them, the first was the earl of Gloucester, and the other soldiers of the king; in a short space of time he had a great and a mighty host.

When Earl Simon understood this, he greatly doubted and mistrusted himself. Sending into Wales, he got from there a great many men, and augmented his force as strongly as he could from every part of England. He also sent Simon his son to the noblemen of the northern parts, that with all possible speed he might bring them with him. A great company came with him, and stayed a while at Kenilworth and pitched their tents there. When this was declared to Edward, he prepared himself in the night, to go to the place where Simon and his company had pitched. In the morning they were very early in arming themselves, and met some of their enemies straggling loosely, thinking to go foraging. These they took, and with their fresh horses they newly horsed their own soldiers whose horses had tired with the long travel. And so, marching forward, they came very early in the morning upon their enemies, whom for the most part they found sleeping. Laying lustily about them, they slew several, took some, and the rest they put to flight. They took fifteen of their finest ensigns, with many other rich spoils.

But when Edward heard that Earl Simon was coming toward Kenilworth to join with his son’s battle, he marched forward to meet him at Evesham the third day after. Edward had his own standards and ensigns taken down, and displayed young Simon’s, which he had taken. So that Earl Simon was deceived, thinking they were his son’s army, not knowing of his overthrow till his scout, to better spot them, went up to the abbey steeple where he could plainly discern them and all their standards. For by this time they had mounted the hill, thinking to have that advantage when they gave their charge, and they also displayed his own standards again. Then he cried aloud to Earl Simon, and said, “We are all but dead men; for it is not your son who comes, as you suppose, but it is Edward the king’s son that comes from one part, and the earl of Gloucester from another part, and Roger Mortimer from the third part.” Then the earl said, “The Lord be merciful to our souls, for our bodies and lives are now in their hands.” He commanded that every man should make himself ready to God, and to fight out the field for it was their will to die for their laws, and in a just quarrel. Those would depart, he gave leave to go their ways, so that they would not be a discouragement to the rest.

Then his eldest son Henry came to him, and comforted him, desiring him not to despair, nor mistrust in the good success of this victory, with other such cheerful words. “No, my son,” he said, “I do not despair; but it is your presumption, and the pride of the rest of your brothers that has brought me to this end you see. Notwithstanding, I trust that I shall die to God, and in a righteous quarrel.” After words of comfort given to all his host, and the oration made as is the manner, they all armed themselves. The king also (whom the earl always kept with him) he armed in his own armor: and then dividing their battles, they marched towards their enemies. But before they joined them, the Welshmen ran away. Thinking to escape over the river Dee, some were drowned, and some slain. Then the battle joined and they fought hand to hand. In a short time many of the earl’s party fell and were slain; the king himself being struck at, cried out to them with a loud voice, saying, “Do not kill me, for I am Henry your king.” By these words, Lord Adam Monthant knew him, and saved him. Also Prince Edward his son, hearing his cry, came and delivered him to the guard and care of certain knights.

In the meantime, Earl Simon was hard beset, beaten, and slain before Edward the prince came at him. But before he fell, when he fought for his life, and his son Henry, and other noblemen on his part were around him, he broke out into these words to his enemies, saying, "What! Is there no mercy and compassion with you?" They answered back, "What compassion should be shown to traitors?" Then he said, "The Lord be merciful to our souls; our bodies are in your hands." And so soon as these words were spoken, they mangled his body, and cut off his head, which Roger Mortimer sent to his wife. Not far off from him, Henry his eldest son was also slain.

[191] A.D. 1264-1271.

After this great slaughter and overthrow there was a parliament summoned at Winchester by the earl of Gloucester, and others. Here it is to be remembered that although the king was in the camp of the earl of Leicester, being then in custody, and his son Edward with the earl of Gloucester, yet the king was on that side against his will. And therefore in the parliament the king was restored to his kingly dignity, which before that time was under the custody of the barons.

Soon after, a general voyage was proclaimed to war against the Turks. A subsidy for that was collected in England. Prince Edward and others were appointed to take their voyage, and were now on their journey.

After some stay in Sicily, Prince Edward took sail again, and soon after Easter he arrived at Acre, and went ashore. He took with him a thousand of the best and most expert soldiers, and tarried there a whole month, refreshing both his men and horses, so that in this space of time he might learn the secrets of the land. After this he took with him six or seven thousand soldiers, and marched forward twenty miles from Acre, and took Nazareth. He slew all those that he found there, and afterwards returned to Acre. But their enemies followed after them, thinking to attack them unawares. The prince perceiving this, again charged, slew many of them, and put the rest to flight.

### **Prince Edward Wounded by an Assassin.**

When the fame of Prince Edward thus grew among his enemies, and they began to fear him, they devised among themselves how they might circumvent and betray him by some strategy. Whereupon the great prince and admiral of Joppa sent to him, pretending with great hypocrisy to become a Christian, and that he would draw with him a great number besides, provided that they might be honorably entertained and treated by the Christians. This pleased the prince well, and induced him to finish the thing he had begun so well, by writing back. He also sent by the same messenger, and wrote back to him several times about the matter, by which no distrust should arise. When this messenger came the fifth time, he was searched by the prince's servants, according to custom, to see what weapon and armor he had about him, and also his purse; and when not so much as a knife could be found about him, he was brought up into the prince's chamber. After doing homage, he pulled out certain letters, which he delivered to the prince from his lord, as he had done before. At this time the prince was laid bareheaded upon his bed in his jerkin,<sup>209</sup> because of the great heat.

When the prince had read the letters, it appeared by them, that on the following Saturday the prince of Joppa would be there ready to accomplish all that he had written and promised. The report of this news by the prince to those standing by pleased them well, and

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<sup>209</sup> *Jerkin*: a tight sleeveless and collarless jacket.



they drew back somewhat to consult about it among themselves. In the meantime, the messenger kneeling and making his obeisance to the prince (questioning further with him) put his hand to his belt, as though he would have pulled out some secret letters, and suddenly he pulled out an envenomed knife, thinking to strike him with it as he lay there on the bed. But the prince lifting up his hand to defend his body from the blow, received a great wound in the arm: and the assassin being about to fetch another stroke at him, the prince with his foot gave him such a kick that he felled him to the ground. With that the prince got him by the hand, and wrested the knife from him with such violence, that he hurt himself with it in the forehead, but immediately thrust the traitorous messenger through and slew him. The prince's servants being in the next chamber not far off, hearing the bustling, came running in with great haste, and finding the messenger lying dead on the floor, one of them took up a stool and beat out his brains. The prince was angry at this, because he had struck a dead man, one who was already killed. The rumor of this attack being so strange, soon went throughout the court, and from there among the common people, so that they were very heavy and greatly discouraged. The captain of the temple came to the prince, and brought him a costly and precious drink against poison, lest the venom of the knife penetrate the blood. And in a blaming way he said to him, "Did I not show your grace before about the deceit and subtlety of this people? Notwithstanding," he says, "let take heart your grace, you will not die of this wound, my life for yours." But the surgeons and physicians were immediately sent for, and the prince's wound was dressed.

Within a few days it began to putrefy, and the flesh looked dead and black; whereupon those who were about the prince began to be very sad and heavy. Perceiving this he said to them, "Why do you whisper thus among yourselves? What, do you see in me I that cannot be healed? Tell me the truth, do not be afraid." Whereupon one said to him, "Your grace, you may be healed, we do not mistrust it; yet it will be very painful for you to suffer." — "May suffering restore health?" he asked. — "Yes," says the other, "on pain of losing my head." — "Then," said the prince, "I commit myself to you, do with me what you think good." Then one of the physicians said, "Is there any of your nobles in whom your grace reposes special trust?" To whom the prince answered, "Yes," naming certain of the noblemen who stood about him. Then the physician said to the two whom the prince first named, the Lord Edmund, and the Lord John Voisie, "And do you also faithfully love your lord and prince?" Who both answered, "Yes, undoubtedly." Then he says, "Take away this gentlewoman and lady (meaning his wife) and do not let her see her lord and husband until such a time as I tell you." Whereupon they took her out of the prince's presence, crying out and wringing her hands. Then they said to her, "Be contented, good lady and madam; it is better that one woman should weep a little while, than that all the realm of England should weep a great season." Then upon the morrow they cut all the dead envenomed flesh out of the prince's arm, and said to him, "How cheers your grace? We promise you within fifteen days you will show yourself abroad (if God permits) on horseback, whole and well as you ever were." And according to the promise he made the prince, so it came to pass, to no little comfort and admiration of all his subjects. When the great Sultan heard of it, and that the prince was still alive, he could scarcely believe it. And sending to him three of his nobles and princes, he excused himself by them, calling his gods to witness, that this was done neither by him, nor with his consent. These princes and messengers standing aloof from the king's son, worshipping him, fell flat upon the ground. "You reverence me," the prince, "yet you do not love me." Nevertheless he treated them honorably, and sent them away in peace.

When Prince Edward had been in Acre eighteen months, he took shipping and returned homeward, and came to Rome where he was honorably entertained by the pope. From there

he came to France, where his fame and noble prowess was much celebrated among the common people, and envied by the nobility, especially by the Earl de Chalons, who sent him and requested that he might break a staff with him at a tilt in his country.<sup>210</sup> As the prince would not diminish his honor and fame by declining the challenge (although he might have well alleged sufficient excuse), he willingly consented. Whereupon it was proclaimed that Prince Edward by such a day, with those who were with him, had challenged all comers at the tilt and barriers. Then great assemblies were made in the country all about, and several horsemen as well as footmen had sworn among themselves, and conspired against the Englishmen, selling their horses and armor beforehand, and drinking to one another in good success of the spoil of those whom they would take as their prisoners. Prince Edward in the meantime sent into England for certain earls and barons to come to him. When the day appointed had arrived, the prince had with him more than one thousand horsemen, who were knights, besides his footmen. Yet there were as many more on the other side both in horsemen and footmen.

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When the parties met, the French footmen, who had conspired beforehand, began both to rob, rifle, and kill the Englishmen, who resisted and defended themselves both with bows and slings. They slew many of the Frenchmen, and drove them to the gates of their city. The others they chased across a river, where many of them were drowned. In the meantime the Earl de Chalons, with fifty of his knights who followed him, came out and joined battle with a like number of the prince's followers. For a long time they tried it with their swords, laying at one another. At last the earl perceiving he was not able to match with Prince Edward at the arm's end, closed with him, and taking him about the neck, held him with his arms very tight. "What, my lord," asked the prince, "do you mean to have my horse?" — "Yes, indeed," said the earl, "I mean to have both you and your horse." At this Prince Edward, being indignant, lifted himself up, and gave the earl such a blow, that forsaking his horse, he still hung about the prince's neck, till the prince shook him off to the ground. The prince, being somewhat in a heat, left the grounds to take some air, thereby to refresh himself. But when he saw the injury of the French towards his men, and how they had slain many of them, he said to them, that they intended rather the exercise of battle, than of tourney. "Therefore," he said, "from now on, do not spare any of them, but give them back as good as they give you." Then they began to kill each other freely on their part, and let their swords work.

When by this time the English footmen had again returned, and saw the conflicts of the horsemen, and that many of the Englishmen were overthrown; they put themselves amidst the grounds. By some stabbing the horses, some cutting the girths of the Frenchmen's saddles, they overthrew the riders. Then when the Earl De Chalons was horsed again by some of his men and had come among the throng, Prince Edward also rushed in among the thickest, and again coupled with the earl, and cried out to him that he should yield himself as vanquished; but he would not do so. Notwithstanding, when his strength began to fail him, the earl was obliged to yield himself to a "simple knight," as Prince Edward bade him. The rest of the earl's horsemen and knights fled and saved themselves. However, many of them were slain in that place, and the Englishmen returned having the victory. But after this, when they expected quiet and to be at rest, the citizens attacked them unawares, two and three at a time, and killed some of them as they went along in the streets. When the prince heard this, he sent for the mayor and burgesses, commanding them to see this matter redressed, and do it immediately. For otherwise, he assured them by his knighthood, that

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<sup>210</sup> [Chalon-sur-Saône is a city in eastern France, situated on the Saône River, about 180 miles from Paris.](#)

upon the morrow he would set fire to the city, and level it to the ground. Upon which they went, and set watchmen in many places to keep the peace, by which the prince and his men were in safety and quiet. Thus in this pastime of tourneying, much blood was spilt.

From there the prince went to Paris, and was honorably entertained by the French king, and after certain days, he went from there into Gascony, where he stayed till he heard of the death of the king his father.

***King Edward I - 1274.***

Edward the eldest son of Henry III, as soon as he heard of his father's death, returned from Gascony home to his country, and was crowned (A.D. 1274). He then laid down his crown, saying he would not put it on, before he had gathered together all the lands pertaining to the kingdom. Sufficient proof of the gentle nature of this courageous prince is given by this one example: at one time being engaged in his sport of hawking, he happened to sharply rebuke the negligence of one of his gentlemen about his hawk, for what fault I cannot tell. The gentleman being on the other side of the river, hearing his menacing words said, "he was glad that the river was between them." The courageous blood of this prince being incensed by this answer, he leaped straight into the flood, which was a swift stream, dangerously deep, and no less hard in getting out. Notwithstanding, either forgetting his own life, or neglecting the present danger, and having a good horse, he risked his own death to have the death of this man. At length, recovering the bank with much difficulty, and with his sword drawn, he pursued his provoker, who not having so good a horse, and seeing himself in danger of being overtaken, reined in his horse, and turned back bareheaded to the prince, submitting his neck under his hand to strike. The prince, whose courage and passion could not be quenched by the whole river of water, so cooled at the submission of this man, that the quarrel ended, his anger ceased, and his sword was put away without any stroke given. And so both returned to the hunting, good friends again.

As Edward urged his claim to Scotland as well as England, and pursued it by force of arms, and as the Scots, etc., saw that they could not make their party good, they sent secretly to pope Boniface for his aid and counsel. He immediately sent down his precept to the king, that he should cease to disquiet or molest the Scots, for they were a people exempt from his jurisdiction and properly pertained to the papal chair. The king briefly responded, swearing with an oath, that he would to his uttermost keep and defend that which was his right, evidently known as it was to all the world. Thus the Scots bearing themselves bold upon the pope's message, and also confederating with the French, passed over that year. The next year (1303, the 29th year of the king's reign), Pope Boniface VIII (r. 1294-1303) directed his letters again to the king, in which he claimed the kingdom of Scotland was the property of the church of Rome, and not subject to the king of England. Therefore it was against God, against justice, and also prejudicial to the church of Rome, for the king to have or to hold any dominion over it. He added furthermore, that the kingdom of Scotland was first converted by the relics of the blessed apostle St. Peter (d. A.D. 67), through the divine operation of God, to the unity of the catholic faith!

The king, after he received these letters from the pope, assembled a parliament at Lincoln. By the advice of parliament he addressed letters in reply to the pope. In them, first — in all reverend manner — he desires the pope not to give a light ear to the sinister suggestions of false reports, and imaginers of mischief. Then he declares out of old records and histories from the first time of the Britons, that the realm of Scotland had always been, from time to time, one with England, beginning first with Brutus, in the time of Eli and Samuel the prophet (c. 1100 B.C.). This Brutus, coming from Troy to this isle — then called *Albion*,

afterward called *Britannia* by him — had three sons: Locrinus, to whom he gave that part of the land then called *Loegria* by him, now called *Anglia*; Albanactus his second son, to whom he gave *Albania*, now called *Scotia*, and his third son Camber, to whom he gave *Cambria*, now called Wales, etc. — The letter then continued:

“And thus much concerning the first division of this isle, as found recorded in ancient histories. In this material, passing over the death of King Humber, the acts of Dunwald king of this realm, the division of Belyn and Brenne, the victories of King Arthur, we will resort to nearer times, testified and witnessed by sufficient authors, such as Marian Scot, William Malmesbury, Roger Abyndon, Henry Huntington, Radulph de Bizoto and others. All of them make special declarations, and give manifest evidence of the execution of our right and title of superiority ever continued and preserved up to now.

“And first, to begin with King Edward before the conquest, son to Alfred king of England, about A.D. 900, it is plain and manifest that he had the king of Scots under his dominion and obedience. And here it is to be noted that this matter was so notorious and manifest, that Marian the Scot, writing that history in those days, grants, confesses and testifies the same; and this dominion continued in that state twenty-three years. At which time, Athelstan succeeded to the crown of England. Having conquered Scotland by battle, he made one Constantine king of that party, to rule and govern the country of Scotland under him, adding this princely word, that it was more honor to him to *make* a king, than to *be* a king.

[193] A.D. 1274—1303.

“Twenty-four years after that (which was A.D. 947), Eldred the king, our progenitor, Athelstan’s brother, received homage from Malcolm I, then king of Scots.<sup>211</sup>

“Thirty years after that (which was A.D. 977), King Edgar our predecessor received homage from Kenneth II, king of Scots. Here was a little trouble in England by the death of St. Edward, king and martyr, destroyed by the deceit of his mother-in-law, but still within memory.

“Forty years after the homage done by Kynald to King Edgar (that is to say, A.D. 1017), Malcolm II, king of Scots, did homage to Canute our predecessor. After this homage was done, the Scots showed some piece of their natural disposition, whereupon, by war made by our progenitor St. Edward the Confessor, thirty-nine years after that homage was done (that is to say, A.D. 1056) Malcolm king of Scots was vanquished, and the realm of Scotland was given to Malcolm III, his son, by our said progenitor St. Edward, to whom the said Malcolm did homage and fealty.

“Within fifty years after that, William the Conqueror entered this realm, of which he did not count it a perfect conquest until he had likewise subdued the Scots; and therefore in the same year (A.D. 1068), Malcolm III king of Scots did homage to William the Conqueror as his superior, by conquest king of England.

“Twenty-five years after that (which was A.D. 1093) Donald III<sup>212</sup> did homage and fealty to William Rufus, son to the said William the Conqueror, and yet after that, he was deposed for his offenses and demerits, and his son substituted in his place; who likewise failed in his duty. Edgar brother to the last Malcolm, and son to the first, was ordained king of Scotland by the said William Rufus, who did his homage and fealty accordingly. “Seven years after that, (which was in A.D. 1100), the said Edgar, king of the Scots, did homage to Henry I, our progenitor.

“Thirty-seven years after that, David I, king of Scots did homage to Matilda the empress, as daughter and heir to Henry I. Wherefore being later required by Stephen to make his homage,

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<sup>211</sup> Originally, “*Trise, then king of Scots...*”

<sup>212</sup> Originally, “*the said Malcolm...*”

who had then obtained possession of the realm, he refused so to do, because he had before made it to Matilda, and thereupon forbore. After David's death, which followed shortly after, the son of the said David made homage to King Stephen.

“Fourteen years after that (which was in A.D. 1150), William king of Scots, and David his brother, with all the nobles of Scotland, made homage to the son of Henry II, with a reservation of their duty to Henry II. his father.

“Twenty-five years after that (which was in A.D. 1175), William I king of Scotland, after much rebellion and resistance, according to their natural inclination (king Henry II then being in Normandy) finally acknowledged his error, and made his peace and composition, confirmed with his great seal, and the seals of the nobility of Scotland, making with it his homage and fealty.

“Within fifteen years after that (which was in A.D. 1190), William king of Scots came to our city of Canterbury, and there did homage to our noble progenitor King Richard I.

“Fourteen years after that, William did homage to our progenitor King John, on a hill beside Lincoln, making his oath upon the cross of Hubert, who was then archbishop of Canterbury, and was present there, and a marvellous multitude assembled for that purpose.

“Twenty-six years after that (which was in A.D. 1230), Alexander II king of Scots married Margaret the daughter of our progenitor Henry III at our city of York, in the feast of Christmas. At which time the said Alexander did his homage to our said progenitor, who reigned in this realm fifty-six years. And therefore, between the homage made by the said Alexander king of Scotland, and the homage done by Alexander, son to the said king of Scots, to us at our coronation at Westminster, there was about fifty years. At which time, the said Alexander king of Scots repaired to the feast of our coronation, and there he did his duty as aforesaid.”

In the year 1303, William Wallace in his rebellion, gathered great multitudes of the Scots to withstand the king, till at length he was taken, and sent up to London, and there executed (1305); after which the king held his parliament at Westminster. Robert I, or Robert the Bruce, forgetting his oath to the king, within a year or two after this (1306), by the counsel of the abbot of Stone, and the bishop of St. Andrews, sent to Pope Clement V<sup>213</sup> for a dispensation of his oath; insinuating that King Edward had wrongfully vexed and grieved the realm of Scotland. Whereupon the pope wrote to the king to leave off such doings. Despite the pope's inhibition, the king prosecuted his own right. He gathered his men and set off to Scotland, where he joined battle with Sir Robert and his army at Methven, a plain near St. John's Town.<sup>214</sup> Edward put him to flight, and so chased the Scots, that 7000 of them were slain. In this victory, the captured bishops and abbots were sent to the pope; the temporal lords and other Scots to London. Sir Robert Bruce after this discomfiture, when he had thus lost both the field and his chief friends, fled into Norway. When this noble Edward had thus subdued the Scots, he yielded thanks to God for his victory, and returned to London, which was the thirty-fifth and last year of his reign (1307).

### **Variance Between the French King, and Boniface VIII.**

Now touching the variance and dissension between Philip the French king, and Pope Boniface VIII. After the bishopric of Rome had been vacant through the dissension of the

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<sup>213</sup> Robert Bruce murdered John Comyn before the altar at Greyfriars Church in Dumfries in 1306, for which Clement excommunicated him. It was later lifted by Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow.

<sup>214</sup> At the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314, Robert defeated a much larger English army under Edward II of England, confirming the re-establishment of an independent Scottish kingdom.

cardinals, for the space of two years and three months, at length Pope Celestine V was chosen successor to Pope Nicholas IV. Celestine in his first consistory began to reform the clergy, by which he procured to himself such hatred among his clergy, that Boniface, speaking through a reed in his chamber wall at midnight, warned him (as if it had been a voice from heaven) that he should give up his papacy, as a burden greater than he could wield. Thus Pope Celestine after he had sat six months, was induced by the treachery and falsehood of Boniface, to resign his bishopric. This was partly on account of that voice at midnight, and partly from fear, having been told by certain persons craftily suborned in his chamber, that if he did not resign, he would lose his life. <sup>215</sup>

Pope Boniface VIII, succeeding Celestine (1294), behaved himself so imperiously that he put down princes, and excommunicated any kings who would not take their confirmation at his hand. He drove away many of his cardinals for fear; some of them he deposed as schismatics and despoiled them of all their substance. He excommunicated Philip IV, the French king, for not allowing his money to go out of the realm; and therefore Boniface cursed both him and his to the fourth generation. Albert I, the emperor, not once or twice, but thrice sought at Boniface's hands to be confirmed, and yet he was rejected. This pope first ordained the jubilee in Rome. In solemnizing it on the first day, he showed himself in his *pontifical* robes, and gave free remission of sins to as many as came to Rome from all the parts of the world. The second day (being arrayed with *imperial* ensigns) he commanded an unsheathed sword to be carried before him, and said with a loud voice, "Lo, here the power and authority of both the swords!"

Thus premising these things about Pope Boniface, I will now come to the occasion of the strife between him and the French king. In A.D. 1301, the bishop of Oppanuham, being accused of a conspiracy against the French king, was brought to his court, and so committed to prison. The pope hearing this, sent word to the king by his legate, to set him at liberty. The French king, not daring to the contrary, released the bishop. But at the same time, he dismissed both the bishop and the legate, commanding them to leave his realm. Upon this Pope Boniface revoked all the graces and privileges granted either by him or his predecessors to the kingdom of France; and not long after he thundered out the sentence of his curse against him. Moreover, Boniface cited all the prelates, all divines, and lawyers both civil and canon, to appear personally before him at Rome, at a certain day. Against this citation the king provided and commanded by proclamation, that no person should export out of the realm either gold, or silver, or any ware or merchandise, upon pain of forfeiting all their goods, and their bodies at the king's pleasure.

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He provided at the same time, that the roads and harbors or seaports, should be diligently kept, that none might pass unsearched. Besides this, the king defeated the pope by giving and bestowing prebends, and benefices, and other ecclesiastical livings, contrary to the pope's profit. For this cause, the pope wrote to the king in form and effect as follows.

*Boniface, bishop, and servant to God's servants, to his beloved son Philip,  
by the grace of God, king of France, greeting and apostolical blessing.*

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<sup>215</sup> After Cardinal Benedict Caetani became his successor as Boniface VIII, some claimed Celestine's resignation was unlawful. Thus the majority of the cardinals found it advisable to keep Celestine under supervision, and he was not allowed to return to his hermitage. On the verge of escaping via the Adriatic Sea, he was captured and sent back to Boniface, who kept him interned in Fumone Castle, where he died, aged 81. *Ency. Brit.*



“Boniface, the servant of God’s servants. Fear God, and observe his commandments. We will have you understand that you are subject to us both in spiritual things, and temporal; and that no gift of benefices or prebends belongs to you; and if you are keeping any which are vacant, that you reserve their profits to the successors. But if you have given any, then we judge the gift to be void, and revoke however far you have gone forward. And whoever believes otherwise, we judge them heretics.”

To this letter of the pope. King Philip answered as follows:

*Philip, by the grace of God king of France, to Boniface,  
in deeds not behaving himself as a pope, little friendship or none.*

“To Boniface, bearing himself as chief bishop, little health or none. Let your foolishness know, that in temporal things we are subject to no man, and that the gifts of prebends and benefices made and to be made by us, were and shall be good, both in time past and time to come. And that we will manfully defend the possessors of the said benefices, and we think that those who believe or think otherwise, are fools and madmen. Given at Paris the Wednesday after Candlemas, 1301.”

### **Appeal of William Nagareta Against Boniface VIII – 1303.**

After these and other writings passing to and fro between the French king and the pope, within a year and a half, the king summoned a parliament, sending down his letters to his sheriffs and other officers, to summon the prelates and barons of the realm to the court of parliament.

*A declaration of master William Nagareta, <sup>216</sup> made against Pope Boniface VIII,  
with his appellation also made at Paris, before the king  
and his council in the church of Paris.*

“In the name of God, amen. In the year of our Lord, 1303, the 12th day of March, and the ninth year of the popedom of the most holy father the Lord Boniface VIII, by God’s providence pope, and in the presence of us common notaries, and witnesses underwritten, the nobleman master William Nagareta, (or de Nogaret), knight, a worshipful professor of the laws, standing before the most excellent prince the lord Philip, by the grace of God most noble king of France, spoke with lively words, and gave in writings these things that follow:

“There have been false prophets among the people, as there have also been false teachers among you. St. Peter, the glorious prince of the apostles, speaking to us by the Spirit, told us the things to come; that as there were false prophets in prior times, so likewise there would come among you false teachers, bringing in sects of destruction; by the which the way of truth will be defaced; and they will covetously make merchandise of you with feigned words. Such masters follow the way of Balaam, the son of Bosor, who loved the reward of wickedness, and had his bridled ass to correct his madness, which speaking in a man’s voice, stopped the foolishness of the prophet. All these things, as they are shown to us by the greatest patriarch himself, your eyes see them fulfilled this day according to the letter. For there sits in St. Peter’s chair the master of lies, causing himself to be called ‘Boniface,’ that is ‘a well doer,’ when he is notable in all kinds of evil doing; and so he has taken to himself a false name. And where he is not a true ruler and master, he calls himself the lord, judge, and master of all men. Coming in contrary to the common order appointed by the holy fathers, and also contrary to the rules of reason, and so not entering into the Lord’s sheepfold by the door, he is not a shepherd nor even a hireling, but rather a thief and robber. For he (the true husband of the Romish church yet living) deceived the one who delighted in simplicity, and enticed him with feigned

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<sup>216</sup> William of Nogaret, French statesman and councilor who served as keeper of the seal to Philip IV.

flatterings and gifts, to let him have his spouse (the church) to be his wife, against truth, which cries, 'Those whom God has joined together, let no man put asunder.' And at length laying violent hands upon him, persuading him falsely that what the deceiver said had come from the Holy Spirit, was not ashamed to join to himself with wicked practice, that holy church which is mistress of all churches, calling himself her husband, whereas he cannot be so. For Celestine, the true Romish bishop, did not agree to the divorce, being deceived by so great a subtlety; nothing is so contrary to agreeing as error and deceit, as man's laws bear witness, therefore I need not speak of his violence.

"But because the Spirit inspires whom he will, and he that is led by the Spirit is not under the law; the holy universal church of God, not knowing the crafts of that deceiver, stumbling and doubting whether it came from the Holy Spirit that Celestine should leave his government, and the sins of the people deserving it, for fear of a schism he suffered the foresaid deceiver: although, according to the doctrine of our Lord, 'By his fruits he might be known,' whether he came to the said government by the Holy Spirit or otherwise; his fruits (as it is plainly written here beneath) are now manifest to all men, by which it is apparent to the world, that he did not come not in by God, but by other ways; and so he did not come in by the sheepfold. His fruits are most wicked, and his end is death; and therefore it is necessary that so evil a tree, according to the Lord's saying, 'should be cut down and cast into the fire. This cannot avail to his excuse, which is made by some men, that is, that the cardinals agreed upon him again, after the death of Celestine the pope, seeing that he could not be her husband, whom it is manifest he defiled by adultery, when her first husband was yet living, and she being worthy to have the promise of marriage kept to her. Therefore, because that which is done against the Lord turns to the wrong of all men; and especially in so great a mischief, I, like a bridled ass, by the power of the Lord, and not by the voice of a perfect man, not being able to bear so great a burden, take in hand to rebuke the madness of the said false prophet Balaam, who at the instance of King Balak, that is, of the Prince of Devils, whom he serves, is ready to curse the people blessed by the Lord. I beseech you, most excellent prince, and Lord Philip, by the grace of God, king of France, that like the angel of God in times past met the prophet Balaam on the way, with a drawn sword, as he was going to curse God's people; so you, who are unwilling to execute fierce justice, and are therefore like the angel of the Lord, and minister of power and office, would meet with a naked sword this wicked man who is far worse than Balaam, so that he doe not perform that evil which he intends to the people.

"1. I propound that the foresaid man, who names himself Boniface, is no pope, but wrongfully keeps the seat which he has to the great damage of all the souls of God's holy church. I say also, that his entering was faulty in many ways, and he did not enter in at the door, but otherwise, and therefore is to be judged a thief and a robber.

"2. I propound also, that the said Boniface is a manifest heretic, and utterly cut off from the body of the holy church, because of many kinds of heresies, which are to be declared at a convenient time and place.

"3. I propound also, that the said Boniface is a horrible simoniac, and such a one that has not been since the beginning of the world; and the mischief of this sin in him is notorious to all the world (which is manifest to all who will plainly understand) insomuch that being openly slandered, he said openly that he could not commit simony.

[195] A.D. 1303-1304.

"4. I propound also, that the said Boniface, being wrapped in many manifest and heinous sins, is so hardened in them, that he is utterly impossible to be corrected; and he a lies in dungeon of mischief so deep that he cannot be suffered any longer, without the overthrow of the church. His mouth is full of cursing, his feet are swift to shed blood. He utterly tears in pieces



the churches, which he ought to cherish; wickedly wasting the goods of the poor, and making much of wicked men who give him rewards; persecuting the righteous, and not gathering but scattering the people, bringing in new sects of destruction that have not been heard of; blaspheming the way of truth, and by robbery thinking himself equal to the Lord Jesus Christ who is blessed forever. And he being most covetous thirsts for gold, covets gold, and by some device gets gold from every people; and utterly disregarding the worshipping of God; he makes merchandise of us all with feigned words, sometimes by flattering, sometimes by threatening, sometimes by false teaching, and all to get money with; envying all things but his own; loving no man, nourishing war, persecuting and hating the peace of his subjects. He is rooted in all unspeakable sins; contradicting and striving against all the ways and doctrines of the Lord. He is truly the abomination of the people, which Daniel the Lord's prophet described.

“Therefore I answer that laws, weapons, and all the elements ought to rise against him, who thus overthrows the state of the church; for whose sins God plagues the whole world. And finally nothing remains to him, being so insatiable, to satisfy him with, except the insatiable mouth of hell, and the fire that cannot be quenched, continuing forever. Therefore, seeing that in a general council it so becomes, and I see this wicked man to be damned, who offends both God and all men — I ask and require as instantly as I can, and I beseech you, my lord and king aforesaid, that you would declare this much to the prelates, doctors, people and princes, your brethren in Christ, and chiefly to the cardinals and all prelates, and call a council in which (when the aforesaid wicked man is condemned) by the worshipful cardinals, the church may be provided with a shepherd. And for that council I offer myself ready lawfully to pursue the aforesaid things. And whereas the said man being in the highest dignity, in the meantime cannot be suspended of his superior, therefore he ought to be taken, suspended indeed for the things aforesaid, seeing that his state is called into judgment, by the means aforesaid.

“I beseech and request the said cardinals by you, and I presently request of them and of the church of God, that this wicked man being put in prison, the church of Rome may be provided with a vicar who may minister those things that will pertain till the church of God is provided with a bishop, to utterly take away all occasion of a schism. And lest the said wicked man should keep and hinder the prosecuting of this, I require these things of you, my lord king, affirming you to be bound to do this for many causes. *First*, for the faith's sake. *Secondly*, for your kingly dignity, to whose office it belongs to root out such wicked men. *Thirdly*, for your oath's sake, which you made for the defense of the churches of your realm, which the aforesaid ravener utterly tears in pieces. *Fourthly*, because you are the patron of the churches, and therefore you are bound not only to their defense, but to restoring their goods, which this aforesaid man has wasted. *Fifthly*, following the footsteps of your ancestors, you ought to deliver your mother, the Romish church, from so wicked a band in which she is tied and bound by oppression. I require that a public instrument may be made of these requests by the notaries here present, under the witness of the worshipful men who are here present. These things were done and spoken, as aforesaid, at Paris, in the king's house of Lupara.”

### **The Appeal of King Philip Against Boniface VIII**

After this protestation of Master Nagareta, immediately ensued the appeal of the king, pronounced and published against Boniface, recapitulating and amplifying the same charges that are in the appeal of Nagareta. Philip made his appeal to a general council, in the following form:

“We, Philip, by the grace of God, hearing and understanding the objections propounded by our beloved faithful knight, William of Nagareta, against Boniface, now having the government of the Romish church. Although we would gladly cover with our own cloak, the filthy parts of such a father; yet for the love of the catholic faith, and great devotion that we bear to the holy Romish and universal church our mother, and all faithful men, and spouse of Christ, following

the steps of our ancestors who did not hesitate to shed their own blood for the increase and defense of the church's liberty and the faith; and desiring to provide for the purity of the faith and state of the church; and also to avoid the hurt of general slander, not being able any longer to pass over these things with winking and dissembling, and my conscience driving me to the same; seeing that this estimate and opinion of this Boniface in these matters is not rashly conceived by us, but vehemently and plainly increased by the many and continual complaints of credible men, and fearing, moreover, the destruction of the faith, both of us and of all other subjects, and especially of kings and princes of the world, who ought to reprove negligence, who acknowledge that we have received power given to us from the Lord, to promoting and increasing it; we agree to your request in this behalf, and to calling and assembling a council for the glory of God (saving the honor and reverence that is due to the holy Romish church in all things) whereby the truth may appear in the premises, and all error avoided. So that the state of the universal church, and all Christianity, and the matters of faith, and the holy land may be provided for, and the slanders and jeopardies hanging over us may be withstood; we are ready, and offer ourselves gladly, as much as it lies in us, to bestow our labors and diligent pains thereabout; earnestly requiring and beseeching in the merciful sympathy of Jesus Christ, you archbishops and other prelates here present, as children of the church and pillars of faith, called by the Lord to the promoting, increasing and preserving of it, to care for the same, so that with all diligence you would give heed, as becomes you, and that you would effectually labor by all ways and fit means, to the calling and assembling of this council in which we intend to be personally present. And lest the said Boniface, who has boldly and wrongfully many times threatened to proceed against us, stopping and hindering our purposes and intent, lest any of his works of darkness (if there are any) should come to light, directly or indirectly hindering the calling and gathering of this council; or lest any state being in the same realm that will indeed proceed against us, or our state, churches, prelates, barons, and other faithful vassals, our subjects, our lands, or our realm, and the state of the realm, by abusing any spiritual sword, in excommunicating, suspending, or in other ways, by any means. For us and our well-wishers, and those who will follow us, we provoke and appeal in writing to the aforesaid general council (which we instantly desire to be called) and to one lawful chief bishop who shall be, or to any other to whom we should appeal; and yet not going from the appeal made by William of Nagareta, to whom we adhered then, and also still adhere — requiring earnestly a witness of our appeal by you prelates and notaries, to expressly renew such provocation and appeal, when and before whom it shall be thought fitting to you.”

Then the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, make their appeal in like manner with the king to a general council.

### **Pope Boniface VIII Made Prisoner and Dies.**

These things being done, the year 1304 then followed. In that year, a garrison of soldiers, sent partly by the French king, partly by the cardinals of Columna, came to the gates of Arvagiium, where the pope hid himself. The captains of this army were one Schaira, brother to those cardinals, and another, William de Longareto, high steward to the French king.

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They invaded the pope's town, and finding the gates open, they assaulted the pope's frontier where the pope with his nephew, a marquess, and three other cardinals were immured. The townsmen, seeing their intent and strength to be bent against the pope, rang the common bell, and so assembling themselves in a common council, they ordained Adolphus, one of the chief rulers of the town, to be their captain. Unknown to them, he was a great adversary to the pope. Adolphus joined with the French company against the pope, and beset his palace on every side. First setting upon the palaces of the three cardinals, who were then the

chief ones about the pope, they rifled and despoiled all their goods. The cardinals barely escaped their hands by a back door; but the pope's palace, through the strength of the marquess, was somewhat better defended. At length the pope, perceiving himself not able to make his party good, desired a truce with Schaira, which was granted from one till nine. During this time of truce, the pope secretly sent to the townsmen of Arvagiura, desiring them to save his life. If they would do this, he promised to so enrich them, that they would all have cause never to forget or repent of their kindness bestowed on him. To this they excused themselves, saying that it did not lay not in their ability to do him any good, for the whole power of the town was with the captain. Then the pope, all destitute and desolate, sent to Schaira, beseeching him to lay out in articles where he had wronged him, and he would make him amends to the uttermost. Schaira gives a plain answer to this, signifying to the pope, "That he would in no way escape with his life, except on these three conditions: *First*, to restore back the two cardinals of Columna, his brethren whom he had previously deprived, with all others of their stock and kindred. *Secondly*, that after their restitution, he would renounce his papacy. *Thirdly*, that his body would remain in his power and custody." These articles seemed so hard to the pope, that in no case would he agree to them.

When the truce expired, the captains and soldiers, setting themselves against the bishop, first set fire to the gates of the palace, by which the army, now having a full entrance, began to rifle and despoil the house. The marquess, hoping to save his life and the lives of his children, yielded himself into the hands of Sciaira and the other captain. When the pope heard of this, he wept and made great lamentation. After breaking through the windows and doors, they burst in upon the pope, whom they accordingly treated with words and threats. Upon this he was put to a choice, whether he would presently leave this life, or give up his papacy. But he said that he would never while he lived renounce his popedom. Schaira was ready to slay him, but he was prevented by some who were about him. The soldiers, who in the meantime ranged through all the corners of the pope's house, loaded themselves up with all the immense treasure of gold, silver, plate, and ornaments that were collected there. Thus Boniface, bereaved of all his goods, remained in their custody three days, during which time they set him atop a wild unbroken colt, his face turned to the horse's tail, and caused the horse to gallop, so that the pope was almost breathless. They kept him this way without food, so that he was nearly famished to death. After the third day, the Arvagiens and people of the town, mustering ten thousand together, secretly burst into the house where the pope was kept. Slaying his keepers, they delivered the pope by a strong hand. Being brought into the middle of the town, he gave thanks with weeping tears to the people for saving his life, promising moreover (being stripped of all his goods, and having neither bread nor drink to put in his mouth), God's blessing and his, to all those who now would relieve him with anything either to eat or drink.

And here now we see what poverty and affliction can work in a man. The pope, previously in all his pomp and most ruffling wealth, was ever so proud; but now he was so humble and lowly that every poor and simple man might have bold and free access to his person. To make the story short, the pope, in that great distress of famine, was not so greedy for the people's victuals, as they were greedy for his blessing. The women and people of the town came so thick, some with bread, some with wine, some with water, some with meat, some with one thing, some with another, that the pope's chamber was too small to receive the offering. It was so much, that when they lacked cups to receive the wine, they poured it down on the chamber floor, not regarding the loss of wine to win the pope's holy blessing. Thus Pope Boniface, being refreshed by the town of Arvagiura, took his journey from there, accompanied with a great multitude of soldiers, and came to Rome where, shortly after,

partly from fear, partly from famine, partly from sorrow for the loss of so inestimable a treasure, he died.

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Now, after this matter between the French king and Pope Boniface, let us proceed in our English history. About this time, in the days of King Edward I, the church of Rome began daily to rise up more and more, and swell so high in pride and worldly dominion, that kings could scarcely do anything but what pleased the pope, who ruled all in all countries, but chiefly here in England. When the king and the church of Canterbury in their election had chosen one Robert Burnhil, bishop of Bath, to be archbishop of Canterbury, Pope Boniface, of his own presumptuous authority, ruling the matter according to his own pleasure, frustrated their election, and thrust in another, named John Peckham. For among other things, this had always been one practice of the court of Rome, to ever have the archbishop of their own appointing, or such a one that they might be sure of his being on their side, to weigh against the king. Pope Boniface directed a solemn bull from Rome to this John Peckham, and also to all quarters of the universal church. In this bull it was decreed, directly against the rule of Scripture and Christian obedience,

“That no church or ecclesiastical person should henceforth yield to his king or temporal magistrate, neither giving nor lending, nor promising tribute, or subsidy, or whatever portion of the goods and possessions belonging to him, but should be clearly exempted and discharged from all taxation in behalf of the prince and his affairs.”

This decree manifestly rebelled against the ordinance of God, and the apostolical canon of St. Peter, and all other examples of holy Scripture. For as there is no word in the Scripture that excludes spiritual men more than temporal from obedience and subjection to princes, so if the prince was to be too rigorous in his exacting, or cruel in oppression, that is no cause for the clergy to be exempt, but rather they should bear the common burden of obedience, and pray to God to turn and move the prince's mind.

This bull was directed from Rome to the archbishop of Canterbury, and likewise through the whole church, under the pope's authority. It happened not long after, that the king held his parliament at St. Edmundsbury, where it was granted to him by all cities and boroughs, an eighth of their goods, and by the commoners a twelfth. Only the clergy, by virtue of this bull, stoutly refused to pay anything to the king. This response not pleasing the king, he desired them to deliberate better with themselves on the matter, and after mature advice to give him an answer at the next parliament, which would be held the next Hilary term at London.<sup>217</sup>

In conclusion, when the parliament met, the clergy still persisted in the denial of their subsidy, alleging the pope's bull for their warrant and discharge. Whereupon the king excluded them from his protection and the safeguard of his laws. Concerning the archbishop of Canterbury mentioned above, because he was found more stubborn than the rest, and was inciting the others, the king seized all his goods, and caused an inventory of them to be enrolled in the exchequer.<sup>218</sup> Several other bishops relented soon afterward to the king, and contributed a fifth of their goods to him, and were again received to favor.

[197] A.D. 1304-1307.

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<sup>217</sup> The Hilary term is a period in the legal and academic calendars of England and Wales, running from January to March. In the context of the legal system, it is one of four terms, alongside Easter, Trinity, and Michaelmas.

<sup>218</sup> *Exchequer*: the British Treasury (government funds).

After the death of John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, succeeded Robert Winchelsey, with whom the king afterward had similar variance. And as this king was troubled in his time with both archbishops, John Peckham and also Robert Winchelsey; so it happened to all other kings for the most part, from the time of Lanfranc (that is, from Pope Hildebrand) that every king in his time had some trouble or other with that see. As William Rufus and Henry I were troubled with Anselm; Henry II with Thomas Becket; King Richard and all England with William, bishop of Ely (the pope's legate); King John with Stephen Langton; King Henry III with archbishop Edmund; likewise this King Edward I with John Peckham and Robert Winchelsey. And so other kings after him, with some prelate or other.

After Pope Boniface VIII succeeded Benedict XI, and then Pope Clement V, who transferred the pope's court to Avignon in France, where it remained for seventy-four years after. At the coronation of Clement, Philip king of France was present, also Charles his son; and John duke of Brittany, with a great number of other men of state and nobility. At the coronation, in the middle of the pomp and procession, a great wall broke down and fell upon them. Duke John with twelve others were slain; King Philip was hurt and wounded; the pope was struck from his horse and lost from out of the miter on his head, a carbuncle (garnet stone), valued at 5000 florins. Because of this Clement ordained that the emperor, though he might be called king of the Romans before, he might not enjoy the title and right of the emperor until he was confirmed by Clement. And the emperor's seat being vacant, the pope would reign as emperor till a new emperor was chosen. By Clement the order of the Templars (who at that time were considered abominable) was put down at the Council of Vienna. He also ordained and confirmed the feast of Corpus Christi, granting indulgences to those who heard the service. And as Pope Boniface before him had heaped up the book of decretals, called *Sextus Decretatum*,<sup>219</sup> so this Clement compiled the seventh book of the decretals, which he called *The Clementines*. In the time of this pope, the Emperor Henry VI was poisoned as he received the sacrament. It was done by a false dissembling monk called Bernard, who feigned being Henry's friend. It was not thought to be done without the consent of the pope's legate. The emperor, perceiving himself poisoned, warned the pope to flee and escape; for the Germans would surely slay him. Although the pope escaped himself, many of his order were slain with fire and sword.

### **Variance with the Greek Orthodox Church.**

Pope Clement V had made good provision against the empire of Rome to bring it under his girdle. It went so far that without the pope's benediction, no emperor might take the state upon himself. And now he proceeded to intermeddle with the empire of Constantinople. This is where he first exercised his tyranny and power of excommunication against the emperor Andronicus Paleologus<sup>220</sup> (A.D. 1306), declaring him to be a schismatic and heretic because he neither would nor dared allow the Greeks to make their appeal from the Greek church to the Roman pope; nor would he acknowledge him for his superior. From this it may appear that the Greek church did not admit the pope's superiority as yet, nor indeed at any time before, except about the time of Pope Innocent III (A.D. 1202). That was when Baldwin, earl of Flanders, joined with the Venetians and went against the Greeks, to place Alexius in the empire of Constantinople — on condition (as Platina writes) of subduing the Greek church under the church of Rome. Alexius I being restored, and slain shortly after, the empire came to the Frenchmen, with whom it remained for fifty-eight years, till

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<sup>219</sup> Latin. The sixth (book) of the decretals; so called because it was appended to the body of the canon law, which was comprised of the five books of the decretals of Gregory IX; the sixth was published A. D. 1298.

<sup>220</sup> Andronicus II Palaiologus (or Andronikos II Palaiologos) reigned as Byzantine emperor from 1282 to 1328.

Michael Paleologus who restored the empire to its pristine state. Afterward, Michael, emperor of Constantinople, being called to a council at Lyons by Pope Gregory X about the controversy of the procession of the Holy Spirit and obedience to the church of Rome, submitted himself and the Greeks to the subjection of Rome. He thereby procured for himself such a grudge and hatred among the Greek monks and priests, that after his death they denied him the due honor and place of burial. The son of this Michael Paleologus was Andronicus, mentioned above. He was constrained by the Greeks not to admit any appeal to the bishop of Rome, and was therefore accursed by the Roman pope's censures as a heretic. It appears by this, that the Greeks, recovering their state again, refused all subjection at this time to the church of Rome; this was A.D. 1307. After this, Clement V followed Pope John XXII, with whom Louis the emperor had much trouble. After him succeeded Pope Benedict XII.

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Now to return to the English history in the year 1307, which was the thirty-fourth of the reign of king Edward I. The king kept a parliament at Carlisle, where great complaints were brought in by the nobles of the realm, concerning the manifold and intolerable oppressions of churches and monasteries, and exactions of money by the pope's legate, William Testa. The pope sent this legate into England with his bulls, in which he reserved the first fruits of all churches vacant at any time, within the realm of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland; and also the fruits of abbeys and priories, etc. The king, with his nobles, seeing the inconvenience and injury of this to the whole realm, in the parliament held at Carlisle, withstood the legate. He commanded him by the assent of the earls and barons, that from then on he should abstain from all such exactions. As concerning his lord the pope, the king wrote to him, declaring and admonishing the pope, that he should not exact the first fruits of the churches and abbeys, founded by his predecessors and the noblemen of the land, for the honor and maintenance of God's service, for alms and hospitality.

### **The Epistle of Cassiodorus to the Church of England.**

During this parliament, as men were talking of the pope's oppressions, a certain paper was suddenly circulated among them, with this superscription:

*An Epistle of Cassiodorus to the Church of England,  
concerning the Abuses of the Romish Church.*

"To the noble church of England, serving in clay and brick, as the Jews did in times past under the tyranny of the Egyptians; Peter the son of Cassiodorus a catholic soldier, and devout champion of Christ, sends greeting, wishing the church to cast off the yoke of bondage, and to receive the reward of liberty.

"To whom shall I compare you, or to whom shall I liken you, O daughter of Jerusalem? To whom shall I match you, O daughter of Sion? Great is your troubled state, like the sea. You sit alone without comfort all day long; you are confounded and consumed with heaviness. You are given up into the hands of him from which you cannot rise without the help of someone to lift you up. For the scribes and Pharisees are sitting in the chair of Moses, the enemies of the Romans are as your heads and rulers: enlarging their guarded phylacteries, and seeking to be enriched with the marrow of your bones, laying heavy burdens, and not able to be borne upon your shoulders, and on your ministers, and they set you under tribute (you who of old time have been free) beyond all honesty or measure. But do not marvel at this, for your mother (the church), who is the lady of people, like a widow having married and coupled herself to her subjects, has appointed him to be your father: that is to say, the bishop of Rome, who shows no point of any fatherly love towards you. He magnifies and extends to the utmost his

authority over you, and by experience he declares himself to be the husband of your mother. He often remembers to himself the prophetic saying of the prophet, and has well digested the same in the inward part of his breast: 'Take to yourself a great book, and write in it quickly with the pen of a man;' <sup>Isa 8.1</sup> 'take the spoil, rob quickly.' But is this what the apostle says he was appointed for, where he writes thus: 'Every bishop, taken from among men, is appointed for men in those things that belong to the Lord;'— not to spoil, nor to lay on them yearly taxes, nor to kill men, but 'to offer gifts and sacrifices for sins,' <sup>Heb 8.3</sup> and to sorrow with those who are ignorant and err.

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“And so we read of Peter the fisherman (whose successor he boasts himself to be), that after the resurrection of Christ, he returned with the other apostles to the office of fishing. When he could find nothing on the left-side of the ship, at the bidding of Christ he turned to the right side, and drew to land a net full of fishes. Therefore the profitable ministry of the church is to be exercised on the right side, by which the devil is overcome, and plenty of souls are gained and won to Christ. But certainly the labor on the left side of the ship is far otherwise. For in it faith stumbles, heaviness bears rule, and that which is desired by seeking is not found. For who is so foolish as to think that he can at the same time serve both God and man, satisfy his own will, or stick to the revelations of flesh and blood, and offer worthy gifts to Christ? And doubtless, that shepherd who does not watch for the edifying of the flock, prepares another way for 'the roaring lion seeking whom he may devour.' <sup>1Pet 5.8</sup> And now behold, I say, O daughter, that the deeds of him who calls himself your Father, are such as have not been heard of before. He drives away the good shepherds from the sheepfold, and places in their stead bishops to rule, but not to profit his nephews, cousins, and parents; some who know no letters (cannot read), and others dumb and deaf, who do not understand the plain voice of the sheep, not curing the wounds of those who are hurt by wolves. But like hirelings, they pluck off the fleeces, and reap what other men have sown; moreover, whose hands are always in their baskets and pouches, but their backs are turned from their burdens. By this it is manifest, that the priesthood has clean changed in these days — the service of God has decayed — alms are diminished and brought to nothing — the whole devotion of kings, princes, and Christians is banished. May this not be thought a wonderment in the eyes of all men: that whereas Christ commands tribute to be paid to kings for him and for Peter, <sup>Mat 17.24-27</sup> this bishop now goes about by dominion of his style, to subdue both realms, and princes of realms (against Christ's will, whose vicar he says he is, who refused the realms and judgments of this world) which this bishop contrarywise claims, believing that all he writes in his style are his?

“Alas! O daughter, what more does he yet have against you? Mark, he draws from you whatever pleases him, and is not content to have only a tenth of your goods from you; unless he also has the first fruits of the benefices of the ministers, by which he may get a new patrimony for himself as well as for his kindred, contrary to the godly wills of the first founders. Over and besides all this, he introduces other execrable taxes and stipends for his legates and messengers, whom he sends into England. They not only take away the feeding and clothing of you and yours, but also like dogs, they tear in pieces your flesh and skins. May this prince not be compared to King Nebuchadnezzar, who destroyed the temple of the Lord, and carried away its golden and silver vessels? This man does the very same. He robbed the ministers of God's house, and left them destitute of due help, in like manner. Truly those are better off who are killed with the sword, than those who ache with hunger; for they are dead immediately, but these are wasted with the barrenness of the earth.

“O daughter, all those who pass by, let them have pity and compassion on you, for there is no sorrow like your sorrow. For now your face is blacker than coals, through much sorrow and weeping, and you are no longer known in the streets. Your foresaid ruler has placed you in

darkness, and has given you wormwood and gall to drink. O Lord, hear the sorrow and sighing of your people; behold, Lord, and descend; for the heart of this man is more hardened than the heart of Pharaoh. He will not allow the people to depart, except by the strength of your hand. For he not only scourges them miserably upon the earth, but also after their death, he intends to engross the goods of all Christians under the name and title of *dying intestate*, of making no will. Therefore, let the chivalry of England well remember how the Frenchmen in times past, directed their greedy eyes toward the realm of England, and labored with all their power to bring it under their subjection. But it is to be feared, lest the new devices and practice of this new enemy supply that which up to now has been lacking in them. For in diminishing the treasure of the realm, and spoiling the church goods, the realm will be brought into such inability, that it will not be able to help itself against the enemy.

“Therefore, O daughter, and you its ministers, do not suffer yourselves to be led any more into such miserable bondage. It is better for the wealth of you and yours, that the Christian king and the powers of the realm, who have clothed you with great benefits, and you also who are clothed with their benefits, labor with all your power to resist the devices, conspiracies, arrogance, presumption, and pride of the foresaid person. It is not for any zeal of God, but for enriching his parents and his own kindred (exalting himself like an eagle) by these and such other exactions, that he goes about after another kind of extortion, to scrape up and devour all the money and treasure of England. Now, lest the dissembled simplicity of the realm in this behalf brings utter subversion, and afterward is compelled to seek remedy when it is too late, I beseech the Lord God of Hosts to turn away the veil from the heart of that man, and to give him a contrite and a humble mind. In so far, that he may acknowledge the ways of the true God, by which he may be brought out of darkness, and be forced to relinquish his old sinister attempts; and so that the vineyard which the Lord’s hand has planted, may be replenished continually with the preachers of the word. Let the words of the Lord, prophesied by the mouth of Jeremy, stir up your minds to withstand and resist the subtle practices of this man, of whom the Lord says: ‘O you pastor, who have scattered my people, and cast them out of their habitations, behold I will come and visit upon you, and upon the malice of your studies: nor shall any of your seed sit upon the seat of David, nor have power any longer in Judah. So that your nest shall become barren, and utterly subverted, like Sodom and Gomorrah.’

“And if being terrified by these words, he do not leave off from this which he begins, and does not make restitution of what he has received, then let all and singular persons sing for him being hardened, to him that sees all things,’ Psa 108. For as truly as favor, grace, and benevolence, remits, and neglects many things, so again the gentle benignity of man, being too oppressed and grieved, seeking to be delivered and freed from it, strives and searches to have the truth known, and by all means possible casts off that yoke that grieves him,” etc.

### **Death Of King Edward I – 1307.**

In the year 1307, King Edward, marching toward Scotland, fell sick. This sickness so increased upon him, that he despaired of life. Therefore, calling before him his earls and barons, he had them swear that they would crown his son Edward. That being done, he called his son Edward, informing and advising him with wholesome precepts; and he charged him also with several matters, as he valued his blessing. First, That he should be courteous, gentle, upright in judgment, fair-spoken to all men, constant in deed and in word, familiar with the good; and especially to be merciful to the miserable. He also gave him charge not to be too hasty in taking his crown before he had revenged his father’s injuries against the Scots. But that he should remain in those parts to take his father’s bones with him, after being well boiled from the flesh. Being enclosed in some fit vessel, he should carry them with him till he conquered all the Scots, saying that so long as he had his father’s bones with him, none would overcome him. He desired and required him to love his



brothers Thomas and Edmund; also to cherish and be tender to his mother Margaret, the queen. He also strictly charged him upon his blessing (if he would avoid his curse) that he should in no case call back to him, or send for Peter Gaveston. The king had previously banished Peter Gaveston from the realm, for his naughty and wicked intimacy with his son Edward, and for leading him astray with evil counsel. For this he banished Peter Gaveston utterly out of the realm, and also put Edward his son into prison. And therefore he strictly charged his son not to send for this Gaveston, nor to have him about him.

[199] A.D. 1307-1311.

And finally, because he had conceived in himself a vow to have returned personally to the Holy Land (which from his many wars with the Scots he could not perform), he had therefore prepared 32,000 pounds of silver, for sending some soldiers with his heart to the Holy Land. He required his son to see this accomplished, so that the money, under his curse and malediction, should not be employed for other uses. But the disobedient son did not observe these injunctions and precepts after the decease of his father, but quitting the war with the Scots, he hasted with all speed to his coronation. Also contrary to the mind of his nobles, and against the precept of his father, he sent for Peter Gaveston, and prodigally bestowed upon him all that treasure which his father had bequeathed to the Holy Land. He was moreover a proud despiser of his peers and nobles, and therefore reigned unfortunately.

### ***King Edward II – 1307.***

Edward II was born at Carnarvon, in Wales. After the death of his father, he entered the government in A.D. 1307, but was not crowned before the following year because of the absence of Robert Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury, who was banished by King Edward I. Whereupon the king wrote to the pope for the restitution of the archbishop. For by an ancient law of the realm, the coronation of the king could not proceed without the archbishop of Canterbury. Edward, though he was personable in body and outward shape, in conditions and evil dispositions he was much deformed. He was unsteadfast in his word, and lightly disclosed secrets of great counsel. He also refused the company of his lords and men of honor; he associated with villains and vile personages; and moreover, he was given to drinking and those vices which usually ensue on drunkenness. As he was disposed to such vices of his own nature, so he was made much worse by the counsel and familiarity of certain evilly disposed persons, such as Peter or Pierce (Piers) Gaveston, the two Spensers,<sup>221</sup> and others. Following their wanton counsel, he gave himself to riot and debauchery. He did not order his government with gravity, discretion, or justice, which caused great variance between him and his nobles. Shortly, he became odious to them, and in the end, he was deprived of his kingdom.

In the first year of his reign he took to wife Isabella, daughter of king Philip IV of France, with whom the year after he was crowned at Westminster by the bishop of Winchester, as Robert Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury had not yet returned home. The barons and lords first requested the king to put Peter Gaveston away from him, or else they would not consent to his coronation. Whereupon he was forced to grant them at the next parliament to have their requests accomplished, and so he was crowned. In the meantime, emboldened by the king's favor, Peter Gaveston continued triumphing and lightly treating all the other

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<sup>221</sup> That is, Hugh Spenser (or Despenser) the elder, earl of Winchester, and his son Hugh (the younger). Hugh Despenser the younger was the king's favorite and chamberlain after Gaveston's death. He accumulated vast wealth and lands through his marriage to Eleanor de Clare, a co-heiress to the Gloucester earldom. His influence over Edward II was so great that he was often seen as the real ruler of England during the period from 1321 to 1326.

states and nobles of the realm, so that he ruled both the king and the realm. All things went as he wished, nor did the king have any delight or keep company with any but him; and with him alone he shared all his mind, and conferred all his counsels. This seemed strange to the lords and earls. It inflamed them so much against Gaveston, that through the incitement of the nobles, the bishops of the land would proceed in excommunication against him, *unless* he departed the land.

At length the parliament met (A.D. 1310), and articles were drawn up by the nobles to be exhibited to the king. These articles were the same as contained in *Magna Carta*, and *de Foresta*, with such other articles as his father had charged him with before — to wit, that he would remove from him and his court all aliens and perverse counsellors, and that all the matters of the commonwealth should be debated by the common council of the lords, both temporal and spiritual; and that he would stir no war outside of England in any other foreign realm, without the common assent of these lords, etc. The king perceived that their intent was indeed, to separate Peter Gaveston from his company. Seeing no other remedy than yielding and granting his consent, he agreed that Gaveston should be banished to Ireland. And so, the parliament breaking up, the lord returned home well pleased.

### **The Pride and Tyranny of Pope Clement V.**

In the history of King Edward I, mention was made of Pope Clement V who succeeded Benedict; also of the suppression of the Templars which happened in this year (1310) by means of the French king, Louis IV. He burned in the city of Paris fifty-four Templars, with the grand master of the order. And he induced Pope Clement to call a council at Vienna, where the whole order of Templars was condemned. Shortly after, with the consent of all Christian kings, it was totally suppressed in one day. After this, the French king thought to make his son king of Jerusalem, and to transfer to him all the lands of the Templars. But Clement the pope would not agree. He transferred all their lands to the order of Hospitallers for a great sum of money given in return. The cause of these impious Templars being suppressed was on account of their abominable and filthy practices, which are better not told, if those things which some authors write are true.

Another matter of similar abomination I may mention here, touching a certain nunnery in France called Provines. Within it, at the cleansing of a fish-pond, many bones of young children were found, and also the bodies of some infants not yet decomposed. On account of this, twenty-seven of the nuns were brought to Paris and imprisoned.

In the same council at Vienna it was also decreed by Clement V, that all religious orders who were then exempt, should be subject to the common laws as others were. But the Cistercian monks, with money and great gifts, redeemed their privileges and exemptions from the pope. These Cistercians succeeded better than the Minorites of the Franciscans in their suit. Certain of these Franciscans offered the pope 40,000 florins of gold, besides silver, if he would dispense with their having lands and possessions, which was against their rule. The pope asked them where that money was. They answered, in the merchants' hands. So they were given three days to produce the merchants. Then the pope absolved the merchants of their bond made to the friars, and commanded all that money to be employed for his own use. He declared to the friars that he would not infringe or violate the rule of St. Francis lately canonized, nor should he do it for any money. And thus these rich friars, although they called themselves "the begging friars," and "the mendicant order," lost both their money and their indulgence. Pope Clement V excommunicated the Venetians for aiding and preferring Azoda above the state of Ferrara. He wrote letters throughout Europe, condemning them as enemies of the church, and giving their goods as a lawful prey to all

men; this caused them to sustain great harm. But Francis Dandulus, a nobleman of Venice, and an ambassador from the Venetians to Clement, sought to obtain their absolution and the safety of their city and country, and to pacify the pope's fury. He so humbled himself before this proud prelate, that he allowed an iron chain to be tied around his neck, and he lay down flat before his table to catch the bones and fragments that fell from it, as if he had been a dog, till the pope's fury was assuaged. So that afterwards, in reproach (because he so humbled himself on behalf of and in aid of his country), that by some he was called a dog. But the city of Venice showed themselves not ungrateful to Dandulus for his gentle good will thus shown to his country. For just as he had abased himself in the vile and ignominious condition of a dog for his country's sake, so they extolled him with as much glory when he returned home. They decked and adorned him in the best array, with the best princely ornaments of the city, to make amends for his former reproach.

### **Peter Gaveston Beheaded.**

Let us proceed to the next year (A.D. 1311). In this year Peter Gaveston, who had wandered the surrounding countries, and could find no safe resting place, secretly returned to England and presented himself to the king.

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The king for joy ran to meet him, and embracing him, not only retained him, but also for his sake, he undid all those acts which had been enacted in the parliament. The queen and the whole court seeing this doting of the king, were exceedingly sorrowful. After Gaveston's return was rumored among the commons, the peers and nobles of the realm were not a little stirred, consulting with themselves as to what was best to be done. At last they determined that Thomas, earl of Lancaster, should be elected the chieftain among them, and the chief actor in this business. All other earls, barons, and prelates also consented to him, except Walter, bishop of Coventry. Therefore archbishop Robert excommunicated him afterwards. The earl of Lancaster, by the assent of the rest, sent to the king (who was then at York) humble petitions in the name of the whole nobility as well as of the commoners, desiring his grace to give Gaveston over to them, or else, according to the ordinance of the realm, that he might be banished. But the tyrannous king, who set more value on the love of one stranger than on his whole realm, would neither hearken to their counsel, nor give way to their supplications, but in all hasty fury he removed from York to Newcastle, where he remained till near midsummer.

In the meantime, the barons had gathered a host of sufficient and able soldiers, and came towards Newcastle, not intending any molestation against the king, but only the execution of the laws upon the wicked Gaveston. The king not having the men to resist their power, removed to Tynemouth, and from there to the castle of Scarborough. Leaving Gaveston there in the safe keeping of his men, the king journeyed toward Warwick. The lords hearing where Peter was, directed all their power there. So that at length Gaveston saw no remedy but to come into their hands, yielded and submitted himself. He required no other condition but that he might say a few words to the king in their presence.

It chanced that Guy, the earl of Warwick, came to the place where Gaveston was in custody. Taking him out of the hands of his keepers, he carried him to the castle of Warwick, where they would have put him to death; but doubting and fearing the king's displeasure, they stayed a little. When one of the company (a man of sage and wise counsel, as my author writes) standing up among them, gravely declared the nature of the man, the wickedness of his own condition, the realm so greatly damaged by him, the nobles despised and rejected,

the intolerable pride and ambition of the man, the ruin of things likely to ensue by him, and the great charges and expenses they had been at in so long pursuing and catching him. And now that they had gotten him in their hands, he exhorted them to use and take the occasion now present.

Briefly, he so persuaded the hearers, that immediately Gaveston was brought out and beheaded. And thus the one had called the earl of Warwick the black dog of Ardeine, was torn apart by the dog.

After this, great disturbance arose between the king and the lords. Having their forces lying about Dunstable, they sent a message to the king at London, to have their former acts confirmed. Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, the king's nephew (who neither held against the king, nor against the nobles), with the bishops and prelates of the realm, went between both parties with great diligence to attain unity. At which time two cardinals also came from Rome, with letters from the pope. The nobles responded to the message of the cardinals, then at St. Albans, that as for themselves, they would be welcome at all times; but regarding their letters (for they were unlettered men, and only brought up in war and feats of arms) they did not care for seeing them. Then a message was sent back, requiring that they would at least speak with the pope's legates, who purposely came with the intent of setting quiet and unity in the realm. They answered again, that they had bishops who were both godly and learned, by whose counsel alone they would be led, and not by any strangers, who did not know the true cause of their commotion. And therefore they said explicitly that they would have no foreigners or aliens to interfere in their business and affairs pertaining to the realm. Yet notwithstanding, through the mediation of the archbishop, and of the earl of Gloucester, the matter was so taken up at length, that the barons agreed to restore to the king or to his attorney of St. Albans, all the treasure, horses, and jewels of Gaveston which were taken at Newcastle, so that their requests would be granted. And so the matter was settled at that time.

Shortly after this (1312), Isabella the queen was delivered of a fair child at Windsor (the future Edward III). At his birth there was great rejoicing throughout the land, and especially the king was so joyed, that he began more and more to forget the sorrow and remembrance of Gaveston's death, and was more agreeable after that to the will of his nobles.

In the meantime the Scots began to be busy, and to rebel through means of Robert Bruce. Being chased out of Scotland by King Edward I, as mentioned before, he went into Norway, but then returned to Scotland. He so influenced the lords there, that in a short time he was made king of the realm, and warred so strongly upon those who took the king's part, that he won from them many castles and strongholds, and invaded the borders of England. The king hearing this, assembled a great army, and entered the realm of Scotland by sea. Robert Bruce with his Scots fought a strong battle against him at Bannockburn (1314). In the end, the Englishmen were discomfited. The Scots after this, exalted with pride and fierceness, invaded the realm of England, killing and destroying man, woman, and child. They won and wasted the north parts as far as York. <sup>222</sup>

### **Great Famine in England.**

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<sup>222</sup> Over a three year period, one English-held castle or outpost after another was captured and reduced: Linlithgow in 1310, Dumbarton in 1311, and Perth, by Bruce himself, in January 1312. Bruce also made raids into northern England, landing at Ramsey in the Isle of Man. He laid siege to Castle Rushen in Castletown, capturing it on 21 June 1313 and denying the English the island's strategic importance. (Scottish History Society, "Wars of Independence")

Besides this, there was such a dearth of victuals, such a penury of all things oppressing the whole land, such a murrain (contagious disease) among sheep and oxen, that men were compelled to eat horse-flesh, dogs, cats, mice, and whatever else they could get. Moreover, such a price of corn followed, that the king hardly had bread for the sustenance of his own household. Moreover, there were some who stole children and ate them, and many died for the lack of victuals. Yet all this did not amend the king of his evil living.

The cause and origin of this great dearth, was partly the wars and dissension between the English and the Scots, through which a great part of the land was wasted. But the main cause was the intemperate season of the year. Contrary to the common course, it was so moist with an abundance of rain, that the grain laid in the earth could not ripen by the heat of the sun, nor grow by any nourishment. Those who had any tidbit to eat could not be satisfied, but soon were as hungry again. Those who had nothing, were driven to steal and rob; the rich were constrained to abandon and diminish their households; the poor died from famine. And not so much the lack of provisions, which could not be gotten, as the unwholesomeness of it when it was taken, so consumed the people, that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead. The corruption of the foods, because of the unseasonableness of the ground, was so infectious that many died of hot fevers, many of pestilence and other diseases. Not only were the bodies of men infected, but also the beasts by the putrefaction of the herbs and grass. The beasts fell into so great a murrain, that eating flesh was suspected and thought to be contagious. The price of a quarter of corn and salt, from the month of June to September, rose from thirty shillings to forty shillings. The flesh of horses was then precious to the poor. Many were driven to steal fat dogs and eat them. Some, again, were said in secret corners to eat their own children. Some would steal other men's children to kill and eat them. The prisoners and thieves who were in prison, for hunger fell upon those who were newly brought in to them, and tore them in pieces, eating them half alive. Briefly, this extreme penury would have extinguished and consumed (it was thought) most of the people of the land, had not the king by the advice of the Londoners given a command throughout his land, that no corn should at that time be turned to making drink. Such a Lord is God, thus able to do where he is disposed to strike. And yet we miserable creatures in our wealth and abundance will not cease daily to provoke His terrible majesty.

[201] A.D. 1311-1323.

### **The King Prohibits the Exactions of the Pope's Legates.**

Soon after this, two legates came from Rome, sent by Pope John XXII, under pretense of setting an agreement between England and Scotland. For their charges and expenses, they required from every spiritual person four pence in every mark.<sup>223</sup> But all their labor availed nothing; for as the legates were in the north parts with their whole family and train, they were robbed and despoiled of their horses, treasure, apparel, and whatever else they had. Being severely handled, they retired back to Durham, where they stayed waiting for an answer from the Scots. But when neither the pope's legacy nor his curse could obtain any place with the Scots, the legates returned to London where they first excommunicated and cursed as black as soot, all those arrogant and presumptuous robbers of Northumberland. Secondly, for replacing the losses which they incurred, they exacted from the clergy *eight* pence in every mark, to be paid to them. But the clergy would not agree, seeing that it was the legate's own covetousness (they said) that made them venture farther than they needed.

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<sup>223</sup> A mark at the time was equal to 160 pence. So this was a 2.5% tax.

The king being notified of this, and taking sides with his clergy, he directed his letters to the legates in the following form:

“The king to Master Rigand of Asserio, canon of Aurelia, greeting: we have taken notice of the clamors and lamentable petitions of the subjects of our realm, perceiving by it that you practice many and sundry inconveniences that are very strange, never before accustomed nor heard of in our realm — against the clergy and ecclesiastical persons, as well as against the laity, even to the utter oppression and impoverishing of many of our liege people. If this were to be winked at (God forbid) it may in process of time be the occasion of greater perils; for which we are (not without cause) moved, and not a little grieved. We command you therefore, that from now on, you do not practice, nor presume in any case to attempt anything within our realm, either against our clergy or laity, that may in any way tend to the prejudice of our royal person, or of our crown and regal dignity. Witness the king at Windsor, the sixth day of February, in the eleventh year of his reign.”

In the same year (1318), the king wrote to the same effect to the archbishop of Canterbury, to the archbishop of York, and to every other bishop throughout England. By these letters the greedy legates were restrained from their ravening purpose, taking what they could get, and settling a peace (such as it was) between the king and the earl of Lancaster. The legates were obliged to depart.

Besides the restraint mentioned above for “strange impositions,” it followed in the same year, that the king prohibited gathering Peter-pence, directed to the legate. The tenor of that prohibition follows.

*A Prohibition of Peter-pence.*

“The king to Master Rigand of Asserio, canon of Aurelia, greeting. We are given to understand that you demand and purpose to levy the Peter-penny within our realm, otherwise than the Peter-penny has been customarily levied in the time of any of our progenitors. In this, you are exercising grievous ecclesiastical censures, to the great annoyance and damnifying of the subjects of our realm. For the quick remedy of this, our loving subjects have made their humble supplication to us. The Peter-penny has up to now been customarily gathered and levied on lands and tenements within our realm, in a due manner and form. Not willing that any such unaccustomed impositions be made in any way on the lands and tenements of any our subjects within our dominions, we prohibit you, upon grievous penalty, strictly charging that you in no way presume to exact, gather, or levy the said Peter-penny in any other form or manner than it has been customarily gathered and levied in the time of our progenitors, or since the beginning of our reign — not until further order is taken in our high court of parliament, by the advice of the nobles and peers of our realm, such as may well be taken without prejudice of our crown, and the damage of our subjects. Witness the king at Westminster, the first day of March.”

To the same effect, letters were directed to the archbishops, deans, archdeacons, and the rest of the clergy.

Regarding the origin of his Peter-pence, mention was made already in the life of King Offa, and others (p. 86): yet to briefly recapitulate the matter, according to the rolls it follows thus:

“It is thus found recorded in ancient chronicles touching the Peter-pence of St. Peter (A.D. 187), Offa, king of Mercia, travelled up to Rome in the time of Pope Adrian I, to obtain the canonizing of St. Alban. And having performed his vow, visiting the college of English students which then flourished in Rome, he gave to the maintenance of the scholars of England, who



were students in Rome, one penny out of every tenement within this realm that had land belonging to it, amounting to the yearly value of thirty pence.”

In the meantime, the lords and nobles of England, detesting the outrageous pride of the two Spensers, by which they daily worked both great dishonor to the king, and hindrance to the commonwealth, conspired against them. These Spensers being favored by the king, were as haughty and proud as Peter Gaveston was. Having much influence over the king, they were greatly hated both by the nobles and commoners, who now gathering their forces together, made a request to the king, that he should remove the Spensers from his presence. To this end there was a parliament called in London, and the barons came together with a great company. At this parliament both the Spensers were banished from the land for the term of their lives; they took shipping at Dover, and so left the land. But it was not long after, before the king sent for them again, and set them in high authority. Therefore the barons again intending to reform this mischief, assembled their forces. But the king made haste gathering his people, and was stronger than the barons. He so pursued them in diverse places, that the barons *not* being fully joined together, were in the end chased so closely that Thomas, earl of Lancaster, was taken and put to death, with the rest of the nobility, numbering twenty-two of the greatest men, and greatest captains of this realm.

After the ruin of these noble personages, the king, as though he had gained a great conquest, began to triumph not a little with the Spensers, trusting and committing everything to their counsel — so far that both the queen and the other nobles were but little regarded.

Polydore Virgil, among other histories of our English nation which he deals with, also studied the acts and life of this king. Coming to write of the queen’s going over into France, he draws much variety from different authors concerning the cause of it. The precise truth of the matter is as follows.

The king of England had been frequently called to the court of France, to do homage for the dukedom of Aquitaine, and other lands which the king held in France. When the king of England refused, the French king began to enter all those possessions which Edward held in France; upon which great contention and conflicts arose on both sides. At length in this year (1325) a parliament was called in London, where it was at last determined that certain men should be sent over to make an agreement between the two kings. To better further this agreement, it was thought good that Queen Isabella, sister to Charles V, the French king, should be sent over.<sup>224</sup> Here it is to be noted first, that the queen’s lands, possessions, and castles, upon the breach between the French king and the king of England a little earlier, were seized into the king’s hands, and the queen was put to her pension, etc. Thus the queen being sent over, she had but few to attend upon her. Only Sir John Cromwell, baron, and four knights, took their passage into France.

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### **Queen Isabella and Prince Edward Proclaimed Traitors – 1326.**

By their mediation it was concluded that the king of England (if he would not come himself to do his homage) should give to his son Edward, the dukedom of Aquitaine, and the earldom of Pontigne, and so he should come to make his homage to the king, and to possess the same. Upon this, deliberation was taken in the council of England. But the two Spensers, fearing either to take the voyage with the king, or else to remain behind without the king, so appointed that Prince Edward was sent. Afterwards this would prove their utter desolation.

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<sup>224</sup> [Isabella was sister to Charles, Philip, and Louis, all of whom became kings of France.](#)

For all things being quieted and ordered according to the agreement in France, King Edward of England sent for his wife and his son to return from France. But though she sent home most of her family, she refused to return herself; for what cause is not fully certain.<sup>225</sup> The king seeing this, issued a proclamation requiring the queen and his son to return by a certain day, or else be proclaimed traitors to the king, and to the realm. Notwithstanding, the queen persisted in her purpose, and refused to return unless the other nobles who had fled might also be permitted to return safely with her. The king immediately had them both proclaimed as traitors.

Here then a great hatred began between king and king, and between the king and the queen, and much preparation for war. Then the king (counselled by the Spensers) sent secretly to procure the death of the queen and of his son, through the earl of Richmond, the queen's familiar friend. But that was prevented and utterly frustrated. The queen, however, doubting what corruption might exist in the court of France, removed from there, and was received, with her son Edward, joyously and honorably in the court or country of the earl of Henawde, or Heinault, where a marriage was concluded between Edward her son, and the earl's daughter. When this was proclaimed in England, several men of honor and name came over to the queen. Soon after, the earl of Heinault prepared a body of 500 men of arms to send over with the young prince and his mother to England. The fame of this shortly spread throughout the realm. The king made all provision to have the havens and ports securely kept, to resist the landing of his enemies. On the other side, and with no less preparation, the queen provided all things necessary to her expedition. When she saw her time, she hastened to the seacoast with Prince Edward, Lord Edmund, earl of Kent (the king's brother), Sir Roger Mortimer, the Lord Wygmore, and other exiles of England. They were also accompanied by the band of Heinaulters, of whom Sir John Heinault, the earl's brother, was a captain. Isabella had with her 2,757 soldiers, both Englishmen and foreigners. She took shipping, and had such a favorable wind, that they landed in England, near Harwich, in Suffolk.<sup>226</sup> After her landing, the Earl Marshal and the earl of Leicester joined her, along with other barons, knights, and bishops — namely, the bishops of Lincoln, Hereford, Durham, and Ely. The archbishop of Canterbury, though he did not come himself, he sent his aid, and money. Thus the queen, well furnished with both men and provisions, set out toward London; so that the further she came, the more her number increased daily. The king's power on the other hand decreased; so that almost no one in all the realm could be hired with any wages to fight on the king's behalf against the queen. Nor did the queen's army hurt any man or child, either in goods or anything else, along the way.

At the arrival of the queen, the king was in London. At first he would not believe it to be true. Afterward he fortified the tower of London with men and provisions, committing the charge of it to John Eltham, his younger son. Leaving Walter Stapleton, bishop of Exeter, behind him to rule the city of London. Hearing daily the great recourse of the people who drew to the queen, Edward fled with a small company westward toward Wales. But before his departure from London, he caused a proclamation to be made, in which all persons were charged, upon forfeiture of life and goods, with all their power, to rise and invade the rebels and destroy them all. Only the life of the queen, his son, and his brother, were reserved. Also that no man should help, rescue, or relieve the rebels, with goods, victuals, or otherwise. It

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<sup>225</sup> Other historians say she announced her refusal to return to England until the two Spensers were removed from court. She had become the mistress of Roger Mortimer of Wigmore. With Mortimer and other baronial exiles she crossed to Essex in 1326 and routed the forces of Edward and the Spensers.

<sup>226</sup> Harwich is actually in Essex. But Suffolk, with Norfolk to the north, and Essex to the south, are all in East Anglia.



was also proclaimed that whoever brought to the king the head and body of Sir Roger Mortimer, either dead or alive, would have a thousand pounds from the king's coffers.

On the other side, the queen issued her own proclamation in which it was forbidden to take or spoil violently any man's goods against the will of the owner, under pain of losing his finger if it were three-pence: of his hand if it were six-pence: of his head if it were twelve-pence. Moreover, whoever brought to the queen the head of Hugh Spenser the younger, would receive two thousand pounds from the queen for so doing. This done, the queen sent her letters to the city of London for aid and succor, to subdue the oppressor of the realm.

These letters being published and perused, the bishop of Exeter, to whom the rule of the city was committed, sent to the mayor for the keys of the gates, using such sharp words in the king's name, that a conflict began to kindle between him and the citizens; so that the commoners in their rage took the bishop and beheaded him with two of his household, at the Standard in Cheapside. Then the king, with Hugh Spenser, Sir Robert Baldock (the chancellor), and the earl of Arundel, went into Wales. The queen so pursued them, that they took Sir Hugh Spenser the father, who being drawn and torn, they at last hung up at Bristol in iron chains (A.D. 1326). As the king was thus fleeing, the queen had it proclaimed throughout her army, that the king should come and appear, and so receive his kingdom back, if he would be comforting to his liege subjects. When he did not appear, Prince Edward his son was proclaimed high keeper of the realm.

In the meantime, Henry earl of Lancaster, brother to the good Earl Thomas who was beheaded, also Lord William Souch, and Master Uphowel, were sent by the queen into Wales to pursue the king. There they took him and sent him to the castle of Kenilworth. They took Hugh Spenser the son, and Sir Robert Baldock, chancellor, and Sir John Earl of Arundel, and brought them all to the town of Hereford. Soon after, Hugh Spenser the son was drawn and hanged on a gallows, fifty feet high, and then beheaded and quartered. His quarters were sent into the four quarters of the realm. Sir John of Arundel was beheaded, Sir Robert Baldock was put into Newgate at London, where shortly after he pined away and died among the thieves. This being done, a parliament was assembled at London, from which a message was sent to the king, that if he would resign his crown, his son would have it after him: if not, another would take it to whomever the lot would give it. Whereupon the king, being constrained to yield his crown to his son, was kept in prison. There he is said to have felt great repentance. It is thought by some writers, that the following year, while in prison, the king was miserably slain by means of Sir Roger Mortimer. He was buried at Gloucester, after he had reigned nineteen years.

In the time and reign of king Edward II, the college of Cambridge, called Michael House, was founded and built by Sir Henry Stanton, knight, for the use and increase of learning. About the same time was Nicolas de Lyra, who wrote the ordinary Gloss of the Bible. Also William Ockham, a worthy divine, and of a right sincere judgment, as the times then would either give or suffer.

Among those who fell into trouble with this king during his contention with his barons, was one Adam, bishop of Hereford. Being impeached of treason with others, he was arrested in the parliament. Many things were laid against him there, for taking part with those who rose against the king, with other matters and heinous rebukes, etc. The bishop for a great while answered nothing to these charges. At length, claiming the liberties and privileges of the church, the bishop answered to the king in this form:

“I, a humble minister and member of the holy church of God, and bishop consecrate (although unworthy) cannot, and should not answer to these high matters without the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury, my direct judge, next under the high bishop of Rome, whose suffragan I am, and the consent likewise of my other fellow bishops.”

[203] A.D. 1323-1327.

After this, the archbishop and other bishops with him were ready to make humble intercession for him to the king, and they did so. But when the king would not be won nor turned with any supplication, the bishop, together with the archbishop and the clergy, coming with their crosses, took Adam away, claiming him for the church, without making any more answer. They charged, moreover, none to presume to any further lay hands on him, under the censures of the church and excommunication. The king, moved by this boldness and stoutness of the clergy, commanded notwithstanding, to proceed in judgment. A jury of twelve men proceeded upon the inquiry of his cause. Finding and pronouncing the bishop to be guilty, the king immediately caused all his goods and possessions to be confiscated to himself. Moreover, the king had Adam's plate and all his household provisions thrown out of his house into the street; yet he remained still under the protection and defense of the archbishop. This archbishop was Walter Winchelsey. After him succeeded Simon Mepham in the same see of Canterbury, A.D. 1327. (Ex Thorn. Walsingham).

#### **Emperor Louis IV Troubled, and at Last Poisoned by the Pope.**

After the decease of Pope Clement V, the Romish see stood vacant for two years and three months. Pope John XXII, a Cistercian monk, was next elected (1316). He sat in that papacy for eighteen years. He was stout and inflexible — given so much to heaping up riches, that he proclaimed them heretics, who taught that Christ and his apostles had no possessions of their own in this world. At this time lived emperor Louis IV of Bavaria (r. 1328-1347), a worthy man; who had no less contention with this pope, and others who followed him, than did Frederick, who was mentioned before in the time of King Henry III. This contention continued for twenty-four years. The cause and first origin of this tragic conflict rose upon the constitution of Clement V, predecessor to this pope. He ordained that the emperors might be called *kings of the Romans*, but they might not enjoy the title or right of the empire to be called *emperors*, without their confirmation by the pope. Therefore, because this emperor used the imperial dignity in Italy, before he was authorized by the pope, the pope excommunicated the emperor. Notwithstanding that the emperor several times proffered himself to make treaty of peace and concord, yet the pope would not bend. The writings of both parties are still extant, in which the bishop of Rome makes his boast, that he had full power to create and depose kings and emperors at his pleasure.

In the same time were several learned men who, seeing the matter, greatly condemned the bishops of Rome's doings. Among them was William Ockham, whose treatises were afterwards condemned by the pope, for writing against the temporal jurisdiction of their see. Another was named Marsilius, who wrote the book entitled 'Defensor Pacis' (Defender of Peace) which was given into the hands of the emperor. In it, the controversy of the pope's unlawful jurisdiction in temporal affairs is largely disputed, and the usurped authority of that see is set forth to the utmost. It is found in some writers, that a great cause of this variance was that one of the emperor's secretaries in some of his letters, unknown to the emperor, had likened the papal see to the beast rising out of the sea in the Apocalypse. At length, after much suit was made to the pope at Avignon, the emperor could not obtain his coronation. Coming to Rome, he was received with great honor, where he and his wife were

both crowned by the full consent of all the lords and cardinals there. Not long after this, the pope died at Avignon in France. After John XXII succeeded Benedict XII, who reigned for seven years. He confirmed and prosecuted the censures and cursings that his predecessor had published against Emperor Louis IV. Moreover, he deprived him of his imperial crown, and also of his dukedom of Bavaria.

After him followed Pope Clement VI (r. 1342-1352), a man of the most furious and cruel disposition. Renewing the former excommunications made by his predecessors, he had his letters posted on church doors, in which he threatened and denounced most terrible thunderbolts against the Emperor Louis, unless within three days he would satisfy God and the church, and renounce the imperial possession of the crown. Upon this, the emperor came to Frankfort, and there he was ready to stand in all things to the ordinance of the pope. He sent his orators to the court of Rome, to entreat the pope's favor and good will towards him. The pope answered these messengers, that he would never pardon the emperor before he gave up and confessed his errors and heresies, and resigned his empire into the hands of the pope. He must submit himself, his children, and all his goods to the will and pleasure of the bishop, declaring that he would not receive back any part of these, except upon the pope's good grace, as his will should be to restore them.

The pope also sent to the emperor certain written conditions for him to sign. The princes and electors, seeing the conditions — some of which spoke to the malicious defacing and destruction of the empire, abhorring its wickedness — desired the emperor to stand to the defense of the imperial dominion, as he had begun, promising that their assistance and aid to the utmost would not be wanting. Upon that, other orators were sent to Pope Clement from the princes, desiring him to abstain from such articles conceived against the state and majesty of the empire. The pope surmised that all this sprung from the Emperor Louis, to the utter subversion of him and all his posterity. On Maundy Thursday the pope issued the blackest curses against the emperor, renewing all the former processes of his predecessor against him, as being both a heretic and a schismatic. He commanded, moreover, the princes electors to proceed in choosing a *new* emperor. Upon which, the archbishop of Cologne, the duke of Saxony, and some other electors, being bribed by John king of Bohemia, elected his son Charles emperor (1347). In the meantime, whatever sorrow there was among the princes and citizens of Germany, and whatever complaints were made against Pope Clement and those electors, cannot be expressed. For as they were all together at Spire in a general assembly, so there was none among them who allowed the election of Charles, or who cared for the pope's process, promising all to adhere and continue faithful subjects to Louis IV, their lawful emperor. But Louis, remembering his oath made before to the pope, voluntarily and willingly gave up his imperial dignity, and went to Burgravia, where shortly after, through the procurement of Pope Clement, poison was given him to drink. And there the good and gentle emperor, wickedly persecuted and murdered by the pope, fell down dead. I may well count him among the innocent and blessed martyrs of Christ. For if the cause being righteous makes a martyr, what papist can justly disprove his cause or faith? If persecution joined to it causes martyrdom, what martyr could be more persecuted than the one who, having three popes like three bull dogs upon him, at length was devoured by them.

Pope Clement VI first reduced the year of jubilee to every fiftieth year, which before was kept only on the hundredth year. And so, being absent to Avignon (which he then purchased with his money to the See of Rome) he had it celebrated at Rome (A.D. 1350). In this year the number of pilgrims going in and coming out every day at Rome, was estimated at 5000. The bull of Pope Clement, given out in that year of jubilee, proceeded in these words:

“Whatever person or persons, for devotion’s sake, will take their pilgrimage to the holy city, the same day when he sets forth out of his house, he may choose for himself whatever confessor or confessors, either on the way, or wherever else he chooses. To these confessors we grant, by our authority, the plenary power to absolve all papal cases, as fully as if we were present there in our proper person. Also, we grant that whoever being truly confessed, chances to die on the way, shall be quit and absolved of all his sins. Moreover, we command the angels of Paradise to take his soul out of his body, being absolved, and to carry it into the glory of Paradise, etc.”

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And in another bull, he says,

“We will that no pain of hell shall touch him; granting, moreover to all persons, signed with the holy cross, power, and authority to deliver and release three or four souls, whom they themselves please, out of the pains of purgatory,” etc.

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***King Edward III – 1327.***

After the imprisonment of King Edward II, as expressed above, his son Edward was crowned king of England, being about fifteen years of age. He reigned for fifty years. He was a prince of great temperance, very expert in feats of arms, and no less fortunate in all his wars than his father was unfortunate before him. He was worthily commended for his liberality and clemency, and briefly, he was famous and excellent in all princely virtues. Concerning the memorable acts of this prince, both in war and in peace, such as, how he subdued the Scots, had great victories by the sea, how he conquered France (A.D. 1332), won Calais (A.D. 1348), and took the French king prisoner. How the French arms were first brought in by him, and joined with the English arms; also how the Order of the Garter was first invented and ordained by him (A.D. 1356). How in his parliament at Nottingham, he decreed that all those in Flanders or elsewhere, who had skill in making cloth, might peaceably inhabit the land, and be welcome. (For three years before it was enacted, no wool was to be transported over the sea, which was to bridle the pride of the Flemings, who then loved the sacks of wool better than the nation of Englishmen.) All these, with other noble acts of this worthy prince, although they are fully treated of in other chronicles; yet according to the order I have begun (saying something about each king’s reign, even if not pertinent to our ecclesiastical history), I have mentioned them here, making haste to other matters, shortly and compendiously abridging them out of many and various authors.

The coronation of King Edward III and all the pomp of it had no sooner ended, than Robert Bruce king of Scotland thought this was a fit time for his purpose, to invade England. He understood the state and government of the realm to be (as it was indeed) in the queen, the young king, the earl of Kent, and sir Roger Mortimer; and that the lords and barons, as he was informed, scarcely well agreed among themselves. So about the feast of Easter, he sent his ambassadors with heralds and letters of defiance to young King Edward III, and to the queen and the council, declaring that his purpose was to enter and invade the realm of England with fire and sword, etc.

The king and queen made speedy preparation for this expedition. The noblemen provided themselves with all necessary things; the English captains and soldiers (their bands thoroughly furnished) were ready at their appointed time and place. After this, the king set forward his army towards Durham, and encamped himself nearby. He also sent the lord Vifford and the lord Mounbrey to Carlisle with a sufficient company to keep that entrance.

He also sent the lord marshal of England to keep the town of Newcastle with a sufficient company to defend it and the adjoining country.

But the Scots secretly passed the river between the two towns into England, few being aware of it till the great fires which the Scots had kindled and made in England, betrayed those who came burning and destroying the country all about as far as Stanhope-park. This being declared to the king, he commanded his army to march towards them with all speed. But the Scots, understanding the superior force of the king, always kept the advantage of the hills. They retired in the night from one to another, so that without great advantage on the one side, and hazard on the other, the king could not set upon them.

Thus the Scots kept the advantage of the hills in the day time, and retiring in the night time till they came to another hill, they came near the bank of that river where they first passed over. There they made a show to offer battle to the king on the morrow. Whereupon the king was busied putting his men and divisions in readiness to fight the next morning, but they were wearied in pursuing the Scots from place to place. The Scots in the meantime crossed over the river, and excited the danger of the king. It would have availed the king very little to pursue them, as the wily Scots knew full well. For the joy of it, Lord William Douglas, one of the Scot's generals, with two hundred horses, gave alarm in the king's camp. They came so near that he cut certain of the lines of the king's tent with his sword, and retired to his company without great loss of any of his men. A truce of four years was soon after concluded between them.

After the truce of four years, the king prepared another army against Scotland, and wasted the land, burnt, destroyed, and took towns and castles with small resistance or none. And during the next six months, he did what he pleased in that land, without any battle offered to him. For the king of Scots was but a child, not above fifteen years of age, and lacked good captains to defend the realm. <sup>227</sup>

### **Origin of the Hundred Years War.** <sup>228</sup>

Then Sir Robert de Artois, a nobleman of France, descended of the royal blood, being in England with the king, often put him in mind of his good and rightful title to the crown of France. King Edward was not unwilling to hear of this, but often took delight in reasoning and debating the matter with him. Yet he thought it not good to make any attempt without advised and cautious counsel. Therefore, calling together certain of his council, he sought their deliberate advice touching the matter. In brief, it was thought good by them, that the king should send certain ambassadors over to the earl of Heinnault, whose daughter he had married, to hear as well his advice and counsel in this; and also to learn what friends and aid might be procured by him and his means. The king appointed for this ambassage the bishop of Lincoln with two baronets, and two doctors. In a short space of time they returned to the king with this answer: that not only the earl's counsel and advice should be at the service of the king of England, but also the whole country of Heinnault. And further, that he would procure for the king greater aid, as the duke of Brabant, his cousin-germain,<sup>229</sup> and a powerful prince, the duke of Guerles, the archbishop of Cologne, the marquess of Juliers, etc., who were all good men of war, and able to gather ten thousand fighting men. This

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<sup>227</sup> Robert the Bruce died in 1329. His son then became king David II, at age five. But the kingdom was left in the hands of Robert's most trusted lieutenant, Moray, until his son reached adulthood.

<sup>228</sup> The Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) was an intermittent conflict between England and France, triggered by Edward III's claim to the French throne through his mother, Isabella, sister of Charles IV and daughter of Philip IV.

<sup>229</sup> *Cousin-germain*: a son or daughter of one's uncle or aunt.

answer well pleased the king, and made him very joyous. But this counsel of the king, secret though it was, came to the French king's ears. Whereupon he stayed the voyage of the cross which he then had in hand, sending out countermands to stay it, till he knew further the purpose of the king of England.

The king hereupon took shipping, and when he had consulted with all the lords of the empire in this matter, and understood their fidelity, he repaired to the emperor, at whose hands he was well entertained and honorably received. King Philip hearing this, prepared his army, and rigged his navy, that as soon as the king entered the dominion of France, they might also enter into England, requiring like for like.

### **War Between Edward and the French King – 1332.**

The king of England after the feast of St. John Baptist, according to his purpose, prepared all things for such an expedition, conducting his army and gathering a greater force in the empire, as was promised, using the *emperor's* authority in this as his lieutenant general, although altogether at the charge of the king of England. The French king, as soon as King Edward had landed his army at Machelen in Flanders, sent certain ships to the coast of England. They had been lying ready and waiting for such opportunity. On a Sunday, while the townsmen were at church, little looking for any such matter, these ships entered the haven of Southampton, took the town and despoiled it. They shamefully ill-treated the women, burnt, killed, took captives, and carried away rich spoils to their ships, and then departed into France. Further, as the king of England had allied himself with the noblemen of the empire, and had the friendly favor of the emperor, so the French king had made league and alliance with David II, the king of Scots, and immediately sent garrisons and bands into Scotland to keep the Englishmen engaged. King Edward, departing from Machelen (Belgium), moved his host toward Heinault till they came to Cambray, and besieged it with 40,000 men, while another company went to St. Quintin.

[205] A.D. 1327-1340.

But neither there, nor at Cambray, nor elsewhere, was anything remarkable achieved. But the summer being well spent, and the king of England prevailing little in the siege of Cambray – being strong in situation, and well defended with men and ammunition – he broke up the siege, and marched further into the heart of France. Afterwards (without any battle either given or taken) he returned with his army to Gaunt.

The winter then drew on, and the king thought it best for a season to return to England with his army, giving up the wars till the next spring. When he came to London, he was told of the great spoil the Frenchmen had made at Southampton. He answered that within one year, he had no doubt, they would be well paid and recompensed. In the spring, the king again prepared his army, and rigged his navy, purposing to land in Flanders. But the archbishop of Canterbury (then lord chancellor) having understood that the French forces were on the sea, and watching for the king, told him of it; he desired him to go more strongly or else not to venture. But the king not crediting the archbishop, and being angry with him, said that he would go forward. Whereupon the bishop resigned the chancellorship and removed himself from the king's council. Then the king consulted further with Lord Morley his admiral, and others. He furnished himself with a greater force, and embarked. So that a few days before midsummer, he was upon the sea with a great fleet. The French king, to stop his passage, had a great navy ready, well near 400 sail ships, before the town of Sluse. And he had made the Christopher of England (which the Frenchmen had captured at Southampton) their admiral's ship. Between these two navies there was a long and terrible

fight. But in the end the victory, by God's grace, fell to the king of England (a fight in which he himself was personally engaged). So that of 30,000 Frenchmen, few or none escaped alive, and 200 sail ships were taken, in one of which were found 400 dead bodies.

This victory being achieved, and its fame spreading abroad in England, it was not believed, till letters came from the king to Prince Edward his son, then at Waltham, written in 1340 and directed to the bishops and prelates of the realm. The effect of them follows here:

“We thought it good to intimate to you, the bountiful benignity of God's great clemency poured upon us of late, for your true certainty and rejoicing. It is not unknown (we suppose) to you, and to our other faithful subjects, who also have been partakers with us of this, with what storms of boisterous wars of late we have been tossed and shaken, as in the great ocean. But although the rising surges of the sea are marvellous, yet more marvellous is the Lord above, who turning the tempest into a calm in such great dangers, has so mercifully regarded us. For whereas we recently ordained our passage upon urgent causes into Flanders, the Lord Philip de Valois, our bitter enemy, learning of it, laid against us a mighty navy of ships, intending thereby either to take us, or at least to stop our voyage. If this voyage had been staid, it would have been the cutting off of all the great enterprises intended by us and taken in hand. And moreover, we ourselves would have been brought into great confusion. But the God of mercies, seeing us so distressed in such perils and dangers, has graciously, and beyond man's expectation, sent to us great succor, the strength of fighting soldiers, and a prosperous wind after our own desires. By the means and help of these, we set out of the haven into the seas, where we soon perceived our enemies well appointed and prepared with a main multitude to set upon us, on midsummer-day last past. Against them, notwithstanding, Christ our Lord and Savior has rendered to us the victory, through a strong and vehement conflict.

“In this conflict, a mighty number of our enemies were destroyed, and well near their whole navy was taken — with some loss also on our part, but nothing in comparison to theirs. By reason of this, we do not doubt that our passage by the seas hereafter will be quieter and safer for our subjects, and also many other advantages will ensue, as we have good cause to hope well of them. For this cause, devoutly considering the heavenly grace so mercifully wrought upon us, we render most humble thanks and praise to Christ our Lord and Savior, beseeching him, that as he has been and always is, ready to anticipate our necessities in time of opportunity, so he will ever continue his helping hand towards us, and so direct us here temporally, that we may reign and joy with him in heaven eternally. And in like sort we require your charity, that you also rising up with us to the praise of God alone, who has begun so favorably to work with us to our goodness, in your prayers and divine service, instantly recommend us to the Lord, while we are travelling here in these foreign countries, studying not only to recover our right here in France, but also to advance the whole catholic church of Christ, and to rule our people in justice. And also that you call upon the clergy and people, every one through his diocese, to do the same, invoking the name of our Savior, that of his mercy he will give to us his humble servant a docible (teachable) heart, so to judge and rule rightly upon this, doing that which he has commanded, that at length we may attain to that which he has promised, etc.”

After this victory the king passed into Flanders, and came to Gaunt in Brabant, where he had left the queen. She joyfully received him, having delivered her fourth son a little before. His name was John, commonly called John of Gaunt, who was earl of Richmond and duke of Lancaster. At Villenorth the king assembled his council, at which the noblemen of Flanders, Brabant, and Heinault, joining together in most firm league, the one to help and defend the other, with the king of England, against the French king. They purposed and determined to march from there toward Tournay to besiege it. The French king, understanding their counsel, fortified and supplied it before their arrival. Furthermore to

stop King Edward, he sent a great army with King David of Scotland, to invade England, thereby causing the king to remove his siege sooner.

This David (with the aid of the Scots and Frenchmen) so far succeeded, that they recovered almost all of Scotland. Then they invaded England, and came with their army, wasting and burning the country before them. They came as far as Durham, and then returned back into Scotland, where they recovered all their holds again, saving the town of Berwick. Edinburgh they took by a stratagem or subtle device practiced by Lord William Douglas and others. Apparelling themselves in poor men's habits, as suppliers of corn, provender, and other things, demanded of the porter early in the morning whether they had need of them. Not mistrusting them, the porter opened the outward gate, where they were to wait till the captain arose. Perceiving the porter had the keys to the inward gate, they threw down their sacks in the outer gate so that it might not be shut again, slew the porter, and took from him the keys to the town. Then they blew their horns as a warning to their bands, who laid not far off. Coming quickly, and finding the gates already opened, they entered suddenly, and killed as many as resisted them, and so they obtained the city of Edinburgh.

At the same time, the French king gathered together an army, purposing to raise the siege of Tournay. Among others, he sent for the king of Scots, who came to him with a great force, besides other noblemen of France. So that the French king had a great army, and thought himself able enough to raise the siege. But for all this, he dared not yet approach the king of England so near as to engage him in battle, but kept himself aloof with his army, in a sure place for his better defense. The king of England wasted, burnt, spoiled, and destroyed the countryside for twenty miles around Tournay, took many strongholds and towns, slew over 300 men of arms, and killed 14 noblemen — including the Lord of Duskune, of Maurisleou, of Rely, of Chastillion, of Melly, of Fenis, of Hamelar, Mountfaucon, and other barons.

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He also slew over 130 knights, all men of great possessions and prowess, and took 300 other small cities and towns. Yet for all this, the French king dared neither rescue his towns nor relieve his own men. But of his great army he lost (which is to be marvelled at, being in the midst of his own country) by famine and other inconveniencies, and for lack of water, more than 20,000 men, without fighting any battles.

### **Truce Between the Kings of England and France.**

Whereupon at the entreaty of Philip, by his ambassadors to the king and by the mediation of the Lady Jane, a one-year truce was concluded. Lady Jane was sister to king Philip, and mother to the earl of Heinault; king Edward had married Lady Jane's daughter.

As soon as this truce was finished. King Edward broke up his camp, removed his siege from Tournay, and came again to Gaunt. From there (very early in the morning) he with a small company took shipping, and came by sea to the tower of London; very few or none were aware of it. He was greatly displeased with some of his council and high officers (through their fault he was constrained, against his will, to condescend to the truce, not having money to maintain his wars). He commanded the Lord John Stonehore, chief justice of England, and Sir John Poultney, with various others, to be apprehended and brought to him to the Tower. The next morning he sent for the bishop of Chichester, Lord Wake (the treasurer), and others who were in authority and office, and commanded them all to be kept as prisoners in the Tower, only the bishop being excepted.



The history regarding this matter, reports that at this time the king had evil substitutes and covetous officers under him. They attended more to their own gain than to the public honor and commodity of the realm, and left the king destitute and naked of money. John Stratford, then archbishop of Canterbury, was also suspected of this crime.

About the year A.D. 1341, two cardinals were sent from the pope to seek three additional years of truce with King Edward, to be concluded with the French king. This was all by the pope's means. Here it is to be understood that it was not to the pope's purpose to allow the king of England to reign over so many countries.

The next year, which was A.D. 1342, the emperor, who before had shown great courtesy to King Edward in his first voyage — insofar that he made him his vicar or vicegerent-general, and also offered Edward aid against the French king — now (either turned by inconstancy, or seduced by the pope) writes contrary letters to Edward, revoking the vicegerentship that was granted to Edward, and befriending the French king.

In the meantime, Pope Benedict XII died. After him succeeded Pope Clement VI. It is reported of him, that he was very liberal and bountiful to his cardinals, enriching them with goods and possessions — not of his own however, but with the ecclesiastical dignities and preferments of the church of England. King Edward being offended by this, voided and frustrated all those provisions of the pope. He charged and commanded that no person whatever should busy himself with any such provisions, under pain of imprisonment and losing his life (A.D. 1344).

#### **Letter of the King and Nobles of England to the Pope.**

Pope Clement began to make new provisions for two of his cardinals, of the benefices and churches that would next be vacant, besides bishoprics and abbotships, worth 2000 marks. The proctors of the cardinals were sent down to collect them. But the king and nobility of the realm not suffering such proceedings under pain of imprisonment, caused the proctors to immediately leave the realm. The nobles and commoners shortly after wrote a fruitful epistle to the pope, for the liberties and maintenance of the English church, which the pope and the cardinals were not able to answer. The argument of this letter is as follows:

*The letter of the king of England, and the nobles of the same,  
to the pope, against the reservations and provisions which he had in England.*

“To the most holy father in God, Lord Clement, by the grace of God, of the holy church of Rome, and of the universal church, chief and high bishop; his humble and devout children, the princes, dukes, earls, barons, knights, citizens, burgesses, and all the commonalty of the realm of England, assembled at the parliament held at Westminster the fifteenth day of May 1543; send devout kissings of his holy feet, with all humble reverence and humility. Most holy father, the holy discretion, government, and equity, which appears to be in you, and should be so of duty (being so high and holy a prelate, and head of the holy church), by whom the holy universal church and people of God ought to be enlightened, as by the sun-beams, gives us good hope and likelihood that the just petitions (to the honor of Jesus Christ and holy church, and your holiness also) declared by us, shall be graciously heard and considered by you; and that all errors and other iniquities should be quite taken away and removed. In their place, may fruitful exploits and necessary remedies (by the grace of the Holy Spirit which you in so high an estate have received) likewise be graciously ordained and disposed by you. Wherefore most holy father we all (upon great deliberation and common assent) come to your holiness, showing and declaring that the noble kings of England, our progenitors, our ancestors, and we — according to the grace of the Holy Spirit given to them and to us, every one according to his devotion — have established, founded, and endowed within the realm of England, churches,

cathedrals, colleges, abbeys, priories, and other houses of religion. And to the prelates and governors of the same places we have given lands, possessions, patrimonies, franchises, advowsons,<sup>230</sup> and patronages of dignities, revenues, offices, churches, with many other benefices. Whereby the service of God and the faith of Christ might have been honored and had in reverence, that the hospitals and alms-houses that are made, with all the churches and edifices, might be honestly kept and maintained, and that devout prayers might be made in those places for the founders, and the poor parishioners be aided and comforted. And such only ought to have the cure of it,<sup>231</sup> who are able to hear confessions; and in their own natural tongue are otherwise fit to inform and teach their parishioners.

“And because (most holy father) you cannot well come to the notice of such diverse errors and faults, nor yet understand the conditions of these places, being so far off, unless your holiness is informed and notified — we having the perfect intelligence and understanding of the said errors and defaults of these places within the realm, have thought it fit to signify the same to your holiness: that diverse reservations, provisions, and collations by your predecessors apostolic of Rome, and by you, most holy father, in your time, have been granted — and that more largely than they have been accustomed to be — to diverse persons as well as strangers, from many nations, some of whom are our enemies, having no understanding at all of the language and condition of those over whom they have the government and cure. Whereby,

- a great number of souls are in peril,
- a great many of their parishioners are in danger,
- the service of God is destroyed,
- the alms and devotion of all men are diminished,
- the hospitals are perished,
- the churches with their appurtenances are decayed,
- charity is withdrawn,
- the good and honest persons of our realm are unadvanced,
- the charge and government of souls is not regarded,
- the devotion of the people is restrained,
- many poor scholars are unpreferred,
- and the treasure of the realm is carried out against the minds and intents of the founders.

“All these errors, defaults and slanders, most holy father, we neither can nor ought to permit or endure. We therefore most humbly request of your holiness, that the slanders, errors and defaults which we have declared to you, may be considered through your great discretion; and that it may please you that such reservations, provisions, and collations may be utterly annulled, so that from now on the same are no longer used among us.

[207] A.D. 1340-1346.

“And to take such order and remedy in this, so that the benefices, edifices, rights, with their appurtenances, may to the honor of God, be occupied, defended, and governed by our own countrymen. And that it may further please your holiness, that by your letters you signify to us, without delay, what your pleasure is regarding this our lawful request; so that we may do our endeavor with diligence in this for the remedy, correction, and amendment of those enormities specified above. In witness of this, we have set our seals to these letters patent. Given in the full parliament at Westminster, the eighteenth day of May, A.D. 1343.”

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<sup>230</sup> *Advowson*: the right in English law of presenting a nominee to a vacant ecclesiastical benefice.

<sup>231</sup> *Cure*: having spiritual charge over someone; the care of their soul; or the office of a parish priest or of a curate.

The king shortly after sent over his proctors, the Earl of Lancaster and Derby, Hugh Spenser,<sup>232</sup> Lord Ralph Stafford, with the bishop of Exeter and others, to the pope's court, to discuss and plead about the right of his title before the pope. To whom Pope Clement VI, not long after, sent down this message: how Louis, Duke of Bavaria the emperor, whom the pope had deposed before, had submitted himself to him in all things; and therefore deserved at his hands the benefit of absolution; and how the pope had conferred and restored the empire to him justly and graciously, which before he held unjustly, etc. When the king heard this message, being moved to anger, he replied, saying that if the pope also agreed and compounded with the French king, then he was ready to fight with them both."

During this year (1343), pence, half-pence, and farthings, began to be coined in the Tower. And the next year (1344), the castle of Windsor (where the king was born) began to be repaired. In this house, what was called the round table was situated, the diameter of which, from the one side to the other, was 200 feet. For the expenses of this house, there was allowed one hundred pounds weekly for maintaining the king's chivalry, till at length (because of the French wars) it came down to nine pounds a week.

During the same year, the clergy of England granted to the king tenths (tithes) for three years. In recompence for these, the king granted to them his charter, containing these privileges: that no archbishop or bishop should be arraigned before his justices, if the said clergyman submits and claims his right as a clergyman, professing himself to be a member of holy church; doing so, he shall not be bound to come before the justices. And if it is laid to their charge that they have married two wives, or married a widow, the justices shall have no power to proceed against them. But the cause shall be reserved to the spiritual court, etc.

About this present time at the setting up of the round table, the king made Prince Edward, his eldest son, the first Prince of Wales. All this while the truce continued between the two kings, although it is thought that the French king made many attempts to infringe it. Whereupon Henry Earl of Lancaster, with 600 men at arms, and as many archers, was sent over to Gascony the year after (A.D. 1345). There he so valiantly behaved himself that he subdued 55 townships to the king, and took 23 noblemen prisoners encountering with the French at Allebroke. He dealt with the soldiers so courteously and liberally that it was a joy to them, and a preferment to fight under him. His manner in winning any town, was to reserve little or nothing for himself, but to divide the whole spoil to his soldiers. One example is mentioned in the author (whom I cite): how the earl in winning the town of Briers, had granted to every soldier for his booty, the house with all its contents which he might obtain by victory. Among his other soldiers was one who took a certain house which contained the mint and coined money for that country. When the soldier had found it, in breaking up a house where the gross metal was not yet perfectly worked, he came to the earl, declaring to him the treasure, to know what was his pleasure with it. The earl answered that the house was his, and whatever he found in it. Afterward the soldier, finding a whole mint of pure silver ready coined, again informed the earl, as he thought such treasure too great for his portion. The earl again declared that he had given him the whole house once, and what he had once given, he would not take it back again, as children usually play. And therefore he bid him to enjoy what was granted to him; even if the money were thrice as much, it would be his own. This story, whether it was true or otherwise in those days, I have not affirmed. But if in these covetous, wretched days of ours now present, any author were to report a similar act was practiced, I would hardly believe it to be true.

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<sup>232</sup> Obviously not one of the two Spensers (or Despensers), who had been executed in 1326.

As the Earl of Lancaster was thus occupied in Gascony, the Scots were just as busy in England, wasting and despoiling without mercy. They were thought to be backed by the French king. And therefore he was judged, both by that and other ways, to have broken the covenants of truce between him and the king of England.

It further appears that the French king (contrary to the form of truce taken at Vanes) had seized some of the nobles of England, and brought them to Paris to be imprisoned and put to death — besides other slaughters and despoilings made in Brittany, Gascony, and other places. King Edward therefore, seeing the truce was broken on the French king's part, published and sent abroad his letters of defiance, 14 June 1345.

Therefore, the following year (A.D. 1346) King Edward first sent his letters to the court of Rome, complaining to the pope about king Philip, how he transgressed and broke the truce between them. About July Edward voyaged into Normandy in such a secret way, that no man well knew where he designed to go. First he entered the town of Hogs, and from there he proceeded to Cardoyne. There, about July 27th, by the river of Cardoyne, he fought a great battle with the Normans and other Frenchmen, who defended the bridge to stop his passage. At the battle, of the lords of France, the Earl of Ewe and the Earl of Tankerville were taken; also 100 of their knights with other men of arms, and 600 footmen. The town and suburbs were beaten down to the hard walls. All that could be borne away, was transported to the ships.

#### **Edward's Confessor Describes the King's Progress in France.**

Now concerning the campaign of the king, with his achievements from the winning of Codane or Cardoyne, to the town of Poissy, all is sufficiently described by one of the king's chaplains and his confessor. Being a Dominican Friar, and accompanying the king through his entire journey, he writes as follows:

“We have great cause to praise and laud the God of Heaven, and to confess his holy name, who has wrought mercy to us. For after the conflict at Codane, in which many were slain, and the city taken and sacked even to the bare walls, the city of Baia immediately yielded, fearing lest their counsels had been betrayed. After this, the lord our king directed his progress toward Rouen. And while at the town of Lexon, certain cardinals came to him, greatly exhorting him to peace. The cardinals being courteously entertained by the king from reverence to the pope's see, they were answered that the king being desirous of peace, had tried by all reasonable ways and means how to maintain it; and therefore he had offered conditions of peace to no small prejudice of his own cause. And he is yet ready to admit any reasonable offer of peace. With this answer, the cardinals went to the French king, to persuade him in like manner. They returned to King Edward, offering him in the French king's name, the dukedom of Aquitaine, besides the hope of obtaining more, if a treaty of peace might be obtained. But because that did not content the king, and as the cardinals did not find the French king so tractable and desirous of peace as they looked for, they returned, leaving the matter as they found it. So the king hastening forward, subdued the country and the great towns, without any resistance of the inhabitants, who all fled and ran away. Such fear of God struck them, that it seemed as if they had lost their hearts.

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“As the king had gotten many towns and villages, so he also subdued many strong castles, and with little difficulty. His enemy was at the same time at Rouen, and had reared a great army. Yet he ever kept on the other side of the river Seine, breaking down all the bridges so that we could not come over to him. The country round about was despoiled, sacked, and consumed with fire for a circuit of twenty miles. Yet the French king, being scarcely one mile from us,

either would not, or else dared not (when he might easily have passed over the river) make any defense of his country and people. And so our king journeyed forward. He came to Pusiake or Poissy, where the French king had also broken down the bridge, and kept on the other side of the river.”

After coming to Poissy, this chaplain and confessor to the king, named Michael Northburgh, describes the king’s progress, and the acts of the English from the town of Poissy, to his coming to Calais as follows:

*A Letter of William Northburgh, the King’s Confessor,  
describing the King’s Progress into France.*

“Salutations premised, we give you to understand that our sovereign lord the king came to the town of Poissy, the day before the assumption of our lady, where a bridge over the Seine was broken down by the enemy. But the king waited there till the bridge was made again. And while the bridge was being repaired, a great number of men-at-arms, and other soldiers came to hinder the works. But the earl of Northampton issued out against them and slew more than 1,000; the rest fled away, thanks be to God. At another time our men passed through the water, although with much difficulty, and slew a great number of the common soldiers about the city of Paris and adjoining country. So that our people now made other good bridges, God be thanked, without any great loss or damage to us. On the morrow after the assumption of our lady, the king passed over the river Seine and marched toward Poissy, a town of great defense and strongly secured, with a very strong castle within it. When our vanguard had passed the town, our rear-guard gave an assault and captured it. More than three hundred men-at-arms of our enemies were slain.

“The next day, the Earl of Suffolk and Sir Hugh Spenser marched forth upon the commons of the country, assembled and well armed, and discomfited them. They slew more than 200, and took 600 gentlemen prisoners, beside others. After that, the king marched toward Grand Villers. While he was encamped there, the vanguard was spotted by the men-of-arms of the king of Bohemia; whereupon our men issued out in great haste, and joined battle with them, but were forced to retire. But thanks be to God, the earl of Northampton issued out, and rescued the horsemen with other soldiers; so that few or none of them were either taken or slain (except Thomas Talbot). He chased the enemy within two leagues of Amiens. We took eight of them, and slew twelve of their best men-at-arms. The rest were well horsed, and reached the town of Amiens. After this, the king of England marched toward Pountife on Bartholomew’s day, and came to the River Somme where the French king had laid 500 men-at-arms, and 3,000 footmen, purposing to stop our passage. But thanks be to God, the king of England and his host entered the water of Somme without the loss of any of our men. After that, he encountered with the enemy, and slew more than 2,000 of them; the rest fled to Abbeville. In this chase, many knights, squires, and men-at-arms were taken.

“The same day, Sir Hugh Spenser took the town of Croylay where he and his soldiers slew 400 men-at-arms, and kept the town, where they found a great store of victuals. The same night the king of England encamped in the forest of Cressy on the same water, for the French king’s host came along on the other side of the town near to our passage; and so they marched toward Abbeville. On the following Friday, the king was still encamped in the forest. Our scouts spotted the French king marching toward us in four great divisions. Then having the information of our enemies, a little before evening we drew to the plain field, and set our forces in array. Immediately the fight began. It was sore, cruel, and long, for our enemies behaved themselves right nobly. But thanks be given to God, the victory fell on our side, and our adversary was discomfited with all his host, and put to flight. Slain there were the king of

Bk. IV. Wm. the Conqueror to Wycliffe (1066-1364)

Bohemia, the duke of Lorrain, the earl of Dabeson, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Blois, the earl of Arcot with his two sons, the earl of Damerler, the earl of Navers and his brother, the lord of Tronard, the archbishop of Meymes, the archbishop of Saundes, the high prior of France, the earl of Savoy, the lord of Morles, the lord de Guis, seignior de St. Novant, seignior de Rosinburgh, with six earls of Germany, and other earls, barons, knights and squires whose names are unknown. Philip (the French king), with another marquess, who was called Lord Elector among the Romans, escaped from the battle. The number of the men-at-arms found dead in the field, besides common soldiers and footmen, was 1,542.

All that night the king of England with his host, remained armed in the field where the battle was fought. On the morrow, before the sun rose, another great army marched toward us, mighty and strong. But the earl of Northampton, and the earl of Norfolk issued out against them in three divisions. After a long and terrible fight, they discomfited them by God's great help and grace (for otherwise it could never have been). They took a great number of knights and squires, and slew over 2000, pursuing them three leagues from the place where the battle was fought. The same night, the king encamped again in the forest of Cressy, and on the morrow marched toward Boulogne. Along the way he took the town of Staples; and from there he marched toward Calais, which he intends to besiege. And therefore our sovereign lord the king commands you to send to the siege, convenient supplies of victuals. For after our departing from Chaam, we have travelled through the country with great peril and danger of our people; yet we always had plenty of victuals, thanks be to God. But now as the case stands, we need your help to be refreshed with victuals. Thus fare you well. Written at the siege before the town of Calais the 14th day of September."

After the siege and winning of Poissy, the 3rd of September 1346, the king through the midst of France, directed his course to Calais, and besieged it. He continued this siege from the 3rd of September till the 3rd of August 1347, upon which day it was surrendered and subdued to the crown of England.

After thus winning Calais, King Edward, remaining in the town, was in consultation concerning his proceeding further into France. But by means of the cardinals, a truce for a time was accepted, and instruments were made that certain noblemen for the French king, as well as for the king of England, should come to the pope, there to debate upon the articles. King Edward, for peace' sake, was not much opposed to this (A.D. 1317).

In A.D. 1350, the town of Calais was, by the treason of the keeper of the castle, almost betrayed and won from the Englishmen. And within the same year Philip the French king died. After him, King John his son succeeded to the crown.

About A.D. 1354, concord and agreement began to come well forward, and instruments were drawn up between the two kings. But the matter being brought to Pope Innocent VI, partly by the quarrelling of the Frenchmen, partly by the winking of the pope (who ever held with the French side), the conditions were repealed. They were these: that to the king of England all the dukedom of Aquitaine with other lands there, were to be restored without homage to the French king. And King Edward in return would surrender to the French king, all his right and title which he had in France. Whereupon rose the occasion of great war and tumult which afterward followed between the two realms.

[209] A.D. 1346-1350.

It followed after this (A.D. 1355), that King Edward, hearing of the death of Philip the French king, and that King John his son had granted the dukedom of Aquitaine to Charles his eldest son and dauphin of Vienna, sent over Prince Edward with the earls of Warwick, of Salisbury, of Oxford, and with them a sufficient number of able soldiers into Aquitaine.

Being willingly received by some there, he subdued the rest, partly by force of sword, partly by their submitting themselves to his protection.

Not long after this, in the same year, word was brought to King Edward that John, the French king, was ready to meet him at St. Omers, there to give him battle. So he gathered his forces, and set over to Calais with his two sons, Lionel earl of Wilton, and John of Gaunt earl of Richmond, with Henry duke of Lancaster, etc. When Edward had come to St. Omers, the French king with a mighty army, heard of his coming. But the nearer Edward approached to them, the further back the French retired; wasting and destroying behind them, so that in pursuing them, the English army might find no provisions. King Edward having followed king John for nine or ten days to Hadem (when he could find neither his enemy to fight, nor provisions for his army) returned to Calais. King Edward, seeing the shrinking of his enemy, crossed the seas into England, where he recovered the town of Berwick, which the Scots had gotten before by subtlety.

The same year, when King Edward had recovered Berwick, and subdued Scotland, Prince Edward being in Gascony, made toward the French king. The victorious prince made way with his sword, and after much slaughter of the French, and many prisoners taken, he at length came up to the French king at Poitiers, and with scarcely 2,000 men, overthrew the French with 7,000 men of arms and more. In this conflict, the French king himself, and Philip his son, with Lord James of Bourbon, the archbishop of Senon, eleven earls, and twenty-two lords were taken. Of other warriors and men of arms 2,000. Some affirm that in this conflict were slain 2 dukes, 24 lords and noblemen, 2002 men of arms; and about 8,000 other soldiers. The common report is that more Frenchmen were taken prisoners there, than the whole English army which took them. This noble victory, gotten by the grace of God, excited no little admiration among all men.

It would take too long, and little pertains to the purpose of this history, to comprehend in order all the doings of this king, with the circumstances of his victories, bringing the French king into England, of his abode there, of the ransom levied on him, and of David the Scottish king. Of these two ransoms, the one was rated at 1,000,000 pounds, the other at 100,000 marks, to be paid in ten years.

### **Remonstrances Against the Pope's Usurpation.**

Thus having addressed all martial affairs and warlike exploits in the reign of this king between him and the realms of France and Scotland, we now return to our ecclesiastical matters. It follows to note the troubles and contentions growing between the king and the pope, and other ecclesiastical persons in matters touching the church, taken out of the records in the Tower. In the fourth year of his reign (1331), the king wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury to this effect: that King Edward I his grandfather gave his chaplain the dignity of treasurer of York (the archbishopric of York was then vacant and in the king's hands). The chaplain continued in the quiet possession of this, until the pope displaced him, and promoted a cardinal of Rome to that dignity. The king therefore strictly charged the archbishop of York not to allow any matter to pass, that might be prejudicial to the donation of his grandfather, upon pain of his highness's displeasure.

Similar precepts were also directed to the following bishops: to the bishop of Lincoln, bishop of Worcester, bishop of Sarum, archdeacon of Richmond, archdeacon of Lincoln, the prior of Lewen, the prior of Lenton, to Master Rich of Bentworth, to Master Iherico de Concore, to the pope's nuncio, and to Master Guido of Calma. He wrote letters to the pope consisting of three parts. *First*, declaring and defending his right and title to the donation



and gift of all manner of temporalities, offices, prebends, benefices and dignities ecclesiastical, held by him *in capite*,<sup>233</sup> as in the right of his crown of England. *Secondly*, expostulating with the pope for intruding himself into the ancient right of the crown of England, intermeddling with such collations, contrary to right and reason, and the example of all his predecessors. *Thirdly*, entreating the pope that he would henceforth abstain and desist from molesting the realm with such novelties and strange usurpations. And even more so, because in the parliament recently held at Westminster, it was agreed by the universal assent of all the estates of the realm, that the king should stand to the defense of all such rights and jurisdictions as pertained to his regal dignity and crown in any way.

The tenth year of his reign (1337) he also wrote to the pope to this effect: that whereas the prior and chapter of Norwich nominated a clerk to be bishop of Norwich, and sent him to Rome for his investiture, without the king's knowledge, the pope would therefore withdraw his consent, and not intermeddle in the matter pertaining to the king's peculiar jurisdiction and prerogative.

After this, in the sixteenth year of this king (1343), it happened that the pope sent over legates to hear and determine matters pertaining to the right of patronages of benefices. The king perceived this as tending to no small derogation of his right, and the liberties of his subjects. He wrote to the said legates, admonishing and requiring them not to proceed in this, nor attempt anything unadvisedly, otherwise than might stand with the lawful ordinances and customs of the laws of his realm, and the freedom and liberties of his subjects.

The year following, which was the seventeenth of his reign, he wrote another letter to the pope, against his provisions and reservations of benefices.

The year following, another letter was likewise sent by the king to the pope, on the occasion taken of the church of Norwich, requiring him to cease his reservations and provisions of the bishoprics within the realm, and to leave their elections free to the chapters of those cathedral churches, according to the ancient grants and ordinances of his noble progenitors.

Proceeding now to the nineteenth year of this king's reign (1346), certain legates from Rome came to the king, complaining of certain statutes passed in his parliament, tending to the prejudice of the church of Rome, and the pope's primacy. Namely, that if abbots, priors, or any other ecclesiastical patrons of benefices should not present to the benefices within a certain time, the lapse would come to their ordinary<sup>234</sup> or chapter; or if they did not present, then to the archbishop; if the archbishop likewise failed to present, then the gift would pertain not to the lord pope, but to the king and his heirs. Another complaint was this, that if archbishops were slow in giving such benefices as properly pertained to their own patronage in due time, then the collation<sup>235</sup> of it likewise would pertain to the king and his heirs. Another complaint was, that if the pope were to void any elections in the church of England for any defect found in it, and so had placed some honest and discreet persons in the same, then the king and his heirs were not bound to render the temporalities to the parties placed by the pope's provision. Whereupon, the pope was not a little aggrieved. The king wrote to him, certifying that he was misinformed, denying that there was any such

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<sup>233</sup> *In capite*: a type of land tenure where the land is held directly from the sovereign.

<sup>234</sup> *Ordinary*: a church officer who has power to execute the church's laws. This includes diocesan bishops. They have the authority to make, enforce, and judge laws within their jurisdiction.

<sup>235</sup> *Collation*: The presentation of a clergyman to a benefice by a bishop, who has it in his own gift (paid office).



statute made in that parliament. And further, regarding all other things, he would confer with his prelates and nobles, and would return his answer by the pope's legates.

In the twentieth year of his reign (1347), another letter was written to the pope by the king, the effect of which was this: "That in respect to the great costs he had sustained in his wars, he had by the counsel of his nobles, taken into his own hands the fruits and profits of all his benefices in England."

To proceed to the twenty-sixth year of this king (1353), one Nicholas Heath, cleric, a busy-headed body and troubler of the realm, had procured some bishops and others of the king's council, to be cited up to the court off Rome, there to answer such complaints as he had made against them.

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Whereupon the king commanded that all the ports of the realm, for the restraining of all passengers going out, and for searching and arresting all persons bringing in any bulls or other process from Rome, which tended to the derogation of the dignity of the crown, or the molestation of his subjects.

The same year the king also wrote to the pope's legate resident in England, requiring him to cease from exacting diverse sums of money of the clergy, in the name of "first fruits of benefices."

The thirty-eighth year of his reign (1365), an ordinance was made by the king and his council, and was proclaimed in all port towns within the realm,

"That good and diligent search should be made, that no person whatever coming from the court of Rome, etc., should bring into the realm with him any bull, instrument, letters patent, or other process that may be prejudicial to the king, or any of his subjects; or that any person, passing out of this realm toward the court of Rome, should carry with him any instrument or process that may redound to the prejudice of the king or his subjects; and that all persons passing to the said court of Rome, with the king's special license, notwithstanding, promises and finds surety to the lord chancellor, that they shall not in any way attempt or pursue any matter to the prejudice of the king or his subjects, under pain of being put out of the king's protection, and to forfeit his body, goods, and chattels, according to the statute made in the twenty-seventh year of his reign."

### ***Sundry Eminent Writers Against The Pope.***

And thus much concerning the letters and writings of the king, with such other domestic matters and troubles as passed between him and the pope, taken out of the public records of the realm, by which I thought to give the reader to understand the horrible abuses, the intolerable pride, and the insatiable avarice of that bishop, who was more like a proud Lucifer than a pastor of the church of Christ, in abusing the king, and oppressing his subjects with immeasurable exactions. The pope not only exercised his tyranny in this realm, but also raged against other princes, both far and near, among whom he did not spare even the emperor himself. In the history of the Emperor Louis, whom the pope excommunicated on Maundy Thursday, and the same day placed another emperor in his place, mention was made of certain learned men, who took the emperor's part against the pope. In their number was Marsilius of Padua, William Ockham, John of Ganduno, Leopold, Andrew Landensis, Ulric Hangenor, treasurer of the emperor, Dante, Aligerius, etc.

Of these, Marsilius compiled a worthy work entitled *Defensor Pacis*, written on the emperor's behalf against the pope. In this work (both godly and learnedly disputing against the pope) Marsilius proves that all bishops and priests are equal, and that the pope has no superiority above other bishops, much less above the emperor. That the word of God ought to be the only chief judge in deciding and determining ecclesiastical causes; that not only spiritual persons, but also laymen who are godly and learned, ought to be admitted to general councils; that the clergy and the pope ought to be subject to magistrates; that the church is the university of the faithful, and that the foundation and head of the church is Christ; that He never appointed any vicar or pope over his universal church; that every bishop ought to be chosen by their own church and clergy; that the marriage of priests may lawfully be permitted; that St. Peter was never at Rome; that the clergy and synagogue of the pope is a den of thieves; that the doctrine of the pope is not to be followed, because it leads to destruction; and that the corrupt manners of Christians spring and flow from the wickedness of the spirituality (clergy). Moreover, he argues in another work, free justification by grace, and extenuated merits, saying that they are not efficient causes of our salvation. That this is to say, that works are no cause of our justification, yet our justification does not go without them. For this doctrine, which is most sound and catholic, he was condemned by the pope, A.D. 1324 (by the pope's decree *Extravagant, cop. Licet inter doctrinam*). Concerning this man and his doctrine, I thought it good to commit this much to history, to the intent that men may see that those who charge this doctrine now taught in the church, with novelty or newness, are ignorant of the histories of past times.

In the same number and catalogue comes William Ockham, (A.D. 1326), who likewise wrote in defense of the emperor against the pope; and also in defense of Michael, general of the Greyfriars, whom the pope had excommunicated and cursed as a heretic. Several treatises were published by Ockham, of which some are extant and in print, and some are extinct and suppressed. Some again are not published under the name of that author, but as a dialogue between the soldier and the cleric, in which it is to be conjectured what books and works this Ockham had collected against the pope. John Sleidan in his history mentions Ockham to his great commendation. His words are these:

“William Ockham, in the time of the Emperor Louis IV, flourished about A.D. 1326. Among other things, he wrote of the authority of the bishop of Rome. In this book he handles these eight questions very copiously:

*First*, whether the administration of both the bishop's office and of the emperor's, may be in one man?

*Secondly*, whether the emperor takes his power and authority only from God, or else from the pope?

*Thirdly*, whether the pope and church of Rome have power by Christ to set and place kings and emperors, and commit their jurisdiction to them?

*Fourthly*, whether the emperor being elected, has full authority upon his election, to administer his empire?

*Fifthly*, whether other kings besides the emperor and the king of the Romans, in that they are consecrated by priests, receive from them any part of their power?

*Sixthly*, whether the kings in any case are subject to their consecrators?

*Seventhly*, whether if the kings were to admit any new sacrifice, or take to themselves the diadem without any further consecration, they should thereby lose their kingly right and title?

*Eighthly*, whether the electors of the seven princes give as much to the election of the emperor, as succession rightfully gives to other kings.’

“Upon these questions he disputes and argues with many arguments and various reasons, on both sides. At length he decides the matter on the part of the civil magistrate; and by occasion of this, he enters into the mention of the pope’s “*Decrees extravagant*,” declaring how little force or regard is to be given to it.”

Trithemius mentions one Gregory of Arimini, a learned, famous, and right godly man, who lived around the time of Ockham (about A.D. 1350). He disputed about the same doctrine of grace and free will as we do now, and dissented in this from the papists and sophisters, counting them worse than Pelagians.

What should I say about the duke of Burgundy, named Eudo? At the same time (A.D. 1350), he persuaded the French king not to receive into his land the newly founded constitutions, decretal and extravagant, nor to allow those within his realm, whose sage counsel, then given, still remains among the French king’s records.

Dante, an Italian writer,<sup>236</sup> a Florentine, lived in the time of Louis the emperor (A.D. 1300), and took part with Marsilius against three sorts of men who he said were enemies to the truth: the *first* is the pope; *secondly*, the order of monks and friars, who count themselves the children of the church, when they are the children of the devil their father; *thirdly*, the doctors of decrees and decretals. Certain of his writings are still extant, in which he proves the pope is not above the emperor, nor has any right or jurisdiction in the empire. He proves that the “donation of Constantine” was a forged and feigned thing (see p. 72), for which he was thought by many to be a heretic. He complains very much that the preaching of God’s word was omitted, and instead of it, the vain fables of monks and friars were preached and believed by the people. And so the flock of Christ was not fed with the food of the gospel, but with wind. “The pope,” he says, “from a pastor is made into a wolf, to waste the church of Christ, and to procure with his clergy, not the word of God to be preached, but his own decrees.” In his canticle of *Purgatory*, he declares the pope to be the whore of Babylon.<sup>237</sup>

[211] A.D. 1350-1360.

Here may be added the statement out of the book of Joraand, imprinted with Dante, that because antichrist does not come before the destruction of the empire, those who strive to make the empire extinct, are forerunners and messengers of antichrist. “Therefore let the Romans and their bishops beware, lest the priesthood be taken from them by the just judgment of God, their sins and wickedness so deserving. Furthermore, let all the prelates and princes of Germany take heed,” etc. Because our adversaries object to the “newness” of our doctrine, they will see and perceive the course and form of this religion now received, has not been either such a new thing now, nor was it so strange a thing in times past.

I will add to these men cited above, Master Taulerus, a preacher of Argentine in Germany (A.D. 1350), who contrary to the pope’s proceedings, taught openly against all human merits, and against the invocations of saints. He preached sincerely of our free justification by grace, referring all man’s trust only to the mercy of God, and he was an enemy to all superstition. With him may also be joined Francis Petrarch, a writer of the same period (about A.D. 1350), who in his works and Italian verses, speaking of Rome, calls it, “The whore of Babylon; the school and mother of error; the temple of heresy; the nest of

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<sup>236</sup> Dante Alighieri (c. 1265-1321).

<sup>237</sup> Dante’s *Purgatorio* is the second part of his *Divine Comedy*, following the *Inferno* and preceding the *Paradiso*.

treachery; growing and increasing by oppressing others.” He says further, that Rome extols herself against her founders, that is, against the emperors who first set her up and enriched her. He seems to plainly affirm that the pope is antichrist, declaring that no greater evil could happen to any man, than to be made pope.

About the year (A.D. 1340), in the city of Herbipoli, Master Conrad Hager, who (as it appears from the old bulls and registers of Otto, bishop of the city), maintained and taught for twenty-four years, that the mass was no sacrifice; and that it does not profit any man, either quick or dead, and the money that the dying give for masses, are very robberies and sacrileges by priests. He said too, that if he had a store full of gold and silver, he would not give one farthing for any mass. For this doctrine, this good preacher was condemned and imprisoned. But what became of him afterward was never heard.

Among other old and ancient records of antiquity belonging to this time, is a certain monument in verses poetically compiled, but not without a certain moral. It is entitled “Poenitentiarius Asini,” *i.e.* The Asses’ Confessor, dated A.D. 1343. This treatise presents the wolf, the fox, and the ass, coming to confess, and doing penance. First, the wolf confesses to the fox, who easily absolves him from all his faults, and also excuses him in them. In like manner the wolf, upon hearing the fox’s confession, showed him like favor in return. After this the ass comes to confession. Its fault was this: that being hungry he took a straw from the sheaf of a man who went on a pilgrimage to Rome. The ass, repenting of this act, and thinking it was not so heinous as the faults of the others, hoped more for his absolution. But what followed? After the silly ass had uttered his crime in auricular confession, the discipline of the law was immediately executed upon him with severity; nor was he judged worthy of any absolution, but was apprehended, slain, and devoured. Whoever the author of this fabulous tale was, he had a moral in it. For by the wolf was meant the pope; but the fox represented the prelates, courtesans, priests, and the rest of the spirituality. The pope is soon absolved by the spirituality, and in return, the pope soon absolves them in like manner. By the ass is meant the poor laity, upon whose back the strict censure of the law is executed. Especially when the German emperors come under the pope’s inquisition, to be examined by his discipline, there is no absolution or pardon to be found, but in all haste he must be deposed, as may partly appear in these preceding histories.

Not long after this (about A.D. 1350), Gerhard Riddler wrote a book against the monks and friars, entitled, “*Lacryma Ecclesiae*” (Tears of the Church) in which he disputes against the order of the begging friars. He proves that this kind of life is far from Christian perfection, being against charity to live upon others when a man may live by his own labor. It affirms they are hypocrites, filthy livers, and those who, for man’s favor and lucre’s sake, mix fables, apocryphas, and dreams of vanity, with true divinity. Also that under pretense of long prayer, they devour widows’ houses, and trouble the church of Christ with their confessions, sermons, and burials. And therefore he persuaded the prelates to bridle and keep short the inordinate license and abuses of these monastical persons, etc.

As yet I have made no mention of Michael Sesenas, provincial of the Grey Friars, nor Peter de Corbaria, both of whom Antonine writes about, saying they were condemned in the “Extravagant” of Pope John, with one John de Poliaco. Their opinions, says Antonine, were these: That Peter the apostle was no more the head of the church than the other apostles; and that Christ left no vicar behind him, nor head of His church; and that the pope has no authority to correct and punish, nor to institute or depose the emperor; also, that all priests, of whatever degree, are of equal authority, power, and jurisdiction, by the institution of Christ. But by the institution of the emperor, the pope may be superior, who may be revoked

again by the same emperor. Also, that neither the pope, nor the church, may punish any man with bodily restraint or compulsion, unless they receive the license of the emperor. This Michael Sesenas, about A.D. 1322, wrote against the tyranny, pride, and primacy of the pope, accusing him of being antichrist, and the church of Rome of being the whore of Babylon, drunk with the blood of saints. He said there were two churches, one of the wicked, which was flourishing, and in which the pope reigned; the other was of the godly, which was afflicted; also, that the truth was almost utterly extinct. It was for this reason that he was deprived of his dignity, and condemned by the pope. Notwithstanding, he stood constant in his assertions. Sesenas left behind him many favorers and followers of his doctrine, of whom a great part were slain by the pope: some were condemned, such as William Ockham; some were burned, such as John de Castilione and Francis de Arcatara.

About this time the nuns of St. Bridget's order first began. Also about this time, the Queen's College in Oxford was built by Queen Phillippa, of England, wife to King Edward III (about A.D. 1360).

To make an end of this Fourth Book, it now remains to list the archbishops of Canterbury contained in this Fourth Book, beginning where we left off earlier (page 108), at Lanfranc.

*A Table of the Archbishops of Canterbury, contained in the Fourth Book.*

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|----------------------|-------------------------|
| 34. Lanfranc.        | 45. Edmund, of Abingdon |
| 35. Anselm.          | 46. Boniface.           |
| 36. Radulph.         | 47. Robert Kilwarby.    |
| 37. William Curboil. | 48. John Peckham.       |
| 38. Theobald.        | 49. Robert Winchelsey.  |
| 39. Thomas Becket.   | 50. Walter Reynald.     |
| 40. Richard.         | 51. John Stratford.     |
| 41. Baldwin.         | 52. John Offord.        |
| 42. Hubert.          | 53. Thomas Braidwarden. |
| 43. Stephen Langton. | 54. Simon Islip.        |
| 44. Richard Magnus.  |                         |

## ACTS AND MONUMENTS

### BOOK V. CONTAINING

#### *The last 300 years from the loosing of Satan 1360-1422.*

Thus having discoursed in these former books the order and course of years, from the first tying up of Satan to A.D. 1360, I have a little overpassed the limit of time in the Scripture, appointed for loosing him out again. For so it is written by St. John (Rev 20.3), that after a thousand years, Satan, the old dragon, shall be let loose again for a season, etc.

For the better explanation of this mystery, let us first consider the context of the Scripture; afterwards let us examine by history and course of times, the meaning of that. And first, to recite the words of Scripture, the text of the prophesy is this (Rev 20.1).

“And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season. And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given to them; and I saw the souls of those who were beheaded for the witness of Jesus,” etc.

By these words of the Revelation, recited here, three special times are to be noted.

*First*, Satan’s being abroad to deceive the world.

*Secondly*, The binding of him.

*Thirdly*, The loosing of him again, after a thousand years, for a season.

Concerning the interpretation of these times, I see the common opinion of many to be deceived by ignorance of history, and the state of things done in the church. They suppose that the chaining up of Satan for a thousand years, spoken of in the Revelation, was meant from the birth of Christ our Lord. In this I grant that *spiritually*, the strength and dominion of Satan, in accusing and condemning us for sin, was cast down at the passion (crucifixion), and *by* the passion of Christ our Savior, and locked up, not only for a thousand years, but forever. Although, as to the malicious hatred and fury of that serpent against the outward bodies of Christ’s poor saints (which is the heel of Christ), to afflict and torment the church outwardly, I think the Revelation of St. John means it is not to be restrained till the ceasing of those terrible persecutions of the primitive churches. Then it pleased God to pity the sorrowful affliction of his poor flock, for they were so long under persecution, for 300 years; and so, it was to assuage their griefs and torments. This is what is meant by the binding up of Satan, the worker of all those mischiefs. We understand by this, that the devil, the prince of this world, has now by the death of Christ the Son of God, lost all his power and interest against the soul of man. And that he would turn his furious rage and malice, which he had toward Christ, against the people of Christ (which is meant by the *heel of the seed*, Gen 3.15) in tormenting their outward bodies. Yet this would not be forever, but for a determinate time, as it would please the Lord to bridle the malice, and snaffle (rein in) the power of the old serpent, and give rest to his church for the term of a thousand years. This time now being expired, the serpent will be set loose again for a certain or short time.

And I am led by three reasons to thus expound this prophetical passage of Scripture:

The *first* is that the binding up of Satan, and the angel closing him in the bottomless pit, imports that he was at liberty before then, raging and doing mischief. And certainly those terrible and horrible persecutions of the primitive time, universally throughout the world during the first three hundred years of the church, declare no less. In this it is to be thought and supposed that Satan, all that time, was not fastened and closed up.

The *second* reason, moving me to think that the closing up of Satan was *after* the ten persecutions of the primitive church, is taken out of the twelfth chapter of Revelation. There we read that after the woman (meaning the church) had travailed with her man-child, the old dragon, the devil, was at the same time cast down from heaven, drawing a third of the stars with him. He stood before the woman with great anger, and persecuted her (that is, the church of God) with a whole flood of water (that is, with an abundance of all kinds of torments). And from there, moreover, he went to fight against the residue of her seed, and stood upon the sands of the sea. By this it appears that he was not as yet locked up.

The *third* reason I derive from the thirteenth chapter of Revelation. There it is written of the beast, signifying the imperial monarchy of Rome, that he had power to make war for 42 months. By these months is meant, no doubt, the time that the dragon and the persecuting emperors would have in afflicting the saints of the primitive church.

[213] A.D. 1360.

The computation of these 42 months (counting every month as a sabbath of years — that is, 7 years, according to the order of Scripture, and counting from the passion of the Lord Christ) amounts to 300 years less 6 (or 294 years), when Maxentius, the last persecutor in Rome, fighting against Constantine, was drowned with his soldiers, just as Pharaoh persecuting the children of Israel, was drowned in the Red Sea. To these 42 months, or sabbaths of years, if we add the other 6 years in which Licinius persecuted in the East, we have just 300 years, as specified before in the First Book.<sup>238</sup>

After these 42 months expired, it is manifest that the fury of Satan, that is, his violent malice and power over the saints of Christ, was diminished and universally restrained throughout the world.

Thus then, the matter stands evident that after 300 years, counting from the passion of Christ, Satan began to be chained up. This is when the persecution of the primitive church began to cease. Now let us see how long this binding up of Satan should continue. It was promised in the book of the Revelation to be a thousand years. This thousand years, if you add it to the 42 months of years, that is, to 294 years, they total 1,294 years after the passion of the Lord. To these, moreover, add 30 years for the age of Christ, and it comes to A.D. 1324, which was the year Satan was let out, according to the prophecy.

These things thus premising the loosing of Satan according to the prophecy in John's Revelation, let us now enter (Christ willing) to the declaration of these later times which followed after Satan was let out into the world. The wondrous troubles and cruel tyranny stirred up by him against Christ's church, and the valiant resistance of the church of Christ against him and antichrist, may appear in our books which follow.

The argument of these books consists in two parts: *First*, to treat the raging fury of Satan now loosed, and thus of antichrist, against the saints of Christ fighting and laboring for the maintenance of truth, and the reformation of the church. *Secondly*: To declare the decay

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<sup>238</sup> See note page 69. [Ed.]

and ruin of antichrist, through the power of the word of God, being at length either overthrown in a great part of the world, or at least detected universally in the whole world.

Thus then, to begin with the year 1360, where I have transgressed a little past the limits of the first loosing of Satan, we come now to the time in which the Lord, after long darkness, begins some reformation of his church, by the diligent industry of his faithful and learned servants, several of whom we have already touched on in the previous book, as having withstood the corrupt errors and intolerable enormities of the Bishop of Rome.

Now we will add to these (the Lord willing) those other holy martyrs and confessors who followed after in the course of years. With like zeal and strength of God's word, and also with like danger to their lives, they resisted the enemy of Christ's religion, and suffered like persecutions at his hands.

### **The Ploughman's Complaint of the Abuses of the World.**

First, we begin with the godly man (whoever he was) that authored the book entitled, *The Prayer and Complaint of the Ploughman*, written about this present time. It is as follows:

*An old ancient Writing entitled.  
The Prayer and Complaint of the Ploughman.* <sup>239</sup>

“Ah Lord, you sometimes forgave Peter his sins, and also Mary Magdalen, and many other sinful men, without shriving to priests,<sup>240</sup> and taking penance from priests, for their sins. And Lord, you are as mighty now as you were at that time, if any man has but known of your might. And we laymen believe that there is no man of such great power, and that if any man makes himself to be of such great power, he heightens himself above God. St. Paul speaks of one who sits in the temple of God, and heightens himself above God; and if any is such, he is a false Christ. (2The 2.3-4)

“But to this, priests say that when Christ made leprous men clean, he bid them go and show themselves to priests. And therefore they say that it is a commandment of Christ, that a man should show his sin to priests. For as they say, lepers in the old law represent sin in this new law. Ah, Lord God, did your apostles not know your meaning as well as men do now? And if they had only known that you had commanded men to shrive to priests, and they had not taught that commandment to the people, I think they would have been to blame. But I believe they knew well that it was none of your commandments, nor needful to heal a man's soul. And as I think, the law of the leper is not for the purpose of shriving. For priests in the old law had certain points and tokens to know whether a man was leprous or not. And if they were leprous, they had power to put them away from other clean men, for they were not clean. And then they had power to receive him among his brethren, and offer a sacrifice for him to God.

“This is nothing to the purpose of shriving. For there is but one priest, who is Christ, who may know for certain the leprosy of the soul. Indeed, no priest may cleanse the soul of its sin except Christ, who is a priest of Melchizedek's order. Indeed, no priest here below may know for certain whether a man is clean of his sin, or clean acquitted, unless God tells it to him by revelation. No, God did not ordain that his priests should set men a penance for their sin, according to the quantity of the sin. Rather, this is man's ordinance, and it may well be that good comes of it. But I know well that God is much unworshipped by this. For men trust more in man's absolutions, and in his years of grace, than in Christ's absolutions, and thereby the

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<sup>239</sup> The old language and spelling of this treatise called “The Ploughman's Lament,” renders it in a great degree unintelligible to the general reader. It is of considerable length, and we have retained only a portion of it, so that the reader may be enabled to judge its nature. [Ed.] [It has therefore been modernized to better convey its content.](#)

<sup>240</sup> [Shriving: auricular confession – confessing your sins to a priest, that upon hearing them, he may forgive them.](#)



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people are much impaired. For now the sorrow that a man should have for his sin, is put away by this shrift,<sup>241</sup> and a man is bolder to sin from his trust of this shrift, and of this bodily penance.

“Another mischief is that the people are only brought into this belief, so that one priest has a great power to absolve a man of his sin, and greater than another priest has.

“Another mischief is this, that some priest may absolve them both of sin and pain. And in this they take to themselves a power that Christ granted no man on earth, and only Christ himself used it on earth.<sup>242</sup>

“Another mischief is that these priests sell forgiveness of men’s sins and absolutions for money; this is a cursed heresy that is called *simony*. And all those priests who ask a price for granting spiritual grace, are by holy laws deprived of their priesthood, and also those who assent to this heresy. And let them be aware; for Elijah the prophet took no money from Naaman when he was cleansed of his leprosy; but Gehazi his servant did; and therefore the leprosy of Naaman abided with Gehazi and with his heirs evermore after. (2Kng 5)

“But, Lord God, he that sits in your stead has undone your law of mercy and love. Lord, you bid us to love our enemies as ourself, as you show in the gospel; just as the Samaritan had mercy on the Jew. And you bid us to pray for those who curse us, and who defame us, and pursue us to death. And so Lord you did, and your apostles also. But the one who calls himself your vicar on earth, and head of your church, has undone your law of love and mercy. For if we speak of loving our enemies, he teaches us to fight with our enemies, which Christ has forbidden. He curses and desires vengeance on those who do so to him. If any man pursues him, he curses him, so that it is a sorrow for a Christian man to hear the cursings that they make, and blasphemies in such cursing. Of this thing that I know, I may bear true witness.

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“But if we speak of loving of our brethren, this is undone by the one who says he is God’s vicar on earth. For Christ in the gospel bids us to call no one father on earth: but call God our father, to make us love perfectly together. And this man calls himself Father of fathers, and makes many religions, and to each one a father. But are love and charity increased by these fathers and by their religions, or only made less? For a friar does not love a monk, nor a secular man either, nor yet does one friar love another who is not of his order, and it is contrarywise.

“But, Lord, in the old law the tithings of the lay people were not due to priests, but to that other child of Levi who served you in the temple. And the priest had their part of sacrifices, and the first begotten beasts and other things, as the law says. And Lord, St. Paul your servant says that the order of the priesthood of Aaron ceased at Christ’s coming, and the law of that priesthood. For Christ was the end of sacrifices only offered upon the cross to the Father of heaven, to bring man out of sin; and he became himself a priest of Melchisedek’s order. For he was both king and priest, without beginning and end; and both the priesthood of Aaron, and also the law of that priesthood, were changed at the coming of Christ. And St. Paul says the law is reprov’d, for it brought no man to perfection. For the blood of goats, nor of other beasts might do away with sin; for to that purpose Christ shed his own blood. (Heb 7.17-19; 9.11-14)

“Ah Lord Jesus, did you ordain an order of priests to offer on the altar your flesh and your blood to bring men out of sin, and also out of pain? And did you give them alone a power to eat your flesh and your blood, and may no other man eat your flesh and your blood without the

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<sup>241</sup> *Shrift*: the act of confessing and receiving absolution.

<sup>242</sup> “If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven them; if you retain the *sins* of any, they are retained.” (Joh 20:23) This regards sins against *ourselves*, not sins committed by someone against others; only God can do that. They are “retained” by those who are impenitent, or unregenerate, not by a priest’s withholding forgiveness from them.

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leave of priests? Lord, we believe that your flesh is true food, and your blood true drink; and whoever eats your flesh, and drinks your blood, dwells in you, and you in him; and whoever eats this bread shall live without end. (Joh 6.54-56) Lord, your disciples said this is a hard saying. But you answered them and said, when you see [the Son of] Man soon ascend up where he was before, the Spirit is what makes you live; the words that I have spoken to you are spirit and life (Joh 6.63). Lord, blessed may you be, for in this word you teach us that whoever keeps your words and does them, eats your flesh and drinks your blood, and has everlasting life in You. And that we might mind this living, you gave us the sacrament of your flesh and blood, in the form of bread and wine at your supper, before you would suffer your death. And you took bread in your hand, and said: 'Take this, and eat it, for it is my body:' and you took wine, and blessed it, and said; 'This is the blood of a new and everlasting Testament, that shall be shed for many men in forgiveness of sins. As often as you do this, you do it in mind of me.'

"Ah Lord, you did not bid your disciples to make this a sacrifice to bring men out of pains if a priest offered your body on the altar. But you bid them to go and baptize all the folk in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, in forgiveness of their sins; and to teach them to 'keep what I have commanded you.' And Lord, your disciples were not ordained priests principally to make your body a sacrament, but to teach the people. And good stewards who well govern their households, both wives and children, and their money, they ordained to be priests to teach other men the law of Christ, both in word and deed, and they lived as true Christian men. Every day they ate Christ's body, and drank his blood, to the sustenance of the life of their souls; other times they partook of the sacrament of his body in the form of bread and wine, in mind of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"But all this is turned upside down. For now, whoever would live as you taught, he will be seen a fool. And if he speaks your teaching, he will be held a heretic, and accursed. Lord, no longer wonder about this, for so they treated you when you were here sometime. And therefore we must patiently take their words of blasphemy as you did yourself, or else we would be to blame. And truly Lord, I believe that if you were now in the world, and taught as you did sometimes, you would be done to death. For your teaching is damned as heresy by wise men of the world; and then, those who teach your love must be heretics, and all those also who strive to live accordingly.

"Lord in the gospel you say that true hearers of God do not hear him in that hill beside Samaria, nor in Jerusalem either; but true hearers of God hear him in spirit and in truth. And Lord God, what hearing is it to build you a church of dead stones, and rob your living churches of their bodily livelihood? Lord God, what hearing is it, to clothe idols of wood and of stones in silver and in gold, and in other good colors? And Lord I see your image (believers) going about in cold and in heat, in shredded clothes, without shoes and socks, hungered and thirsting. Lord what hearing is it to tend to tapers and torches before blind puppets that do not move or speak? And you who are our light and our lantern towards heaven are hidden, and put under a bushel, so that for darkness we may not even seen our way toward bliss? Lord what hearing is it to kneel before puppets that do not move or hear, and worship them with prayers, and make your living images kneel before them, and ask absolutions and blessings from them, and worship them as gods, and yet put your living images in bondage and in travail evermore like beasts, in cold and in heat, and in feeble fare, to find them in danger of the world? Lord what hearing is it to fetch dead men's bones out of the ground, where they should rather rot, and enshrine them in gold and silver; and suffer the quick bones of your images to rot in prison for lack of clothing? And suffer also your living images to perish for lack of sustenance, and rot in the whorehouse in abominable lechery? Some become thieves and robbers, and murderers, that might have been helped with the gold and silver that hangs about dead men's bones, and other blind puppets of wood and stones.

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“Lord, here are great abominations that you showed to Ezekiel your prophet, that priests are doing in your temple, and yet they call that ‘hearing’ you. But truly Lord, I think that they love you little who thus befoul your living images, and worship blind puppets.

“And Lord, there is now another great mischief in the world, a hunger that your prophet Amos speaks of, that there shall come a hunger in the earth, not of bread, nor thirst for drink, but of the hearing of God’s words. And your sheep would be refreshed, but their shepherds take from your sheep their livelihood, as tithings, etc. And enrich themselves thereby wherever they like.

“O Lord deliver the sheep out of the ward of these shepherds, and these hired men, who stand more to keep their riches that they rob from your sheep, than they stand to keep your sheep.

“O Lord, when you came to Jerusalem one time, you drove out of the temple sellers of beasts and of other wares, and said, My house should be called a house of prayers, but they made a den of thieves of it. O Lord you are the temple in whom we should pray your Father of heaven. And Solomon’s temple, that was built at Jerusalem, was a figure of this temple. But Lord, he who calls himself your vicar upon earth, and says that he occupies your place here on earth, has become a chapman (peddler) in your temple, and has his chapmen walking in diverse countries to sell his wares, and to make him rich. And he says, You gave him so great a power above all other men, that whatever he binds or unbind on earth, you bind or unbind the same in heaven. And of so great a power, he sells other men forgiveness of their sin. And for much money he will absolve a man so clean of his sin, that he promises men the bliss of heaven without any pain, even after they are dead, if they give him much money.

[215] A.D. 1360.

Bishoprics and churches, and such other goods, he also sells for money, and makes himself rich. And thus he beguiles the people.

“O Lord Jesus here is much untruth, and mischief, and matter for sorrow. Lord you said sometime, that you would be with your servants to the end of the world. And you also said, where two or three are gathered together in your name, that you are in the middle of them. Ah Lord, then there was no need for you to make a lieutenant, since you would be evermore among your servants.

“Lord, you asked of your disciples, who they believed you were. And Peter answered and said, ‘That you are Christ God’s Son.’ And you said to Peter, ‘You are blessed Simon Bar-Jonah, for flesh and blood did not show this to you, but my Father who is in heaven.’ And I say to you, ‘That you are Peter, and upon this stone you would build my church, and the gates of hell shall not avail against it.

“And to you I will give the keys of heaven, and whatever you bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you unbind on earth, shall be unbound in heaven.’ This power was granted to the other disciples also, as well as to Peter, as the gospel openly tells. In this place men say that you granted to Peter’s successor, the sole power that you gave to Peter. And therefore the bishop of Rome, who says he is Peter’s successor, takes this power to himself to bind and unbind on earth whatever he likes. But Lord, I have much wonder how he may for shame call himself Peter’s successor; for Peter acknowledged that you were Christ and God, and kept the behests of your law. But these have forsaken the behests of your law, and have made a law contrary to the behests of your law. And so he makes himself a false Christ, and a false god on earth. And I believe you gave him no power to undo your law. And so in taking this power upon himself, he makes himself a false Christ and antichrist.

“For who may be more against Christ, than the one who in his words makes himself Christ’s vicar in earth; and in his works undoes the ordinance of Christ, and makes men believe that it is needful to the health of men’s souls, to believe that he is Christ’s vicar in earth? And that

whatever he binds on earth, is bound in heaven? And under this color he undoes Christ's law, and makes men always to keep his own law and behests.

“And thus man may see that he is against Christ, and therefore he is antichrist who makes men worship him as a god on earth, as the proud King Nebuchadnezzar did at one time, who was king of Babylon. And therefore we laymen who do not know God but you Jesus Christ, believe in you who are our God, and our King, and our Christ, and in your laws. And we forsake antichrist, and Nebuchadnezzar who is a false god, and a false Christ, and his laws that are contrary to your preaching.

“And Lord, strengthen us against our enemies. For they are about to make us forsake you and your law, or else to put us to death.

“O Lord, only in you is our trust to help us in this mischief, for your great goodness that is without end.

“Lord you did not teach your disciples to absolve men of their sin, and set them a penance for their sin in fasting, nor in praying, nor other charitable deeds. Neither you yourself, nor your disciples, used any such power here on earth. For Lord, you forgive men their sins, and bid them sin no more. And your disciples cleansed men in your name, in forgiveness of their sins. Nor did they take any such power upon themselves, as our priests now dare. And Lord, you alone absolved a man both of his sin and of his pain that was due for his sin, and you did not grant any man such power here on earth.”<sup>243</sup>

“And Lord, I think that if there was a purgatory, and any earthly man had power to deliver sinful men from the pains of purgatory, he should, and he would in charity, save every man who was in the way of salvation from these pains, since they make them greater than any bodily pains of this world. Also, if the bishop of Rome had such a power, he himself should never come into purgatory, nor into hell. And since we well see that he has no power to keep himself, nor other men out of these bodily pains of the world, and he may go to hell for his sin just as another man may. Neither do I believe, that he has so great a power to absolve men of their sin as he takes upon himself above all other men. And I believe that in this, he heightens himself above God.

“As touching the selling of bishoprics, and parsonages, I believe it is a point of falsehood. For against God's ordinance, he robs poor men of a portion of their sustenance, and sells it or gives it, to fund proud men in idleness, who do the lay people little profit, but much harm, as we said before. Thus your commandments of truth, of meekness, and of poorness are undone by him, who calls himself your vicar here upon earth.”

I doubt not, gentle reader, but in reading this godly treatise prefixed above, the matter is manifest and plain of itself without any further explication, what is to be thought and judged of this vicar of Christ, and successor of Peter, whom we call the bishop of Rome. His life here is seen not only to be disordered in all points, swerving from the steps and example of Christ, the prince and bishop of our souls, but also whose laws and doctrines are so repugnant and contrary to the precepts and rule of the gospel, that there is scarcely any similarity between them: as may be understood in perusing this complaining prayer.

### **A Parable Propheying the Destruction of the Pope.**

Therefore, having no need to stand any further in expressing this matter, but leaving it to the consideration and discretion of the reader, I will (Christ willing) proceed toward the time of John Wycliffe and his fellows. In the order of years as I go along, I will take such

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<sup>243</sup> Originally, “thou ne assoiledst no man both of his sin and of his pain, that was due for his sin, ne thou grantedst no man such power here on earth.” Modernized taking Mat 9.2 and Luk 7.48 into account. Also see note, p. 214.

things by the way, that happened before the time of Wycliffe, and that may also better prepare the mind of the reader for entering that history. First, I think it not inconvenient to insert a prophetic parable, written about this time or not much before, which its author morally applies to the bishop of Rome. To what author this moral is to be ascribed, I cannot affirm with certainty. In the meantime, as I have found it expressed in Latin, and because it paints the pope so rightly in his feathers and colors, I thought it was not to be omitted. And therefore I took this present place as most fitting to insert it here, though perhaps it is a little outside the order of years. The context of this parable is as follows:

In the time of Pope Innocent VI (r. 1352-1362), when friar John de Rupescissa was kept at Avignon in prison, Froysard heard in the pope's court this parable recited by this friar, to cardinal Hostiensis, and cardinal Auxercensis.

“Once, when a certain bird was brought into the world all bare and without feathers, the other birds hearing of it, came to visit her. And as they saw she was a marvellous fair and beautiful bird, they counselled together how they might best do her good, because without feathers she might neither fly, nor live conveniently. They all wished her to live for her excellent form and beauty's sake, insomuch that among them all there was not one which would not grant some part of their own feathers to deck this bird with. Yes, and the more trim they saw her to be, the more feathers they still gave to her, so that by these means she was passing well penned and feathered, and began to fly. The other birds that had thus adorned her with goodly feathers, beholding her flying abroad, were marvellously delighted with this. In the end, this bird seeing herself so gorgeously feathered, and to be honored above all the rest, began to wax proud and haughty. Insomuch that she had no regard at all for those, by whom she was advanced. Indeed, she struck them with her beak, plucked them by the skin and feathers, and hurt them in all places. Whereupon the birds sitting in council again, called the matter in question, demanding of one another what was best to be done regarding this unkind bird, whom they had lovingly decked and adorned with their own feathers. Affirming that they did not give their feathers with the intent that, thereby puffed up with pride, she should contemptuously despise them all. The peacock therefore answers first, ‘Truly,’ he says, ‘as she is impressively adorned with my painted feathers, I will take them back from her.’ Then the falcon says, ‘And I will also have mine back.’

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“At length, this was said by them all, so that every one plucked from the bird those feathers which they had given before, each taking their own back again. Now this proud bird, seeing herself thus dealt with, quickly began to abate her haughty spirit, and to humbly submit herself openly, confessing and acknowledging that of herself she had nothing; but that her feathers, her honor and other ornaments were their gift. She came into the world all naked and bare, and they clad her with beautiful feathers. And therefore of right they may take them back again. Therefore she most humbly desires pardon, promising to amend all that is past. Nor would she at any time hereafter commit anything by which, through pride, she might lose her feathers again. The gentle birds, which had given their feathers before, seeing her so humble and lowly, and being moved with pity, restored again the feathers which they had recently taken away, adding this admonition: ‘We will gladly,’ they say, ‘behold you flying among us, so long as you will use your office with humbleness of mind, which is the greatest beauty of all the rest. But know this for a certainty, that if at any time hereafter you extol yourself in pride, we will straightway deprive you of your feathers, and reduce you to your former state in which we found you.’

“Even so, oh you cardinals,” said this friar, “it shall happen to you. For the emperors of the Romans and Germans, and other Christian kings, potentates, and princes of the earth, have

bestowed upon you goods, lands, and riches that should serve God, but you have poured it out, and consumed it upon pride, and all kinds of wickedness, riot, and wantonness.”

***Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh – 1348.***

In the catalogue of these learned and zealous defenders of Christ against antichrist, recited above — those whom the Lord began to raise up about this time for the reanimation of his church — I cannot omit writing something about the reverend prelate, and famous cleric, Richard **Armachanus**, archbishop of Ireland. His life and learning were so memorable that almost none was his better. His name was Richard FitzRalph (r. 1348-1360). Such was the capacity and dexterity of this man, that being commended to King Edward III, he was promoted by him, first to be archdeacon of Lichfield; then to be the commissary of the university of Oxford; and at length to be archbishop of Armagh in Ireland. He had cause to come to London at a time when there was contention between the friars and clergy about preaching and hearing confessions, etc. Whereupon, Armachanus, being requested to preach, gave seven or eight sermons in which he propounded nine conclusions against the friars. He was cited for these by the friars, and was to appear before this Pope Innocent VI; and so he went. And before the face of the pope he valiantly defended, both in preaching and in writing, the same conclusions, and stood constantly to the death in this, as John Wycliffe well testifies. William Botonerus, testifying of him in like manner, says this:

“Armachanus first reprov'd begging-friars for hearing the confessions of professed nuns, without license from their superiors, and also of married women without knowledge of their husbands. What dangers and troubles he sustained by his persecutors; and how miraculously the Lord delivered him from their hands; and in what peril he was by thieves and searchers; and yet the Lord delivered him; indeed, what danger he was in from the king's officers, who coming with the king's letters, laid all the havens for him. And how the Lord Jesus delivered him, and gave him to triumph over all his enemies; how the Lord also taught him and brought him to the study of the Scriptures of God. All this, with much more, he himself expresses in a certain prayer or confession made to Christ Jesus our Lord, in which he describes almost the whole history of his own life.”

Thus you have partly heard the troubles of this good man, and how he was cited by the friars to the pope. Now his reasons and arguments with which he defended his cause in the pope's presence, are to be declared.

In the time of Innocent III and the Lateran Council (A.D. 1215), lived Dominic, the author and founder of the preaching friars. He labored at Pope Innocent for the confirmation of his order, but he did not obtain it in the lifetime of that pope.

The year after this council, Pope Innocent died (A.D. 1216). After him came Honorius III, who confirmed the order of the friar Dominic. He gave to him and his friars authority to preach, and to hear confessions, with other privileges. Dominic lived five years after the confirmation of his order, and died A.D. 1221. About that year the order of the Franciscan friars also began to breed and spread in the world.

After Honorius, followed Pope Gregory IX, about A.D. 1228; He also promoted the order of Dominic. Gregory died about A.D. 1241. After him came Celestine IV, who sat as pope but eighteen days. Then came Innocent IV, who sat for eleven years and six months. Although he favored the friars at first, afterward he debarred them from their liberties and privileges, and he issued precepts and excommunications against the friars. Not long after, he was dispatched and made away with.

Innocent being removed out of the way, about A.D. 1254, Pope Alexander IV succeeded, who was a great maintainer of the friars; he sat for seven years. He revoked and repealed the acts and writings of his predecessor, Pope Innocent, against the friars. But the divines and students of Paris being discontented with this, stirred up four principal doctors. These four compiled a book against the begging order of friars, both Dominicans and Franciscans. It was entitled *De Periculis Eccliae*, containing fourteen chapters. In the fourteenth, it has thirty-nine articles against the friars. Besides these thirty-nine articles, are seven other articles, under the name of the students of Paris against the friars.

Besides these articles, certain conclusions were also propounded in the schools of Paris at that time, to be solemnly disputed and defended by the friars. They were these:

*First*, That the begging friars were not in a state of salvation.

*Secondly*, That those who could were bound to labor with their hands, and not to beg.

*Thirdly*, That they should not exercise the office of preaching, nor hear the confessions of those who will come to them.

All these articles and conclusions, with the book set forth by these Parisians, were condemned by Pope Alexander IV, to be abolished and burned. He wrote his precepts in favor of the friars to the French king, and also to the university of Paris. He commanded that the friars be restored to all their privileges and liberties.

Not long after Pope Alexander IV, followed Clement IV (A.D. 1265), who sat as pope for three years. He likewise gave privileges to the friars.

Some time after Clement, came Pope Martin IV (A.D. 1281), who renewed again the canon in behalf of the curates against the friars.

Pope Boniface VIII was seated in A.D. 1294, and sat for eight years and nine months. Siding with the friars, he gave them another privilege. In this privilege he *licensed* the friars, so that without the license of vicars of churches, they would first present themselves to the prelates to be admitted. If they were refused a second time, then upon special authority from this pope, they would be privileged, without either bishop or curate, to preach, to bury, and to hear confessions.

By Pope Boniface, a certain Dominican friar was made cardinal, named Nicolas Bocasin, of Tervisa. After the death of Boniface, he was made pope (A.D. 1303), surnamed Pope Benedict XI, who made another constitution, revoking that of Boniface.

Again, after Benedict XI, followed Pope Clement V (A.D. 1305), who sat nine years. In his general council held at Vienna, he revoked the constitution of Benedict his predecessor, and renewed the former decree of Boniface. This constitution, moreover, was afterward confirmed by Pope John XXII (A.D. 1316).

Upon this varying diversity of the popes (one dissenting from and repugning another) a great matter of contention arose among the divines and schoolmen in universities — in the university of Paris as well as the university of Oxford — about the begging friars. Some held one way, some another.

[217] A.D. 1360.

The matter of contention about the friars stood in four points: *First*, preaching without the license of curates. *Secondly*, in hearing confession. *Thirdly*, in burying. *Fourthly*, in begging and taking from the people.

*Popes who maintained the Friars.*

Honorius III.	Clement IV.
Gregory IX.	Boniface VIII.
Alexander IV.	Clement V.

*Popes who maintained Curates.*

Innocent III.	Martin IV.
Innocent IV.	Benedict XI.

These considerations being premised for opening this present cause of Armachanus against the idle beggarly sects of friars, it now remains that we collect and open his reasons and arguments uttered in the consistory, and in the audience of the pope himself. With these he maintains the true doctrine and cause of the church against the pestiferous canker creeping in by these friars in their subtle ways of hypocrisy, to corrupt the sincere simplicity of Christ's holy faith and perfect testament., I thought it good and expedient for the utility of the church, to more amply and largely o discourse and prosecute his reasons and arguments, for I note in the sects, institutions, and doctrine of these friars, a subtle poison lurks, more pernicious and hurtful to the religion of Christ and the soul of Christians, than all men perhaps consider.

Thus Armachanus, joining with the clergy of England, disputed and contended with the friars of England (A.D. 1358) about a double matter. One of which concerned confession and other escheats <sup>244</sup> which the friars used to encroach in parish churches against the curates, and public pastors of churches. The other concerned willful beggary and poverty which the friars then took upon themselves, not upon any necessity (being otherwise strong enough to work for their living), but only upon a willful and affected profession. For this cause the friars appealed Armachanus to the court of Rome. The occasion of it arose as follows.

It happened that Armachanus, coming up to London on certain business, found certain doctors disputing and contending there about the begging of Christ our Savior. Whereupon he, being greatly urged and requested, gave seven or eight sermons in which he drew nine conclusions. The first and principal conclusion touched upon the matter of the friars' privileges in hearing confessions. His nine conclusions were these:

*First*, That if a doubt or question is raised in hearing confessions, which of two places is rather to be chosen; the parish church is to be preferred before the church of the friars.

*Secondly*, that if it is demanded who should rather hear the confession of parishioners, the parson or curate, or else the friar, it is said to be rather the parson or curate.

*Thirdly*, that our Lord Jesus Christ in his human conversation was always poor, but that he did not love poverty, nor did he covet to be poor.

*Fourthly*, that our Lord Jesus Christ never begged, willfully professing to be poor.

*Fifthly*, that our Lord Jesus Christ never taught to willfully beg, or to profess willful beggary.

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<sup>244</sup> Normally *escheat* is a reversion of property to the state when a person dies intestate; here it is to the church. This issue was mentioned earlier in letters on pages 174 (Henry III), 187 (Grossthead), and 198 (Cassiodorus).



*Sixthly*, that Christ our Lord held the contrary, that men should not willfully or purposely beg, without necessity.

*Seventhly*, that it is neither wisdom nor holiness, for any man to take upon himself willful beggary, to be observed perpetually.

*Eighthly*, that it does not agree with the rule of the observants, or of the friars' minorites, to observe willful poverty.

The last conclusion regarded the bull of pope Alexander IV, which condemned the libel of the masters of Paris. And thus,

*Ninthly*, that this same bull touched none of the seven previous conclusions.

Upon these nine conclusions just premised, and Armachanus being cited and brought up to the presence of the pope, he began to prove them, beginning with the first.

**1.** That the parish church was a place more fitting and convenient for the confessions or burials of the parishioners, than any other exempt church or place of the friars. He proved this by three causes. *First*, for greater sureness or certainty to the conscience of the parishioners who are confessed. *Secondly*, for their greater utility and profit. *Thirdly*, less inconvenience ensues by confessions taken in parish churches than in friars' churches.

Regarding the first, for greater assuredness and certainty, he argued that as the sacraments of the church are to be frequented and used in no other place, but only in that which is assigned and commanded by God himself. And seeing that the elect place in the law, *i.e.* the temple, represents the parish churches; and that the friars' church is not the place prescribed by God, but only permitted by bishops of Rome; he therefore concluded that parish churches were surer for confessions and burials than the places of the friars.

He also confirmed this by another reason. For the parish church stands free from the pope's interdict, and the churches of the friars do not, but are under suspicion and doubt by the pope's interdict. And further, he proved that there were fewer inconveniences for every man to resort to his parish church rather than to the friars.

**2.** Now to the second conclusion, touching the person of the friar, and of the ordinary curate. If the question is, which of these two is to be preferred in the office of ecclesiastical administration, the opinion of Armachanus was that the ordinary curate was better than the extraordinary friar.

He argued that it is safer and surer for the parishioners to resort to their ordinary or parish priest, because the person of the lawful ordinary or priest is expressly commanded by God, where the person of the friar is not, and therefore is forbidden. Also, because the parishioner may better trust to his ordinary curate as one who is more bound and obliged to be careful for him, than any other extraordinary person. And because in the person of the ordinary curate, there is commonly no doubt of any interdict to bind him; whereas in the friars there is good matter to doubt whether he stands bound under the pope's censure of excommunication or not, and that is for diverse causes. As where it is decreed that all such religious men are excommunicated *de facto*, who ever absolved anyone against whom the sentence of excommunication has been denounced by the statute provincial or synodal — as it is commonly said that the friars are accustomed to do, in loosing those whom the censure of prelates or of their officials have bound. Armachanus brings an example of this in his own diocese:

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“For in my own diocese of Armagh, I have as good as 2,000 under me, who by the censure of excommunication every year denounced against willful murderers, common thieves, burners of men’s houses, and similar malefactors, stand accursed. Notwithstanding, of this number there are scarcely 14 who come to me, or to anyone around me, for their absolution. And yet all of them receive the sacraments as others do; and all because they are absolved, or because they feign themselves to be absolved, by none other than by friars. In so doing, they are proved to be under the danger of excommunication — both the friars, and also the parishioners — if knowing of this, they consent to their error.”

Moreover, that it is the surer way for the parishioners to resort to their appointed curates than to the friars. He argues thus: that the parish priest or curate, being better acquainted with his own parishioner than a stranger is, he can better judge the nature and disposition of his disease, and minister to him the medicine of penance for it; and he will also be more careful in curing him.

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About this matter Armachanus learnedly and worthily discourses, proving how pernicious these orders of friars are to the whole state of the church. And also what mischief comes by certain popes who have privileged themselves to intermeddle in the office and function of ecclesiastical ministers — to preach and to take alms and tithes from the people, and take impropriations from the church. To prosecute his reasons and arguments in order, as he has left them in writing, would make a large book. Yet because it will not be unfruitful both for the present time and for posterity, to know the manifold detriments and inconveniences received through these friars, and to know what great benefit God has done for us in unburdening the church of this monstrous generation, I have therefore briefly contracted certain of his reasons, which seemed most worthy of noting:

First, alleging the authority of Innocent IV, he presents four inconveniences arising by the friars, which are these: (1) Contempt of the people against their ordinaries; (2) decreasing devotion; (3) removing shame from the people by confessing to the friars; (4) detaining the oblations (charitable contributions), that the people customarily give at their confessions and burials, and which by right belong to the parish churches.

Also, by the privileges of the popes, granted to the friars, many other great enormities arise. Such as, first, thereby the true shepherds do not know the faces of their flock.

And, by the occasion of these privileges given to the friars, great contention, and sometimes blows arise between the friars and secular curates, about impropriations,<sup>245</sup> titles, and other avails (means of serving).

Also, by the occasion of these privileges, many young men in universities as well as in their fathers’ houses, are craftily allured by the friars, as their confessors, to enter their orders, from which they cannot afterward get out, even if they would. This is to the great grief of their parents, and no less repentance to the young men themselves. Armachanus gives the case of a certain Englishman with him in Rome, who having a son at the university of Oxford, enticed by the friars to enter into their order, could by no means release him afterward. When his father and his mother would come to him, they were not allowed to speak with him, except under the friars’ custody. Whereas the Scripture commands plainly, that whoever steals any man and sells him (being convicted of it) shall be put to death, Exo 21.16. The father was compelled to come to Rome to seek remedy for his son.

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<sup>245</sup> *Impropriation*: putting an ecclesiastical benefice or tithe in the hands of a layman (i.e., a friar).

And no less inconvenience and danger arises for the clergy by the friars. For laymen seeing their children thus stolen from them by the friars in the universities, refuse to send them to their studies. They are willing to keep them at home in their own occupation, or to follow the plough, rather than be circumvented and robbed of their sons at the university, as manifestly appears by daily experience. For whereas in my time (says Armachanus) there were 30,000 students in the university of Oxford, now there are not 6,000 to be found. The occasion of such great decay is to be ascribed to no other cause than to this circumvention of the friars, mentioned above.

Over and besides this, there is another inconvenience, just as great or greater, that Armachanus inferred proceeds from the friars through the decay of doctrine, and knowledge in all manner of faculties, and liberal sciences, which he thus declared. For these begging friars, through their privileges obtained from the popes — to preach, to hear confessions, and to bury; and through their charters of impropriations — thereby grew to such great riches and possessions by their begging, craving, catching, and intermeddling with church matters, that there was no book concerning any science, either of divinity, law, or medicine, that they were not both able and ready to buy it up. So that every convent having a great library fully stuffed and furnished with all sorts of books, and there being so many convents within the realm, and in every convent there are so many friars increasing daily more and more, it came to pass that very few books if any remained for other students. He testifies of this by his own experience, saying that he himself sent to the university four of his own priests or chaplains, who sent word back to him, that they could neither find the bible, nor any other good profitable book of divinity fit for their study. Therefore they were minded to return home to their country; and one of them, he was sure, had returned by this time.

Furthermore, as he has proved up to here that the friars are hurtful both to the laity and to the clergy, so proceeding further, he proves them to be hurtful to themselves also; and that is in three points — as incurring the vice of *disobedience* against God and against their own rule, the vice of *avarice*, and the vice of *pride*. He proves all of these points in a long discourse.

Concerning the vice of avarice, it may be proved against them (says Armachanus) in seeing so many charges belong to the office of a secular parish priest, such as ministering the sacrament at Easter, visiting the sick with extreme unction, baptizing children, performing weddings, and other such things, requiring great devotion. How then does it happen that these friars, not laboring in these things, only procure from parish churches privileges to preach, to hear confessions, and to bury, if not because there is lucre and gain in these, and none in the other.

It may also appear by this, for if it were for mere devotion only, that they procure from parish churches a license to bury, and to preach, why then have they procured a license to take offerings, oblations, and legacies for their funerals? As for their preaching, why have they also annexed a license to require and take from the people necessities for their labor, unless avarice is the only cause of it?

Likewise for hearing confessions, when all good men have enough to know their own faults, and not wishing to hear the faults of others, it may be supposed that they would never have been so desirous to procure that privilege, were it not that these friars felt some sweetness and gain to hang upon it.

Also, where the rule of Friar Francis forbids them to keep company with any woman, if they enter into monasteries to be godfathers and gossips to men and women, how does it happen that, contrary to their rule, they enter into the secret chambers of queens, and other women, and come to know the most secret counsels of their doings, if not that avarice and advantage have so blinded their eyes, and stirred their hearts?

3. His third conclusion was that the Lord Christ in his human conduct was always poor, not because he loved or desired poverty for itself, etc. In this it is to be noted that Armachanus did not differ from the friars in this — that Christ was poor, and that he loved poverty — but he differed in the *manner* of loving, that is, whether he loved poverty for itself, or not.

4. The fourth conclusion was that Christ our Lord and Savior never begged willfully. He proves this with sundry reasons.

(1.) First, that in doing so, Christ would break the law which says, “You shall not covet your neighbor’s house, his wife, his servant, his maid, his ox, his donkey, or anything that is his,” Exo 20.17. Whoever begs voluntarily must incur the danger of this commandment.

(2.) If Christ had begged voluntarily, he would have sinned against another commandment, which says, “There shall be no beggar, nor needy person among you,” Deu 15.7-8.

(3.) Christ in so doing would have transgressed the emperor’s law, for the emperor’s law said no able-bodied beggar shall be permitted in the city.

(4.) If Christ had been a willful beggar, he would have broken the law of loving his neighbor, whom he would vex by having no need. For whoever, without need, asks or craves alms from his neighbor, vexes him in such a way that he would not be vexed himself. Christ would never do this.

[219] A.D. 1360.

(5.) If Christ had begged willfully, he would thereby have slandered his own gospel, which he confirmed with miracles. For those who saw his miracle in feeding 5,000 in the wilderness, would have thought much to themselves about how that miracle had been worked, if he who fed others, either could not or would not feed himself.

(6.) If Christ had begged willfully, then he would have done that which he himself condemns by Paul. For so we read in 1Tim 6.5, that Paul condemns those who esteem piety to be gain and lucre — which all those do, who under the color of piety, hunt or seek gain, when otherwise they need not.

(7.) If Christ had begged willfully, he would have offended by declaring an untruth in so doing. For whoever knows in his mind that he does not indeed need that thing which he asks from another, declares in himself an untruth, as someone who in word pretends to be otherwise than he is in very deed — which Christ, without doubt, never did nor ever would do.

(8.) If Christ had begged willfully, that is, having no true need for it, then he would have appeared either to be a hypocrite, seeming to be what he was not and to lack when he did not; or else to be a true beggar indeed, unable to suffice his necessity. For he is a true beggar indeed, who being constrained by mere necessity, is forced to ask from others, what he is unable to give to himself. But neither of these two agrees with Christ.

(9.) If Christ had begged willfully, then why did Peter rebuke the mother of Clement, his disciple, finding her standing among the beggars, whom he thought was strong enough to labor with her hands for her living, if in so doing she had followed the example of Christ?

(10.) If Christ had begged willfully: and if the friars rightly define perfection of the gospel by willful poverty, then Clement, St. Peter’s successor, was to blame, who labored so much to

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remove beggary and poverty from among all those who were converted to the faith of Christ, and is specially commended for it by the church.

(11.) Again, why did Clement, writing to James, bishop of Jerusalem, command so much to obey the doctrine and examples of the apostles, who as he shows in that epistle, had no beggar or needy person among them, if Christian perfection (by the friars' philosophy) stands in willful beggary?

(12.) If Christ the high priest had begged willfully, then the holy church erred knowingly, which ordained that none without sufficient title of living and clothing, should be admitted to holy orders; and moreover, when it is said in the canonical decrees, that the bishop or clerk who begs, brings shame upon the whole order of the clergy.

(13.) If Christ had willfully begged, then the examples of willful poverty would have pertained to the perfection of Christian life. This is contrary to the old law, which commands that the priests were to have possessions and tithes to keep them from beggary. Num. 18:25-28

(14.) If Christ willfully begged, then beggary was a point of Christian perfection. And so the church of God would err in admitting such patrimonies and donations given to the church, and so in taking this perfection from the prelates.

(15.) Again, what will these friars who put their perfection in begging, say to Melchizedek, who without begging or willful poverty, was the high priest of God, and king of Salem, and prefigured the order and priesthood of Christ? Gen 14.18

(16.) And if beggary is such a perfection of the gospel (as the friars say) how does it happen that the Holy Spirit, given to the apostles to lead them into all truth, Joh 16.13 did not tell them a word about this beggarly perfection, nor is there any word of it mentioned throughout the whole testament of God?

(17.) Moreover, where the prophet says, "I never saw the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread," Psa 27.25 how would this stand with the righteousness of Christ, who was most perfectly righteous, if he were to be forsaken, or his seed go begging for their bread? And then how does this agree with the abominable doctrines of Franciscan friars, who put their perfection in willful begging?

(18.) Finally, do we not read that Christ sent his disciples to preach without scrip or wallet, and bid them greet no man by the way? Luk 10.4 Meaning that they should beg nothing from any man. Did not the same Christ also labor with his hands under his father Joseph? St. Paul likewise, did he not labor with his hands, rather than burden the Corinthians? 1Cor 4.12 And where now is the doctrine of the friars, which puts the state of perfection in willful begging?"

**5.** The fifth conclusion of Armachanus against the friars was this, that Christ never taught any man to willfully beg, which he proved thus. It is written, Act 1.1, "Christ began to do and to teach." If Christ therefore, who never willfully begged himself, had taught men to do otherwise, then his doing and teaching would not have agreed together.

And if Christ, who never willfully begged himself, had taught men this doctrine of willful begging, contrary to his own doing, he would have made his doctrine suspect.

Moreover, in so teaching, he would have taught contrary to the emperor's just law, which expressly forbids it.

**6.** The sixth conclusion of Armachanus against the friars was that our Lord Jesus Christ teaches us that we should not beg willfully. He proves it by Luk 14.13; 2The 3.8-10; Pro 6.9, Pro 31.13. etc.

7. The seventh conclusion of Armachanus is that no wise nor true holy man can take upon himself willful poverty, to be observed always; which he proves by Pro 30.8, and by its being a temptation; and so it is against the Lord's prayer. <sup>Mat 6.13</sup>

8. The eighth conclusion of this matter, that it is not agreeable to the rule of the Friars Observant,<sup>246</sup> to observe willful beggary. For friar Francis, both in his rule and in his testament left to his Franciscans, plainly prefers labor before begging.

9. The ninth and last conclusion is that the bull of Pope Alexander IV, which condemns the book of the masters of Paris, impugns none of these conclusions.

*Notes to be observed in this oration of Armachanus.*

By this oration of Armachanus the learned prelate, made before Pope Innocent and his cardinals, there are many things worthy to be observed for the utility of the church.

*First*, what troubles and vexations came to the church of Christ by these friars.

*Secondly*, what persecution follows by means of them against so many learned men and true servants of Christ.

*Thirdly*, what opposition and contrariety there were among the popes, and how they could not agree among themselves about the friars.

*Fourthly*, what a pestiferous doctrine it was, that well near subverted the testament of Jesus Christ.

*Fifthly*, what a decay of ministers in Christ's church.

*Sixthly*, what robbing and circumventing of men's children.

*Seventhly*, what a decay of universities, as appeared by Oxford.

*Eighthly*, what damage to learning, and lack of books for students, came by these friars.

*Ninthly*, to what pride they grew under color of feigned humility; to what riches they grew under dissembled poverty. Insomuch that at length, through their subtle and most dangerous hypocrisy, they crept up to be lords, archbishops, cardinals, and at last also chancellors of realms, yes, and of the most secret counsel with kings and queens.

But enough of this oration of Armachanus. What success it had with the pope is not certain. By his own life it appears that the Lord so wrought that his enemies did not triumph. Yet he was seven or eight years in banishment for the same matter.

I credibly hear of certain old Irish Bibles translated long since into the Irish tongue, which if it is true, it is not unlikely the doing of this Armachanus. And thus much of this learned prelate and archbishop of Ireland, a man worthy for his Christian zeal of immortal commendation.

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***The Law of Praemunire.*** <sup>247</sup>

After the death of Innocent VI, next "poped" in the see of Rome was Pope Urban V, who on his father's side, was an Englishman.

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<sup>246</sup> The Observant Friars, also called the Friars Minor of the Observance (Minorites), are a branch of the Franciscan Order that emphasized poverty and austerity; they are one of the *mendicant* or *begging* orders.

<sup>247</sup> *Praemunire*: the offense of asserting or maintaining papal jurisdiction in England.

This pope maintained and kindled great wars in Italy, sending Egidius his cardinal and legate, and after him Arduinus a Burgundian, his legate and abbot, with great force and much money against several cities in Italy. By their means the towns and cities which had before broken from the bishop of Rome were oppressed; also Barnabas and Galeaceus, princes of Milan, were vanquished. By their example others were made afraid, and submitted themselves to the church of Rome. Thus that wicked church gained her great possessions, which her patrons claimed came from father Constantine the godly emperor.<sup>248</sup>

In the time of this Pope Urban V, in the second year of his reign, about the beginning of A.D. 1364, I find a certain sermon of one Nicholas Orem, made before the pope and his cardinals on Christmas Eve. In this sermon, the learned man worthily rebukes the prelates and priests of his time, declaring their destruction was not far off, by certain signs taken from their wicked and corrupt life. All the sayings of the prophets spoken against the wicked priests of the Jews, he aptly applies against the clergy of his time. He compared the church then to the spiritual strumpet spoken of in the sixteenth chapter of the prophet Ezekiel. And he proves, in conclusion, that the clergy of the church then was so much worse than the old synagogue of the Jews, by how much worse it is to sell the church and sacraments, than to allow doves to be sold in the church. With no less judgment, and also learning, he responds to the old and false objections of the papists who, although ever so wicked, still think they are the church which the Lord cannot forsake.

In the fifth year of Pope Urban, the order of the **Jesuits** began. And up to this time, which was about A.D. 1367, the offices here in England, such as the lord chancellor, lord treasurer, and office of the privy seal, were usually in the hands of the clergy. But about this year, through the motion of the lords in the parliament, and partly for hatred of the clergy, all the offices were removed from the clergy to the lords temporal.

After the death of Pope Urban, succeeded Pope Gregory XI, who again brought the papacy out of France to Rome, after having been absent for seventy years. He was influenced (as Sabellicus records) by the answer of a bishop, whom the pope had asked why he was so long absent from his charge and church. The pope said, "it was not the part of a good pastor, to keep himself from his flock for so long." The bishop responded saying, "And you yourself, being the chief bishop, who may and ought to be an example to us all, why are you so long from the place where your church is?" The pope sought all means after that to remove his court out of France again to Rome, and he did so.

The king of England, holding a parliament in the third year of this pope, sent his ambassadors to him, desiring that from then on the pope would abstain from his reservations of benefices used in the court of England; and that spiritual men, promoted within this realm to bishoprics, might freely conduct their elections within the realm, and be confirmed by their metropolitans, according to the ancient custom of the realm. Therefore, upon these and other such matters, where the king and the realm thought themselves aggrieved, he desired the pope to provide some remedy, etc. The pope replied to the king, requesting to be certified of the king's mind concerning this. But what his answer was, is not recorded in history, except that the following year, 1374, there was a negotiation at Burges upon certain of the articles between the king and the pope, which hung in suspense for two years. At length it was agreed that the pope would no longer use his reservations of benefices in England, and the king would no longer confer and give benefices upon the writ,

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<sup>248</sup> That is, the alleged Donation of Constantine. See pp. 72, 210, and 398.



*Quare impedit*, etc. <sup>249</sup> But as to the freedom of elections to be confirmed by the metropolitan, nothing was touched.

The king, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, by the consent of the lords and commons, enacted a statute in accordance with a statute made in the thirtieth year of his grandfather Edward I, in which an act was passed against the ravenous pillage by the pope, through provisions, reservations, and collations, etc. But it was not put into execution. By its provisions, the state of the realm decreased more and more, the king's royalty and prerogative was greatly obscured and diminished, innumerable treasure of the realm was transported, aliens and strangers were placed in the best and fattest bishoprics, abbeys, and benefices within the realm; and those who could not be resident here in England, either for their offices in Rome, such as cardinalships, etc., or if resident, were yet better away for infinite causes. The king not only revived the statute made by Edward I, but he also enlarged it. He added very strait and sharp penalties against the offenders, such as exemption from the king's protection, loss of all their lands, goods, and other possessions, and their bodies were to be imprisoned at the king's pleasure. And further, whoever was lawfully convicted, or for lack of appearance by process, was within the lapse of this *Statute of Praemunire* (for that was the name of it), would suffer all and every such molestation and injury, as men exempted from the protection of the king. So that whoever killed such men, would have been in no more danger of law, than for killing any outlaw, or someone not worthy to live in a commonweal. They were then esteemed unprofitable members, in that time of ignorance in England, who would offer themselves to the willful slavery and servile obedience of the pope. Although in *these* days, yes and that is among no small fools, it is counted more than evangelical holiness. Whoever wishes to peruse the statute, and would see every branch and article of it discussed and handled at large, with the penalties, let him read the *Statute of Provision and Praemunire*, made in the twenty-fifth year of this king's days. And let him read in the statutes made in the parliaments that were held in the 27th and 38th years of his reign. And under the same title of *Provision and Praemunire*, he will find the pope's primacy and jurisdiction within this realm more nearly touched, and much of his papal power restrained. It went so far, that whoever would either appeal or consent to any appeal to be made outside the realm to the pope or See of Rome — for any cause or controversy in law, either spiritual or temporal, which was determinable in any of the king's courts (as all matters were), whether personal or real citations, or other — would incur the penalty and danger of *praemunire*. Diverse other matters are expressed in the titles and statutes, and set forth at large, in which the pope is restrained from his usurped power, authority, and jurisdiction within the realm of England. Whoever wishes may peruse it; but for brevity's sake I omit it, hastening on to other matters.

### **Holy Bridget.**

About this time (being A.D. 1370), lived holy Bridget, whom the church of Rome has canonized not only as a saint, but also as a prophetess. Notwithstanding, in her book of revelations, which has often been printed, she was a great rebuker of the pope, and of the filth of his clergy, calling him a murderer of souls, a spiller and a pilferer of the flock of Christ, more abominable than the Jews, more cruel than Judas, more unjust than Pilate, worse than Lucifer himself. She prophesies that the see of the pope will be thrown down into the deep like a millstone; and that his assistants shall burn with brimstone; affirming that

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<sup>249</sup> In English law, *quare impedit* was a writ commencing a common law action to decide a disputed right of presentation to a benefice, known as an advowson. It was typically brought by a patron against a bishop who refuses to appoint the patron's nominee as a priest.



the prelates, bishops, and priests are the cause why the doctrine of Christ is neglected, and almost extinguished. And that the clergy have turned the ten commandments of God into two words, to wit, "Give money." It would be long and tedious to declare all that she writes against them, so let this suffice for all. Bridget affirms in her revelations, that when the Holy Virgin said to her Son that "Rome was a fruitful and fertile field," he said, "Yes, but only of weeds and cockle," etc.

[221] A.D. 1362-1371.

To this Bridget I will also join **Catherine of Sienne**, a holy nun, who lived much about the same time (A.D. 1379). This Catherine was accustomed to complain much about the corrupt state of the church — namely, of the prelates of the court of Rome, and of the pope — warning them of the great schism, which then followed in the church of Rome, and endured till the Council of Constance (A.D. 1414).

Besides these, the Lord, who never ceases to work in his church, stirred up against the malignant church of Rome, the spirits of diverse good and godly teachers, such as **Matthew Paris**, a Bohemian born, who about A.D. 1370, wrote a large book about antichrist, and he proves that he has already come; he notes that the pope is the antichrist. In this book he greatly inveighs against the wickedness and filthiness of the clergy, and against the neglect of their duty in governing the church. The locusts mentioned in the Apocalypse, he says, are the hypocrites reigning in the church. The works of antichrist, he says, are these: the fables and inventions of men reigning in the church; the images and feigned relics that are worshipped everywhere; and that every man worships his own saint and savior beside Christ, so that almost every man and city has its peculiar Christ. He taught and affirmed moreover, that godliness and true worship of God are not bound to place, persons, or times — to be heard more in this place than in another, or at this time more than at another, etc. He also argues against the cloisterers, who leaving the only true Savior, set up for themselves their Francises, their Dominics, and such others, and have them for their saviors, glorifying and triumphing in them, and feigning many forged lies about them. Paris was greatly and much offended with monks and friars, for neglecting, or rather *burying* the word of Christ. And instead of him, celebrating and setting up their own rules and canons, affirming him to be hurtful to true godliness; that priests, monks, and nuns, should account themselves spiritual, and all others to be lay and secular; attributing only to themselves the opinion of holiness, and despising other men. Paris further writes that antichrist had seduced all universities and colleges of learned men, so that they teach no sincere doctrine, nor give any light to the Christians with their teaching. Finally, he forewarns that it will come to pass, that God once again will raise up godly teachers who, being fervent in the spirit and zeal of Elijah, shall disclose and refute the errors of antichrist, and antichrist himself, openly to the whole world.

About the same time, or shortly after (A.D. 1384), we also read of **John of Mountziger**, rector of the university of Ulme, who openly in the schools, in his oration, propounded that the body of Christ (bread) was not God, and therefore not to be worshipped as God with that kind of worship called *Latreia*, as the sophisters term it, meaning thereby that the sacrament was not to be adored. Afterward he defended this in writing, also affirming that Christ in his resurrection took to himself again all his blood which he had shed in his passion. He thereby meant to infer that the blood of Christ (wine), which is worshipped in many places, neither can be called the blood of Christ, nor ought to be worshipped.

**Nilus, archbishop of Thessalonica**, lived much about this time. He wrote a long work against the Latins, that is, against those who took part and held with the church of Rome.

His first book, written in Greek, was afterward translated into Latin, and recently into English in our time. In the first chapter of this book, he lays all the blame and fault of the dissension and schism between the eastern and the western churches, upon the pope. He affirmed that the pope would only command what he pleased, however contrary to all the ancient canons; that he would hear and follow no man's advice; that he would not permit any free councils to be assembled, etc. And that therefore it was not possible that the controversies between the Greek church and Latin church might be decided.

In the second chapter of this book he makes a very learned disputation. First, he declares that if the pope has any more dignity than other bishops, it is not at all by God's commandment, but only by human law. The councils, the fathers, the emperors, have granted this dignity, to him. Nor did they grant it for any consideration other than the city then had the empire of the whole world, and not at all because Peter was ever there or not.

Secondly, he declares that the primacy is not so great as he and his sycophants usurp to themselves. Also, he refutes the main propositions of the papists one after another. He declares that the pope has no more dominion than other patriarchs, and that the pope may err as well as other mortal men; and that he is subject both to laws and councils, as well as other bishops. That it did not belong to him, but to the emperor, to call general councils; and that in ecclesiastical causes he could establish and ordain no more than all other bishops might. And lastly, that he gets no more by Peter's succession than that of being a bishop, as all other bishops after the apostles are, etc.

I cannot leave out the memory of **James Misuensis**, who also wrote of the coming of antichrist. He mentions a certain learned man, whose name was **Militzius**, who was a famous and worthy preacher in Prague. He lived about A.D. 1366, long before Huss, and before Wycliffe also. In his writings he declares how the same good man Militzius was incited by the Holy Spirit of God, and moved to search out of the holy Scriptures the manner and coming of antichrist. He found that then, in his own time, he had already come. And James says that Militzius was constrained to go up to Rome, and to publicly preach there; and that afterwards, he affirmed this before the inquisitor — that the same mighty and great antichrist, which the Scriptures mentioned, had already come.

He also affirmed that the church, by the negligence of the pastors, would become desolate, and that iniquity would abound. Also, he said that in the church of Christ there were idols, which would destroy Jerusalem, and make the temple desolate, but they were cloaked by hypocrisy. Further, that there are many who deny Christ, for they keep silence against their conscience; nor do they *hear* Christ, whom all the world should know, and *confess* his truth before men.

There is also a bull of Pope Gregory XI to the archbishop of Prague, in which he is commanded to excommunicate and persecute Militzius and his hearers. The same bull declares that he was once a canon of Prague, but that afterwards he renounced his canonship, and began to preach. But because he preached that antichrist had already come, he was put in prison by John, archbishop of Prague. He had his company or congregation to whom he preached, and among them were certain converted women who had forsaken their evil life, and lived godly and well. He was accustomed in his sermons to prefer these before all the blessed nuns who never offended. He also taught openly that there was no truth in the pope, cardinals, bishops, prelates, priests, and other religious men, and that they did not teach the way of truth, but that only he, and those who held with him, taught the true way of salvation.

About the year 1371, lived **Henry de Jota**, whom Gerson much commends, and also his companion **Henry de Hassia**, a learned and famous man. In an epistle of this Henry de Hassia, which he wrote to the Bishop of Normacia, the author greatly accuses the spiritual men of every order — yes, and the most holy of all others, the pope himself — of many and great vices. He said that the ecclesiastical governors in the primitive church were compared to the sun shining in the daytime; and the political governors to the moon shining in the night. But the spiritual men now in it, he said, neither shine in the day-time, nor yet in the night-time, but rather with their darkness they obscure both the day and the night — that is, with their filthy living, ignorance, and impiety. He also cites these words out of the prophecy of Hildegardis (see p. 160):

“Therefore the devil in himself speaks of you priests; I find among these men dainty banquets and feasts in which there is all voluptuousness,; insomuch that my eyes, my ears, my body, and my veins are filled with the froth of them! ... Lastly, every day more and more, as Lucifer did, they seek to climb higher and higher, till every day with him, more and more, they fall deeper and deeper.”

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### **Martyrs Before Wycliffe.**

About the year 1390, thirty-six citizens of Mentz were burned at Bringa, for the doctrine of the Waldenses, as Brussius affirms. This opinion was not contrary to what they held before, in which they affirmed that the pope was that great antichrist which would come; unless perhaps the pope seemed then to be more evidently convicted of anti-Christianity, than at any other time.

For the same cause many others beside these are to be found in histories, who sustained similar persecutions by the pope, if leisure would serve to peruse all that might be searched. Such as where Masseus records some 140 in the province of Narbonne, who chose to suffer every grievous punishment by fire, rather than receive the decretals of the Romish church, contrary to the truth of the Scripture.

What should I say here about the 24 who suffered at Paris (A.D. 1210)? Also in the same author it is testified that (A.D. 1211) 400 were named heretics and burned; 80 were beheaded. Prince Americus was hanged, and the lady of the castle was stoned to death.

Moreover, in the chronicles of Hoveden and of other writers, a great number are recited who were burned as heretics in France.

### **Notes out of Acts of Parliament Against the Pope.**

We will now, Christ willing, proceed upon no light reports of feeble credit, nor upon any fabulous legends without authority, but upon the true and substantial copies of the public records of the realm, still remaining to be seen under the king's most sure and faithful custody. Out of these records such matter appears against the popish church of Rome, and against his usurped authority, such open standing and crying out against that see. And it was not done secretly, but even in open parliament in the days of King Edward III. So that the Romish people of our age will neither easily think it is true when they see it, nor yet be able to deny it.

King Edward III, in the sixth year of his reign (1333), hearing that Edward Baliol had proclaimed himself King of Scotland, required counsel from the whole state. And for this he summoned a parliament of all estates to meet at York about the beginning of December, where the king had already come, waiting for the coming of those who were summoned. But

none of all the clergy came, except the archbishop of York, the bishop of Lincoln, and of Carlisle, and the abbots of York and Selby. So that the archbishop of Canterbury did not come, nor any other from his province, and all because there was a dispute as to whether Canterbury or York should carry the cross.

It also follows in the records, that the commons find great fault at provisions coming from Rome, by which foreigners were enabled to enjoy ecclesiastical dignities within this realm. And they show the inconveniences ensuing thereby; namely, the decay of daily alms; the transporting of the treasure to nourish the king's enemies; the discovering of the secrets of the realm; and the disabling and impoverishing of the clergy within this realm.

They also show how the pope had most covertly granted to two new cardinals within this realm, over 10,000 marks of yearly taxes. The commons therefore requested the king and nobles to find some remedy, for they never could, nor would they any longer, bear those strange oppressions. Or else they would have the king and nobles help them to expel the pope's power out of this realm by force.

Hereupon, the king, lords, and commons, sent for the act made at Carlisle, in the thirty-fifth year of King Edward I (1307), upon the same complaint, thereby forbidding that anything should be attempted or brought into the realm, which would tend to the blemishing of the King's prerogative, or to the prejudice of his lords or commons. And so at this time the statute called the Act of Provision was made common by consent, which generally forbids bringing in any bulls, or such trinkets from the court of Rome, or the using, enjoying, or allowing of any such bill, process, instrument, or ware.

Also, it was propounded in the parliament, in the eighteenth year of Edward III (1345), that if any bishop-elect refuses to take any such bishoprics other than by the pope's bull, then he shall not enter nor enjoy his temporalities without special license from the king.

Also, that the king shall dispose of all such benefices and dignities of such foreigners, his enemies, that remain in the country of his enemies, and employ the profits fore the defense of the realm.

Moreover it was propounded that commissioners be sent to all the king's ports, to apprehend all such persons who bring in any such instrument from Rome, and to bring them immediately before the council to answer for it.

It was propounded, furthermore, that the deanery of York, which is to be recovered by judgment in the king's court, may be bestowed upon some able man within the realm, who will maintain it against him (meaning against the cardinal who holds the same by provision from Rome, being an enemy to the king and to the realm), and that the profits may be employed for the defense of the realm.

To all of these petitions, the king's answer was made in the following form:

“It is agreed by the king, earls, barons, justices, and other men of the realm, that the petitions aforesaid be made in sufficient form of law, according to the petitions aforesaid.”

To pass further, in the twentieth year of the king's reign (1347), in the parliament held the same year, it was propounded that all foreign monks should leave the realm by St. Michael's day,<sup>250</sup> and that their livings should be disposed to young English scholars. The livings of these, the king took in his hands.

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<sup>250</sup> [St. Michael's day, or Michaelmas, falls on September 29th.](#)

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Also, that the king may take the profits of all other foreigners' livings, such as cardinals and others, during their lifetimes. The profits of which were also to be in the king's hands.

That such foreigners enemies, as are advanced to livings here in England (being in their own countries, shoemakers, tailors, or chamberlains to cardinals), should depart before Michaelmas, and their livings be disposed to poor English scholars. The livings also of these remained in the king's hands.

The commons refused to pay any payment to any cardinals, lying in France, to deal with war or peace; this was granted on the king's part as reasonable.

Also propounded and fully agreed: that the yearly advance of 2,000 marks (granted by the pope to two cardinals, out of the provinces of Canterbury and York) should be restrained.

Likewise enacted: that no Englishman should take anything in farming from any foreign monk, or buy any of their goods, or take their counsel, on pain of perpetual imprisonment.

Enacted further: that no person should bring into the realm, to any bishop or other, any bull, or any other letters from Rome, or from any alien, unless he shows it to the chancellor or warden of the cinque ports,<sup>251</sup> upon loss of all his goods.

Finally, at the end of the parliament, the bishops were commanded to certify to the chancery, before the next convocation, the names of all such foreigners, of their benefices, and the values of them.

The parliament of the twenty-fifth year (1352) was begun the 6th day of February, in which, besides other matters, it was propounded that remedy might be had against the pope's reservation, by which the pope received the first fruits of all ecclesiastical dignities: a greater consumption (financial loss) to the realm than all the king's wars.

Also that the same remedy might be had against those in the court of Rome who presume to undo any judgment given in the king's court, as if they had power to undo the laws of the realm. To which it was answered, that there was sufficient remedy provided by law.

[223] A.D. 1370.

In the parliament held at Westminster, the thirty-eighth year of Edward III (1364), it was required by the king's own mouth, and declared to the whole estates, how citations and false suggestions were made to the pope daily, for matters that were determinable in the king's courts within the realm; and for procuring provisions for ecclesiastical dignities. This was to the great defacing of the ancient laws — to the spoiling of his crown — to the daily conveying away of the realm's treasure — to the wasting of ecclesiastical livings — to the withdrawing of divine service, alms, hospitality, and other acceptable works — and to the daily increase of all mischiefs. Therefore, the king required, in person and by his own mouth, the whole estate to provide due remedy.

In the fortieth year of the reign of King Edward III (A.D. 1366), another parliament was called at Westminster, the bishop of Ely being lord chancellor and speaker. On the second day of the assembly, in the presence of the king, lords, and commons, he declared how the day before, they generally understood the cause of their assembly, but now they should more particularly understand it. Especially, how the king understood that the pope — for the homage which King John made to the See of Rome for the realms of England and Ireland, and for the tribute granted by him — meant by process to cite the king to Rome to answer

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<sup>251</sup> *Cinque Ports*: originally a confederation of five ports in southeast England, but later comprising forty ports.

for it. The king required their advice in this, what would be best for him to do if any such thing were attempted. The bishops by themselves required a respite till the next day to answer. So did the lords and commons, every one of them by themselves.

The next day the whole estates re-assembled together, and by common consent enacted in effect following; for neither King John, nor any other king, could bring his realm and people under such thralldom and subjection, except by the common assent of parliament. This had not been done previously, and therefore king John acted against his oath at his coronation. If, therefore, the pope should attempt anything against the king, by process or otherwise, then the king, with all his subjects, should resist it with all their force and power.

Here, moreover, it is not to be omitted, how in this same parliament, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge on the one side, and the friars of the four mendicant orders in the universities on the other side, made long complaints, one against the other, to the king in parliament. But in the end they submitted themselves to the king's order.

After which the king, upon fully digesting the whole matter (and by assent of parliament), ordered that the chancellor and scholars, as well as the friars of those orders in the universities, should in all graces and other school exercises, use each other in friendly ways, without any rumor as before. That none of those orders should receive any scholars into their orders under the age of eighteen years. That the friars should take no advantage, or procure bulls or other process from Rome, against the universities, or proceed in them. And that the king should have power to redress all controversies between them from then on, and the offenders were to be punished at the pleasure of the king, and of the Council.

In process of these acts and rolls of parliament, it follows that in the fiftieth year of the reign of King Edward III (A.D. 1376), another great parliament was assembled at Westminster, where a long bill was put up against the usurpations of the pope.

1. That he was the cause of all the plagues, murrains, famine, and poverty of the realm, such that not one-third was left of the number of persons or other commodity within the realm, that there recently was.
2. That the taxes paid to the pope of Rome for ecclesiastical dignities, amount to five-fold as much as the tax of all profits which belong to the king, by the year, out of his whole realm; and that for some one bishopric or other dignity, the pope, by means of translations <sup>252</sup> and deaths, has three, four, or five separate taxes.
3. That the brokers of that sinful city promote, for money, many caitiffs <sup>253</sup> (being altogether unlearned and unworthy), up to 1,000 marks living a year, where the learned and worthy can hardly obtain 20 marks; whereby learning decays.
4. That foreigners (enemies to this land) who never saw nor care to see their parishioners, have those livings, whereby they despise God's service, and convey away the treasure, and are worse than Jews or Saracens.
5. Also it was put in the bill to be considered, that the laws of the church would have such livings bestowed for charity only, without praying or paying.
6. That reason would have livings given of devotion, should be bestowed in hospitality.

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<sup>252</sup> *Translation*: the act of moving a bishop from one see to another, which is a power held by the Pope.

<sup>253</sup> *Caitiff*: a base or despicable person.

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7. That God had committed his sheep to the pope, to be pastured, and not to be shorn or shaven.
8. That lay patrons, perceiving the covetousness and simony of the pope, thereby learn to sell their benefices to beasts, just as Christ was sold to the Jews.
9. That there is no prince in Christendom so rich, that he has even a fourth of the treasure which the pope has most sinfully taken out of this realm for churches.
10. Over and besides in the bill — repeating again the tender zeal for the honor of the church — were declared and particularly named all the plagues which have justly fallen upon this realm for allowing the church to be so defaced, with a declaration that they will daily increase without redress.
11. Whereupon with much persuasion this was desired, to help to re-edify the church; and this was rather because this was the year of jubilee, the fiftieth year of the king's reign, the year of joy and gladness, and there could be no greater than this.
12. The means how to begin this, was to write two letters to the pope, the one in Latin under the king's seal, the other in French under the seals of the nobles, importing their particularities that required redress. The effect of this letter of the lords may be seen in a similar letter mentioned earlier.
13. And to further accomplish this, to enact that no money was to be carried out of the realm by a letter from Lombardy or otherwise, on pain of forfeiture and imprisonment, and to enact the articles hereafter ensuing.
14. The king had previously provided sufficient remedy by statute, and otherwise pursued it with the holy father the pope, and so minded to do from time to time, until he had obtained the matters before, as well as for the articles ensuing, being in a way all one.
15. That the pope's collector and other strangers, the king's enemies, who were only lieger spies of English dignities and for disclosing the secrets of the realm, may be touched.
16. That the same collector, also being a receiver of the pope's pence, keeps a house in London, with clerks and officers, as if it were one of the king's solemn courts, transporting yearly to the pope 20,000 marks, and most commonly more.
17. That cardinals and other foreigners remaining at Rome, of which one cardinal is dean of York, another of Salisbury, another of Lincoln, another archdeacon of Canterbury, another archdeacon of Durham, another archdeacon of Suffolk, another archdeacon of York, another prebendary of Thame and Nassington, another prebendary of Bucks in the church of York, have some of the best dignities of England, and have sent over to them yearly 20,000 marks, over and above that which English brokers lying here have.
18. That the pope (to ransom the Frenchmen, the king's enemies, who defend Lombardy from the king), always at his pleasure, levies a subsidy from the whole clergy of England.
19. That the pope for greater gain makes several translations of all the bishoprics and other dignities within the realm.
20. That the pope's collector has this year taken for his use the first fruits of all benefices, by collation or provision.
21. To renew all the statutes against provisors from Rome, since the pope reserves all the benefices of the world for his own proper gifts, and has this year created twelve new cardinals, so that now there are thirty, where usually there were but twelve, and all those cardinals, except two or three, are the king's enemies.



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22. That the pope in time will give the temporal manors of those dignities to the king's enemies, since daily he so usurps upon the realm and the king's regalities.
23. That all houses and corporations of religion, who up to the time of the king's reign had free election of their heads, the pope has encroached upon them for himself.
24. That in all legacies from the pope, the English clergy bear the charge of the legates, and all for the goodness of our money.
25. And so it appears, that if the money of the realm were as plentiful as it ever was, the collectors, with the proctors of cardinals, would soon convey it away.
26. For the remedy of this, it may be provided that no such collector or proctor remain in England, on pain of life and member. And that no Englishman, on like pain, may become any such collector or proctor, or remain at Rome.
27. For better information about this, and namely touching the pope's collector — because the whole clergy being obedient to him, dare not displease him — it would be good that Sir John Strensale, parson of St. Botolph's in Holborn, may be sent to come before the lords and commons of this parliament, who being strictly charged, can declare much more, because he served the collector five years.

And thus much of this bill touching the pope's matters, by which it may appear that it was not for nothing that the Italians and other foreigners used to call Englishmen good asses, for they bore all the burdens that were laid upon them.

In these rolls and records of parliament in this King's time, several other things are noted as worthy of being marked, and not suppressed in silence. By these the reader may learn and understand that the state of the king's jurisdiction here within this realm, was not restricted in those days (although the pope then seemed to be in his best ruff <sup>254</sup>) as seen afterwards in other kings' days. This appears in the parliament of the fifteenth year of Edward III (1342), in the twenty-fourth article of the parliament. There it is to be read, that the king's officers and temporal justices then punished usurers, and impeached the officers of the church for bribery, and for taking money for temporal pain, probate of wills, solemnity of marriage, etc. notwithstanding all the pretended liberties of the popish church to the contrary.

This is moreover to be added to the commendation of this king, how in the volumes of the acts and rolls of the king it appears that King Edward III sent John Wycliffe, then reader of divinity lectures in Oxford, with other lords and ambassadors, over to Italy, to deal with the pope's legates concerning affairs between the king and the pope, with full commission. The tenor of it follows here:

“The king to all and singular to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know that we repose assured confidence in the fidelity and wisdom of the reverend father John bishop of Bangor, and our other loving and faithful subjects — Master John Wycliffe, reader of the divinity lecture. Master John Gunter, dean of Segobyen, and Master Simon Moulton, doctor of law, Sir William Burton Knight, Master John Belknap, and Master John Honnington. We have directed them as our ambassadors and special commissioners to the parts beyond the seas — giving to our ambassadors and commissioners, to five or six of them (of whom I desire that the bishop shall be one), full power and authority, with special commandment to deal with and consult mildly and charitably with the legates and ambassadors of the lord pope, regarding certain affairs. Whereupon of late, we sent the bishop, and William Ughtred, monk of

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<sup>254</sup> *Ruff*: A circular frill or ruffle on a garment, espec. a starched, fluted frill worn at the neck as a sign of status.



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Durham, and Master John Shepy to the see apostolical; and hereof to make full relation of all things done and passed in the said assembly, so that all such things which may tend to the honor of holy church, and the advancement of our crown and this our realm, may by the assistance of God, and wisdom of the see apostolical, be brought to good effect, and accomplished accordingly. Witness ourselves, etc. at London, dated the 26th day of July, in the 48th year of our reign.”

It may be seen by this letter what good will the king then bore toward Wycliffe, and what little regard he had for the sinful see of Rome. We will now proceed to the history of this valiant soldier of Christ.

***John Wycliffe – 1370-1384.***

After all those recited before, by whom it pleased the Lord to work against the bishop of Rome, and to weaken the pernicious superstition of the friars, it now remains to enter into the history of John Wycliffe, our countryman. And also others of his time and country, whom the Lord by the power of his Spirit raised up here in England, to detect more fully and amply the poison of the pope’s doctrine, and the false religion set up by the friars. In Wycliffe’s opinions some blemishes may perhaps be observed, yet they are such blemishes that show him to be a man who might err, rather than one who could directly fight against Christ our Savior, as the popes and friars did. And from the primitive ages of the church, what learned man has been so perfect, so absolutely sure, that no opinion of his has ever been erroneous? And yet these articles of Wycliffe would be seen to be neither so many in number, nor yet so gross in themselves, as his enemies make them out to be, if his books, which they destroyed, remained to compare with those articles which they have twisted to the worst.

This much is certain, and cannot be denied, that being the public reader of divinity to the university of Oxford, he was for the rude time in which he lived, famously reputed as a great clergyman, a deep scholar, and no less expert in all kind of philosophy. This not only appears by his famous and learned writings, but also by the confession of Walden, his most cruel and bitter enemy, who in a letter written to Pope Martin V, says, “That he was wonderfully astonished at his strongest arguments with the places of authority which he had gathered, with the vehemency and force of his reasons,” etc. It appears that Wycliffe flourished about A.D. 1371, in the reign of Edward III. For thus we find in the chronicles of Caxton:

“In the year of our Lord 1371, Edward III, king of England, in his parliament was against the pope’s clergy. He willingly hearkened and gave ear to the voices and tales of heretics with some of his council; conceiving and following sinister opinions against the clergy, for which he tasted and afterward suffered much adversity and trouble. And not long after, in the year of our Lord 1372, he wrote to the bishop of Rome, that the pope should not by any means intermeddle any more within his kingdom, as to the reservation or distribution of benefices; and that all those bishops who were under his dominion, should enjoy their former and ancient liberty, and be confirmed by their metropolitans, as accustomed in times past,” etc.

Without all doubt, when the world was in a most desperate and vile state, and lamentable darkness and ignorance of God’s truth overshadowed the whole earth, this man Wycliffe stepped out like a valiant champion.

Thus Almighty God continually succors and helps us, when all other things are in despair, being always, according to the Psalm, “a help in time of need.” This was never more apparent than in these later days and extreme age of the church, when the whole state, not

only of worldly things, but also of religion, was depraved and corrupted. The state of religion among the divines was in a deep lethargy, and past all the help and remedy of man. Only the name of Christ remained among the Christians. His true and lively doctrine was as far unknown to most men, as his name was common to all men. As to faith; consolation; the end and use of the law; the office of Christ; our impotency and weakness; the Holy Spirit; the greatness and strength of sin; true works; grace, and free justification by faith; the liberty of a Christian man — of all these things in which the sum of our profession consists, there was no mention, and scarcely a word spoken.

[225] A.D. 1370-1376.

Scripture, learning, and divinity, were known but to a few, and that was in the schools only; and there too it was almost all turned into sophistry. Instead of the epistles of Peter and Paul, men occupied their time in studying Aquinas and Scotus, and Lombard, the Master of Sentences. The world leaving and forsaking God's spiritual word and doctrine, was altogether led and blinded with outward ceremonies and human traditions. In these all the hope of obtaining salvation was fully fixed, so that scarcely anything else was taught in the churches.

The people were taught to worship nothing but what they saw, and saw almost nothing which they did not worship.

The whole world was filled and overwhelmed with error and darkness. And no great wonder, for the simple and unlearned people, being far from all knowledge of the holy Scripture, thought it sufficient for them to know only these things which were delivered to them by their pastors and shepherds. And they, on the other hand, taught nothing but those things which came forth from the court of Rome, of which the greater part tended to the profit of their order, more than to the glory of Christ.

The Christian faith was nothing then, but that every man should know that Christ once suffered — that is to say, that all men should know and understand what the devils themselves also knew. Hypocrisy was counted as wonderful holiness. Men were so given to outward forms, that even those who professed the knowledge of the Scriptures, scarcely understood or knew anything but these forms. And this appeared not only in the common sort of doctors and teachers, but also in the very heads and captains of the church, whose whole religion and holiness consisted in observing days, foods, garments, and circumstances such as place, time, person, etc. From this there sprang so many fashions of vestures and garments, so many differences of colors and foods, so many pilgrimages to several places, as if St. James at Compostella could do what Christ could not do at Canterbury. Or else, that God was not of the same power and strength in every place, or could not be found unless by running here and there in pilgrimages. etc. Thus the holiness of the whole year was transported and put off to the lent season. No country or land was counted holy except Palestine. Such was the blindness of that time, that men strived and fought for the cross at Jerusalem, as if it had been for the chief and only strength of our faith. It is a wonder to read the monuments of the former times, to see and understand what great troubles and calamities this cross had caused in almost every Christian commonwealth. For the Romish champions never ceased, by writing, admonishing, and counselling, yes, and by quarrelling, to move and stir up princes to mind war and battle, even as though the faith and belief of the gospel were of no power, or of little effect without that wooden cross.

In these troublous times, and horrible darkness of ignorance, when there seemed to be no spark of pure doctrine remaining, this Wycliffe sprang up by God's providence, through

whom the Lord purposed to awaken the world, which was overwhelmed in the deep streams of human traditions.

Wycliffe, after he had a long time professed divinity in the university of Oxford, and perceiving the true doctrine of Christ's gospel to be defiled with the inventions of bishops, orders of monks, and dark errors, and after long deliberating with himself, with many secret sighs, and bewailing the general ignorance of the world, could no longer bear it, he at last determined to remedy such things as he saw to be out of the way. But as he saw that this could not be attempted without great trouble, and that these things, which had been rooted and grafted in men's minds so long a time, could not be plucked up suddenly, he thought that it should be done little by little. Therefore he first assailed his adversaries in logical and metaphysical questions, disputing with them about the first form and fashion of things, of the increase of time, and of the intelligible substance of a creature, with other such things of no great importance. Yet it helped him not a little in preparing to dispute about greater matters.

From these beginnings the way was opened to greater matters, so that at the length he came to address the matters of the sacraments, and other abuses of the church. This holy man took great pains regarding these things, protesting openly in the schools, that it was his chief and principal purpose to call back the church from her idolatry to some better amendment, especially in the matter of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. But this sore point could not be touched without the great grief and pain of the whole world. For first of all, the whole body of monks and begging friars were set into a rage and madness; and even as hornets with their sharp stings, they assailed this good man on every side. After them the priests, and then after them the archbishop took the matter in hand, depriving him of his benefice which he had in Oxford. But being somewhat befriended and supported by the king, he continued and bore up against the malice of the friars, and of the archbishop, till about A.D. 1377. I must now digress a little to make some mention of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who was his special supporter and friend.

When King Edward III had reigned about fifty-one years, and was of great age, and in such feebleness that he was unable to govern the affairs of the realm, a parliament was called the year before his death. It was resolved by the knights and burgesses, that twelve sage and discreet lords and peers should be placed as guardians around the king, to do and dispose under him matters pertaining to the government.

These twelve governors being appointed by parliament to have the tuition of the king, and to attend to the public affairs of the realm, remained for a certain time about him, till afterwards, being again removed, all the government of the realm, next under the king, was committed to the duke of Lancaster, the king's fourth son. For as yet Richard, the son of Prince Edward (who was recently deceased), nephew of the duke and grandson of Edward III, was very young and under age.

#### **Wycliffe Sent For By John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.**

This duke of Lancaster had conceived in his heart for a long time, a displeasure against the popish clergy, whether for corrupt and impure doctrine joined with abominable excess of life, or for what other cause, is not precisely known.

The duke sent for John Wycliffe, who was then the divinity reader in Oxford. He had commenced several disputations contrary to the form and teaching of the pope's church in many things, and been deprived of his benefice. The opinions which Wycliffe began to put forth in his lectures and sermons at Oxford, were these: That the pope had no more power

than others to excommunicate any man; that even if the pope excommunicates a person, yet it is as much in the power of another priest to absolve that person, as it is in the pope. He affirmed that neither the king nor any temporal lord could give any perpetuity to the church, nor to any ecclesiastical person. For when such ecclesiastical persons sin, and continue in their sin, the temporal powers ought to take away from them what had been bestowed upon them before. Wycliffe proved this to have been practiced here in England by William Rufus (son of William the Conqueror). Wycliffe said that if Rufus did this lawfully, then why may this not also be practiced now? If he did it unlawfully, then the church errs unlawfully in praying for him.

Besides these opinions and assertions of his, with others which will be mentioned later in order, he began also to touch the matter of the SACRAMENT. He proved that in the sacrament, the bread remained in its substance. He proved this both by the holy Scriptures, and also by the authority of the doctors, but especially by those who were most ancient. As for the later writers, he utterly rejected them, saying that the simple and plain truth appears in the Scriptures, to which all human traditions whatsoever must be referred, and especially those which are set forth and published in recent years. This was the reason why he refused the later writers about decretals,<sup>255</sup> leaning only on the Scriptures and ancient doctors. He affirmed out of them, that in the sacrament of the body which is celebrated with bread, the incidentals are not present without the substance; that is to say, that the body of Christ is not present without the bread, as the common sort of priests in those days dreamed.

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### **Wycliffe Cited to Appear Before the Bishops.**

Although through the favor and support of the duke of Lancaster, and Lord Henry Percy, he persisted in this, and was protected against the violence and cruelty of his enemies. At last, about A.D. 1376, the bishops still urged and incited their archbishop Simon Sudbury, who had already deprived Wycliffe, and afterwards prohibited him, had obtained by process and order of citation, to have him brought before them. Both space and time for him to appear was assigned to him in their usual form.

The duke receiving intelligence that Wycliffe was to appear before the bishops, and fearing that he was too weak against such a multitude, called out of the orders of friars, four bachelors of divinity, one out of every order, to join with Wycliffe for greater security. When the day came assigned to Wycliffe to appear (which was Thursday the 19th of February), John Wycliffe went accompanied with the four friars, and the duke of Lancaster, and also Lord Henry Percy, lord marshal of England. Lord Percy went before them to make room and way where Wycliffe would come.

As Wycliffe, thus sufficiently guarded, was coming to the place where the bishops sat, they animated and exhorted him not to fear or shrink before the bishops, who were all unlearned as compared with him. With these words, and with the assistance of the nobles, Wycliffe approached to the church of St. Paul in London, where a great concourse of people was gathered to hear what would be said and done. Such was the throng of the multitude, that the lords (notwithstanding all the authority of the high marshal) had great difficulty getting through. The bishop of London seeing the stir that the lord marshal kept in the church among the people, speaking to Lord Percy, said, "If he had known before what authority he would have assumed in the church, he would have stopped him from coming there." At

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<sup>255</sup> *Decretal*: an authoritative order or decree from the pope determining a point of ecclesiastical law.

which the duke, not a little angered, answered, “That he would keep such authority there, whether the bishop liked it or not.”

At last they pierced through and came to our Lady’s chapel, where the dukes and barons were sitting with the archbishops and other bishops. John Wycliffe, according to the custom, stood before them, to learn what would be laid to his charge. Lord Percy kindly bid him to sit down. But the bishop of London in anger said, “he should not sit there. Nor was it fitting,” he said, “that the one who was cited before his ordinary, should sit during the time of his answer.” At these words a fire began to kindle between them, so that they began to berate and revile one another.

Then the duke, taking Lord Percy’s part, answered the bishop with hasty words. The bishop far excelled him in this railing art of scolding; so the duke fell to threatening the bishop, that he would bring down the pride not only of him, but also of all the prelacy of England; and softly whispering in the ear of the person next him, said that he would rather pluck the bishop by the hair of his head out of the church, than he would take this affront at his hand. This was not spoken so secretly that the Londoners could not overhear him. Upon which they cried out in a rage, that they would not let their bishop be abused so contemptuously, but would lose their lives rather than allow him to be drawn out by the hair. Thus that council, being broken up with scolding and brawling for that day, was dissolved before nine o’clock.

On the 21st of June (A.D. 1377), the worthy and victorious prince King Edward III died, after he had reigned fifty one years. A prince not more aged in years than renowned for his many heroic virtues, but chiefly remarkable and applauded for his singular meekness and clemency towards his subjects and inferiors. He ruled them by gentleness and mercy, without rigor or severity. Among other noble and royal ornaments of his nature, he is described as a “father to the orphan, compassionate to the afflicted — mourning with the miserable — relieving the oppressed — and a friend to all who lacked a helper in time of need,” etc. But in my mind, above all other things in this prince, deserving to be commemorated, is that above all other kings of this realm, till the time of King Henry VIII, he was the greatest bridler of the pope’s usurped power and outrageous oppressions. During all the time of this king, the pope could never entirely succeed in this realm, and so John Wycliffe was maintained with favor and sufficient support.

### ***King Richard II - 1377.***

After King Edward succeeded his grandson, Richard II, at the age of eleven years. He was crowned at Westminster A.D. 1377. Following his grandfather’s steps, he was no great opponent to the doctrine of Wycliffe. Although at the beginning, partly through the iniquity of the times, and partly through the pope’s letters, he could not do all that he wished in Wycliffe’s behalf. The bishops now seeing the aged king taken away — during whose old age all the government depended upon the Duke of Lancaster — and now seeing the duke, with Lord Percy, remain in their private houses without intermeddling, they thought it was time to gain some advantage against Wycliffe; who had some degree of rest and quietness under the protection of the duke and lord Marshal. It is already stated how when he was brought before the bishops, by means of the duke and lord Henry Percy, the council was interrupted, and broken up, by which Wycliffe escaped without any further trouble. The following articles were at that time collected out of Wycliffe’s sermons (to be used against him).

- That the Holy Eucharist, after the consecration, is not the very body of Christ, but only figuratively.

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- That the church of Rome is not the head of all churches: and that Peter did not have any more power given by Christ, than any other Apostle had.
- That the pope of Rome has no more in the keys of the church, than any other person in the order of priesthood has.
- That the lords temporal may lawfully and deservedly take away their temporalities from the churchmen who persevere in offending.
- That if any temporal lord knows the church to be so offending, he is bound, under pain of damnation, to take the temporalities from it.
- That the Gospel is a rule sufficient of itself to rule the life of every Christian man here, without any other rule.
- That all other rules, under whose observances various monastic persons are governed, add no more perfection to the Gospel, than white adds color to the wall.
- That neither the pope, nor any other prelate of the church, ought to have prisons in which to punish transgressors.

Besides these articles, various other conclusions were afterward gathered out of his writings and preachings, which the bishops sent to pope Gregory XI at Rome.<sup>256</sup> Being perused there, they were condemned as heretical and erroneous by twenty-three cardinals.

**Bull of Gregory XI Against Wycliffe.**

The next year (A.D. 1378), being the first year of King Richard II, Pope Gregory sent the following bull by means of master Edmund Stafford, directed to the university of Oxford, rebuking them sharply, imperiously, and like a pope, for so long allowing the doctrine of John Wycliffe to take root, and not plucking it up with the crooked sickle of their catholic doctrine.

*Gregory the Bishop, the servant of God's servants, to his well-beloved Sons,  
the Chancellor and University of Oxford, in the Diocese of Lincoln,  
Greeting and Apostolical Benediction.*

“We are compelled not only to marvel, but also to lament, that considering the apostolical see has given to your University of Oxford so great favor and privilege, and also that you flow as in a large sea in the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and ought to be champions and defenders of the ancient and catholic faith (without which there is no salvation) by your great negligence and sloth, you will suffer wild cockle, not only to grow up among the pure wheat of the flourishing field of your university, but also to wax strong and choke the corn.

[227] A.D. 1376-1382.

“Neither do you have any care (as we are informed) to extirpate and pluck up the same by the roots, to the great blemishing of your renowned name — the peril of your souls — the contempt of the church of Rome — and to the great decay of the ancient faith. And further (which grieves us) the increase of that filthy weed was more sharply rebuked and judged in Rome, than in England where it sprang up.

“Therefore let there be means sought by the help of the faithful, to root out the same. Grievously, it is come to our ears, that one John Wycliffe, parson of Lutterworth in Lincoln diocese, a professor of Divinity (would God he were not rather a master of errors) has run into a kind of detestable wickedness, not only openly publishing, but also vomiting out of the filthy dungeons of his breast, diverse professions, false and erroneous conclusions, and most wicked and damnable heresies. Whereby he might defile the faithful sort, and bring them from the

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<sup>256</sup> [Pope Gregory XI returned the papacy to Rome from Avignon on January 17, 1377.](#)

right path headlong into the way of perdition, overthrow the state of the church, and utterly subvert the secular policy. Of his mischievous heresies, some seem to agree (only certain names, and terms changed) with the perverse opinions, and unlearned doctrine of Marsilius of Padua, and of John Gandune, of unworthy memory, whose books were utterly abolished in the realm of England, by our predecessor of happy memory, John XXII. That kingdom not only flourishes in power, and abundance of faculties, but it is much more glorious and shining in pureness of faith; accustomed always to bring forth men who are excellently learned in the true knowledge of the holy Scriptures, ripe in gravity of manners, men notable in devotion, and defenders of the catholic faith.

“Therefore we will and command you by your writing apostolical, in the name of your obedience, and upon pain of privation of our favor, indulgences, and privileges granted to you and your university from the said apostolic see, that hereafter you do not suffer those pestilent heresies, and those subtle and false conclusions and propositions, misconstruing the right sense of faith and good works (however they term it, or whatever curious implication of words they use) to be any longer disputed, or brought in question; lest if it is not withstood at the first, and plucked up by the roots, it might perhaps be too late hereafter to prepare medicines, when a greater number are infected with the contagion.

“And further, that you apprehend immediately, or cause to be apprehended, the said John Wycliffe, and deliver him to be detained in the safe custody of our well-beloved brethren, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, or either of them. And if you find any opponents, corrupted with the said doctrine (which God forbid) in your university within your jurisdiction, who will obstinately stand in the said errors, that you then apprehend them in like manner, and commit them to safe custody, and otherwise do in this case as it pertains to you: so as by your careful proceedings in this, your past negligence concerning the premises may now be fully supplied and recompensed with present diligence. Whereby you shall not only purchase the favor and benevolence of the apostolic see, but also great reward and merit from Almighty God.

“Given at Rome at St. Mary’s the Greater, 11th Kalend of June, and in the 7th year of our consecration.”

The pope also sent letters of similar purport to the University of Oxford and to the bishops, and even to King Richard.

The bishops being again assembled, and Wycliffe being brought before them, they proceeded to examine him, when a certain personage of the prince’s court, and yet not of very noble birth, named Lewes Clifford, entered among the bishops. He commanded that they should not proceed with any final sentence against John Wycliffe. At these words they all were so amazed, that they became speechless. And thus by the unforeseen providence of God, John Wycliffe escaped the second time out of the bishops’ hands.

At the time of his examination, John Wycliffe exhibited to the bishops in writing, the following protestation, with a declaration of his mind, upon the articles charged.

*The Protestation of John Wycliffe.*

“First I protest (as I have often done before) that I do mind and intend with my whole heart (by The grace of God) to be a true Christian, and as long as breath remains in me, to profess and defend the law of Christ. And if it happens that through ignorance or otherwise, I fail in this, I desire of my Lord God pardon and forgiveness. And now again, as before, I revoke and retract, most humbly submitting myself under the correction of our holy mother the church. And because the statement of my faith, which I have held in the schools and elsewhere, is reported even by children, and moreover is carried by children to Rome, lest my dear beloved

brethren take any offense by me, I will therefore set forth in writing the sentence and articles for which I am now accused and impeached. I will also defend this even to the death, as I believe all Christians ought to do, and specially the bishop of Rome and all other priests and ministers of the church. For I understand the conclusions after the sense and manner of the speaking of the Scriptures and holy doctors, which I am ready to expound. And if they are found contrary to the faith, I am ready to revoke, and to speedily call them back again.”

This protest was accompanied by an exposition of the articles exhibited against him.

The next year, which was 1382, by the command of William archbishop of Canterbury, there was a convocation held at London, at which John Wycliffe was also commanded to be present. But whether he appeared personally or not, I cannot find certainly affirmed.

### ***Articles against Wycliffe – 1382.***

Of the articles attributed to John Wycliffe, there were ten which were condemned by the friars as heretical, the rest as erroneous, and they are as follows. It may be supposed that some of them were made worse by their sinister collecting, than he meant them in his own works and writings.

#### *The Articles of John Wycliffe, condemned as Heretical.*

1. The substance of material bread and wine remains in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration.
2. The accidents do not remain without the subject in the same sacrament, after the consecration. <sup>257</sup>
3. That Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar truly and really, in his proper and corporal person.
4. That if a bishop or a priest is in deadly sin, he cannot ordain, consecrate, or baptize.
5. That if a man is duly and truly contrite and penitent, all exterior and outward confession is but superfluous and unprofitable.
6. That it is not found or established by the gospel, that Christ made or ordained mass.
7. If the pope is a reprobate and evil man, and consequently a member of the devil, he has no power given to him over faithful Christians, unless it is given to him by the emperor.
8. That since the time of Urban VI,<sup>258</sup> there is none to be accepted for the pope, but every man is to live in the manner of the Greeks, under his own law.
9. That it is against the Scripture, that ecclesiastical ministers should have any temporal possessions.

The other Articles of John Wycliffe, condemned as *erroneous*:

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<sup>257</sup> *Accidents*: incidentals, referring to the attributes of physical bread (round, savory, and white). In his writings, Wycliffe asked sardonically (to show the absurdity of transubstantiation), “Does the bread become the body of Christ? Because, if so, then bread will be the matter of Christ’s body; also after transubstantiation, do the accidents remain? If so, they must be in another subject — for instance, in the air. But if it is there, then some part of the air must be round, and savoury, and white; and as the form is carried through diverse places, so the accidents must change their subject. Again, these accidents abide in the same part of the air, and so solidity will be in the air; because they are solid, and consequently, the air will be solid. Hence it appears that these accidents are not in the air, nor are they in the body of Christ; nor can any other body be assigned in its place, in which they shall appear to be; and therefore the accidents do not seem to remain.”

<sup>258</sup> Pope Urban VI (r. 1378-1389). He was known as a harsh reformer. His election sparked the Western Schism.



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10. That no prelate ought to excommunicate any man unless he knew him first to be excommunicated by God.
11. That whoever so excommunicates any man, is thereby himself either a heretic, or excommunicated.
12. That a prelate or bishop excommunicating any of the clergy, who has appealed to the king or the council, is thereby himself a traitor to the king and realm.
13. That all those who abandon preaching or hearing the word of God, or the preaching of the gospel, for fear of excommunication, are already excommunicated, and in the day of judgment shall be counted as traitors to God.

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14. That it is lawful for any man, either deacon or priest, to preach the word of God without the authority or license of the apostolic see or any other of his catholics.
15. That so long as a man is in deadly sin, he is neither bishop nor prelate in the church of God.
16. Also that the temporal lords may, according to their own will and discretion, take away the temporal goods of the churchmen whenever they offend.
17. That tithes are pure alms, and that the parishioners may, for offenses by their curates, detain and keep them back, and bestow them upon others, at their own will and pleasures.
18. Also, that all special prayers applied to any private or particular person, by any prelate or religious man, no more profit that person, than general or universal prayers profit others under similar circumstances.
19. Moreover, if any man enters into any private religion, whatever it is, he is thereby made more unapt and unable to observe and keep the commandments of God.
20. That holy men who have instituted private religions, whatever they are (those who have possessions, as well as the order of begging friars who have no possessions) in so doing, have grievously offended.
21. That religious men (*i.e.* monks), being in their private religions, are not of the Christian religion.
22. That friars are bound to get their living by the labor of their hands, and not by begging.
23. That whoever gives any alms to friars, or to any of the mendicant orders, is accursed, or in danger of being cursed.

The archbishop and suffragans, with other doctors of divinity and lawyers, and with a great company of babbling friars and monastics gathered together on St. Dunstan's day, at the Grey Friars in London, to consult as to John Wycliffe's books. Just after dinner, about two o'clock, the very hour that they were to go forward with their business, a shocking and terrible earthquake fell throughout England. Several of the suffragan bishops being frightened, thought it good to abandon their purpose. But the archbishop confirmed and strengthened their hearts and minds, which were daunted with fear, to proceed in their attempted enterprise. Then discoursing upon Wycliffe's articles, not according to the sacred cations of the holy Scripture, but according to their own traditions, they pronounced and gave sentence — that some of them were simply and plainly heretical, others half erroneous, others irreligious, and some were seditious and not consonant with the church of Rome.

Whereupon the lord archbishop of Canterbury, wishing to check such heresies and errors, delivered to the chancellor, his letters patent to be executed as follows:

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*“William by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolical see, To our well-beloved son in Christ, the chancellor of the university of Oxford, within the diocese of Lincoln, greeting, grace, and benediction.*

“The prelates of the church, about the Lord’s flock committed to their charge, ought to be so much more vigilant as they see the wolf, clothed in sheep’s attire, fraudulently go about to worry (tear apart) and scatter the sheep. Doubtless, the common fame and report has come to our ears, etc. We therefore will and command, straitly enjoining you, that in the church of our blessed lady in Oxford, upon those days in the which customarily the sermon is given, and also in the schools of the university upon those days when the lectures are read, you publish and cause by others to be published to the clergy and people, in their common tongue, as well as in the Latin tongue, manifestly and plainly without any curious implication, that the same heretical and erroneous conclusions — so repugnant to the determination of holy church, as aforesaid — have been and are condemned. These conclusions we also declare by these our letters, to be utterly condemned.

“That furthermore, you forbid and canonically admonish and cause to be admonished, just as we by the tenor of these presents do forbid and admonish you, once, twice, thrice, and that is peremptorily, so that none hereafter shall hold, teach, and preach, or defend the heresies and errors above said; nor shall any of them, either in school or out of school by any sophistical cavilling or otherwise; nor shall any be admitted to preach, hear or hearken to John Wycliffe, Nicholas Uerford, Philip Reppington (canon regular), or John Ashton, or Lawrence Redman, who are vehemently and notoriously suspected of heresy; nor to any other whatever who is so suspected or defamed; or who privately or publicly either aids or favors them or any of them — but that they immediately shun and avoid these like a serpent, which puts out its most pestiferous poison.

“And furthermore we suspend the said suspected persons from all scholastical actions, till such time as they purge themselves before us in that behalf: and that you denounce them publicly to have been and are suspended by us; and that you diligently and faithfully inquire about all their favorers, and cause to be inquired throughout all the halls of the university. And we pronounce that when you have intelligence about their names and persons, that you compel all and every one of them to abjure their outrages by ecclesiastical censures and other canonical pains, under pain of the greater curse, which is against all and singularly the rebellious in this behalf, and for disobeying our admonitions. So that their fault, deceit, and offense in this behalf deserve the same (the said admonition of ours first being sent) which in this behalf we esteem and allow as canonical, doing that then and again according to the effect of these our letters, etc. The absolution of all and singular such persons, who shall incur the sentence of this instrument sent forth by us (which God forbid) we specially reserve to ourselves. We exhort you, the chancellor, by the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ, that to the utmost of your power, you hereafter do your endeavor, so that the clergy and people being subject to you, if there are any who have strayed from the catholic faith by such errors, may be brought home again to the praise and honor of His name that was crucified, and to the preservation of the true faith.

“And further, our will is that whatever you do in the premises, in the manner and form of our process in this behalf, it be had and done. And that for your part, when you are required to do so, you plainly and distinctly certify it to us by your letters patent, having the tenor of it.”

The conclusions and articles mentioned in this letter, were listed above it. Again, some were condemned as heretical, and some as erroneous.

After this, the archbishop directed his letters of admonition to Robert Rigge, commissary of Oxford, to repress this doctrine. Notwithstanding, both then, and still to this day (God be praised), this doctrine remains.

**Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, and John Ashton.**

Some days after, on June 18th 1382, in the chamber of the preaching-friars mentioned above (Grey Friars), Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, and John Ashton, bachelors of divinity, appeared before the archbishop in the presence of diverse doctors and bachelors of divinity; and also many lawyers, both canon and civil, whose names are written below. After an oath was taken to give judgment upon the aforesaid conclusions, they were examined severally, each by himself, before the archbishop. He there required a day and place to deliberate on the conclusions, and to give their answer to these men in writing.

Two days afterward, when the answers were returned, the lord archbishop of Canterbury demanded from all the doctors what their judgment was touching the answers that were made upon these conclusions. All of the doctors severally said that,

“All the answers given to the first, second, third, and sixth conclusions, were insufficient, heretical, and subtle; and that all the answers made, especially to the ninth, tenth, and last conclusions, were insufficient, erroneous, and perverse.”

Whereupon the lord archbishop of Canterbury, considering the answers to be heretical, subtle, erroneous, and perverse, accordingly as the doctors had weighed and considered, admonished Nicholas and Philip.

[229] A.D. 1382.

He assigned them eight days' time, that is to say, until the 27th of the month, that then they should appear before the lord archbishop of Canterbury, to hear his decree that would be made in that behalf. This done, the archbishop of Canterbury admonished and cited John Ashton, in the tenor of the following words:

“In the name of God, we, William, by God's permission, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, legate of the apostolic see, and throughout our province of Canterbury, chief inquisitor of all heretical pravity, admonish and cite you, John Ashton, master of arts, and student in divinity, appearing before us, judicially to say and speak the plain truth touching these conclusions, to which we refer you, and to which we have caused you to swear, laying your hand upon a book,” etc.

After this citation, John Ashton was examined before the bishops, and his answers not proving satisfactory to them, they determined against him. And then the archbishop proceeded thus:

“And you John Ashton, admonished and commanded by us, as aforesaid, after your oath taken, without any reasonable cause, or any other license, neither would you, nor yet will you, but you refused, and contemptuously, to answer to such conclusions before us. Judicially, according to our admonition and commandment aforesaid, we hold all such conclusions to be confessed by you, and you to be convicted, the aforesaid John, with all your aforesaid conclusions. And, therefore, we do pronounce, and declare by giving sentence that you John Ashton, concerning those conclusions — which by us, with good deliberation of diverse prelates, our suffragans, and also diverse and sundry professors of divinity, and other wise men and learned in the law, according to the canonical sanctions — are condemned and declared as a heretic, and have been heretical, and still are a heretic, and your conclusions are heretical. And as touching your other conclusions, previously counted erroneous by us, and

condemned as erroneous, we do pronounce and declare sententially by these our writings, that you have both erred, and do err.”

On the appointed day, the archbishop with the doctors, being assembled in the chief house of his church at Canterbury, before the hour of nine, expected Nicholas, Philip, and also Thomas Hilman, calling them and looking for them. Nevertheless they did not appear before two o'clock the same day. At that hour the archbishop of Canterbury examined Thomas Hilman, who then and there judicially appeared, as to what his opinion was regarding the aforesaid conclusions. Somewhat stammering at them and their meaning, at last to all the conclusions then read and expounded to him, he thus answered:

“I suppose and judge all and singularly those conclusions recently condemned by my lord of Canterbury, to be heretical and erroneous, even as my lord of Canterbury, and other doctors of divinity, of the canon and civil law, by common consent and counsel have supposed and thought. And the same (being condemned as heresies and errors, as said before) I do, as much as it is in me, condemn, protesting that I will hold and affirm the *contrary* of those conclusions, and in the same faith live and die.”

Then the archbishop of Canterbury, sitting as tribunal or judge, pronouncing Nicholas and Philip guilty of contumacy <sup>259</sup> and disobedience, for not appearing in court, excommunicated them for their contumacy, as follows:

*The denouncing of the excommunication against  
Nicholas Herford and Philip Reppington.*

“William, by God’s permission, archbishop of Canterbury, etc. To our beloved Son in Christ, whoever he is, that this instant Sunday shall preach at St. Paul’s cross in London, salutation, grace, and blessing. Forasmuch as we appointed a certain day and place to Master Nicholas Herford, and Master Philip Reppington, canon regular of the monastery of our lady of Leicester, being doctors of divinity, and suspected of heretical depravity (after certain answers were not fully made, but were impertinent and nothing to the purpose, and also heretical and erroneous), commonly, generally and publicly taught and preached in diverse places of our province, and that therefore they should judicially appear before us, to do and receive peremptorily in that behalf, whatever the quality of that business should move us to. And that we have for their contumacy in not appearing before us at that day and place, adjudged as right required in this. We, by these presents, command and commit to you, firmly enjoining you, when all the multitude of people shall be gathered together to hear your sermon, that in the day and place appointed you publicly and solemnly denounce the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip, holding up a cross, and lighting a candle, and then throwing them down upon the ground, to have been so and in such manner excommunicated, and still continuing so.

“Fare you well. In our manor house at Lambeth, the thirteenth day of July, the year of our Lord 1382, and first year of our translation.”

The archbishop also sent another letter to Master Rigge, commissary of Oxford, straitly enjoining and charging him, not only to pronounce the sentence of excommunication, and to issue a public citation against them, but also to make a diligent search and inquisition throughout Oxford for them, to have them apprehended and sent up to him, to appear personally before the bishop at a certain day prescribed for it. By this it may appear how busy this bishop was in disquieting and persecuting these poor men, whom he should have nourished and cherished as his brethren.

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<sup>259</sup> *Contumacy*: obstinate rebelliousness and insubordination; resistance to authority.

The archbishop not contented with this, solicited the king to join the power of his temporal sword, for he well perceived that as yet the popish clergy did not have sufficient authority, by any public law or statute of this land, to proceed unto death against any person in question of religion, but only by the usurped tyranny and example of the court of Rome. Where note, gentle reader, for your better understanding, the practice of the Romish prelates in seeking the king's help to further their bloody purpose against the good saints of God. The king being but young, and not yet arrived at years of ripe judgment, was seduced by the archbishop to give his private assent to an ordinance, which was indeed the very first law to be found against religion and the professors of it, bearing the name of an act made in the parliament held at Westminster, in the fifth year of Richard II. There, among other statutes then published, and still remaining in the printed books of statutes, this supposed statute is to be found (cap. 5. & ultimo).

“Forasmuch as it is openly known that there are diverse evil persons within the realm, going from county to county, and from town to town, in certain habits under dissimulation of great holiness, and without the license of the ordinaries of the places, or other sufficient authority, preaching daily not only in churches and churchyards, but also in markets, fairs, and other open places where there is a great congregation of people, diverse sermons containing heresies and notorious errors, to the great blemishing of the Christian faith, and destruction of the laws, and of the estate of holy church, to the great peril of the souls of the people, and of all the realm of England, as is more plainly found, and sufficiently proved before the reverend father in God, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops and other prelates, masters of divinity, and doctors of canon and of civil law, and a great part of the clergy of the said realm, specially assembled for this great cause. These persons also preach diverse matters of slander, to engender discord and dissension between diverse estates of the said realm, spiritual as well as temporal, in exciting the people to the great peril of the whole realm. These preachers being cited or summoned before the ordinaries of the places, there to answer to that for which they are impeached, they will not obey the summons and commands, and do not care for the admonitions nor censures of the holy church, but expressly despise them; and moreover, by their subtle and ingenious words, they draw the people to hear their sermons, and maintain them in their errors by a strong hand, and by great routs (mobs).

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“It is ordained and assented in this present parliament, that the king's commissions be made and directed to the sheriffs, and other ministers of our sovereign lord the king, or other persons sufficiently learned, and according to the certificates of the prelates to be made in chancery from time to time, to arrest all such preachers, and also their favorers, maintainers and abettors, and to hold them in arrest and strong prison, till they justify themselves according to the law and reason of holy church. And the king wills and commands, that the chancellor make such commissions at all times, that by the prelates, or any of them, he shall be certified and required of this, as aforesaid.”

### **The Validity of the King's Statute Against Wycliffe Examined.**

As this supposed statute was the principal ground upon which proceeded all the persecution of that time; it is therefore not impertinent to examine it more particularly, by which it will appear that, as it was fraudulently and unduly devised by the prelates alone, so it was in like manner most injuriously and disorderly executed by them. For immediately upon the publishing of this law, without further warrant either from the king or his council, commissions under the great seal of England were made in this form:

“Richard by the Grace of God,” etc. “Witness myself at Westminster the 26th day of June, in the sixth year of our reign.”

Without further words of warrant underwritten, such as in like cases are both usual and requisite, viz: “*per ipsum regem*” (the king himself) “*per regem et concilium*” (the king and the council) “*per breve de privato sigillo*” (by writ of privy seal). All or any of these words being utterly lacking in this place, as may be seen in the king’s records of that time, it must therefore have been done either by warrant of this statute, or else without any warrant at all. Whereupon it is to be noted that, whereas the statute appointed the commissions to be directed to the sheriff, or other ministers of the king, or to other persons sufficiently learned, for the arrest of such persons, these commissions are directed to the archbishop and his suffragans, being (as it appears) parties in the case, authorizing them further, without either the words or reasonable meaning of the statute, to imprison them in their own houses, or wherever else they pleased.

Besides this, what manner of law this was, by whom it was devised, and by what authority it was first made and established, judge by what follows.

In the *utas* of St. Michael next following, at a parliament summoned and held at Westminster in the sixth year of the king, among various petitions made to the king by his commons, to which he assented, there is one in this form:

“**Article 52.** That whereas a statute was made during the last parliament in these words —

‘It is ordained in this present parliament that commissions from the king be directed to the sheriffs, and other ministers of the king, or to other persons sufficiently skillful, and according to the certificates of its prelates, to be made to the chancery from time to time, to arrest all such preachers, and their favorers, maintainers, and abettors; and to detain them in strong prison, until they justify themselves according to reason, and law of holy church. And the king wills and commands that the chancellor make such commissions at all times as he shall be, by the prelates or any of them, certified and thereof required, as is aforesaid’

— which was never agreed to nor granted by the commons; but whatever was moved in this, was without their assent. That the said statute therefore be disannulled. For it is not in any way their meaning, that either themselves or those who succeed them, shall be further justified or bound by the prelates, than were their ancestors in former times,” to which it is answered, “II plaist al, Roy. I.” (the king is pleased).

Hereby, notwithstanding that the former unjust law was repealed, and the fraud of the framers of it was sufficiently revealed: yet such means were taken by the prelates, that this act of repeal was never published, nor ever since printed with the rest of the statutes of that parliament. So that the repeal being concealed, similar commissions and other processes were made from time to time, by virtue of the statute, during the whole reign of this king, as well as ever since against the professors of religion.

The young king was further induced by the importunity of the archbishop, to send special letters to the vice chancellor and proctors of the university of Oxford, in which he straitly and sharply enjoins them to make a general inquisition through the whole university, for John Wycliffe, Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, John Ashton, and such others; and also for all whom they know or judge to be suspected of that doctrine, or to be maintainers, receivers, and defenders of the parties, or their opinions; with the intent that being so apprehended, they may be expelled the university within seven days of their admonition, and cited before the archbishop of Canterbury. Moreover the vice-chancellor and proctors with their assistants, were commanded that if any person or persons in any house, hall, or college, or in any other place is found to have any of the books or treatises compiled by John Wycliffe, Nicholas Herford, etc. they will have that person or persons arrested and attached,

and their books seized and presented within one month, without correction, corruption, or alteration, to the archbishop, upon their faith and allegiance, if they would avoid the forfeiture of all privileges of the university, etc.

The vice-chancellor at this time in Oxford was Master Robert Rigge. The two proctors were John Huntman and Walter Dish. As far as they dared, they favored the cause of John Wycliffe. So that when some public sermons at the feast of the Ascension, and of Corpus Christ, were to be preached before the people in the cloister of Saint Frideswide (now called Christ's church), by the vice-chancellor and the proctors: they committed it to Philip Reppington and Nicholas Herford. Herford would preach on the Ascension-day, and Reppington on Corpus Christi day.<sup>260</sup> Herford was observed to defend John Wycliffe openly as a faithful, good, and innocent man — at which there were great outcries among the friars. Herford, after he had long favored and maintained Wycliffe's part, grew in suspicion among the enemies of truth. For as soon as he began somewhat liberally and freely to utter anything which tended to the defense of Wycliffe, by and by the Carmelites, and all the orders of religion, were on his watch. And they laid not a few heresies to his charge, which they had strained here and there out of his sermons. After this, the feast of Corpus Christi drew near. On this day it was expected that Reppington would preach. This man was a canon of Leicester, who protested openly that in all moral matters he would defend Wycliffe. But as to the sacrament he would hold his peace until such time as the Lord otherwise illuminated the hearts and minds of the clergy.

Now, the day of Corpus Christi was approaching when, as the friars understood, this man would preach,. They arranged with the archbishop of Canterbury, that on the same day, a little before Philip was to preach, Wycliffe's conclusions — which were privately condemned — would be openly defamed in the presence of the whole university.

These things being done, Philip Reppington at the hour appointed, proceeded to his sermon. Among many other things in it, he was reported to have uttered these statements, to this effect:

“That the popes or bishops should not be exalted above temporal lords.

“That in moral matters, he would defend Master Wycliffe as a true catholic doctor.

“That the duke of Lancaster was very earnestly affected and minded in this matter, and wished that all such should be received under his protection,” besides many more things which touched the praise and defense of Wycliffe.

And in concluding his sermon, he dismissed the people with this sentence: “I will, in the speculative doctrine pertaining to the sacrament of the altar, keep silence and hold my peace until such time as God otherwise instructs and illuminates the hearts of the clergy.”

[231] A.D. 1382.

When the sermon was done, Reppington entered into St. Frideswide's church, accompanied with many of his friends who, as their enemies surmised, were privately armed under their garments against danger. Friar Stokes, the Carmelite, who was the chief champion against Wycliffe, suspecting all this to be against him, kept within the sanctuary of the church. The vice-chancellor and Reppington, friendly greeting one another in the church porch, sent away the people, and so every man departed home to his own house. There was not a little joy through the whole university for that sermon. But in the meantime, the unquiet and

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<sup>260</sup> *Corpus Christi: a Christian feast celebrating the presence of the body of Christ in the Eucharist.*

busy Carmelite did not let go of it. For by his letters he declared the whole matter to the archbishop, exaggerating the danger that he was in. Desiring his help and aid, he omitted nothing to move and stir up the archbishop's mind, who of his own nature was ready enough to prosecute the matter. The vice-chancellor was later accused of contempt of the archbishop's letters. When he perceived that no excuse would prevail to avoid that danger, he humbled himself upon his knees, desiring pardon. Once he had obtained it by the help of the bishop of Winchester, he was sent away again with certain commands, and suspensions of heretics. Then the hatred on both sides began to appear and develop itself. All men were offended at these friars and monks, to whom they imputed whatever trouble or mischief was raised up, as the authors and causers of it.

Nicholas Herford, and Philip Reppington, being secretly warned by the vice-chancellor, conveyed themselves out of sight, and fled to the duke of Lancaster. But the duke, whether for fear or some other cause I cannot say, in the end forsook his poor and miserable clients. Being repulsed by the duke, and destitute of his support, they went to the archbishop. Whether they were sent or did it of their own accord is uncertain; but Reppington was reconciled again to the archbishop, and admitted to the university. So was John Ashton. I find no specific mention of Nicholas Herford all this while.

In the meantime, about the 23rd of September (A.D. 1382), the king sent his mandate to the archbishop for collecting a subsidy, and to have a convocation of the clergy summoned against the next parliament, which would begin the 18th of November. All of this being done, the parliament was assembled at Oxford, where the convocation was kept in the monastery of Frideswide. The archbishop with other bishops, sitting there in their pontifical robes, declared two causes of their present assembly. One was to repress heresies, which began afresh in the realm; the other was to aid and support the king with some necessary subsidy of money.

The convocation being continued the next day, the archbishop, with the other prelates, assembled themselves as before. The archbishop, after the usual solemnity, desired the proctors of the clergy, appointed for every diocese, to consult among themselves in some convenient place, what they thought regarding the redress of matters, and to be notified and declared to him and to his brethren, etc. Further, (he says) it was rumored throughout the realm, that there were certain ones in the university of Oxford who held and maintained heretical and erroneous conclusions, condemned by him and by other lawyers and doctors of divinity. He therefore assigned the bishops of Sarum, Hereford, and Rochester, with William Ruge, then vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford (for Robert Rigge was probably displaced), and also William Berton, and John Middleton, doctors, giving them his full authority, including cursing and banning, to compel them to search, and to inquire with all diligence and in all possible ways, over all and every individual whatsoever — whether doctors, bachelors, or scholars of the university — who held, taught, maintained, or defended, in schools or out of schools, the conclusions mentioned before.

On that day, in the presence of the prelates and the clergy in the chapter-house of St. Frideswide, in came Philip Reppington, who there disavowed those conclusions and assertions, in this form:

“In the name of God, Amen. I, Philip Reppington, canon of the house of Leicester, acknowledging one catholic and apostolic faith, do curse and also disavow all heresy, namely, these heresies and errors underwritten, condemned and reproved by the canonical decrees, and by you, most reverend father, touching which I have been defamed till now; condemning, moreover, and reproving both them and the authors of them, and I do confess the same to be



Bk. V. The last 300 years from the loosing of Satan (1360-1422)

catholically condemned. And I swear also by these holy evangelists, which here I hold in my hand, and do promise, never by any persuasions of men, nor by any way hereafter, to defend or hold as true, any of the said conclusions underwritten; but do and will stand and adhere in all things, to the determination of the holy catholic church, and to yours, in this behalf. Over and besides, all those who stand contrary to this faith, I do pronounce them, with their doctrine and followers, worthy of everlasting curse. And if I myself shall presume at any time to hold or preach anything contrary to the premises, I shall be content to abide the severity of the canons. Subscribed with my own hand, and of my own accord, Philip Reppington.”

And thus he was discharged, and afterward made bishop of Lincoln, and became at length the most bitter and extreme persecutor of this side, of all the other bishops within the realm.

After the abjuration of this Reppington, John Ashton was immediately brought in. Appearing before the archbishop and the prelates, he did in like form of words abjure as Reppington had before done.

We read of John Ashton, that afterward he was cited and condemned by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury; but whether he died in prison, or was burned, we have no certainty.

As for Nicholas Herford, he did not appear during the time of this convocation, and therefore he was excommunicated; against which he appealed from the archbishop to the king and council. The archbishop would not admit it, but caused him to be apprehended and put in prison. He escaped out of prison, returning again to his former exercise and preaching as he did before, though in as covert and secret a manner as he could. Upon which the archbishop, thundering out his bolts of excommunication against him, sent to all pastors and ministers, commanding them in all churches, and on all festival days, to proclaim the excommunication against him to all men.

Not content with this, he addressed his letter to the king, requiring the aid of his temporal sword. See and note, reader, the seraphical charity of these priestly prelates towards the poor redeemed flock of Christ.

*The letter of the Archbishop to the King.*

“To the most excellent prince in Christ, etc. William, etc., greeting, in him by whom kings do reign, and princes bear rule. Unto your kingly highness by the tenor of these presents we intimate that one Master Nicholas Herford, doctor of divinity, for his manifest contumacy and offense in not appearing before us, being called at the day and place assigned, is therefore included in the sentence of the greater curse, publicly by our ordinary authority; and in the same sentence he has continued now forty days, and yet still continues with obdurate heart, wickedly contemning the keys of the church, both to the great peril of his soul, and to the pernicious example of others. Forsomuch, therefore, as the holy mother, the church, cannot proceed any further in this matter, we humbly desire your kingly majesty to direct out your letters for apprehending the said excommunicate, according to the custom of this realm of England, wholesomely observed and kept up to now; to the intent that those whom the fear of God does not restrain from evil, the discipline of the secular arm may bridle and pluck back from offending. Your princely highness, the Lord continue. From Lambeth, the 15th of January.”

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And thus far concerning Nicholas Herford, and the others. But all this while, what became of John Wycliffe is not certainly known. It appears that he was banished and driven to exile.

In the meantime it is not to be doubted that he was alive all this while, as may appear by the letter which he wrote to Pope Urban VI about this time.

*The Epistle of Wycliffe to Pope Urban VI, A.D. 1382.*

“Truly I do rejoice to open and declare to every man the faith which I hold, and specially to the bishop of Rome, which faith as I suppose it to be sound and true, he will most willingly confirm, or if it is erroneous, amend.

“First, I suppose that the gospel of Christ is the whole body of God’s law; and that Christ, who gave that same law himself, I believe to be truly man, and in that point, to exceed the law of the gospel, and all other parts of the Scripture. Again, I do give and hold the bishop of Rome, in that he is the vicar of Christ here in earth, to be bound most of all other men, to that law of the gospel. For the greatness among Christ’s disciples did not consist in worldly dignity or honors, but in the near and exact following of Christ in his life and manners. Whereupon I gather out of the heart of the law of the Lord, that Christ for the time of his pilgrimage here, was a most poor man, abjecting and casting off all worldly rule and honor, as appears by the gospel of St. Matthew, the eighth chapter, and second of the Corinthians, eighth chapter.

“Hereby I fully gather, that no faithful man ought to follow either the pope himself, or any of the holy men, except in such points as he has followed the Lord Jesus Christ. For Peter and the sons of Zebedee offended by desiring worldly honor, contrary to the following of Christ’s steps, and therefore in those errors they are not to be followed.

“From this I gather, as a counsel, that the pope ought to leave to the secular power, all temporal dominion and rule, and to effectually move and exhort his whole clergy to this end; for so Christ did, and especially by his apostles. Therefore, if I have erred in any of these points, I will most humbly submit myself to correction, even by death, if necessity so requires. And if I could labor according to my will or desire in my own person, I would surely present myself before the bishop of Rome. But the Lord has otherwise visited me to the contrary, and has taught me to obey God rather than men. In so far, then, that God has given our pope just and true evangelical instinctions, we ought to pray that those motions are not extinguished by any subtle or crafty device. And that the pope and cardinals are not moved to do anything contrary to the law of the Lord. Therefore, let us pray to our God, that he will so stir up our Pope Urban the sixth, as he began, so that he, with his clergy, may follow the Lord Jesus Christ in life and manners; and that they may teach the people effectually, and that they likewise may faithfully follow them in the same. And let us especially pray, that our pope may be preserved from all malign and evil counsel, which we know that evil and envious men of his household would give him. And seeing that the Lord will not permit us to be tempted above our power, much less then will he require of any creature to do that thing which they are not able; for that is the plain condition and manner of antichrist.”

Thus much wrote John Wycliffe to Pope Urban. But this pope was so hot in his wars against Clement VII, the French pope, his rival, that he had no leisure, and even less will to attend to Wycliffe. By this schism God provided some rest and quietness for poor Wycliffe.

***Schismatical Wars of the Popes – 1383.***

Concerning the schismatical wars of these popes, it will not be irrelevant to digress a little, so as to say something about the tragic doings of these two holy popes, striving for the triple crown, so that the Christian reader may see what difference there is between the popes, and Christ with his apostles. For though in the gospel it is written that certain of the disciples strived for which would be the greater; yet we do not read that one of them ever took weapons against the other; and it appears, too, that for so striving as they did, they were sharply rebuked by our Savior Christ.

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About the beginning of the year 1383, Pope Urban, studying how to conquer his rival pope, took to himself the sword of Romulus, instead of the keys of Peter, and set upon him with open war. Devising with himself whom he might best choose for his chief champion, he thought none more fitted for such affairs than Henry Spencer, then bishop of Norwich. He was a young and stout prelate, more fitting for the charge of a camp, than for the peaceable church of Christ. To this bishop of Norwich the pope had sent his bulls about this time, to confer the cross on whoever would go with him into France, to destroy the antipope. In these bulls, the following privileges were granted.

1. That the bishop of Norwich may use his sword against the antipope, and all his adherents, favorers, and counsellors, and with violence put them to death.
2. That he has full power to inquire after all schismatics, and to put them in prison, and to confiscate all their goods, moveable and immoveable.
3. That he has power and authority to deprive all laymen who are schismatics, of all manner of secular offices whatever, and to give their offices to other fit and convenient persons.
4. That he may deprive all such clergy, and declare them to be schismatics, and to give and bestow their benefices either with cure or without cure, their dignities, parsonages or offices, to other persons more fit for the same.
5. He has power and authority over lay persons who are exempt, and clergy both secular and regular, yes, even if they are friars mendicants, or masters and professors of other houses, or hospitals of St. John's of Jerusalem, or St. Mary's of Flanders, or professors of whatever order.
6. He has power to dispense, with any secular clergy whatsoever, being beneficed either with cure or without cure, and also with those who have dignities, parsonages, or offices, being regulars, either exempt or not exempt, so that every one of them may be absented by him from their dignities and benefices, etc., under the standard of the cross, without license of any of their prelates being required, and yet to receive and take the entire income of their benefices, as though they had been personally resident upon the same.
7. There is granted to all who pass over the seas in this quarrel, either at their own expenses, or at the expenses of any other, full remission of their sins; and as large privileges are granted to all those who go over the sea with him, and to any who pay their money, or go to fight for the Holy Land.
8. Also all those who with their proper goods and substance shall give sufficient stipend to able soldiers, mustered at the discretion of the foresaid lord bishop, or by his deputy, even if they themselves are not personally in this business, yet they shall have like remission and indulgence, as those who have been personally with him in this expedition.
9. All those are partakers of this remission, who give any part of their goods to the said bishop to fight against the said schismatics.
10. If any chances to die in the journey, who are soldiers under the standard of the cross, or else are killed by some means before the quarrel, they shall fully and wholly receive the said grace, and shall be partakers of the remission and indulgence.
11. He has power to excommunicate, suspend, and interdict whatsoever persons are rebellious or disturbers of him in the execution of his power and authority committed to him, of whatsoever dignity, state, degree, pre-eminence, order, place, or condition they shall be; whether they are either of regal, queenly, or imperial dignity, or of whatsoever dignity, either ecclesiastical or civil.

[233] A.D. 1382-1384.

12. He has power and authority to compel and enforce any religious person whosoever, and to appoint them, and send them over seas, if it seems good to him, yes, even if they are professors of the friars mendicants, for the execution of these premises.

*The Pope's Absolution pronounced by the Bishop.*

“By the authority apostolical to me in this behalf committed, we absolve you A\_\_\_ B\_\_\_ from all your sins confessed with your mouth, and being contrite with your heart, and of which you would be confessed if they came into your memory; and we grant to you plenary remission of all manner of sins, and we promise to you your part of the reward of all just men, and of everlasting salvation. And as many privileges as are granted to those who go to fight for the Holy Land, we grant to you; and of all the prayers and benefits of the church; the universal synod, and also of the holy catholic church, we make you partaker.”

This courageous, or rather outrageous bishop, armed thus with the pope's authority, and prompt with his privileges, came to the parliament. There was great consultation and contention, and almost no less schism, about the voyage of this popish bishop in the parliament, than there was between the popes themselves. In this parliament, there were many who thought it was not safe to commit the king's people and subjects to an unskillful priest. So great was the diversity of judgments in that behalf, that the voyage of the bishop was protracted to the Saturday before Passion Sunday. After that Sunday, the parties agreed that the bishop should set forward in his voyage, having given to him the fifteenth which was granted to the king in the parliament before. These things thus concluded in the parliament, this warlike bishop prepared all things in readiness, and set forward on his journey. He immediately entered the seas, and went to Calais where, waiting a few days for the rest of his army, he then took his journey to the town of Gravelines. He besieged it so desperately, without any preparation of engines of war, or counsel, that he seemed to fly upon them, rather than to invade them. At length, through the superstition of our men, trusting to the pope's absolution, they entered the town with their bishop. There, at his command, they destroyed both man, woman, and child, and left not one alive!

From Gravelines this warlike bishop set forward to Dunkirk, where not long after, the French meeting with him, he joined them in battle; in which battle (if the story is true) 12,000 of the French were slain in the chase, and of our men only 7 were missing. It would require a long treatise here to relate all the things done in these popish wars. Also it would be no less ridiculous to view and behold the glorious temerity of this new upstart captain. As when the bishop coming from Dunkirk to the siege of Ypres, a great number of Englishmen were lost there, and much money was consumed; yet nothing was done, to the great shame and ignominy of the bishop. Again, after the siege of Ypres, the bishop proceeded with a small force to fight with the French king's camp, contrary to the counsel of his captains. He was glad to break company with them, whereby part of the army went to Burburgh, and the bishop with his portion returned to Gravelines, both of which towns were besieged by the French army shortly after. In brief, when the bishop could keep Gravelines no longer, he crossed the seas, and came home again as wise as he went.

***The Death of Wycliffe – 1384.***

And thus making an end of this pontifical war, we will return from where we digressed, to the history of John Wycliffe. Returning again in a short time, either from his banishment, or from some other place where he was secretly kept, he repaired to his parish of Lutterworth, where he was parson. And there, quietly departing this mortal life, he slept in peace in the Lord, in the beginning of the year 1384, upon Silvester's day.

Bk. V. The last 300 years from the loosing of Satan (1360-1422)

Here may be seen the great providence of the Lord in this man, as in several others whom the Lord so long preserved amidst the fury of so many enemies, from all their hands, even to his old age. For it appears by Thomas Walden, that he was a very aged man before he departed. Such a Lord is our God, that whomever He will keep, nothing can hurt.

Wycliffe had written several works, which in the year A.D. 1410 were burnt at Oxford. And not only in England, but likewise in Bohemia, the books of Wycliffe were destroyed by the archbishop of Prague, who made diligent inquisition for them, and then burned them. The number of volumes which he is said to have burned, were about 200 — most excellently written and richly adorned with bosses of gold, and rich coverings (as Eneas Silvius writes).

We will now add the testimonial of the University of Oxford concerning Wycliffe. Here is the public testimony given out by the University of Oxford, regarding the commendation of the great learning and good life of John Wycliffe.

“Unto all and singularly the children of our holy mother the church, to whom this present letter shall come, the vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford, with the whole congregation of the masters, with perpetual health in the Lord. Forsomuch as it is not commonly seen that the acts and monuments of valiant men, nor the praise and merits of good men should be passed over and hidden in perpetual silence, but that true report and fame should continually spread abroad in strange and far distant places, both for the witness of the same, and the example of others. Forsomuch as the provident discretion of man’s nature, being recompensed with cruelty, has devised and ordained this buckler and defense against those who blaspheme and slander other men’s doings: that whenever witness by word of mouth cannot be present, the pen, by writing, may supply the same.

“Hereupon it follows that the special goodwill and care which we bear to John Wycliffe, sometime child of our university, and professor of divinity, moving and stirring our minds (as his manners and conditions required no less) with one mind, voice and testimony, we witness that all his conditions and doings throughout his whole life were most sincere and commendable. His honest manners and conditions, profoundness of learning, and most redolent renown and fame, we desire more earnestly to be noted and known to all the faithful, for we understand the maturity and ripeness of his conversation, his diligent labors and troubles to tend to the praise of God, the help and safeguard of others, and the profit of the church.

“Therefore we signify to you by these presents, that his conversation (even from his youth upward, to the time of his death) was so praise-worthy and honest, that never at any time was there any note or spot of suspicion rumored of him. But in his answering, reading, preaching and determining, he behaved himself laudably. And as a stout and valiant champion of the faith, vanquishing by the force of the Scriptures, all those who by their willful beggary blasphemed and slandered Christ’s religion. Nor was this doctor convicted of any heresy, neither was he burned by our prelates after his burial.<sup>261</sup> God forbid, that our prelates should have condemned a man of such honesty, as a heretic. Among all the rest of the university, he had written in logic, philosophy, divinity, morality, and the speculative arts, without an equal. The knowledge of which all and singular things, we desire to testify and deliver, with the intent that the fame and renown of this doctor may be more evident and held in reputation among those into whose hands these present letters testimonial shall come.

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<sup>261</sup> This was written in 1406. His bones were burned in 1428. See *Council of Constance*, next page, 234.

“In witness of which, we have caused these our letters testimonial to be sealed with our common seal. Dated at Oxford in our congregation-house, the 1st day of October, in the year of our Lord 1406.”

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### **The Council of Constance Condemns the Doctrines of Wycliffe.**

Now, as we have declared the testimony of the university of Oxford concerning the praise of John Wycliffe, it follows likewise that we set forth the censures and judgments of his enemies. They were blinded with malicious hatred and corrupt affections against him, especially of the pope’s council gathered at Constance. They proceeded first in condemning his books, then his articles, and afterward burning his bones. The copy of the sentence given against him by that council follows here:

*The sentence given by the Council of Constance, in condemning  
the Doctrine, and forty-five Articles of John Wycliffe.*

“The most holy and sacred Council of Constance, making and representing the catholic church, for the extirpation of this present schism,<sup>262</sup> and of all other errors and heresies, springing and growing under the shadow and pretense of the same, and for the reformation and amendment of the church, being lawfully congregated and gathered together in the Holy Spirit, for the perpetual memory of the time to come.

“We are taught by the acts and histories of the holy fathers, that the catholic faith, without which, as the holy apostle St. Paul says, it is impossible to please God, has been always defended by the faithful and spiritual soldiers of the church, by the shield of faith, against the false worshippers of that faith, or rather its perverse impugnors; who through their proud curiosity would seem to know more, and to be wiser than they ought to be, and for the desire of the glory of the world, they have gone about oftentimes to overthrow it. These kinds of wars and battles have been prefigured for us before, in those carnal wars of the Israelites against the idolatrous people. For in those spiritual wars the holy catholic church, through the virtue and power of faith, being illustrated with the beams of the heavenly light, by the Providence of God, and being helped by the help and defense of the saints and holy men, has always continued immaculate (and the darkness and errors, as her most cruel enemies being put to flight), she has most gloriously triumphed over all.

“But in our days the old and unclean enemy has raised up new contentions and strifes, that the elect of this world might be known, whose prince and captain in times past was one John Wycliffe, a false Christian who, during his lifetime, taught and sowed very obstinately many articles contrary to and against the Christian religion and the catholic faith. And the same John Wycliffe wrote certain books which he called a *Dialogue*, and a *Triologue*, besides many other treatises and works which he both wrote and taught, in which he wrote the aforesaid, and many other damnable and execrable articles. These books, for the publication and advancement of his perverse doctrine, he set forth openly for every man to read. By doing so, besides many offenses, great hurt and damage of soul has ensued in diverse regions and countries, but especially in the kingdom of England and Bohemia. Against him, the masters and doctors of the universities of Oxford and Prague, rising up in the truth and verity of God according to the order of schools, within a while after reprovved and condemned the said articles.

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<sup>262</sup> The schism here alluded to was of the popedom. There being at that time no less than *three* rival popes — Benedict XIII, Gregory XII, John XXIII. The Council of Constance was convened A.D. 1414, to suppress this schism. The first was deposed; the two latter resigned; and the cardinals elected Otto de Colonna, under the title of Martin V. [ED.]

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“Moreover, the most reverend fathers the archbishops and bishops for that time, those of Canterbury, York, and Prague, legates of the apostolic see, in the kingdoms of England and Bohemia, condemned the books of Wycliffe to be burnt. And the said archbishop of Prague, commissary of the apostolic see, likewise determined and judged in this behalf. Moreover, he forbid that any of those books which remained unburned, should be read any longer. And again, those things being brought to the knowledge and understanding of the apostolic see and the general council, the bishop of Rome in his last council condemned the said books, treatises, and volumes, commanding them to be openly burned. He most straitly forbid that any men who bore the name of Christ should be so hardy either to keep, read, or expound any of the said books or treatises, volumes or works, or by any means to use or occupy them, nor to quote them openly or secretly, except to their reproof and infamy. And with the intent that this most dangerous and filthy doctrine should be utterly wiped away from the church, he commanded throughout all places, that the ordinaries should diligently inquire for and seek out by apostolic authority and ecclesiastical censure, all such books, treatises, volumes, and works. And the same being found, to burn and consume them with fire, providing this: that if any are found who will not obey this, process should be made against them, as against the favorers and maintainers of heresies.

“And this most holy synod has caused the said forty-five articles to be examined and oftentimes perused by many most reverend fathers of the church of Rome — cardinals, bishops, abbots, masters of divinity, and doctors of both laws, besides a great number of other learned men. These articles being so examined, it was found (as in truth it was no less) that many, indeed a great number of them, are notoriously reprovèd and condemned by the holy fathers as heretical; others are not catholic, but erroneous; some are full of offense and blasphemy; certain of them are offensive to godly ears; and many of them are rash and seditious. It is also found that his books contain many articles of similar effect and quality, and that they induce and bring into the church unsound and unwholesome doctrine contrary to the faith and ordinance of the church.

“Therefore in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, this sacred synod — ratifying and approving the sentences and judgments of the archbishops and Council of Rome — do by their decree and ordinance perpetually forevermore condemn and reprove the said articles, and every one of them — his books which he entituled his *Dialogue* and *Triologue*, and all other books of the same author, volumes, treatises and works, by whatever name they are entituled or called, which we intend here, are sufficiently expressed and named. Also, we forbid to all faithful Christians, the reading, learning, exposition, or alleging of any of the said books, except so far as tends to reprove them; forbidding all and singular catholic persons, under the pain of curse, that from henceforth they not be so hardy as to openly preach, teach, or hold, or by any means quote the said articles, or any of them, unless, as aforesaid, it tends to reprove them; also commanding all those books, treatises, works, and volumes aforesaid, to be openly burned, as it was decreed in the synod at Rome, as expressed before. For the execution of this to be duly observed and done, the said sacred synod straitly charges and commands the ordinaries of the place, to diligently attend and look to the matter, as it pertains to every man’s duty by the canonical laws and ordinances.”

*The Decree of the Council of Constance, regarding taking up  
the Body and Bones of John Wycliffe, to be burned forty-one years  
after he was buried in his own Parish at Lutterworth.*

“Forsomuch as by the authority of the sentence and decree of the Council of Rome, and by the commandment of the church, and the apostolical see, after due delays being given, they proceeded to the condemnation of the said John Wycliffe, and his memory, having first made proclamation, and given commandment to call forth whoever would defend the said Wycliffe,

or his memory, if there were any such (but none appeared who would either defend him or his memory). And moreover, witnesses being examined by commissioners appointed by Pope John <sup>263</sup> and his council, upon the impenitency and final obstinacy and stubbornness of the said John Wycliffe (reserving that which is to be reserved, as in such business the order of the law requires) and his impenitency and obstinacy even to his end, being sufficiently proved by evident signs and tokens, and also by lawful witnesses, and credit lawfully given to them.

[235] A.D. 1388-1389.

“Therefore at the instance of the steward of the treasury, proclamation being made to hear and understand the sentence against this day, the sacred synod declares, determines, and gives sentence, that the said John Wycliffe was a notorious obstinate heretic, and that he died in his heresy, and they curse and condemn both him and his memory.

“This synod also decrees and ordains that the body and bones of the said John Wycliffe, if it might be discerned and known from the bodies of other faithful people, should be taken out of the ground, and thrown away far from the burial of any church, according to the canon laws and decrees. This determination and sentence definitive being read and pronounced, the lord president, and the aforesaid presidents of the four nations, being demanded and asked whether it pleased them or not? They all answered (first Hostiensis the president, and after him the other presidents of the nations) that it pleased them very well, and so they allowed and confirmed all the premises, etc.”

What Heraclitus would not laugh, or what Democritus would not weep,<sup>264</sup> to see these sage and reverend Catoes <sup>265</sup> occupy their heads about taking up a poor man’s body, who had been dead and buried for the past forty-one years? And yet perhaps they were not able to find his right bones, but took up some other body, and so made a heretic of a catholic! Yet in this Wycliffe had some cause to give them thanks, that they at least spared him so long till he was dead, and gave him so long respite after his death, to rest in his sepulcher before they ungraved him, and turned him from earth to ashes. These ashes they also took and threw into the river Swift. And so he was resolved into three elements, earth, fire, and water, thinking thereby to utterly extinguish and abolish both the name and doctrine of Wycliffe forever. This is not unlike the example of the old Pharisees, who when they had brought the Lord to the grave, thought to make him sure to never rise again. But these and all others must know that, just as there is no counsel against the Lord, so there is no keeping down the truth; but it will spring up and come out of dust and ashes, as appeared right well in this man. For though they dug up his body, burnt his bones, and drowned his ashes; yet the word of God, and the truth of His doctrine, with the fruit and success of it, they could not burn. To this day, most of his articles remain, notwithstanding that the transitory body and bones of the man were thus consumed and dispersed.

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These things are thus finished and accomplished which pertain to the history and time of Wycliffe. Let us now, by the support of the Lord, proceed to write about the rest who either in his time or after his time, springing out of the same university, and raised up (as one might say) out of his ashes, were partakers of the same persecution. Thomas Walden speaks of them where he says that after Wycliffe, many suffered most cruel deaths, and many more forsook the realm.

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<sup>263</sup> Antipope John XXIII (r. 1410-1415). This Council of Constance was held from 1414-1418.

<sup>264</sup> Heraclitus was known as *the weeping philosopher*, Democritus as *the laughing philosopher*.

<sup>265</sup> Alluding ironically to Cato, known as Cato the Wise — for these men were not at all wise.



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Among their number were William Swinderby, Walter Brute, John Purvey, Richard White, William Thorpe, Raynold Peacock bishop of St. Asaph, and afterward of Chichester.

This catalogue also includes Laurence Redman master of arts, David Sautre, divine, John Aschwarby vicar (as they call him) of St. Mary's church at Oxford, William James (an excellent young man, well learned), Thomas Brightwell, and William Hawlam a civilian, Rafe Grenhurst, John Scut, and Philip Norice — who being excommunicated by Pope Eugenius IV in the year 1446, appealed to a general council. Peter Paine also, who fleeing from Oxford to Bohemia, stoutly contended against the sophisters, as administering both kinds in the sacrament of the last supper. Also the Lord Cobham, etc., with others, whose names are named in the king's writ, sent to the sheriff of Northampton. This writ of the king follows in this tenor:

“In that John Attyate of Chepingwarden, John Warryner, Robert Brewood, etc., are receivers and favorers of heretics, and especially of John Woodward, priest, who was publicly defamed and condemned of heresy, will not be justified by the censures (judgments) of the church, as the reverend father John bishop of Lincoln has certified to us — therefore, desiring to withstand all defenders and favorers of such heresies, we will and command the forenamed, as well as namely the aforesaid John Woodward, are to be apprehended, straitly charging that they are to be imprisoned by their bodies, or otherwise punished as seems good to the justices, until they and every of them submit themselves to the obedience of the aforesaid bishop in that behalf accordingly. You shall not fail of this under pain of a hundred pounds. Witness ourselves: given at our manor of Langley the 8th day of March, the twelfth year of our reign.”

To these named above, and other favorers of Wycliffe within our country of England, we may also add the Bohemians. For the propagation of the doctrine of Wycliffe in that country took root, coming from England to Bohemia on the following occasion.

At that time, a certain student of the country of Bohemia happened to be at Oxford. He was from a wealthy house, and also of noble stock. Returning home from the university of Oxford to the university of Prague, he carried with him certain books of Wycliffe. It happened at the same time, that a certain nobleman in the city of Prague had founded and built a great church of Matthias and Mattheus (this church was called *Bethlehem*), giving great lands to it. Every day, two preachers could be found in it, to preach to the people on both holy days and working-days. One of these two preachers was John Huss (or Jan Hus), a man of great knowledge, a pregnant wit, and most highly esteemed among them for his worthy life. Being familiar with this young man, and reading and perusing these books of Wycliffe, Huss derived such pleasure and profit from reading them, that he not only began to defend the author openly in the schools, but also in his sermons. He commended him as a good man, a holy man, and a heavenly man, wishing for himself that when he died, he might be placed there, where the soul of Wycliffe would be.

And thus much briefly concerning the favorers and adherents of John Wycliffe in general. Now particularly and in order let us (by Christ's grace) narrate the histories and persecutions of the parties aforesaid, beginning with the valiant champions William Swinderby and Walter Brute.

***The History of William Swinderby – 1389.***

In the year 1389, William Swinderby, priest within the diocese of Lincoln, being accused and seized for certain opinions, was presented before John, bishop of Lincoln, in the form and order of the pope's law, and according to their usual rite. His accusers were friar Frisby, an Observant; friar Hincely, an Augustinian; and Thomas Blaxton, a Dominican.

The articles or conclusions were exhibited against him by the friars in the bishop of Lincoln's court. These articles although he never preached, taught, or at any time defended them, as appears in the process, the friars with their witnesses standing against him, declared him to be convicted. They brought dry wood with them to the town to burn him, and would not leave him before they made him promise and swore for fear of death, never to hold them, teach them, nor preach them secretly or openly; and that he would go to certain churches to revoke the conclusions, which he never affirmed. He obediently accomplished this with the following form of revocation, which they bound him to.

*The Revocation of William Swinderby.*

"I, William Swinderby, priest, although unworthy of the diocese of Lincoln, acknowledging one true catholic and apostolic faith of the holy church of Rome, disavow all heresy and error opposed to the determination of the holy mother church, of which I have been up to now defamed; namely, the conclusions and articles above prefixed, and every one of them judicially objected to me by the commissary of the reverend father in Christ, Lord John, by the grace of God bishop of Lincoln.

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"And I do revoke the same, and every one of them, some as heretical, some as erroneous and false, and do affirm and believe them to be so, and hereafter will never teach, preach, or affirm them publicly or privately. Nor will I make any sermon within the diocese of Lincoln, without first asking and obtaining the license of the aforesaid reverend father and lord, the bishop of Lincoln. Contrary to which, if I presume hereafter to say or do, to hold or preach, I shall be content to abide the severity of the canon, as I have judicially by the necessity of the law, sworn, and do swear," etc.

Thus you see the conclusions and articles of this good man, falsely objected against him by the malicious and lying friars; and also the retraction to which they compelled him. By this it may be conjectured what credit is to be given to the articles and conclusions which these cavilling friars, twisting all things to the worst, have objected and imputed to Wycliffe and all others like him, whom they so falsely defame, so slanderously belie, and so maliciously persecute. After these things in the diocese of Lincoln, Swinderby moved to the diocese of Hereford. There he was as much or more molested by the friars again, and by John Tresnant bishop of Hereford, as it may appear by the process set out at large in their own registers.

Here follow the informations <sup>266</sup> laid before John Tresnant, bishop of Hereford, against William Swinderby in the cause of "heretical depravity," as the popish heretics call it.

"Reverend father and high lord, Lord John, by God's sufferance bishop of Hereford. It is lamentably declared to your reverend fatherhood on behalf of Christ's faithful people, your devout children of your diocese of Hereford, that notwithstanding the unbelief of very many Lollards,<sup>267</sup> who have too long sprung up in your diocese, there has newly come a certain child of wickedness named William Swinderby. By his horrible persuasions and mischievous endeavors, and also by his public preaching and private teaching, he perverts the whole ecclesiastical state and stirs up, with all his power, schism between the clergy and the people. And that your reverend fatherhood may be the more fully informed, who and what manner of man William Swinderby is; there are proposed and exhibited here to your fatherhood, on

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<sup>266</sup> *Informations*: a collection of facts or charges, from which conclusions may be drawn.

<sup>267</sup> *Lollard*: mumbler; a derogatory nickname given to those who were largely uneducated, and followed the teachings of John Wycliffe. They wanted the bible translated into their native language instead of Latin, so they could understand it themselves, teach it to their children, and refute the falsehoods of the Romish clergy.

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behalf of the faithful people of Christ, against the same William Swinderby, cases and articles. Which if he denies them, then these cases and articles shall be most evidently proved against him by witnesses worthy of belief, and by other lawful proof and evidences, to the end that your fatherhood may do and ordain such things as belong to your pastoral office.

“1. William Swinderby, pretending to be a priest, was openly and publicly convicted of certain articles and conclusions being erroneous, schismatical, and heretical, preached by him at several places and times, before a multitude of faithful Christian people. And the same articles and conclusions by force of law he revoked and abjured, some as heretical, and some as erroneous and false, avouching and believing them to be those of the same conclusions which from then on he would never preach, teach, or affirm openly or secretly. And if he were to presume to do the contrary by preaching or avouching them, he would then be subject to the severity of the canons, according to the corporal oath he took judicially upon the holy gospels.

2. Also the conclusions, which were first openly taught and preached by him, and afterward abjured and revoked, are contained in the process of the bishop of Lincoln, written word for word. As for the cases and articles, they were exhibited by the faithful Christian people against the said William Swinderby, together with the conclusions, and are hereafter recorded. The tenor of these cases and articles follows here:

3. The said William, contrary to the revocation and abjuration, not converted to repentance, but perverted from bad to worse, and given up to a reprobate mind, came into your diocese where running about in sundry places, he has presumed to preach, or rather to pervert and to teach of his own rashness, many heretical, erroneous, blasphemous, and other slanderous things, contrary and repugnant to the sacred canons, and the determination of the holy catholic church. What those things were, at what place and what time, will hereafter be more particularly declared.

4. The same William, notwithstanding your commandments and admonitions sealed with your seal, and directed to all the curates of your diocese, ordaining among other things that no person of whatever state, degree, or condition, should presume to preach or to teach, or expound the holy Scripture to the people, either in hallowed or profane places within your diocese, without sufficient authority, under any manner of pretense, as is more largely contained in your letters of admonition and of inhibition. The same William received these letters into his hands, and read word for word in the town of Monmouth of your diocese, in the year 1390; so that letters of yours came to the true and undoubted knowledge of the same William. Yet notwithstanding, he has presumed in various places and times to preach within your diocese, after and against your commandment aforesaid.

5. The same William in his preaching to the people, on Monday the first of August, 1390, in the parish of Whitney in your diocese, held and affirmed that no prelate of the world, of whatever estate, pre-eminence or degree he was, having cure and charge of souls, being in deadly sin, and hearing the confession of anyone could do anything in giving him absolution; as being one who neither looses him from his sin, nor in correcting or excommunicating him from his demerits, binds him by his sentence, unless the prelate is himself free from deadly sin, as St. Peter was, to whom our Lord gave power to bind and loose.

6. The same William in many places said and affirmed, in the presence of many faithful Christian people, that after the sacramental words uttered by the priest when he intends to consecrate, the very body of Christ is not made in the sacrament of the altar.

7. That accidents cannot be in the sacrament of the altar without a subject; and that material bread remains there to those who are communicants of the body of Christ, in the same sacrament.

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8. That a priest, being in deadly sin, cannot by the strength of the sacramental words make the body of Christ, or bring to perfection any other sacrament of the church, nor minister it to the members of the church.
9. That all priests are of equal power in all things, even though some of them in this world are of higher and greater honor, degree, or pre-eminence.
10. That only contrition puts away sin, and is such if a man is duly contrite; and that all auricular and outward confession is superfluous, and not requisite of necessity to salvation.
11. Inferior curates do nor have their power of binding and loosing immediately from the pope or bishop, but immediately from Christ: and therefore neither pope nor bishop can revoke to themselves this kind of power, at their will and pleasure.
12. That the pope cannot grant annual and yearly pardons, because there may not be so many years till the day of judgment, as are contained in the pope's bulls or pardons. From this it follows that these pardons are not of such value as they pretend.
13. It is not in the pope's power to grant to any penitent person remission of the punishment of the fault.
14. That person who gives alms to anyone who in his judgment is not in want, commits sin in so giving it.<sup>268</sup>
15. That it is not in the power of any prelate, of whatever order he may be, to privately give letters for the benefit of his order, nor does such benefit profit to the salvation of the soul, of those to whom they are granted.

[237] A.D. 1389-1391.

16. That the same William, unmindful of his own salvation, has many and oftentimes come into a certain desert wood, called Dervallwood, of your diocese, and there in a certain chapel which is not consecrated, or rather, in a profane cottage, has in contempt of the keys, presumed of his own rashness to celebrate [the sacrament], indeed rather to profane it.
17. The same William has also presumed to do such things in a certain profane chapel, situated in the park of Newton near the town of Leintwarden, of your diocese."

*The Citation.*

"John, by God's permission, bishop of Hereford, to his dear sons our dean of Leamster, to the parsons of Croft, Almady, and Whitney, and also to the vicars of Kingston, Ladersley, Wiggemore, and Monmouth Clifford, and of St. John's altar in our cathedral church of Hereford, and to the rest of the deans, parsons, vicars, chaplains, parish priests, and to others whosoever in any place are appointed through our city and diocese of Hereford, sends greeting, grace and benediction.

"We bid and command, charging you straitly, in the virtue of holy obedience, that you cite or cause to be cited peremptorily (and under the pain of excommunication) William Swinderby, pretending himself to be a priest, that he appear before us, or our commissaries on the twentieth day of this present month of July, at North Lodebury, within our diocese, with the continuance of the days following in other places also to be assigned to him if it is expedient, till such things as have been, and shall be laid against him, are fully discussed, to answer more at large to certain positions and articles touching the catholic faith, and the holy mother church's determination that have been exhibited and ministered to the said William. And to also see and hear many things that have openly in judgment before us, and a great number of

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<sup>268</sup> Referring to giving alms to mendicant (begging) friars.

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faithful Christians, even been confessed by him in writing, to be condemned as heretical, false, schismatical, and erroneous. And to see and hear positions and articles denied by the said William, to be proved by faithful witnesses, and other lawful trials against the said William. And to receive for his false, heretical, erroneous, and schismatical doctrine, that which justice shall appoint, or else to show causes why the premises should not be done.

“And if the said William conceals himself, or cannot be cited in his proper person, we will that in your churches, when most people then come together to divine service, you openly with a loud voice that may be understood, cause the said William peremptorily to be cited to the premises, certifying that the said William, whether he appears at the day and place appointed or not, notwithstanding we will proceed to the premises against the said William, according to the canonical decrees, by form of law, in the absence or contumacy of the said William notwithstanding. We will, moreover, if the said William appears before us at the said day and place, as aforesaid, friendly hear him, and honestly and favorably deal with him, as far as we may with God’s leave; granting free license to come and go for his natural liberty without any hurt either in body or goods. And see that you fully certify to us about the things that you or any of you do about the execution of this our commandment, and that by your letters patent, signed with your authentic seal, also faithfully giving to the said William, or to his lawful proctor, if he requires it, a copy of this present commandment.

“Given at our house of Whitburne, under our seal, the fifth day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1391.”

William Swinderby either explained or defended the various conclusions objected against him, and gave his conclusions in the following words, which we insert in the ancient style in which they were written:

“The fifth article tells of forgiveness of sins, and it is this: that true contrition, without charity and grace, does away with all sins done before by that man who is truly contrite; and all true confession made by mouth outwardly to a wise and a good priest, profits much to a man, and it is needful and helpful, so that men show their life to such priests, trusting fully to God’s mercy, that He forgives the sin.

“And to this I say, that there are two remissions of sin. One that belongs only to God, and *that* remission is the cleansing of the soul from sin. The other remission, is a certifying that one man certifies to another, that sins have been forgiven by God, if he is sorry with all his heart for them, and is in full will to leave them forever; and *this* manner of forgiveness belongs to priests. David says of the first manner of forgiveness, ‘And I said, I will confess my unrighteousness to the Lord, and you forgave me my misdeed.’ <sup>Psa 32.5</sup> And Zacharias says, ‘And you, O child, shall be called the prophet of the highest, etc. To give knowledge of salvation to his people for the remission of their sins, by the tender mercies of God.’ <sup>Luk 1.76-78</sup> And John the Baptist, ‘Behold the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world.’ <sup>Joh 1.29</sup> And St. John the Evangelist says in his epistle, ‘If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and cleanse us from all our iniquity.’ <sup>1Joh 1.9</sup> And it follows, ‘If any man sins, we have an advocate with the Father, even Jesus Christ, and he is the propitiation for our sins.’ <sup>1Joh 2.1-2</sup> And of the other remission of sins, Christ says in the gospel, ‘If you forgive the sins of any, they shall be forgiven.’ <sup>Joh 20.23</sup> And man’s forgiveness avails little, if God forgives our sins through his grace.

“The sixth conclusion touches indulgences and pardons that the pope grants in his bulls, and men call it an absolution *a poena et culpa* (from punishment and guilt).

“This manner of speech I cannot find in the gospel, nor in any place of holy writ, nor have I read that Christ used this manner of remission, nor any of his apostles. But as I conceive it, if the pope had such a power, since the pains after a man’s death would have been much greater

than any bodily pains of the world, I think he should of charity keep men out of such pains, and then men need not find so many vicious (sinful) priests, after their life, to bring their souls out of purgatory. Another thing I think, is that since the pope's power may not keep us from bodily pains in this world, such as from cold, from hunger, from dread, from sorrow and other such pains, how might his power help us from spiritual pains, when we are dead? But because no man after his death comes to tell us the truth of what pain they have, men must tell of it what they wish. St. John says in his Apocalypse, that he saw under the altar the souls of those who were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they had. And they cried with a loud voice, saying, 'How long. Lord holy and true, do you not revenge our blood against those who dwell on the earth?' And white robes were given to every of them to rest awhile, till the number of their fellow servants and brethren should be fulfilled, who remained to be slain as they were, etc. <sup>Rev 6.9-11</sup> Here it seems, that these souls were not absolved *a poena*, that is, from *pain*; for their desire is not fulfilled. And they were told to abide awhile, and that is a pain. And if martyrs were not absolved from pain, then it is hard for any man to say that he absolves other men *a poena*. Also, good men's souls have only spiritual bliss, and they want bodily bliss until their resurrection on the Day of Doom (judgment). And after, they desired to have that bliss, and abide in it, and that is pain to them. I cannot see that the pope has power to bring him from this pain. But if any man can show me that he has such a power granted in the pledge of holy writ, I will gladly leave it.

"The seventh point speaks of the pope, and it is this: since it is only due to God, as I said before, to give and to grant plenary remission from pain and from blame, whoever he is, pope or other, that presumptuously takes upon himself the power that is only due to God, in doing so, as much as it is in him, he makes himself even with Christ, and blasphemes God, just as Lucifer did when he said, *Ascendam, et ero similia altissimo*, that is, I will ascend, and be like the highest, etc. <sup>Isa 14.12-14</sup>

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"For I say, if the pope holds men of arms to maintaining his temporal lordship, to avenge himself upon those who fault and offend him, and he gives remission to fight and to slay those who oppose him, as men said he did by the bishop of Norwich not putting his sword in his sheath (as God commanded Peter), then he is antichrist. For he does the contrary of the commandment of Jesus Christ, who had Peter forgive his brother seventy times seven. <sup>Mat 18.22</sup> Well, I find in the gospel, that when Christ sent his disciples to Samaria, the Samaritans would not receive them. And some of them bid Christ to make fire come down from heaven to destroy the city. He blamed them and said, 'You do not know of what spirit you are; the Son of Man has not come down to destroy, but to save the lives and souls of men,' etc. <sup>Luk 9.54-56</sup> If Christ then came to save men, and not to slay them, then whoever does the reverse of that is against Christ, and he is *antichrist*. Christ bid Peter to put his sword into his sheath, and said, 'All those who take up the sword, shall perish with the sword.' <sup>Mat 26.52</sup> And I cannot find that Peter drew out his sword after that, but suffered as Christ said he would: 'When you grow old, another will gird you, and lead you whether you will or not.' <sup>Joh 21.18</sup> And therefore Peter said, 'Christ suffered for us, leaving us example that we should follow his steps.' <sup>1Pet 2.21</sup> And Paul says, 'Not defending yourselves, but give place to anger; for Vengeance is mine, and I shall reward them,' etc. <sup>Rom 12.19</sup> And therefore it seems to me, that it is much against Christ's love, that his vicar should be a fighter; since he must be a shepherd who should go before his sheep, and let them come after him, and not drive them away from him with swords. For as Christ says, 'A good shepherd puts his life for his sheep.' <sup>Joh 10.11</sup>

"And all that Christ had was two swords <sup>Luk 22.38</sup> when he was taken by the Jews. He said himself it was that the Scriptures might be fulfilled, <sup>Mat 26.56</sup> 'He was reputed among the wicked;' <sup>Mar 15.28</sup> and not to prefigure the two swords that men say the pope has to govern the

church with. And when I see such doings of the pope, and many other things that do not accord with Christ's love, nor his living; and when I read diverse Scriptures of holy writ, I am full astonished whether they should be understood of him, or of any other. And I pray you, for God's love, tell me the truth. Christ says, 'Many will come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and will seduce many,' etc. <sup>Mat 24.5</sup> Christ (I know well) is saying, as the anointed one, that there were two anointings in the law: one of kings, another of priests. And Christ was both king and priest, and so the pope says that he is. Yet if all who have been emperors of Rome, and other heathen kings, have been antichrists, then they do not come in Christ's name. But whoever comes in Christ's name, and pretends to be Christ's friend, but is secretly his enemy, may lightly beguile many. St. Paul says that, before the Day of Christ, a defection comes first; and the son of perdition will be revealed, who is the adversary. He is extolled above all that is named God, or which is worshipped; so that he will sit in the temple of God, showing himself as God. And it follows in the same place — and you know what holds till he is revealed in his time — for he already works the mystery of iniquity. Only, the one who holds, let him hold till he comes abroad, and then that wicked one will be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus will slay with the spirit of his mouth, etc. <sup>2The 2.3-8</sup> And St. John says in the Apocalypse, 'I saw another beast ascending out of the earth, and he had two horns like the Lamb. He spoke like the dragon, and had the power of the first beast.' <sup>Rev 13.11-12</sup> Many such authorities have often astonished me since; and therefore I pray, for the love of God, *you* tell me what they mean."

After two sittings in July, and two in August, the last of which was on the sixteenth of August 1391, they proceeded to the sentence, on October the third.

"The name of Christ being invoked, we, John, by the permission of God, bishop of Hereford, sitting in tribunal seat, having God before our eyes, weighing and considering the articles by the aforesaid faithful Christians put up against the said Swinderby, pretending himself to be priest, with his answers upon the same, *Actis et Actitatis* before us in the cause of heretical perversity, with mature deliberation had before in his behalf, with masters and doctors of divinity, and also of other faculties, with their counsel and consent, do pronounce, decree, and declare the said William to have been, and to be, a heretic schismatic, and a false informer of the people, and one who is to be avoided by faithful Christians. Therefore we admonish, under the pain of the law, all and singular Christians, of whatever sex, state, condition, or pre-eminence, that neither they nor any of them within our diocese, or any other, believe, receive, defend, or favor the said William, till he deserves to be fully reconciled again to the bosom of holy church."

You have heard of the process, answers, and condemnation of this worthy priest, and true servant of Christ, William Swinderby. What became of him afterwards I have not been able to ascertain. Whether he died in prison, or whether he escaped their hands, or whether he was burned, there is no certain relation made. But this remains beyond doubt, that during the life of King Richard II, no great harm was done to him, which was until the year 1401, when King Richard being wrongfully deposed, and Henry IV seized the kingdom of England. About the beginning of his reign, we read of a certain parliament held at London, in which it was decreed that whoever showed themselves to be favorers of Wycliffe (who at that time were called *Lollards*), should be apprehended. And if they obstinately persevered in that doctrine, they should be delivered to the bishop of the diocese, and from him committed to the secular magistrate. This law (says the history) brought a certain priest to punishment the same year, who was burned in Smithfield in the presence of a great number. But it does not appear what the priest's name was. Notwithstanding, by diverse conjectures it appears to me that his name was Swinderby, who was forced to recant before the bishop of Lincoln. This is plain for all men to judge, that if he was burned, then the bishops, friars, and priests,

who were the causes of it, have a great thing to answer to the Lord, when he comes to judge the quick and the dead.

***The History of Walter Brute – 1391.***

After the history of William Swinderby, I thought it good and convenient to add the acts and doings of Walter Brute, his joint fellow and companion, being a layman, and learned. He was brought up, it seems, in the university of Oxford, and was also a graduate. In treating his history, as it is long, many things will appear that are worthy to be read and considered.

First, the mighty operation of God's Spirit in him, his ripe knowledge, modest simplicity, his valiant constancy, his learned treatises, and the many conflicts he sustained against God's enemies. On the contrary part, in his adversaries there may appear might against right, and man's authority against plain truth. Having nothing to directly allege against him, they proceeded in condemnation against someone whom they were not able to confute. The chief occasion that seemed to stir up the heart and zeal of this Walter against the pope, was the impudent pardons and indulgences of Pope Urban VI, granted to Henry Spencer bishop of Norwich, to fight against Pope Clement, mentioned earlier. Secondly, the wrongful condemnation of the articles and conclusions of William Swinderby. The whole order of it may appear more plainly in the process that follows here.

**Articles Exhibited Against Walter Brute**

*The process of John, bishop of Hereford, against Walter Brute  
a learned layman of the diocese of Hereford, touching the cause of Heresy.*

"In the name of God, amen. To all manner of faithful Christian people, who will see and hear this present process of ours, John by the sufferance of God, bishop of Hereford sends greeting and continual charity, in the Lord.

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"We would that you all should know, that of late we were lamentably informed by many faithful Christian people, and especially zealous followers of the catholic faith, by way of complaint, that a certain son of ours, named Walter Brute, a learned lay person of our diocese, has under a cloaked show of holiness, damnably seduced the people. And setting behind him the fear of God, he seduces them as much as he can from day to day, informing and teaching openly and secretly the nobles as well as the commons, in certain conclusions that are heretical, schismatical, and erroneous, and previously condemned. And they have also exhibited against the same Walter, the articles underwritten, in manner and form as follows.

*Articles exhibited and denounced to the bishop, against Walter Brute.*

"Reverend father and lord, we the faithful people of Christ, and zealous lovers of the catholic faith, and also your humble and devout children, do minister and exhibit to your reverend fatherhood the articles underwritten, touching the catholic faith, contrary and against malicious persons and detractors of the same faith, and the determinations of holy mother church, and namely, against the child of Belial, one Walter Brute, a false teacher and seducer among the people: humbly beseeching, that you would grant to regard the correction of the enormities underwritten, according to the canonical constitutions, even as it belongs to your pastoral office.

1. We do give and exhibit and intend to prove that the same Walter Brute, being unmindful of his salvation, has been frequently accused by many and diverse faithful Christian people, of the cursedness of heresy, as has been testified by the swift report, slander, and rumor of the people, proceeding before the most reverend father and lord, lord William, archbishop of



Canterbury, and also before the reverend father and lord, lord John, late bishop of Hereford, your predecessor, and now bishop of St. Asaph. And he has also been, many and diverse times, cited to answer to the articles avouched and openly and publicly taught by him against the catholic faith. But in this matter of heretical cursedness (so grievously and shamefully spoken of) he has never purged his innocency; but lurkingly, and running into corners, he has for many years labored to advance things that are erroneous, and schismatical, and also heretical, and to imprint them in the hearts of faithful people.

2. The aforesaid Walter Brute has openly, publicly, and notoriously avouched, and commonly said and taught, and stubbornly affirmed, that every Christian man (yes, and woman) being without sin, may make the body of Christ (consecrate the bread) as well as the priest.

3. The same Walter has notoriously, openly, and publicly avouched and taught that in the sacrament of the altar, there is not the very body, but only a sign and a memorial.

4. The aforesaid Walter has said commonly, and avouched, and also has labored to inform men and companies, that no man is bound to give tithes nor oblations; and if any man will give, he may give his tithes and oblations to whomever he will, thereby excluding their curates.

5. That those who preach and prefer crosses and pardons (granted by the high bishop to those who helped the purpose of the reverend father lord Henry, by the grace of God bishop of Norwich, when he took his journey to fight for the holy father, the pope) are schismatics and heretics, and that the pope cannot grant this manner of pardons.

6. The said Walter has often said, and commonly avouched, that the pope is antichrist, and a seducer of the people, and utterly against the law and life of Christ.

7. Whereas of late your reverence proceeded in form of law against William Swinderby; and that the said William Swinderby had given his answers in writing, which contained errors, schisms and heresies, even as you — with the mature counsel of masters and doctors in divinity, and other faculties have determined and given sentence — have pronounced the same William Swinderby to be a heretic and a schismatic, and an erroneous teacher of the people. Nevertheless, the aforementioned Walter has openly, publicly, and notoriously said, avouched, and stubbornly affirmed, that the said William's answers are good, righteous, and not able to be convicted, in that they contain no error, and that your sentence, given against the said William, is evil, false, and unjust; and that your assistants have wickedly, naughtily, perversely, and unjustly condemned the answers aforesaid.

“Now thereupon immediately those same faithful Christian people have instantly required that we would grant that other articles given by the same faithful Christians against William Swinderby, together with the writings and answers of the same William, should be admitted against Walter Brute. These things being done, the same faithful Christian people, and especially Sir Walter Pride, the penitentiary <sup>269</sup> of our cathedral church of Hereford, personally appearing before us, sitting in our judgment seat in the parish church of Whiteborne of our diocese, brought forth and exhibited two public instruments against the same Walter Brute, in the case of cursed heresy aforesaid.

### **The Answer of Walter Brute.**

“At last, Walter Brute presented to us diverse scrolls of paper, written with his own proper hand, for his answers to the same articles and conclusions above written. These scrolls were as follows:

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<sup>269</sup> *Penitentiary*: An officer in some dioceses (since 1215), vested with power from the bishop to absolve in cases reserved to him. He prescribes the rules and measures of penance, and administers the sacrament of penance.

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“In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Amen. I, Walter Brute, sinner, layman, husbandman, and a Christian of the Britons (having my offspring of the Britons, both by my father’s and mother’s side), have been accused to the bishop of Hereford, that I erred in many matters concerning the catholic Christian faith; by whom I am required that I should write an answer in Latin to all those matters. I will satisfy his desire to my power, protesting first of all, before God and before all the world, that as it is not my mind, through God’s grace, to refuse the known truth, for any reward, greater or smaller, indeed, however big it may be, nor yet out of the fear of any temporal punishment — even so, it is not my mind to maintain any erroneous doctrine for any personal advantage. And if any man, of whatever state, sect, or condition he is, will show me that I err in my writings or sayings, by the authority of the sacred Scripture, or by probable reason grounded on the sacred Scripture, I will humbly and gladly receive his information. But as for the bare words of any teacher (Christ only excepted) I will not simply believe, unless he is able to establish them by the truth of experience, or from the Scripture. Because, even in the holy apostles elected by Christ, error has been found by the testimony of the holy Scripture, as Paul himself confesses that he rebuked Peter, for he was worthy to be rebuked, Gal 2.14. There have been errors found in the holy doctors who have lived before us, as they themselves confess about themselves. And oftentimes it happens that there is error found in the teachers in our own age. They have contrary opinions among themselves, and some of them sometimes determine one thing for truth, and others condemn the self-same thing as heresy and error. This protestation being premised, I will here place two suppositions or cases as a ground and a foundation of all the things that I will say, and out of which I would gather two probable conclusions established upon them, and upon the sacred Scripture. By these conclusions, when they are declared in my manner and fashion, it will plainly appear what my opinion and judgment are concerning all matters that I am accused of. But because I am ignorant and unlearned, I will get myself under the mighty defenses of the Lord: *O Lord, I will remember your righteousness alone.*

“God the Father Almighty uncreated, the maker of heaven and earth, has sent his Son (who was everlastingly begotten) into this world, that he should be incarnate for the salvation and redemption of mankind, who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, everlastingly proceeding from the Father and the Son, and was born of Mary the virgin, to the end that we might be born anew.

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“He suffered passion under Pontius Pilate for our sins, laying down his life for us, that we should lay down our life for our brethren. He was crucified, that we should be crucified to the world, and the world to us. He was dead, that he might redeem us from death, by purchasing for us forgiveness of sins. He was buried, that we being buried together with him into death by baptism, and being dead to sins, should live to righteousness. He descended into hell, thereby delivering man from thralldom, and from the bondage of the devil, and restoring him to his inheritance which he lost by sin. The third day he rose from the dead, through the glory of the Father, that we also should walk in newness of life. He ascended up to the heavens, to which nobody has ascended, saving he that descended from heaven, even the Son of Man which is in heaven. He sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, until his enemies are made his footstool. He being in very deed so much better than the angels, as he has obtained by inheritance a more excellent name than they. From there he shall come to judge the quick and the dead, according to their works, because the Father has given all judgment to the Son. In His terrible judgment we shall rise again, and all of us shall stand before this judgment seat, and receive joy bodily as well as spiritually, forever to endure, if we are of the sheep placed at the right hand; or else punishment of both body and soul, if we are found among goats, and placed on the left hand, etc.

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“Jesus Christ the Son of God, very God and very man, a king forever, by establishing an everlasting kingdom (breaking to powder all the kingdoms of the world), Dan 2.44. A priest forever after the order of Melchizedek, whereby also he is able evermore to save those who come to God by him, and always lives to make intercession for us, Heb 7.25. Offering one sacrifice for our sins, he has made perfect forever by one oblation those who are sanctified, Heb 10.14. Being the wisdom that cannot be deceived, and the truth that cannot be uttered, he has taught in this world the will of God his Father. This will he has by his work fulfilled, to the intent that he might faithfully instruct us, and has given us the law of charity to be observed by his faithful people, which he has written in the hearts and minds of the faithful with the finger of God, which is the Spirit of God, searching the inward secrets of the Godhead. Therefore, his doctrine must be observed above all other doctrines, whether they are of angels or of men, because he could not, and would not err in his teaching. But in men’s doctrine there are often chances for error. And therefore we must forsake their doctrines, if they are covertly or expressly repugnant to the doctrine of Christ. Men’s doctrines being made for the people’s profit, they must be allowed and observed, so far as they are grounded upon Christ’s doctrine, or at least are not repugnant to his words.

“ If the high bishop of Rome calling himself the servant of the servants of God, and the chief vicar of Christ in this world, makes and maintains any laws contrary to the gospel of Jesus Christ, then is he of those who have come in Christ’s name, saying, I am Christ, and have deceived many, by the testimony of our Savior, as in Mat 24.23. And the idol of desolation sitting in the temple of God and taking away from him the continual sacrifice for a time, times, and half a time, which idol must be revealed to the Christian people by the testimony of Daniel. <sup>Dan 7.25</sup> Christ speaks of this in the gospel, ‘when you see the abomination of desolation that was told of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place, let him who reads understand, <sup>Mat 24.15</sup> he is the pestiferous mountain infecting the whole earth, Jer 51.25, and not the head of Christ’s body. For the person ancient in years and honorable in reverence, he is the head; and the prophet teaching lies, he is the tail, Isa 9.15. He is that wicked and sinful captain of Israel, whose foreappointed day of iniquity has come in the time of iniquity, who shall ‘take away the diadem and take away the crown,’ Eze 21.26. To whom it was said;

‘Because your heart was exalted, and said, I am a god, and sit in the seat of God, in the heart of the sea, seeing you are a man and not God, and have given your heart, as if it were the heart of God; therefore behold I will bring upon you the strongest and most mighty strangers of the nations, and they shall draw their swords upon the beauty of your wisdom, and shall defile the commandments, and kill you, and pull you out, and you shall die in the destruction of the slain. And it follows, in the multitude of your iniquities, and of the iniquities of your merchandise, you have defiled your sanctification. I will therefore bring forth a fire from the midst of the whole earth, and will make you like ashes upon the earth. You have become nothing, and you shall never be any more, Eze 28.2-19.

Furthermore, he is the idol shepherd forsaking his flock, having a sword against his arm, and another sword against his right eye, Zec 11.17. And sitting in the temple of God, he advances himself above all so-called gods, or whatever is worshipped, 2The 2.4. And in this defection or falling away, the man of sin shall be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus will slay with the breath of his mouth. <sup>Isa 11.4</sup> For every kingdom divided in itself shall be brought to desolation. He is also, besides, the beast ascending up out of the earth, having two horns like a lamb, but he speaks like a dragon, and like the cruel beast ascending up out of the sea, whose power shall continue forty-two months. He works the things that he has given to the image of the beast. And he compelled small and great, rich and poor, free men and bond-slaves, to worship the beast, and to receive his mark on their forehead or their hands, Rev 13.16. And thus, by the testimony of all these places, he is the chief antichrist upon the earth, and must be slain with the sword of

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God's word, and cast with the dragon, the cruel beast. and the false prophet who has seduced the earth, into the lake of fire and brimstone. to be tormented world without end.

“If the city of Rome allows its traditions, and disallows Christ's holy commandments and Christ's doctrine, so that it may confirm its traditions, then she is ‘Babylon the great,’ or the ‘daughter of Babylon,’ and the ‘great whore sitting upon many waters,’ with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have become drunk with the wine of her fornication. The whole world is infected and seduced with her spiritual whoredom, enchantments, witchcrafts, and Simon Magus' merchandise — saying in her heart, ‘I sit as queen, and am not a widow, nor shall I see sorrow and mourning.’ <sup>Rev 18.7</sup> Yet she is ignorant that within a little while the day of her destruction and ruin shall come by the testimony of God, Rev 17.15-16 Because from the time of the continual sacrifice being taken away, and the abomination of desolation being placed, there have passed 1,290 days by the testimony of Daniel, and the chronicles added agree with the same. And the holy city also has been trodden underfoot by the heathen, for forty-two months, and the woman was nourished in the wilderness (to which she fled for fear of the face of the serpent) during 1260 days, or for a time, times, and half a time, which is all the same. All these things are manifest by the testimony of the book of Revelation, and the chronicles agreeing to it. As concerning the fall of Babylon aforesaid, it is manifest in the Revelation, where it is said, ‘In one day her plagues shall come, death, lamentation, and famine, and she shall be burned with fire. <sup>Rev 18.8-9</sup> For, strong is the Lord, who shall judge her. And again, ‘Babylon that great city is fallen, which has made all nations drink of the wine of her fornication.’ <sup>Rev 14.8</sup> And, thirdly, ‘One mighty angel took up a millstone, that was a very great one, and cast it into the sea, saying. With violence that great city Babylon shall be overthrown, and shall be found no more. For her merchants were the princes of the earth, and all nations have gone astray with her witchcraft, and in her is there found the blood of the saints and prophets.’ <sup>Rev 18.21-24</sup>

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“And Isaiah speaks of her destruction in the thirteenth chapter, ‘And Babylon, that glorious city, being so noble among kingdoms in the pride of the Chaldeans, it will be like when the Lord overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, upside down. It will never more be inhabited, nor have its foundation laid in any age, from generation to generation.’ <sup>Isa 13.19-20</sup> Jeremiah says, ‘Your mother who bore you is brought to very great confusion, and leveled to the ground.’ <sup>Jer 50.12</sup> And again, ‘The Lord has devised and done as he has spoken against the inhabitants of Babylon; you who dwell richly in your treasures upon many waters, your end is come.’ <sup>Isa 51.12-13</sup> And thirdly, ‘Drought will fall upon her waters, and they will begin to dry. For it is a land of graven images, and boasts in her prodigious wonders. It will never more be inhabited, nor be built up in any age nor generation — even as God subverted Sodom and Gomorrah with her calves.’ <sup>Jer 50.38-40</sup>

“Pardon me (I beseech you) though I am not plentiful in pleasant words. For if I were to run in the course of this wicked world, to please men, I would not be Christ's servant. And because I am a poor man, and neither have nor can have notaries hired to testify of my writings; I call upon Christ to be my witness, who knows the inward secrets of my heart, that I am ready to declare the things that I have written to the profit of all Christian people, and to the hurt of no man living. And I am ready to be reformed if any man will show me where I have erred. I am ready also (miserable sinner though I am) to suffer for the confession of the name of Christ, and of his doctrine, as much as it may please him by his grace and love to assist me, a miserable sinner. In witness of all these things I have set the seal of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ to this writing, which I beseech him to imprint on my forehead, and to take from me all manner of the mark of antichrist. Amen.”

### **The Second and More Ample Treatise of Walter Brute.**

These two suppositions (as they are termed in the schools) written by Walter Brute, and exhibited to the bishop, although they contained matter sufficient either to satisfy the bishop if he had been disposed to learn, or else to have provoked him to reply back if his knowledge in these things had been better than Brute's. Yet neither of them could work any effect in him. But receiving and perusing them, when he could neither confute what was said, nor reply or answer to what was truth by his own learning, he said Brute's "writing, was too short and obscure, and therefore he was required to write upon the same thing again, more plainly and more at large." Whereupon Master Walter, satisfying the bishop's request for a more ample treatise (and ready to give an account of his faith to everyone), he revised the matter declared before. We give the following extracts from this treatise:

"Reverend father, because it seems to you that my motion in my two suppositions or cases, and in my two conclusions, is too short and somewhat dark, I will gladly now satisfy your desire, according to my small learning, by declaring the same conclusions. In opening this, it will plainly appear to your reverence what I judge in all matters that I am accused of. I desire first of all that your discretion would not believe that I undertake any presumption to handle the secrets of the scriptures, which the holy, and just, and wise doctors have left unexpounded. It is not unknown to many, that I am in all points far inferior to them, whose holiness of life and profoundness in knowledge is always allowed. But as for my ignorance, and multitude of sins, they are sufficiently known to myself and others. Therefore I do not judge myself worthy to unloose or to carry their shoes after them. Therefore, do not otherwise deem of me, than I do of my self. But if you find any goodness in my writings, ascribe it to God alone. For according to the multitude of his mercy, he sometimes reveals those things to idiots and sinners, which are hidden from the holy and wise, according to this saying, 'I thank you, O Father, for you have hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and have revealed them to babes: even so, O Father, for so it seems good in your sight.' <sup>Mat 11.25-26</sup> And in another place, 'For judgment I have come into this world, that those who do not see, might perceive; and that those who see, might be made blind.' <sup>Joh 9.39</sup> And Paul says that, 'God has chosen the weak things of the world, to confound the mighty;' <sup>1Cor 1.27</sup> that no man shall glory in himself, but that all men should give the glory to God.

"He that has the key of David, who opens and no man shuts, shuts and no man opens,' <sup>Rev 3.7</sup> does (when and however long it pleases him) hide the mysteries, and the secrets of the Scriptures from the wise, prudent, and righteous; and at his pleasure reveals them to sinners, and lay persons, and simple souls, so that he may have the honor and glory in all things. Therefore, as I have before said, if you find any good things in my writings, ascribe them to God alone. If you find otherwise, think it has been written in ignorance, and not in malice. And if any suspicion of error is shown to me in all my writings, I will humbly accept your information and fatherly correction.

"In the first conclusion of my answer, I have conditionally put it, Who is that antichrist lying concealed in the hid Scriptures of the prophets? I will pass on the declaration of that conclusion, bringing to light those things which lay hidden in darkness, because nothing is hidden which shall not be disclosed, and nothing is covered which shall not be known. And therefore the thing which was said in the darkness, let us say in the light; and the thing which we have heard in the ear, let us preach upon the house-tops. I therefore say that if the high bishop of Rome, calling himself the servant of God, and the chief vicar of Christ in this world, makes and justifies many laws that are contrary to the gospel of Jesus Christ, then he is the chief of many who, coming in the name of Christ, have said, *I am Christ*, and who have deceived many. This is the first part of the first conclusion, and it is manifest. For *Christ* is called by the Hebrews the very same thing we call *anointed*. And among them there was a

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double sort of anointing by the law: the one of kings, and the other of priests. And thus the kings, as well as the priests, were called *Christs* in the law. The kings, as in the psalm, The kings of the earth stood up, and the princes took counsel together, against the Lord, and against his Christ, or anointed. <sup>Psa 2.2</sup> And in the books of the Kings, the kings are very often called Christs. <sup>2Sam 19.21</sup> And our Savior was Christ, or anointed king, because he was a king forevermore upon the throne of David, <sup>Luk 1.29</sup> as the Scripture very often witnesses. <sup>1Tim 1.17</sup> The priests also were called anointed, such as where it is written, ‘Do not touch my Christs;’ that is, my anointed ones, ‘and do my prophets no harm.’ <sup>1Chr 16.22</sup> And so was our Savior Christ, ‘a priest forever, according to the order of Melchizedek.’ <sup>Heb 5.6</sup>

“Seeing, then, that the bishops of Rome say that they are the high priests, they also say in this that they are kings, because they say that they have the spiritual sword pertaining to their priesthood, and the temporal sword which agrees to a king’s state. So it is plain, that really, and in very deed, they say that they are Christs, though they are not expressly called Christs. Now, it is manifest that they come in the name of Christ, because they say that they are his vicars in this world, ordained by Christ for the government of the Christian church. Therefore, seeing that they say, that they are really and in very deed Christs, and the chief friends of Christ, then if they make and justify many laws that are contrary to the gospel of Jesus Christ, it is plain that they themselves on earth are *antichrists*, because there is no worse plague and pestilence than a familiar enemy. And if in secret they are against Christ, and yet in open appearance they say that they are his friends, they are so much more fit to seduce and deceive the Christian people. This is because a manifest enemy will have much trouble deceiving a man, because men do not trust him; but a hidden enemy, pretending outward friendship, may easily seduce.”

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### **Peter Was Not Over the Other Apostles.**

“Paul to the Romans declares in a godly discourse, and to the Galatians likewise, ‘That none will be justified by the works of the law, but by grace in the faith of Jesus Christ.’ <sup>Gal 2.16</sup> As for the morals and ceremonies of the law — such as circumcision, sacrifices for offenses and for sins, first-fruits, tenths, vows, diverse sorts of washings, the sprinkling of blood, the sprinkling of ashes, abstaining from unclean meats, all of which are ordained for sanctifying and cleansing the people from sin, nor yet the prayers of the priests, neither the preachings of the prophets — none of these could cleanse a man from his sin. For death reigned even from Adam to Moses, and sin from Moses to Christ, as Paul declares to the Romans in the fifth chapter. But Christ, willing to have mercy and not sacrifice, being a priest forever in the order of Melchizedek, and a high priest of good things to come, neither by the blood of goats nor calves, but by his own blood, entered in once into the holy place, when an everlasting redemption is found. <sup>Heb 9.12</sup> Nor did Jesus enter into the holy places that were made with hands, which are the examples of true things, but into the very heaven, so that now he may appear before the face of God for us. <sup>Heb 9.24</sup> Nor yet did he do so, that he might offer himself often, as the high bishop entered into the holy place every year with strange blood (for otherwise he must have suffered oftentimes since the beginning of the world). But now, in the latter end of the world, has he once appeared by his own sacrifice, for the destruction of sin. And as it is decreed for men once to die, and after that Comes judgment; even so was Christ once offered up to consume away the sins of many. The second time he shall appear without sin to the salvation of such as look for him. <sup>Heb 9.25-28</sup>

“For the law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image or substance itself of the things, can never by those sacrifices which they offer (the same, continually year by year) make them perfect who come to her. Otherwise, men would abandon offering, because those worshippers being once cleansed, would afterwards have their conscience

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pricked no more for their sin. But in them there is a remembrance made of sins every year. For it is impossible that sins should be taken away by the blood of goats and bulls. Wherefore he entering into the world does say. As for sacrifice and offering you wouldst not have, but a body have you framed unto me. And sacrifices for sin have not pleased you: then I said, behold I come. In the head, or principal part of the book it is written of me, that I should do your will O God. Therefore he said before, that sacrifices, oblations, and burnt offerings for sin you would not have: neither were those things pleasant to You which are offered according to the law. Then I said, Behold I come, that I may do your will, O God. He takes away the first that he may establish that which followed. <sup>Heb 10.1-9</sup>

In this will we are sanctified and made holy by the offering up of the body of Jesus Christ once. And truly, every priest is ready every day ministering, and oftentimes offering the self-same sacrifices, which can never take away sins. But this man, offering one sacrifice for sins, forever and ever sits at God's right hand, looking for the rest to come, till his enemies are made his footstool. For with one offering he has forever made perfect those who are sanctified. <sup>Heb 10.11-14</sup> By these things it plainly appears that Christ, by once offering, has cleansed from their sins, those who could not be cleansed from them by all the ceremonies of the law; and so he fulfilled what the priesthood of the law could not. Therefore he fulfilled the moral and judicial law by the law of charity and by grace; and he fulfilled the ceremonial law by one offering up of his body on the altar of the cross. And so it is plain that Christ fulfilled the whole law.

“They say that the bishop of Rome (who is the chief priest and judge among them) has full power and authority to remit sins. Whereupon they say that he is able, fully and wholly, to absolve a man *a pena et culpa* (from punishment, pain and guilt) so that if a man at the time of his death, had this remission, he might straightway fly to heaven without any pain of purgatory. The other bishops (as they say) do not have so great an authority. The priests constituted under every bishop, have power, they say, to absolve the sins of those who are confessed, but not all kinds of sins, because there are some grievous sins reserved to the absolution of the bishops. And some again, are reserved to the absolution only of the chief and high bishop. They also say that it behooves the offenders, for the necessity of their soul's health, to call to their remembrance their offenses, and to declare them to the priest in auricular confession, with all the circumstances, thus taking the place of God, in the manner of a judge; and then afterward, they are to humbly fulfill the penance enjoined by the priest, unless the penance so enjoined, or any part of it, is released by the superior power. All these things (they say) are manifestly determined. Although these things do not expressly have their foundation in the plain and manifest doctrine of Christ, nor in any of the apostles, yet the authors of the decrees and decretals concerning this matter, have grounded it upon diverse places of the Scriptures. Such as, in the words of Christ in the gospel of St. Matthew, the sixteenth chapter, upon which they ground the pope's judicial power to surmount the powers of other priests, as where Christ said to his disciples,

‘Who do men say that I am? And they answered, Some say that you are John Baptist, some Elijah, and some Jeremiah, or one of the prophets. He said, But who do you say that I am? Simon Peter answered and said. You are the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said to him. Blessed are you Simon Bar-Jona; for flesh and blood has not revealed this to you; but my Father who is in heaven. And I say to you, that you are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Whatever you bind on earth, will also be bound in heaven; and whatever you loose on earth, will be loosed in heaven.’ <sup>Mat 16.13-19</sup>

“Out of this text of Christ, diverse expositors have drawn diverse errors. Such as, first, when Christ said, ‘And I say to you, that you are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church;’ some say that Christ meant he would build his church upon Peter. This exposition is ascribed

to Pope Leo; and the error of it is manifestly known. For the church of Christ is not built upon Peter, but upon the rock of Peter's confession, for he said, 'You are the Christ, the Son of the living God.' And again when Christ said particularly to Peter, 'I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you bind,' etc. By this, they say that Christ gave to Peter specially, as chief of the rest of the apostles, a larger power to bind and to loose, than he gave to the rest of the apostles and disciples. But Peter answered for himself and all the apostles, not only confessing the faith which he had chiefly above the rest, but also the faith which the rest of the apostles had, even as himself, by the revelation of the heavenly Father. It appears that, just as the faith of all the apostles was declared by the answer of one, so by what Christ said, 'Whatever you bind,' etc., the same power and equality to bind and to loose is given to the rest of the apostles, as to Peter. Christ himself declares this in the gospel of St. Matthew, the eighteenth chapter, in these words, 'Truly I say to you, whatever you bind on earth, will be bound in heaven; and whatever you loose on earth, will be loosed in heaven.' And he further adds, 'And again I say to you, that if two of you agree on earth, touching anything you ask, it will be given to you by my Father who is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, I am there in the midst of them.' <sup>Mat 18.18-20</sup> And in John, the twentieth chapter, he says to them generally, 'Receive the Holy Spirit. Whoever's sins you remit, they are remitted to them; and whoever's sins you retain, they are retained.' <sup>Joh 20.23</sup>

### **Popish Absolution Not Warranted By Scripture.**

"By this it appears, that the power to bind and to loose is not specially granted to Peter, as chief and head of the rest, and that the rest had their power to bind and to loose by him; for the head of the body of the church is one, who is Christ, and the head of Christ is God. <sup>1Cor 11.3</sup>

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"Peter and the rest of the apostles are the good members of the body of Christ; receiving power and virtue from Christ, by which they confirm and glue together the other members (the strong and noble, as well as the weak and unable) to a perfect composition and seemliness of the body of Christ — that all honor from all parts and members may be given to Christ as head and chief, by whom, as the head, all the members are governed. And therefore Paul says, 'For while one says, I am of Paul; and another I am of Apollos; are you not carnal? Who then is Paul, and who is Apollos, but ministers by whom you believed, even as the Lord gave to every man? I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase. So then, neither is he that plants anything, nor he that waters; but God who gives the increase,' <sup>1Cor 3.4</sup>. And to the Galatians he says,

'But of those who seemed to be something, whatever they were, it makes no matter to me. God accepts no man's person. For those who seemed to be something in conference added nothing to me. But contrariwise, when they saw that the Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed to me, as the Gospel of the circumcision was to Peter (for He who worked effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, was mighty in me toward the Gentiles); and when James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given to me, they gave me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship; that we should go to the heathen, and they to the circumcision. Only they would have us remember the poor; the very thing I also was eager to do,' <sup>Gal 2.6-10</sup>.

"Hereby it appears that Paul did not have his authority from Peter to convert the Gentiles, to baptize them, and to remit their sins, but from Him who said to him, 'Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me? It is hard for you to kick against the goads.' <sup>Act 26.14</sup> Here Paul is of the Head of the church, and not of Peter. By this head, they say, all the members are sustained and made lively.



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“The third error which the authors of the canons conceive in the text, ‘To you I will give the keys,’ etc., is this: they say that in this sentence which was said to Peter about the authority to bind and to loose, it was meant that just as Christ gave to Peter above all the rest of the apostles a special, and as it were an excellent power above all the apostles — even so, they say, he gave to the bishops of Rome (whom they call Peter’s chief successors) the same special power and authority, which exceeds the power of all other bishops of the world.

“The first part of this parallel and comparison, manifestly appears erroneous by the premises, in which it is plainly shown that the other apostles had equal power with Peter to bind and loose. Therefore, it consequently follows that the second part of the parallel, grounded upon the same text, is also erroneous. But if the first part of the parallel were true, as it is not, yet the second part must be an error, in which it is said that the bishops of Rome are Peter’s chief successors. For though there is but one catholic Christian church, of all the faithful who are converted, yet the first part of the church, and the first converted, was of the Jews, the second of the Greeks, and the third part was of the Romans or Latins. Of these three, the first part was most perfectly converted to the faith, for they faithfully observed the perfection of charity by the multitude of the believers, as it appears in the Acts of the Apostles. ‘They were of one heart, and one soul. Nor did they call anything that they possessed their own, but all was common among them.’ <sup>Act 4.32</sup>

“Paul, in his epistle to the Romans, says the gospel is ‘salvation to everyone who believes, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek.’ <sup>Rom 1.16</sup> The Greeks were next to be converted after the Jews, and after them the Romans, taking their message to the Greeks, as it appears by the chronicles (epistles), although indeed some Romans were converted to the faith by Peter and Paul. And as Christ said three times to Peter, feed my sheep, so Peter ruled these three churches, as the chronicles witness. But first he reformed the church of the Jews in Jerusalem and Judea, as it appears by the testimony of the Acts of the Apostles. For it is manifest how Peter, standing up among his brethren, spoke to them concerning the election of an apostle in the place of Judas the traitor, alleging places to them out of the Scripture, that another should take upon him Judas’ apostleship. And so by lot Matthias was constituted in the place of Judas. <sup>Act 1.26</sup> After the Holy Spirit had come upon the apostles, and they spoke with the tongues of all men, the hearers were astonished at the miracle. And some mocked them, saying that these men are full of new wine; but Peter stood up and spoke to them, saying, that it was fulfilled in them what was prophesied by Joel the prophet. <sup>Act 2.1-16</sup> And he preached Christ to the people, whom in their ignorance they had put to death, and to whom a Savior was promised by the testimony of the prophets. And when they heard the words of Peter, they were pricked to the heart, saying to him and the rest of the apostles, what then shall we do? And Peter said to them. Repent, and let every one of you be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of your sins, and you will receive the Holy Spirit. And there were joined to them the same day about three thousand souls. <sup>Act 2.41</sup>

“And from Act 3.4-5, it appears that Peter, more than the rest, did those things which belonged to the ministry of the apostleship, in preaching as well as in answering. Whereupon some chronicles say, that Peter governed the church of the Jews at Jerusalem four years before he governed Antioch. And by the testimony of Paul to the Galatians, the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed to Paul, even as the circumcision was to Peter. And He worked with Peter in the apostleship of circumcision, worked with Paul among the Gentiles. By this it appears that the church of the Jews was committed to the government of Peter. And in the process of the acts of the apostles it appears that Peter believed that the faith of Christ was not to be preached to those Gentiles, who always lived in the uncleanness of idolatry. But when Peter was at Joppa, Cornelius, a Gentile sent to him to come and show him the way of life. But Peter (a little before the messengers of Cornelius arrived) being in his chamber, after he had prayed, fell into a trance, and saw heaven opened, and a certain vessel descending even like a

great sheet, let down by four corners from heaven to earth. In it were all manner of four-footed beasts, serpents of the earth, and fowls of the air. And a voice spoke to him, saying, Arise Peter, kill and eat; and Peter said, Not so. Lord, because I have never eaten any common or unclean thing. This was done three times. And Peter descended (not knowing what the vision signified) and found the messengers of Cornelius.

### **Of Auricular Confession and Absolution.**

“As concerning the judicial authority of the clergy, many things are written in the canons of decrees, greatly to be marvelled at, and far from the truth of the Scripture. The authors of the canons say, that Christ gave unto the priests judicial power over sinners that confessed their sins unto them. And this they ground upon the text of Christ: ‘I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you loose,’ etc. And these keys of the kingdom of heaven, they call the knowledge to discern, and the power to judge, which they say only belongs to the priests, except in case of necessity; then they say a lay-man may absolve a man from sin. And as touching absolution, they say there are three things to be required on the sinner’s part: first, hearty contrition, whereby the sinners ought to bewail their offending of God through sins; the second is, auricular confession, whereby the sinner ought to show unto the priest his sins, and the circumstances of them; the third is satisfaction through penance enjoined to him by the priest for his sins committed. And on the part of the one who gives absolution, there are two things required (they say): that is, the knowledge to discern one sin from another, by which he ought to distinguish between sins and appoint an appropriate penance, according to the quantity of the sins. The second is, the authority to judge, by which he ought to enjoin penance to the offender. And further, they say, the one who is confessed should with all humility submit himself to this authority, and wholly and voluntarily do those penances which are commanded him by the priest, unless the penance is released by a superior power. For all priests (they say) do not have equal authority to absolve sins.

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“The chief priest whom they call Peter’s successor, has power fully and wholly to absolve. But some inferior priests have more power, some less. The nearer they are to him in dignity (their church office), the less far they are from the degree of his dignity. All this is declared by process in the decrees, but not by the express doctrine of Christ, or any of his apostles. For although Christ absolved men from their sins, I do not find that he did it in the manner of a judge, but of a Savior. For Christ says, ‘God did not send his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved,’ Joh 3.17. Whereupon he spoke to the one whom he healed of the palsy (paralysis), ‘Son, be of good cheer; your sins are forgiven you.’ <sup>Mat 9.2</sup> And to the woman taken in adultery, Christ said, ‘Woman, where are your accusers? Has no man condemned you?’ She said, ‘No man. Lord.’ Jesus then said to her, ‘Neither will I condemn you; go and sin no more.’ <sup>Joh 8.3-11</sup>

“By these words and deeds of Christ, and many other places in the Scripture, it appears that he was not a judge at his first coming, to punish sinners according to their offenses. But that day would come hereafter, in which he will judge all men according to their works, as where he says, ‘When the Son of Man comes in his glory, and all his angels with him; then he will sit upon the throne of his glory, and all nations will be gathered before him, and he will separate them one from another, as a shepherd divides the sheep from the goats,’ etc., Mat 25.31-32. Nor will he judge alone, but also his saints with him. For he says, ‘You who have followed me in the regeneration, when the Son of Man sits in the throne of his glory, will sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.’ <sup>Mat 19.28</sup> If Christ did not come as a judge, why then do the priests say that they take the place of Christ on earth, to judge sinners according to the quantity of their offenses? And not only this, but it is more to be wondered at, how the bishop of Rome dares to take it upon himself to be a judge before the Day of Judgment, and to

prevent the time, judging some to be saints in heaven and honored by men, and some again to be tormented in hell eternally with the devils! Would to God that these men would weigh the saying of St. Paul, in 1Cor 4.5, 'Judge nothing before the time the Lord comes, who will both bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and make manifest the counsels of the hearts, and then every one will have praise from God.' Let the bishop of Rome take heed, lest that saying in Ezekiel is spoken of him: 'Because your heart is lifted up, and you have said I am a God, I sit in the seat of God, and in the midst of the seas, yet you are a man, and not God.' <sup>Eze 28.2</sup> It is manifest that the remission of sins principally belongs to God, who through grace washes away our sins. For it is said, 'The Lamb of God takes away the sins of the world.' And it belongs to Christians as the ministers of God. For in Joh 20.23, Christ says, 'Receive the Holy Spirit: whose sins you remit, they are remitted to them; and whose sins you retain, they are retained.' Seeing, therefore, that all Christians who are baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, receive the Holy Spirit, it appears that they have power given to them by Christ, to remit sins ministerially. Has not every Christian authority to baptize? And in the baptism, all the sins of the baptized are remitted. Ergo, those who baptize remit sins. <sup>270</sup>

"Who is he therefore, who so rashly takes it upon himself to judge the infants begotten of faithful parents, dying without baptism, to be tormented with eternal fire? Now let us consider the three things which the canons of decrees affirm to be requisite for the remission of the sins of those who sin *after* baptism; that is to say, contrition of heart, auricular confession, and satisfaction of the deed through penance enjoined by the priest for the sins committed. I cannot find in any place in the gospel, where Christ commanded that this kind of confession should be made to the priest. Nor can I find that Christ assigned any penance to sinners for their sins, only that he desired them to sin no more. If a sinner confesses that he has offended God through sin, and sorrows heartily for his offenses, minding thereafter to sin no more, then he is truly repentant for his sin, and is converted to the Lord. If he then humbly, and with good hope, craves mercy from God, and remission of his sins, who is the one that can prevent God from absolving that sinner from his sin? And just as God absolves a sinner from his sins, so Christ has absolved many, even though they did not confess their sins to the priests, and even though they did not receive due penance for their sins. And if Christ could once absolve sinners in that way, then how has he now become unable to absolve them? Unless some man says that he is above Christ, and that his power is diminished by the ordinances of his own laws. How were sinners absolved by God in the time of the apostles, and before these canons were made?

"I do not say these things as though confession to priests is wicked, but that it is not, of necessity, requisite to salvation. I believe truly that the confession of sins to good priests, and likewise to other faithful Christians, is good, as St. James the apostle witnesses: 'Confess your sins one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed; for the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man avails much.' <sup>Jas 5.16</sup> This kind of confession is good, profitable, and expedient; for if God perhaps does not hear a man's own prayer, he is helped with the intercession of others. Yet nevertheless, the prayers of the priests seem to be extolled too much in the decrees, where they treat penitence saying — as it is ascribed to Pope Leo X (*multiplex misericordia Dei*, etc. — God's manifold mercy), that it is ordained by the Providence of God's divine will, that the mercy of God cannot be obtained except by the prayer of the priests, etc. The prayer of a good priest avails a sinner much, after confessing his faults to him. The counsel of a discreet priest is very profitable for a sinner, to give the sinner counsel to beware of sin hereafter, and to instruct him.

"In this manner I esteem confession to priests as very expedient and profitable to a sinner. But to confess sins to the priest as to a *judge*, and to receive from him corporal penance for a

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<sup>270</sup> In truth, those who are baptized have had their sins remitted by God, through faith in Christ, not by the baptizer.

satisfaction to God for his sins committed — I do not see how this can be founded upon the truth of Scripture. For before the coming of Christ, no man was sufficient or able to make satisfaction to God for his sins, even if he suffered ever so much penance for his sins. And therefore it was needful that one who was without sin, should be punished for sins, as Isa 53.4 witnesses, where the prophet says, ‘He has borne our griefs and carried our sorrows.’ And again, ‘He was wounded for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities.’ And again, ‘The Lord laid on him the iniquity of us all.’ And again, ‘For the transgression of my people he was stricken.’ Isa 53.4-8 If therefore Christ, through his passion, has made satisfaction for our sins, because we ourselves were unable to do it, then through Him have we grace and remission of sins. How can we say now that we are sufficient to make satisfaction to God by any penance enjoined to us by man’s authority, seeing that our sins are more grievous *after* baptism, than they were *before* the coming of Christ? Therefore, just as in baptism the pain of Christ in his passion was a full satisfaction for our sins, it is so even after baptism also, if we confess that we have offended, and are heartily sorry for our sins, and mind not to sin again afterwards.

“Hereupon John writes in his first epistle, 1Joh 1.9-2.2,

‘If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and cleanse us from all unrighteousness. If we say we have not sinned we make him a liar, and his word is not in us. My little children, these things I write to you that you do not sin; but if any man sins, we have an advocate with the Father. Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.’

Therefore we ought to confess ourselves chiefly to God even from the heart, for that he chiefly remits sins, without whose absolution little avails the absolution of man.

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“This kind of confession is profitable and good. The authors of the canons say that although auricular confession made to the priest is not expressly taught by Christ, they say it is taught in that statement which Christ made to the diseased of leprosy, whom he commanded, ‘Go your ways and show yourselves to the priests.’ Luk 17.14 — because (they say) the law of cleansing lepers, which was given by Moses, signified the confessions of sins to the priest. And because Christ commanded the lepers to show themselves to the priests, they say that Christ meant that those who were unclean with the leprosy of sin, should show their sins to the priests by auricular confession. I greatly marvel at the authors of the canons; for even from the beginning of their decrees to the end, they ground their sayings upon the old law, which was the law of sin and death, and not (as Paul witnesses) upon the words of Christ, which are spirit and life. Christ says, ‘The words which I speak to you are the spirit, and they are life.’ Joh 6.63 They ground their sayings in the shadow of the law, and not in the light of Christ, ‘for every evil doer hates the light, and does not come to it, lest his deeds be reproved; but whoever does the truth comes into the light, that his works may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God, Joh 3.20-21.

“Now let us pass to the words that Christ spoke to the leper. The leper said, ‘Lord, if you will, you can make me clean. And Jesus stretching out his hand touched him, saying, I will, be clean; and straightway he was cleansed of his leprosy. And Jesus said to him, See that you tell no man, but go and show yourself to the priests, and offer the gifts that Moses commanded for a testimony to them.’ Mat 8.2-4 This gospel witnesses plainly, that the leper was cleansed only by Christ, and not by the priests; nor did Christ command the leper to show himself to the priests for any help of cleansing that he might receive from the priests; but to fulfill the law of Moses, in offering a sacrifice for his cleansing, and for a testimony to the priests, who always out of envy accused Christ as a transgressor of the law. For if Christ, after he had cleansed the

leprosy, had licensed him to communicate with others who were clean, before he had shown himself cleansed to the priests, then the priests might have accused Christ as a transgressor of the law, because it was a precept of the law, that the leper after he was cleansed, should show himself to the priests. And they had signs in the book of the law, by which they might judge whether he was truly cleansed or not. And if he was cleansed, then the priests would offer a gift for his cleansing; and if he were not cleansed, then they would separate him from the company of others who were clean. Seeing every figure ought to be assimilated into the thing that is figured, I ask you then, what agreement is there between the cleansing of lepers by the law, and the confession of sins? By the law, the priest knew whether the man was leprous better than the one who had the leprosy. In confession, the priest does not know not the sins of the one who confessed, except by his own confession. In the law, the priest did not cleanse the leprous. How therefore would the priests cleanse sinners from their sin, such that without them they cannot be cleansed? In the law the priest had certain signs by the which he could certainly know whether a man was cleansed from his leprosy or not. In confession, the priest is not certain of the cleansing of sins, because he is ignorant of the sinner's contrition. Also, he does not know whether he will not sin any more; without such contrition and resolving to sin no more, God has not absolved any sinner. And if God has not absolved a man, without doubt then, he is not made clean. And how then is confession figured under the law? Doubtless, so it seems to me (under the correction of those who can judge better in the matter) that this law instead bears a figure of excommunication and reconciliation of someone who has been obstinate in his sin, and is reconciled again. For so it appears by the process of the gospel, that when the sinner does not amend for the private correction of his brother — not for the correction of two or three, nor yet for the public correction of the whole church — then he is to be counted as a heathen and a publican, just as a certain leper is to be voided out of the company of all men. This sinner, notwithstanding, if he yet repents, is then to be reconciled, because he is then cleansed from his obstinacy.

“But he who pretends to be the chief vicar of Christ, and the high priest, says that he has power to absolve *a poena et culpa*. I do not find how it is founded in the Scripture, but by his own authority he enjoins sinners to penance for their sins. And granting that he may absolve them from their sins, yet from the pain (which they call *a poena*) he simply does not absolve, as he promises in his indulgences. But if he were charitable, and had such power as he pretends, he would suffer none to lie in purgatory for sin, forso much as that pain far exceeds all other pain which we suffer here. What man is there, that if he sees his brother tormented in this world, will not help him and deliver him? Much more then, should the pope deliver out of the pains of purgatory, rich as well as poor alike. And if he sells his indulgences to the rich, doublewise, indeed triplewise he seduces them. *First*, in promising to deliver them out of the pain from which he does not and cannot deliver them; and so he makes them falsely believe what they should not believe. *Secondly*, he deceives them of their money, which he takes for his indulgences. *Thirdly*, he seduces them in this, that promising to deliver them from pain, he induces them into grievous punishment indeed, for the heresy of simony, which both of them commit. And therefore they are both worthy of great pain to fall upon them; for so we read that Jesus cast out buyers and sellers from his temple. Also Peter said to Simon, the first author of this heresy, ‘Your money,’ he said, ‘perish with you, because you thought the gift of God could be purchased for money.’ Moreover, whereas Christ says, ‘Freely you have received, freely give.’ And whereas on the contrary, the pope sells that thing which he has taken, what doubt is there, but that he grievously deserves to be punished — both he who sells, and he who buys — for the crime of simony which they commit? Over and besides these, by many reasons and authorities of the Scripture it may be proved that he does not absolve a man who is contrite for his sins, even if he absolves him from the guilt of it.

“But this surprises me, that in his indulgences he promises to absolve men from all manner of deadly sins; and yet he cannot absolve a man from debt. For as the debt which we owe to God is of much greater importance than the debt of our brother, if he is able to remit the debt due to God, then it would seem that he is much more able to forgive the debt of our brother.

“There is another thing that I wonder at: the pope shows himself stricter in absolving a priest for not saying, or negligently saying his matins, than for transgressing the commandment of God; considering that the transgression of the commandment of God is much more grievous than the breach of man’s commandment.

“For these and many other errors concurring in this matter of the pope’s absolutions, blessed be God, and honor be to him for the remission of our sins. And let us firmly believe and know, that he does and will absolve us from our sins, if we are sorry from the bottom of our hearts that we have offended him, having a good purpose and will to offend him no more. And let us be bold to resort to good and discreet priests who, with wholesome discretion and sound counsel, can instruct us how to avoid the corruption of sin hereafter; and who may pray to God for us, because they are better than we. By this we may sooner obtain the remission of our past sins, and we may also learn better how to avoid the danger of sin to come.” (Ex Registro Latino Episc. Hereford.)

And thus much concerning the judgment and doctrine of this Walter Brute for Christian patience, charity, and mercy, which as they are true and infallible notes and marks of true Christianity, so this man, making a comparison in this between Christ and the pope, goes about purposely to declare and manifest, so that all men may see what contrariety there is between the rule of Christ’s teaching, and the proceedings of the pope, between the example and life of the one, and the example of the other.

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Of these two, just as one is altogether given to peace, so the other on the contrary side is as much disposed to war, murder, and bloodshed, as is easily seen. Whoever does not look upon the outward shows and pretended words of these Romish popes, but advises and considers their inward practices and secret works, will easily perceive under the mask of peace what discord and debate they work. Bearing outwardly the meek horns of the lamb mentioned in the Revelation, they bear within them the bowels of a wolf, full of cruelty, murder, and bloodshed. If any think this is spoken by me disrespectfully, I would to God that man could prove as well the same to be spoken of me not truly. But truth it is, I speak it sincerely, without affection of blind partiality, according to the truth of histories both old and new. Thus under the phrase ‘In the name of God, Amen,’ how unmercifully the pope condemns his brother! And while he pretended it was not lawful for him to kill any man, what thousands of men has he killed? And likewise in this sentence, ‘in the bowels of Jesus Christ,’ pretending as though he would be a mediator to the magistrate for the party, yet indeed he will be sure to excommunicate the magistrate if he does not execute the sentence given, who are the true heretics whom the Lord will judge when he comes. But grant that those are heretics whom he condemns as heretics, yet what bowels of mercy are here, where there is nothing but burning, faggotting, drowning, imprisoning, chaining, famishing, racking, hanging, tormenting, threatening, reviling, cursing, and oppressing — and no instructing, nor yet an impartial heiring of them — what can they say?

The same cruelty may also appear in their wars, if we consider how Pope Urban V, besides the racking and murdering of seven or eight cardinals, set up Henry Spencer, bishop of

Norwich,<sup>271</sup> to fight against the French pope. Innocent IV was in war himself against the Apulians. Likewise Alexander IV, his successor, stirred up the son of King Henry III to fight against the son of the emperor, Frederick II, for Apulia. Boniface VIII moved Albert (who stood to be emperor) to drive Philip the French king out of his realm. Gregory IX excited Louis the French king three separate times to mortal war against the Earl Reymond and the city of Toulouse, and Avignon <sup>272</sup> where Louis the French king died. Honorius III, by strength of war, in many ways resisted Frederick II and set out thirty-five galleys against the coasts of the emperor's dominions. The same pope also besieged Ferrara, not to mention the war at Ticinum, with many other battles and conflicts of popes against the Romans, Venetians, and diverse other nations. Innocent III set up Philip the French king to war against King John. It is not unknown what a stir Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand) kept up against Emperor Henry IV. And who is able to recite all the wars, battles, and fields that were fought by the stirring-up of the pope? These considered with many other similar examples, caused Walter Brute to write in this matter, yet making no universal proposition, except that Christian magistrates in case of necessity might resist the pope in defense of public right. Now he proceeds further to the matter of the sacrament,

### **Walter Brute's Belief Concerning the Lord's Supper.**

“Touching the matter of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, diverse men have diverse opinions, as the learned know. Concerning my judgment upon the same, I firmly believe whatever the Lord Jesus taught implicitly or expressly to his disciples, which is to be believed by faithful people. For he is, as I believe and know, the true bread of God which descended from heaven, and gives life to the world. Whoever eats of this bread shall live forever, as declared in the sixth chapter of John. <sup>Joh 6.51</sup> Before the coming of Christ in the flesh, although men lived in body, yet they did not live in spirit, because all men were then under sin. Their souls were thereby dead. And from this death no man was justified by the law, nor with the law: ‘For by the works of the law no flesh will be justified,’ Gal 2.16. And again in the same epistle, Gal 3.11, ‘But it is evident that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God: for the just shall live by faith. The law is not of faith; but the man who does them shall live by them.’ And again in the same chapter, Gal 3.21-24, ‘If the law had been given which might have justified, then our righteousness would have come by the law. But the Scripture has confined all under sin, so that the promise might be sure by faith in Jesus Christ to all believers. Moreover, before faith came, they were all kept and confined under the law, until the coming of that faith which was to be revealed. For the law was our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ, so that we should be justified by faith.’ Also, Paul says in Rom 5.20-21, ‘The law entered that the offense might abound. But where sin abounded, grace much more abounded; so that just as sin reigned unto death, so might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord.’ By this it is manifest that by the faith which we have in Christ, that is, by believing he is the true Son of God who came down from heaven to redeem us from sin, we are justified from sin. And so we live by Him who is the true bread and food of the soul. And the bread which Christ gave is his flesh, given for the life of the world. For being God, he came down from heaven, and being truly carnal man, he suffered in the flesh for our sins, which in his divinity he could not suffer. Therefore, just as we believe by our faith that he is true God, so we must also believe that he is a true man; and then we eat the bread of heaven, and the flesh of Christ. And if we believe that he voluntarily shed his blood for our redemption, then we drink his blood.

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<sup>271</sup> Henry le Despenser (c. 1341-1406) was an English nobleman and Bishop of Norwich whose reputation as the ‘Fighting Bishop’ was gained for his part in suppressing the Peasants’ Revolt in 1381.

<sup>272</sup> Actually, Louis VIII died at Auvergne, though he besieged Avignon in 1226.

“And thus, unless we eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, we do not have eternal life in us, because the flesh of Christ is food indeed, and his blood is drink indeed; and whoever eats the flesh of Christ, and drinks his blood, abides in Christ, and Christ in him, Joh 6.53-56. And as in this world the souls of the faithful live, and are refreshed spiritually with this heavenly bread, and with the flesh and blood of Christ; so in the world to come, they will live eternally in heaven, refreshed with the deity of Jesus Christ. And in the memory of this refreshment, present in this world, and in the world to come, Christ has given to us (for eternal blessedness) the sacrament of his body and blood, in the substance of bread and wine, as it appears in Mat 26.26-28, ‘As they were eating, Jesus took bread and blessed it, broke it, and gave it to his disciples, and said. Take, eat, this is my body: And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying. Drink you all of this, this is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many for the remission of sins.’ And in his gospel, Luke thus writes of this matter: ‘And he took bread, and gave thanks, and broke it, and gave it to them, saying. This is my body which is given for you, do this in remembrance of me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying. This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you.’ Luk 22.19-20 That Christ said *this is my body*, showing the bread to them, I firmly believe, and know that it is true. For Christ (because he is God) is the very truth itself, and by consequence, all that he says is true. And I believe that the very same bread was his body, in such a way as he willed it to be his body; for being Almighty, he has done whatever pleased him. And as in Cana of Galilee, he changed the water into wine really, so that after the transubstantiation it was wine and not water, so too when he said, *this is my body*, if he would have had the bread really transubstantiated into his very body, so that after changing, it would have been his natural body and not bread as it was before, I know that it must have been so. But, I do not find in the Scripture that it was his will to have any such real transubstantiation or mutation.

“And because the Lord God Omnipotent, being the Son of God in his essential perfection, exceeds the purest creature, yet when it pleased him, he took upon himself our nature, remaining really God as he was before, and he was made really man. So that, after assuming our substance, he really was very God, and very man.

[247] A.D. 1391.

“Even so, if he would, when he said, *this is my body*, he could make this to be his body really, while the bread really remained as it was before. Therefore, the one who could make one man to be very God, and very man, could (if he would) make one thing to be really very bread, and also his very body. But I do not find it expressed in the Scripture, that he wished any such identity or conjunction to be made. And as Christ said, ‘I am the true bread,’ not changing his essence or being in the essence or substance of bread, but he was the same Christ which he was before really; and yet he was bread by a similitude or figurative speech. So if he would, it might be that when he said, *this is my body*, this would really have been the bread as it was before, and yet sacramentally or memorially, it was his body. And this seems to me most nearly to agree to the meaning of Christ, for as he said, ‘Do this in remembrance of me.’ Then in the supper it is manifest that Christ gave his disciples the bread of his body which he broke, to eat with their mouths. In this bread he also gave *himself* to them, as one in whom they should believe (so as to be the food of the soul), and that by faith they should believe him to be their Savior. In doing this, he also wished it to be manifest that he would redeem them from death. So the bread was eaten with the disciples’ mouths, so that He, being the true bread of the soul, might be received in spirit and eaten spiritually by their faith, who believed in him.

“The bread which was chewed in the disciples’ mouths, passed from the mouth to the stomach. For, as Christ says, ‘Whatever comes to the mouth, goes into the belly, and is cast out into the sewer.’ Mat 15.17 But that true and very bread of the soul was eaten by the spirit of the disciples,



and by faith it entered their minds, and abode in their hearts through love. And so the bread broken seems to me to be really the food of the body, and the same bread which it was before. But sacramentally, it is the body of Christ, as Paul says in 1Cor 10.16. “The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?” So the bread which we break is the communion of the Lord’s body. And it is manifest that the *heavenly* bread is not broken, nor is it subject to such breaking. Therefore Paul calls the *material* bread which is broken, the body of Christ which the faithful are partakers of. The bread, therefore, does not change its essence, but is bread really, and it is the body of Christ sacramentally. Even as Christ is the true vine, abiding really and figuratively as the vine, so the temple of Jerusalem was really the material temple, but figuratively it was the body of Christ. This is because he said, ‘Destroy this temple, and in three days I will build it again. And this he spoke of the temple of his body.’ <sup>Joh 2.19,21</sup> Whereas others understood it to be the material temple, as it appeared by their answer. For they said, ‘It took forty-seven (or 46) years to build this temple, and will you raise it up in three days?’ <sup>Joh 2.20</sup>

“The writers of our time and age affirm that if by the negligence of the priest, the sacrament is so negligently left, that a mouse, or any other beast or vermin eats it, then the sacrament returns again into the nature and substance of bread. <sup>273</sup> By this they must confess that a miracle is as wrought by the negligence of the priest, as by the consecration of the priest in making the sacrament. For by the mouse eating the body of Christ, transubstantiating the bread back into the nature of bread, which is a supernatural transubstantiation; or else by this bread being produced or created out of nothing — either of these operations is therefore miraculous. Now, considering the varying opinions of the doctors, and the absurdities which follow, I believe with Paul, that the bread which we break, is the communion of the body of Christ. And as Christ says, the bread is his body as a memorial and remembrance of him. And so, in the same way that Christ willed the bread to be his body, I believe it to be his body.

### **Walter Brute’s Declaration Concerning the Priesthood, etc.**

“But it remains for me next to speak about whether we can *make* the body of Christ, and minister it to the people: or whether priests are divided from lay people by their knowledge, pre-eminence, and sanctity of life, or else by external signs only. Also, whether the signs of tonsure <sup>274</sup> and other external signs of holiness in priests, are signs of antichrist, or else are taught by our Lord Jesus Christ.

“And first about the three kinds of priests. I remember I have read that the *first* of them is Aaronical, legal, and temporal; the *second* is eternal and regal according to the order of Melchizedek; and the *third* is Christian. The first of these ceased at the coming of Christ. For St. Paul says to the Hebrews, <sup>275</sup> that the priesthood of Aaron was transferred to the priesthood of the order of Melchizedek. The legal sort of priests, of Aaron, were separated from the rest of the people by kindred, office, and inheritance. By kindred, for only the children of Aaron were priests. By office, for it pertained to them alone to offer sacrifice for the sins of the people, and to instruct the people in the precepts and ceremonies of the law. By inheritance, because the

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<sup>273</sup> The following is still part and parcel of the Rubric or Canon of the Missal (1855): “If the host when consecrated shall disappear, either by some *accident*, such as by the wind, or by a *miracle*, or taken away by a *mouse* or any *animal*, and *cannot be found*, then let another be consecrated!” Such is the rule of the Missal, or Mass Book. And thus, after teaching that the host is Jesus Christ, it supposes the gross absurdity of his disappearing by an *accident* — by *wind* — eaten up by a *mouse* or other *animal*? There is nothing in Egyptian idolatry more absurd than this, for it supposes that God is not able to take care of himself. They have lately become so ashamed of this, that in the later editions of the Missal they have surreptitiously omitted all mention of the mouse, though they retain the rest of the rule. [ED.]

<sup>274</sup> *Tonsure*: the shaved crown of a monk’s or priest’s head.

<sup>275</sup> Today we say, “the writer of Hebrews.” But prior to the 20th century, Paul was assumed to be that writer.

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Lord was their portion of inheritance; nor did they have any other inheritance among their brethren, except for those things which were offered to the Lord, such as the first-fruits, parts of the sacrifices, and vows; and also places for houses for them and theirs, as it appears by Moses' law. The priesthood of Christ greatly differed from this priesthood, as Paul witnesses to the Hebrews.

*“First*, it differs in kindred, because our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ came of the stock and tribe of Judah. None of this tribe had anything to do with the altar, and in this tribe nothing at all was spoken of the priests of Moses. <sup>Heb 7.14</sup>

*“Secondly*, others were made priests without taking their oath: but Christ was made a priest by an oath, which said, ‘The Lord swore and will not repent, you are a priest forever, in the order of Melchizedek.’ <sup>Heb 5.4</sup>

*“Thirdly*, in duration, for many of them were made priests only during the term of their lives. But He, because he remains forever, has an eternal priesthood. Therefore he is able to save us forever, having access to God by himself, who ever lives to make intercession for us. <sup>Heb 7.25</sup>

‘The law also made men priests who had infirmities; but ‘Sermo’ (that is the word, which according to the law is the eternal Son and perfect) by an oath.

‘The priesthood of Christ also differed from the priesthood of Aaron and the law, in the matter of the sacrifice, and in the place of sacrificing. In the matter of their sacrifices, because they used strange bodies in their sacrifices, and shed strange blood for the expiation of sins. But in offering himself to God his Father for us, Christ shed his own blood for the remission of our sins. As for the place of sacrificing, they offered their sacrifice in the tabernacle, or temple. But Christ suffered death outside the gates of the city, offering himself upon the altar of the cross to God his Father; and there he shed his precious blood. Also In his dining chamber he blessed the bread, and consecrated it as his body, and he also consecrated the wine which was in the cup, as his blood. He delivered this to his apostles to be done as a commemoration and remembrance of his incarnation and passion.

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‘Nor did Jesus enter into the sanctuary made with man’s hands, which are examples and figures of true things; but he entered into heaven itself, so that he might appear before the majesty of God for us. Nor does he offer himself often, as the chief priest in the sanctuary did with strange blood (for then he would have suffered often from the beginning). But now once for all, he has appeared in the latter end of the world, to destroy sin by his peace-offering. And even as it is decreed that man shall die once, and then comes the judgment, so Christ has been once offered, to take away the sins of many. The second time he will appear without sin, to those who look to him for their salvation. For the law having been a shadow of good things to come, it can never by the image of these things (which they offer every year without ceasing by such sacrifices) make those perfect who come to it. For otherwise that offering would have ceased — because such worshipers, once being cleansed from their sins, they would have no more conscience of sin. But in these sacrifices, commemoration is made every year for sin. For it is impossible that sins should be purged and taken away by the blood of goats and calves. <sup>Heb 10.4</sup> Therefore Christ coming into the world said,

‘Sacrifice and offering you would not have, but you have given me a body; peace-offerings for sins have not pleased you. Then I said, behold I come: in the volume of the book it is written of me, that I should do your will, O God: saying as above; because you would not have sacrifices or burnt offerings for sin. Neither do you take pleasure in those things that are offered according to the law. Then I said, Behold I come, that I may do your will, O God. He takes away the first to establish what follows. In His will we are sanctified by the oblation of

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the body of Jesus Christ once for all. And every priest is ready daily ministering, and oftentimes offering like sacrifices, which can never take away sins. But this Jesus, offering one sacrifice for sin, sits for evermore at the right hand of God, expecting the time till his enemies be made his footstool. For by his one offering, he has perfected for evermore those that are sanctified.’ <sup>Heb 10.5-14</sup>

“All these places I recited, which Paul wrote, are for the better understanding and declaration of those things which I mean to say. By all of them, it manifestly appears how the priesthood of Christ differs from the legal priesthood of Aaron. And by these places it also appears how these differ from all other Christian priesthood that imitates Christ. For the properties of the priesthood of Christ, recited above, are found in no other priest, but in Christ alone.

Of the *third* priesthood, that is, the Christian priesthood, Christ by his express words, says but little to differentiate between the priest and the rest of the people; nor does he use the name ‘sacerdos’ or ‘presbyter,’ in the gospel. But some he calls disciples, some apostles, whom he sent to baptize and to preach, and to do miracles in his name. He calls them *the salt of the earth*, by which wisdom is meant; and he calls them *the light of the world*, by which good living is signified. For he says, ‘Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.’ <sup>Mat 5.16</sup> And Paul, speaking of the priests to Timothy and Titus, does not seem to me to differentiate between the priests and the other people, but he would have them surpass others in knowledge and perfection of life.

“But a *fourth* priesthood is the *Roman* priesthood, brought in by the church of Rome. This church distinguishes between the clergy and the lay-people. And after that, the clergy is divided into sundry degrees, as it appears in the decretals. This distinction of the clergy from the laity, with the tonsure of clerics, began in the time of Anacletus, as it appears in the histories.<sup>276</sup> The decrees of the clergy were afterward invented and distinguished by their officers, and there was no ascension to the degree of the priesthood except by inferior orders and degrees. But in the primitive church it was not so. For immediately after the conversion of some of them to faith, and receiving baptism, they were made priests and bishops. This appears by Anianus, who was a tailor or shoemaker, whom St. Mark made a bishop. And it was likewise done with many others, according to the traditions of the church of Rome. Priests are ordained to offer sacrifices, to make supplication and prayers, and to bless and sanctify. The oblation of the priesthood only to priests (as they say) is congruent. Their duties are upon the altar, to offer for the sins of the people the Lord’s body, which is consecrated by bread. I greatly marvel at this saying, considering St. Paul’s words to the Hebrews recited earlier. If Christ, offering one oblation for our sins forevermore, sits at the right hand of God, and with that one oblation has perfected forevermore those who are sanctified; and if Christ evermore sits at the right hand of God, to make intercession for us; then why does He need to leave here any sacrifice for our sins, to be daily offered by the priests? I do not find in the Scriptures of God, nor of the apostles, that the body of Christ ought to be made a sacrifice for sin; but only as a sacrament and commemoration of the past sacrifice which Christ offered upon the altar of the cross for our sins.

“For it is an absurdity to say that Christ is now really offered every day as a sacrifice upon the altar by the priests; for then the priests would really crucify him upon the altar, which is a thing to be believed by no Christian. But even as in his supper, he delivered his body and his blood to his disciples, in memorial of his body that would be crucified on the morrow for our sins. So after his ascension, his apostles used them (when they broke bread in every house) for a *sacrament*, and not for a *sacrifice*, of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. And by this means they were put in remembrance of the great love of Christ, who so entirely loved us,

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<sup>276</sup> [Anacletus, see p. 132.](#)

that he willingly suffered death for us, and for the remission of our sins. And thus they offered themselves to God by love, being ready to suffer death for the confession of His name, and for the saving health of his brethren, fulfilling the new commandment of Christ, who said to them, 'A new commandment I give you, that you love one another, as I have loved you.' But when love began to grow cold, or rather to be frozen cold, through the anguish and anxiety of persecution for the name of Christ, then priests used the flesh and blood of Christ, instead of a sacrifice. And because many of them feared death, some of them fled into solitary places, not daring to give themselves to God as a sacrifice by death, through the confession of Christ's name, and the saving health of their brethren. Some others worshipped idols, fearing death, as did also the chief bishop of Rome, and many others in different parts of the world. And thus it came to pass that what was ordained and constituted as a memorial of the one and only sacrifice, was altered (for lack of love) into the reality of the sacrifice itself."

After these things thus discussed, Brute entered upon another brief treatise concerning women and laymen. It concerned whether in the absence of the clergy, they may exercise the action of prayer, and the administration of sacraments belonging to priests. There he declares the custom received in the pope's church for women to baptize, which, he says, cannot be without remission of sins. Therefore seeing that women have power by the pope to remit sin, and to baptize, why may they not as well be admitted to minister the Lord's supper, in like cases of necessity? In this he also relates about Pope Joan VIII, a woman pope, proposing certain questions concerning her. For brevity, I omit all of this, proceeding to the ministration of prayer, and the blessing of sanctification, appropriate to the office of priests, as follows.

#### **Walter Brute's Declaration Concerning Exorcisms. etc.**

"Furthermore, concerning the function and office of praying and blessing, to which priests seem to be ordained (to omit here the question of whether women may pray in churches, in the absence of other suitable persons) it now remains to discuss Christ, being desired by his disciples to teach them to pray. He gave common prayer to both men and women, to which in my estimation, no other prayer is to be compared.<sup>277</sup> For first, the whole honor due to the Deity is comprehended.

[249] A.D. 1391.

"Secondly, whatever is necessary for us, both for the time present, or past, or for the time to come, is there desired and prayed for. He informs us to pray secretly, and also briefly: secretly to enter into our private chamber, and there in secret he wills us to pray to his Father. And he says moreover, 'When you pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do, for they think they will be heard for their many words. Therefore do not be like them.' By this doctrine he calls us away from the errors of the heathen gentiles from whom proceed these superstitious manner of arts (or rather of ignorances) such as necromancy, the art of divination, and other species of conjuration, not unknown to those who are learned. For these necromancers believe that one place is of greater virtue than another; and they are sooner to be heard there than in another. This is like Balaam, who was hired to curse the people of God by his art of soothsaying or charming. When he could not accomplish his purpose in one place, he moved to another. But in the end he was deceived by his desire. For intending to curse them, he was not able to curse those whom the Lord blessed; so his curse could not hurt any of that people. In the same way, the necromancers turn their face to the East, as a place more apt for their prayers. Also the necromancers believe that the virtue of the words of the prayer, and the ornateness of them, causes them to bring into effect that which they seek after. This is also another point of

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<sup>277</sup> That is, the Lord's Prayer, as found in Mat 6.5-13; and also Luk 11.1-4.

infidelity, used much by charmers, sorcerers, enchanters, soothsayers, and others like them. Out of the same art (I fear) proceeds the practice of exorcising, whereby devils and spirits are conjured to do what they are enforced to do by the exorcist. Also, other creatures are likewise exorcised or conjured, so that by virtue of their exorcism they may have their power and strength exceed all natural operation.

“In the church of Rome many such exorcisms and conjurations are practiced, which they call benedictions, or hallowings. But here I ask of these exercisers, whether they believe the things and creatures so exorcised and hallowed, have that operation and efficacy given to them which they pretend? If they so believe, every child may see that they are deceived. For holy water being exorcised or conjured by them, has no such power in it, nor can it, which they command in their exorcism. For there they enjoin and command that wherever that water is sprinkled, all vexation or infestation of the unclean spirit should be voided, and that no pestilent spirit should abide there, etc. But it is most plain that no water, however “holy,” can have any such power to do as it is commanded, to wit, to be a universal remedy to expel all diseases.

“I would ask of these exorcists, whether in their commanding, they conjure or adjure the things conjured to be of a higher virtue and operation than their own nature gives; or else, whether in their prayers they desire God to infuse into them that virtue which they request? If in their commanding they so believe, then they believe that they have that power to which the inferior power of the thing exorcised must obey, in receiving what is commanded. And in so doing, they are much more deceived, for in seeing themselves as those authorized to the office of exorcising, they say to the devil being conjured, ‘Go,’ but he does *not* go; and to another, ‘Come,’ but he does *not* come. And they command the inferior spirit (their subject) to do many other things, but he does not do it. So in the same way, when they pray to God to make the water of such a virtue that it may afford them health of mind and body, and that it may be able to expel every unclean spirit, and to chase away all manner of distemper and pestilence in the air (which is an unreasonable petition, and displeasing to God), it is to be feared that their benediction, their hallowing and blessing, is changed into cursing, according to this saying:

‘And now, O you priests, this commandment is for you; If you will not hear, and if you will not lay it to heart, to give glory to my name, says the Lord of Hosts, I will send a curse upon you, and I will curse your blessings.’ Mal 2.1-2.

“How many things are blessed, or hallowed in the church, that in the hallowing of them, we displease God, and are accursed? Therefore according to the saying of St. James, ‘they ask and do not receive, because they ask amiss, that they may consume it on their lusts.’ Let a man behold the blessing or hallowing of their fire, water, incense, wax, bread, wine, the church, the altar, the churchyard, ashes, bells, copes, palms, oil, candles, salt, the hallowing of the ring, the bed, the staff, and of many similar things — and I believe he will discover many errors of the heathen magicians, witches, soothsayers and charmers. Notwithstanding, the ancient magicians in their books command those who are conjurers, to live devoutly (for otherwise, as they say, the spirits will not obey their commandments, and conjurations). Yet the Roman conjurers impute it to the virtue of the holy *words*, because it is *those* that work, and not the holiness of the conjurers. How then can they say, the things consecrated by a cursed and vicious priest, have as great a virtue (they say) in pronouncing the holy and mystical words, as if they were pronounced by a priest who is ever so holy? I marvel that they say so, reading in the Acts of the Apostles, that the charmers would have healed those who were possessed with devils by pronouncing the name of Jesus (which is above all names). They said; ‘We command you by Jesus, whom Paul preaches.’ And the one possessed with devils answered, ‘Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are you?’ And he beat the exorcists. Act 19.13-16

**Walter Brute's Declaration on Selling Prayers and Dirges.**

“And now considering this and many similar things, I marvel as to why the vicious priests sell their prayers and blessings (and also their masses and trentals of masses) as dearer than those of devout laymen, and holy women, who with all their heart desire to flee from vice, and take hold of virtue. For God promises in diverse places of the Scripture, that he will not hear sinners and wicked persons. Neither would He seem to be just, if he sooner heard the prayers of his enemies, than of his faithful friends. How, I pray you, will a sinful priest deliver another man from sin by his prayers, or from the punishment of sin, when he is not able to deliver himself from sin by his prayer? What then, does God so much accept the mass of a vicious priest, that for his mass, prayer, or oblation, He might deliver any man either from sin, or from the pain due for sin? No, but only because Christ once offered himself for our sins, and now sits at the right hand of God the Father, always showing Him what things and how great they were, that he suffered for us. And every priest always mentions this oblation in his mass. Nor do we do it so that we might bring that oblation into the remembrance of God, because he always sees it in his presence. But we do it so that we might remember this great love of God, that he would give his own Son to die for our sins, that he might cleanse and purify us from all our sins. What, does it please God, that the remembrance of so great love is made by a priest, who loves sin more than God? Or how can any prayer of such a priest please God, in whatever holy place he is in, or whatever holy vestments he puts on, or whatever holy prayers he makes? And whereas Christ and his apostles command the preaching of the word of God, the priests are now more bound to celebrate the mass, and more straitly bound to say the canonical hours. I cannot help but greatly marvel at this. For why do it? To obey the precepts of men more than the commandments of God, is in effect to honor man as God, and to bestow the sacrifice upon man which is due to God; this is spiritual fornication. How therefore are priests bound at the commandment of man, to leave the preaching of the word of God, at whose commandment they are *not* bound to leave the celebration of the mass, or singing of matins? Therefore, priests should not at the commandment of any man, leave the preaching of the word of God, to which they are bound both by divine and apostolical precepts.

“Do priests therefore sin or not, who bargain for money to pray for the soul of a dead man? It is well known that Jesus whipped and drove out of the temple, those who were buyers and sellers, saying; ‘My house shall be called the house of prayer, but you have made it a den of thieves.’ <sup>Luk 19.46</sup>

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“Truly he tossed such merchants out of the church because of their sins. Whereupon Jerome says on this text, Let the priest be diligent and take good heed in this church, that they do not turn the house of God into a den of thieves. He doubtless is a thief who seeks gain by religion, and who by a show of holiness studies to find an occasion for merchandising. Peter said to Simon Magus, ‘Your money perish with you, because you thought that the gifts of God may be bought for money.’ Therefore the spiritual gifts of God should not be sold.

“Truly, prayer is the spiritual gift of God, as is the preaching of the word of God, or the laying on of hands, or the administration of other sacraments. Christ, sending out his disciples to preach, said to them; ‘Heal the sick, cast out devils, raise the dead; freely you have received, freely give.’ <sup>Mat 10.8</sup> If the priest has power to deliver souls in purgatory from grievous pains, then without doubt he has received that power freely from God. How therefore can he sell his act unless he resists the commandments of God, from whom he has received that authority? This truly cannot be done without sin, because it is against the commandment of God. How plainly Christ spoke to the Pharisees and priests, saying; ‘Woe to you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, because you devour widows’ houses, and for a pretense make long prayers; therefore you will receive greater damnation.’ <sup>Mat 23.14</sup> In what, I pray you, do our Pharisees and

priests differ from them? Do not our priests devour widows' houses and possessions, so that by their long prayers they might deliver the souls of their husbands from the grievous pains of purgatory?

“How many lordships, I pray you, have been bestowed upon monastic men and women, to pray for the dead, so that they might deliver (they say) those dead men from the pain they suffer in purgatory, grievously tormented and vexed? If their prayers and speaking holy words are not able to deliver *themselves* from pain, unless they have good works, then how will other men be delivered from pain by their prayers, who while they lived, gave themselves over to sin? Indeed, perhaps those lordships or lands which they gave to the priests to pray for them, they have gotten by force from other faithful men, unjustly and violently. And the canons say that sin is not forgiven till the thing wrongfully taken away is restored. How then will they be able (those who unjustly possess such lordships or lands) to deliver them by their prayers from pain, who have given to them these lordships or lands, seeing that God from the beginning has hated all extortion in His burnt sacrifices? ‘Not everyone who says to me, Lord, Lord, shall enter the kingdom of Heaven: but he who does the will of my Father in Heaven.’ <sup>Mat 7.21</sup> And again, ‘not the hearers of the law, but the doers of the law shall be justified.’ <sup>Rom 2.13</sup>

“If therefore the words of him who prays, do not deliver himself from sin, nor from the pain of sin, then how do they deliver other men from sin or from the pain of sin, when no man prays more earnestly for another man, than he does for himself? Therefore many are deceived in the buying or selling of prayers, just as in the buying of pardons, that they might be delivered from pain, when commonly they pay dearer for the prayers of the proud and vicious prelates, than they do for the prayers of devout women and devout men of the lay people. But beyond doubt, God does not regard the person of the one who prays, nor the place in which he prays, nor his apparel, nor the ornateness of his prayer, but the humility and godly affection of the one who prays. Did not the Pharisee and the publican go up into the temple to pray? The publican's prayer for his humility and godly affection is heard. But the Pharisee's prayer for his pride and arrogancy is despised. <sup>Luk 18.10f</sup> Consider that neither the person, nor the place, nor the state, nor the ornateness of his prayer helps the Pharisee. Because the publican not thinking himself worthy to lift up his eyes to Heaven, for the multitude of his sins (saying, O God, be merciful to me a sinner) is justified in his humility, and his prayer is heard. But the Pharisee boasting in his righteousness is despised, because God casts down the proud, and exalts the humble and those who are meek. Also, the rich glutton who was clothed with purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day, prayed to Abraham, and was not heard, but was buried in pains and torments of hell-fire. But Lazarus, who lay begging at his gate (being full of sores), is placed in the bosom of Abraham. <sup>Luk 16.19f</sup> Behold that neither the richness of his apparel, nor the deliciousness of his banquets, nor the gorgeousness of his estate, nor the abundance of his riches, helped at all to prefer the prayers or petitions of the rich glutton, nor yet diminish his torments, because mighty men in their mightiness will suffer torments mightily.

“How dare any man by composition, demand or receive anything from another man for his prayers? If he believes that by his prayer he can deliver his brother from grievous pain, then he is bound by charity to relieve his brother with his prayers even if he is not hired. But if he will not pray unless he is hired, then he has no love at all. What then helps the prayer of him who does not abide in charity? Let him first take compassion on himself by prayer, that he may come into charity, and then he will be better able to help others. If he does not believe, or if he stands in doubt whether he will be able to deliver his brother by his prayer, why does he make an assured bargain with him, and take his money, not knowing whether he will relieve him a whit more from his pain? I fear lest the words of the prophet are fulfilled, saying, ‘From the least to the most, all men apply themselves to covetousness; and from the prophet to the priest, all work deceitfully.’ <sup>Jer 8.10</sup> For the poor priests excuse themselves concerning this selling of their prayers, saying that the young cock learns to crow from the old cock. For he



says that the pope himself, in the installing of bishops and abbots, takes the first-fruits; and in placing or bestowing benefices he always takes something, especially if the benefices are great. And he sells pardons or bulls, or to speak more plainly, he takes money for them. Bishops in giving orders, in hallowing churches and churchyards, take money. In ecclesiastical correction, they take money for the mitigation of penance; in the grievous offenses of convicted persons, money is required and caused to be paid. Abbots, monks, and other religious men who have possession, will receive no man into their fraternity, or make them partakers of their spiritual suffrages, unless he bestows something upon them, or promises them something. Curates and vicars have sufficient livings by the tithes of their parishioners; and yet they require and get money for dirges and years' minds,<sup>278</sup> in hearing confessions, in weddings and burials. Also the friars of the four orders of beggars, who think themselves the most perfect men of the church, take money for their prayers, confessions, and burying the dead; and when they preach, they believe they should have either money or something else worth money.

“Why then are the poor priests blamed? Should they be held excused, even if they take money for their composition of prayers? Truly (I think) this excuse by other men's sins does not excuse them; for heaping one mischief upon another's head, is not a sufficient discharge. I would to God that all the buyers and sellers of spiritual suffrages would with the eyes of their heart behold the ruin of the great city, and the fall of Babylon, and what they will say after that fall. Does the prophet not say, ‘And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn for her, for no man buys their merchandise any more, the merchandise of gold and silver, and precious stone, and of pearl, and fine linen, and purple and silk.’ Rev 18.11-12. And again, he says; ‘The merchants of these things who were made rich by her, will stand afar off for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing, and saying, alas! alas! that great city, that was clothed in fine linen and purple and scarlet, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls. For in one hour, such great riches have come to nothing,’ Rev 18. 15-17. And again; ‘And they cast dust on their heads, and cried out, weeping and wailing, and saying; alas! alas! that great city in which all who had ships in the sea were made rich because of her wealth! For in one hour she is made desolate.’ Rev. 18.19.

[251] A.D. 1391.

### **Walter Brute's Declaration — Rome Is Babylon, etc.**

“This Babylon, this great city, is the city of Rome. Because the angel which showed to St. John the destruction of the mighty harlot sitting upon many waters, with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and all those who dwell upon the earth, are made drunk with the wine of her fornication, said to him, ‘And the woman which you saw, is the great city that reigns over the kings,’ etc. <sup>Rev 17.1f</sup> And indeed in the days of St. John the whole world was subject to the temporal empire of the city of Rome, and afterwards it was subject to the spiritual empire or dominion of that city. But touching the temporal government of the city of Rome, it has fallen already. And so also the other shall fall, for the multitude of her spiritual fornication. The emperors of the city gave themselves to idolatry, and would have men honor them as gods, and put all those to death who refused such idolatry, and by the cruelty of their torments all infidels got the upper hand.

“Hereupon by the image of Nebuchadnezzar, the empire of the Romans is likened to iron, which beats together, and has the mastery of all metals. And in the vision of Daniel (chap. 7), in which he saw the four winds of heaven fight in the main sea; and four very great beasts coming out of the sea; the kingdom of the Romans is likened to the fourth terrible and marvellous beast, which had great iron teeth; eating and destroying, and treading the rest under its feet. And this beast had ten horns, and as Daniel says, he will speak words against

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<sup>278</sup> *Year's mind: a memorial service held one year after a person's death.*



the most high, and tear with his teeth the saints of the most high. And he will think that he may be able to change times and laws, and they will be delivered into his power, until a time, times, and half a time. In the Revelation (chap. 13), St. John saw a beast coming out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and power was given to him to continue forty-two months. So long a time the empire of the Romans endured — that is to say, from the beginning of Julius Caesar, who was the first emperor of the Romans, to the end of Fredericus, who was the last emperor of the Romans. Under this empire Christ suffered, and other martyrs also suffered for his name's sake. And here is fallen Rome, like Babylon (which is all one), according to the manner of speaking in the Revelation, as regards the temporal power of governing. And thus she will fall also, regarding the spiritual power of governing, for the multitude of iniquities, and spiritual fornication, and merchandising that are committed by her in the church.

“The feet of the image which Nebuchadnezzar saw, betokens the empire of Rome; part of them were of made iron, and part of clay and earth. The part that was made of iron fell, and its power vanished away because the power of it was at an end after a certain number of months. That part of clay and earth still endures, but it will vanish away by the testimony of the prophets. Whereupon St. John says later in the Revelation, that he saw the part made of iron rising out of the *sea*, to which each people, tribe, and tongue submitted themselves. And he saw another beast coming out of the *earth*, which had two horns, like the horns of a lamb, and he spoke like a dragon, and he vanquished the first beast in his sight.

“This beast, it seems to me, betokens the clay and earthen part of the feet and image, because he came out of the earth. For by earthly help he is made the high and chief priest of the Romans in the church of Christ. And so, from below he ascended on high. But Christ descended from heaven, because he who was God, and the author of every creature, became man; and he that was Lord of Lords, was made in the form of a servant. <sup>Phi 2.7</sup> And although in the heavens the company of angels minister to him, he himself ministered or served on earth, so that he might teach us humility, by which a man ascends into heaven, even as by pride a man goes down into the bottomless pit. This beast has two horns most like a lamb, because he claims for himself both the priestly and kingly power above all others here on earth. The Lamb (that is, Christ) is king forever upon the kingly seat of David, and he is a priest forever in the order of Melchizedek; but his kingdom is not of this world. But the kingdom of this beast is of this world, because those who are under him, fight for him.

“And as Jesus is Christ in two ways, because ‘Christ’ is the same as saying ‘anointed,’ he truly was anointed king and anointed priest. So this beast says that he is chief king and priest. Why does he call himself Christ? Because Christ, knowing beforehand, said, ‘Many will come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and will deceive many.’ <sup>Mat 24.5</sup> And thus, because he is both king and priest, he claims for himself the double sword, that is, the temporal sword and spiritual sword. The temporal sword is in his right hand, and his spiritual sword is in his right eye, by the testimony of Zechariah. <sup>Zec 11.17</sup> But he speaks subtly like a dragon, because, by the testimony of Christ, he will deceive many, as the book of Revelation witnesses. He did great wonders that he might make more fire come from heaven to the earth in the sight of men, that he might deceive those who dwell upon the earth, because of the wonders that he is permitted to do in the sight of the beast, and he overcame the first beast which ascended out of the sea. For that beast claimed for himself the authority to govern the whole world. He has put to death and tormented those who resisted his commandments, and he would be honored as a god on the earth. The bishop of Rome says that the whole world ought to be in subjection to him; those who are disobedient to his commandments he puts in prison, and to death if he can. If he cannot, he excommunicates them, and commands them to be cast into the devil's dungeon. But he has no power over the body, much less does he have power over the soul. And truly his excommunication, or the excommunication of any priest under him, will at that time little hurt

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the one who is excommunicated — if the person who is excommunicated is not first excommunicated by God through sin.

“This one thing is certain, that none in the church might sell spiritual merchandise (which we spoke of before) unless he has the mark of the beast. My counsel is, let the buyer beware of those marks; because after the fall of Babylon (Rev 14.9-11),

‘If any man worships the beast and his image, and receives his mark on his forehead or on his hand, he shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation. He shall be tormented in fire and brimstone in the sight of the holy angels, and in the sight of the Lamb. And the smoke of their torments ascends forever and ever: and they have no rest day or night, who worship the beast and his image, and whoever receives the mark of his name.’

“The beast doubtless recompenses his friends with his small reward; that is, with great temporal gifts and benefices; with a mean reward, that is, with great spiritual gifts, in the authority of blessing, loosing, binding, praying, and exercising other spiritual works; and with his greatest reward, which after they are dead, makes them honored on earth among the saints. The number of his name, according to the opinion of some men, is *Dux Cleri*, the ‘captain of the clergy,’ because he is named by that name, and makes his name known, and that name is 666, Rev 13.18.

“This is my opinion about the beast ascending out of the earth, and it will be until such time as I am better instructed about the beast. Although this beast signifies the Roman *bishops*, yet the other cruel beast ascending out of the sea, signifies the Roman *emperors*. And although the dragon being a cruel beast, and the false prophet giving the mark, must be thrown into the lake of fire and brimstone to be tormented forever, I would have no man judge, but I leave such things altogether to the final judgment of Christ to be determined. But Martin, the Pope’s confessor, who makes the chronicle of the emperors and the popes, recites many errors of the popes, more horrible and abominable than of the emperors. For he speaks of the idolatrous, heretical, simoniacal popes, and popes who were murderers, who used necromancy and witchcraft, who were evil livers, and defiled with all kinds of vice. But I have partly declared how the pope’s law is contrary to Christ’s law, and how he says that, ‘He is the chief vicar of Christ in earth;’ and in his deeds he is contrary to Christ, and forsakes both his doctrine and life. I cannot see who else may be so well antichrist, and a seducer of the people. For there is not a greater pestilence than a familiar enemy.

“Concerning idols and the worship of them, I think of them as Moses, Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the rest of the prophets did, who spoke against making images, and also worshipping images. And faithful David, full of the Spirit of God, says, ‘Let all those be confounded who worship images, and who rejoice in idols.’ *Psa 97.7* And again he says, ‘Let them be made like those who make them, and all those as put their trust in them.’ *Psa 115.8* Therefore I pray to God that this evil does not come upon me, which is the curse of God pronounced by David the prophet. Nor will I be, by God’s grace, either a maker, or a worshipper of images.”

After all the aforesaid things were exhibited and given by Walter Brute, to the bishop of Hereford, who further appointed to Walter, the 3rd day of October, at Hereford, to hear his opinion. That third day now at hand, being Friday (A.D. 1393), Walter Brute appeared before him, sitting in commission in the cathedral church of Hereford, about six o’clock. The bishop had for his assistants in the same place, diverse prelates and abbots, and twenty bachelors of divinity, of which twelve were monks, and two were doctors of the law. Among these was Nicholas Hereford, accompanied with many other prelates and worshipful men, and wise graduates in sundry faculties. They charged Walter about his writings, and their contents. They were earnest in picking out of those writings his heresies, and in showing his

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schisms, sundry errors, and other things. Now, after that they continued all that day, and the two days following in their informations and examinations. Walter Brute submitted himself to the church, as appears in a scroll written in the English tongue, as follows:

“I, Walter Brute, submit myself principally to the gospel of Jesus Christ, and to the determination of holy Kirk, and to the general councils of holy Kirk. And to the sentence and determination of the four doctors of holy writ; that is, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and Gregory. And I meekly submit myself to your correction, as a subject ought to his bishop.”

This scroll Walter Brute was read with a loud and intelligible voice, at the cross in the churchyard on Monday, the sixth of October, before the sermon, in the presence of the bishop of Hereford and others — also barons, knights, and noblemen, and clergy, and a great multitude of people. After which Thomas Crawlay made a sermon, and took for his text the words of the apostle to the Romans, 11.20.

Out of these declarations and writings of Walter Brute, the bishops, with the monks and doctors listed above, gathered certain articles, totaling thirty-seven, which they sent to the university of Cambridge to be confuted by two learned men, Master Colwill and Master Newton, bachelors of divinity. Masters Colwill and Newton both labored in the matter, to the utmost of their cunning, in replying to these thirty-seven articles.

Besides them also William Woodford, a friar (who likewise wrote against the articles of Wycliffe) laboring in the same cause, made a solemn and a long treatise, compiling the articles of Brute, totaling twenty-nine.

I do not find what became of this Walter Brute afterwards, but it is probable that he escaped at that time. I here add certain writings and documents connected with his history.

*The bull of Pope Boniface IX, against the Lollards.*

“Boniface, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the reverend brother, John, bishop of Hereford, sends greeting, and apostolical benediction. We mean to write to our well-beloved son in Christ, Richard, the renowned king of England, in form enclosed within these presents. Therefore we will and command your brotherhood, that as much as you may, you study and endeavor to exhort and induce the same king to do those things which we have written to him, as said before. And notwithstanding that now, for many a day, you should have done it of yourself, and not looking to persuade you to that effect written by us, you may proceed by our authority, as well as by your own, as it was given to you before. So that hereafter we may know effectually by your diligence, what zeal your devotion bears to the catholic faith, and to conserving the ecclesiastical honor, and also to the execution of your pastoral office.

“Given in Rome at St. Peter’s, the 15th kalends of October, the sixth year of our bishop-like dignity.”

*The bull to the renowned prince, Richard, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, which was enclosed in the above, and mentioned there.*

“To our well-beloved son in Christ, Richard, the noble king of England, we send greeting, etc. It grieves us from the bottom of our hearts, and our holy mother the church in all places throughout Christendom laments. We understand that there are certain heresies sprung up, and without any deserved restraint, range about at their own liberty, to the seducing of the faithful people; and every day with overmuch liberty, they enlarge their indiscreet bounds. But how much more carefully we labor for the preservation both of you and your famous kingdom, and also the purity of the faith, and with much more ardent desire we long that the prosperous state of it should be preserved and enlarged. The sting of greater sorrow so much more penetrates and molests us, as we see (alas the while!) in our time, and under the regal

presidence of your most Christian government, a certain crafty and hare-brained sect of false Christians grow and increase in your kingdom, who call themselves *the poor men of the treasury of Christ and his disciples*, and whom the common people by a sounder name call them Lollards (as a man might say, 'withered darnel'), as their sins accordingly require. And we perceive that they may grow strong, and as it were, prevail against the diocesans of some places, and other governors, as they meet together, not courageously addressing themselves against them as they ought to do (for which chiefly and not undeservedly I give them admonition) for thereby they take the bolder presumption and courage among the unlearned people. And because those whom we cannot call men, but the damnable shadows or ghosts of men, rise up against the sound faith, and holy universal church of Rome. And very many of them being indifferently learned, which little learning (to the confusion and eternal damnation of some of them) they got sitting on their mother's lap, the said church of Rome, rise up or inveigh against the determination of the holy fathers, with too much presumptuous boldness, to the subversion of the whole ecclesiastical order and estate. And they have not been afraid, nor are they yet afraid, to publicly preach very many erroneous, detestable, and heretical articles, because they are not put to silence, reprov'd, driven out, rooted out, or otherwise punished by anyone who has authority and the fear and love of God. And also they are not afraid to openly write the same articles, and so being written, to deliver them to your kingly parliament, and to obstinately affirm the same. The venomous and disdainful recital of these articles, on good advice, we pass over at this present time, lest the sufferance of such sensuality might chance to renew the wound that reason may heal. Yet notwithstanding, lest so great and contagious an evil should escape unpunished, and without deserved vexation; and also that it might not get more heart, and grow stronger, we therefore (according to our office and duty, where there is such negligence and sluggishness of our prelates who are present where this thing is found) do commit and give in commandment to our reverend brethren the archbishops of Canterbury and York by our letters, that they stand up in the power of God, against this pestilent and contagious sect, and that they promptly persecute it in form of law — that they root out and destroy those who advisedly and obstinately refuse to withdraw their foot from this stumbling-block, any restraint to the contrary notwithstanding.

[253] A.D. 1392.

“But because the assistance, counsel, favor, and aid of your kingly estate and highness are requisite to the execution of these premises, we request, exhort, and beseech the same of your princely highness by the bowels of the mercy of Jesus Christ, by his holy faith, by your own salvation, by the benefit that is common to all men, and by the prosperity assured to every man and woman, that not only your kingly severity may readily show, and cause to be shown to our archbishops and their commissaries, convenient aid and favor, and otherwise also cause them to be assisted — but also that you will more straitly enjoin your magistrates and justices of assize and peace. So that, of their own good wills, they execute the authority committed to them, with all severity against such damned men, as they are accordingly bound by the office which they are entrusted with — against those, I mean, who have determined obstinately to defile themselves in their malice and sins, to expel, banish, and imprison, and there to keep them, till deserved sentence pronounces them worthy to suffer punishment. For your kingly wisdom sees that men such as these not only deceive poor simple souls (or at least they do what they can to deceive them) but also bring their bodies to destruction, and further prepare confusion and ruinous fall to their temporal lords. Go too, therefore, my sweet son, and endeavor to work so in this matter, as undoubtedly we trust you will. So that just as this firebrand (burning and flaming overmuch) began under your presidence or government, so under your severe judgment and virtuous diligence, might, favor, and aid, there may not remain one spark hidden under the ashes, but that it be utterly extinguished, and speedily put out.

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“Given at our palace of St. Peter’s at Rome, the 15th of the kalends of October, in the sixth year of our pontificality.”

*The King’s Commission.*

“Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, and of France, and lord of Ireland, to all those to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know that whereas lately at the instance of the reverend father, William, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan of all England, and legate of the apostolical see, for the redress and amendment of all those who would obstinately preach or maintain, publicly or secretly, any confusions of the holy Scripture, repugnant to the determination of our holy mother the church, and notoriously redounding to the subversion of the catholic faith, or containing any heresy or error, within the province or bishopric of Canterbury, we have by our special letters patent, in the zeal of the faith, given authority and license to the foresaid archbishop, and to all and singular his suffragans, to arrest all and every one of them who preaches or maintains any such conclusions, wherever they may be found, and to commit them either to their own prisons, or any other at their own pleasure, and to keep them there, until they repent them of the errors and depravities of those heresies, or till by his or by our council, it should otherwise be determined, that is to say, to every one of them and their ministers throughout their cities and diocese. And now the referend father in God, John, bishop of Hereford, has for a certainty informed us, that although the same bishop has according to justice convinced a certain fellow named William Swinderby, pretending to be a chaplain, and one Stephen Bell, a learned man, and has pronounced them heretics, and excommunicate, and false informers among the common people, and has declared the same, by the definitive sentence of the aforesaid bishop, they have presumed to affirm and preach openly, in diverse places within the diocese of Hereford, many conclusions or naughty opinions notoriously redounding to the subversion of the catholic sound faith, and tranquility of our kingdom. The same bishop, notwithstanding, neither by the ecclesiastical censures, nor by the force and strength of our commission, was able to revoke the foresaid William and Stephen, nor yet to bridle the malice and indurate contumacy of them; for after they were convicted of such heretical depravity by the same bishop (with the intent that they might delude his judgment and justice) they conveyed themselves into the borders of Wales, with those who were their favorers and accomplices, keeping themselves hidden, to whom the force of our letters does in no way extend.

“Whereupon the said bishop has made supplication to us, that we will grant to provide a sufficient remedy in that behalf. We therefore, who always by the help of Almighty God, are defenders of the faith, willing to withstand such presumptuous and perverse enterprises by the safest way and means, give and commit full power and authority to the aforesaid bishop, and to his ministers, by the tenor of these presents, to arrest or take, or cause to be arrested or taken, the aforesaid William and Stephen, in any place within the city and diocese of Hereford, and our dominion of Wales, with all possible speed. And then to commit them either to our prison, or else to the prison of the same bishop, or any other prison at their pleasure, if such need be, and there to keep them safe. And afterwards, unless they will obey the commandments of the church, to diligently bring them before us and our council, or else cause them to be brought, so that we may determine their further punishment, as we think it requisite and convenient to be done by the advice of our council, for the defense and preservation of the catholic faith. And that the aforesaid William and Stephen, being succored by the aid of their favorers, should not be able to flee or escape to their accustomed starting holes, and that the sharpness of their pains so aggravated, may give them sufficient cause to return to the lap again of their holy mother, the church — we straitly charge and command all and singular of our sheriffs, bailiffs, barons, and all other officers of ours in the city and diocese of Hereford, and in any other places within our dominion of Wales, by the tenor of these presents, that from time to time (where they think it most fitting) they cause it to be

openly proclaimed in our name, that none of whatever state, degree, pre-eminence, kind, or other condition he may be, who cherish openly or secretly the aforesaid William and Stephen, until the time that they repent of their heresies and errors, and are reconciled to the holy church of God; nor that any person or persons, be they believers, favorers, or receivers, defenders, or in any case wittingly instructors of the said William or Stephen, or any other of the residue of the heretics who are to be convinced, upon the forfeiture of all that they ever have. And also that giving their attendance. they are obedient and answerable to the aforesaid bishop and his deputies in this behalf, for the execution of the premises; and that they certify to us and our council distinctly and plainly, from time to time, of the names of all and singular persons, who are found culpable in this behalf, under their seals. In witness of which, we have caused these our letters patent to be made.

“Witness ourself at Westminster, the ninth day of March, in the fifteenth year of our reign. Farrington.”

### **Another letter of the King against Walter Brute.**

“Richard, by the grace of God king of England, and of France, and Lord of Ireland, sends salutations to his beloved and faithful John Chaundos, knight; John Eynfore, knight; Renold de la Bere, knight; Walter Deveros, knight; Thomas de la Bare, knight; William Lucy, knight; Leonard Hakeluke, knight; and to the mayor of the city of Hereford, to Thomas Oldcastle, Richard Nash, Roger Wygniore, Thomas Waylwayne, John Skydmore, John Up-Harry, Henry Morton, and to the sheriff of Hereford,.

“In that it is made known to us, that one Walter Brute, and other such children of iniquity, have damnably held, affirmed, and preached, certain articles and conclusions, being notoriously repugnant against the holy Scripture (of which some of these as heresies, and the rest as errors, are finally condemned by the church), and that in diverse places within the diocese of Hereford, and parts adjoining nearby, both privately, openly, and obstinately, which we perceive not only to redound to the subversion, in a manner, of the catholic faith, which we as well as other catholic princes should of duty maintain, but also to forewarn us of the subversion of our faithful diocesans.

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“And that the said bishop, upon the good deliberation and advice of a great number of doctors in divinity, and other learned and skillful men in the Scriptures, and of special devotion, according to his bound duty, purposed to begin and make diverse and sundry processes by law to be sent to the aforesaid Walter and his accomplices to appear personally before him and the other doctors aforesaid, in the cathedral church of Hereford, the morrow after the translation of Sf. Thomas of Hereford next ensuing; and to proceed in the same place against the same Walter, in the aforesaid articles and conclusions, for the amendment of his soul. And that they now afresh (because the said Walter and others of their retinue, clinging to and confederating with him, might not suffer deserved pains according to their demerits) endeavor to make void and frustrate the said godly purpose of the same bishop, in such correction and execution as should have been done, and do resist with force, and prevent the same with all the power they may, to the great contempt of us and of our crown, and to the breaking and hurting of our peace, and pernicious example of others.

“We appoint you, and every one of you, as soon as this commission of ours is delivered to you, in our behalf and name, to immediately make open proclamation in the diocese and the parts aforesaid, where you think it most fitting and convenient: that no man be so hardy henceforth, of whatever state or condition he may be, within the diocese and parts aforesaid, upon pain of forfeiture of all that he ever has, to make or levy any conventicles, assemblies, or confederacies, by any color; or that they presume to attempt or procure any other thing by

which our peace may be hurt or broken; or that the same bishops and doctors aforesaid may by any means be molested or hindered in the execution of such correction as is to be done, according to the canonical sanctions; and to arrest all those whom you find or take, offending in this behalf, or who keep themselves in any such conventicles; and that being committed to prison, they be kept there till you have other commandment from us and from our council for their deliverance; and that you distinctly and plainly certify to us, and our said council, of all your doing in this behalf under your seals, or else the seals of some of you. And therefore we straitly charge and command you, and every one of you, that you diligently attend upon the premises, and that in your deeds you execute the same with all diligence and careful endeavor in the form and manner aforesaid. And further we give strait charge and commandment to all and singular sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, constables, and other our faithful subjects, by the tenor of these presents, that they attend upon you, counsel and aid you and every one of you, as is fitting and convenient in the doing and execution of the premises. In witness of which, we have caused these letters patents to be made.

“Witness myself at Westminster, the twenty-second day of September, in the seventeenth year of our reign. By the same king and council.”

### **Certain Godly Persons in Leicester Persecuted for the Truth.**

Thus King Richard — by setting William Courtenay, archbishop of Canterbury, and his fellows upon this, taking sides with the pope and Romish prelates — became strict and hard against the poor Christians on the other side who followed Wycliffe. Yet during the life of this king, I find none expressly by name who suffered burning. There were some, however, who had been condemned, and some also abjured, by the archbishop and other bishops, and they did penance in other places, as well as chiefly about the town of Leicester, as declared in the archbishop’s register and records as follows:

“At the time the said archbishop William Courtenay was in his visitation at the town of Leicester, certain persons were detected and accused to him, by the monks and other priests in the said town. The names of these persons were Roger Dexter, Nicholas Taylor, Richard Wagstaff, Michael Scrivener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmentar, and Roger Goldsmith, inhabitants of the town of Leicester. These, with others, were denounced to the archbishop for holding the opinion of the sacrament of the altar, of auricular confession, and other sacraments, contrary to what the church of Rome preaches and observes. All of these parties above named, and many others whose names are not known, held these heresies and errors here underwritten, and are condemned by the church of Rome.

- “1. That in the sacrament of the altar, in the words of consecration, the body of Christ remains with the material bread.
- “2. That images should not be worshipped in any case, and that no man should set any candle before them.
- “3. That no cross should be worshipped.
- “4. The masses and matins should not be said in the church with a high and loud voice.
- “5. That no curate or priest, taken in any crime, can consecrate, hear confessions, or minister any of the sacraments of the church.
- “6. That the pope and all prelates of the church cannot bind any man with the sentence of excommunication, unless they know him to be first excommunicated by God.
- “7. That no prelate of the church can grant any pardons.
- “8. That every layman may preach and teach the gospel in every place.

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“9. That it is sin to give any alms or charity to the friars, preachers, Minorites, Augustinians, or Carmelites.

“10. That no offering should be used at the funerals of the dead.

“11. That it is not necessary to confess our sins to the priest.

“12. That every good man, even if he is unlearned, is a priest.”

“They taught, preached, and affirmed these articles manifestly in the town of Leicester, and other adjoining places. Whereupon the said archbishop admonished Roger and Nicholas, with the rest, to answer him on the next day in the said monastery to the aforesaid articles. But the aforesaid Roger and Nicholas, with the rest, hid themselves out of the way, and did not appear. Whereupon the archbishop upon All-hallow day, being the first day of November, celebrating the high mass at the high altar, in the said monastery, being attired in his pontifical robes, denounced as excommunicate and accursed, the said parties with all their adherents, favorers, and counsellors, who either held, taught, or maintained the aforesaid heretical and erroneous conclusions, and did that in solemn way, by ringing the bells, lighting the candles, and putting them out again, and throwing them down to the ground, with other circumstances belonging to it. On the morrow after, being All-Souls day, he sent for all the curates and some laymen of the town of Leicester, to inquire more diligently about the truth of such matters as they knew, and were able to say against any persons whatever concerning the aforesaid articles, as also against the parties before named and specified upon their oaths, denouncing every one of them severally by their names, to be excommunicated and accursed; and he also caused them to be excommunicated in diverse parish churches in Leicester. And further, the said archbishop interdicted the whole town of Leicester, and all the churches in the town, so long as any of the aforesaid excommunicate persons remained, or were within the town, and till all the Lollards of the town returned and amended from such heresies and errors, obtaining at the said archbishop’s hands, the benefit of absolution.

At length it was declared and shown to the archbishop, that there was a certain anchoress<sup>279</sup> named Matilda, living within the churchyard of St. Peter’s church of the town of Leicester, infected with the pestiferous contagion of the aforesaid heretics and Lollards. Whereupon, after the said archbishop had examined her regarding the aforesaid conclusions, heresies, and errors, and he found that she did not answer plainly and directly to them, but sophistically and subtly; he peremptorily gave and assigned to her a day on which to personally appear before him in the monastery of St. James at Northampton, to more fully answer to the said articles, heresies, and errors, which was the sixth of November.

[255] A.D. 1393.

They commanded the abbot of the monastery of Pratis, that the door of the recuse in which Matilda stayed, should be opened, and that till his return he should cause her to be put in safe custody. That done, he sent forth his mandate against the Lollards, in this form:

“William, by the permission of God, etc. To his well-beloved sons, the mayor and bailiffs of the town of Leicester diocese, greeting. We have lately received the king’s letters, graciously granted us for the defense of the catholic faith, in these words following: Richard, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, etc. We, on the behalf of our holy mother, the church, by the king’s authority aforesaid, require of you, that you cause the same Richard, William, Roger, and the rest, to be arrested, and sent to us, so that they, with their pernicious doctrine, do not infect the people of God, etc. Given under our seal,” etc.

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<sup>279</sup> *Anchoress*: a woman who lives in seclusion for religious reasons, often in a small cell or hermitage.



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Another instrument in the same register mentions one Margaret Gaily, a nun, who had forsaken her order. She was constrained by the archbishop, against her will, to enter the order again, as appears by the following instrument.

“William, by the grace of God, etc. To our reverend brother of God, John, by the grace of God, bishop of Ely, greeting, etc. In the visitation of our diocese of Lincoln according to our office among other enormities worthy of reformation, we found one sheep strayed out of our fold, and entangled among the briars; to wit, Margaret Gaily, a professed nun, in the monastery of St. Radegond, within your diocese. Casting off the habit of her religion, she was found in secular attire, being an apostate for many years, and leading a dissolute life. And lest her blood be required at our hands, we have caused her to be taken and brought to you, being her pastor. And we straitly enjoin you, by these presents we command, that you admit the same Margaret again into her aforesaid monastery (although returned against her will), or else into some other place which you think most convenient for her soul’s health; and that from henceforth she be safely kept, and in the strait examination of her, you will yield an account. Given under our seal,” etc.

By sundry other instruments in the same register, I find that Matilda — the anchoress, upon the strait examination and handling of the archbishop, before whom she was peremptorily enjoined to appear, and was taken out of the recluse till that day of appearance, and committed to safe custody, as you heard — retracted and recanted her aforesaid articles and opinions. For this she was enjoined forty days’ penance, and was again admitted into her recluse in Leicester.

Also, by another letter of the archbishop to the dean of the cathedral church of our lady of Leicester, I find that of those eight persons listed earlier, whom the archbishop himself, at high mass in his pontifical robes, so solemnly cursed with bell, book, and candle, after the process against them, or else being apprehended and taken in the meantime, two of them recanted their opinions; to wit, William Smith and Roger Dexter. But in the meantime Alice, the wife of Roger Dexter, had abjured (disavowed) the same. However, whether they presented themselves willingly, or were brought against their wills (as most likely it was) hard penance was enjoined them before they were absolved. The words of the penitential instrument are as follows:

“Seeing that our holy mother the church does not deny her lap to any penitent child returning to her unity, but rather proffers to them the same: we therefore receive again William, Roger, and Alice, to grace. And further, we have caused them to abjure all and singular the foresaid articles and opinions, before they received from us the benefit of absolution, and were loosed from the sentence of excommunication in which they were snarled, enjoining them to penance, according to the quantity of the crime, in the following form, that is to say, that the Sunday next after their returning to their proper goods, the said William, Roger, and Alice, holding every of them an image of the crucifix in their hands, and every one in their left hands holding a taper of wax weighing half a pound weight, in their shirts (having no other apparel upon them) go before the cross three times, during the procession of the cathedral church of our lady of Leicester; that is to say, in the beginning of the procession, in the middle of the procession, and at the latter end of the procession; to the honor of Him that was crucified, in the memorial of his passion, and to the honor of the virgin his mother; who also devoutly bowing their knees and kneeling, shall kiss the same crucifix so held in their hands. And so with the same procession entering again into the church, they shall stand during the entire time of the holy mass, before the image of the cross, with their tapers and crosses in their hands. And when the mass is ended, the said William, Roger, and Alice, shall offer to him who celebrated the mass that day. Then upon the next ensuing Saturday, the said William, Roger, and Alice, shall in the full and public market, within the town of Leicester, stand in like

manner in their shirts, without any more clothes on their bodies, holding the foresaid crosses in their right hands. They shall devoutly kiss these crosses three times (during the market), reverently kneeling upon their knees; that is, in the beginning of the market, in the middle of the market, and at the end of the market. And the said William (because he somewhat understands the Latin tongue) shall say this anthem, with the collect, "*Holy Catherine,*" etc.; and the foresaid Roger and Alice, being unlearned, shall say devoutly a *Pater Noster* (Lord's Prayer), and an *Ave Maria*. And, thirdly, the Sunday next immediately after, the said William, Roger, and Alice, in their parish church of the said town of Leicester shall stand and do, upon the Sunday before, just as they stood and did in the cathedral church of our lady aforesaid in all things. Which done, the foresaid William, Roger, and Alice, after mass, shall offer to the priest or chaplain who celebrated the mass, with all humility and reverence the wax tapers, which they shall carry in their hands. And because of the current cold weather, lest the foresaid penitents might perhaps take some bodily hurt standing naked for so long (being mindful to partly moderate our rigor) we give leave, that after their entrance into the churches above mentioned, while they are in the hearing of the foresaid masses, they may put on necessary garments to keep them from cold, so that their heads and feet, notwithstanding, are bare and uncovered. We therefore will and command you, together and apart, that you pronounce the said William, Roger, and Alice to be absolved and restored again to the unity of our holy mother the church, and that you call them forth to do their penance in the aforesaid manner and form. Given at Dorchester the 17th day of November, in the year 1389, and the ninth year of our translation."

To the above narration we will adjoin the history of Peter Pateshul, an Augustinian friar. Obtaining by the pope's privilege (through means of Walter Dis, confessor to the duke of Lancaster) the liberty to change his coat and religious order, and hearing the doctrine of John Wycliffe and others of the same kind, he began at length to preach openly, and to expose the vices of his order, in such a way that all men wondered to hear the horrible recital. This being brought to the ears of his order, twelve of them (coming out of their houses to the place where he was preaching) thought to have stood against him by force. One among them, especially for the zeal of his religion, stood up openly during Peter's preaching, and contradicted what he said, as he was preaching in the church of St. Christopher in London. When the faithful Londoners saw this, taking grief at it, they were very angry against the friar, throwing him and his other brethren out of the church, whom they had not only beaten and sorely wounded, but they also followed them home to their house, intending to also destroy their mansion with fire.

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And they would have so done, had not one of the sheriffs of London, with two of the friars of the house, well-known and reputed among the Londoners, mitigated their rage and violence with gentle words. After this, Peter Pateshul thus disturbed, was desired by the Londoners (since he could not well preach among them) to put in writing what he had said, and other things besides these that he knew about the friars. At their request, in writing he accused the friars of murder committed against several of their brethren. And to make the matter more apparent and credible, he declared the names of those who were murdered, with the names also of their tormentors: and moreover, he named time and place, where and when they were murdered, and where they were buried. He affirmed further that they were guilty of other horrible sins, and were traitors both to the king and the realm, with many other crimes, which my author, for their tediousness, leaves off reciting. And for the further confutation of the friars, the Londoners caused the accounts to be openly set up at St. Paul's church-door in London. There they were read and copied by many. This was done in A.D. 1387, in the tenth year of King Richard II.

Thus it may appear how the gospel of Christ, preached by John Wycliffe and others, began to spread and fructify abroad in London, and other places of the realm. And no doubt more would have been done, had not William Courtenay the archbishop, and other prelates, along with the king, set themselves so forcibly with might and main to withstand the course of it. However, as is said before, I find none who were put to death during the reign of this King Richard II. Whereby it appears about this king, that although he cannot utterly be excused for molesting the godly and innocent preachers of that time, (such as may appear by his briefs and letters mentioned earlier), he was not so cruel against them, as others who came after him. And what he did, seemed to proceed by the instigation of the pope and other bishops, rather than by the consent of his parliament, or the advice of his council about him, or else by his own nature. But whether the doings of this king are to be excused or not, it is undoubted that Queen Anne his wife, most rightly deserves singular commendation. At the same time, living with the king, she had the gospels of Christ translated into English, along with the writings of four doctors upon the gospel. Anne was Bohemian born, and sister to Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia. She was married to King Richard about the fifth (some say the sixth) year of his reign, and continued with him for eleven years. By the occasion of this it may seem not improbable that the Bohemians coming in with her, or resorting into this realm after her, perused and received here the books of John Wycliffe, which afterward they conveyed into Bohemia.

The said virtuous Queen Anne, after she had lived with King Richard about eleven years, in the seventeenth year of his reign, left this mortal life, and was buried at Westminster. At her funeral Thomas Arundel, then archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor, gave the sermon. In this sermon (as it remains in the library of Worcester), in his commendation of her, he said these words: That there was more joy from her than from any woman he ever knew; for notwithstanding that she was born an alien, she had all four gospels in English, with four doctors' comments on them. He affirmed and testified, moreover, that she had sent them to him to examine; and he said that they were good and true. And further, with many words of praise, he greatly commended her in that, being so great a lady, and also a foreigner, she would humbly study such virtuous books. Also in that sermon he sharply blamed the negligence of the prelates and other men, going so far that some said he would, on the morrow, give up the office of chancellor, and forsake the world, and fulfill his pastoral office, for what he had seen and read in those books. And then they said it had been the best sermon they ever heard. In this sermon of Thomas Arundel, three points are to be considered: *First*, the laudable custom of those old times, to have the scripture and doctors translated into our English tongue. *Secondly*, the virtuous exercise and example of this godly lady, who had these books hanging at her girdle not just for a show; but she also seemed by this sermon to be a studious reader of them. The *third* thing to be noted is what fruit the archbishop declared that he received by hearing and reading these books in the English tongue. However, after he gave this sermon and made that promise, this same Thomas Arundel became the cruelest enemy there might be against English books and their authors, as follows afterward in his history.

### **The Book of Conclusions Presented to Parliament.**

For shortly after the death of Queen Anne, in the same year (the king then being in Ireland) this Thomas Arundel, archbishop of York, and Robert Braybrocke the bishop of London (whether sent by the archbishop of Canterbury and the clergy, or whether going of their own accord) crossed the seas to Ireland, to desire the king to return with all speed, and help the faith and church of Christ against those who held to Wycliffe's doctrine, and who went about (they said) to subvert all their proceedings, and to destroy the canonical sanctions of their

holy mother church. At this complaint, the king hearing only the one party speak, and not the other, was so incensed that leaving all his affairs incomplete, he immediately hastened back to England. In the beginning of the following year (A.D. 1395), a parliament was called at Westminster, in which twelve articles or conclusions were put up by those on the gospel's side. These conclusions were fastened on the church-door of St. Paul's in London, and also at Westminster.

A copy of the words and contents of these conclusions, follow here:

*The Book of Conclusions or Reformations, presented to the Parliament at London, and set upon the door of St. Paul's, and other places, in the eighteenth year of the reign of King Richard II, and in the year 1395.*

*"The first conclusion:* When the church of England first began to dote in temporalities after her stepmother, the great church of Rome, and the churches were authorized by appropriations, then faith, hope, and charity in diverse places began to vanish and fly away from our church; for pride, with her most lamentable and dolorous genealogy of mortal and deadly sins, challenged that place by title of heritage. This conclusion is general, and it is proved by experience, custom, and manner, as you will later hear.

*"The second conclusion:* That our usual priesthood, which took its origin at Rome, and is feigned to be a power higher than angels, is not that priesthood which Christ ordained to his disciples. This conclusion is thus proved, in so far as the Romish priesthood is exercised with signs and pontifical rites and ceremonies, and benedictions, which are of no force and effect, nor do they have any ground in Scripture, as the bishop's ordinal (book of ordination) and the New Testament do not at all agree; nor do we see that the Holy Spirit gives any good gift through any such signs or ceremonies; because the Spirit, together with all noble and good gifts, cannot co-exist in any person with deadly sin. It is a lamentable and sorrowful mockery to wise men, to see the bishops mock and play with the Holy Spirit in giving their orders.

*"The third conclusion:* [omitted here].<sup>280</sup>

*"The fourth conclusion:* this most harms the innocent people, that the feigned miracle of the sacrament of bread induces all men, except for a very few, to idolatry. For they think that the body which will never be out of heaven, is by virtue of the priest's words, essentially included in the bit of bread which they show to the people. But would to God that they would believe what the evangelical doctor (Wycliffe) teaches us in his *Trialogue*, 'That the bread of the altar is the body of Christ only incidentally (figuratively).'

[257] A.D. 1394—1395.

"forsomuch as we suppose that by that means every faithful man and woman in the law of God may make the sacrament of that bread without any such miracle. The corollary of this conclusion is that, just as the body of Christ is endowed with eternal joy, the service of *Corpus Christi*, made by friar Thomas, is not true, but painted full of false miracles.

*"The fifth conclusion:* That the exorcisms and hallowings, consecrations, and blessings over the wine, bread, wax, water, oil, salt, incense, the altar-stone, and about the church walls, over the vestment, chalice, miter, cross, and pilgrim-staffs, are the very practices of necromancy, rather than of sacred divinity. This conclusion is thus proved: because by such exorcisms the creatures are honored as being of more force and power than their own proper nature. For we

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<sup>280</sup> This conclusion, which reflects on the vices of the Romish priests, is omitted, being of too gross a nature for insertion in this edition. [Ed].

do not see any alteration or change in any creature so exorcised, unless is be by false faith, which is the principal point of the devilish art. The corollary of this is that if the book of exorcism or the conjuring of holy water which is sprinkled in the church, were altogether faithful and true, then we think certainly that holy water used in the church, would be the best medicine for all kinds of sickness and sores; but daily experience teaches us the contrary.

*“The sixth conclusion:* That having both a king and bishop in one person, a prelate and justice in temporal causes, and a curate and officer in worldly office, puts both kingdoms out of good order. This conclusion is manifest because the temporality and the spirituality are two parts of the holy universal church. And therefore whoever addicts himself to the one part, let him not intermeddle with the other, for *no man can serve two masters*. The corollary of this conclusion is that we, the proctors of God in this case, sue to the parliament, so that it may be enacted that all the clergy (of the highest degree as well as the lowest) should be fully excused from any temporal office, and occupy themselves with their own charge, and not with others.

*“The seventh conclusion:* What we mightily affirm is that spiritual prayers made in the church for the souls of the dead (preferring anyone by name more than another) is a false foundation of alms, whereupon all the houses of alms in England are falsely founded. This conclusion is proved by two reasons. The one is that a meritorious prayer (of any force or effect) ought to be a work proceeding from mere charity; and perfect charity excepts no person, because *you shall love your neighbor as yourself*. Whereby it appears that the benefit of any temporal gift, bestowed and given to priests and houses of alms, is the principal cause of any special prayers, which is not far different from simony. The other reason is that every special prayer, made for men condemned to eternal punishment, is very displeasing to God. Although it is doubtful, it is very probable to faithful Christians that the founders of every such house of alms, for their wicked endowments, are for the most part passed by “the broad-way.” The corollary is that every prayer of force and effect, proceeding from perfect charity, would comprehend generally all those whom God would have saved. The merchandise of special prayers now used for the dead, creates mendicant possessioners and other hireling priests, who are otherwise strong enough to work and serve the whole realm. And it maintains them in idleness, to the great charge of the realm, because it was proved in a certain book which the king has, that a hundred houses of alms are sufficient for the whole realm. And thereby perhaps greater increase and profit might come to the temporality.

*“The eighth conclusion:* it is needful to tell the beguiled people, that pilgrimages, prayers, and oblations made to blind crosses or roods, <sup>281</sup> or to deaf images made either of wood or stone, are very near akin to idolatry, and far different from alms. Although these things which are forbidden, are the book of errors to the common people, the usual and common image of the Trinity is most especially abominable. God himself openly manifests this conclusion, commanding alms to be given to the poor and needy, for he is the image of God, in a more perfect similitude and likeness than any block or stone. For God did not say, let us make a block or stone in our likeness and image, but let us make man; the supreme and highest honor, which the clergy call ‘Latria,’ pertains only to the godhead, and the inferior honor which the clergy call ‘Dulia,’ pertains to men and angels, and to no other inferior creature. The corollary is that the service of the cross, celebrated twice every year in our church, is full of idolatry. For if rood, tree, nails, and spear should be so profoundly honored and worshipped, then Judas’ lips (if any man could get them) were a marvellous goodly relic. But, you pilgrim, we pray you tell us when you make an offering to the bones of the saints and of holy men, which are laid up in any place, whether you relieve the holy man who is already in joy, or the alms house which is so well endowed. Whereas the saints are canonized (the Lord knows

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<sup>281</sup> Rood: Representation of the cross on which Jesus died.

how), and to speak more plainly, every faithful Christian may well suppose that the strokes of that same man whom they call St. Thomas, were no cause for martyrdom.<sup>282</sup>

*“The ninth conclusion:* what keeps the people down, is auricular confession, which is said to be so necessary for salvation; and the feigned power of absolution exalts and sets up the pride of priests, and gives them an opportunity for other secret talks, which we will not speak of at this time. For as both lords and ladies witness, it is for fear of their confessors that they dare not speak the truth. And the time of confession is a good opportunity to minister wooing, or to play the villain, or to make other secret arrangements for deadly sin. They affirm and say that they are emissaries sent by God to judge and discern of all manner of sin, to pardon and cleanse whatever pleases them. They also say that they have the keys of heaven and hell, and that they can excommunicate, curse, and bless, bind and loose at their own will and pleasure. So that for a small reward, or for twelve pence, they will sell the blessing of heaven by charter and clause of warranty, sealed by their common seal. This conclusion is so common in use, that it needs no proof. The corollary is that the pope of Rome who feigned himself to be the profound treasurer of the whole church, having that same worthy jewel — the treasure of the passion of Christ in his own keeping and custody, together with the merits of all the saints in heaven, by which he gives feigned indulgences and pardons — is a treasurer out of charity, who pretends he may deliver all captives in purgatory at his pleasure. But here, every faithful Christian may easily perceive that there is much falsehood hidden in our church.

*“The tenth conclusion:* that manslaughter (either by war or by any pretended law of justice for any temporal cause or spiritual revelation) is expressly contrary to the New Testament, which is the law of grace, full of mercy. This conclusion is evidently proved by the examples of the preaching of Christ here on earth, who chiefly teaches every man to love his enemies, and to have compassion on them, and not to kill and murder them.. The reason is this, that for the most part when men fight, after the first stroke, charity is broken; and whoever dies without charity goes the right way to hell. And we know that none of the clergy can deliver anyone from the punishment of death for one deadly sin, and not for another. But the law of mercy, which is the New Testament, forbids all manner of murder. For in the gospel it is spoken to our forefathers, “You shall not kill.” The corollary is that it is a robbing of the people, when lords purchase indulgences and pardon for those who help their armies to kill and murder the Christian people in foreign countries, for temporal gain. We see certain soldiers who run among the heathen people, to get themselves fame and renown by the murder and slaughter of men. They much more deserve evil thanks at the hands of the king of peace, in that our faith is multiplied and increased by humility and peace. But Christ hates and menaces murderers and manslaughterers. “He that kills with the sword shall perish with the sword.”

*“The eleventh conclusion.* <sup>283</sup>

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*“The twelfth conclusion:* that the multitude of unnecessary arts (used in our church) causes much sin and offense in waste, curiosity, and dressing in curious apparel. Experience and reason partly show this, for nature, with a few arts, is sufficient for man’s use and necessity.

This is the whole tenor of our ambassadorship that Christ commanded us to prosecute at this time, which is most fit and convenient for many causes. Although these matters are only briefly noted and touched upon here, they are declared more at large in another book, with many others besides, in our own proper tongue. We wish they would be common to all

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<sup>282</sup> Thomas Aquinas wrote about self-flagellation as a means of penance, hence the mention of “strokes.”

<sup>283</sup> This conclusion reflects on the morals of nunneries, and though most true, it is also omitted for same reason as the third (too gross for this edition). [Ed.]

Christian people. This is why we earnestly desire and beseech God for his great goodness' sake, that he will wholly reform our church (now altogether out of frame) to the perfection of her first beginning and origin. (*Ex Archivis Regiis.*)

After these conclusions were thus proposed in the parliament, the king not long after returned home from Dublin into England, toward the latter end of the parliament. At his return he called certain of his nobles to him — Richard Stury, Lewis Clifford, Thomas Latimer, John Mountacute, etc. — whom he sharply rebuked, and terribly threatened, for he heard they were favorers of that side, straitly charging them never to hold, maintain, or favor those opinions and conclusions any more. And he took an oath from Richard Stury, that he would never from that day, favor or defend any such opinions. This oath being taken, the king then answered, 'And I swear again to you, if you ever break your oath, you will die a shameful death for it,' etc.

### **Death of Archbishop Courtenay. ,**

All this while William Courtenay archbishop of Canterbury was still alive, who was a great stirrer in these matters. Yet Pope Urban VI the great master of the catholic sect, was dead and buried six years before (1389). After him succeeded in the schismatical See of Rome, Pope Boniface IX, who was not at all inferior to his predecessor in all kind of cruelties. He left no diligence untried to set forward what Urban had begun, in suppressing those who were setting forth the light of the gospel. He had written several times to King Richard II, for repealing the acts of parliament against his provisions, *Quare impedit* and *Praemunire faces* (p. 220); and also that he should assist the prelates of England in the cause of God (as he pretended) against those whom he falsely suggested to be Lollards and traitors to the church, the king, the realm, etc. Thus the "courteous" pope, with the cruel slander of his malicious tongue, sought to work his poison against those whom he could not reach with his sword. He wrote this letter to the king, in A.D. 1396, the year before the death of William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury. After him in that see, succeeded Thomas Arundel, brother to the earl of Arundel. He was first bishop of Ely, afterwards archbishop of York and lord chancellor of England, and at last made archbishop of Canterbury, about A.D. 1397.

### **Letter of Richard II to Boniface IX, on the Schism – 1398.**

The next year, which was A.D. 1398, in the ninth year of the pope, I find in certain records of the bishop of Durham, a letter of King Richard II, written to Pope Boniface, rebuking the schism in the popedom. I judged it worthy of being seen here, and therefore I annex it as follows:

*To the most holy father in Christ, and Lord, Lord Boniface IX, by the grace of God, high pope of the most holy Romish and universal church, his humble and devout son Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, and France, lord of Ireland, greeting and desiring to help the miseries of the afflicted church, and kissing his blessed feet.*

"Who will give my head water, and my eyes streaming tears, that I may bewail the decay and manifold troubles of our mother, which have chanced to her by her own children in the distress of this present schism and division? For the sheep have forgotten the proper voice of their shepherds, and hirelings have thrust themselves in to feed the Lord's flock, who are clothed with the apparel of the true shepherd, challenging the name of honor and dignity, so resembling the true shepherd, that the poor sheep can scarcely know whom they ought to follow, or what pastor they ought to flee to as a stranger, and whom they should shun as a hireling. Therefore we are afraid lest the holy standard of the Lord be forsaken of his host, and



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so that city, being full of riches, becomes solitary and desolate, and lest the land or people which was accustomed to say (flourishing in her prosperities) I sat as a queen and not a widow, am destitute of the presence of her husband, and as it were so bewitched that she will not be able to discern his face, and so wrapped in amazement, that she will not know where to turn, that she might more easily find him, and that she will with weeping speak that saying of the spouse, 'I sought him whom my soul loves, I sought him and did not find him.'<sup>Sol 3.1</sup> For now we are so compelled to wander, that if any man says, behold here is Christ, or there, we may not believe him. And so, many shepherds have destroyed the Lord's vineyard, and made his pleasant portion a vast wilderness.

"This multitude of shepherds has become very burdensome to the Lord's flock. For when two strive to be chief, the state of both their dignities stands in doubt; and in so doing, they give occasion to all the faithful of Christ, for a schism and division of the church. And although both parties go about to subdue to their power the whole church militant, yet contrary to both their purpose, by working this way, a division in the body now begins to arise in the church, as when the division of the living innocent body was asked, when the two women strived before Solomon; <sup>1Kng 3.25</sup> like the ten tribes of Israel followed Jeroboam the intruder, and were withdrawn from the kingdom for Solomon's sin; <sup>1Kng 12.20</sup> even so of old time the desire for ruling has drawn the great power of the world from the unity of the church. Let yourselves remember, we beseech you, how all of Greece fell from the obedience to the Romish church in the time of the faction of the primarch of Constantinople; and how Mahomet <sup>284</sup> with his fellows, on the occasion of seeking supremacy in ecclesiastical dignity, deceived a great part of Christians, and withdrew them from the empire and ruling of Christ. And how in these days, that same supremacy has withdrawn itself from obedience to Christ, to such an extent that now the candle that burns before the Lord remains in very few realms, and that is for his servant David's sake. Although few countries now remain that profess obedience to Christ's true vicar, perhaps if every man were left to his own liberty, he would doubt the preferring of your dignity, or what is worse, he would utterly refuse it by such doubtful evidence alleged on both sides. And this is the subtle craft of the crooked serpent, that is to say, to procure schisms under the pretense of unity, just as the spider of a wholesome flower gathers poison, and Judas learned to make war out of peace.

"Therefore it is believed by wise men, that unless this pestilent schism is withstood by and by, the keys of the church will be despised, and they will bind the conscience of but a few. And when either none dares to be bold to correct this fault, or else to reform things contrary to God's law, by this means temporal lords will at length take away the liberties of the church; and perhaps the Romans will come and take away their place, people, and lands. They will spoil their possessions, and bring the men of the church into bondage, and they will be disdained, reviled, and despised, because the obedience of the people, and devotions towards them will almost be taken away — when the greater part of the church, left to their own liberty, will grow prouder than they usually are, leaving a wicked example to those who see it. For when they see the prelates pursue covetousness more than usual, to hoard up money, to oppress the subjects, to seek gain in their punishings, to confound laws, to stir up strife, to suppress truth, to vex poor subjects with wrong corrections, being intemperate in food and drink, past shame in feastings — what marvel is it if the people despise them as the foulest forsakers of God's law? But all these things follow if the church were to be left for long in this doubtfulness of a schism. And then that old saying would be verified; 'In those days there was no king in Israel, but everyone did what was right in his own eyes.'<sup>Jdg 17.6</sup>

[259] A.D. 1396-1398.

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<sup>284</sup> Mohammed (570-632); also Sultan Murad I (r. 1362-1389), and his son Bayezid I, or Bajazet (r. 1389-1402).



“Micah saw the people of the Lord scattered in the mountains, like sheep without a shepherd: for when the shepherd is struck, the sheep of the flock will be scattered, the great striking of the shepherd is the diminishing of his jurisdiction, by which the subjects are drawn away from his obedience. When Jason had the office of the highest priest, he changed the ordinance of God, and brought in the customs of the heathen. The priests left the service of the holy altar, and applied themselves to wrestling and other exercises of the Grecians. And despising those things that belonged to the priests, they labored with all their might to learn such things from the Grecians. By that means the place, people, and holy anointing of priests, which in times past were held in great reverence by kings, were trodden underfoot by all men, robbed by the king’s power, and profaned by being thrust aside for money. Therefore, let the highest vicar of Christ look to this with a diligent eye, and let him be the follower of Him by whom he has received authority above others.

“If you mark well, most holy father, you will find that Christ sharply rebuked two brethren who coveted the seat of honor. He taught them not to play the lords over the people; but the more grace they were filled with, they were to be so much more humble than others, and more lowly to serve their brethren. To one who asks for his coat, give him the cloak; to one who strikes him on the one cheek, turn the other to him. For the sake of the sheep that are given to his keeping, he must forsake all earthly things, and shed his own blood; yes, and if need requires it, to die. These things, I say, are those that adorn the highest bishop, if they are found in him — not his white horse, not his imperial crown — because among all men, he is most bound to all the sheep of Christ. For the fear of God, therefore, and for the love of the flock which you guide, consider these things diligently, and do them wisely, and no longer allow us to waver between two. Even if not for your own cause, to whom perhaps the fulness of your own power is known; yet in pitying our weakness, if you are the one, then tell us openly, and show yourself to the world, that we all may follow the one. Do not be a bloody bishop to us, lest by your occasion, man’s blood is shed; lest hell swallow a number of souls; and lest the name of Christ be spoken of wickedly by infidels, through such a worthy personage.

“But perhaps you will say, our right is manifest enough, and we will not put it to other men for a decision. If this answer should be admitted, then the schism will continue still: seeing that neither part is willing to agree with the other. And where the world is, as it were, equally divided between them, neither part can be compelled to give way to the other without much bloodshed. The incarnation of Christ, and his resurrection, was known well enough to himself and to his disciples. And yet he asked his Father to be made known to the world. <sup>Joh 17.23</sup> He also made the gospel to be written, and the doctrine of the apostles; and he sent his apostles into all the world, to do the office of preaching, so that the same might be known to all men. The aforesaid reason is the subtlety of Mahomet, who knowing himself guilty of his sect, utterly forbade disputations. If you have such full trust of your right, put it to the examination of worthy persons in a general council, to which it belongs by right to define such doubts. Or else commit it to able persons, and give them full power to determine all things concerning that matter; or at least, by both parties forsaking the office, leave the church of God free to speedily provide a new shepherd.

“We find kings have forsaken their temporal kingdoms only for devotion, and have taken the apparel of a monk’s profession. Therefore, let Christ’s vicar (being a professor of most high holiness) be ashamed to continue in his seat of honor to the offense of all people, and to the prejudice and hurt of the Romish church, and to its devotion, and to cutting kingdoms away from it.

“But if you say, it is not requisite that the cause of God’s church be called into controversy, and therefore we cannot so easily get away from it, seeing that our conscience forbids us. Then to this we answer, if it is the cause of God and the church, let the general council judge it. But if it

is a personal cause (as almost all the world probably thinks) if you were the followers of Christ, you would rather choose a temporal death, than to suffer such a schism and division. I do not say this to the hurt of so many, but I speak to the endless destruction of souls, to the offense of the whole world, and to an everlasting shame of the apostolical dignity. Did not Clement, named (or that I may speak more truly) *ordained* by St. Peter to the apostolic dignity, and to be bishop, resign his right, so that his deed might be taken as an example by his successors? Also Pope Siricius (r. 384-399) gave up his popedom to be a comfort to the eleven thousand virgins.<sup>285</sup> Therefore much more should you (if need requires it) give up your popedom, that you might gather together the children of God who are scattered abroad. For just as it is thought to be a glorious thing to defend the common right, even unto bloodshed, so it is sometimes necessary for a man to wink at his own cause, and to forsake it for a greater profit, and by that means to better procure peace. Should he not be thought a devil, and Christ's enemy, who would agree to an election of himself for the apostolical dignity and popedom, if it were to the destruction of Christians, the division of the church, and the offense and loss of all faithful people? If such mischief were made known to all the world by God's revelation, to come to pass by such a person receiving the popedom and apostolical dignity, then by like reasoning, why should a man not be judged an apostate by all men, and a forsaker of his faith, who chooses dignity or worldly honor, rather than the unity of the church? Christ died that he might gather together the children of God, who are scattered abroad. But such is an *enemy* of God and the church, who wishes his subjects to die in battle bodily, and the greater part of the world to perish in soul, rather than forsake his popedom.

“If the fear of God, the desire for the heavenly kingdom, and the earnest love of the unity of the church moves your heart, then show indeed that your works may bear witness to the truth. Clement and Siricius, most holy popes, not only are not reproved, but rather are revered by all men, because they gave up their right for profitable causes; and for the same cause, all the church of holy men show forth their praise. Likewise, your name should live for ever and ever, if you would do the same for a necessary cause, that is to say, for the unity of God's church. Give no heed to the unmeasurable cry of those who say that the right choosing of popes is lost, unless you defend your part manfully. But be afraid, lest those who stir up such mischief, look for their own advantage or honor; that is to say, that under your wing, they might be promoted to riches and honor. In this way Ahithophel was joined with Absalom in persecuting his own father, and falsely usurping his kingdom. <sup>2Sam 15:31f</sup>

“Furthermore, there should be no jeopardy for that election, because both parties stick stiffly to the old fashion of election, and both of them covet the preeminence of the Romish church, counselling all Christians to obey them. And although, through their resignation the fashion of choosing the pope might be changed for a time, that could be borne, rather than to suffer any longer this division in God's church. For that method in choosing is not so necessarily required for the state of a pope, that the successor of the apostle might not come in at the door by another method of election, and that be canonical enough. And we are manifestly taught this by the examples of the fathers; for Peter the apostle appointed Clement after him, and that was not by falsely usurping the power. It was thought that that method of appointing popes was lawful up to the time of Pope Hilary [r. 461-468], who first decreed that no pope should appoint his successor.

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“Afterwards the election of the pope went by the clergy and people of Rome, and the consent of the emperor's council, as appears in the election of the blessed Gregory. But Pope Martin IV

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<sup>285</sup> According to legend, Ursula, a Romano-British virgin and martyr, headed for Rome with her virgin followers and persuaded Pope Siricius, along with Sulpicius, bishop of Ravenna, to join them. After setting out for Cologne, which was being besieged by Huns, all the virgins were beheaded in a massacre.

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[r. 1281-1285], with the consent of the holy synod, granted king Charles I [r. 1266-1285 ] the power to choose the pope. But of late, pope Nicholas II [r. 1059-1061] was the first whom Martin mentions in his councils, as chosen by the cardinals. But most of the bishops of Lombardy withstood this election, and chose Cadulus to be pope, saying that the pope should not be chosen except within the precinct of Italy. Therefore we think it is not a safe way to so earnestly stick to the traditions of men in the method of choosing the pope, and to so often change it, lest we be thought to break God's traditions concerning the unity of the church. Rather, it would be better yet to ordain a new method of his election, and fitter for him as it has been before. But all things concerning the same election might be kept safe, if God's honor were looked to before your own, and the peace of the church were uprightly sought. For such a dishonoring would be most honoring to you; and giving way would be getting a greater dignity. The willing deposing of your honor would obtain for you the entry of everlasting honor; it would procure the love of the whole world toward you; and you would deserve to be exalted continually, just as David was in humbling himself. O how monstrous a sight, and how foul a monster a man's body is, that is disfigured with two heads! So too (if it were possible), the spouse of Christ would be made so monstrous if she were ruled with two such heads. But that is not possible — she is ever altogether fair, in whom no spot is found. <sup>Eph 5:27</sup> Therefore we must cast away that rotten member who thrusts in a second head. We cannot suffer any longer so great a wickedness in God's house, as to suffer God's coat, which is without seam, <sup>Joh 19:23</sup> to be torn by any means, by the hands of two who violently tear it asunder. For if these two were to be suffered to reign together, they would, between them, so tear in pieces that coat of the Lord, that scarcely one piece would hang with another. They surpass the wickedness of the soldiers who crucified Christ. For willing to keep the coat whole, they said, 'Let us not tear it, but let us cast lots for it, whose it will be.' <sup>Joh 19:24</sup> But these two popes not allowing their right and title to be tested by lot or other way (if not in words, yet in deeds), they pronounce this sentence: 'It shall neither be yours nor mine, but let it be divided.' For it appears they choose to be lords (though it is but in a little part, and that is to the confusion of the unity of the church) rather than, in leaving that lording, to seek the peace of the church. We do not affirm this, but only show the judgment of almost the whole world.

"We looked for amendment of this intolerable confusion during the time that these two inventors of this mischief lived. But we looked for peace, and behold trouble. For neither in their lifetimes nor in their deaths, have they procured any comfort, but rather dying, as it were, in a doubt between two ways, they left to their successors a matter of continual contention. But now for seven years, we desired and looked to have them bear good grapes, and they bring forth wild grapes. In this matter we fall into a deep despair. But inasmuch as we hear the comfort of the Lord, who promised that he would destroy those wicked men miserably, and let out his vineyard to other husbandmen who will bring him fruit at their appointed times. And he has promised faithfully that he will help his spouse in her need to the end of the world. We, leaning on the sure hope of this promise, and in hope believing against hope, by God's grace will put our helping hands to ease this misery, when a convenient time serves, as much as our kingly power is able. And although our wit does not perceive how these things may be amended, being encouraged to this by the hope of God's promise, we will do our endeavor. Just as Abraham believed that even if his son were slain by sacrifice, <sup>Heb 11:17-19</sup> that the multitude of his seed would increase to the number of the stars, according to God's promise.

"Now, therefore, the times draw near to make an end of this schism, lest a third election of a schismatic against the apostle's successor, makes a custom of the thing, and so the pope of Avignon will be beside the Romish pope, and he will say with his partakers, as the patriarch of Constantinople said to Christ's vicar when he forsook him, 'The Lord be with you, for the Lord is with us.' (see p. 168) And this is much to be feared by all Christian men: for that Pharisee

now begins to be called the *pope of Avignon* among the people. But perhaps it would be thought by some men, that it does not belong to secular princes to bridle the outrages of the pope. To them we answer that the members naturally put themselves in jeopardy to save the head, and the parts labor to save the whole. Christ so dressed his spouse, that her sides would cling together, and uphold themselves; and by course of time, and occasion of things, they would correct one another, and cling together in harmony. Did not Moses put down Aaron, because he was unfaithful? <sup>Num 12.1f</sup> Solomon put down Abiathar, who came by lineal descent from Anathoth, and removed his priesthood from his kindred to the stock of Eleazar, in the person of Zadok, who had his beginning from Eli the priest? <sup>1Kng 2.27.35</sup> Emperor Otto deposed Pope John XII because he was immoral. The Emperor Henry put down Gratian, because he used simony in buying and selling spiritual livings. And Otto deposed Pope Benedict I, because he thrust himself in.<sup>286</sup> Therefore, by like reasoning, why may not kings and princes bridle the Romish pope in default of the church, if the quality of his fault requires it, or the necessity of the church compels them to help the church oppressed by tyranny? In olden times, schisms (which arose about making the pope) were determined by the power of secular princes, just as the schism between Symmachus and Laurence was ended in a council before Theodric, king of Italy. The Emperor Henry III, when two men strove to be pope, deposed them both, and received the third who was chosen at Rome to be pope — that is to say, Clement II, who crowned Henry with the imperial crown. And the Romans promised Henry that from then on they would promote no one to be pope without his consent. Alexander also overcame four popes — schismatics — ‘all of whom the Emperor Frederick corrected.’

“Thus look at the register of popes and their deeds, and you will find that schisms have most commonly been decided by the power of secular princes, the schismatics being cast out. Sometimes new popes are made, and sometimes the old ones are cast out of their dignities, and restored to their old dignities again. If it were not lawful for secular princes to bridle the outrages of such a pope who is lawfully made, but afterwards becomes a tyrant, then in such a case he might oppress the church. He might change Christendom into heathens, and make the labor of Christ crucified, to be in vain: or else truly, God would not have provided for his spouse in earth to withstand these dangers by all means, and as much as possible by the service of men. Therefore we counsel you, with such a loving affection as becomes children, that you well consider this in your heart, lest in working by this means, through your desire, you prepare a way for antichrist to bear rule. And so by this means, as we fear, one of these two things will happen: either you will cause all the princes of the world to rise against you to bring in a true follower of Christ to have the state of apostolical dignity; or what is worse, by the whole world despising the rule of one shepherd, it will leave the Romish church desolate.

“But God keep this from the world, that the desire for honor by two men would bring such a desolation into the church of God. For then, that falling away, which the apostle prophesied, would come before the coming of antichrist was at hand. <sup>2The 2.3</sup> That would be the last disposition of the world: to receive antichrist with honor. Consider, therefore, the state of your most excellent holiness, how you received the power from God to build the church, and not to destroy it; that Christ has given you wine and oil to heal the wounded; and He has appointed you his vicar in those things which pertain to gentleness, and has given us these things which serve to rigor. For we do not bear the sword without cause; it is to punish evil-doers, which power we have received, as ordained by God, ourselves being witness. We beseech you to receive our counsel effectually, that in doing so, the waters may return to the places from where they came, and so the waters may begin to be made sweet with salt — lest the axe swim on the water, and the wood sink, and lest the fruitful olive degenerate into a wild olive; and

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<sup>286</sup> The ravages of the Lombards rendered it difficult to communicate with the emperor at Constantinople, who claimed the privilege of confirming the election of popes. Hence there was a vacancy of nearly eleven months between the death of Pope John III and the arrival of the imperial confirmation of Benedict's election on 2 June 575.

the leprosy of Naaman clung continually to the house of Gehazi; and lest the pope and the Pharisees crucify Christ again. Christ, the spouse of the church, which customarily brings the chief bishop into the holiest place, increase, or rather restore your holiness, it being lost.”

[261] A.D. 1397-1400.

This epistle of King Richard II, written to Pope Boniface IX in the time of the schism (A.D. 1397), just as it contained much good matter of wholesome counsel to be followed, so how little it worked with the pope the sequel that will afterwards be declared. For the schism continued long after, in which neither of the popes would give up their hold.

### **Deposition and Death of Richard II.**

We come now to the 22d year of King Richard's reign, which is A.D. 1399. In this year was the strange and lamentable deposing of King Richard from his kingly scepter, the cause of which was briefly as follows.

Several acts on the part of the king led to the estrangement of the people, and certain of the nobles appeared in arms against him. As this was going on in England, the report reached the king's ears, who was then in Ireland. He therefore left the business he had in Ireland, and returning, he landed at Milford Haven, not daring, it seems, to come to London.

Henry duke of Hereford having returned from France, and taken up arms against the king, had now landed in the north, and was joined by the earl of Northumberland, lord Henry Percy, and Henry his son, the earl of Westmoreland, lord Radulph Nevil, and other lords, with a great number of men, so that the multitude grew to 60,000 able soldiers. First making toward the castle of Bristol, where the members of the council who sided with the king had shut themselves in. Having gained the castle, they took the chief of them prisoners, namely; John Bushy, Henry Grene, William Scrope and William Bagot. Three of these were immediately beheaded, but Bagot escaped and fled away to Ireland.

The king lying about Wales, destitute and desolate, without comfort or counsel, neither dared come to London, nor would any man come to him. Perceiving that the commons had a great force against him, and would rather die than cease what they had begun, and being compassed on every side with miseries, Richard moved from place to place, the duke still following him. At length, at the castle of Conway, the king desired to talk with Thomas Arundel archbishop, and the earl of Northumberland. He declared to them that he would resign his crown, on condition that an honorable living might be provided for him, and that life be promised to eight persons, whom he would name. This being granted and ratified, but not performed, he came to the castle of Flint. From there he was brought the same night by the duke of Lancaster and his army to Chester, and from there conveyed secretly to the Tower, there to be kept till the next parliament. As he came near to London, several evilly disposed men of the city gathered themselves, thinking to slay him, for the great cruelty he had used toward the city. But the madness of the people was checked by the mayor and rulers of the city. The duke followed not long after, and the parliament assembled. In this parliament, the earl of Northumberland, with many other earls and lords, was sent to the king in the Tower, to receive his full resignation, according to his promise. This done, certain accusations and articles were laid against the king. And the next year, after he was removed to Pomfret castle, he starved to death there.

### ***King Henry IV – 1399.***

And thus King Richard being deposed from his rightful crown, the duke of Lancaster <sup>287</sup> was led to the royal seat by Thomas Arundel the archbishop. Standing there, and crossing himself on the forehead and the breast, Henry spoke as follows:

“In the name of God, Amen. I, Henry of Lancaster, claim the realm of England and the Crown, with all the appurtenances, as descended by right line of the blood, coming from that good Lord King Henry III. And through the right that God of his grace has sent to me, with the help of my kin and of my friends to recover the same, which was in danger of ruin by default of good government, and due justice,” etc.

After these words, the archbishop, asking the assent of the people, took the duke by the hand, and placed him on the throne. Shortly after, he was crowned king of England by the archbishop.

### **The History of Sir William Sautre.**

The next year, a parliament was held at Westminster; in which one Sir William Sautre, a good man and a faithful priest, inflamed with zeal for true religion, requested that he might be heard for the advantage of the whole realm. But the matter being suspected by the bishops, they succeeded in having the matter referred to the convocation. There William Sautre, being brought before the bishops and notaries, the convocation was deferred to the Saturday next ensuing.

When Saturday had come, that is to say, the 12th of February A.D. 1400, Thomas Arundel archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of his provincial council being assembled in the chapter-house, made objections against Sir William Sautre, personally then and there appearing by the command of the archbishop. It was said that Sir William had once renounced and abjured before the bishop of Norwich, diverse and sundry conclusions that were heretical and erroneous; and that after such abjuration, he publicly and privately held, taught, and preached the same conclusions, or similar ones, contrary to the catholic faith, and to the great peril and pernicious example of others. After this, the archbishop caused such conclusions, held and preached by Sir William, to be read to him then and there, in a certain scroll written in the tenor of the words that follow:

“Sir William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, parish priest of the church St. Seithe the Virgin in London, publicly and privately holds these conclusions under written.

1. That he will not worship the cross on which Christ suffered, but only Christ who suffered on the cross.
2. That he would sooner worship a temporal king than the wooden cross.
3. That he would rather worship the bodies of the saints, than the very cross of Christ on which he hung, if it were before him.
4. That he would rather worship a man truly contrite than the cross of Christ.
5. That he is bound to worship a man who is predestinate rather than an angel of God.
6. That if any man would visit the monuments of Peter and Paul, or go on a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas à Becket, or anywhere else, for obtaining of any temporal benefit, he is not

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<sup>287</sup> This is Henry IV, also known as Henry Bolingbroke. He was the first king from the House of Lancaster, born at Bolingbroke Castle in Lincolnshire, c. 1367. Henry was the son of John of Gaunt (p. 225).



bound to keep his vow, but he may distribute the expenses of his vow upon the alms of the poor.

7. That every priest and deacon is more bound to preach the word of God than to say the canonical hours. <sup>288</sup>

8. That after pronouncing the sacramental words of the body of Christ, the bread remains of the same nature that it was before, nor does it cease to be bread.”

The archbishop of Canterbury required Sir William to answer to these conclusions, or articles. Sir William then asked for a copy, and requested a competent time to answer. The archbishop appointed the following Thursday. When the day had come, the convocation was adjourned until the morrow. And when the morrow came, Sir William Sautre, in the chapter-house, before the bishop and his provincial council, exhibited a certain scroll, containing the answers to the articles or conclusions given to him, and said that he delivered it to the archbishop as his answer in that behalf. That answer was as follows:

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“I, William Sautre, unworthy priest, say and answer that I will not, and intend not to worship the cross on which Christ was crucified, but only Christ who suffered upon the cross. So understand me, that I will not worship the material cross, or the gross corporeal matter: yet notwithstanding I will worship it as a sign, token, and memorial of the passion of Christ. And that I will rather worship a temporal king, than the wooden cross, and the material substance. And that I will rather worship the bodies of saints than the very cross of Christ on which he hung, with this addition: even if the very same cross were before me, regarding the material substance of it. And also that I will rather worship a man truly confessed and penitent, than the cross on which Christ hung, as touching the material substance.

“And that also I am bound, and will rather worship him whom I know to be predestinate, truly confessed and contrite, than an angel of God; for the one is a man of the same nature as the humanity of Christ, and so he is not a blessed angel. Notwithstanding, I will worship both of them, according to the will of God, as I should.

“Also, that if any man has made a vow to visit the shrines of the apostles Peter and Paul, or to go on pilgrimage to St. Thomas’s tomb, or anywhere else, to obtain any temporal benefit or advantage, he is not bound simply to keep his vow upon the necessity of salvation; but he may give the expenses of his vow in alms among the poor, by the prudent counsel of his superior, as I suppose.

“And also I say, that every deacon and priest is more bound to preach the word of God, than to say the canonical hours, according to the primitive order of the church.

“Also, regarding the sacrament of the altar, I say that after the pronouncing of the sacramental words of the body of Christ, the bread does not cease to be very bread simply, but it remains bread, holy, true, and the bread of life; and I believe the said sacrament to be the very body of Christ, after the pronouncing of the sacramental words.”

When all these answers were publicly read, the archbishop inquired of Sir William whether he had abjured the heresies and errors objected against him, or else had revoked and renounced the conclusions or articles, or not? To which he answered and affirmed that he had not. And then the archbishop examined Sir William Sautre, especially upon the sacrament of the altar.

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<sup>288</sup> *Canonical hours*: appointed times for prayer throughout the day, set by Benedict’s Rule (c. 480-c. 547).

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First, whether in the sacrament of the altar, after the pronouncing of the sacramental words, there remains very material bread or not? To this interrogatory Sir William somewhat waveringly answered, that he did not know. He said, however, that there was very bread, because it was the bread of life which came down from heaven.

After that, the archbishop demanded of him whether in the sacrament after the sacramental words rightly pronounced by the priests, the same bread remains which did before the words were pronounced, or not.' And to this question William answered as before, saying, that there was bread, holy, true, and the bread of life.

After that, the archbishop asked him whether the same material bread before consecration, by the sacramental words of the priest rightly pronounced, is transubstantiated from the nature of bread into the very body of Christ? Sir William said, that he did not know what that meant.

And then the archbishop assigned Sir William till the next day to deliberate, and to more fully make his answer. And he then and there adjourned the convocation till the morrow, which was the 19th of February. It having come, the archbishop of Canterbury, before his provincial council then and there assembled, specially examined Sir William Sautre on the sacrament of the altar, as before; and Sir William again answered as before.

Then the archbishop demanded, whether he would stand to the determination of the holy church or not, which affirms that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration being rightly pronounced of the priest, the same bread, which in nature was bread before, ceases any more to be bread? To this interrogation Sir William said that he would stand to the determination of the church, where such determination was not contrary to the will of God.

The archbishop then demanded of him again, what his judgment was concerning the sacrament of the altar? He said and affirmed that after the words of consecration were duly pronounced by the priest, it remained very bread, and the same bread which it was before the words were spoken. Therefore the archbishop of Canterbury, by the counsel and assent of the whole convocation then and there present, sentenced Sir William Sautre — being personally present, and refusing to revoke his heresies, that is to say, his true doctrine, but rather constantly defending it — in the tenor of the following words:

“In the name of God, Amen. We, Thomas, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, and legate of the apostolic see, by the authority of God Almighty, and blessed St. Peter and Paul, and of holy church, and by our own authority, sitting for tribunal as chief judge, having God alone before our eyes, by the counsel and consent of the whole clergy, our fellow brethren and suffragans, assistants to us in this present provincial council, by this definitive sentence of ours, do pronounce, decree, and declare by these presents, that you, William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, parish priest pretended, personally appearing before us, in and upon the crime of heresy, are judicially and lawfully convicted as a heretic, and as a heretic to be punished.”

The bishop of Norwich, according to the commandment of the said archbishop of Canterbury, presented to William Sautre a certain process, enclosed and sealed with his seal, giving the names of credible witnesses sealed with their seals, the tenor of which is as follows:

“That upon the last day of April, A.D. 1399, Sir William Sautre, parish priest of the church of St. Margaret in the town of Lynn, appeared before the bishop of Norwich, and there publicly affirmed and held the conclusions before specified.



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“And afterwards, to wit, the 19th day of May, Sir William revoked and renounced all his conclusions, abjuring and correcting all such heresies and errors, taking his oath upon a book before the bishop of Norwich, that from that time forward he would never preach, affirm, nor hold, privily nor openly, these conclusions; and that he would pronounce, according to the appointment of the bishop, the aforesaid conclusions to be erroneous and heresies, in the parish churches of Lynn and Tilney, and in other places at the assignment of the said bishop.”

This being done, the archbishop of Canterbury, in the convocation of his prelates and clergy, and such like men, caused the process of the bishop of Norwich to be read openly and publicly to Sir William Sautre. And after that, he demanded and objected against Sir William, that after he had revoked and abjured diverse errors and heresies before the said bishop of Norwich, he affirmed that in the same sacrament of the altar, after the consecration made by the priest, as he taught, there remained material bread. This heresy, among other errors, he also abjured before the foresaid bishop of Norwich. To which William answered smiling, or in a mocking way. He said and denied that he knew of these premises. Then, finally, it was demanded of Sir William, why he should not be pronounced as a man fallen into heresy, and why they should not further proceed to this degradation according to the canonical sanctions. Sir William answered nothing to this, nor would he allege any cause to the contrary.

Whereupon the archbishop of Canterbury, by the counsel and assent of the whole council, and especially by the counsel and assent of the reverend fathers and bishops, and also priors, deans, archdeacons and other worshipful doctors and clerics who were then and there present in the council, fully determined to proceed to the degradation and actual deposing of William Sautre, as relapsed into heresy, and as incorrigible, according to the sentence in writing, as follows.

[263] A.D. 1400.

“In the name of God, Amen. We Thomas, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, legate of the see; apostolical, and metropolitan of all England, do find and I declare, that you William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, priest, by us with the counsel and assent as all and singular our fellow brethren and whole clergy, by this our definitive sentence declared in writing, have been convicted and condemned for heresy, and are (having again fallen into heresy) to be deposed and degraded by these presents.”

On the 26th of February, the archbishop of Canterbury sat in the bishop’s seat of the foresaid church of St. Paul in London, and solemnly apparelled in his pontifical attire, with six other bishops, commanded and caused Sir William Sautre, apparelled in priestly vestments, to be brought before him. That done, he declared and expounded in English to all the clergy and people assembled there in great multitude; that all process was finished against Sir William Sautre. This being finished, he recited and read the above-mentioned sentence of relapse against Sir William. And as he saw that William was not all abashed, he proceeded to his degradation and actual deposition in the following form.

“In the name of the Father, and the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. We Thomas by God’s permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, denounce you William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, a pretended chaplain, in the habit and apparel of a priest, as a heretic, and re-fallen into heresy, by this our sentence, by counsel, assent, and authority to be condemned: and by conclusion of all our fellow brethren, fellow bishops, prelates, council provincial, and of the whole clergy, do degrade and deprive you of your priestly order. And in sign of degradation and actual deposition from your priestly dignity, for your incorrigibility and lack of amendment, we take from you the paten and

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chalice,<sup>289</sup> and deprive you of all power and authority to celebrate the mass, and we also pull from your back the casule (cassock or robe), and take from you the vestment, and deprive you of all manner of priestly honor.

“Also, we Thomas archbishop by authority, counsel, and assent, which upon the foresaid William we have, being a pretended deacon, in the habit and apparel of a deacon, having the New Testament in your hands, being a heretic, and twice fallen, condemned by sentence as is aforesaid, do degrade and put you from the order of a deacon. And in token of your degradation and actual deposition, we take from you the book of the New Testament, and the stole, and do deprive you of all authority in reading of the gospel, and of all and all manner of dignity of a deacon.

“Also, we Thomas archbishop, by authority, counsel, and assent, which over you the foresaid William we have, being a pretended sub-deacon, in the habit and vestment of a sub-deacon, a heretic, and twice fallen condemned by sentence, as is aforesaid, do degrade and put you from the order of a sub-deacon; and in token of this, your degradation and actual deposition, we take from you the surplice and maniple,<sup>290</sup> and do deprive you of all manner of sub-deaconical dignity.

“Also we Thomas archbishop aforesaid, by counsel assent, and authority which we have over you, the foresaid William, a pretended acolyte, wearing the habit of an acolyte, and heretic, twice fallen, by our sentence condemned, do degrade and put from you all order of an acolyte; and in sign and token of this your degradation, and actual deposition, we take from you the candlestick and taper, and also urceolum (pitcher), and do deprive you of all and all manner of dignity of an acolyte.

“Also we Thomas archbishop, by assent, counsel, and authority, which upon you the aforesaid William we have, a pretended exorcist, in the habit of an exorcist or holy water clerk, being a heretic, twice fallen, and by our sentence as is aforesaid, condemned, do degrade and depose you from the order of an exorcist; and in token of this your degradation and actual deposition, we take from you the Book of Conjurations, and do deprive you of all and singular dignity of an exorcist.

“Also, we Thomas archbishop, by assent, counsel, and authority, as is abovesaid, do degrade and depose you the aforesaid William, a pretended reader, clothed in the habit of a reader, a heretic, twice fallen, and by our sentence as is aforesaid, condemned from the order of a reader; and in token of this your degradation and actual deposition, we take from you the book of the divine lections (portions of sacred text read aloud during mass) and do deprive you of all and singular manner of dignity of such a reader.

“Also, we Thomas archbishop of Canterbury aforesaid, by authority, counsel and assent, the which we have, as is aforesaid, do degrade and put you the foresaid William Sautre, a pretended sexton,<sup>291</sup> in the habit of a sexton, and wearing a surplice, being a heretic twice fallen, by our sentence definitive condemned, as aforesaid from the order of a sexton; and in token of this your degradation and actual deposition, for the causes aforesaid, we take from you the keys of the church-door, and your surplice, and do deprive you of all and singular manner of commodities of a door-keeper.

“And also, by the authority of omnipotent God the Father, the Son, and Holy Spirit, and by the authority, counsel, and assent, of our whole council provincial above written, we do degrade

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<sup>289</sup> *Paten and chalice*: the small plate used to hold the bread during the Eucharist, and the cup that holds the wine.

<sup>290</sup> *Surplice*: A loose-fitting white ecclesiastical vestment with wide sleeves; the *maniple* is a liturgical vestment worn on the left arm.

<sup>291</sup> *Sexton*: An officer of the church who is in charge of sacred objects, church buildings and properties.

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you, and depose you, being here personally present before us, from orders, benefices, privileges and habit in the church; and for your incorrigible pertinency we do degrade you before the secular court of the high constable and marshal of England, being personally present; and do depose you from all and singular clerky honors and dignities whatever, by these writings. Also, in token of your degradation and deposition, here actually we have caused your crown and ecclesiastical tonsure in our presence to be erased away, and utterly to be abolished, like the form of a secular layman; and here we put upon your head the aforesaid William, the cap of a lay secular person; beseeching the court aforesaid, that they will receive favorably the said William to them, thus recommitted.”

Thus William Sautre the servant of Christ being utterly thrust out of the pope’s kingdom, and metamorphosed from a clerk to a secular layman, was committed to the secular power. Which so done, the bishops, not yet content, did not cease to call upon the king to cause him to be brought to speedy execution. Whereupon the king, too ready to gratify the clergy, and to retain their favors, directed a terrible decree against William Sautre, and sent it to the major and sheriffs of London to be put into execution; as follows:

*The Decree of the King against William Sautre.*

“The decree of our sovereign lord the king and his council in the parliament, against a certain newly sprung up heretic. To the major and sheriffs of London, etc. Whereas the reverend father Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, by the assent, consent, and counsel of other bishops, and his brethren suffragans, and also of the whole clergy within his province or diocese, gathered together in his provincial council, the due order of the law being observed in all points in this behalf, has pronounced and declared, by his definitive sentence, William Sautre sometime chaplain fallen again into his most damnable heresy, which beforehand the said William had abjured, thereupon to be a most manifest heretic, and therefore has decreed that he should be degraded, and has for the same cause really degraded him from all prerogative and privilege of the clergy, decreeing to leave him to the secular power; and has really so left him, according to the laws and canonical sanctions set forth in this behalf, and also that our holy mother the church has nothing further to do in the premises.

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“We therefore being zealous in religion, and reverend lovers of the catholic faith, willing and minding to maintain and defend the holy church, and the laws and the liberties of the same, to root out all such errors and heresies out of our kingdom of England, and with deserved punishment to correct and punish all heretics or such as be convicted; provided always that both according to the law of God and man, and the canonical institutions in this behalf accustomed, such heretics convicted and condemned in form aforesaid ought to be burned with fire: we command you, as straitly as we may, or can, firmly enjoining you that you cause the said William, being in your custody, in some public or open place within the liberties of your city aforesaid (the cause aforesaid being published to the people) to be put into the fire, and there in the same fire really to be burned, to the great horror of his offense, and the manifest example of other Christians. Fail not in the execution of this, upon the peril that will fail thereupon.”

Thus it may appear how kings and princes have been blinded and abused by the false prelates of the church, insomuch that they have been their slaves and butchers, to slay Christ’s poor innocent members. See therefore what danger it is for princes not to have knowledge and understanding themselves, but to be led by other men’s eyes, and specially trusting to such guides who deceive them through hypocrisy, and devour the people through cruelty.

As King Henry IV, who was the deposer of King Richard, was the first of all English kings who began the unmerciful burning of Christ's saints for standing against the pope, so this William Sautre, the true and faithful martyr of Christ, was the first of all of those in Wycliffe's time, who I find to be burned in the reign of this king, which was A.D. 1400.

After the martyrdom of this godly man, the rest of the same company began to conceal themselves for fear of the king, who was altogether bent to side with the pope's prelacy. Such was the reign of this prince, that he was ever terrible to the godly, immeasurable in his actions, and really beloved by very few men; but princes never lack flatterers about them. Nor was the time of his reign quiet, but full of trouble, blood, and misery. Such was their desire for King Richard again, in the reign of this king, that many years after Richard was rumored to be alive (by those who desired to be true, that which they knew to be false) for which several were executed. For six or seven years, scarcely a year passed without some conspiracy against the king. Many of the nobles joined in these rebellions, and many of them were beheaded or otherwise slain; but still the rebellions continued.

### **Articles against King Henry – 1401.**

This civil rebellion of so many nobles and others, against the king, declared what hostile feelings the people then bore towards King Henry. Among them I cannot omit here the archbishop of York named Richard Scrope, who with the Lord Mowbray, marshal of England, gathered a great company in the north country against the king. To them was also joined the forces of Lord Bardolf, and Henry Percy earl of Northumberland. And to stir up the people more willingly to take their parts, they collected ten articles against the king, and fastened them on the doors of the churches and monasteries, to be read by all men in English. These articles, as they contain a great part of the doings between King Henry and King Richard, I thought to insert them here to better open the matter, in such a form as I found them.

#### *Articles set upon the Church Doors against King Henry IV.*

“In the name of God, Amen, Before the Lord Jesus Christ, judge of the quick and dead, etc. We A\_\_\_ B\_\_\_ C\_\_\_ D\_\_\_ etc., not long since became bound by oath upon the sacred evangelical book, to our sovereign lord Richard, late king of England and France, in the presence of many prelates, potentates, and nobility of the realm; that we, so long as we lived, should bear true allegiance and fidelity toward him and his heirs succeeding him in the kingdom by just title, right, and line, according to the statutes and custom of this realm of England. By virtue of which we are bound to see that no vices or heinous offenses arising in the commonwealth take effect, and we ought to give ourselves and our goods to withstand the same, without fear of the sword or death, upon pain of perjury, which pain is everlasting damnation. Therefore, seeing and perceiving diverse horrible crimes, and great enormities daily without ceasing, committed by the children of the Devil and Satan's soldiers against the supremacy of the church of Rome, the liberty of the church of England, and the laws of the realm, against the person of King Richard and his heirs, against the prelates, noblemen, religion, and commonalty, and finally against the whole public weal of the realm of England, to the great offense of the majesty of Almighty God, and to the provocation of his just wrath and vengeance toward the realm and people — fearing also the destruction both of the church of Rome and England, and the ruin of our country to be at hand, having before our eyes the justice and the kingdom of God, calling always on the name of Jesus, having an assured confidence in his clemency, mercy and power — we have here taken certain articles, subscribed in the following form to be propounded, tried, and heard before the just judge, Jesus Christ, and the whole world, to his honor, the delivery of the church, the clergy, and commonalty, and to the utility and profit of the public weal. But if (which God forbid) by force,

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fear, or violence of wicked persons, we are cast in prison, or prevented by violent death, so that in this world we will not be able to prove the articles as we would wish, then we appeal to the high celestial judge, that he may judge and discern the same, in the day of His supreme judgment.

“I. We depose, say, except, and intend to prove against the Lord Henry Darby, son of the Lord John of Gaunt, late duke of Lancaster, and commonly called king of England (himself pretending the same, although without all right and title to it) and against his adherents, favors, and accomplices; that they ever have been, are, and will be traitors, invaders, and destroyers of God’s church in Rome, England, Wales, and Ireland, and of our sovereign lord Richard late king of England, his heirs, his kingdom and commonwealth, as will hereafter manifestly appear.

“II. We depose, etc. against the said Lord Henry, for he had conceived, devised, and conspired certain heinous crimes and traitorous offenses against his sovereign lord Richard’s state and dignity, as manifestly appeared in the contention between the said Lord Henry, and the Lord Thomas duke of Norfolk begun at Coventry, but not finished thoroughly. Afterwards he was sent into exile by sentence of King Richard, by the agreement of his father the Lord John duke of Lancaster, by the voice of many of the lords temporal, and nobility of the realm, and also by his own consent — there to remain for a certain time appointed to him by the said lords, and with this he was bound by oath not to return into England before he had obtained favor and grace from the king. Not long after, when the king had departed into Ireland for reformation of that country pertaining to the crown of England, but then rebelling against it, the said Lord Henry in the meantime, contrary to his oath and fidelity, and long before the time limited to him was expired, with all his favorers and invaders secretly entered into the realm, swearing and protesting before the face of the people, that his coming into the realm in the absence of the king was for no other cause than that he might, in humble sort with the love and favor of the king, and all the lords spiritual and temporal, have and enjoy his lawful inheritance descending to him by right after the death of his father. This thing, as it pleased all men, so they cried, ‘Blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord.’ But how this blessing afterwards turned into cursing, will appear in that which followed. And also you will understand his horrible and wicked conspiracy against his sovereign lord King Richard, and diverse other lords, spiritual as well as temporal, besides which his manifest perjury will be well known, and that he remains not only foresworn and perjured, but also excommunicate, for he conspired against his sovereign lord our king. Therefore we pronounce him by these presents perjured as well as excommunicate.

[265] A.D. 1401.

“III. We depose, etc. against the Lord Henry, that he immediately after his entry into England, by crafty and subtle policy caused to be proclaimed openly throughout the realm, that no tenths of the clergy, fifteenths of the people, sealing up of cloth, diminution of wool, impost of wine, nor other extortions or exactions whatever, should hereafter be required or exacted — hoping by this means to purchase for himself the voice and favor of the prelates spiritual, the lords temporal, the merchants, and commonalty of the whole realm. After this, he took by force the king’s castles and fortresses, spoiled and devoured his goods wherever he found them, crying, Havoc! Havoc! The king’s majesty’s subjects, spiritual as well as temporal, he spoiled and robbed; some he took captive and ‘imprisoned, and some he slew and put to miserable death, of which many were bishops, prelates, priests, and religious men. Whereby it is manifest that the said Lord Henry is not only perjured, in promising and swearing that hereafter there would be no more exactions, payments, or extortions within the realm, but also excommunicate for the violence and injury done to prelates and priests. Therefore by these presents we pronounce him, as before, perjured as well as excommunicate.

“IV. We depose, etc. against the said Lord Henry, That hearing of the king’s return from Ireland into Wales; he rose up against his sovereign lord the king with many thousands of armed men, marching forward with all his power towards the castle of Flint in Wales, where he took the king and held him prisoner, and so led him captive as a traitor to Leicester. From there he took this journey towards London, misusing the king by the way, both he and his, with many injuries and opprobrious insults and scoffs. And in the end, he committed him to the Tower of London, and held a parliament, the king being absent and in prison. There, for fear of death, he compelled the king to yield and resign to him all his right and title of the kingdom and crown of England. After this resignation was made, the said Lord Henry standing up in the parliament house, stoutly and proudly before them all, said and affirmed, that the kingdom of England and crown of the same, with all belonging to it, pertained to him at that present time, as of very right, and to no other; for the said King Richard by his own deed was deprived forever of all the right, title, and interest that he ever had, has, or may have in the same. And thus at length, by right and wrong, he exalted himself to the throne of the kingdom. Since that time, our commonwealth never flourished nor prospered, but has been altogether void of virtue. For the spirituality is oppressed, exercise and war-like practices have not been maintained, charity has grown cold, and covetousness and misery have taken place; and finally, mercy is taken away and vengeance takes its place. Whereby it appears (as said before), that lord Henry is not only perjured and false by usurping the kingdom and dominion belonging to another, but also excommunicate for apprehending, unjustly imprisoning, and depriving his sovereign lord the king of his royal crown and dignity. Therefore, as in the articles before, we pronounce the said Lord Henry to be excommunicate.

“V. We depose, etc. against the said Lord Henry, that he, with the rest of his favorers and accomplices, heaping mischief upon mischief, have committed and brought to pass a most wicked and mischievous fact, yes, such as has not been heard of at any time before. For after they had taken and imprisoned the king, and deposed him by open injury, against all human nature; yet, not content with this, they brought him to Pomfret castle, and there imprisoned him, where fifteen days and nights they vexed him with continual hunger, thirst, and cold, and finally bereft him of life with a kind of death that has never before that time been known in England, but by God’s Providence, it has come to light. Who ever heard of such a deed, or who ever saw the like of him? Therefore, O England! arise, stand up, avenge the cause, the death and injury of your king and prince — which if you do not, then take this for certain, that the righteous God will destroy you by strange invasions and foreign power, and avenge Himself on you for so horrible an act. Whereby not only his perjury appears, but also his most execrable excommunication; so that, as before, we pronounce the said Henry not only perjured, but also excommunicate.

“VI. We depose, etc. against the said Lord Henry, that after he had attained to the crown and scepter of the kingdom, he caused immediately to be apprehended diverse lords spiritual, bishops, abbots, priors, and religious men of all orders, whom he arrested, imprisoned, and bound, and against all order he brought them before the secular judges to be examined; nor sparing the bishops whose bodies were anointed with sacred oil, nor priests nor religious men, but he commanded them to be condemned, hanged, and beheaded by the temporal law and judgment, notwithstanding the privilege of the church and holy orders, which he ought to have revered and worshipped if he had been a true and lawful king. For the first and chief oath in the coronation of a lawful king is to defend and keep inviolate the liberties and rights of the church, and not to deliver any priest or religious man into the hands of the secular power, except for heresy, and that is after his degradation, according to the order of the church. He has done contrary to all this; so that it is manifest by this article as before in the rest, that he is both perjured and excommunicate.

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“VII. We depose, etc. against the said Lord Henry, that he not only caused to be put to death the lords spiritual and other religious men, but also diverse of the lords temporal and nobility of the realm, and chiefly those who studied for the preservation of the commonwealth, not ceasing as yet to continue his mischievous enterprise, if by God’s Providence it is not prevented, and that be done with speed: among all other of the nobility, he put these to death first: the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Huntington, the earl of Gloucester, the Lord Roger Clarendon the king’s brother, with several other knights and esquires, and afterwards, the Lord Thomas Percy earl of Worcester, and the Lord Henry Percy son and heir to the earl of Northumberland. This Lord Henry he not only slew, but to the utmost of his power again and again he endeavored to have him slain. For after he was once put to death, and delivered to the lord of Furnile to be buried (who committed his body to holy sepulture, with as much honor as might be, commending his soul to Almighty God with the suffrages of blessed mass and other prayers) the said Lord Henry, most like a cruel beast still thirsting for his blood, caused his body to be exhumed and brought out again, and placed between two millstones in the town of Shrewsbury, there to be kept with armed men; and afterwards to be beheaded and quartered, commanding that his head and quarters be carried into diverse cities of the kingdom. Therefore, for so detestable an act never heard of in any age before, we pronounce him, as in the former articles, excommunicate.

“VIII. We depose, etc. against the said Lord Henry, that after his attaining to the crown he willingly ratified, allowed, and approved a most wicked statute set forth and renewed in the parliament held at Winchester. That statute is directly against the church of Rome, and the power, and principality of it given by our Lord Jesus Christ to blessed St. Peter and his successors, bishops of Rome. To them it belongs by full authority, the free disposing of all spiritual promotions superior as well as inferior. This wicked statute is the cause of many mischiefs, viz. of simony, perjury, adultery, disorder, and disobedience; for many bishops, abbots, priors, and prelates (we will not say by virtue, but rather by error of this statute) have bestowed the benefices vacant upon young men, rude and unworthy persons, who have bargained with them for those benefices, so that scarcely one prelate is found who has not covenanted with the party promoted for the half yearly, or at the least, the third part of the said benefice so bestowed. And by this means the said statute is the destruction of the right of St. Peter, the church of Rome and England, the clergy and universities, the whole commonwealth, and maintenance of wars, etc.

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“IX. We say and depose, etc. against the said Lord Henry, that after he had tyrannously taken upon himself the government of the realm, England never flourished since, nor prospered, by reason of his continual exactions of money and yearly oppressions of the clergy and commonalty. Nor is it known how this money so extorted is bestowed, when neither his soldiers, nor his gentlemen are paid as yet their wages and fees for their charges, and wonderful toil and labor, nor yet are the poor country people satisfied for the victuals taken from them. And nevertheless, the miserable clergy and more miserable commonalty, are still forced to pay by menaces and sharp threatenings. Notwithstanding that he swore, when he first usurped the crown, that hereafter there would be no such exactions or vexations, neither of the clergy nor of the laity. Therefore, as before, we pronounce him perjured, etc.

“X. In the tenth and last article we depose, say, and openly protest by these presents, for ourselves, and all our assistants in the cause of the church of Rome and England, and in the cause of King Richard, his heirs, the clergy and commonalty of the whole realm — that our intention neither is, was, nor shall be, in word or deed to offend any state either of the prelates spiritual, lords temporal, or commons of the realm; but rather, foreseeing the perdition and destruction of this realm approaching, we have here brought before you certain articles

concerning the destruction of the same, to be circumspectly considered by the whole assembly, of the lords spiritual as well as temporal, and the faithful commons of England. We beseech you all in the bowels of Jesus Christ the righteous judge, and for the merits of our blessed lady the mother of God, and of St. George our defender, under whose displayed banner we wish to live and die, and under pain of damnation, that you will be favorable to us, and to our causes which are three in number. Of which the *first* is that we exalt to the kingdom, the true and lawful heir, and crown him in the kingly throne with the diadem of England. And *secondly*, that we recall the Welshmen, the Irishmen, and all other enemies of ours to perpetual peace and amity. *Thirdly*, and finally, that we deliver and make free our native country from all exactions, extortions, and unjust payment; beseeching our Lord Jesus Christ to grant his blessing, the remission of their sins, and life everlasting to all who assist us to their power in this godly and meritorious work. And to all those who are against us, we threaten the curse of Almighty God, by the authority committed to us by Christ and his holy church, and by these presents we pronounce them excommunicate.”

### **Archbishop of York Executed.**

These articles being seen and read, a great concourse of people daily resorted more and more to the archbishop. The earl of Westmoreland, hearing of this, mustered his soldiers with all the force he was able to make, and went against the archbishop. But seeing his party too weak to encounter with him, he used policy, and under color of friendship, he labored to seek out the causes of that great stir. The archbishop showed him the articles which, when the earl had read them, he seemed to highly commend the purpose and doings of the bishop; promising that he would help in that quarrel to the utmost of his power. The archbishop, easily persuaded, was content — although much against the counsel of the earl marshal, and came to hold further conference. The articles being opened, published, and read, the earl of Westmoreland pretended to like them, and exhorted the archbishop that he would discharge the needless multitude of his soldiers, and dismiss them home to their works and business, and they would together drink and join hands in the sight of the whole company. Thus shaking hands together, the archbishop sent away his soldiers in peace, not knowing he was to be circumvented, until he was arrested by the hands of the earl of Westmoreland. Shortly after, the king coming with his army to York, he was there beheaded; and with him also Lord Thomas Mowbray, marshal, with diverse others. After their slaughter, the king proceeded further to pursue the earl of Northumberland, and Lord Thomas Bardolph. At length, within two years after, fighting against the king, they were slain in the field (A.D. 1408).

The king, after the shedding of so much blood, seeing himself so disliked by his subjects, thought to keep with the clergy, and with the bishop of Rome. And therefore he was compelled in all things to serve their humor, as it appeared in condemning William Sautre, as well as others whom we will now consider.

Among these is John Badby, who by the cruelty of Thomas Arundel, archbishop, and other prelates, was brought to his condemnation in this king's reign (A.D. 1409), as appears by their own registers.

### **The Martyrdom of John Badby, Artificer.**

In A.D. 1409, March 1st, the following examination of John Badby, a layman, was made upon the crime of heresy, before Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and the archbishop of York, bishops of London, of Winchester, of Oxford, of Norwich, of Salisbury, of Bath, of Bangor, and a great number of other lords, both spiritual and temporal. Master Morgan read the articles of his opinions to the hearers, as follows:



“In the name of God, Amen. Be it manifest to all men by this present public instrument, that in the year after the incarnation of our Lord, according to the course and computation of the church of England, in the year 1409, John Badby, a layman, of the diocese of Worcester, appearing personally before the reverend father in Christ and Lord, Lord Thomas, by the grace of God bishop of Worcester, was detected of heresy, having heretically taught, and openly maintained, that the sacrament of the body of Christ, consecrated by the priest upon the altar, is not the true body of Christ by virtue of the words of the sacrament. But that after the sacramental words spoken by the priests to make the body of Christ, the material bread remains upon the altar as in the beginning, nor is it turned into the very body of Christ after the sacramental words spoken by the priests. This John Badby being examined, and diligently demanded by the reverend father, answered that it was impossible that any priest should make the body of Christ, and that he believed firmly that no priest could make the body of Christ by such words sacramentally spoken in such a way. And he also said expressly that he would never while he lived believe that any priest could make the body of Christ sacramentally, unless first he manifestly saw the like body of Christ to be handled in the hands of the priest upon the altar, in his corporal form. And furthermore, he said that John Raker of Bristol had as much power and authority to make the like body of Christ, as any priest had. Moreover, he said that when Christ sat at supper with his disciples, he did not have his body in his hand, with the intent to distribute it to his disciples; and he said expressly that he did not do this. He also spoke many other words teaching and defending the heresy, both grievous, and also out of order, and horrible to the ears of the hearers, sounding against the catholic faith.

“Upon this occasion the reverend father admonished and requested John Badby, often and very instantly to charity; that he should willingly have forsaken such heresy and opinion held, taught, and maintained by him against the sacrament, to renounce, and utterly abjure them, and to believe other things which the holy mother church believes. And he informed the said John in that behalf, both gently, and yet laudably. And yet the said John Badby, even though he was admonished and requested often and instantly by the said reverend father, said and answered expressly, that he would never believe otherwise than he had said, taught, and answered before. Whereupon, the aforesaid reverend father, bishop of Worcester, seeing, understanding, and perceiving John Badby to maintain and fortify the heresy, being stubborn, and proceeding in the same stubbornness, pronounced him to be up to this time convicted of such a heresy, and that he has been and is a heretic, and in the end declared it in these words:

[267] A.D. 1409.

“In the name of God, Amen. We, Thomas, bishop of Worcester, do accuse you, John Badby, being a layman, of our diocese, of and upon the crime of heresy, being oftentimes confessed and convicted before us sitting for chief judge, that you have taught, and openly affirmed, as up to now you do teach, boldly affirm, and defend that the sacrament of the body of Christ, consecrated upon the altar by the priest, is not the true body ‘of Christ; but in the sacramental words, to make the body of Christ, by virtue of pronouncing the said sacramental words, to have been in the crime of heresy: and we do pronounce you both to have been and to be a heretic, and do declare it finally by these writings.”

When these things were thus finished, and all the conclusions were read in the vulgar tongue, the archbishop demanded of him, whether he would renounce and forsake his opinions and such conclusions or not, and adhere to the doctrine of Christ and the catholic faith? He answered that according to what he had said before, he would adhere and stand to those words which he had answered before. Then the archbishop repeatedly required him by the bowels of Jesus Christ, to forsake those opinions and conclusions, and that from then on he would cling to the Christian faith which, in the audience of all the lords and others

who were present, he expressly denied and refused. After all this, when the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London had consulted as to what safe keeping John Badby might be committed, it was concluded that he should be put into a certain chamber or safe house within the mansion of the friars preachers. And then the archbishop of Canterbury said that he himself would keep the key to it in the meantime. When the day had expired, being the fifteenth of March, and the archbishop of Canterbury, with his fellow brethren and suffragans, were assembled in the church of St. Paul in London, the archbishop of Canterbury, taking the episcopal seat, called to him the archbishop of York, and the following bishops: Richard of London; Henry of Winchester; Robert of Chichester; Alexander of Norwich; and the noble Prince Edmund; the duke of York; Ralph, earl of Westmoreland; Thomas Beaufort, knight; lord chancellor of England; and the Lord Beaufort, with other noble men, spiritual as well as temporal, who stood and sat by, whom it would take a long to name.

Before them, John Badby was called personally to answer to the articles. The articles were read by the official of the court of Canterbury, and expounded publicly and expressly by the archbishop (in the vulgar tongue); and as John had spoken and deposed before, he still held and defended his opinions, and said that while he lived, he would never retract the same. And furthermore, he said especially to be noted, that the lord duke of York, personally there present, and every other man for the time being, is of more estimation and reputation than the sacrament of the altar, consecrated by the priest in due form. And while they were thus in his examination, the archbishop considering and weighing that he would in no way be altered, and seeing moreover his stout countenance, and confirmed heart, he began to persuade others as it appeared. These things considered, the arch-prelate, when he saw that it was not in his power either by exhortations, reasons, or arguments, to bring John Badby from his constant truth to the catholic faith (executing and doing the office of his great master) proceeded to confirm and ratify the former sentence given by the bishop of Worcester against John Badby, pronouncing him as an open and public heretic. And thus they delivered him to the secular power; and desired the temporal lords then and there present, that they would not put John Badby to death for his offense, nor deliver him to be punished or put to death *in the presence of all the lords*. These things thus done and concluded by the bishops in the forenoon, in the afternoon the king's writ was not far behind. John Badby, still persevering in his constancy unto death, was brought to Smithfield, and there being put in an empty barrel, was bound with iron chains fastened to a stake having dry wood put about him.

And as he was thus standing in the barrel, it happened that the prince, the king's eldest son, was present. Showing some part of the good Samaritan, he endeavored to save the life of him whom the hypocritical Levites and Pharisees sought to put to death. He admonished and counselled John Badby that he should speedily withdraw himself from these dangerous labyrinths of opinions, often adding threats, which might have daunted any man's courage.

In the meantime, the prior of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, brought with all solemnity the sacrament of God's body, with twelve torches borne before them, and so showed the sacrament to the poor man at the stake. And then they demanded of him how he believed in it. He answered that he knew well it was hallowed bread, and not God's body. And then the barrel was put over him, and fire put to him. And when he felt the fire, he cried, mercy, calling upon the Lord, and so the prince immediately commanded to take away the barrel, and quench the fire. The prince's commandment being obeyed, he asked John Badby if he would forsake heresy and take to the faith of holy church? If he would do this, he would have goods enough, promising also a yearly stipend out of the king's treasury.

But this valiant champion of Christ, neglecting the prince's fair words, refused the offer of worldly promises, being no doubt more vehemently inflamed with the Spirit of God, than with any earthly desire. Therefore, when he continued immovable in his former mind, the prince commanded him to be put straight back into the barrel, and that he should not afterward look for any grace or favor. Just as he could not be allured by any rewards, even so he was not at all abashed at their torments, but as a valiant champion of Christ, he persevered invincible to the end. Not without a great and most cruel battle, but with much greater triumph of victory — the Spirit of Christ always having the upper hand in his members, notwithstanding the fury, rage, and power of the whole world.

This godly martyr, John Badby, having thus perfected his testimony and martyrdom in fire, the persecuting bishops were not yet content. Thinking that as yet they either were not strong enough, or else not sharp enough against the poor innocent flock of Christ, as to make all things sure and substantial on their side — so that this doctrine of the gospel now springing should be suppressed forever — they laid their conspiring heads together. And now having a king for their own purpose, ready to serve their turn, the bishops and clergy of the realm exhibited a bill to the king's majesty. It subtly declared what quietness had been maintained within this realm by his most noble progenitors, who always defended the ancient rites and customs of the church, and enriched the same with large gifts, to the honor of God and the realm. And contrariwise, what trouble and disquietness had now risen by wicked and perverse men, teaching and preaching openly and secretly a certain new, wicked, and heretical kind of doctrine, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of holy church. The king, always oppressed with blind ignorance by the crafty means and subtle pretenses of the clergy, granted in the parliament (by consent of the nobility assembled) a statute to be observed, called *ex-officio*, as follows:

*The Statute Ex-Officio.*

“That is to say. That no man within this realm, or other of the king's dominions, presume to take upon himself to preach secretly or openly, without special license first obtained from the ordinary of the same place (curates in their own parish churches, and persons previously privileged, and only others admitted by the canon law excepted). Nor that any hereafter do preach, maintain, teach, inform openly or in secret, or make or write any book contrary to the catholic faith, and determination of the holy church. Nor that anyone hereafter makes any conventicles or assemblies, or keeps and exercises any manner of schools regarding this sect's wicked doctrine and opinion.

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“And further. That no man hereafter shall by any means favor any such preacher, any such maker of unlawful assemblies, or any such bookmaker or writer; and finally, any such teacher, informer, or stirrer up of the people. And that all and singular persons having any of the said books, writings, or schedules, containing the said wicked doctrines and opinions, shall within forty days after this present proclamation and statute, really and effectually deliver, or cause to be delivered, all and singular said books and writings to the ordinary of the same place. And if it happens that any person or persons, of whatever kind, state or condition he or they may be, does or attempts any manner of thing contrary to this present proclamation and statute, or does not deliver these books in form aforesaid, then the ordinary of the same place in his own diocese, by authority of the said proclamation and statute, shall cause to be arrested and detained under safe custody the said person or persons in this case defamed and evidently suspected, or any of them, until he or they so offending have by order of law purged him or themselves as regarding the articles laid to his or their charge in this behalf; or until he or they have denied and recanted (according to the laws ecclesiastical) the said wicked sect,

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preachings, teachings, and heretical and erroneous opinions. And that the said ordinary by himself or his commissaries, proceed openly and judicially to all the effect of law against the said persons so arrested and remaining under safe custody, and that he end and determine the matter within three months after the said arrest (all delays and excuses set apart) according to the order and custom of the canon law. And if any person, in any cause mentioned above, shall be lawfully convicted before the ordinary of the diocese or his commissaries, then the said ordinary may lawfully cause the said person so convicted (according to the manner and quality of his offense) to be laid in any of his own prisons, and there to be kept so long as in his discretion it shall be thought expedient.

“And further. The said ordinary (except in cases by the which according to the canon law the party offending ought to be delivered to the secular power) shall charge the said person with such a fine of money to be paid to the king’s majesty, as he thinks competent for the manner and quality of his offense. And the said diocesan shall be bound to give notice of the said fine, into the king’s exchequer, by his letters patent under his seal, to the intent that the said fine may be levied to the king’s use of the goods of the person so convicted.

“And further. If any person within this realm and other of the king’s dominions, shall be convicted before the ordinary of the place, or his commissaries, of the said wicked preachings, doctrines, opinions, schools, and heretical and erroneous informations, or any of them, and refuses to abjure and recant the said wicked sect, preachings, teachings, opinions, schools, and informations; or if, after his abjuration is once made, the relapse be pronounced against him by the diocesan of the place, or his commissaries (for so by the canon law he ought to be left to the secular power, upon credit given to the ordinary or his commissaries) that then the sheriff of the same county, the mayor, sheriffs, or sheriff, or the mayor, or bailiffs of the same city, village, or borough of the same county, and nearest inhabiting to the said ordinary, or his said commissaries, shall personally be present, as often as they are required, to confer with the said ordinary or his commissaries in giving sentence against the said persons offending, or any of them. And after the said sentence is so pronounced, shall take to them the said persons so offending, and any of them, and cause them openly to be burned in the sight of all the people; to the intent that this kind of punishment may be a terror to others, that the like wicked doctrines and heretical opinions, or authors and favorers of it are no more maintained within this realm and dominions, to the great hurt (which God forbid) of Christian religion, and decrees of holy church. In all of which and singular the premises, concerning the statute aforesaid, let the sheriff, mayors, and bailiffs of the said counties, cities, villages, and boroughs be attendant, aiding and favoring the said ordinaries and their commissaries.”

By this bloody statute, so severely and sharply enacted against these simple men, the reader may well consider the nature and condition of this present world, how it has been ever set and bent from the beginning, by all might, counsel, and ways possible, to strive against the ways of God, and to overthrow that which He will have set up. And although the world may see by infinite histories and examples, that it is but in vain to strive against Him, yet such is the nature of this world (all set in malignity) that it will not cease to be like itself.

After this, the terrible constitution of the archbishop of Canterbury was issued against the followers of God’s truth, full of cruelty and persecution unto blood, but which is too long for insertion here.

Who would have thought by these laws and constitutions, that the name and memory of this persecuted sort would not have been utterly rooted up, and never could have stood? And yet such are the works of the Lord, surpassing all men’s admiration, that notwithstanding all this, so far from being vanquished was the number and courage of these good men, that rather they multiplied daily and increased. For so I find it recorded in registers, that these

foresaid persons, whom the king and the catholic fathers so greatly detested as heretics, were increased in diverse counties of this realm — especially at London, in Lincolnshire, in Norfolk, in Herefordshire, in Shrewsbury, in Calais, and other quarters. However, there were some who did shrink, and many revolted and renounced, for fear of the law. Among them was John Purvey, who recanted at Paul's Cross, about whom more will follow (the Lord willing) in what is said of the year 1421. Also John Edward, priest of the diocese of Lincoln, who revoked in the Greenyard at Norwich; Richard Herbert and Emmot Willy of London; also John Becket, who recanted at London; John Seynons, of Lincolnshire, who was caused to revoke at Canterbury.

***The History and Examination of William Thorpe – 1409.***

Thus much being signified briefly, touching those who have been forced in the time of this king, to open abjuration. Next comes the history of Master William Thorpe, a valiant warrior, under the triumphant banner of Christ, with the process of his examinations before Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury. It was written by Thorpe, and recorded by his own pen, at the request of his friends. In his examination (A.D. 1407) you will have, good reader, much to both learn and marvel at. To learn, in that you will hear truth discoursed and discussed, with the contrary reasons of the adversary dissolved. To marvel, for you will behold here in this man the marvellous force and strength of the Lord's might, spirit, and grace, working and fighting in His soldiers, and also speaking in their mouths, according to the word of his promise. <sup>Mat 10.19</sup> Master Thorpe, in his preface to the account of his examination, says that he was moved to write it, not only by the desire of his friends, but also so that other Christian People might profit by seeing truth opposed to error, and that they might be prepared to forsake all the things of this life, not knowing how soon they may be called to a similar trial.

*The Examination of William Thorpe, penned with his own hand.*

“Be it known to all men who read or hear this writing, that on the Sunday next after the feast of St. Peter, what we call *Lammass* (A.D. 1407), I, William Thorpe, being in prison in the castle of Saltwood, was brought before Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, then chancellor of England.

[269] A.D. 1409.

“And when I came to him, he stood in a great chamber, with many people about him; and when he saw me, he went into a private room, bidding all secular men who followed him to leave him soon, so that no man was left in that room but the archbishop himself, and a physician who was called Masveren, parson of St. Dunstan's in London, and two other persons unknown to me, who were ministers of the law. By and by the archbishop said to me, ‘William, I know well that you have this twenty winters or more travelled in the north country, and in diverse other countries of England, sowing false doctrine, laboring with untrue teaching to infect and poison all this land. But through the grace of God you are now withstood and brought into my ward, so that I will now sequester you from your evil purpose, and prevent you from poisoning the sheep of my province. Nevertheless, St. Paul says, *If it may be, as much as it lies in us, we ought to live peaceably with all men.* <sup>Rom 12.18</sup> Therefore, William, if you will now meekly and of good heart without any feigning, kneel down and lay your hand upon a book and kiss it, promising faithfully as I will here charge you, that you will submit yourself to my correction, and stand to my ordinance, and fulfill it duly by all your skill and power, you will yet find me gracious to you.’ Then I said to the archbishop, ‘Sir, since you deem me a heretic, and outside the faith, will you give me audience here to tell you my belief?’ And he said, ‘Yes, tell on.’

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“And I said, ‘I believe that there is but one God Almighty, and in this Godhead, and of this Godhead are three Persons, that is, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. And I believe that all these three Persons are equal in power and in knowledge, and in might, full of grace of all goodness. For whatever the Father does, or can, or will do, that thing the Son also does, and can, and will do; and in all their power, knowledge, and will, the Holy Spirit is equal to the Father, and to the Son.

“Besides this, I believe that through the counsel of this most blessed Trinity, in the time before appointed for the salvation of mankind, the second person of this Trinity was ordained to take the form of man, that is, the nature of man. And I believe, that this second person, our Lord Jesus Christ, was miraculously conceived through the Holy Spirit in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary. And I believe that in due time Christ was born of this most blessed virgin.

“And I believe, that Christ our Savior was circumcised on the eighth day after his birth, in fulfilling of the law, and his name was called Jesus, which was so called by the angel, before he was conceived in the womb of Mary his mother.

“And I believe that Christ, as he was about thirty years old, was baptized in the Jordan by John the baptist; and the Holy Spirit descended like a dove upon him, and a voice was heard from heaven, saying, ‘You are my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.’

“And I believe that Christ was moved then by the Holy Spirit to go into the desert, and there he fasted forty days and forty nights without bodily food and drink. And I believe that by and by after this fasting, when the manhood of God hungered, the devil came to him, and tempted him in gluttony, in vain glory, and in coveting; but in all those temptations Christ confuted the devil, and withstood him. And then without tarrying, Jesus began to preach, and to say to the people, ‘Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.’

“I believe that Christ lived here most holily, and taught the will of his Father most truly. And I believe that he suffered most wrongfully the greatest reproofs and despisings.

“And after this, when Christ would make an end of this temporal life here, I believe that on the day before he was to suffer passion, he ordained the sacrament of his flesh and his blood in the form of bread and of wine; that is, his own precious body, and gave it to his apostles to eat; commanding them, and by them all those who came after, that they should do it in this form that he showed to them, use it themselves, and teach and minister to other men and women this most worshipful and holiest sacrament in remembrance of his holiest living, and of his most true preaching, and of his willing and patient suffering of the most painful passion.

“And I believe that Christ our Savior, after he had ordained this most worthy sacrament of his own precious body, went forth willingly against his enemies, and he suffered them most patiently to lay their hands most violently upon him, and to bind him, and to lead him forth as a thief, and to scorn him and buffet him, and to defile him with their spittings. Besides this, I believe that Christ most meekly and patiently suffered his enemies to extract with sharp scourges the blood that was between his skin and his flesh; yes, without resisting, Christ suffered the cruel Jews to crown him with sharp thorns, and to strike him with a reed. And after, Christ suffered wicked Jews to draw him out upon the cross, and to nail him upon it.<sup>292</sup> And so Christ willingly shed the blood that was in his veins, for man’s blood. And then Christ willingly gave his spirit into the hands or power of his Father. And so, as he would, and when he would, Christ died willingly for man’s sake upon the cross. And notwithstanding that Christ was willfully, painfully, and most shamefully put to death for the world, there was blood and water left in his heart, as ordained before, that he would shed this blood and this water for

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<sup>292</sup> The Jews had the Romans do it, since Jews were forbidden by law (Joh 18.31). And the death penalty under Jewish law is carried out by stoning, then hanging on a tree (Due 13.10; 21.22-23) — not by crucifixion, which is Roman.

man's salvation. And therefore he allowed the Jews to have a blind knight thrust him in the heart with a spear; and this blood and water that was in his heart, Christ would shed for man's love. And after this, I believe that Christ was taken down from the cross and buried. And I believe that on the third day by the power of his Godhead Christ rose again from death to life. And the fortieth day after, I believe that Christ ascended into heaven, and that he sits there at the right hand of the Father Almighty. And the fiftieth day after his ascension, he sent to his apostles the Holy Spirit that he had promised them before. <sup>Joh 15.26</sup> And I believe that Christ will come and judge all mankind, some to everlasting peace, and some to everlasting pains.

“And as I believe in the Father, and in the Son, that they are one God Almighty, so I believe in the Holy Spirit, that also with them, he is the same God Almighty. <sup>293</sup>

“And I believe in a holy church, that is, all those who have been, now are, and always will be to the end of the world, a people who will endeavor to know and keep the commandments of God, dreading above all things to offend God, and loving and seeking to please him. And I believe that all those who have had, and still have, and all those who will yet have the aforesaid virtues — surely standing in their belief of God, hoping steadfastly in his merciful doings, continuing to their end in perfect charity, willingly, patiently, and gladly suffering persecutions, chiefly following the example of Christ and his apostles — all these have their names written in the Book of Life. <sup>Luk 10.20</sup>

“Therefore I believe that the gathering together of this people, now living here in this life, is the holy church of God, fighting here on earth against the devil, the prosperity of the world, and their own lusts. This is why, seeing that the gathering together of this church, and every part of it, neither covets, nor wills, nor loves, nor seeks anything but to eschew the offense of God, and to do His pleasing will — meekly, gladly, and willingly, with all my heart, I submit myself to this holy church of Christ, to be ever ready and obedient to its ordinances, and of every member of it, according to my knowledge and power by the help of God. Therefore I acknowledge now, and evermore shall, if God wills, that with all my heart, and with all my might, I will submit myself solely to the rule and governance of those whom, according to my knowledge, I may perceive to be members of the holy church. Therefore these articles of belief and all others (both of the old law, and of the new, which after the commandment of God any man ought to believe) I believe truly in my soul, as a sinful deadly wretch, of my knowledge and power, ought to believe — praying the Lord God for his holy name to increase my belief, and to help my unbelief. <sup>Mar 9.24</sup>

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“And because, to the praising of God's name, I desire above all things to be a faithful member of holy church, I make this protestation before you four who are now present here, desiring that all men and women who are now *absent* know the same. That is, whatever I have said or done before this time, or whatever I will do or say at any time hereafter, I believe that all the old laws, and new laws, given and ordained by the council of the three persons of the Trinity, were given and written for the salvation of mankind. And I believe that these laws are sufficient for man's salvation. And I believe every article of these laws, to the intent that these articles ordained and commanded by these three persons of the most blessed Trinity, are to be believed.

“And therefore, as to the rule and the ordinance of these laws of God, I submit myself with all my heart, meekly, gladly, and willingly, that whoever can or will by authority of God's law, or by open reason, tell me that I have erred or now err, or in any time hereafter will err in any article of belief (God keep me from this misfortune by his goodness) I submit to be reconciled,

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<sup>293</sup> Various citing the Apostles Creed.

and to be ready and obedient to those laws of God, and to every article of them. For by authority specially of these laws I will, through the grace of God, be united charitably to these laws. Indeed, sir, and besides this, I believe and receive all the sentences, authorities, and reasons of the saints and doctors according to the holy Scripture, who declare it truly.

“I submit myself willingly and meekly to be ever obedient, according to my knowledge and power, to all these saints and doctors, as they are obedient in work and in word to God and to his law, and further, not (to my knowledge) for any earthly power, dignity or state, through the help of God. But sir, I pray you tell me, if after your bidding I lay my hand on the book, is it with the intent to swear thereby?” And the archbishop said to me, “Yes, why else?”

“And I said to him: ‘Sir, a book is nothing but a thing coupled together by diverse creatures; and to swear by any creature, both God’s law and man’s law is against it. But sir, this thing I say here to you before these clerics of yours, with my protestation that how, where, when, and to whom men are bound to swear or to obey in any way after God’s law, and saints, and true doctors, according to God’s law, I will through God’s grace be ever ready to do this, with all my skill and power. But I pray you sir, for the charity of God, that before I swear, you will tell me how or to whom I will submit myself; and show me that of which you will correct me, and what is the ordinance that you will thus oblige me to fulfil.’

“And the archbishop said to me: ‘I require that you swear to me, that you will forsake all the opinions which the sect of Lollards hold; so that neither secretly nor openly, will you hold any opinion which I recite to you. And that you will not favor any man or woman, young or old, who holds these opinions; but according to your knowledge and power you will exert yourself to withstand all such disturbers of holy church in every diocese that you come into; and those who will not leave their false and damnable opinions, you will reveal them, reporting them and their names, and make them known to the bishop of the diocese, or to the bishop’s ministers. And besides this, I will that you preach no more until I know by good witness and true, that your conversation is such that your heart and mouth accord truly as one, contradicting all the secular learning that you have taught here before.’

“And hearing these words, I thought in my heart that this was an unlawful demand; and I deemed myself accused by God if I consented to it. And because I stood still and did not speak, the archbishop said to me: ‘Answer one way or the other;’ and I said, ‘Sir, if I consented to swear to you as you require, I would become an appealer, or every bishop’s spy in all of England. For if I were to thus reveal and publish the names of men and women, I would deceive many persons in this. Indeed, sir, by the doom of my conscience, I would be the cause of the death of both men and women, yes, both bodily and spiritually. But I find in no place in holy Scripture, that this office of common informer and spy, with which you would now engage me, accords with any priest of Christ’s sect, nor to any other Christian man. If I were to do as you require, many men and women would (as they might truly) say that I had falsely and cowardly forsaken the truth and shamefully slandered the word of God. For if I consented to your will from any fear of man, or of worldly consideration, then I deem in my conscience that I would be worthy of being cursed by God and also by all his saints. Almighty God keep me and all Christian people from this misfortune, now and forever, for His holy name.’

“And then the archbishop said to me: ‘Oh, your heart is full-hardened, as was the heart of Pharaoh, and the devil has overcome you, and perverted you, and he has so blinded you that you have no grace to know the truth nor the measure of mercy that I have offered to you. Therefore, as I perceive now by your foolish answer, you have no will to leave your old errors. But I say to you, either quickly consent to my ordinance, and submit to my decrees, or by St. Thomas you shall be degraded, and follow your companion to Smithfield.’



“And at this saying I stood still and did not speak. But I thought in my heart, that God did me great grace if he would of his great mercy bring me to such an end. And in my heart I was not at all afraid from this menacing of the archbishop. And I considered two things in him. One, that he was not yet sorrowful that he had caused William Sautre to be wrongfully burnt; and as I considered that the archbishop still thirsted after more shedding of innocent blood, I was moved in my mind to hold him as being neither prelate nor priest of God. And because my inward man had thus altogether departed from the archbishop, I thought that I should not have any dread of him. But I was right heavy and sorrowful, because there were no secular men present to hear. But in my heart I prayed the Lord God to comfort me and strengthen me. I prayed God for his goodness to give me then and always grace to speak with a meek and a quiet spirit. And whatever I might speak, that I might have true authorities from the scriptures or a credible reason for it. As I stood thus still and spoke nothing, one of the archbishop’s clerics said to me, ‘What are you musing about? Do as my lord has commanded you.’

“And yet I stood still and did not answer him. And then soon after, the archbishop said to me, ‘Are you not yet determined whether you will do as I have said to you?’ And I then said to him, ‘Sir, my father and my mother spent much money for my learning, to have made me a priest to God. But when I came to the years of discretion, I had no will to be a priest; and therefore my friends were very harsh towards me. Then I thought their grudging against me was so painful, that I purposed to have left their company. They often spoke to me very grievous words, and menaced me in diverse manners. And thus they were busy with me a long time, before I consented to be a priest. At last, I asked them to give me license to go to wise priests, of virtuous conversation, to have their counsel, and to know from them what was the office and charge of priesthood. My father and my mother consented gladly, and gave me their blessing and leave, and also money to spend on this journey. And so I went to those priests whom I heard to be of the best name, most holy living, best learned, and most wise of heavenly wisdom. And so I communed with them till the time that I perceived by their virtuous and continual occupations, that their honest and charitable works surpassed their fame which I had heard of them before.’

“And the archbishop said, — ‘I say to you, who are these holy and wise men, from whom you have taken your information?’

““And I said, sir, Master John Wycliffe was held by many men the greatest cleric that they knew then living, and he was reputed to be an able, good, and innocent man in his living; and therefore great men communed often with him; and they so loved his learning, that they wrote it down, and endeavored to rule themselves after it. ‘Therefore, sir, this learning of Master John Wycliffe is still held by many men and women, to be the learning most in accordance with the living and teaching of Christ and his apostles, and most openly showing and declaring how the church of Christ has been, and still should be ruled and governed.

[271] A.D. 1409.

“This is why so many men and women desire his learning, and purpose through God’s grace to conform their lives to this learning of Wycliffe. Master John Ashton taught and wrote accordingly, and full zealously, where, and when, and to whom he might. And he used it himself right perfectly to his life’s end. And also Philip of Rampington, while he was a canon of Leicester, Nicholas Herford, Davey Gotray of Pakring, monk of Byland, and a master of divinity. John Purvey and many others who were held to be right wise men, and prudent, taught and wrote busily of this learning, and I conformed to it. And I was very familiar with all these men, and communed with them a long time and often. And above all other men, I chose willingly to be informed of them and by them, and especially of Wycliffe himself, as of the most virtuous and godly wise man that I ever beard of or knew. And therefore from him

especially, and from these I men, I took the learning that I have taught and purpose to live by hereafter (if God wills) to my life's end.'

"And the archbishop said, 'The learning that you call truth and truthfastness, is open slander to holy church, as is proved by holy church. For although Wycliffe was a great cleric, and though many held him to be a perfect liver; yet his doctrine is not approved by holy church; rather, many sentences of his learning are damned as they well deserve. But as to Philip of Ramplington, he neither holds now, nor will he hold what he then taught when he was a canon of Leicester. For no bishop in this land now pursues more sharply, those who hold those doctrines, than he does.'

"And I said, 'Sir, many men and women wonder at him, and speak of him much to his shame, and hold him to be a cursed enemy of the truth.'

"And the archbishop said to me, 'Why do you delay me with such fables? Will you submit yourself to me or not?'

"And I said; 'Sir, I tell you at one word; I dare not for fear of God submit myself to you, according to the sentence you have read to me.'

"And thus, as if he had been angry, he said to one of his clerics; 'Fetch here quickly the certificate that came to me from Shrewsbury under the bailiff's seal witnessing the errors and heresies which this fellow has venomously sown there.'

"Then the cleric hastily took out, and laid forth on a table, some rolls and writings, among which there was a little one, which the clerk delivered to the archbishop. By and by the archbishop read this roll containing this sentence:

"The third Sunday after Easter, the year of our Lord 1407, William Thorpe came to the town of Shrewsbury, and through leave granted to him to preach, he said openly in St. Chad's church, in his sermon, that the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, was material bread. And that images should in no way be worshipped. And that men should not go on pilgrimages. And that priests have no title to tithes. And that it is not lawful to swear in any way.'

"And when the archbishop had read thus this roll, he rolled it up again, and said to me; 'Is this wholesome teaching to be among the people?'

"And I said, 'Sir, I am both ashamed on their behalf, and sorrowful for those who certified these things to you thus untruly; for I never preached nor taught thus, secretly or openly.'

"And the archbishop said to me, 'I will give credence to these worshipful men who have written to me, and witnessed under their seals among them. Though now you deny this, do you think that I will give credence to you? You have troubled the worshipful commonalty of Shrewsbury, so that the bailiff's and commonalty of that town have written to me, asking me, who am archbishop of Canterbury, primate and chancellor of England, that I will grant them that if you will be made (as you are worthy) to suffer for your heresies, that you may suffer openly there among them. So that all those whom you and such others have perverted there, may through fear of your deed be reconciled again to the unity of holy church. And also those who stand in true faith of holy church, may be more established in it.'

"But certainly neither the prayer of the men of Shrewsbury, nor the menacing of the archbishop made me afraid, but my heart greatly rejoiced. I thank God for the grace that I then thought, and still think will come to the whole church of God in this matter, by the special mercy of the Lord. And having no dread of the malice of tyrants, by trusting steadfastly in the help of the Lord, I said to the archbishop, — 'Sir, if the truth of God's word might now be accepted as it should be, I do not doubt to prove by likely evidence, that those who are glad to

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be outside of the faith of holy church in Shrewsbury, and in other places also, are in the true faith of holy church. For as their words sound, and their works show to man's judgment (faithfully dreading and loving God) their desire, their will, their love, and their business, are most set to dread to offend God, and to love and please him in true and faithful keeping of his commandments. And again, those who are said to be *in the faith* of holy church in Shrewsbury and in other places, by open evidence of their proud, envious, malicious, covetous, and other foul words and works, neither know, nor have the will to know, truly and effectually the right faith of holy church. <sup>Mat 7.16</sup>

“And where, sir, you say that I have troubled the commonalty of Shrewsbury, and many other men and women with my teaching, if it is thus, it is not to be wondered at, since all the commonalty of the city of Jerusalem was troubled by Christ's own person, that was very God and man, and the most prudent preacher who ever was or shall be. And also the whole synagogue of Nazareth was moved against Christ, and so filled with ire towards him for his preaching, that the men of the synagogue rose up and cast Christ out of their city, and led him up to the top of a mountain to cast him down headlong. <sup>Luk 4.29</sup>

“And the archbishop said to me, ‘It follows from these words of yours, that you and such others think that you do right well to preach and teach as you do, without authority from any bishop. For you presume that the Lord has chosen only you to preach, as faithful disciples and special followers of Christ.’

“And I said, ‘Sir, by authority of God's law, and also by saints and doctors, I have learned to deem it every priest's office and duty to preach busily, freely, and truly the word of God.’

“And the archbishop said to me, ‘Fellow, why do you give such vain reasons to me? Does St. Paul not ask how priests will preach unless they are sent? <sup>Rom 10.15</sup> But I never sent you to preach. For your venomous doctrine is known throughout England, so that no bishop will allow you to preach. Why then will you presume to preach, since you are not sent or licensed by your superior to preach? St. Paul says that subjects ought to obey their sovereigns, and not only good and virtuous, but also tyrants that are vicious.’

“And I said, ‘Samuel the prophet said to Saul, the wicked king, that God was more pleased with the obedience of his commandments, than with any sacrifice of beasts. <sup>1Sam 15.22</sup> But David says, and St. Paul, and St. Gregory say together, that not only those who do evil are worthy of death and damnation, but also those who consent to evil doers. <sup>Rom 1.32</sup> And sir, the law of the holy church teaches in the decree, that no servant to his lord, nor child to its father or mother, nor wife to her husband, nor monk to his abbot, ought to obey them except in lawful things.’

“And the archbishop said to the three clerics who stood before him, ‘Sirs, this is the business of this fellow, and such others, to pick out such sharp sentences of holy Scripture and doctors, to maintain their sect against the ordinance of holy church. And therefore it is that you wish to have again the psalter that I had taken from you at Canterbury, to recite sharp verses against us. But you will never have that psalter, nor any other book, till I know that your heart and your mouth agree fully to be governed by holy church.’

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“And I said, ‘Sir, all my will and power is, and ever shall be (I trust to God) to be governed by holy church.’

“And the archbishop asked me, ‘What was holy church?’

“And I said, ‘Sir, I told you before what was holy church. But since you ask me this question again, I call Christ and his saints, holy church.’

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“And the archbishop said to me, ‘I know well that Christ and his saints are holy church in heaven, but what is holy church on earth?’

“And I said, ‘Sir, holy church has two parts. The first and principal part has overcome perfectly all the wretchedness of this life, and reigns joyfully in heaven with Christ. And the other part is still here in earth, busily and continually fighting day and night against the temptations of the devil; forsaking and hating the prosperity of this world, despising and withstanding their fleshly lusts, who alone are the pilgrims of Christ, wandering towards heaven by steadfast faith, and grounded hope, and by perfect charity. For these heavenly pilgrims may not, and will not be hindered from their good purpose by reason of any doctors disagreeing from holy Scripture, nor by the floods of any temporal tribulation, nor by the wind of any pride, of boast, or of menacing of any creature. For they are all fast grounded upon the sure rock, Christ, hearing his word and loving it, exercising it faithfully and continually with all their wits to do accordingly.’

“And the archbishop said to his clerics, ‘Do you see how his heart is hardened, and how he has travelled with the devil, bringing in such sentences to maintain his errors and heresies? Certainly, he will occupy us here all day, if we allow him.’

“One of the clerics answered, ‘Sir, he said just now, that this certificate that came to you from Shrewsbury, is untruly forged against him. Therefore, sir, question him now on the points which are certified against him, and we will hear his answers from his own mouth, and witness them.’

“And the archbishop took the certificate in his hand, and looked at it a while, and then he said to me:

“Look, here it is certified by worthy and faithful men of Shrewsbury, that you preached there openly, that the sacrament of the altar was material bread *after* the consecration. What do you say? Was this truly preached?’

“And I said, ‘Sir, I tell you truly that I touched nothing there about the sacrament of the altar; but with God’s grace, I will tell you here in this way. As I stood there in the pulpit, busying myself to teach the commandment of God, a sacred bell began ringing, and therefore many people turned away hastily, and ran towards it noisily. Seeing this, I said to them thus: ‘Good men, you would do better to stand still here, and to hear God’s word. For the virtue of the most holy sacrament of the altar stands much more in the faith that you ought to have in your soul, than in the outward sight of it. And therefore you would do better to stand still quietly to hear God’s word, because through the hearing of it, men come to true belief. And I am certain I did not speak more than this about the worthy sacrament of the altar.’

“And the archbishop said to me, ‘I do not believe you, whatever you say, since such worshipful men have witnessed thus against you. But since you deny what you said this, what do you say now? After the consecration, does material bread remain in the host, or not?’

“And I said, ‘Sir, I know of no place in holy Scripture, where this term *material bread* is written. And therefore sir, when I speak of this matter, I do not speak of material bread.’

“Then the archbishop said to me, ‘How do you teach men to believe in this sacrament?’

“And I said, ‘Sir, as I believe myself, so I teach other men.’

“He said, ‘Tell us plainly your belief about it.’

“And I said with my protestation, ‘Sir, I believe that the night before Christ Jesus suffered for mankind, he took bread in his holy hands, lifting up his eyes, and giving thanks to God his Father, blessed this bread, and broke it, and gave it to his disciples, saying to them, take and eat of this all you, this is my body. And that this is, and ought to be, all men’s belief, Matthew,

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Mark, Luke, and Paul witness. Other belief, sir, I have none, nor will I have, nor teach it For I believe that this is sufficient in this matter. For in this belief, with God's grace, I purpose to live and die, acknowledging as I believe and teach other men to believe, that the holy sacrament of the altar is the sacrament of Christ's flesh and blood in the form of bread and wine.' "And I said, 'Sir, by clear evidence, a thousand years after the incarnation of Christ, the determination which I have recited here before you, was accepted by holy church as sufficient to the salvation of all those who would believe it faithfully.'

"And the archbishop said to me, 'Well, well, you will say otherwise before I leave you. But what do you say to this second point that is recorded against you by worthy men of Shrewsbury, saying that you preached there, that images should not be worshipped in any way?'

"And I said, 'Sir, I never preached thus, nor through God's grace will I at any time consent to think, or to say thus. For look, the Lord witnesses by Moses, that the things which he had made were very good. And so they were, and are and shall be good and worshipful in their kind. And therefore, to the end for which God made them, they are all praiseworthy and worshipful. And especially man, who was made in the image and likeness of God, is worshipful in his kind. And I also say that wood, tin, gold, silver, or any other matter that images are made of, are worshipful in their kind, and to the end that God made them for. But the carving, casting, and painting of an image should not be worshipped in form, nor in the likeness of man's craft.'

"Then the archbishop said to me, 'I grant that nobody should worship any images for themselves. But a crucifix ought to be worshipped for the passion of Christ that is painted on it, and thus too the images of the blessed Trinity, and of the Virgin Mary, Christ's Mother, and other images of saints ought to be worshipped. For as earthly kings and lords who send their letters sealed with their arms, or with their private signet to those that are with them, are worshipped by these men. For when these men receive their lord's letters, in which they see and know the wills of the lords, they doff their caps to these letters. Why not then, since in images made with man's hands, we may read and know many things about God, and his saints, should we not worship their images?'

"And I said 'These worldly usages of temporal laws that you speak of now, may be done without sin. But this bears no similarity to worshipping images made by man's hand, since Moses, David, Solomon, Baruch, and other saints in the bible so plainly forbid the worshipping of such images.'

"Then the archbishop said to me, 'In the old law before Christ took human nature, there was no likeness of any person of the Trinity. But now since Christ became man, it is lawful to have images to show his manhood, yes, even if many men held it an error to paint the Trinity. I say, it is well done to make and to paint the Trinity in images. For it is a great impetus of devotion to men, to have and behold the Trinity and other images of saints carved, cast, and painted. For beyond the sea are the best painters that ever I saw. And sirs, I tell you, this is their manner, and it is a good manner: when an image-maker carves, casts a mold, or paints any images, he goes to a priest, and confesses himself as clean, as if he were then to die. He takes penance, and makes some certain vow of fasting or of praying, or of pilgrimages, asking the priest specially to pray for him, so that he may have grace to make a fair and devout image.'

"And I said, 'Sir, I do not doubt that if these painters that you speak of, or any other painters, truly understood the texts of Moses, of David, of the Wise Man, of Baruch, and of other saints and doctors, these painters would be moved to confess to God with inward sorrow of heart, taking upon themselves penance for the sinful and vain craft of painting, carving, or casting; promising God faithfully never to do so again.'

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“Then the archbishop said to me, ‘I hold you a vicious priest and accursed, and all your sect. For all priests of holy church, and all images that move men to devotion, you and such others go about to destroy. Would it be a right thing to come into the church, and see no image in it?’”

“And I said, ‘Sir, those who come to the church to pray devoutly to the Lord God, may in their inward parts be more fervent, so that all their outward senses are closed from all outward seeing and hearing, and from all disturbance and lettings. And since Christ blessed those who did not see bodily, but have believed faithfully in him, <sup>Joh 20.29</sup> it is sufficient for all men to believe in God, even if they never see images made with man’s hand after any person of the Trinity, or of any other saint.’”

“And the archbishop said to me with a fervent spirit, ‘I say to you, that it is right well done to make and to have an image of the Trinity; yes, whatever you say.’ Is it not a stirring thing to behold such an image?”

“And I said, ‘Sir, you said just now that in the old law, before Christ took mankind, no likeness of any person of the Trinity was shown to men. Therefore, sir, you said it was not then lawful to have images, but now you say, since Christ has become man, it is lawful to have an image of the Trinity, and also of other saints. But sir, would I learn this from you: since the Father of heaven, yes and every person of Trinity, was God Almighty without beginning; and many holy prophets were martyred violently in the old law, and also many men and women then died confessors; why was it not just as lawful and necessary then as now, to have an image of the Father of heaven, and to have other images of martyrs, prophets, and holy confessors, to move men to devotion, as you say that images now do?’”

“And the archbishop said, ‘The synagogue of the Jews had no authority to do those things which the church of Christ now has.’”

“And I said, ‘Sir, St. Gregory was a great man, and of great dignity, and he commended greatly a bishop, and he forbade utterly the images made with man’s hand to be worshipped.’”

“And the archbishop said, ‘Ungracious fellow, you savor no more truth than a hound. Since at the rood (crucifix) at the north door at London, at our lady at Walsingham, and many other places in England, many great and admirable miracles are done — should not the images of such holy saints and places, to the reverence of God, and of our lady and other saints, be more worshipped than other places and images, where no miracles are done?’”

“And I said, ‘Sir, there is no such virtue in any imagery, that any image should be worshipped. Therefore I am certain that there is no miracle done by God in any place on earth, in order for any images made with man’s hand to be worshipped. And therefore, sir, as I preached openly at Shrewsbury and other places, I say now before you here, that nobody should trust that there is any virtue in images made with man’s hand. And therefore nobody should vow to them, nor seek them, nor kneel to them, nor bow to them, nor pray to them, nor offer anything to them, nor kiss them, nor offer incense to them. For even the most worthy of such images, the bronze serpent (made by Moses at God’s bidding) the good King Hezekiah destroyed worthily and thankfully, and all because it was worshipped. <sup>2Kng 18.4</sup> Therefore sir, if men take good heed to the writing and the learning of St. Augustine, of St. Gregory, and of St. John Chrysostom, and of other saints and doctors — how they spoke and wrote of miracles that will now be done in the latest end of the world — it is to be feared that for the unfaithfulness of men and women, the devil has great power to work many of the miracles that are now done in such places. For both men and women now delight more to hear and know miracles, than they do to know God’s word, or to hear it effectually.’ <sup>294</sup>”

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<sup>294</sup> Notice how Thorpe points to Scripture for authority, while the archbishop points to the church or to himself.

“And the archbishop said, ‘As holy church has allowed the images of the Trinity, and all other images to be painted and shown, it is enough for those who are members of holy church. But since you are a rotten member, cut away from holy church, you do not savor the ordinances of it. But since the day passes, we will leave this matter.’

“And then he said to me, ‘What do you say to the third point that is certified against you, preaching openly in Shrewsbury, that pilgrimage is not lawful? And beyond this you said that those men and women who go on pilgrimages to Canterbury, to Beverley, to Karlington. to Walsingham, and to any other such places, are accursed and made foolish, spending their goods for nothing.’

“And I said, ‘Sir, I am accused to you that I taught that *no* pilgrimage is lawful. But I never said this. For I know that there are true pilgrimages and lawful, and acceptable to God. And therefore, sir, however my enemies have certified to you about me, I spoke at Shrewsbury of two manner of pilgrimages.’

“And the archbishop said to me, ‘Whom you call true pilgrims.’”

“And I said, ‘Sir, with my protestation I call true pilgrims those who are travelling toward the bliss of heaven, who in the state, degree, or order that God calls them to, busy themselves faithfully occupying their whole mind, bodily and spiritually, to know truly and to keep faithfully the biddings of God, hating and fleeing the seven deadly sins, and every branch of them; ruling themselves virtuously, doing discreetly, willingly, and gladly, all the works of mercy, seeking the gifts of the Holy Spirit, disposing themselves to receive them in their souls, and to hold the right blessings of Christ. And then they will be moved with the good Spirit of God to examine their conscience often and diligently, so that neither willfully nor wittingly will they err in any article of belief, having continually (as frailty allows) all their business, to dread and to flee the offense of God, to love Him above all, and to seek to ever do His pleasant will. Of these pilgrimages I said, whatever good thoughts they think at any time, whatever virtuous words they speak, and whatever fruitful works they accomplish — every such thought, word, and work is a step numbered by God toward him into heaven. These pilgrims of God delight when they hear of saints or of virtuous men and women, how they willingly forsook the prosperity of this life, how they withstood the suggestion of the devil, how they restrained their fleshly lusts, how discreet they were in doing their penance, how patient they were in all their adversities, how prudent they were in counselling men and women, moving them to hate all sins, and to flee them, and to love all virtues, and to draw to them, imagining how Christ, and his followers by this example, suffered scorns and slanders, and how patiently they took the wrongful menacing of tyrants. How homely these pilgrims were, and serviceable to poor men to relieve and comfort them bodily and spiritually, and how devout they were in prayers, how fervent they were in heavenly desires, and how they absented themselves from spectacles of vain sayings and hearings, and how constant they were to prevent and destroy all vices; and how laborious and joyful they were to sow and to plant virtues. These heavenly conditions are what true pilgrims have, or endeavor to have, whose pilgrimage God accepts.’

“And again I said, ‘As their works show, most men and women who now go on pilgrimages do not have these conditions, nor love to have them. For as I well know, since I have often tried, examine whoever he will, twenty of these pilgrims, and he will not find three men or women who know a commandment of God surely, nor can say their Paternoster and Ave Maria, nor say their creed readily in any manner of language. And as I have learned and also know somewhat by experience of these same pilgrims, telling the reason why many men and women go hither and thither now on pilgrimage, it is more for the health of their bodies, than of their souls.

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“It is more to have riches and prosperity of this world, than to be enriched with virtues in their souls; more to have worldly and fleshly friendship here, than to have the friendship of God and of his saints in heaven. For whatever thing man or woman does, the friendship of God, or of any other saint, cannot be had without keeping God’s commandments. Further with my protestation, I say now, as I said in Shrewsbury, that though those who have fleshly wills travel far, and spend much money, to seek and to visit the bones or images (as they say they do) of this or that saint — such pilgrimage-going is neither praiseable nor thankful to God, nor to any saint of God, since in effect all such pilgrims despise God and all his commandments and saints. For they neither know nor keep the commandments of God, nor do they conform themselves to the example of Christ and of his saints. Therefore, sir, I have preached and taught openly, and so I purpose all my lifetime to do with God’s help, saying that such silly people waste blamefully God’s goods in their vain pilgrimages. Also, sir, I know that when several men and women thus go after their own wills, and fix on that pilgrimage, they will arrange beforehand to have with them both men and women who can sing wanton songs; and other pilgrims will have bagpipes with them; so that every town that they come through, what with the noise of their singing, and the sound of their piping, and with the tangling of their Canterbury bells, and with the barking of dogs after them, they make more noise than if the king had come there with all his clarions and minstrels.’

“And the archbishop said to me, ‘You do not see far enough in this matter, for you do not consider the great labor of pilgrims; therefore you blame a thing that is praiseworthy. I say, that it is right well done, that pilgrims have with them both singers and also pipers; that when one of them who goes barefoot strikes his toe upon a stone, and hurts himself sorely, and makes himself bleed, it is well done that he or his fellow then begin a song, or else take out of his cloak a bagpipe, to drive away the hurt of his fellow with such mirth. For with such solace, the labor and weariness of pilgrims is lightly and merrily borne out.’

“And I said, ‘Sir, St. Paul teaches men to weep with those who weep.’ <sup>Rom 12.15</sup>

“And the archbishop said, ‘Why do you jangle against men’s devotion? Whatever you or such others say, I say that the pilgrimage that is now used, is to those who do it, a praiseworthy and a good means to come to grace.’

“And (as if he had been displeased with my answer) he said to his clerics, ‘What do you think this idiot will speak there, where he has no dread; since he speaks thus here in my presence? Well, well, by God you shall be ordained for it.’ And then he spoke to me angrily.

“Then the archbishop said, ‘Well, well. By God, the king does not do his duty, unless he allows you to be condemned.’

“And then another cleric said to me, ‘Why do you counsel a man of my lord’s, that he should not confess himself to man, but only to God?’

“And with this question I was abashed; and then I knew that I was betrayed by a man who came to me in prison, communing with me in this matter of confession. And certainly by his words I thought that this man came to me of full fervent and charitable will. But now I know he came to tempt me and to accuse me. God forgive him, if such was his will. And with all my heart when I had thought thus, I said to this cleric, ‘Sir, I pray you that you would fetch this man here; and as near as I can, I will repeat all the words which I spoke to him in the prison. I will recite them here before you all, and before him.’

“And the archbishop then said to me, ‘Those who are now here will repeat them. What did you say to him?’

“And I said, ‘Sir, that man came and asked me about diverse things; and after his asking, I answered him. And as he showed to me by his words, how he was sorry for his living in court,



and right heavy for his own vicious living, and also for the viciousness of other men, and especially of priests' evil living. And therefore he said to me with a sorrowful heart (as I imagined) that he purposed within a short time to leave the court and to apply himself to know God's law, and to conform his whole life to it. And when he had said to me these words and others, which I would repeat if he were present, he asked me to hear his confession. And I said to him, sir, why do you come to me, to be confessed by me? You know well that the archbishop holds me here, as one unworthy either to give or to take any sacrament of holy church.

“And he said to me, ‘Brother, I know well, and so do many others, that you and such others are ‘wrongfully vexed. And therefore I commune with you more gladly.’ And I said to him, ‘certainly I know well, that many men of this court, and specially the priests of this household will be completely evil against both you and me, if they were aware that you were confessed by me.’ And he said, that he did not care, for he had little affection for them. And I thought he spoke these words and many others, from a good will and a high desire to have known and done the pleasant will of God. And so I said to him, as I say to you now, ‘Here, sir, I counsel you to absent yourself from all evil company, and to draw yourself to those who love and busy themselves to know and to keep the precepts of God. And then the good Spirit of God will move you to occupy all your wits in gathering together all your sins, as far as He can have you think, being greatly ashamed of them, and sorrowing heartily for them. Indeed, sir, the Holy Spirit will then put in your heart a good will and a fervent desire to take and to hold a good purpose, to hate ever and to flee all occasion of sin. And so then wisdom will come to you from above, lightening (with diverse beams of grace and of heavenly desire) all your wits, informing you how you should trust steadfastly in the mercy of the Lord, acknowledging to Him alone all your vicious living, praying to Him devoutly for charitable counsel and continuance, hoping without doubt, that if you continue this way, busying yourself faithfully to know and to keep His biddings, He will (for he alone may) forgive you all your sins.’

“And this man said to me, ‘Though God forgives men their sins, yet it behooves men to be absolved by priests, and to do the penance that they enjoin them.’ And I said to him, ‘Sir, it is all one to absolve men of their sins, and to forgive men their sins. Therefore, since it pertains only to God to forgive sin, it suffices to counsel men and women to leave their sin, and to comfort those who do this, to hope in the mercy of God. And again, priests ought to sharply tell sinners, that if they will not make an end of their sin, but continue in sins, all such deserve pain without any end. And therefore priests should ever busy themselves to live well and holily, and to teach the people busily and truly the word of God, showing to all in open preaching, and in private counselling, ‘That the Lord God alone forgives sin.’ And therefore, those priests who take it upon themselves to absolve men of their sins, blaspheme God, since it pertains only to the Lord to absolve men of all their sins. For no doubt, for a thousand years after Christ was man, no priest of Christ dared take it upon himself to teach the people, either secretly or openly, that they must come to be absolved by them as priests do now. But by authority of Christ's word, priests used to bind callous, customary sinners to everlasting pains, who would never have busied themselves faithfully to know the biddings of God, nor to keep them. And sir, accordingly to this sentence, upon Mid-lent Sunday (two years ago) I heard a monk of Feversharr (called Morden), preach at Canterbury at the cross within Christchurch abbey, saying thus about confession: ‘Since the Lord God is readier to forgive sin than the devil is or may be powerful to move anybody to sin, then whoever will shame and sorrow heartily for their sins, knowledging them faithfully to God, amending them according to their power and cunning, without counsel of anybody other than God and himself (through the grace God) all such men and women may find sufficient means to come to God's mercy, and so to be entirely absolved of all their sins.’ This sentence I said, sir, to this man of yours, and the words as near as I can guess.’

[275] A.D. 1409.

“And the archbishop said, ‘Holy church does not approve this teaching.’

“And I said, ‘Sir, holy church, of which Christ is head in heaven and in earth, must approve this sentence. For look, hereby all men and women may, if they will, be sufficiently taught to know and keep the commandments of God, and to hate and to flee continually all occasion of sin, and to love and to seek virtues zealously, and to believe in God steadfastly; and to trust in his mercy steadfastly, and so to come to perfect love, and continue in this perseveringly. And the Lord does not ask more of any man in this life. And certainly, since Jesus Christ died upon the cross, to make men free, men of the church are too bold and too ready to make men captives, binding them under the pain of endless curses, to do many observances and ordinances, which neither the life nor teaching of Christ nor of his apostles approve.

“And a cleric then said to me, ‘You show plainly here your deceit, which you have learned from those who travelled to sow the tares among the wheat. But I counsel you to go clean away from this teaching, and submit to my Lord, and you will find him gracious to you yet.’

“Then a cleric said to the archbishop, ‘Sir, it is late in the day, and you have far to ride tonight. Therefore make an end with him, for he will make none. But the more, sir, that you busy yourself to draw him toward you, the more obstinate he is made.’

“And then Malveren said to me, ‘William, kneel down, and pray my lord’s grace, and leave all your fancies, and become a child of holy church.’

“And I said, ‘Sir, I have prayed the archbishop often, and still I pray him for the love of Christ, that he will cease his indignation against me; and that he will allow me to do my office of priesthood, as I am charged by God to do it. For I desire nothing else than to serve my God to his pleasing in the state that I stand in.’

“And the archbishop said to me, ‘If of good heart you will submit yourself now here meekly, to be ruled from this time forward by my counsel, obeying meekly and willingly my ordinance, you shall find it most profitable and best for you to do this. Therefore delay me no longer; do what I have said to you now here shortly, or deny it utterly.’

“And I said, ‘Sir, as I have before repeated, I will be ready gladly to obey Christ the head of the holy church, and the teachings, and biddings, and counsels of every pleasing member of Him.’

“Then the archbishop, striking with his hand fiercely upon a table, spoke to me with a great spirit, saying, ‘By Jesus, but if you do not leave off such additions, obliging yourself without any exception to submit to my ordinance (before I go out of this place) I will make you as sure as any thief that is in prison; advise yourself now as to what you will do.’ And then as if he had been angered, he went from the table where he stood, to a window.

“And then Malveren and another cleric came nearer to me, and spoke many words to me pleasantly; and another time they menaced me, and counselled me to submit; or else, they said, I would not escape punishment. For they said I would be degraded, cursed, and burned, and then damned. But now they said, ‘You may eschew all these mischiefs, if you will submit yourself willingly and meekly to this worthy prelate, who has cure of your soul. And for the pity of Christ think to yourself, how great were the clerics the bishop of Lincoln, Herford and Purvey, and still are. They too have forsaken and revoked all the learning and opinions that you and such others hold. Therefore, since each of them is much wiser than you are, we counsel you for the best; that by the example of these four clerics, you follow them, submitting yourself as they did.’

“And I said to the clerics who thus counselled me to follow these men, ‘Sirs, if these men had forsaken benefices of temporal profit and of worldly worship, so that they had absented them, and eschewed from all occasions of covetousness and of fleshly lust, and had taken upon themselves simple living and willful poverty, they would have given a good example to me and

to many others, to have followed them. But now, since all of these four men have slanderously and shamefully done the contrary, consenting to receive and to hold temporal benefices, living now more worldly and more fleshly than they did before, conforming themselves to the manners of this world, I forsake them in this, and in all their doings. For I purpose, with the help of God, to flee these men, teaching and counselling whomever I may, to flee and to eschew the way that they have chosen. Therefore sirs, I pray that you do not busy yourselves to move me to follow these men in revoking and forsaking the truth.'

"Then the archbishop said to his clerics, 'Busy yourselves no longer about him, for he and others such as he is, are confederates together, so that they will not swear to be obedient, and to submit themselves to the prelates of holy church. For now, since I stood here, his fellow also sent me word that he will not swear, and that this fellow counselled him that he should not swear to me. But blessed be God, he shall not have his purpose of him. For he has forsaken all your teaching, submitting himself to be ready and obedient to the ordinance of holy church. And he weeps bitterly, and curses you heartily for the venomous teaching which you showed to him.

"And for your false counsel to your fellow, you have great cause to be right sorry. For a long time you have busied yourself in perverting whomever you might. Therefore you are worthy of as many deaths, as you have given evil counsels. And therefore, by Jesus, you shall go to where Nicholas Herford and Thomas Purvey were harbored. And I undertake, before eight days from this day, you will be right glad to do whatever I bid you. And I will try, if I can make you as sorrowful there as you were glad at my last going out of England. By St. Thomas, I will turn your joy into sorrow.'

"And I said, 'Sir, nobody can lawfully prove that I ever joyed at the manner of your going out of this land. But sir, to say the truth, I was joyful when you were gone. For the bishop of London, in whose prison you left me, found in me no cause to hold me longer in his prison, but at the request of my friends, he delivered me to them, asking no submission from me.'

"Then the archbishop said to me, 'Why I went out of England is unknown to you. But let this be well known to you, that God has called me again, and brought me into this land, to destroy you and the false sect that you are of. And by God, I will pursue you so narrowly, that I will not leave a slip of you in this land.'

"And I said to the archbishop, 'Sir, the holy prophet Jeremiah said to the false prophet, When the word of the prophet comes to pass, then the prophet will know that the Lord has truly sent him.' Jer 28.9.

"And the archbishop (as if he had not been pleased with my saying) turned away here and there, and said 'By God, I will set upon your shins such a pair of pearls that you will be glad to change your voice.'

"These and many more words were spoken to me, menacing me and all others of the same sect with punishment and destruction to the utmost.

"And then the archbishop called to him a cleric, and conferred with him. And that cleric went out, and soon he brought in the constable of Saltwood castle, and the archbishop conferred a good while with him. Then the constable went out, and then diverse seculars came in, and they scorned me on every side, and menaced me greatly. Some counselled the archbishop to burn me by and by, and some other counselled him to drown me in the sea, for it is nearby there.

"And a cleric standing beside me, there kneeled down to the archbishop, asking him that he would deliver me to him to say matins with him, and he would undertake that within three days I would not resist anything that my prelate commanded me to do.

"And the archbishop said that he would settle for me himself.

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“And then the constable came again and spoke privately to the archbishop; and the archbishop commanded the constable to lead me out with him, and he did so. And when we had gone out we were sent for again. And when I came in again before the archbishop, a cleric had me kneel down and ask for grace, and submit myself, and I would find it for the best.

“And then I said to the archbishop, ‘Sir, as I have said to you several times today, I will willingly and humbly obey and submit to God and to his law, and to every member of holy church, as far as I can perceive that these members accord with their head Christ, and will teach me, rule me, or chastise me by authority, specifically by God’s law.’

“And the archbishop said, ‘I knew well he would not submit without such additions.’

“And then I was rebuked, scorned, and menaced on every side. And yet after this, diverse persons cried out for me to kneel down and submit myself; but I stood still, and did not say a word. And then many words were spoken of me, and to me, and I stood and heard them menace, curse, and scorn me, but I said nothing.

“Then awhile later the archbishop said to me, ‘will you not submit yourself to the ordinance of holy church?’

“And I said, ‘Sir, I will full gladly submit myself, as I have shown you before.’

“And then the archbishop had the constable to have me led forth from there in haste.

“And so then I was led out, and brought into a foul prison, where I never was before. But thanked be God, when all men had then gone out from me, and barred fast the prison-door after them, I was by myself. I busied myself thinking on God, and thanking him for his goodness. And I was then greatly comforted, not only because I was then delivered for a time from the sight, from the hearing, from the presence, from the scorning, and from the menacing of my enemies — but I rejoiced in the Lord much more, because through his grace he so kept me, both among the flattering and the menacing of my adversaries, that without heaviness and anguish of my conscience, I passed away from them. For as a tree laid upon another tree, lies athwart or crosswise, so the archbishop and his three clerics were always contrary to me, and I to them.

“Now good God for your holy name, and to the praising of your most blessed name, make us one together, if it be your will. And that it may thus be, let all who read or hear this writing, pray heartily to the Lord God, that He who for his great goodness, cannot be expressed with tongue, grant to us and to all others who are separated in the same way, and for the same cause specially, or for any other cause, that they may be knit and made one in true faith, in steadfast hope, and in perfect charity. Amen.”

What the end was of this good man, and blessed servant of God, William Thorpe, I do not as yet find specified in any history. It is thought that the archbishop, Thomas Arundel, being so hard an adversary against those men, would not let him go. Much less is it to be supposed that he would ever retract his sentence and opinion, which he so valiantly maintained before the bishop. Nor does it seem that he had any such recanting spirit. Again, neither is it found that he was burned. Therefore it remains most likely to be true, that being committed to some strait prison (as the archbishop in his examination threatened him), there (as Thorpe himself confesses) he was so straitly kept, that either he was secretly done away with, or else he died by sickness.

I also find the like end happened to John Ashton, another good follower of Wycliffe, who for the same doctrine of the sacrament was condemned by the bishops. And because he would

not recant, he was committed to perpetual prison, in which the good man continued till his death, (A.D. 1382).

***Articles Taught By John Purvey.***

In the examination of William Thorpe, mention is made of John Purvey, of whom we said something earlier, promising to treat more particularly afterwards. Of this Purvey, Thomas Walden writes,

“John Purvey was the library of Lollards, and glossary upon Wycliffe. He said that the worshipping of Abraham was but a salutation. And that this John Purvey, with Herford, a doctor of divinity, were grievously tormented and punished in the prison of Saltwood, and at the length recanted at Paul’s Cross at London. Thomas Arundel was then archbishop of Canterbury. Afterwards he was again imprisoned under Henry Chichely, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1421.”

Thus much writes Walden. Regarding the sacrament of the last supper, the sacrament of penance, the sacrament of orders, the power of the keys, the preaching of the gospel, of marriages, of vows, of possessions, of the punishing and correcting of the clergy, of the laws and decrees of the church, of the state and condition of the pope and the clergy — of all these generally, he left several treatises, gravely and exactly written.

The articles which he taught, and afterward was forced to recant at Paul’s Cross, were these:

1. That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there is not, nor can there be any accident without the subject;<sup>295</sup> but there truly remains the same substance, and the very visible and corruptible bread, and likewise the very same wine which before the consecration were set upon the altar to be consecrated by the priest — as when a pagan or infidel is baptized, he is spiritually converted into a member of Christ through grace, and yet he remains the very same man which he was before in but proper nature and substance.
2. Auricular confession, or private penance, is a certain whispering, destroying the liberty of the gospel, and newly brought in by the pope and the clergy, to entangle the consciences of men in sin, and to draw their souls into Hell.
3. Every layman being holy and predestinate into everlasting life, is a true priest before God.
4. That many prelates and others of the clergy live wickedly, contrary to the doctrine and example of Christ and his apostles. Therefore those who so live, do not have the keys either of the kingdom of Heaven, nor yet of Hell. Nor should any Christian esteem their censure anymore than as a thing of no force. Yes, even if the pope should perhaps interdict the realm, yet he could not hurt, but rather profit us, in that thereby we would be dismissed from the observance of his laws, and from saying the service according to the custom of the church.
5. If any man makes an oath or vow to keep perpetual celibacy, or does anything else to which God has not appointed him, giving him grace to perform his purpose, that same vow or oath is unreasonable and indiscreet. Nor can any prelate compel him to keep it without doing contrary to God’s ordinance. But he should commit him to the governance of the Holy Spirit and of his own conscience; and thus every man who will not fulfill his vow or oath, cannot do it for that cause.

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<sup>295</sup> See note on page 227. Accidents are the incidental *attributes* of bread (e.g., white, round, savory).

6. Whoever takes upon himself the office of priesthood — though he does not have the charge of souls committed to him according to the custom of the church — not only may, but ought to preach the gospel freely to the people; otherwise he is a thief, excommunicated by God, and by the holy church.

7. That Pope Innocent III and six hundred bishops, and a thousand other prelates, with all the rest of the clergy who together with the pope agreed and determined that in the sacrament of the altar, after the conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, the accidents of that bread and wine remain there without any proper subject of the same. He also ordained, that all Christians should confess their sins once a year to a proper priest, and receive the reverend sacrament at Easter; and he made certain other laws at the same time. All those, Purvey says, in so doing, were fools and blockheads, heretics, blasphemers, and seducers of Christian people. Therefore we should not believe the determinations of them or of their successors, nor should we obey their laws or ordinances, unless they are plainly grounded upon the holy Scripture, or upon some reason which cannot be impugned.

[277] A.D. 1409.

*Other Articles drawn out of Purvey's Books  
more at large by Richard Levingham.*

“As to the sacrament of thanksgiving, that chapter of repentance and remission (*omnis utriusque sexus*),<sup>296</sup> in which it is ordained that every faithful man should at least once every year, that is to say at Easter, receive the sacrament of the Eucharist, is a beastly thing, heretical and blasphemous.

“That Innocent III was the head of antichrist, who after the loosing of Satan, invented a new article of our faith, and a certain feigned doctrine touching the **sacrament** of the altar; that is to say, that the sacrament of the altar is an accident without a substance, or else a heap of accidents without a substance. But Christ and his apostles teach manifestly, that the sacrament of the altar is bread and the body of Christ together, in the manner that he spoke. And in that he calls it *bread*, he would have the people to understand, as they should with reason, that it is true and substantial bread, and not false or feigned bread.

“And although Innocent, that antichrist, alleges that in the council at Lyons, where this matter was decided, were six hundred bishops with him, and one thousand prelates, who agreed in this determination — all those notwithstanding, Purvey calls fools, according to that saying in Ecclesiastes 1. ‘Of fools there are an infinite number.’ And so in like manner Purvey calls them false christs and false prophets, of whom Christ speaks in the 24th of Matthew, ‘Many false christs and false prophets will arise, and deceive many.’ And therefore every Christian man ought to believe firmly that the sacrament of the altar is **true bread** indeed, and not false or feigned bread. And although it is true bread indeed, yet notwithstanding, it is the very body of Christ in that way which he spoke, and called it his *body*; and so it is true bread, and the very body of Christ. And as Christ concerning his humanity was both visible and passible, and by his divinity was invisible and impassible: so likewise this sacrament in that it is very bread, may be seen with the corporal eye, and may also abide corruption. But even though a man may see that sacrament, yet notwithstanding, the body of Christ in that sacrament cannot be seen with the corporal eye, even though it is the body of Christ in that manner he spoke of it; for notwithstanding, the body of Christ is now incorruptible in Heaven. So the sacrament of the cup is very wine, and the very blood of Christ, according to his manner of speaking. Also Innocent III, with a great multitude of his secular priests, made a certain new determination,

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<sup>296</sup> [That is, all of both sexes.](#)

that the sacrament of the altar is an accident without a substance, whereas neither Jesus Christ, nor any of his apostles taught this faith (but openly and manifestly to the contrary), nor yet did the holy doctors, for a thousand years and more, teach this faith openly.

“Therefore when antichrist or any of his shavelings asks you, who are a simple Christian, whether this sacrament is the very body of Christ or not, affirm it to be manifestly so. And if he asks you whether it is material bread, or whatever other bread, say that it is such bread as Christ understood and meant by his proper word; and such bread as the Holy Spirit meant in St. Paul, when he called that bread which he broke, very bread; <sup>1Cor 11.23-24</sup> and wade no further into it. If he asks you how this bread is the body of Christ, say it is as Christ understood it to be his body, who is both omnipotent and true, and in whom there is no untruth. Say also, as the holy doctors say, ‘That the terrestrial matter or substance may be converted into Christ, as the pagan or infidel may be baptized, and hereby be spiritually converted, and be a member of Christ, and so in a certain sense becomes Christ; and yet the same man remains still in his proper nature.’ For so St. Augustine grants that a sinner forsaking his sin, and being made one spirit with God by faith, grace and charity, may be converted into God, and be in a way God, as both David and St. John testify; <sup>Psa 139; Joh 17.21</sup> and yet he is the same person in substance and nature, and in soul and virtue is altered and changed. Yet men of more knowledge and reason may more plainly prove the falsity of antichrist both in this matter and in others, by the gift of the Holy Spirit working in them. Notwithstanding, if men will humbly hold and keep the manifest and apparent words of the holy Scripture, and the plain sense and meaning of the Holy Spirit, and proceed no further, but humbly commit to the Spirit of God, which surpasses their understanding, they may safely offer themselves to death, as true martyrs of Jesus Christ.

“As to the sacrament of **penance**, that chapter (*omnis utriusque sexus*) by which a certain new-found auricular confession was ordained, is full of hypocrisy, heresy, covetousness, pride, and blasphemy; Purvey reproveth that chapter verbatim. Also he says that the penance and pains limited by the canons are unreasonable and unjust for their austerity and rigor. And he further shows how Innocent III brought in a new-found confession, whereby the priests oppress the laymen, compelling them to confess themselves to blind and ignorant priests in whom there is nothing but pride and covetousness, who hold those in contempt who are learned and wise. Also that the decretal of Innocent III, regarding the auricular or vocal confession, was brought in and invented to entangle men’s consciences with sin, and to draw them down to hell. And further, that such a manner of confession destroys evangelical liberty, and prevents men from inquiring after, and retaining the wise counsel and doctrine of those who are good priests, who would willingly teach the people the right way to heaven. For this abuse, all Christian men, especially Englishmen, should decry such wicked laws.

“As to the authority of the **keys** and **censures**, Christian men should esteem Satan (whom men call the pope) and his unjust censures, as no more than the hissing of a serpent, or the blast of Lucifer. Also, no man should trust or put confidence in the false indulgences of covetous priests. These indulgences draw away the hope which men ought to repose in God, to a class of sinful men, robbing the poor of those alms which are given to them. Such priests are manifest betrayers of Christ and of the whole church, and are Satan’s own stewards to beguile Christian souls by their hypocrisy and feigned pardons. Also, because those prelates and clergymen live so execrable a life, contrary to the gospel of Christ and examples of his apostles, and do not truly teach the gospel, but only lies and the traditions of sinful wicked men, it appears most manifestly that they do not have the keys of the kingdom of heaven, but rather the keys of hell. And they may be well-assured that God never gave them authority to make and establish so many ceremonies and traditions contrary to the liberty of the gospel, and to put blocks in Christian men’s ways, so that they can neither know nor observe His gospel in liberty of conscience, and so attain a ready way to heaven.



“As regarding the **preaching** of the gospel, whoever receives or takes upon himself the office of a priest, or of a bishop, and does not discharge that office by the example of his good conversation and faithful preaching of the gospel, is a thief, an excommunicate of God and of holy church.’ And further, ‘If the curates do not preach the word of God, they shall be damned, and if they do not know how to preach, they ought to resign their benefices.’ So that those prelates who do not preach the gospel of Christ (even if they could excuse themselves from doing any other evil) are dead in themselves; they are antichrists, and satans, transfigured into angels of light, and betrayers of Christ’s people.

“Now as to the **correction** of the clergy. By the law of God, and by reason, the king and all other Christians may punish Italy, and all the false priests and clerics within it, and reduce them to the humble ordinance of Jesus Christ. Also, the law of Sylvester the pope is contrary to the law of Christ. And that proud and ambitious Sylvester, <sup>297</sup> by his law, so defended two cardinals (who were not to be defended by the law of Christ), that they might not be convicted by any means, even though they were both vicious and evil.

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“And although Christ sustained and suffered the judgment of unjust temporal judges, our mitred prelates in these days so magnify themselves beyond Christ and his apostles, that they refuse such judgments. Also, those decretals of accusations which prohibit any clerics from being brought before a secular judge to receive judgment, contain both heresy, blasphemy, and error, and bring great gain and commodity to antichrist’s coffers.

“Furthermore, that all Christian kings and lords ought to exclaim against the pope and those who are his favorers, and banish them out of their lands, till such time as they will obey God and His gospel, His kings, and other ministers of God’s justice. Also that bishops and their favorers, who say it does not pertain to kings and secular lords (but to them and their officials) to punish adultery and fornication, fall into manifest treason against the king, and heresy against the Scripture. Also that it pertains to the king to have the order both of priests and bishops, as king Solomon and king Jehoshaphat had.

“Furthermore, in that chapter (*Nullus iudicium de foro competentis* <sup>298</sup>), by which secular judges are forbidden, without the bishop’s commandment, to condemn any cleric to death, is manifestly against the holy Scripture, which declares that kings have power over clerics and priests, to punish them for their deserved crimes. Also that the decree of Boniface, made against the prosecutors, strikers, and imprisoners of cardinals, is contrary both to the holy Scripture, and to all reason. Also that by the law of God and reason, a secular lord may lawfully take a cardinal and put him in prison for committing the crime of open simony, adultery, and manifest blasphemy. Also that the chapter (*Si Papa*, Dist. 40.), which says that the pope ought to be judged by no one, unless the pope is *Devius a fide* (deviated from faith), is contrary to the gospel, which says, *if your brother sins against you, correct him.* <sup>Mat 18.15</sup> Also whereas St. Gregory and St. Augustine called themselves the servants of God’s servants, this proud bishop of Rome, who will not be judged by his subjects (who are indeed his lords, if they are just and good men) destroys the order of God’s law, and all humility; he extols himself above God and his apostles. Also that Christian kings should not only judge this proud bishop of Rome, but also to depose him by the example that Cestrensis declares of Otto the emperor (lib. 6. cap. 8.), who deposed John XII, and instituted Leo in his place. And further, he makes an exhortation

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<sup>297</sup> Pope Sylvester IV, also known as Maginulf, was an antipope from 1105 to 1111, opposing Pope Paschal II during the Investiture Controversy between the Holy Roman Emperor Henry V and the papacy.

<sup>298</sup> *Nullus iudicium de foro competentis*: No judgment from the competent forum.



to the princes to judge the church of Rome, which he calls the great and cursed whore of which St. John writes in Revelation 17.

“Lastly, regarding the laws and determinations of the church: Christians have reasonable excuses and causes to repel the statutes of the pope and of his shavelings, which are not expressly grounded on the holy Scripture, or else upon inevitable reason. Also that simple men reverently receive the sentences of the doctors, and other laws, so far as they are expressly grounded upon the holy Scripture, or good reason. Also that whereas the pope’s laws, and laws of his ministers and clerics are contrary to themselves, and do not have their foundation either upon Scripture or upon reason, simple men ought to bid them farewell. Also that that proud priest of Rome, with all his rabble, might easily err in the faith. And yet the Christian faith is preserved whole and safe in the faithful members of Christ, who are his true church; while the pope and all his rabblement cannot prove that they are any part of His church. Also that the pope with all his favorers may be deceived by a lying spirit, as was Ahab and all his prophets; and that one true prophet, who was Micaiah, may have the truth shown to him. Also that all good Christians ought to cast away from them the pope’s laws, saying, *Let us break their bands asunder*, <sup>Psa 2:3</sup> and let us cast from our necks those heavy yokes of theirs. Also that where these prelates burn one good book for perhaps one error contained in it, they ought to burn all the books of the canon-law, for the manifold heresies contained in them.”

And thus much out of a certain old book written on parchment. This book containing diverse ancient records of the university, seemed to belong at one time to the library of the university, bearing the year of its compiling, A.D. 1396. If this date is correct, then it was written before Purvey recanted before Thomas Arundel, archbishop, at Saltwood, where he was imprisoned.

#### **Letter of King Henry IV to Pope Gregory XII – 1407.**

Here is to be considered, or at least to be admonished, that all this while the schism in the church of Rome continued; and so it endured till the Council of Constance, which was in total, twenty-nine years. The origin of it (as said before) first began with Urban V. Him being dead (A.D. 1389), next followed Pope Boniface IX, who sat fourteen years. He was so impudent and so past shame, in selling his pardons, that he brought the keys of St. Peter into contempt (as Platina says). After him succeeded Innocent VII, who sat for two years. After his death, the cardinals consulted together. They saw the enormity and inconvenience growing from this schism in their church of Rome (and thought to provide some remedy according to the best device they could find). In their conclave where they were assembled for a new election for the pope, they took this order. They promised among themselves — with a solemn vow made to God, to Mary the Blessed Virgin, to Peter and Paul, and to all the blessed company of saints — that if any of them, within or without the college, should be called to the high place of apostolical pre-eminence, he would immediately renounce the jurisdiction and title of his popedom. The rival pope, for the time being, would in like manner renounce his place and title; and his cardinals would in like manner condescend to the other cardinals of Rome. So that both these colleges of cardinals agreeing together, one chief bishop was to be chosen and taken from them both, to be made the true pope. Provided, moreover, that none would seek any release or absolution from the promise, vow, and bond once passed among them. Everyone subscribed to all these things with his hand. These things thus prefixed and ratified, they proceeded to the election, in which Gregory XII was chosen. The same day of his election, in the presence of all the cardinals, he confirmed the vow, sacrament, and promise made, subscribing to them with his hand, in the following form: “And I, Gregory, this day being the; last of November, A.D. 1407, chosen and elected for bishop of Rome, do swear, vow, and promise, and confirm all the premises above

contained,” etc. This being done, shortly after he was crowned. He was eighty years of age. As the time thus passed, the people and cardinals were in great expectation, awaiting when the pope, according to his oath, would give over, with the other pope also. And not long after, the matter began indeed to be attempted between the two popes, by letters from one to the other; assigning both the day and place, where and when they would meet together; yet nothing followed.

This continuing, there was great murmuring among the cardinals to see their holy perjured father so neglect his oath and vow. At length several of them forsook the pope, as being perjured (as no less he was). Moreover they sent to kings and princes of other lands for their counsel and assistance, to appease the schism. Among the rest, Cardinal Bituriensis was sent to the king of England. He published propositions and conclusions (remaining in the registers of Thomas Arundel), proving that the pope ought to be subject to laws and councils. Then King Henry (moved to write to pope Gregory) directs this letter, A.D. 1409:

*The Letter of King Henry IV  
to Pope Gregory XII.*

“Most blessed father, if the discreet providence of the apostolical see would call to mind with what great perils the universal world has been damnified up to now, under the pretense of this present schism. And if he would especially consider the slaughter of some 200,000 Christian people (they say), that has occurred through the occasion of war arising in diverse quarters of the world; and now of late, 30,000 soldiers have been slain through the dissension created over the bishopric of Leodium, between the two set up, one by the authority of one pope, the other by the authority of the other pope, fighting in camp for the title of that bishopric.

[279] A.D. 1409.

“Certainly, you would lament in spirit and be sorely grieved in mind for these things. So that with good conscience you would rather relinquish the honor of the apostolic see, than suffer such horrible bloodshed to ensue under the cloak of dissimulation, following in this the example of the true mother in the book of Kings, who pleading before Solomon for the right of her child, would rather part from the child than have the child be divided by the sword. And although it may be vehemently suspected by the creation of nine new cardinals recently made by you, contrary to your oath (as other men say), that you but little heed or care for ceasing the schism; yet far be it from the hearing and noting of the world, that your circumspect seat should ever be noted and distained with such an inconstancy of mind, whereby the last error may be worse than the first.”

The king likewise directed another letter to the cardinals with the following contents:

*King Henry the Fourth to the Cardinals.*

“Desiring to show what zeal we have had and have for the reformation of peace of the church, by the consent of the states of the realm, we have directed our letters to the bishop of Rome, in the tenor of the copy enclosed with these presents, to be executed effectually. Therefore we seriously beseech your reverend college, that if it chances to have the said Gregory present at the Council of Pisa, and to render up his popedom according to your desire and his own oath, then you so ordain for his state totally, that chiefly God may be pleased thereby, and that both the said Gregory, and also we who entirely love his honor and advantage, may have cause to give you worthily deserved thanks for the same.”

**Three Popes At Once.**

This being done in the year A.D. 1409, the next year following, A.D. 1410, the cardinals of both the popes, to wit, of Gregory and Benedict, by common advice assembled together at

the city of Pisa, for the reformation of unity and peace in the church. A great multitude of prelates and bishops having come to this assembly, a new pope was chosen, named Alexander V. But neither Gregory nor Benedict would fully agree to this election. There were thus *three* popes in the Roman church. That is, not three crowns on one pope's head, but three heads in one popish church at the same time! Alexander, being newly made pope, had scarcely warmed his triple crown, that he straight gives out full remission of sins, not of a few, but all manner of sins whatsoever — to all those who conferred anything to the monastery of St. Bartholomew by Smithfield, and resorted to that church on any of the following days: to wit, on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Easter even, the feast of the Annunciation, from the first even-song to the later. But this pope, who was so liberal in giving remission of many years to others, was not able to give one year of life to himself; for within the same year he died. In his stead came Pope John XXIII.

During the time of Alexander V, a great stir began in the country of Bohemia, occasioned by the books of John Wycliffe, which then came into the hands of John Huss and others, both men and women, especially of the lay sort, and craftsmen. These books began to do much good there. Many of these people, not only men, but women also, were in a short time so ripe in judgment, and prompt in the Scriptures, that they began to ask questions, yes and to reason with the priests regarding matters of the holy Scriptures. This was partly by reading their books translated into their language, and partly by the promoting of John Huss — a remarkably learned man, and a singular preacher at that time in the university of Prague.

Because of this, a complaint was brought to Pope Alexander, who soon caused John Huss to be cited to Rome. But when he did not come at the pope's citation, Pope Alexander addressed his letters to the archbishop of Swinco. In these he straitly charged him to prohibit and forbid, by the authority apostolical, all manner of preaching or sermons to be made to the people, except in cathedral churches or colleges, parish churches, monasteries, or else in their churchyards. And also that the articles of Wycliffe should in no case be permitted to be held, taught, or defended, either privately or openly by any person, of whatever state, condition, or degree. These commanded, moreover, and charged the archbishop, that with four bachelors of divinity, and two doctors of the canon law, he would proceed upon this, and so provide that no person in churches, schools, or any other place, should teach, defend, or approve any of the aforesaid articles. So that, whoever attempted the contrary, would be accounted a heretic; and unless that person solemnly and publicly revoked the said articles, and forever abjured the books in which the articles were contained — so that they may be utterly abolished from the eyes of the faithful — he would be apprehended and imprisoned, without appeal, calling in the help of the secular arm if need required it, etc. These were the contents of this mighty and fierce bull of Pope Alexander.

John Huss justly complained and objected many things against this bull, as appears in his book entitled *De Ecclesia*, cap. 18, where he declares this mandate of the pope to stand directly against the doings and sayings both of Christ and of his apostles. He considered how Christ himself preached to the people in both sea and desert, in fields, houses, synagogues, and villages. And how the apostles also did the same in all places, the Lord mightily working with them. He declared, moreover, that the mandate or bull of the pope redounded to the great detriment of the church, in binding the word of God, so that it might not have free course. It was also prejudicial to chapels newly erected for the word to be preached in them. 'Therefore, (says Huss) from this commandment or mandate of Pope Alexander, I appeal to Alexander, being better informed and advised. And as I was prosecuting my appeal, the lord pope immediately died.'

Then the archbishop of Swinco, to whom this present bull was directed, when he saw the process, bulls, and mandates of the bishop of Rome were thus despised by John Huss and his fellows, and having no hope of redress in king Wenceslaus, who seemed to neglect the matter, the archbishop went to Hungary, to complain to Sigismund king of Hungary, and brother to Wenceslaus. But this archbishop, as soon as he arrived in Hungary (by the just judgment of God) died, as the history says, for sorrow. By this, a little more liberty and quiet was given by the Lord to His gospel, beginning to take root among the Bohemians. This tranquility, however, did not continue long without trouble and persecution, nor could it in those furious days and reign of antichrist. For after Alexander, Pope John XXIII succeeded. Likewise playing his part in this tragedy, he bent all his might and main to disturb the Bohemians, as (Christ willing) will be declared later in the course of our history.

Thus the poor Christians, like the simple Israelites under the tyranny of Pharaoh, were oppressed in every place, but especially here in England, because the English king (unlike Wenceslaus) entirely held with the pope and his prelates against the gossellers.<sup>299</sup>

Because of this, the kingdom of the pope and his members began to grow so strong in this realm, that none dared stir or move against them. The bishops having the king so entirely on their side, armed moreover with laws, statutes, punishments, sword, fire, and faggot, they reigned and ruled as they pleased, like kings and princes in themselves. They were so strong that no human force was able to stand against them; they were so exalted in pride, and puffed up in glory, that they thought all things were subject to their reverend majesties. Whatever they set forth or decreed, it must be received and obeyed by all men.

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And such was their superstitious blindness and curious vanity, that whatever toy came into their fancy, it was at once determined and established as a law to be observed by all men, however frivolous or superstitious. This appears as well by Thomas Arundel archbishop of Canterbury, and others who now having a little leisure from slaying and killing innocent people, martyrs and confessors of the Lord, and now having brought their enemies (they thought) under their feet, they began to set up themselves, and to invent some new custom, as is the habit of the pope's church. They ever intrude into the church of God, some ceremony or custom of their own making, by which the church of Christ has up to now been exceedingly pestered. So likewise this Thomas Arundel, thinking the church was not yet sufficiently filled with ceremonies and vain traditions of men, brought in a new-found bauble, commonly called "The tolling of Aves," in honor of our lady, with certain Aves to be said, and days of pardon to be given for it. For the ratification of this, under the pretense of the king's request, he directed the following mandate to the bishop of London, well-filled with words of idolatry, as will plainly appear by reading it.

*A Mandate of Thomas Arundel, directed to the Bishop of London, to warn men to say certain Prayers at the tolling of the Aves, or ringing of the Curfew.*

"Thomas, etc. To the right reverend brother, the Lord Robert, by the grace of God, bishop of London, greeting, etc. While we lift our eyes round about us, and behold attentively with circumspect consideration, how the most high Word that was in the beginning with God, chose for himself a holy and immaculate virgin of kingly stock, in whose womb he took on true flesh by inspiral inspiration, that the merciful goodness of the Son of God, who was uncreated, might abolish the sentence of condemnation which all the posterity of mankind that was created had incurred by sin. Among other labors in the vine of the Lord of Sabaoth, we sing to

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<sup>299</sup> *Gossellers: here, preachers of the gospel of salvation by grace alone, through faith alone, in Christ alone.*

Bk. V. The last 300 years from the loosing of Satan (1360-1422)

God our Savior with great joy, thinking that though all the people of the Christian religion extolled with voices of praise so worthy a virgin by whom we received the beginnings of our redemption, by whom the holy day first shined unto us, which gave us hope of salvation; and although all the same people were drawn to reverence her who, being a happy virgin, conceived the Son of God, the King of heaven, the Redeemer and Savior of all nations, ministering light to the people who were miserably drowned in the darkness of death — we truly, as the servants of her own inheritance, and those who are written about, to be of her peculiar dower, as we are acknowledged to be by every man's confession — we, I say, should more watchfully than any others show our devotion in praising her. Being merciful to us up to now, she willed that our power, being as it were spread abroad everywhere through all the coasts of the world, should with a victorious arm be feared among all foreign nations; and that our power, being so defended on all sides with the buckler of her protection, subdued to our victorious standards nations both near at hand and far off, and made them subject to us.

“Likewise our happy estate, all the time that we have passed since the beginning of our lives, may be well attributed only to the help of her medicine, to whom also we may worthily ascribe now of late in these times of ours, under the mighty government of our most Christian king, our deliverance from the ravening wolves and the mouths of cruel beasts who had prepared against our banquets, a mess of meat mingled full of gall, and who hated us unjustly, secretly lying in wait for us, in recompence for the good will that we showed to them. Therefore, she being on high, sitting before the throne of the heavenly Majesty, the defendress and patroness of us all, being magnified with all men's praises, may more plentifully exhibit to us, the sons of adoption, the breasts of her grace, in all those things that we have to deal with. At the request of the special devotion of our Lord, the King himself, we command your brotherhood, straitly enjoining you that you command the subjects of your city and diocese, and of all other suffragans, to worship our Lady Mary the mother of God, and our patroness and protectress, evermore in all adversity, with that sort of prayer and usual manner of ringing, as the devotion of Christ's faithful people is accustomed to worship her at the ringing of *cour le feu* (court of fire). And when you cause them to ring before the morning light, that with like manner of prayer and ringing she may be devoutly honored everywhere by suffragans and subjects, ours and theirs, regular as well as secular, in your monasteries and theirs, and in collegiate-churches. So that humbly calling upon the mercy of the heavenly Father, the right hand of the heavenly piety may mercifully come to the help, the protection, and the defense of the same lord our king, who for the happy remedy of quietness, and for our succor from tempestuous floods, is ready to apply his hands to work, and his eyes to watching, with his whole desire. We therefore desiring more earnestly to stir up the minds of all faithful people to so devout an exercise of God, etc., we grant by these presents, to all and every man, etc. who says the Lord's Prayer and the Salutation of the Angel five times at the morning-peal with a devout mind, *toties quoties* forty days' pardon by these presents.<sup>300</sup>

“Given under our seal in our manor of Lambeth the 10th day of February.” (Ex Regist. Thomas Arundel).

The proper natures and condition of this generation appear by this frivolous and barbarous constitution, with many others of the same kind, heaped into the church by the papists, whose priests were more solicitous about worldly honor than Christian humility.

For example, what can be more suitable for a true ecclesiastical pastor, than humility of heart and spirit, according to the example of the Head Bishop himself? So what greater show of arrogance and pride could there be, than in this Thomas Arundel, archbishop of

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<sup>300</sup> *toties quoties* refers to an indulgence in the Roman Catholic Church, that may be gained or granted as often as the required works are performed.

Canterbury? Passing by the High-street of London, he not only looked and waited for the ringing of the bells in honor of his coming, but he took great offense, and suspended all those churches in London (not only from the use of the steeple and bells, but also from the organs) that did not receive his coming with the ringing of bells, as it appears by his own registers, where the following commission is addressed to his own somner.<sup>301</sup>

*A Commission directed to the Somner, to suspend certain Churches of London, because they did not ring their Bells at the presence of my Lord the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

“Thomas, by the permission of God, etc. To our well-beloved Thomas Wilton, our sworn somner, health, grace, and blessing. The attractiveness of our holy church of Canterbury, over which we bear rule, deserves and requires that while we pass through its province (having our cross carried before us) every parish church in their turns ought and are bound, in token of special reverence that they bear toward us, to ring their bells. Notwithstanding this, on Tuesday last, when between eight and nine o'clock before dinner, we passed openly on foot, as it were, through the midst of the city of London, with our cross carried before us; several churches, whose names are here beneath noted, showed towards us willingly (though they certainly knew of our coming) unreverence rather than reverence, and the duty that they owe to our church of Canterbury, ringing not at all at our coming. Wherefore, we being willing to revenge this injury, for the honor of our spouse, as we are bounden, command you, that by our authority you put all those churches under our inditement, suspending God's holy organs and instruments in the same.. Which we also suspend by the tenor of these presents, till the ministers of the aforesaid churches are able hereafter to attain from us the benefit of more plentiful grace. Given,” etc.

[281] A.D. 1410-1413.

What reason was there in this, why this archbishop should thus look for the ringing of the bells, or why he should be thus displeased with not ringing, I do not see. Perhaps his mind in the meantime was greatly occupied with some great subject, such as a sense of God's fear, with repentance and remembrance of his sins, with zealous care and solicitude for his flock, with the earnest meditation of the passion and life of our Savior, who was so despised in this world. Or else he was set upon some grave study, while he waited for the ringing of the bells, which were usually so noisy to all students. And why were the trumpeters not punished as well, because they did not sound before his person? But though the bells did not clatter in the steeples, why should the body of the church be suspended? At least, the poor organs (I think) suffered some wrong in being put to silence in the choir loft, because the bells did not ring in the tower.

### **Penance for not Bringing Litter for the Archbishop's Horse.**

To show the glorious pomp of these prince-like prelates in these blind days of popish religion, I add another example not much unlike these, nor differing much in time, concerning certain poor men cited and enjoined strict penance by William Courtney, the predecessor of Thomas Arundel, for bringing litter (bedding) to his horse — not in carts as they should, but in little sacks, in a secret manner under their cloaks or coats. For this heinous and horrible sin, the archbishop, sitting in his tribunal seat, called and cited before him the persons (*pro littera*, i.e. for litter, in his own Latin), and after their submission, he enjoined them penance. This penance, below, is taken from the archbishop's registers”

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<sup>301</sup> Somner: a summoner; especially one who summons to an ecclesiastical court.

## Bk. V. The last 300 years from the loosing of Satan (1360-1422)

“Ignorance, the mother of error, has so blinded and deceived certain persons, to wit, Hugh Pennie, John Forstall, John Boy, John Wanderton, William Hayward, and John White, tenants of the lord of Wengham, that against the coming of the archbishop to his palace of Canterbury, on Palm Sunday evening, A.D. 1390, where being warned by the bailiff to convey and carry hay, straw, and other litter, to the palace as they were bound by the tenor of their lands, which they hold from the see of Canterbury, refusing and disdaining to do their service as they were accustomed, they brought their straw and other litter, not in carts and wagons openly and sufficiently, but piecemeal, and enclosed in bags or sacks, in contempt of their lord, and in derogation of the right and title of the see of Canterbury. Whereupon being cited and presented before the archbishop, sitting in judgment at his manor of Statewood, they yielded and submitted themselves to his lordship’s pleasure, humbly craving pardon of their trespass. Then the aforesaid archbishop absolved the above-named Hugh Pennie, etc. They swore to obey the laws and ordinances of holy church, and to do the punishment that should be appointed them for their deserts — that is, that going leisurely before the procession, every one of them should carry openly on his shoulder his bag stuffed with hay and straw, so that the hay and straw would appear hanging out, the mouths of the sacks being open.”

### **Parliaments under King Henry IV – 1399-1413.**

To proceed now in the reign of this king, and to say something about his parliaments, as we have done with others. First, we will begin with the parliament held in the first year of his reign.

As our papists will not believe the contrary, but only that the jurisdiction of their father the pope has ever extended throughout all the world, here in England as well as in other places, therefore speaking of the parliaments held in this king’s days concerning this matter, I refer them to the parliament of King Henry in his first year, and to the twenty-seventh article. There they may read in the tenth objection laid against King Richard, in plain words, that as the crown of this realm of England, and the jurisdiction belonging to it, and also the whole realm itself at all times recently past, has been at such liberty and enjoyed such prerogative, that neither the pope nor any other from the same kingdom, should intrude himself nor intermeddle in it. It was therefore objected to King Richard II, that he procured the letters apostolical from the pope to confirm and corroborate certain statutes which then seemed to the parliament to tend against the crown and regal dignity, and also against the statutes and liberties of our realm of England. (Act Parl. An. 1. Reg. Hen. 4. Act 27.)

Further, in the second year of king Henry IV, it was required in the parliament that all such persons who are arrested under the statute made against the Lollards, may be bailed, and freely make their purgation, and that they be arrested by none other than by the sheriffs, or such officers.

Moreover, in the eighth year of this king’s reign it was propounded in parliament, that all such persons who procure, or sue in the court of Rome any process regarding any benefice, collation, or presentation of the same, shall incur the pain of the statute of provisors, made in the thirteenth year of Richard II, to which the king granted that the statutes previously provided should be observed.

In the same parliament, a petition was presented that the king might enjoy half the profits of every parson’s benefice who is not resident on it. The king answered that the ordinaries should do their duties in this, or he would provide further remedy to stay their pluralities.

In the same parliament, it was required that none sue to the court of Rome for any benefice, but only to the king’s courts.



Besides these, in the parliament held the eleventh year of this king, the commons of the land put up a bill to the king to take the temporal lands out of spiritual men's hands or possession. The effect of this bill was that the temporalities disorderly wasted by men of the church, might suffice to find for the king 15 earls, 1500 knights, 6200 esquires, and 100 houses of alms for the relief of the poor people; and over all these aforesaid charges, the king might put 20,000 pounds yearly in his coffers.

Provided, that every earl should have of yearly rent 3000 marks; and every knight 100 marks and four plough-lands; every esquire 40 marks a year, with two plough-lands; and every house of alms 100 marks, with oversight of two true seculars to every house, and also with a provision that every township should keep all their own poor people who could not labor for their living — with a condition that if more fell in a town than the town might maintain, then the said almshouses should relieve such townships.

No answer was made to this bill, except that the king would deliberate and advise on the matter.

These things thus narrated, regarding such acts and matters as occurred in the lifetime of this king, next follows the thirteenth year of his reign. In this year, the king fell grievously sick, after he had sent a little earlier a company of captains and soldiers to aid the duke of Burgundy in France (among whom was the Lord Cobham), keeping his Christmas at Eltham. From there the king was conveyed to London, where he began to call a parliament. In the meantime the infirmity of the king increasing more and more, he was taken and brought to a bed in a beautiful chamber at Westminster. And as he lay in his bed, he asked what they called the chamber he was in; and they answered Jerusalem. And then he said it was his prophesy, that he would die in Jerusalem. And so disposing himself toward his end in his chamber, he died on the twentieth of March A.D. 1413.

### ***King Henry V – 1413.***

After the death of Henry IV, his son Henry V began to reign. Henry was born at Monmouth in Wales. I will not intermeddle much with his other virtues and great factories in France, especially as the memory of his prowess, being sufficiently described by other writers, may both content the reader, and unburden my labor — especially because these later troubles of the church offer me so much, that little leisure is left to intermeddle with secular matters.

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After the coronation of this new king, which was on the ninth of April (then called Passion Sunday), was an exceedingly stormy day. It was so tempestuous that many wondered at the omen. Not long after, a parliament was called and held at Westminster (A.D. 1413). At this time, Thomas Arundel, the archbishop of Canterbury, collected in St. Paul's church at London, a universal synod of all the bishops and clergy of England.

### **The Trouble and Persecution of Lord Cobham.**

The chief and principal cause of the assembling of this synod, as the chronicle of St. Albans reports, was to repress the growing and spreading of the gospel, and especially to withstand the noble and worthy Lord Cobham, who was then noted to be a principal favorer, receiver, and maintainer of them, whom the bishop misnamed as Lollards, especially in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford. Lord Cobham was setting those up to preach whom the bishops had not licensed; and he sent them about to preach what was against the provincial constitutions. They also held and taught opinions of the sacraments, of images, of



pilgrimage, of the keys, and of the church of Rome, that were contrary and repugnant to the received determination of the Romish church, etc.

In the meantime, as the commotion was in debate concerning the good Lord Cobham, there were sent to them twelve inquisitors of heresies (whom they had appointed at Oxford the year before, to search out heretics), with all Wycliffe's books. They brought 246 conclusions which they had collected as heresies out of the books.

The articles being brought in, they proceeded in their communication, concluding that it was not possible for them to make whole Christ's coat without a seam, unless certain great men were taken out of the way, who seemed to be the chief maintainers of the said disciples of Wycliffe. Among them, this noble knight Sir John Oldcastle, the Lord Cobham, was complained of by the general proctors to be the principal one. They accused him first of being a mighty maintainer of suspected preachers in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford, contrary to the minds of the ordinaries. They not only affirmed that he sent the preachers there, but he also assisted them by force of arms, notwithstanding their synodal constitution made to the contrary. Last of all, they accused him of being far otherwise in his belief of the sacrament of the altar, of penance, of pilgrimage, of image worshipping, and of the ecclesiastical power, than the holy church of Rome had taught many years before.

In the end it, was concluded among them, that without any further delay, process should be awarded against him, as against a most pernicious heretic.

Some of them who were craftier in experience than the others, thought it best not to have the matter so rashly handled; but considering that Lord Cobham was a man of great birth, and in favor at that time with the king, their counsel was first to know the king's mind. This counsel was well accepted, and the archbishop, with his other bishops, and a great part of the clergy, went directly to the king. They laid most grievous complaints against Lord Cobham, to his great infamy and blemish, being a right godly man. The king gently heard those blood-thirsty prelates, and far otherwise than became his princely dignity.

Notwithstanding, he required and desired that in respect to Lord Cobham's noble stock and knighthood, they should deal favorably with him; and that they would, possible, without rigor or extreme handling, reduce him again to the church's unity. The king also promised them, that if they were content to take some deliberation, he himself would seriously commune the matter with him.

Soon after the king sent for Lord Cobham. And when he had come, the king called him secretly, admonishing him to submit himself to his mother, the holy church, and like an obedient child, to acknowledge he was culpable. The Christian knight made this answer:

"You, most worthy prince, I am always prompt and willing to obey, for I know you are a Christian king, and the appointed minister of God, bearing the sword to the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of those who do well. To you (next to my eternal God) I owe my whole obedience, and submit to it, as I have ever done, all that I have, either of fortune or nature, ready at all times to fulfill whatever you command me in the Lord. But regarding the pope and his spirituality, I owe them neither suit nor service, for I know him by the Scriptures to be the great antichrist, the son of perdition, the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place."

When the king heard this, he would talk no longer with him, but left him. And as the archbishop resorted again to the king for an answer, he gave him his full authority to cite the Lord Cobham, examine him, and punish him according to their devilish decree, which they called "the laws of holy church." Then the archbishop, by the counsel of his other bishops

and clergy, appointed to call before him Sir John Oldcastle, the Lord Cobham, and to cause him to appear personally, to answer to such articles as they would lay against him.

This most constant servant of the Lord, and worthy knight. Sir John Oldcastle, beholding the fury of antichrist thus kindled against him, perceiving himself also compassed on every side with deadly dangers, took paper and pen in hand, and wrote a Christian confession of his faith, both signing and sealing it with his own hand. In this confession he also answered the four chief articles that the archbishop laid against him. That done, he took the copy with him, and went to the king with it, trusting to find mercy and favor at his hand. This confession of his was none other than the common belief or sum of the church's faith, called *The Apostles' Creed*, then used by all Christian men, with a brief declaration, as follows:

*The Christian Belief of the Lord Cobham.*

“I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth: and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried, He descended into hell, the third day He rose again from the dead. He ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of God the Father; Almighty; and from there He shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy catholic church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. Amen.

“And for a larger declaration of my faith in the catholic church, I steadfastly believe that there is but one God Almighty, in and of whose Godhead are these three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and that those three persons are the self-same God Almighty. I believe also, that the second person in this most blessed Trinity, in most convenient time appointed for it beforehand, took flesh and blood of the most blessed virgin Mary, for the safeguard and redemption of the universal kind of man, which was lost before in Adam's offense.

“Moreover I believe, that the same Jesus Christ our Lord, thus being both God and man, is the only head of the whole Christian church, and that all those who have been or shall be saved, are members of this most holy church. And this holy church I think to be divided into three sorts of companies.

“The first sort are now in heaven, and they are the departed saints. These as they were here conversant, conformed always their lives to the most holy laws and pure examples of Christ, renouncing Satan, the world, and the flesh and all their lusts and evils.

“The second sort are in purgatory (if any such place is in the Scriptures) abiding the mercy of God, and a full deliverance of pain.

“The third sort are here upon the earth, and are called the church militant. For day and night they contend against the crafty assaults of the devil, the flattering prosperities of this world, and the rebellious lusts of the flesh.

[283] A.D. 1413.

“This last company, by the just ordinance of God, is also divided into three several estates, that is to say, into the priesthood, the knighthood, and the commons. Among whom the will of God is that the one should aid the other, but not destroy the other. The priests first of all, secluded from all worldliness, should conform their lives to the examples of Christ and the apostles. They should be occupied in preaching and teaching the Scriptures purely, and in giving wholesome examples of good living to the other two degrees of men. They should be more modest, also more loving, gentle, and lowly in spirit, than any sort of people.

“In the knighthood are all those who bear the sword by law of office; these should defend God’s laws, and see that the gospel is purely taught, conforming their lives to the same, and excluding all false preachers. Indeed, these should rather hazard their lives, than suffer such wicked decrees as either blemish the eternal testament of God, or prevent the free passage of it, whereby heresies and schisms might spring in the church. For they arise principally from erroneous constitutions, first creeping craftily in under hypocritical lies, for advantage. They should also preserve God’s people from oppressors, tyrants, and thieves, and see the clergy supported so long as they teach purely, pray rightly, and administer the sacraments freely. And if they see them do otherwise, they are bound by the law or office to compel them to change their doings; and to see all things performed according to God’s prescribed ordinance.

“The last fellowship of this church, are the common people; whose duty is to bear their good minds and true obedience to the aforesaid ministers of God, their kings, civil governors and priests. The right office of these, is for every man to justly occupy his faculty, be it merchandise, handicraft or cultivating the ground. And so one of them is like a helper to another, always following the just commandments of the Lord God.

“Over and besides all this, I most faithfully believe, that the sacraments of Christ’s church are necessary to all Christian believers; so that they are truly ministered according to Christ’s first institution and ordinance. And as I am maliciously and most falsely accused of misbelief in the sacrament of the altar, to the hurtful slander of many, I signify here to all men, that this is my faith concerning it. I believe in that sacrament Christ’s very body and blood are contained, in the similitude of bread and wine, yes the same body that was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, crucified on the cross, died and was buried, arose the third day from death, and is now glorified in heaven. I also believe the universal law of God to be most true and perfect, and those who do not follow it in their faith and works (at one time or another) can never be saved. Whereas whoever seeks it in faith, accepts it, learns it, delights in it, and performs it in love, shall taste the felicity of everlasting innocency.

“Finally, this is my faith also, that God will ask no more of a Christian believer in this life, but only to obey the precepts of that most blessed law. If any prelate of church requires more, or any other kind of obedience, than this, he disdains Christ, exalting himself above God, and so he becomes an open antichrist. All the premises I believe particularly, and generally all that God has left in his holy Scripture, that I should believe; instantly desiring you my liege lord and most worthy king, that this confession of mine may be justly examined by the most godly, wise, and learned men of your realm. And if it is found in all points agreeing to the truth, then let it be allowed, and that I be acknowledged as none other than a true Christian. If it is proved otherwise, then let it be utterly condemned; provided always, that I be taught a better belief by the word of God, and I shall most reverently at all times obey it.”

This brief confession of his faith the Lord Cobham took to the court, offering it with all meekness to the king to read it over. The king would not receive it, but commanded it to be delivered to those who would be his judges. Then the Lord Cobham desired in the king’s presence, that a hundred knights and esquires might be allowed to come in upon his purgation, whom he knew would clear him of all heresies. Moreover, he offered himself, according to the law of arms, to fight for life or death with any man living, Christian or heathen, in the quarrel of his faith, the king and the lords of his council excepted. Finally, with all gentleness he protested before all who were present, that he would refuse no manner of correction that would be ministered to him according to the laws of God, but that he would at all times with all meekness obey it. Notwithstanding all this, the king allowed him to be summoned personally in his own privy chamber. There was nothing allowed that the Lord Cobham had requested. But as he would not be sworn to submit himself to the

church, and take whatever penance the archbishop would enjoin him, he was arrested again at the king's commandment, and led to the Tower of London.

As the day of examination had come, which was the 23d of September, Thomas Arundel the archbishop, sitting in Caiaphas' room in the chapter-house of St. Paul's, with Richard Clifford bishop of London, and Henry Bolingbrook bishop of Winchester; Sir Robert Morely, knight and lieutenant of the Tower, brought Lord Cobham before them, to whom the archbishop thus spoke.

“Sir John, in the last general convocation of the clergy of this our province, you were detected of certain heresies, and by sufficient witnesses found culpable. Whereupon you were cited by form of spiritual law, and would in no case appear. In conclusion, upon your rebellious obstinacy, you were both privately and openly excommunicated. Notwithstanding, we neither showed ourselves unready to have given you absolution (nor yet do to this hour) if you would have meekly asked for it.”

To this the Lord Cobham seemed as if he had not heard it, having his mind otherwise occupied, and so he desired no absolution. But said he would gladly before him and his brethren, recite that faith which he held and intended always to stand to, if it would please them to permit him to do so. And then he took out of his bosom a certain writing, concerning the articles of which he was accused, and read it before them, giving it to the archbishop as he concluded it.

Then the archbishop counselled with the other two bishops and with the doctors, what was to be done in this matter; commanding the Lord Cobham to stand aside for the time being. In conclusion, by their common assent, the archbishop thus addressed him:

“Come here. Sir John: in this your writing many good things are contained, and right catholic also; we do not deny it. But you must consider that this day was appointed for you to answer to other points concerning articles of which no mention is made in this your writing. And therefore you must declare to us your mind more plainly:

“Whether you hold, affirm and believe that in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration rightly done by a priest, material bread remains, or not? Moreover, whether you hold, affirm, and believe, that concerning the sacrament of penance, every Christian man is necessarily bound to confess his sins to a priest ordained by the church or not?”

After certain other communications, this was the answer of the good Lord Cobham: that he would not declare his mind, nor yet answer to these articles in any other way, than was expressly contained in his writing. Then the archbishop said to him, “Sir John, beware what you do. For if you do not answer clearly to those things that are here objected against you, the law of the holy church is that, once compelled by a judge, we may openly proclaim you a heretic.” He gave this answer to him: “Do as you think best, for I am determined.” Whatever he or the other bishops asked him, he bid them to refer to his bill; for by it he would stand to the very death. He would not give them any other answer that day. The bishops and prelates were much amazed and disquieted at this.

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The day following, the archbishop sent to him in the Tower, this foolish and blasphemous writing, made by him and by his *unlearned* clergy.

*The Determination of the Archbishop and Clergy.*

“The faith and determination of the holy church touching the blissful sacrament of the altar, is this: That after the sacramental words are once spoken by a priest in his mass, the material

bread, that before was bread, is turned into Christ's very body. And the material wine, that before was wine, is turned into Christ's very blood. And so there remains in the sacrament of the altar, from then on, no material bread, nor material wine, which were there before the sacramental words were spoken. How do you believe about this article?

"Holy church has determined that every Christian man, living here bodily upon the earth, ought to confess to a priest ordained by the church, if he may come to him. How do you feel about this article?"

"Christ ordained St. Peter the apostle to be his vicar here in earth, whose see is the holy church of Rome; and he granted that the same power which he gave to Peter should succeed to all Peter's successors, whom we now call popes of Rome; by whose power in particular churches, are ordained prelates, such as archbishops, bishops, parsons, curates, and other degrees; whom Christian men ought to obey according to the laws of the church of Rome. This is the determination of holy church. How do you feel about this article?"

"Holy church has determined, that it is meritorious to a Christian man to go on pilgrimage to holy places; and there especially to worship holy relics and images of saints, apostles, and martyrs, confessors, and all other saints besides, approved by the church of Rome. How do you feel about this article?"

When Lord Cobham had read over this most wretched writing, he marvelled greatly at their mad ignorance. But he considered again that God had given them over, for their unbelief's sake, into most deep errors and blindness of soul. He perceived by this, that their utmost malice was resolved against him, however he might answer. Therefore he put his life into the hands of God, desiring only his Spirit to assist him in his next answer. When September 25th had come, Thomas Arundel, the archbishop of Canterbury, commanded his judicial seat to be removed from the chapter-house of St. Paul's, to the Dominican friars within Ludgate, at London. And as he sat there with Richard, bishop of London; Henry, the bishop of Winchester; and Bennet, the bishop of Bangor, he called in his council of officers, with other doctors and friars. All these, along with a great many more priests, monks, canons, friars, parish clerics, bell-ringers, and pardoners, disdained Lord Cobham with innumerable mocks and scorns, reckoning him to be a horrible heretic, and a man accursed before God.

Soon the archbishop called for a mass book, and caused all the prelates and doctors to swear that every man would faithfully do his office and duty that day. And that neither for favor nor fear, love nor hate of the one party nor the other, should anything be witnessed, spoken, or done, but according to the truth, as they would answer before God and all the world at the day of doom. Then the two notaries were sworn also to witness and to write the process that would be uttered by both parties, and to say their minds (if they otherwise knew) before they would register it. And all this dissimulation was but to color their mischiefs, before the ignorant multitude.

After all this, Sir Robert Morley, knight, and lieutenant of the Tower, came before them, and brought with him the good Lord Cobham, leaving him there among them, as a lamb among wolves, to his examination and answer.

Then the archbishop said to him, "Lord Cobham, you are aware of the words and process which we had on Saturday last in the chapter-house of St. Paul's. I said to you then, that you were accursed for your obstinacy and disobedience to the holy church. "

Then Lord Cobham, with a cheerful countenance, answered: "God said by his holy prophet, 'I will curse your blessings,'" Mal 2.2.

The archbishop continued. "Sir, at that time I gently offered to have absolved you if you would have asked it. And I still do the same if you will humbly desire it in due form and manner as holy church has ordained."

Then the Lord Cobham said, "No, I will not; for I never yet trespassed against you; and therefore I will not do it." And with that he kneeled down on the pavement, holding up his hands towards heaven, and said: "I confess myself here to you, my eternal living God, that in my frail youth I offended you, O Lord, most grievously in pride, wrath, gluttony, and covetousness. I have hurt many men in my anger, and done many other horrible sins. Good Lord, I ask your mercy." And then weeping, he stood up again and said with a loud voice: "Look! good people, look! for the breaking of *God's* law, and *His* great commandments, they never yet cursed me. But for their *own* laws and traditions they most cruelly handle both me and other men. And therefore both they and their laws, by the promise of God, shall be utterly destroyed."

At this the archbishop and his company were not a little hurt. However, he took courage, and examined the Lord Cobham about his Christian belief.

To which the Lord Cobham made this godly answer: "I believe fully and faithfully in the universal laws of God. I believe that all is true which is contained in the holy sacred Scriptures of the bible. Finally, I believe all that my Lord God would I should believe." Then the archbishop demanded an answer to the bill which he and the clergy had sent to him to the Tower the day before, concerning the four articles of which he was accused, especially concerning the sacrament of the altar, how he believed about it.

The Lord Cobham said that he had nothing to do with that bill. But this was his belief concerning the sacrament:

"That his Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, sitting at his last supper with his most dear disciples, the night before he suffered, took bread in his hand; and giving thanks to his Eternal Father, blessed it, broke it, and so gave it to them, saying, 'Take, and eat this, for this is my body which is given for you: do this in remembrance of me.' This I believe, for I am taught this faith in the gospel of Matthew, in Mark, and Luke, and also in the first epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians."

Then the archbishop asked if he believed that it was bread after the consecration or sacramental words spoken over it. Lord Cobham said,

"I believe that in the sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body in the form of bread, the same who was born of the Virgin Mary, crucified on the cross, dead, and buried, and that the third day arose from death to life, which now is glorified in heaven."

Then one of the doctors of the law said, "After the sacramental words are uttered, there remains no bread, but only the body of Christ." The Lord Cobham then said to one Master John Whitehead:

"You said once to me in the castle of Gowling, that the sacred Host was *not* Christ's body. But I held then against you, and proved that his body *was* in it, though the seculars and friars could not agree in this, but each one held against the other in that opinion. These were my words then, if you remember it."

Then a set of them shouted together, and cried with great noise: "We all say that it is God's body." And many of them asked him, in great anger, whether it was material bread after the consecration or not?

Then the Lord Cobham looked earnestly upon the archbishop, and said: "I believe surely that it is Christ's body in the form of bread: Sir, do you not believe thus?"

And the archbishop said, "Yes, do I."

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Then the doctors asked him whether or not it was *only* Christ's body after the consecration of a priest, and not bread? And he said to them:

"It is both Christ's body and bread. I shall prove it thus: for just as Christ dwelling here on the earth had in him both godhead and manhood, and had the invisible godhead covered under that manhood, which was only visible and seen in him, so in the sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body and bread also, as I believe the bread is the thing that we see with our eyes, the body of Christ (which is his flesh and his blood) is hidden under it, and is not seen except in faith."

Then they smiled at one another, that the people would judge him taken in a great heresy. And many of them said: "It is a foul heresy." Then the archbishop asked him what bread it was? And the doctors also inquired of him whether it was material or not? Lord Cobham answered:

"The Scriptures make no mention of this word material, and therefore my faith I has nothing to do therewith. But this I say and believe, that it is Christ's body and bread. Therefore I say now again as I said before, as our Lord Jesus Christ is very God, and very man, so in the most blessed sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body and bread."

Then said they all with one voice: "It is a heresy." One of the bishops stood up and said: "It is a manifest heresy to say that it is bread after the sacramental words are once spoken." Lord Cobham said:

"St. Paul the apostle was, I am sure, as wise as you are now, and more godly learned, and he called it *bread*, writing to the Corinthians, 'The bread which we break,' he says, 'is it not the communion of the body of Christ?' Behold, he called it *bread* and not Christ's body, but a means by which we receive Christ's body."

Then they asked him if he did not believe in the determination of the church? And he said to them,

"No; for it is no god. In all our creed the word '*in*' is mentioned but thrice concerning belief: In God the Father, in God the Son, in God the Holy Spirit, three persons and one God. The birth, the death, the burial, the resurrection and ascent of Christ, has no '*in*' for belief, but only *in Him*. Nor yet do the church, the sacraments, the forgiveness of sin, the later resurrection, nor the life everlasting, have any '*in*' (for belief), other than *in the Holy God*."

Then one of the lawyers said, "But what is your belief concerning holy church?" The Lord Cobham answered:

"My belief is that all the Scriptures of the sacred Bible are true. All that is grounded upon them I believe. But I have no belief in your lordly laws and idle determinations. For you are no part of Christ's holy church, as your open deeds show. But you are very antichrists, obstinately set against His holy law and will. The laws that you have made are nothing to *His* glory, but only for *your* vain glory and abominable covetousness."

This, they said, was an exceeding heresy: not to believe the determination of holy church. Then said the archbishop: "Can you tell me who is of the church?"

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Then Lord Cobham answered: “Yes; truly I can. Christ says that, ‘just as the evil tree is known by its fruit, so is a false prophet by his works.’” <sup>Mat 7.15-17</sup>

Then Doctor Walden said to him: “You make here no distinction between judgments: rash judgment and right judgment — all is one with you. So swift (sound) judges are always the learned scholars of Wycliffe!” To whom the Lord Cobham answered.

“Your judgments are evermore preposterous. For as the prophet Isaiah says: ‘You call evil good and good evil;’ <sup>Isa 5.20</sup> and therefore the same prophet concludes that, ‘your ways are not God’s ways, nor God’s ways your ways.’ <sup>Isa 54.8</sup> And as for the virtuous man Wycliffe, whose judgments you so highly disdain, I will say here on my part, both before God and man, that before I knew that despised doctrine of his, I never abstained from sin. But since I learned to fear my Lord God in this, it has, I trust, been otherwise with me. I could never find so much grace in all your glorious instructions.”

Then Doctor Walden said to him again, “It would not be well with me, if I had no grace to amend my life till I heard the devil preach.” The Lord Cobham said:

“Your fathers, the old Pharisees, ascribed Christ’s miracles to Beelzebub, and his doctrine to the devil. And you, as their natural children, still have the self-same judgment concerning his faithful followers. Those who rebuke your vicious living must be heretics!”

Then he said to them all:

“To judge you as you are, we need go no further than to your own acts. Where do you find in all God’s law, that you should thus sit in judgment on any Christian man, or give sentence upon any other man unto death, as you do here daily? You have no ground in all the Scripture to so lordly take it upon yourself, except in Annas and Caiaphas, who thus sat in judgment upon Christ, and upon his apostles after his ascension. From them alone have you taken it to judge Christ’s members as you do, and from neither Peter nor John.”

Then said some of the lawyers: “Yes, truly, sir, for Christ judged Judas.” The Lord Cobham said:

“No; Christ did not judge him, but Judas judged himself, and thereupon he went out and hanged himself. Since his venom was shed into the church, you never followed Christ.”

Then the archbishop asked him what he meant by the venom of Judas? The Lord Cobham said,

“Your possessions and lordships. Before that time all the bishops of Rome were martyrs in a manner. And since that time we read of very few. But since that time, one has put down another, one has poisoned another, one has cursed another, and one has slain another, and done much more mischief besides, as all the chronicles tell. And let all men consider this well: that Christ was meek and merciful; the pope is proud and a tyrant; Christ was poor and forgave, the pope is rich and a malicious manslayer, as his daily acts prove. Rome is the very nest of antichrist, and out of that nest come all his disciples. Of whom prelates, priests, and monks are the body; these friars are the tail.”

Then he said to them all,

“Christ says in his gospel, ‘Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you shut up the kingdom of heaven against men: for you neither go in yourselves, nor do you allow those who are entering to go in.’” <sup>Mat 23.13</sup> But you stop up the ways to it with your own traditions, and therefore are you the household of antichrist. You will not permit God’s truth to have passage, nor yet to be taught by his true ministers, fearing to have your wickedness reproved. But by



those flatterers who uphold you in your mischiefs, you allow the common people to be most miserably seduced.”

Then the archbishop said, ‘By our lady, sir, none shall preach such things within my diocese nor yet in my jurisdiction, that either make division or dissension among the poor commons.’ The Lord Cobham said,

“Both Christ and his apostles were accused of sedition making, yet they were most peaceable men. But Daniel and Christ prophesied that such a troublous time would come, as has not been yet since the world’s beginning. And this prophecy is partly fulfilled in your days and doings. For you have slain many already, and you will slay more hereafter, if God does not fulfill his promise.”

Then a doctor of law, called Master John Kemp, plucked from his bosom a copy of the bill they had sent him in the Tower, thinking thereby to make shorter work with him. For they were so amazed by his answers (not unlike all those who disputed with Stephen) that they did not know well how to occupy the time, their wits and sophistry so failed them that day.

“My Lord Cobham,” said this doctor, “we must briefly know your mind concerning these four points here following.

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“The first of them is this (and then he read from the bill). The faith and determination of holy church regarding the blessed sacrament of the altar in this, That after the sacramental words are once spoken by a priest in his mass, the material bread, that before was bread, is turned into Christ’s very body, and the material wine is turned into Christ’s blood. And so there remains in the sacrament of the altar from then on no material bread nor material wine, which were there before the sacramental words were spoken. Sir, do you not believe this?”

The Lord Cobham said, “This is not my belief. But my faith is that Christ’s very body is in the worshipful sacrament of the altar, in the form of bread.”

Then the archbishop said, “Sir John, you must say otherwise.”

The Lord Cobham said, “No, that I will not, if God is on my side (as I trust He is), but that Christ’s body is in the form of bread, as is the common belief.” Then the doctor read again.

“The second point is this; holy church has determined that every Christian man living here bodily on earth, ought to be confessed to a priest ordained by the church, if he may come to him. Sir, what do you say to this?”

The Lord Cobham answered and said,

“A diseased or sorely wounded man has need of a wise surgeon. Therefore, it would be most necessary to first be confessed to God, who alone knows our diseases, and can help us. I do not deny in this, going to a priest, if he is a man of good life and learning. For the laws of God are to be inquired of the priest, who is godly learned. But if the man who is my curate is an idiot, or a man of vicious living, I should flee from him rather than seek him.”

Then the doctor read again.

“The third point is this: Christ ordained St. Peter the apostle to be his vicar here in earth, whose see is the church of Rome. And he granted that the same power which he gave to Peter should succeed unto all Peter’s successors, whom we now call popes of Rome. By their special power, prelates and archbishops, parsons, curates, and other degrees are ordained in particular churches, whom Christian men ought to obey according to the laws of the church of Rome. This is the determination of holy church. Sir, do you not believe this?”

To this the Lord Cobham answered and said,

“Whoever follows Peter most nearly in pure living, is next to him in succession. But your lordly order does not greatly esteem the lowly behavior of poor Peter, whatever you prate about him. Nor do you care greatly for the humble manners of those who succeeded him till the time of Silvester, who for the most part were martyrs, as I told you before.”

One of the other doctors asked him; “Then what do you say about the pope?” The Lord Cobham answered,

“As I said before, so I say again; That he and you together make up the great antichrist, of whom he is the great head, you bishops, priests, prelates, and monks are the body, and the begging friars are the tail; for they cover the filthiness of you both with their subtle sophistry. Nor will I in conscience obey any of you all, till I see you, with Peter, follow Christ in your conduct.”

Then the doctor read again.

“The fourth point is this; holy church has determined that it is meritorious to a Christian man, to go on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy relics and images of saints, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and all other saints besides, approved by the church of Rome. Sir, what do you say to this?”

He answered,

“I owe them no service by any commandment of God. It would be best if you swept them far from cobwebs and dust, and so laid them, or else buried them, far in the ground, as you do other aged people who *are* God’s images. It is a wonderful thing that saints, now being dead, should become so covetous and needy, and thereupon beg so bitterly, who all their lifetime hated all covetousness and begging.”

“Why, sir,” said one of the clerics, “will you not worship good images?”

“What worship should I give to them?” asked the Lord Cobham.

Then friar Palmer said to him, “Sir, will you worship the cross of Christ, that he died upon?”

“Where is it?” asked the Lord Cobham.

The friar said, “I put to you the case, sir, that it is here even now before you.”

The Lord Cobham answered, “This is a wise man, to put me an earnest question about a thing, and yet he himself does not know where the thing itself is. Yet once again I ask you, what worship should I do to it?”

A cleric said to him, “Such worship as Paul speaks of, and that is this: ‘God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of Jesus Christ.’” <sup>Gal 6.14</sup>

Then the Lord Cobham said, spreading his arms broadly, “This is the very cross, yes, and so much better than your cross of wood, in that it was created by God. Yet I will not seek to have it worshipped.”

Then said the bishop of London, “Sir, you know well that he died on a material cross.” The Lord Cobham said,

“Yes, and I also know that our salvation did not come by that material cross, but alone by him who died on it. And well I know, that holy St. Paul rejoiced in no other cross, but in Christ’s passion and death only, and in his own sufferings of like persecution with Christ, for the self-same truth that he had suffered for before.”

Another cleric asked him, "Will you then do no honor to the holy cross?"

He answered him, "Yes, if it were my own, I would lay him up honestly, and see to him that he would take no more scathing abroad, nor be robbed of his goods, as he is now-a-days."

Then said the archbishop to him,

"Sir John, we have spent much time here about you, and all in vain so far as I can see. We must now be at this short point with you, for the day passes away. You must either submit yourself to the ordinance of holy church, or else throw yourself into deepest danger. See to it in time, or else it will be too late."

The Lord Cobham said, "I do not know to what purpose I should otherwise submit myself. You have offended me much more than ever I offended you, in troubling me before this multitude."

Then said the archbishop again to him,

"We once again require you to remember yourself well, and to have no other manner of opinion in these matters, than what the universal faith and belief of the holy church of Rome is. And so, like an obedient child, return again to the unity of your mother. See to it, I say, in time, for you may yet have remedy, whereas soon it will be too late."

The Lord Cobham said expressly before them all; "I will not otherwise believe in these points than I have told you here before. Do with me what you will."

Finally the archbishop said; "Well then, I see no other way but that we must do the law; we must proceed to the sentence definitive, and both judge and condemn you as a heretic." And with that, the archbishop stood up and read a bill of his condemnation as follows:

*The Sentence of Condemnation against Lord Cobham.*

"In the name of God, so be it. We, Thomas, by the sufferance of God, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of all England, and legate from the apostolic See of Rome, will have this to be known to all men. In a certain cause of heresy, and upon diverse articles whereupon Sir John Oldcastle, knight, Lord Cobham, after a diligent inquisition made for the same, was detected, accused, and presented before us in our last convocation of all our province of Canterbury, held in the cathedral church of Paul's at London, at the lawful denouncement and request of our universal clergy of the said convocation, we proceeded against him according to the law (God to witness) with all the favor possible.

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"And following Christ's example in all that we might, 'who does not will the death of a sinner, but rather that he might be converted and live,' we took it upon us to correct him, and sought all other ways possible to bring him again to the church's unity, declaring to him what the holy and universal church of Rome has said, held, determined, and taught in that behalf. And though we found him far wide in the catholic faith, and so stiff-necked that he would not confess his error, nor purge himself, nor yet repent him of it; yet pitying him of fatherly compassion, and entirely desiring the health of his soul, we appointed him a competent time of deliberation, to see if he would repent and seek to be reformed. But since that time we have found him worse and worse. Considering, therefore, that he is not corrigible, we are driven to the very extremity of the law, and with great heaviness of heart we now proceed to the publication of the sentence definitive, against him."

Then he brought out another bill containing the sentence, and read that also, as follows:

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“We take Christ to witness, that we seek nothing else in this our enterprise, but only his glory. Forasmuch as we have found by diverse acts done, brought forth and exhibited, by sundry evidences, signs, and tokens, and also by many most manifest proofs, the said Sir John Oldcastle, knight, Lord Cobham, not only to be an evident heretic in his own person, but also a mighty maintainer of other heretics against the faith and religion of the holy and universal church of Rome — namely, about the two sacraments (of the altar, and of penance) besides the pope’s power and pilgrimages; and that, as the child of iniquity and darkness, he has so hardened his heart, that he will in no case attend to the voice of his pastor; nor will he be allured by straight admonishments, nor yet be brought in by favorable words. The worthiness of the cause first weighed on the one side, and his unworthiness again considered on the other side, his faults also aggravated or made double through his damnable obstinacy (we being loath that he who is naughty should be worse, and so infect the multitude with his contagiousness) by the sage counsel and assent of the very discreet fathers, our honorable brethren and lord bishops here present, Richard of London, Henry of Winchester, and Bennet of Bangor, and of other great learned and wise men here, both doctors of divinity and of the canon and civil laws, secular and religious, with diverse other expert men assisting us: we sententially and definitively by this present writing judge, declare, and condemn the said Sir John Oldcastle knight, Lord Cobham, as a most pernicious detestable heretic, convicted upon the same, and refusing utterly to obey the church again, committing him here and from now on as a condemned heretic, to the secular jurisdiction, power, and judgment, to put him thereupon to death. Furthermore, we excommunicate and denounce as accursed, not only this heretic here present, but so many others besides, who will hereafter in favor of his error either receive him or defend him, counsel him or help him, or in any other way maintain him; as very favorers, receivers, defenders, counselors, aiders, and maintainers of condemned heretics.

“And that these premises may be better known by all faithful Christian men, we commit it here to your charges, and give you strait commandment thereupon by this writing also, that you cause this condemnation and definitive sentence of excommunication concerning both this heretic and his favorers, to be published throughout all dioceses, in cities, towns, and villages, by your curates and parish priests, at such times as they shall have most recourse to people. And see that it be done in this way: as the people are thus gathered devoutly together, let the curates everywhere go into the pulpit, and there open, declare, and expound this excess in the mother tongue, in an audible and intelligible voice, so that it may be perceived by all men: and that upon the fear of this declaration the people may also fall from their evil opinions conceived now of late by seditious preachers. Moreover, we would, after we have delivered to each one of you bishops who are here present, a copy of this, that you cause the same to be written out again into diverse copies, and be sent to the other bishops and prelates of our whole province, so that they may also see the contents of it solemnly published within their dioceses and cures. Finally, We would that both you and they signify back to us seriously and distinctly by your writings as the matter is, without feigned color, in every point performed — the day on which you received this process, the time when it was executed by us, and in what sort it was done in every condition, according to the tenor of it, so that we may know it to be justly the same.”

After the archbishop had thus read the condemnation before the whole multitude, the Lord Cobham said with a most cheerful countenance,

“Though you judge my body, which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certain and sure that you can do no harm to my soul, no more than Satan could to the soul of Job. He that created that soul, will of His infinite mercy and promise save it. I have no manner of doubt in this. And concerning these articles before recited, I will stand to them even to the very death, by the grace of my eternal God.”

And with that he turned to the people, casting his hands broadly, and saying with a very loud voice, “Good Christian people, for God’s love be well aware of these men, for they will otherwise beguile you, and lead you blindfolded into hell with themselves. For Christ says plainly to you, ‘If the blind lead the blind, both will fall into the ditch.’” Mat 15.14

After this, he fell down upon his knees, and thus before them all, prayed for his enemies, holding both his hands and his eyes towards heaven, and saying, “Lord God eternal, I beseech you of your great mercy’s sake to forgive my persecutors, if it is your blessed will.” And then he was delivered to Sir Robert Morley, and led out again to the Tower of London, and thus there was an end of that day’s work.

While the Lord Cobham was thus in the Tower, he sent out secretly to his friends, and at his request they wrote the following letter, causing it to be set up in diverse quarters of London, so that the people would not believe the slanders and lies that his enemies, the bishops’ servants and priests, had made abroad about him.

“In that Sir John Oldcastle, knight, and Lord Cobham, is untruly convicted and imprisoned, falsely reported and slandered among the common people by his adversaries, that he thinks and speaks of the sacraments of the church, and especially of the blessed sacrament of the altar, otherwise than was written in the confession of his belief, which was written and taken to the clergy, and so set up in several open places of the city of London, be it known here to all the world, that he has never since varied from it, but this is plainly his belief, that all the sacraments of the church are profitable and expedient to all who shall be saved, taking them with the intent that Christ and his true church has ordained. Furthermore he believes that the blessed sacrament of the altar is truly and truly Christ’s body in the form of bread.”

#### **A Forged Abjuration of Lord Cobham Circulated by the Bishops.**

After this, the bishops and priests were in great discredit both with the nobility and the commons. It was partly because they had so cruelly handled the good Lord Cobham, and partly because they thought his opinion was right, concerning the sacrament. The prelates feared this would become a further inconvenience to them. They consulted, and consented to take a different course from what they had done before. They caused it to be spread abroad by their servants and friends, that Lord Cobham had submitted himself to holy church, utterly changing his opinion concerning the sacrament. And they counterfeited an abjuration in his name, so that the people would not take hold of his opinion or anything they had heard from him before, and so would stand more in awe of them, considering that he was so great a man, and yet was subdued by them.

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This, they say, is the abjuration of Sir John Oldcastle, knight, sometime Lord Cobham:

#### *An Abjuration counterfeited by the Bishops.*

“In the name of God, Amen. I, John Oldcastle, denounced, detected, and convicted of and upon various articles, savoring both of heresy and error, before the reverend father in Christ and my good lord, Thomas, by the permission of God, lord archbishop of Canterbury, and my lawful and rightful judge in that behalf, expressly grant and confess that, concerning the estate and power of the most holy father the pope of Rome, of his archbishops, his bishops, and his other prelates, the degrees of the church, and the holy sacraments of the same, specially of the sacraments of the altar, of penance, and other observances besides of our mother holy church, as pilgrimages and pardons; I affirm, (I say) before the said reverend father archbishop and elsewhere, that I being evilly seduced by diverse seditious preachers, have grievously erred, and heretically persisted, blasphemously answered, and obstinately rebelled. And therefore I

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am lawfully condemned as a heretic by the said reverend father, before the reverend fathers in Christ also, the bishops of London, Winchester, and Bangor.

“Yet, nevertheless, now remembering myself, and desiring by this means to avoid that temporal pain which I am worthy to suffer as a heretic, at the assignation of my most excellent Christian prince and liege lord, King Henry V, now by the grace of God most worthy king both of England and of France; minding also to prefer the wholesome determination, sentence, and doctrine of the holy universal church of Rome, before the unwholesome opinions of myself, my teachers, and my followers, I freely, willingly, deliberately, and thoroughly confess, grant, and affirm, that the most holy fathers in Christ, St. Peter the apostle, and his successors bishops of Rome, specially now at this time, my most blessed Lord Pope John, by the permission of God, the twenty-third pope of that name, who now holds Peter’s seat (and each of them in their succession) has full strength and power to be Christ’s vicar in earth, and the head of the church militant, and that by the strength of his office he has full authority and power to rule and govern, bind and loose, save and destroy, accurse and absolve all other Christian men.

“And still agreeably to this I confess, grant, and affirm all other archbishops, bishops, and prelates in their provinces, dioceses, and parishes (appointed by the said pope of Rome to assist him in his doings or business), by his decrees, canons, or virtue of his office, to have had in times past, to have now at this time, and that they ought to have in times to come, authority and power to rule and govern, bind and loose, accurse and absolve the subjects or people of their aforesaid provinces, dioceses, and parishes, and that their said subjects or people should of right in all things obey them. Furthermore, I confess, grant, and affirm, that the said spiritual fathers, such as our most holy father the pope, archbishops, bishops, and prelates, have had, have now, and ought to have hereafter, authority and power for the state, order, and governance of their subjects or people, to make laws, decrees, statutes, and constitutions, yes, and to publish, command, and compel their subjects and people to observe them.

“Moreover, I confess, grant, and affirm, that all these aforesaid laws, decrees, statutes, and constitutions, made, published, and commanded according to the form of the spiritual law, all Christian people, and every man in himself is straitly bound to observe, and meekly to obey, according to the diversity of the aforesaid powers, as the laws, statutes, canons, and constitutions of our most holy father the pope, incorporated in his decrees, decretals, clementines,<sup>302</sup> codes, charts, rescripts, sextiles,<sup>303</sup> and extravagantes over all the world. And as the provincial statutes of archbishops in their provinces, the synodal acts of bishops in their dioceses, and the commendable rules and customs of prelates in their colleges, and curates in their parishes, all Christian people are both bound to observe, and also most meekly to obey. Over and besides all this, I, John Oldcastle utterly forsaking and renouncing all the aforesaid errors and heresies, and all other errors and heresies like them, lay my hand here upon this book, or holy gospel of God, and swear that I will never more from now on wittingly hold these heresies, nor any other like them. Nor will I give counsel, aid, help, or favor at anytime, to those who hold, teach, affirm, and maintain them, as God will help me, and these holy evangelists.

“And that I will from now on faithfully obey and inviolably observe all the holy laws, statutes, canons, and constitutions, of all the popes of Rome, archbishops, bishops, and prelates, which are contained and determined in their holy decrees, decretals, clementines, codes, charts, rescripts, sextiles, sums, papal extravagantes, statutes provincial, acts synodal, and other ordinary rules and customs constituted by them, or that will chance hereafter to be

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<sup>302</sup> *Elementines*: the components of the faith, such as beliefs, practices, and traditions.

<sup>303</sup> *Sextiles*: presumably the rules governing marriage and the legitimacy of children (degrees of sanguinity).

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determined or made directly. To these, and all such others, I will apply myself with all power possible. Besides all this, the penance which it pleases my said reverend father the lord archbishop of Canterbury hereafter to enjoin me for my sins, I will meekly obey and faithfully fulfil. Finally, all my seducers and false teachers, and all others besides, whom I hereafter know to be suspected of heresy or errors, I will effectually present, send, or cause to be presented to my said reverend father lord archbishop, or to those who have his authority, as soon as I can conveniently do it, and see that they are corrected to my utmost power.”

This abjuration never came into the hands of the Lord Cobham, nor was it compiled by them for that purpose, but only to blur the eyes of the unlearned multitude for a time. After Lord Cobham had remained in the Tower a certain time, he escaped one night (it is not known by what means), and fled into Wales, where he continued four years. <sup>304</sup>

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Sir Roger Acton was also apprehended, condemned, and put to death or martyrdom three years and more before the Lord Cobham died. Likewise master John Brown, and John Beverley, the preacher, suffered the same kind of death with him (some say) in the field of St. Giles, with 36 others (if the story is true). This was in January A.D. 1414, after the compilation of our English histories.

These men, as said, suffered about three years before Lord Cobham. Some say they were hanged and burnt in St. Giles' field; others that only some of them were hanged and burnt. Polydore,<sup>305</sup> speaking only of their burning, makes no mention of hanging. An English Chronicle records about Sir Roger Acton, that his sentence before the justice was to be drawn through London to Tyburn, and there to be hanged. And when certain days were past (the author says) a trumpeter of the king's called Thomas Cliff, got the king's grant to take him down and bury him.

After the decease or martyrdom of these, who were executed in the month of January, A.D. 1414, in the next month of the same year, God took away the great enemy of his word, and rebel to his king, Thomas Arundel archbishop of Canterbury. His death so suddenly following the execution of these good men, by the marvellous stroke of God, may seem somewhat to declare their innocence, and that he was also some great procurer of their death, in that God would not permit him to live longer, striking him immediately with death. But as I did with others before, so I do with this: I refer to the secret judgment of the Lord, who once shall judge all secrets openly.

Henry Chichesly succeeded next in the see of Canterbury, A.D. 1414, and sat for 25 years. Following the steps of his predecessor, he showed himself no small adversary against the favorers of the truth. In his time there was much trouble and great affliction in the church.

[289] A.D. 1414.

For as the preaching and teaching of the word multiplied and spread abroad daily, more and more, so on the contrary side, more vigilant care and strait inquisition increased against the people of God. Because of this, many suffered and were burned. Some for fear fled the country; many were brought for examination, and by infirmity, were constrained to abjure.

As true piety and sincere preaching of Christ's word began to decay at this time; so idle monkery and vain superstition began to increase in its place. For about the same year, the king began the foundation of two monasteries. One, the Friars Observants, was on the one

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<sup>304</sup> For Lord Cobham's recapture and execution, see p. 323.

<sup>305</sup> Polydore Vergil (c. 1470-1555), an Italian historian who wrote about British history in the 16th century.

side of the Thames. On the other side, was one called Sheen and Zion. It was dedicated to charter-house monks, with certain Bridget-nuns or recluses, numbering sixty, dwelling within the precincts. So that the whole number of these — with priests, monks, deacons, and nuns — totalled 84, equalling 12 apostles, and 72 disciples. Their order was according to the description of St. Paul the apostle, in Col 1.24, “Eat not, taste not, touch not,” etc. They were to eat no flesh, wear no linen, touch no money, etc.

About Michaelmas,<sup>306</sup> the same year, the king began his parliament at Leicester. In this parliament the commons put up their bill again, which they had put up before in the eleventh year of Henry IV, that temporalities, disorderly wasted by the men of the church, might be converted and employed for the use of the king, of his earls and knights, and to the relief of the poor people, as recited earlier. In fear of this bill, lest the king give it any audience (as Robert Fabian <sup>307</sup> and other writers testify) the prelates put the king in mind to claim his right in France. Whereupon Henry Chichesly archbishop of Canterbury made a long and solemn oration before the king to persuade him to do that, offering the king great and noble sums on behalf of the clergy. By this (Fabian says) the bill was again put off, and the king set his mind for the recovery of his right.

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I will now return to other matters of the church.

### ***John Huss and the Bohemians.***

I declared a little earlier (p. 256) how by the occasion of Queen Anne, who was a Bohemian, and married to King Richard II, the Bohemians thereby came to the knowledge of Wycliffe’s books here in England, and first began to taste and favor Christ’s gospel, till at length, by the preaching of John Huss, they increased more and more in knowledge.

It went so far, that Pope Alexander V, hearing of it, directed his bull to the archbishop of Swinco, requiring him to look to the matter, and to provide that no person in churches, schools, or other places, should maintain that doctrine, citing also John Huss to appear before him. John Huss in answer, declared that the mandate or bull of the pope was opposed to the manifest examples and doings both of Christ and of his apostles, and prejudicial to the liberty of the gospel, in binding the word of God so as not to have free course. And therefore he appealed from this mandate of the pope, to the same pope now better advised. But while he was prosecuting his appeal, Pope Alexander died, as said before (p. 279). After him succeeded Pope John XXIII, who sought by all means possible to suppress the Bohemians. He began to work his malice upon John Huss their preacher, who preaching at Prague, seemed willing to teach the gospel of Christ, rather than the traditions of bishops, and was therefore accused to the pope as a heretic.

The bishop committed the whole matter to Cardinal de Columna who, when he heard the accusation, appointed a day to John Huss, that he should appear in the court of Rome. Once this was done, Wenceslaus king of the Romans and of Bohemia, at the request of his wife Sophia, and of the whole nobility of Bohemia, and also at the earnest suit and desire of the town and university of Prague, sent his ambassadors to Rome, to desire the bishop to deliver John Huss from that sentence and judgment. And if the bishop suspected the kingdom of Bohemia to be infected with any heretical or false doctrine, he should send his ambassadors,

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<sup>306</sup> *Michaelmas*: a quarter day in England, Wales, and Ireland (Sept. 29th) to honor the archangel Michael.

<sup>307</sup> Robert Fabian (d. 1513), a London draper, Sheriff, and Alderman, was an author who lived in the 15th century. He is known for his work “Fabyan’s Chronicle,” a history of England and France from the founding and naming of Albion by Brutus in the first century (Britain), through King Henry VII.



who might correct and amend it, if there were any errors or faults in them; and that all this should be done at the costs and charges of the king of Bohemia. And to promise in his name that he would aid and assist the bishop's legates with all his power and authority, to punish all such as should be taken or found in any erroneous doctrine. John Huss, also, before his appointed day, sent his proctors to the court of Rome, and proved his innocency with the firmest and strongest reasons. But when the Cardinal de Columna (to whose will and judgment the whole matter was committed) would not allow any defense or excuse, John Huss' proctors appealed to the high bishop. Yet notwithstanding this last refuge, they did not prevail with Cardinal de Columna. He openly excommunicated John Huss as an obstinate heretic, because he did not come on his appointed day to Rome.

However, as his proctors had appealed to the high bishop, they had other judges appointed, such as Cardinal Aquileianus and Cardinal Venetus, with others. The judges, after they had deferred the matter for a year and a half, at last returned to the sentence and judgment of Cardinal de Columna. And confirming it, he commanded John Huss' proctors to cease defending him anymore, for he would allow it no longer. Upon which, when his proctors would not cease their urgent suit, some of them were cast into prison and grievously punished. The others, leaving their business undone, returned into Bohemia.

The Bohemians, however, little cared for all this, continuing still. As they grew more in knowledge, so the less they regarded the pope, complaining daily against him and the archbishop for stopping the word of God and the gospel of Christ to be preached. They said that by their indulgences and other practices of the court of Rome, and of the bishop's consistory, they sought their own profit, and not the glory of Jesus Christ; that they took from the sheep of Christ the wool and milk, and did not feed them, either with the word of God, or with good examples. Moreover, the Bohemians were teaching and affirming that the commandments of the pope and prelates are not to be obeyed, except so far as they follow the doctrine and life of Christ and of his apostles; and that laymen ought to judge the works of prelates, as Paul judged the works of Peter in correcting him, Gal 2.

Furthermore, they had among them certain notes and observations by which they might discern how far and in what they might obey their prelates. They also derided and scorned the pope's jurisdiction, because of the schism that was then in the church, when there were three popes at the same time, one striving against another for the papacy.

After the death of the Archbishop Swinco, one Conrad was appointed by the pope as chief general. This Conrad, conferring with the divines and doctors of the university of Prague, required their advice and counsel as to which way they should best take to assuage the dissension and discord between the clergy and the people. So a council was devised and held, where it was decided in this manner:

“1. That all doctors and masters of the university of Prague should be assembled in the court of the archbishop, and in his presence, every doctor and master should swear not to hold or maintain any of the forty-five articles of John Wycliffe, previously condemned.

“2. Concerning the seven sacraments of the church, the keys and censures of the church, the manners, rites, ceremonies, customs, and liberties of the church, concerning also the worshipping of reliques and indulgences, the orders and religions of the church, that every one shall swear that he holds, believes, and maintains, and will maintain as the church of Rome does, and not otherwise; of this church of Rome, the pope is the head, and the college of cardinals is the body who are the true and manifest successors of blessed St. Peter, prince of the apostles, and they are of the college of the other apostles of Christ.

“3. That everyone shall swear that in every catholic matter belonging to the church, he will stand to the determination of the apostolical see, and that he will obey the prelates in all manner of things, wherever the thing, which is purely good, is not forbidden; or that which is merely bad, is not commanded, but is mean and indifferent between both. This mean or indifferent thing, yet notwithstanding by circumstances of time, place, or person, may be either good or evil.

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“4. That everyone shall swear and confess by his oath, that the opinions of Wycliffe and others, regarding the seven sacraments of the church, and other things above noted, being contrary to the church of Rome, are false.

“5. That an oath is required by them all, that none of them shall hold, defend, or maintain any of the forty-five articles of John Wycliffe aforesaid, or in any other catholic matter, and especially of the seven sacraments and other articles above specified, but only as the church of Rome does, and not otherwise.

“6. That every ordinary in his diocese shall cause the premises contained in the first, second, third, and fourth articles to be published in his synods, and by his preachers to the people in the kingdom of Bohemia.

“7. If any cleric, student, or layman withstands any of the premises, that the ordinary has authority, if that person is convicted of it, to correct him according to the old laws and canons, and that no man shall defend such a one by any means; for none but the ordinary has power to correct such a man, because the archbishop is chancellor both of the kingdom and university of Prague.

“8. That the songs recently forbidden, being odious, slanderous, and offensive to others' fame, not be sung either in the streets, taverns, or any other place.

“9. That Master John Huss shall not preach so long as he shall have no absolution of the court, nor shall he hinder the preaching in Prague by his presence; that by this, his obedience in the apostolical see may be known.

“10. That this council appears to be good and reasonable for putting away the ill report and dissension that is in the kingdom of Bohemia.

“11. If Master John Huss with his accomplices will perform this, which is contained in the four former articles, then we will be ready to say as they would wish us and have us, whenever need requires, that we agree with them in matters of faith. Otherwise, if they will not so do, in giving this testimony, we would lie greatly to our lord the king and the whole world. And moreover, we will be content to write for them to the court of Rome, and do the best we can for them.”

This counsel and devise being considered among the heads of the university of Prague, the aforesaid administrator named Conrad, presented it to the king and to the barons of the realm, and also to the senate of Prague. As soon as information of it came to John Huss and his adherents, they likewise drew out other articles in the manner and form of a council as follows:

“For the honor of God and the true preaching of his gospel, for the health of the people, and to avoid the sinister and false infamy of the kingdom of Bohemia, and of the marquis of Moravia, and of the city and university of Prague, and for reforming peace and unity between the clergy and the scholars of the university:

“1. Let the right and just decree of the princes and of the king's council be held in force, which between the Lord Archbishop Swinco on the one party, and between the rector and Master

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John Huss on the other party, was made, proclaimed, sealed, and solemnly received and allowed on both parts in the court of our sovereign lord the king.

“2. That the kingdom of Bohemia remain in its former rites, liberties, and common customs, as other kingdoms and lands; that is, in all approvals, condemnations, and other acts concerning the holy mother universal church.

“3. That Master John Huss (against whom the aforesaid Lord Swinco could object no crime before the council) may be present in the congregation of the clergy, and there whoever will object against him either heresy or error, let him object, binding himself to suffer the like pain, if he does not prove it.

“4. If no man will set himself on the contrary part against him, then let the command be made by our sovereign lord the king through all his cities, and likewise let it be ordained and proclaimed through all villages and towns, that Master John Huss is ready to render account of his faith, and therefore if any will object against him any heresy or error, let him write his name in the chancery of the lord archbishop, and bring forth his proofs openly before both the parties.

“5. If none such is be found to object, or who will write his name, then let him be called for who rumored in the pope’s court that in the kingdom of Bohemia in the city of Prague, and in the marquisdom of Moravia there were many whose hearts are infected with heresy and error, that they may prove who they are, and if they are not able to prove it, let them be punished.

“6. That commands be directed to doctors of divinity and of the canon law, and to the chapter of cathedral churches, and that it be required of them all and of every one particularly, that they will bring forth his name, if they know any such person to be a heretic or erroneous, and if they deny to know any such man, then let them recognize that before the public notary, confirming the same with their seals.

“7. These things thus done and premised, that our sovereign lord the king, and also that the archbishop, will then give commandment under pain, that no man shall call one another heretic or erroneous, unless he will stand to the proof of that heresy or error.

“8. That our sovereign lord the king, with the consent of his barons, will then levy a subsidy, or collect from the clergy, and direct an honest embassy to the pope’s court, with which ambassadors let those persons go at their own proper charges or expenses for their purgation, who have caused this kingdom to be falsely and grievously defamed in the apostolic court.

“9. In the meantime, for the presence of Master John Huss, no interdict ought to be made, as it was made of late contrary to the order and determination of our holy mother church.”

As this matter was thus in altercation between the two parties, the one objecting, the other answering, it happened by the occasion of Ladislaus king of Naples, who had besieged the pope’s towns and territories, that Pope John raising up war against Ladislaus, gave full remission of sins to all those who would war on his side to defend the church. When this bull of the pope’s indulgence came to Prague, and was there published, King Wenceslaus, who then favored that pope, gave command that no man should attempt anything against the pope’s indulgences. But Huss with his followers, not able to abide the impiety of those pardons, began to speak against them. There were three certain artificers of this company who, hearing the priest preaching these indulgences, openly spoke against them, and called the pope antichrist, who would set up the cross to fight against his fellow Christians. For this they were brought before the senate, and committed to prison; but the people joining together in arms, came to the magistrates, requiring them to be let loose. The magistrates with gentle words and fair promises satisfied the people, so that every man returning home

to his own house, the tumult was assuaged. But the captains being in prison were beheaded there, whose names were John, Martin, and Stascon. The death and martyrdom of these three being known to the people, they took the bodies of those who were slain, and with great solemnity brought them to the church of Bethlehem. And so their bodies were sumptuously interred in the church of Bethlehem. John Huss preached at the funeral, much commending them for their constancy, and blessing God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who had hidden the way of his truth from the prudent of this world, and revealed it to the simple lay people and inferior priests, who chose to please God rather than men.

Thus the city of Prague was divided. The prelates with most of the clergy, and most of the barons who had anything to lose, held with the pope — especially Steven Paletz, being the primary doer on that side. On the contrary part, the commons with part of the clergy and the students of the university, were with John Huss.

[291] A.D. 1414.

Wenceslaus the king, fearing lest this grew into a tumult, and being moved by the doctors and prelates, and the council of his barons, thought it best to remove John Huss out of the city, who had been excommunicated before by the pope. And further to end this dissension in the church, he committed the matter to the doctors and the clergy. Consulting together among themselves, they set forth a decree, ratified and confirmed by the sentence of the king, containing the sum of eighteen articles, for maintaining the pope and of the See of Rome, against the doctrine of Wycliffe and John Huss. John Huss, thus departing out of Prague, went to his country where, being protected by the lord of the soil, he continued preaching there, to whom resorted a great concourse of people. Nor was he yet so expelled out of Prague, that he did not sometimes resort to his church at Bethlehem, and there also he preached to the people.

Against the decree of the doctors, John Huss with his company replied, and answered to their articles with contrary articles, as follow:

*The Objections of John Huss and of his party  
against the Decree of the Doctors.*

“1. The foundation of the doctors, upon which they found all their writings and counsels, is false — which foundation is that part of the clergy in the kingdom of Bohemia is pestilent and erroneous, and holds falsely about the sacraments.

“2. The doctors hereby defame the kingdom of Bohemia, and raise up new discords.

“3. Let them show, therefore, those persons of the clergy, whom they call pestilent, and so let them verify their report, binding themselves to suffer like pain if they are not able to prove it.

“4. It is false what they say of the pope and his cardinals as the true and manifest successors of Peter and of the apostles, and that no other successors of Peter and of the apostles can be found upon the earth besides them, when no man knows whether he is worthy of hatred or of favor, and *all* bishops and priests are successors of Peter and of the apostles.

“5. Not the pope, but Christ only is the head; and not the cardinals, but all Christ’s faithful people are the body of the catholic church, as all holy Scripture and decrees of the holy fathers testify and affirm.

“6. And as regarding the pope, if he is a reprobate, it is plain that he is no head — no, nor even a member of the holy church of God, but of the devil and of his synagogue.

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“7. The clergy of the gossellers agreeing with the saying of St. Austin which they allege, and according to the sanctions of the fathers, and determinations of the holy mother church, say and affirm laudably, that the condemnation and prohibition of the forty-five articles (of Wycliffe) is unlawful, and unjust, and rashly done; and that is not only because the doctors — but also all bishops and archbishops, in such great causes, namely, regarding faith, as these articles do — have no authority at all.

“8. The second cause of the discord, which they allege, is also most false; seeing that the faith of all Christendom concerning the church of Rome, is divided into three parts because of three popes which now reign together; and the fourth part is neutral. Neither is it true that we ought to stand in all things to the determination of the pope and of the cardinals, but only so far as they agree with the holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament.

“9. In the fourth article they run into dotage, and are contrary to themselves, because they dotishly reprehended the gossellers who, in all their doings, receive the holy Scripture (which is the law of God, the way of truth and life) for their judge and measure; and afterward they themselves allege the Scripture (Deu 17; Lev 14) where all judges, both popes and cardinals, are taught to judge and discern between leper and leper, and in every ecclesiastical cause, only according to the rule of God’s law. And so they are contrary to their second article, in which they say that in every catholic matter we must run to the pope, which is contrary to the foolish condemnation of the articles aforesaid.

“10. Consequently, like idiots, they most falsely allege for their purpose the canon, under the name and authority of Jerome, where they apply the words of Jerome most impertinently to the pope of Rome, which he writes to St. Austin,<sup>308</sup> calling him a most blessed pope.

“11. By this letter of Jerome it is manifest that the first article of those doctors is false. For by these words it appears that others besides the bishop of Rome and his cardinals are called blessed popes, holding the faith and seat of Peter, and are successors of the apostles, as was Austin and other holy bishops.

“12. It follows moreover, that the church of Rome is not that place where the Lord appointed the principal see of his whole church; for Christ, who was the head priest of all, first sat in Jerusalem, and Peter sat first in Antioch, and afterwards in Rome. Also other popes; some sat in Bononia, some at Perusium, some at Avignon.

“13. The prelates are falsifiers of the holy Scriptures and canons, and therefore are worthy to be punished, who affirm and say that we must obey the pope in all things, because it is known that many popes have erred, and one pope was also a woman (see p. 90); to whom it was not only *not* lawful to give obedience, but also unlawful to communicate with them.

“14. Their sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh articles are grounded upon untrue and false persuasions, and therefore are to be rejected and detested, seeing that they do not induce to peace and verity, but to dissension and falsity.

“15. It is also manifest to the laity, that this dissension among the clergy rises for no other cause, but only for the preaching of the gospel, which reprehends such simoniacs and heretics in the church of God as haunt the court of Rome, spreading out their branches abroad into all the world, who deserved to be removed and extirpated, not only by the clergy gossellers, but also by the secular power. And so these three vices, to wit, simony, luxury, and avarice (which is idolatry), are the causes of all this dissension among the clergy in the kingdom of Bohemia. These three vices being removed, peace and unity would soon be restored in the clergy.

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<sup>308</sup> [That is, Augustine of Hippo \(354-430\).](#)

“16. Moreover, their last article is too gross, and not only without all law, but also without all color of law; whereas they fondly and childishly argue thus: that the processes made against Master John Huss ought to be obeyed, because truly the common sort of the clergy of Prague have received them. By the same reason they may argue also, that we must obey the devil, for our first parents Adam and Eve obeyed him. Also our ancestors before us were pagans, and therefore we must obey them, and be pagans also.

“17. But let this frivolous opinion go: this is certain truth, that the processes made against Master John Huss, are by law null and void; for they were obtained, drawn, wrought, and executed contrary to the commission of the pope, against the determination of the holy mother church.

“18. Finally, whoever wittingly and obstinately defends and executes the said process made, are all to be counted as blasphemers, excommunicate, and heretics.”

To these objections of John Huss the doctors again answered in a long tedious process. The scope of it principally tended to defend the principality of the pope, and to maintain obedience to him above all other potentates in the world, affirming and contending that although Christ alone is the head of the whole multitude of those who are sleeping in purgatory, and who are laboring in the church militant, and who are resting in heaven, yet this does not hinder the pope from being head of the church here militant, that is, of all the faithful, who here in this world live under his office, etc.

Thus then Master John Huss being driven out of Prague by these doctors, and moreover being so excommunicated that no mass could be said where he was present, the people began mightily to grudge and to cry out against the prelates and other popish priests who were the workers of it, accusing them of being simoniacs,<sup>309</sup> covetous, immoral, adulterers, proud; not sparing to lay open their vices to their great ignominy and shame, and greatly crying for a reformation among the clergy.

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The king seeing the inclination of the people, and not being ignorant of the wickedness of the clergy, began under the pretense of reforming the church, to require greater exactions upon those priests and men of the clergy who were known and accused of being wicked livers. Upon which, those who favored John Huss taking the occasion, complained of all, accused many, and spared none, whoever they knew to be of the popish faction, or enemies to John Huss. Because of this, the popish clergy were brought into great fear and distress, both those who were faulty, and those who were not faulty, so that they were glad to fall in, or at least not to fall out, with the protestants, being afraid to displease them. By this means Master Huss began to take some more liberty, and to preach in his church at Bethlehem. By the same means the people also received some comfort, and the king much gain and money.

And thus the popish clergy, while they went about to persecute John Huss, were entrapped themselves in great tribulation, and afflicted on every side, so that women and children were against them; and by the means through which they thought to entangle Huss, they were overthrown themselves.

Because there was a council held at Rome four years before, against the articles and books of John Wycliffe, it will not be impertinent nor out of purpose to repeat a certain merry

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<sup>309</sup> *Simoniac*: someone who practices simony, the buying or selling of ecclesiastical privileges or offices.

history, and worthy otherwise to be noted, written by Nicholas Clemangis, who was of a certain spirit which ruled the popish councils. His words are these:

“The pope called a council at Rome about four years before, at the earnest suit of several men, and a mass of the Holy Spirit being said at the opening of the council (according to the customary manner), the council being set, and Pope John sitting highest in a chair prepared for him for that purpose, behold, an ugly and dreadful owl, or as the common proverb is, the evil sign of some mischance of death, flew to and fro, with her evil favored voice; and standing upon the middle beam of the church, cast her staring eyes upon the pope. The whole company began to marvel, to see the night-crow, which usually abides no light, how he should mid-day come in the face of such a multitude; and they judged (not without cause) that it was an ill-favored token. For behold, they said (whispering in one another’s ear) the spirit appears in the shape of an owl. And as they stood beholding one another, and advising the pope, they could scarcely keep their countenance from laughter. Pope John himself, upon whom the owl steadfastly looked, blushing at the matter, began to sweat, and to fret, and fume with himself. And not finding by what other means he might solve the matter, and being so confused, he dissolved the council, and rose up and departed. After that there followed another session, in which the owl again was present in the same manner, although not called, I believe, looking steadfastly upon the bishop. Beholding it had come again, he was more ashamed than he was before, saying that he could no longer abide the sight of her, and commanded that she be driven away with bats and shoutings. But being afraid neither with their noise, nor at anything else, she would not go away, until with the strikes of the sticks, which were thrown down at her, she fell down dead before them all.”

#### ***The Council of Constance – 1414.***

Here is to be noted that during all the time of Pope John, three popes ruled simultaneously for twenty-nine years. On account of this, a general council was held at Constance (A.D. 1414). It was called by the emperor Sigismund, and Pope John XXII, for healing the schism between the three popes who were striving for the popedom. The first was John whom the Italians set up in Pisa. The second was Gregory XII, whom the French set up in Rome.<sup>310</sup> The third was Benedict XIII, whom the Spaniards set up in Avignon. In this conflict everyone defended his own pope, to the great disturbance of the Christian nations. This council continued four years, and in it all matters were decided mostly by four nations, viz. the English, German, French, and Italian. Out of these four nations, four presidents were appointed to determine the matters of the council. The names of these presidents were these: John the patriarch of Antioch for France, Anthony, archbishop of Reigen for Italy, Nicholas, archbishop of Geneva for Germany, and Nicholas bishop of Bath for England.

First, John XXII resigned his papacy. The emperor gave him thanks, and kissed his feet. But afterward, John repented that he had done so, and sought means to flee. So, changing his garments, he fled by night with a small company. The emperor pursued and captured him. Being thus deposed, John was carried to the castle of Manheim, where he was kept prisoner for three years.

This Pope John was deposed by the decree of the council, with more than forty-three most grievous and heinous crimes being objected and proved against him — such as, that he had hired a physician to poison his predecessor Alexander; that he was a heretic, a simoniac, a liar, a hypocrite, a murderer, a dice-player, an adulterer, and finally, what crime was he *not* infected with?

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<sup>310</sup> Because Gregory ruled in Rome, he is considered the pope, and the other two are called antipopes.

And now to return to the council, first we will declare the order of their sessions, with the things generally concluded in them. Then we will (Christ willing) address such matters as pertain to the history of the Bohemians, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, who were condemned and burned in the same ungodly council.

This council of Constance, was summoned by the emperor Sigismund and Pope John XXIII, and assembled about the latter part of the year (A.D. 1414). Having begun, as the custom is, with a mass of the Holy Spirit, and as they were singing their customary hymn, "Come Holy Spirit," etc., there was at the same time a certain paper set up in the church, containing these words: "We (*i.e.* The Spirit) are otherwise occupied at this time, so we cannot come to you." The council continued for four years, and had forty-five sessions, in which many things were concluded. These were altogether too long to be recited here as the deposition of three separate popes. Yet I mind to make some brief recapitulation of the principal matters.

In the first session, it was chiefly concluded,

1. That this council was lawfully assembled.
2. That the departure of the pope would be no hindrance, but the council might proceed.
3. This council should not be dissolved before the church was reformed, in the superiors as well as inferiors.

In the fourth session, this was first concluded: that a synod assembled in the Holy Spirit, making a general council, representing the whole catholic church here militant, has power directly from Christ, to which power every person, of whatever state or dignity he may be, yes, the pope himself, ought to be obedient in all such things as concern the general reformation of the church, in the heads as well as in the members.

Also the pope should not transfer the court of Rome and the officers of the court from the city of Constance. And that all his censures, doings and workings, to the prejudice of this council, should be of no effect.

In the fifth session the same articles were repeated and concluded again.

In the sixth session commissioners were appointed out of the four nations for the hearing of John Huss.

The memory of John Wycliffe was condemned, and the sentence given in the council held at Rome upon the condemnation and burning of Wycliffe's books, was confirmed.

In the same session, a citation was sent out against Jerome of Prague.

In the seventh session nothing was handled, but that the tenor of the citation against Pope John was recited.

In the eighth session, the sentence and condemnation of John Wycliffe and his forty-five articles was recited, and sentence given against his memory, and his bones to be burned.

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In the ninth session, the matter and cause of Pope John was again addressed, and commissioners were appointed to inquire upon his cause, and as judges for the same.

In the tenth session, suspension was given out and read against the pope.



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In the eleventh and twelfth sessions, notaries were assigned and definitive sentence given against the pope. It was also decreed that none of those who sought the papacy, should be chosen pope.

In the thirteenth session it was decreed that no priest, under pain of excommunication, shall communicate to the people under both kinds, bread and wine.<sup>311</sup>

In the fourteenth session came the resignation of Pope Gregory XII, who was one of the three mentioned before who were striving for the papacy, with certain other articles concerning the election of the bishop of Rome.

Then ensues the fifteenth session, in the which silence was commanded under pain of excommunication and the great curse, that no person or persons, high or low, of whatever estate or degree he might be, whether emperor, king, cardinal, or other, should disturb the said session with any manner of noise, either by hand, foot, or voice. This being done, the sentence and condemnation against John Huss was read and published.

In the sixteenth session ambassadors were assigned by the council to go into Aragon to Benedict XIII to negotiate with him for the resignation of his papacy, as the other two had done before.

In the seventeenth session the emperor took a journey to the king of Aragon, to deal with Pope Benedict. An excommunication denounced against all those who would go about to impeach the emperor's journey about that matter, etc.

In the eighteenth session it was also decreed there, that such letters and bulls as were written in the name of that council, should be received with no less credit and authority than the bulls proceeding from the apostolic see, and that those who falsified them should incur no less penalty, than the falsifiers of the other. Also, Legates and ambassadors were sent into Italy.

In the nineteenth session Jerome of Prague was accused of heresy, and cast into prison by the council, and constrained to abjure.

It was also decreed that notwithstanding the safe conduct given by the emperor and kings, etc., inquiry may be made against any man for heresy by a sufficient judge, and process to be made according to the law.

In the twentieth session there was nothing important.

The twenty-first session was in the year 1416, beginning in their customary manner with a mass of the Holy Spirit, with a procession and other such rites. During the mass, James, bishop of Lundy gave a sermon, and Jerome of Prague being present, stood up, replying against the foresaid James and his sermon, whereupon Jerome was delivered to the secular power, and burned.

From the twenty-second to the thirty-first sessions there was nothing of particular importance.

In the thirty-second and thirty-third sessions, the accusation of Pope Benedict was renewed, his obstinacy accused, and witnesses were brought in. The Emperor Sigismund was present.

In the thirty-fourth session, the cause of the pope was heard, and process was given out against him.

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<sup>311</sup> [The wine was reserved for the clergy; the laity received only the bread.](#)

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In the thirty-sixth session a citation was made and read against the pope, containing his deprivation, and the sentence against him. And whereas this pope had thundered out his curses, deprivations, and excommunications against them, the synod annihilated all his doings.

The thirty-seventh session renewed again the accusation of the aforesaid pope, and the sentence definitive against him was published.

The thirty-eighth session referred to the king of Aragon.

Thus Pope Benedict being deposed and excommunicated, in the next sessions following they addressed themselves to the election of a new pope, beginning first in the thirty-ninth session, to give out decrees concerning general councils, and provision for avoiding similar schisms hereafter. Decreeing every tenth year to have a general council, after the two councils that would follow immediately after this. Of these, the one should be kept within the next five years following, and the second within seven years after that.

In the same session, a form was drawn out regarding such things as the pope should profess and bind himself to observe at the time of his election. The order and tenor that form is this:

“I, N\_\_\_\_. elected for pope, profess with heart and mouth to Almighty God, whose church I take upon myself to govern by his help, and to blessed St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, so long as I shall endure in this frail and brittle life, firmly to believe and hold the holy catholic faith according to the traditions of the apostles, of general councils, and of other holy fathers, and, namely, of the eight general councils; Nicene the first, the second of Constantinople, Ephesine the third, Chalcedon the fourth, the fifth and sixth of them in Constantinople, the seventh of Nice, the eighth of Constantinople. And also of the general councils of Lateran, Lyons, and Vienna, willing to observe the same faith inviolate even to the uttermost, and to preach and defend the same, even to spending my life and blood; and also by all means possible to prosecute and observe the rite of the sacraments canonically delivered to the catholic church. And this, my profession and confession, by my commandment being written out by the notary of the arches of the holy church of Rome, I have subscribed with my own hand, and sincerely with a pure mind and devout conscience I offer it to the Almighty God upon such an altar, etc. In the presence of such witness, etc. Given,” etc.

In the fortieth session, certain decrees were read, as to reformations to be made through the whole church by the pope, with the council, before this synod should break up.

Also, that they should proceed to the election of the bishop of Rome, notwithstanding the absence of those cardinals who were with Pope Benedict in Spain. This done, the order and manner was decreed for the election of the pope.

In the next session, which was forty-one, the constitution of Clement VI was read, concerning the order and diet of the cardinals then in the conclave, about the choosing of the pope, and oaths were ministered to the cardinals and other electors, binding them to observe and keep all such things as they should be bound to during the time of the election.

1. That they should enter into the conclave within ten days after the fortieth session, which was this present day after sunset.
2. That every cardinal should have but two servitors attending him, at most, either of the laity or clergy, as they chose themselves.
3. That they should remain together in the conclave, without any wall between them, or any other cover, except bare curtains, if any were disposed to sleep.

4. That the conclave should be so shut up, and the entry to the privy chamber be kept so straitly, that none of them should come in or out, nor any have recourse to them to talk with them privily or openly.
5. That no man should send to them either messenger or writings.
6. That a competent window should be assigned to them to serve their victuals, but that no person might enter there.
7. That no day after their first ingress into the conclave, besides bread, wine, and water, they should have any more dishes but one of only one kind, either of flesh or fish, eggs, pottage, made of fish or flesh, not of the daintiest sort, besides salads, cheese, fruit, and conserves (candied fruit), of which there shall be no principal mess made except for sauce and taste.
8. That not one should be compelled to go into the conclave; but if they all refused to go in, then they would be compelled.
9. That those who would go out might; but if they would all go out before the pope was elected, they would be compelled to go in again, except those whom infirmity excused; but without the excuse of infirmity, if anyone went out, he would not be admitted again, unless they all went out together.

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10. That those who went out because of infirmity, to be absent, and return before the election is determined, may be admitted again into the conclave in the same state in which they find the election to stand.

Further, and besides these, the keepers of the conclave should also be sworn to see all these premises observed and kept without fraud or guile, and that they should not straiten the cardinals and other electors beyond the order taken here.

These things thus prepared and set in order, the patriarch of Constantinople, with the cardinals and other archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, doctors, with other electors, entered into the conclave on Monday. On Thursday, after they had hatched out a pope, it being St. Martin's eve, they thereupon named him Martin. This Martin thus being elected, was straightway brought in by the emperor and the council into the church of Constance, and there enthroned as pope, with great solemnity and triumph. The twenty-first of that month, this Martin, according to their accustomed pomp, was honorably brought in to be crowned with a sumptuous procession from the high church of Constance, to the monastery of St. Austin. The emperor was on foot leading his horse by the bridle on the right hand, and the marquess of Brandenburgh prince, elector, likewise leading his horse on the left hand, the pope himself riding in the middle on his palfrey.

And thus being brought to the monastery, and round about again from there to the high church of Constance, he was there crowned with all magnificence.

In the forty-third session, certain other decrees and statutes were made by Pope Martin in the synod, annulling all the acts and proceedings of the other popes before, during the time of the schism from the time of Gregory II. Also in matters concerning exemptions, unions, fruits, and profits of the church; benefices, simony, dispensations, tithes, and burdens of the church. Also concerning the apparel of the clergy, and such other things.

Now to finish our tedious reciting of this synod, the Cardinal Umbald, by the commandment of the pope and the council, with a high and loud voice pronounced these words: "Lord, depart in peace;" to which the bystanders answered, "Amen."

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- The number of the foreigners resorting to this council, both spiritual and temporal, was 60,500; of which the number of archbishops and bishops was 346.
- Abbots and doctors, 564.
- Secular men (princes, dukes, earls, knights, esquires), 16,000.
- Besides women belonging to the same council, 450.
- Barbers, 600.
- Minstrels, cooks, and jesters, 320.

So that the whole multitude which were viewed to be in the town of Constance, between Easter and Whitsuntide, were numbered to be 60,500 strangers and foreigners at that council.

Here is to be noted that in this COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE nothing was decreed or enacted worthy of memory, except this: that the pope's authority is under the council, and that the council ought to judge the pope.

And regarding the communion in both kinds (bread and wine), although the council did not deny that it was used by Christ and his apostles, yet notwithstanding, it was decreed by the council to the contrary.

***John Huss Summoned to the Council.***

Up to here we have comprehended the order and discourse of this council, with its acts and sessions. This council, although it was principally thought to be assembled for quieting the schism between the three popes, yet a great part of it was for the affair of the Bohemians, and especially John Huss. For, before the council began, the Emperor Sigismund sent certain gentlemen of his own household, to bring John Huss to the council, under his safe conduct. The meaning of this was that John Huss should purge and clear himself of the blame which they had laid against him; and for the better assurance of this, the Emperor not only promised him safe conduct, so that he might come freely to Constance, but also that he would return again into Bohemia, without fraud or interruption. He also promised to receive Huss under his protection, and under the safeguard of the whole empire.

*The Safe Conduct Given to John Huss.*

“Sigismund, by the grace of God, king of the Romans, of Hungary and Denmark, Croatia, etc. To all princes, ecclesiastical as well as secular, to dukes, marquesses, and earls, barons, captains, borough masters, judges, and governors, officers of towns, burgesses, and villages, and to all rulers of the commonalty, and generally to all the subjects of our empire, to whom these letters shall come, grace and all goodness.

“We charge and command you all, that you respect John Huss, who has departed out of Bohemia, to come to the general council, which will be celebrated and held very shortly at the town of Constance. This John Huss we have received under our protection and safeguard of the whole empire, desiring that you will cheerfully receive him when he comes towards you, and that you treat and handle him gently, showing him favor and good will, and show him pleasure in all things, regarding the forwardness, ease, and assurance of his journey, by land as well as by water.

“Moreover, we will, that he and all his company, with his carriage and necessaries, shall pass throughout all places, passages, ports, bridges, lands, governances, lordships, liberties, cities, towns, boroughs, castles, and villages, and all other of your dominions, without paying any manner of imposition or tribute, or any other manner of toll whatever. We will, also, that you allow to pass, rest, tarry, and sojourn at liberty, without doing to him any manner of

impeachment, or vexation, or trouble; and that if need so requires, you provide a faithful company to conduct him with, for the honor and reverence which you owe to our imperial majesty. Given at Spire, the eighteenth of October, in the year of our Lord God, 1414.”

By this it may appear that this safe conduct was granted not in the time of the council by the *bishop*, but before the council by the *emperor*, who was or ought to be the principal ordainer and director of the council under God. Now, whether the bishops did right in breaking the emperor’s promise, I will defer to a more convenient time to examine it fully.

John Huss seeing so many fair promises, and the assurance which the emperor had given, sent answer that he would come to the council. But before he departed out of the realm of Bohemia, and especially out of the town of Prague, he wrote certain letters, and caused them to be fastened upon the gates of the cathedral churches and parish churches, cloisters and abbeys — a copy of which follows here:

“Master John Huss, bachelor of divinity, will appear before the most reverend father, the Lord Conrad, archbishop of Prague, and legate of the apostolic seat, in their next convocation of all their prelates and clergy of the kingdom of Bohemia, being ready always to satisfy all men who require him to give a reason of his faith and hope that he holds, and to hear and see all those who will lay to his charge, either any stubbornness of error or heresy, that they should write in their names there, as required both by God’s law and man’s. And if it so happens that they could not lawfully prove any stubbornness of error or heresy against him, then they would suffer the like punishment that he should have had, to whom all together he will answer at the next general Council of Constance, before the archbishop and the prelates, and according to the decrees and canons of the holy father, show forth his innocency in the name of Christ. Dated the Sunday next after the feast of St. Bartholomew.”

After this, as all the barons of Bohemia were assembled in the abbey of St. James, about the affairs of the realm, the archbishop of Prague was also present.

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There John Huss presented petitions by which he most humbly desired the barons that they would show him that favor towards the archbishop, that if the archbishop suspected him of any error or heresy, he should declare it openly, and that he was ready to endure and suffer correction for the same at his hands. And if he had found or perceived no such thing in him, that he would then give him a testimonial of it. The archbishop confessed openly, before all the assembly of barons, that he did not know that John Huss was culpable or faulty in any crime or offense.

About the ides of October, A.D. 1414. John Huss, accompanied by two noble gentlemen, Wancelat of Duba, and John of Clum, departed from Prague, and took his journey towards Constance.

In all cities as he passed by, and principally when he had departed out of Bohemia, and entered into Germany, a great number of people came to him, and he was very gently received and entertained through all the towns of Germany, and especially by the citizens and burgesses, and oftentimes by the curates. And if it happened that there was any information before of his coming, the streets were always full of people desirous to see and gratify him; and especially at Nuremberg, where certain merchants certified the citizens of his coming. There were many curates who came to him, desiring that they might talk with him secretly. To them he answered that he loved much rather to pronounce and show forth his mind and opinion openly before all men, for he would keep nothing hidden. So, after

dinner, till it was night, he spoke before the priests and senators, and other citizens, so that they all held him in great estimation and reverence.

Twenty days after that, he departed the town of Prague, which was November 3d. He came to Constance, and lodged at an honest matron's house, being a widow named Faith, in St. Galles Street.

The day after his arrival, Master John de Clum, and Master Henry Latzemboge, went to the pope, and certified to him that John Huss had come, under the emperor's safe conduct. They also desired that on his part he would grant John Huss liberty to remain in Constance without any trouble, vexation, or interruption. The pope answered that even if John Huss had killed his brother, yet he might go about as much as it lay in him, and that no outrage or hurt should be done to him during his abode in the town of Constance.

The 20th day after Huss had come to Constance, during all which time he was occupied in reading, writing, and familiar talk with his friends, the cardinals sent two bishops — to wit, the bishops of Augusta, and of Trent — to the place where John Huss lodged, to report to him that they were sent by the pope and his cardinals, to notify him that he should come to render some account of his doctrine before them, as he had often desired, and that they were ready to hear him.

John Huss answered, "I have not come for any such intent, as to defend my cause before the pope and his cardinals," protesting that "I never desired any such thing. But I would willingly appear before the whole assembly of the council, and there answer for my defense openly, without any fear or doubt, to all such things as will be demanded or required of me. Notwithstanding," he said before the cardinals, "because you require me so to do, I will not refuse to go with you. And if it happens that they entreat or handle me evilly, nevertheless I trust in my Lord Jesus, that he will so comfort and strengthen me, that I will desire much to die for His glory's sake, rather than deny the verity and truth which I have learned by his holy Scriptures." Therefore, it came to pass, that the bishops being instant upon him, and not showing any outward appearance that they bore any malice or hatred against him in their hearts, John Huss took his horse which he had at his lodging, and went to the court of the pope and the cardinals.

When he had come, and saluted the cardinals, they began to speak to him in this way:

"We have heard many reports of you, which, if they are true, are in no case to be allowed. For men say that you have taught great and manifest errors against the doctrine of the true church; and that you have sown your errors abroad throughout the realm of Bohemia for a long time. Therefore we have caused you to be called before us, so that we might understand and know how the matter stands."

John Huss answered in few words,

"Reverend fathers, you will understand that I am thus minded, that I would rather choose to die, than be found culpable of only one error, much less of many and great errors. For this cause I have more willingly come to the general council, to show myself ready even with all my heart to receive correction, if any man can prove any errors in me."

The cardinals answered him back, that his sayings pleased them very well, and upon that they went away, leaving John Huss with Master John de Clum, under the guard and keeping of the armed men.

In the meantime, they suborned and furnished out a certain divine, a Franciscan friar, a subtle and crafty man, and a malicious hypocrite, to question John Huss. He was surrounded with armed men. This man drawing near in his monkish gesture, said,

“Reverend master, I, a simple and ignorant man, have come to you to learn. For I have heard many strange and contrary things against the catholic faith ascribed to you. Therefore I desire you, even for the love which you bear to the truth, and to all good and godly men, that you would teach me, a most simple and miserable man, some certainty and truth. And first, men say, that you hold an opinion that after the consecration and pronounciation of the words in the sacrament of the altar, there remains only material bread.”

John Huss answered that it was falsely attributed and imputed to him.” Then the friar asked, “I pray you, is this not your opinion?” “No truly,” said John Huss, “I do not think of it so.” When the monk asked this question the third time, Master John de Clum being moved somewhat with him, said, “Why are you so importunate upon him? Truly, if any man had affirmed or denied anything to me even once, I would have believed him. And you, although he has shown you his mind so often, yet you do not cease to trouble him.” Then the monk said, “Gentle master, I pray you pardon me, an ignorant and simple friar; surely I did it of a good mind and intent, being willing and desirous to learn.” This friar put another question to him, protesting his simplicity and ignorance, what manner of unity of the Godhead and manhood was in the person of Christ? When John Huss heard this question, he turned to Master John de Clum, and said in the Bohemian language, “Truly this friar is not simple as he pretends, for he has propounded to me a very hard question.” And afterward turning himself to the friar, he said to him, “Brother, you say that you are simple, but as I have heard you, I perceive very well that you are double and crafty, and not simple.” “It is not so,” said the friar.

“Well,” said John Huss, “I will cause you to understand that it is so. For as to the simplicity of a man, it is required in things that concern civility and manners that the spirit, the understanding, the heart, the words, and the mouth, should agree together. And I do not perceive this in you. There is in your mouth a certain semblance of simplicity, which would very well declare you to be an idiot and simple, but your deeds show plainly and evidently a great subtlety and craft in you, with a great quickness and liveliness of wit, to propose to me so hard and difficult a question. Notwithstanding, I will not fear to show you my mind in this.”

And when he had made an end, the monk gave him great thanks for his gentleness, and so departed. After that, the pope’s garrison who were around John Huss, told him that this friar was called master Didace, who was esteemed and counted the greatest and most subtle divine in all Lombardy. “ Oh, said John Huss, “if I had known that before, I would have handled him in another fashion; but I would to God they were all such, then through the help and aid of the holy Scriptures I would fear none of them.

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### **John Huss Imprisoned.**

In this manner, Hubs and master John de Clum were left under the keeping of these men-at-arms until four o’clock in the afternoon. After that time the cardinals assembled again in the pope’s court, to devise and take counsel what they should do with John Huss.

A little before night, they sent the provost of the Roman court to master John de Clum, to show him that he might return to his lodging; but as for John Huss, they had otherwise provided for him. When master John de Clum heard this news, he was shockingly displeased, because through their crafts, subtleties, and glossing words, they had so drawn

this good man into their snares. Whereupon he went to the pope, declaring to him all that was done; most humbly beseeching him, that he would call to remembrance the promise which he had made to him and master Henry Latzemboge, and that he would not so lightly falsify and break his faith and promise. The pope answered that all these things were done without his consent or commandment, and said further to master Clum, aside, "What reason is it that you should impute this deed to me, seeing that you know well enough that I myself am in the hands of these cardinals and bishops?"

So the said master Clum returned very pensive and sorrowful, He complained very sorely, both privately and openly, of the injury and outrage that the pope had done, but it all profited nothing. After this, John Huss was led by the officers to the charter-house of the great church of Constance, where he was kept prisoner for eight days. From there he was carried to the Jacobines, nearby the river Rhine, and was shut up in the abbey prison.

After he had been enclosed there a certain time, he fell sorely sick of an ague (fever) because of the stench of the place; he became so weak, that they despaired of his life. And for fear, lest this good man die in prison, as others usually to do, the pope sent to him certain of his physicians to cure and help him. In the midst of his sickness, his accusers made importunate suit to the principals of the council, that John Huss might be condemned. And they presented to the pope these articles written here:

*Articles presented against John Huss.*

"First, he errs about the sacrament of the church, and specially about the sacrament of the body of Christ, as he has openly preached that it ought to be ministered openly to the people under both kinds, that is to say, the body and the blood. This article is evident, in that his disciples at this instant in Prague minister the same in both kinds. Moreover it is affirmed by several, that he has taught both in the schools and in the church, or at the least that he holds this opinion, that after the words of consecration pronounced upon the altar, material bread still remains in the sacrament. This article shall be known by his examination.

"Secondly, he errs as to the ministers of the church, in that he says they cannot consecrate or minister the sacraments when they are in mortal sin. This article shall likewise be known by his examination. Notwithstanding, all that is contained here may he gathered by his writings on the church, which if he denies them, then let there be some divines and others appointed to peruse and look over his writings. Moreover, he says that other men besides priests may minister the sacrament. This article is evident, because his disciples do the same at Prague, who of themselves violently take the sacrament out of the treasury, and communicate among themselves, when the holy communion is denied to them. By this and also other things, it is sufficiently evident that he has taught that every man, being without mortal sin, has the power of orders or priesthood, because only those who have taken orders ought to minister the sacrament to themselves. And because he proceeds from small matters to great and weightier ones, it consequently appears and follows that those who are in the state of grace can bind and loose.

"Thirdly, he errs as to the church, and specially because he does not allow and admit that 'the church' signifies the pope, cardinals, archbishops, and the clergy underneath them; but he says that this signification was drawn from the schoolmen (Scholastics), and is in no case to be held or allowed. This article is manifest by his treatise on the church.

"Moreover, he errs concerning the church, in that he says, that the church should not have any temporal possessions. And that the temporal lords may take them away from the church and the clergy without any offense. This error is evident, because through his doctrine and enticements, many churches in the kingdom of Bohemia, and in the city of Prague, are already



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spoiled and robbed of a great part of their temporalities and goods. He also says that Constantine and other secular princes erred by enriching and endowing churches and monasteries. This article is manifest by what goes next before it.

“Fourthly, he errs regarding the church, in that he says that all priests are of like power, and therefore he affirms that the reservations of the pope’s casualties, the ordering of bishops, and the consecration of the priests, were invented only for covetousness. This article somewhat appears by those foregoing articles, but by his examination it shall be more evident.

“Fifthly, he errs concerning the church, in that he says that the church being in sin, has no power of the keys, when the pope, cardinals, and all other of the priests and clergy are in deadly sin — which he says is possible enough. This also appears in his treatise on the church in his first error regarding the ministers of the church.

“Sixthly, he errs regarding the church, for through contempt he does not fear excommunication. This notoriously appears by his own doings, that he scorned and despised the apostolic and ordinary censure, and in all the apostolic excommunications and injunctions he has borne himself upon the divine commandments, and in contempt of the keys, even to setting out his hypocrisy, saying mass all the way between this city and the city of Prague, and thereby he has profaned the process and authority of the church.

“Seventhly, he errs again regarding the church, because he does not keep its institutions and investitures, but holds the opinion that every man has authority to invest and appoint any man to the cure of souls. This is evident by his own doings, for many in the kingdom of Bohemia, by their defenders and favorers, or rather by himself, were appointed and put into parish churches, which they have long ruled and kept, not being appointed by the apostolic see, nor yet by the ordinary of the city of Prague.

“Eighthly, he errs regarding the church, in that he holds the opinion that a man, once ordained a priest or deacon, cannot be forbidden or kept from the office of preaching. This is likewise manifest by his own doings, in that he himself could never be hindered from preaching, neither by the apostolic see, nor yet by the archbishop of Prague.

“And to the intent that John Huss, who is clothed in sheep’s clothing, and inwardly a ravaging wolf, may be better known by his fruits. For better informing you most reverend fathers, I say that from the first time that he took in hand, or went about to sow such errors and heresies, which afterward he did indeed, he understood and perceived himself to be withstood and challenged by the Germans who were in the university of Prague. But he could conclude nothing, because they had three voices, and on his part he had only one voice. So he went about and brought to pass, by the secular power, that the Germans should have but one voice, and he and his parts had three voices. Once the Germans perceived this, rather than lose or forsake any part of their right which they had in voices, or endanger their persons — which would then have ensued upon it — to save themselves, they wholly, with one consent, agreed together to depart Prague. And by this means, this solemn and famous university of Prague was made desolate, that had brought forth so many notable men in diverse sciences.

[297] A.D. 1414

“Behold his first fruits which divided that very famous university, for grapes are not gathered from thorns, nor figs from brambles.

“Moreover, when there were questions moved among the divines of the university of Prague about the forty-five articles of John Wycliffe, and they had called a convocation, and all the divines of Bohemia (for the Germans had already departed), they concluded that every one of those articles was either heretical, seditious, or erroneous. He alone held the contrary opinion, that none of those articles were either heretical, seditious, or erroneous, as afterward he

disputed, held, and taught in the common schools of Prague. By this it is evidently enough foreseen, that he holds and affirms those articles of Wycliffe, which are not only condemned in England, but also by the whole church, because they were first invented and set forth by the members of antichrist.

“Moreover, being complained about to the archbishop of Prague, that he preached and set forth certain articles which were heretical, false, and seditious, he was forbidden by the said archbishop to preach any more. He proceeded against John Huss, according to the canonical sanctions, which process is confirmed by the apostolic see, and published in the court of Rome, as well as without — which John Huss and his adherents have in diverse and manifold ways violated and profaned. And whoever spoke against him, were deprived of their benefices, and others placed in them, who have ruled and still rule the said churches, and their flocks, not having any cure or charge of the souls committed to them, neither by the apostolic see, nor yet by the ordinary of the place.

“Also all those, priests as well as laymen, in the city of Prague and kingdom of Bohemia, who have spoken against the doctrine of Huss, and the profanation of the aforesaid process, or at the least have not allowed the same, have suffered most mortal hatred and persecutions, and still suffer to this day. But at this present, it is dissembled until the end of the process against John Huss. Therefore if he is now let go again, without doubt that people shall suffer great persecution both in body and goods, and throughout all the realm of Bohemia; house shall be against house; and this mischief will creep, yes suddenly spring up throughout all Germany, and innumerable souls will be infected, so that there will be such a persecution of the clergy and faithful, as has not been seen since the time of the emperor Constantine to this present day. For he does not cease to move and stir up the laity against the clergy and faithful Christians. And when any of the clergy would draw him away, or call him from his heresy, and for that cause forbid him to preach, so that he does not teach any heresies — then he says that the clergy do that from envy and malice, because he rebukes their vices and faults; that is to say, their simony, and pride, and covetousness.

“Moreover, he stirs up the secular princes against the prelates of churches, monasteries, and universities, and generally against the whole clergy. Going about by this means, he preaches and teaches that prelates and other men of the church should not have any temporal goods or possessions, but only live upon alms. And by this means he has already done very much hurt, and annoyed diverse and many prelates, clerics, and churches in the kingdom of Bohemia, and city of Prague, so much that thereby they are already spoiled and robbed of their possessions. Indeed, he also teaches that it is lawful for lay-people, without sin, to withhold and keep back their tithes and oblations, or to give the church’s goods to any other minister. All the secular princes are greatly inclined to this, but especially the laity, who each follow their own will.

“He generally has with him all those heretics who but very smally regard the ecclesiastical censures, and hate the authority of the Roman church, even utterly detest and abhor the same. This thing will more and more increase, unless it is effectually and manfully withstood. And if by any means he escapes from the council, he and his favorers will say that his doctrine is just and true, and that it is allowed by the authority of the universal sacred council, and that all his adversaries are wicked and naughty men — so that he would do more mischief than any heretic ever did since the time of Constantine the Great.

“Therefore, most holy fathers, provide and take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock among whom the Holy Spirit has placed you, to rule the church of Christ, which he has purchased with his own blood. And while the disease is new and fresh, help and remedy it, concerning him who so infects and troubles the church of God, as well as the occasions through which he has presumed, and might do the same — because the prelates abuse the ecclesiastical censures, and they as well as those who are under them, do not keep and observe

the order of the church which is appointed them by God. Thereby it comes to pass, that while they themselves walk the broken and unknown paths, their flock falls headlong into the ditch.

“Therefore, let our sovereign lord the pope, and this most sacred council, ordain and depute commissioners, who may examine the said John Huss upon all before-written, and other things in the presence of those who know the matter. Let there also be certain doctors and masters appointed to read over and peruse his books which he has written, of which some are here present, so that the church may be speedily purged and cleansed from these errors.”

Upon this accusation, they ordained and appointed three commissioners or judges, that is to say, the patriarch of Constantinople, the bishop of Castile, and the bishop of Lybuss. These prelates being thus deputed, heard the accusation and the witness who was brought in by certain priests of Prague, confirmed by their oaths, and afterward recited the accusation to Huss in the prison, at the time when his ague was fervent and extreme upon him. Upon this, John Huss requested to have an advocate answer for him; which was utterly denied him.

Thus John Huss remained in the prison of the convent of the Franciscans, until the Wednesday before Palm Sunday. In the meantime, to employ his time, he wrote certain books concerning the ten commandments, of the love and knowledge of God, of matrimony, of penance, of the three enemies of mankind, of the prayer of our Lord, and of the supper of our Lord.

The same day, Pope John XXIII changed his apparel, and conveyed himself secretly out of Constance, fearing the judgment by which he was later deprived of his papal dignity, for the most execrable and abominable doings. This was the reason that John Huss was transported and carried to another prison: for the pope’s servants, who had the charge and keeping of John Huss, understanding that their master had fled and was gone, delivered up the keys of the prison to the Emperor Sigismund, and to the cardinals, and followed their master the pope. Then by the consent of the whole council, John Huss was put into the hands of the bishop of Constance, who sent him to a castle on the other side of the river Rhine, not very far from Constance. There he was shut up in a tower with fetters on his legs, so that he could scarcely walk in the day time, and at night he was fastened to a rack against the wall nearby his bed. In the meantime, certain noblemen and gentlemen of Poland and Bohemia endeavored their best to procure Huss’s deliverance, having respect to the good renown of all the realm, who had been shockingly defamed and slandered by certain naughty persons. The matter had so grown to this point, that all those who were in the town of Constance, who seemed to bear any favor toward John Huss, were made laughing stocks, and derided by all men, yes, even by the slaves and base people. Therefore they took counsel and concluded together to present their request in writing to the whole council, or at the least to the four nations of Germany, Italy, France, and England. This request was presented the 14th of May, A.D. 1415. The tenor of it ensues here.

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The first Schedule or Bill, which the Nobles of Bohemia delivered  
to the Council for the deliverance of John Huss,  
the 14th of May, A.D. 1415.

“Most reverend fathers and lords, the nobles and lords of Bohemia and Poland here present, by this their present writing do show and declare to your fatherly reverences, how the most noble king and lord, the Lord Sigismund, king of the Romans, always Augustus, king of Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia, etc. hearing of the great dissension that was in the kingdom of Bohemia, as heir, king, and lord successor, willing to foresee and provide for his own honor,

sent these noblemen, Master Wenceslate de Duba, and John de Clum here present, that they would bring and assure Master John Huss *under the King's name and safe conduct*. So that he would come to the sacred general Council of Constance, under the safe conduct of the said king, and the protection of the sacred empire, openly given and granted to the said Master John Huss, that he might purge himself and the kingdom of Bohemia from the slander that was raised upon them, and there make an open declaration of his faith to every man who would lay anything to his charge. The said nobles, with the forenamed Master John Huss, have performed and done according to the king's commandment.

“When the said Master John Huss had freely of his own accord come to Constance, under the said safe conduct, he was grievously imprisoned before he was heard, and at this present time is tormented both with fetters, and also with hunger and thirst. Although in times past at the council held at Pisa in the year of our Lord 1410, the heretics who were condemned were allowed to remain there at liberty, and to depart home freely, notwithstanding this, Master John Huss, being neither convicted nor condemned, nor so much as heard once, was taken and imprisoned, when neither king nor any prince elector, nor any ambassador of any university had yet come or was present. And even though the lord the king, together with the nobles and lords here present, most instantly required and desired that regarding his safe conduct, they would foresee and respect his honor, and that the said Master John Huss might be openly heard, so that he might render and show a reason for his faith. And if he were found and convicted obstinately to affirm or maintain anything against the truth of holy Scripture, then he ought to correct and amend the same, according to the instruction and determination of the council. Yet he never could obtain this. But the said Master John Huss, notwithstanding all this, is most grievously oppressed with fetters and irons, and so weakened with thin and slender diet, that it is to be feared that his power and strength being hereby consumed and wasted, he would be put in danger of his wit or reason.

“And although the lords of Bohemia here present are greatly slandered because, seeing the said Master John Huss so tormented and troubled, contrary to the king's safe conduct, they have not by their letters put the king in mind of his safe conduct, so that the said lord and king might no longer suffer any such matters, for they tend to the contempt and disregard of the kingdom of Bohemia which, from its first origin and beginning, since it received the catholic faith, never departed or went away from the obedience of the holy church of Rome. Yet, notwithstanding, they have suffered and borne all these things patiently up to now, lest by any means an occasion of trouble or vexation of this sacred council might arise or spring from it.

“Therefore, most reverend fathers and lords, the nobles and lords before named, do wholly and most earnestly desire and require your reverences here present, that both for the honor of the safe conduct of our said lord the king, and also for the preservation and increase of the worthy fame and renown, both of the kingdom of Bohemia, and your own also, you will make a short end about the affairs of Master John Huss. For by means of his strait handling he is in great danger by any longer delay, even as they most specially trust upon the most upright consciences and judgments of your fatherly reverences. And this is because, most reverend fathers and lords, it has now come to the knowledge and understanding of the nobles and lords of Bohemia here present, how certain backbiters and slanderers of the most famous kingdom of Bohemia aforesaid, have declared and told your reverences, how the sacrament of the most precious blood of our Lord is carried up and down through Bohemia in vessels that are not consecrated or hallowed, and that cobblers now hear confessions, and minister the most blessed body of our Lord to others.

“Therefore the nobles of Bohemia here present, request and desire that you will give no credit to false promoters and tale-tellers, for as most wicked and naughty slanderers and backbiters of that kingdom aforesaid, they report and tell untruths. We also request your reverences, that

such slanderous persons of the kingdom aforesaid may be named and known. And the lord the king, together with your reverences, shall well perceive and see that the lords of Bohemia will go about in such a manner as to repel and put away the false and frivolous slanders of these naughty persons, so that they will hereafter be ashamed to appear before the lord the king and your reverences.”

When the noblemen of Bohemia for a long time could obtain no answer to this, nor after a second supplication which they had already put up, they determined the last day of May, by another supplication to the principals of the council, to entreat that John Huss might be delivered out of prison, and defend his own cause openly. In this supplication, among other things, they asked —

“Therefore, most reverend fathers, his enemies through the extreme hatred which they bear to him, by picking out and taking piecemeal certain articles from the books of Master John Huss, rejecting and not looking at the allegations and reasons, have compounded and made of it certain false and feigned articles against him to this end: that all charity and love being set aside, they might better overthrow him and bring him to death. This is contrary to the safe conduct upon good and just occasion, openly assigned and given to the said Master John Huss, by the most noble prince the Lord Sigismund, king of the Romans, and of Hungary. It was for his just defense against all the frivolous accusations and assaults of the enemies, not only of the said Master John Huss, but also of the famous kingdom of Bohemia, and for the quiet appeasing of all such tumult and rumors arising and springing up in the said kingdom of Bohemia, or elsewhere. The said king of the Romans, as the rightful heir and successor of that kingdom, greatly desires and wishes to avoid these most perilous uproars.

“Therefore, may it please your fatherly reverences to command the said Master John Huss, neither convicted nor condemned, to be taken and brought out of his bonds and chains, in which he is now most grievously detained and kept, and put him into the hands of some reverend lord bishops or commissioners, appointed or to be appointed by this present council — that the said Master John Huss may be somewhat relieved, and recover his health again, and be more diligently and commodiously examined by the commissioners. And for greater assurance, the barons and nobles aforesaid of the kingdom of Bohemia, will provide most sure and good sureties, who will not break their fidelity and faith for anything in the world. They shall also promise in this behalf, that Master Huss shall not flee or depart out of their hands until such time as the matter is fully determined by the said commissioners. In the execution of these premises, we have determined to provide and foresee to the fame and honor of the said kingdom of Bohemia, and also to the safe conduct of the most worthy prince, the king of the Romans, lest the enemies and detractors of the honor and fame of the kingdom aforesaid, might not a little slander and reprove the said lords, pretending and showing hereafter, that they had made unreasonable or unlawful requests.

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“For withstanding this mischief, we request your fatherly reverences, that you will decree, and most graciously consent, that this our petition and supplication may be drawn out again by your notary, and reduced into a public form and order.”

The same day the said barons and lords presented a supplication to the emperor, embodying the foregoing supplication, and they concluded thus:

“Therefore we most humbly request and desire your princely majesty, that both for the love of justice, and also of the fame and renown of that most famous kingdom of Bohemia, of which we acknowledge you undoubtedly as the true lord, heir, and successor; and also foreseeing to *the liberty of your safe conduct*, that you will with your favorable countenance, beholding these most reasonable and just supplications which we have put up to the lords aforesaid, put

your helping hand toward the said most reverend fathers and lords, that they will effectually hear us, in this our most just petition, which we have offered up to them, as aforesaid, lest the enemies of the renown and honor of the famous kingdom of Bohemia, and such be our slanderers also, hereafter detract and slander us, saying that we would make unreasonable and unlawful requests to the said reverend fathers and lords. And therefore we requested and desired of them, that it would please them to decree by setting to their public hand and seal, to authorize our said publication. Likewise, we do most heartily request your highness, that you would grant in like manner, to give us your testimony of the premises.”

We never could understand or know what answer the emperor made to this. But a man may easily judge by the process of the matter, that this good emperor was brought, through the obstinate mischief of the cardinals and bishops, to break and falsify his promise and faith which he had made and promised. And this was their reason: that no defense could or might be given either by safe conduct, or by any other means, to this man who was suspected or judged to be a heretic. But by the epistles and letters of John Huss, a man may easily judge what the king’s mind was. Now we will proceed to the history.

The fifth day of June, the cardinals, bishops, and the rest of the priests, all that were in Constance, assembled to a great number, at the convent of the Franciscans in Constance. And there it was commanded that before John Huss would be brought forth, in his absence they would rehearse the witnesses and articles which they had slanderously gathered out of his books. By chance there was then present a certain notary, named Mladoniewitz, who bore great love and amity to Huss,. As soon as he perceived that the bishops and cardinals were already determined and appointed to condemn the said articles in the absence of John Huss, he went with all speed to Master Wencelate de Duba, and John de Clum, and told them the whole matter. They immediately reported it to the emperor, who understanding their object, sent to signify to them that nothing would be resolved or done in the case of John Huss, before they sent him all the articles which were laid against him, which were either false or heretical, and he would do so much, that the said articles would be examined by good and learned men. Then according to the emperor’s will, the judgment of the principals of the council was suspended until such time as John Huss was present.

In the meantime, these gentlemen, master of Duba and of Clum, gave to the two princes whom the emperor had sent, certain small treatises which John Huss had made, out of which they had drawn certain articles to present to those who rule the council, under this condition: that they would render them in response, when those rulers demanded them. The intent and meaning of these barons was that by this means the adversaries of John Huss might more easily be reproved — those who, from a naughty and corrupt conscience, had picked out corrupt sentences from the books of John Huss. The books were delivered to the cardinals and bishops; and then John Huss was brought forth, and the princes who were sent by the emperor, departed. After the books were shown to John Huss, he confessed openly before the whole assembly that he had written them, and that he was ready, if there were any faults in them, to amend them.

Now hearken a little to the holy proceedings of these reverend fathers, for here a strange and shameful matter happened. With much ado they had scarcely read one article, and brought forth a few witnesses upon the same against him, than as he was about to open his mouth to answer, all this mad herd or flock began to so cry out upon him, that he was not able to speak one word. The noise and trouble was so great and so vehement, that a man might well have called it an uproar, or the noise of wild beasts and not of men. Much less was it to be judged a congregation of men gathered together to judge and determine such grave and weighty matters. And if it happened that the noise and cry ceased ever so little,

that he might answer anything at all, out of the holy Scriptures, or ecclesiastical doctors, by and by Huss would hear such replies as were nothing to the purpose.

Besides all this, some outraged in words against him, and others spitefully mocked him, so that seeing himself overwhelmed with these rude and barbarous noises and cries, and that it profited nothing to speak, he determined finally to hold his peace and keep silence. From that time forward, the whole rout of his adversaries thought that they had won the battle, and cried out all together "Now he is dumb, now he is dumb! This is a certain sign and token that he consents and agrees to these errors of his." Finally, the matter came to this point, that certain of the most moderate and honest among them, seeing this disorder, determined to proceed no further, but that all should be deferred and put off until another time. Through their advice, the prelates and others departed from the council for the present, and appointed to meet there again on the morrow to proceed in judgment.

The next day, which was the seventh of June, the sun was almost wholly eclipsed. A little after seven o'clock, this same flock assembled again in the cloister of the friars minors, and by their appointment, John Huss was brought before them, accompanied with a great number of armed men. The emperor also went there, whom the gentlemen, master of Duba and Clum, and the notary named Peter, who were great friends of Huss, followed to see what the end would be. When they had come there, they heard that in the accusation of Michael de Causis, they read the following words:

"John Huss has taught the people diverse and many errors both in the chapel of Bethlehem, and also in many other places of the city of Prague, some of which errors he has drawn out of Wycliffe's books, and the rest he has forged and invented out of his own head, and maintains the same very obstinately.

"First, that after the consecration and pronunciation of the words in the supper of the Lord, there remains material bread. To this, John Huss, taking a solemn oath, answered that he never spoke any such word; but this much he did grant, that at whatever time the archbishop of Prague forbade him to any longer use that term or word *bread*, he could not allow the bishop's command, as Christ himself, in the sixth chapter of John, often names it the bread of life, which came down from heaven, to give life to the whole world. But regarding 'material bread,' he never spoke anything at all."

Then they returned again to the witnesses, who every man for himself affirmed with an oath, that which he had said. Among whom John Protyway, when he confirmed his testimony, added that John Huss said St. Gregory was but a rhymer, when he alleged his authority against him. John Huss answered him, that in this point they did him great injury, as he always esteemed and reputed St. Gregory as a most holy doctor of the church.

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Then a certain article of accusation was read, in which it was alleged that John Huss had taught, and obstinately defended certain erroneous articles of Wycliffe's in Bohemia. To which Huss answered, that he never taught any errors of John Wycliffe's, or of any other man's. But to confirm their article, it was alleged that John Huss withstood the condemnation of Wycliffe's articles. He answered that he dared not agree to the condemnation for offending his conscience, and especially the articles saying that Silvester the pope and Constantine erred in bestowing great gifts and rewards upon the church. Also, that the pope or priest, being in mortal sin, cannot consecrate nor baptize. "This article," he said, "I have thus determined, as if said that he unworthily consecrates or baptizes when he is in deadly sin, and that he is an unworthy minister of the sacraments of God." Here his

accusers, with their witnesses, were earnest and instant that the article of Wycliffe was written in the very same words of the treatise of John Huss. "Truly," said John Huss; "I do not fear to submit myself, even under the danger of death, if you will not find it so as I have said." When the book was brought out, they found it written as John Huss had said. Then another article was recited from his accusation, in this manner:

"That John Huss, to confirm the heresy which he had taught the common and simple people out of Wycliffe's books, said openly these words, that at what time a great number of monks and friars, and other learned men were gathered together in England, in a certain church, to dispute against John Wycliffe, and could by no means vanquish him, suddenly the church door was broken open with lightning, so that with much ado Wycliffe's enemies hardly escaped without hurt. He added, moreover, that he wished his soul to be in the same place where John Wycliffe's soul was. To which John Huss answered that a dozen years before any books of divinity of John Wycliffe's were in Bohemia, he saw certain works of philosophy of his which, he said, marvellously delighted and pleased him. And when he understood the good and godly life of Wycliffe, he spoke these words: 'I trust that Wycliffe is saved; and although I doubt whether he is damned or not, yet with a good hope, I wish that my soul were in the same place where John Wycliffe's is.' Then again all the company jested and laughed at him."

It is also contained in his accusation, that John Huss counselled the people, according to the example of Moses, to resist with the sword against all those who challenged his doctrine. And the next day after he had preached that, there were found openly in diverse places certain intimations that every man, being armed with his sword about him, should stoutly proceed, and that brother should not spare brother, nor one neighbor spare another.

John Huss answered that all these things were falsely laid to his charge by his adversaries; for at all times when he preached, he diligently admonished and warned the people that they should all arm themselves to defend the truth of the gospel, according to the saying of the apostle, 'with the helmet and sword of salvation;' and that he never spoke of any material sword, but of that which is the word of God. And regarding intimations, or Moses' sword, he never had anything to do with that.

When all the articles were gone through in this way, John Huss was committed to the custody of the bishop of Reggeo, under whom Jerome of Prague was also prisoner. But before he was led away, the cardinal of Cambrai called him back again in the presence of the emperor, and said, "John Huss, I have heard you say, that if you had not been willing of your own mind to come to Constance, neither the emperor himself, nor the king of Bohemia, could have compelled you to do it." John Huss answered, "Under your license, most reverend father, I never used any such talk or words. But I did say this, that there was in Bohemia a great number of gentlemen and noblemen, who favored and loved me, who also might easily have kept me in some sure and secret place, so that I would not have been constrained to come into this town of Constance, neither at the will of the emperor, nor of the king of Bohemia." With that, the cardinal of Cambrai, from very anger, began to change his color, and spitefully said, "Do you not see the unshamefacedness of the man here?" And as they were murmuring, and whispering on all parts, the Lord John de Clum, ratifying and confirming what John Huss had spoken, said that John Huss had spoken very well.

"For on my part," he said, "who in comparison to a great many others, am but of small force in the realm of Bohemia. Yet if I would have taken it in hand, I could have defended him easily for a year, even against all the force and power of both these great and mighty kings. How much better they might have done it who are of more force or power than I am, and have stronger castles and places than I have."



After the Lord de Clum had spoken, the cardinal of Cambray said,

“Let us leave this talk. And I tell you, John Huss, and counsel you, that you submit yourself to the sentence and mind of the council, as you promised in the prison; and if you will do so, it will be greatly both for your profit and honor.”

And the emperor himself began to tell him the same tale, saying,

“Although there are some who say that the fifteenth day after you were committed to prison, you obtained from us our letters of safe conduct, notwithstanding I can well prove by the witness of many princes and noblemen, that the safe conduct was obtained and gotten from us by my Lords de Duha and de Clum, before you had departed out of Prague, under whose guard we have sent for you, to the end that none should do you any outrage or hurt, but that you should have full liberty to speak freely before all the council, and to answer as regarding your faith and doctrine. And as you see, my lords the cardinals and bishops have so dealt with you, that we do very well perceive their good-will towards you, for which we have great cause to thank them. And inasmuch as diverse people have told us, that we may not, or should not, of right defend any man who is a heretic, or suspected of heresy. Therefore we now give you the very same counsel which the cardinal of Cambray has given you already, that you not be obstinate to maintain any opinion, but that you submit yourself under such obedience as you owe to the authority of the holy council, in all things that shall be laid against you, and confirmed by credible witnesses. If you do this thing according to our counsel, we will order that for the love of us, of our brother, and the whole realm of Bohemia, the council will allow you to depart in peace, with an easy and tolerable penance and satisfaction. If you refuse to do this, the presidents of the council shall have sufficient authority to proceed against you. And for our part, be well assured that we will sooner prepare and make the fire with our own hands, to burn you with, than we will endure or any longer permit you to maintain or use this stiffness of opinions which you have maintained and used up to now. Therefore our advice and counsel is that you submit yourself wholly to the judgment of the council.”

John Huss answered, “O most noble emperor, I render to your highness most immortal thanks for your letters of safe conduct.” Upon this, Lord John de Clum broke him of his purpose, and admonished him that he did not excuse himself of the blame of obstinacy.

Then John Huss said, “O most gentle Lord, I do take God to my witness, that I was never minded obstinately to maintain any opinion, and that for this same intent and purpose I came here of my own good will, that if any man could lay before me any better or more holy doctrine than mine, that I would then change my opinion without any further doubt.”

After he had spoken and said these things, he was sent away with the sergeants. The morrow after, which was the eighth of June, the very same company which was assembled the day before, assembled now again at the convent of the Franciscans. And in this assembly were also John Huss’ friends, Lord de Duba, Lord de Clum, and Peter the notary.

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John Huss was also brought there, and in his presence there were read about thirty-nine articles which they said were drawn out of his books. Huss acknowledged all those that were faithfully and truly collected and gathered, to be his; of this sort there were but very few. The rest were counterfeited and forged by his adversaries, for they could find no such thing in the books, out of the which they said they had drawn and gathered them.

These were the same articles in a way which were shown to John Huss before in the prison, and are recited here in another order. Although there were some more articles added to

them, and others were corrected and enlarged, mention is made in them of his appeal, which is as follows:

*The Appeal of John Huss from the Pope to Christ.*

“In that the most mighty Lord, one in essence, three in person, is both the chief and first, and also the last and utmost refuge of all those who are oppressed; and that he is the God who defends verity and truth throughout all generations, doing justice to those who are wronged, being ready and at hand to all those who call upon him in verity and truth, unbinding those who are bound, and fulfilling the desires of all those who honor and fear him; defending and keeping all those who love him, and utterly destroying and bringing to ruin the stiff-necked and impenitent sinner; and that the Lord Jesus Christ, very God and man, being in great anguish, encompassed with the priests, scribes, and Pharisees, wicked judges and witnesses, willing by the most bitter and ignominious death to redeem the children of God, chosen before the foundation of the world, from everlasting damnation, has left behind him this godly example as a memory to those who would come after him, to the intent they should commit all their causes into the hands of God, who can do all things, and who knows and sees all things, saying in this manner — O Lord, behold my affliction, for my enemy has prepared himself against me, and you are my protector and defender. O Lord, you have given me understanding, and I have acknowledged you. You have opened to me all their enterprises; and for my own part, I have been like a meek lamb which is led to sacrifice, and have not resisted against them.

“They have wrought their enterprises upon me, saying. Let us put wood in his bread, and let us banish him out of the land of the living, that his name is no more spoken of, nor held in memory. But you, O Lord of Hosts, who judges justly, and sees the devices and imaginations of their hearts, hasten to take vengeance upon them, for I have manifested my cause to you, for as the number of those who trouble me is great, and have counselled together, saying, the Lord has forsaken him, pursue him and catch him. O Lord my God, behold their doings, for you are my patience; deliver me from my enemies, for you are my God; do not separate yourself far from me, for tribulation is at hand, and there is no man who will succor. My God, my God, look down upon me, why have you forsaken me? So many dogs have compassed me in, and the company of the wicked have besieged me round about, for they have spoken against me with deceitful tongues, and have encompassed me with words full of spite, and have compelled me without cause. Instead of love towards me, they have slandered me, and have recompensed me with evil for good; and in place of charity they have conceived hatred against me.

“Therefore, behold, staying myself upon this most holy and fruitful example of my Savior and Redeemer, I appeal before God for my grief and hard oppression, from this most wicked sentence and judgment, and the excommunication determined by the bishops, scribes, Pharisees, and judges, who sit in Moses’s seat, and resign my cause wholly to Him; even as the holy patriarch of Constantinople, John Chrysostom, appealed twice from the council of the bishops and clergy; and Andrew, bishop of Prague, and Robert, bishop of Lincoln, appealed to the sovereign and most just Judge, who is not defiled with cruelty, nor can he be corrupted with gifts and rewards, nor yet be deceived by false witness. Also I desire greatly that all the faithful servants of Jesus Christ, and especially the princes, barons, knights, esquires, and all others who inhabit our country of Bohemia, should understand and know these things, and have compassion upon me, who am so grievously oppressed by the excommunication which is out against me, and which was obtained and gotten by the instigation and procurement of Michael de Causis, my great enemy, and by the consent and furtherance of the canons of the cathedral church of Prague, and given out and granted by Peter of St. Angelo, dean of the church of Rome, and cardinal, and also ordained judge by Pope John XXIII, who has continued almost two years, and would give no audience to my advocates and procurators,

which they should not deny (no, not to a Jew or pagan, nor to any heretic whatever he was) nor yet would he receive any reasonable excuse, for I did not appear personally; nor would he accept the testimonials of the whole university of Prague with the seal hanging at it, or the witness of the sworn notaries, and those who were called to witness. By this all men may evidently perceive that I have not incurred any fault or crime of obstinacy or disobedience because I did not appear in the court of Rome, which was not for any contempt, but for reasonable causes.

“And moreover, because they had laid in ambush for me on every side by ways where I would pass, and also because the perils and dangers of others have made me more circumspect and advised; and seeing that my proctors were willing and content to bind themselves even to abide the punishment of fire to answer to all those who would oppose or lay anything against me in the court of Rome; and also because they imprisoned my lawful procurator in the said court, without any cause, demerit, or fault, as I suppose. Because then, as the order and disposition of all the ancient divine laws of the old and new testament, as well as the canon laws, is this — that the judges should resort to the place where the crime or fault is committed or done, and there to inquire about all such crimes as are objected and laid against the one who is accused or slandered; and that from those men who by conversation have some knowledge or understanding of the party so accused (who may not be evil-willers or enemies of the one who is so accused or slandered, but must be men of an honest conversation, no common quarrel-pickers or accusers, but fervent lovers of the law of God); and finally, that there should be a fit and appropriate place appointed to where the accused party might resort or come without danger or peril, and that the judge and witnesses should not be enemies of the one who is accused. And also because it is manifest that all these conditions were wanting and lacking, regarding my appearance for the safeguard of my life, I am excused before God from the frivolous pretended obstinacy and excommunication. Whereupon I, John Huss, do present and offer this my appeal to my Lord Jesus Christ, my just Judge, who knows and defends, and justly judges every man’s just and true cause.”

**Articles Alleged Against John Huss.**

*Articles formerly contained or picked out of the Treatise of John Huss of Prague, which he entitled “Of the Church,” following in this part or behalf the errors, as they term them, of John Wycliffe, with the judgment against them.*

The first article. “No reprobate is true pope, lord, or prelate.” The error of this is in the faith, behavior, and manners, condemned many times before against the poor men of Lyons, as well as against the Waldenses and Pikards. The affirmation of these errors is reckless, seditious, offensive and pernicious, and tending to the subversion of all human policy and government, because no man knows whether he is worthy of love or hatred, for all men offend in many points, and thereby all rule and dominion would be made uncertain and unstable if it were founded on predestination and charity; nor would the commandment of Peter have been good, who desires all servants to be obedient to their masters and lords, even if they are wicked.

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The second article. “That no man who is in deadly sin, whereby he is no member of Christ, but of the devil, is true pope, prelate, or lord.” The error of this is like the first.

The third article. “No reprobate or person in deadly sin, sits in the apostolic seat of Peter, neither does he have any apostolical power over the Christian people.” This error is also like the first.

The fourth article. “No reprobates are of the church, nor any who do not follow the life of Christ.” This error is against the common opinion of the doctors, concerning the church.

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The fifth article. “Only those are of the church, and sit in Peter’s seat, and have apostolic power, who follow Christ and his apostles in their life and living.” The error of this is in faith and manners, as in the first article, but containing more arrogance and rashness.

The sixth article. “That every man who lives uprightly, according to the rule of Christ, may and ought to openly preach and teach, even if he is not sent, yes, even if he is forbidden or excommunicated by any prelate or bishop, even as he might or ought to give alms; for his good life in living together with his learning, sufficiently sends him.” This is a rash and reckless error, offensive, and tending to the confusion of the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The seventh article. “That the pope of Rome being contrary to Christ, is not the universal bishop, nor does the church of Rome have any supremacy over other churches, unless perhaps it is given to him by Caesar, and not by Christ.” An error recently and plainly reprov’d.

The eighth article. “That the pope should not be called most holy, nor that his feet are holy and blessed, nor should they be kissed.” This error is recklessly, irreverently and offensively published.

The ninth article. “That according to the doctrine of Christ, heretics, however obstinate or stubborn they are, should not be put to death, nor be accursed or excommunicated.” This is the error of the Donatists, recklessly, and not without great offense, affirmed against the laws of the ecclesiastical discipline, as St. Augustine proves.

The tenth article. “That subjects and the common people, may and should publicly and openly detect and reprove the vices of their superiors and rulers, having power given to them by Christ, and the example of St. Paul to do so.” This error is pernicious, full of offense, inducing all rebellion, disobedience, and sedition.

The eleventh article. “That Christ alone is head of the church, and not the pope.” It is an error according to the common interpretation of the doctors, if all the reason for the supremacy, and of being head, is secluded and taken away from the pope.

The twelfth article. “That the only church, which comprehends the predestined and good livers, is the universal church, to which subjects owe obedience. And this is consequent to the former article.” The error contained is like those in the former articles.

The thirteenth article. “That tithes and oblations given to the church, are public and common alms.” This error is offensive, and contrary to the determination of the apostle, 1Cor 9.9<sup>312</sup>

The fourteenth article. “That the clergy living wickedly ought to be reprov’d and corrected by the lay-people, by taking away their tithes and other temporal profits.” A most pernicious and offensive error, inducing the secular people to perpetrate sacrilege, subverting ecclesiastical liberty.

The fifteenth article. “That the blessings of those of the clergy who are reprobate or evil-livers, are maledictions and cursings before God, according to the saying, I will curse your blessings.” This error was reprov’d by St. Augustine against St. Cyprian and his followers; nor is the master of the sentences allowed by the masters, in that point when he seems to favor this article.<sup>313</sup>

The sixteenth article. “That in these days, and a long time before, there has been no true pope, no true church or faith which is called ‘the Romish church,’ to which a man ought to obey, but

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<sup>312</sup> 1Cor 9.9: For it is written in the law of Moses, “Do not muzzle the ox while it treads out the grain.”

<sup>313</sup> That is, where Augustine seems to favor this, other masters disallow such an interpretation.

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that it both was and is the synagogue of antichrist and Satan.” The error in this article is in this point: that it is derived and makes its foundation upon the former articles.

The seventeenth article. “That all gift of money given to the ministers of the church for the ministration of any spiritual matter, makes such ministers in that case users of simony.” This error is seditious and reckless, in that something may be given to the clergy under the title of sustentation or maintaining the minister, without selling or buying any spiritual thing.

The eighteenth article. “That whoever is excommunicated by the pope, if he appeals to Christ, he is preserved, so that he need not fear the excommunication, but may utterly disdain and despise the same.” This error is reckless and full of arrogancy.

The nineteenth article. “That every deed done without charity, is sin.” This error was reprovved and revoked previously at Paris, especially if it is understood of deadly sin; for it is not necessary that someone who lacks grace, should continually sin and offend anew, even though he is continually in sin.

The masters of Paris, by their whole voice and consent, added and joined the following to these nineteen articles, as their reason and determination:

“We affirm that these articles aforesaid are notoriously heretical, and that they are judicially condemned for such, and are to be diligently rooted out with their most seditious doctrines, lest they infect others. For although they seem to have a zeal against the vices of the prelates and the clergy, which (more is the pity and grief) do abound too much, yet it is not according to learning. For a sober and discreet zeal suffers and laments those sins and offenses which one sees in the house of God, that he cannot amend or take away. For vices cannot be rooted out and taken away by other vices and errors, because just as devils are not cast out through Beelzebub, but by the power of God, which is the Holy Spirit, who wills that in correction the measure and mean of prudence always be kept according to the saying, ‘Mark who, what, where and why, by what means and when, prelates and bishops are bound under grievous and express penalties of the law, diligently and vigilantly to bear themselves against the foresaid errors, and such other like, and the maintainers of them; for let it always be understood and noted that the error which is not resisted is allowed. Nor is there any doubt of secret affinity or society by the one who is slow to withstand a manifest mischief.’

“These things are intermeddled by the way under correction, as by way of doctrine.

(Signed) “John Gerson,  
“Chancellor of Paris, unworthily.”

These things thus declared, a man may easily understand that John Huss was not accused for holding any opinion contrary to the articles of our faith, but because he stoutly preached and taught against the kingdom of antichrist for the glory of Christ, and the restoring of the church.

Now to return to the history. When the articles which I listed before, were all read over, the cardinal of Cambray, calling to John Huss, said,

“You have heard what grievous and horrible crimes are laid against you, and what a number of them they are. And now it is your part to devise with yourself what you will do. Two ways are proposed and set before you by the council, one of which you must of necessity enter into.

[303] A.D. 1415.

“First, that you humbly and meekly submit yourself to the judgment and sentence of the council, that whatever shall be determined there, by their common voice and judgment, you will patiently bear and suffer. If you will do this thing, we on our part, both for the honor of the

most gentle emperor here present, and also for the honor of his brother the king of Bohemia, and for your own safeguard and preservation, will treat and handle you with as great humanity, love, and gentleness as we may. But if you are still determined to defend any of those articles which we have propounded to you, and you desire or require to be further heard upon them, we will not deny you power and license to do so. But you shall well understand this, that there are such men, so clear in understanding and knowledge, and having such firm and strong reasons and arguments against your articles, that I fear it will be to your great hurt, detriment, and peril if you should any longer will or desire to defend them. This I speak and say to you, to counsel and admonish you, and not as a judge.”

Many others of the cardinals, every man for himself, exhorted and persuaded John Huss in the same way. With a lowly countenance he answered them,

“Most reverend fathers, I have often said that I came here of my own free will, not to defend anything, but if in anything I should seem to have conceived a perverse or evil opinion, that I would meekly and patiently be content to be reformed and taught. Whereupon I desire that I may yet have further liberty to declare my mind. Of which, unless I allege most firm and strong reasons, I will willingly submit myself.”

Then the cardinal of Cambray said,

“Because then, you submit yourself to the information and grace of this council, this is decreed by all almost sixty doctors.

“First of all, you shall humbly and meekly confess yourself to have erred in these articles which are alleged and brought against you.

“Moreover, you shall promise by an oath, that from now on you shall not teach, hold, or maintain any of these articles.

“And last of all, that you shall openly recant all these articles.”

Upon this sentence, when many others had spoken their minds, at length John Huss said,

“I once again say that I am ready to submit myself to the information of the council; but this I most humbly require and desire you all, even for His sake, who is the God of us all, that I not be compelled or forced to do the thing which my conscience rejects or strives against, or which I cannot do without danger of eternal damnation — that is, that I should make revocation by oath to all the articles which are alleged against me. For I remember that I have read in the book of universalities, that to *abjure*, is to renounce an error which a man has held before. And forso much as many of these articles are said to be mine, which were never in my mind or thought to hold or teach, how should I then renounce them by an oath? But regarding those articles which are mine indeed, if there is any man who can teach me contrariwise to them, I will willingly perform what you desire.”

Then the emperor said, “Why may you not without danger also renounce all those articles which you say are falsely alleged against you by the witnesses? For truly, I would not at all doubt to abjure all errors; nor does it follow that therefore by and by I have professed any error.” John Huss answered, “Most noble emperor, this word, to *abjure*, signifies much more than your majesty gives it here.” Then the cardinal of Florence said, “John Huss, you will have a form of abjuration, which will be gentle, and tolerable enough, written and delivered to you, and then you will easily and soon determine with yourself, whether you will do it or not.” Then the emperor, repeating again the words of the cardinal of Cambray, said, “You have heard that there are two ways laid before you: first that you should openly renounce those errors of yours, which are now condemned, and subscribe to the judgment of the council, whereby you should try and find their grace and favor. But if you proceed to

defend your opinions, the council will have sufficient power, whereby according to their laws and ordinances, they may decree and determine upon you.” John Huss answered,

“I refuse nothing, most noble emperor, whatever the council shall decree or determine upon me. Only this one thing I except, that I do not offend God or my conscience, or say that I have professed those errors which were never in my mind or thought to profess. But I desire you all, if it may be possible, that you will grant me further liberty to declare my mind and opinion, that I may answer as much as will suffice, regarding those things which are objected against me, and especially concerning ecclesiastical offices, and the state of the ministry.”

Here a certain very old bishop of Pole put in his verdict. He said, “The laws are evident regarding heretics, with what punishment they ought to be punished.” But John Huss constantly answered as before, insomuch that they said he was obstinate and stubborn. Then a certain well-fed priest, and gaily apparelled, cried out to the presidents of the council, saying, “He should by no means be admitted to recantation, for he has written to his friends, that even if he swears with his tongue, yet he will keep his mind unsworn without oath; therefore he is not to be trusted.” To this slander John Huss answered, as is said in the last article, affirming that he was not guilty of any error.

In the meantime there was exhibited to the council a certain article, in which it was accused that John Huss had slanderously interpreted a certain sentence of the pope’s. He denied that he did this, saying that he never saw it except in prison, when the article was shown to him by the commissioners.

Then was there another article read, which said that three men were beheaded at Prague, because through Wycliffe’s doctrine and teaching they were obstinate and slanderous against the pope’s letters; and that they were, with the whole pomp of the scholars, and with a public convocation or congregation, carried out to be buried by the same Huss, and placed among the number of saints by a public sermon. Then John Huss said that it was false that these corpses were conveyed by him with any such pomp into their sepulcher or burial.

Other charges of the same kind were made and denied again, and then there was great silence kept for a while. Then Paletz, who had conducted the process against John Huss, rising up, having now finished his accusation, said,

“I take God as my witness before the emperor’s majesty here present, and the most reverend fathers, cardinals, and bishops, that in this accusation of John Huss, I have not used any hatred or evil will; but that I might satisfy the oath which I took when I was made doctor, that I would be a most cruel and sharp enemy of all manner of errors, for the profit of the holy catholic church.”

Michael de Causis did the same. “And I,” said John Huss, “commit all these things to the Heavenly Judge, who shall justly judge the cause or quarrels of both parties.” Then the cardinal of Cambray said,

“I cannot a little commend and praise the humanity and gentleness of Master Paletz, which he has used in drawing out the articles against Master John Huss. For as we have heard, there are many things contained in his book that are much worse, and more detestable.”

When he had spoken these words, the bishop of Reggeo, to whom John Huss was committed, commanded that John Huss be carried back safely to prison. Then John de Clum following him, not a little encouraged and comforted Huss. No tongue can express what courage and stomach he received by the short talk which he had with him; when in so great a broil and grievous hatred, he saw himself in a way forsaken by all men. After John

Huss was carried away, the emperor began to exhort the presidents of the council in this manner, saying,

“You have heard the manifold and grievous crimes which are laid against John Huss, which are not only proved by manifest and strong witnesses, but also confessed by him; of which, every one of them by my judgment and advice, have deserved, and are worthy of death.

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“Therefore, unless he recants them all, I judge and think it fitting that he be punished with fire. And even if he does what he is willed and commanded to do, notwithstanding I counsel you, that he be forbidden the office of preaching and teaching, and also that he return no more into the kingdom of Bohemia. For if he is admitted again to teach and preach, and especially in the kingdom of Bohemia, he will not observe and keep that which he is commanded, but hoping upon the favor and goodwill of those who are his adherents and favorers there, he will return again to his former purpose and intent, and then, besides these errors, he will also sow new errors among the people; and so the last error shall be worse than the first.

“Moreover, I judge and think it good that his articles which are condemned, should be sent to my brother, the king of Bohemia, and afterward to Pole, and other provinces, where men’s minds are replenished with his doctrine — with this commandment: that whoever holds or keeps them, should by the common aid of both the ecclesiastical and civil powers, be punished. So at the length remedy will be found for this mischief, if the boughs, together with the root, are utterly pulled up by the roots; and if the bishops and other prelates who here in this place have labored for the extirpating of this heresy, are commended by the voices of the whole council, to the king and princes under whose dominion they are. Last of all, if there any are found here at Constance who are familiars of John Huss, they also should be punished with such severity and punishment as is due to them, and especially his scholar, Jerome of Prague.”

Then said the rest, “Once the master is punished, we hope we will find that the scholar is much more tractable and gentle.” After they had spoken these words, they departed out of the cloister where they were assembled and gathered together. The day before his condemnation, which was the sixth of July, the Emperor Sigismund sent four bishops to him, accompanied by Master Wincelate de Duba, and John de Clum, so that they might learn and understand from him what he intended to do. When Huss was brought out of prison to them, John de Clum began to speak to him first, saying,

“Master John Huss, I am a man unlearned, nor am I able to counsel or advise you, being a man of learning and understanding. Notwithstanding, I do require you, if you know you are guilty of any of those errors, which are objected and laid against you before the council, that you will not be ashamed to alter and change your mind to the will and pleasure of the council. If contrariwise, I will be no author to you, that you should do anything contrary to or against your conscience, but rather to suffer and endure any kind of punishment, than to deny what you have known to be the truth.”

John Huss, with lamentable tears, said;

“Truly, as I have oftentimes done before, I take the most High God for my witness, that I am ready with my heart and mind, if the council can instruct or teach me any better by the holy Scripture; and I will be ready with all my whole heart to alter and change my purpose.”

Then one of the bishops who sat by, said to him that he should never be so arrogant or proud that he would prefer his own mind or opinion before the judgment of the whole council. John Huss answered him, “Neither do I otherwise mind or intend. For if he who is



the meanest or least in all this council can convict me of error, I will with a humble heart and mind perform and do whatever the council requires of me.” “Mark,” said the bishops, “how obstinately he perseveres in his errors.” And when they had thus talked, they commanded the keepers to carry him back to prison, and so they returned again to the emperor with their commission.

The day after, which was Saturday, and the sixth of July, there was a general session held by the princes and lords of both the ecclesiastical and temporal estates, in the head church of the city of Constance. The Emperor Sigismund was president, sitting in his imperial robes and habit. In the midst of it a certain high place was made, being square like a table. And close by it there was a desk of wood, upon which the garments and vestments pertaining to priesthood were laid for this purpose, so that before John Huss would be delivered over to the civil power, he would be openly deprived and spoiled of his priestly ornaments. When John Huss was brought there, he fell down upon his knees before the same high place, and prayed a long time. In the meanwhile, the bishop of Londy went up into the pulpit, and gave the following sermon.

*The Sermon of the Bishop of Londy,  
before the Sentence was given upon John Huss.*

“In the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Trusting by humble invocation upon the divine help and aid, most noble prince, and most Christian emperor, and you, most excellent fathers, and reverend lords, bishops and prelates, also most excellent doctors and masters, famous and noble dukes, and high counts, honorable nobles and barons, and all other men worthy of remembrance; that the intent and purpose of my mind may more plainly and evidently appear to this most sacred congregation: I am first of all determined to treat or speak of that which is read in the epistle on the next Sunday, in the sixth chapter to the Romans; that is to say, ‘Let the body of sin be destroyed,’ etc.

“It appears by the authority of **Aristotle**, in his book entitled *De Cielo et Mundo*, how wicked, dangerous, and foolish a matter it seems to be, not to withstand perverse and wicked beginnings. For he says, that a small error in the beginning, is very great in the end. It is very damnable and dangerous to have erred, but harder to be corrected or amended. Whereupon that worthy doctor St. Jerome, in his book on the exposition of the catholic faith, teaches how necessary a thing it is that heretics and heresies should be suppressed, even in the first beginning of them, saying thus: the rotten and dead flesh is to be cut off from the body, lest the whole body perish and putrefy. For a scabbed sheep is to be put out of the fold, lest the whole flock be infected; and a little fire is to be quenched, lest the whole house be consumed and burned. Arius was first a spark in Alexandria, who, because he was not quenched at the start, he presumed, and went about with his wicked and perverse imaginations, and phantastical inventions, to spot and defile the catholic faith, which is founded and established by Christ, defended with the victorious triumphs of so many martyrs, and illuminated and set forth with the excellent doctrines and writings of so many men. Such, therefore, must be resisted; such heretics must of necessity be suppressed and condemned.

“Therefore I have truly propounded, regarding the punishment of every such obstinate heretic, that the body of sin is to be destroyed. Whereupon it is to be considered according to the holy traditions of the fathers, that some sins are adverse and contrary to another. Others are annexed or conjoined together; others are, as it were, branches and members of others; and some are, as it were, the roots and heads of others. Among all of which, those are to be counted more detestable, out of which the most and worst have their origin and beginning. Therefore, although all sins and offenses are to be abhorred by us; yet those are especially to be eschewed, which are the head and root of the rest. For by how much the perverseness of

them is of greater force and power to hurt, with so much more speed and circumspection they ought to be rooted out and extinguished, with apt preservatives and remedies. Forsomuch, then, as among all sins, none appears to be more inveterate than the mischief of this most execrable schism. Therefore have I right well propounded, 'That the body of sin should be destroyed.'

[305] A.D. 1415.

"For by the long continuance of this schism, great and most cruel destruction has sprung up among the faithful, and it has long continued; abominable divisions of heresies have grown; threatenings are increased and multiplied; the confusion of the whole clergy has grown upon it, and the opprobriums and slanders of the Christian people, have abundantly sprung up and increased. And truly it is no marvel, in that this most detestable and execrable schism is, as it were, a body and heap of dissolution of the true faith of God. For what can be good or holy in that place where such a pestiferous schism has reigned for so long a time? For as St. Bernard says, 'As in the unity and concord of the faithful, there is the habitation and dwelling of the Lord, so likewise in the schism and dissipation of the Christians, there is made the habitation and dwelling of the devil. Is not schism and division the origin of all subversion, the den of heresies, and the nourisher of all offenses? For the knot of unity and peace, once it is troubled and broken, there is free passage made for all strife and debate. Covetousness is uttered in others for lucre's sake; lust and will is set at liberty, and all means are opened to slaughter; all right and equity is banished, the ecclesiastical power is injured, and the calamity of this schism brings in all kinds of bondage; sword and violence rule; the laity have the dominion; concord and unity are banished; and all prescribed rules of religion are utterly despised and set at naught.'

"Consider, most gentle lords, during this most pestiferous schism, how many heresies have appeared and shown themselves, how many heretics have escaped unpunished. How many churches have been spoiled and piddled down, how many cities have been oppressed and regions brought to ruin? What confusion has happened in the clergy? What and how great the destruction among the Christian people? I pray you, mark how the church of God, the Spouse of Christ, and the Mother of all the faithful, is scorned and despised. For who reverences the keys of the church? Who fears the censures or laws? Or who is it that defends its liberties? Or rather, who is it that does *not* offend them? Or who does not invade it? Or else, who is it that dare not violently lay hands on the patrimony or heritage of Jesus Christ? The goods of the clergy, and of the poor, and the relief of pilgrims and strangers — gotten together by the blood of our Savior, and of many martyrs — are spoiled and taken away. Behold the abomination of desolation brought upon the church of God, the destruction of the faith, and the confusion of the Christian people, to the ruin of the Lord's flock or fold, and the whole company of our most holy Savior and Redeemer. This loss is greater or more grievous than any which could happen to the martyrs of Christ, and this persecution is much more cruel than the persecution of any tyrant. For they but punished the bodies; but in this schism and division the souls are tormented. There only the blood of men was shed; but in this case the true faith is subverted and overthrown. That persecution was salvation to many; but this schism is destruction to all men. When the tyrants raged, then the faith increased; but by this division it is utterly decayed. During their cruelty and madness the primitive church increased; but through this schism it is confounded and overthrown. Tyrants ignorantly offended; but in this schism many wittingly and willingly, even out of obstinacy, offend. There came in heretics, users of simony, and hypocrites, to the great detriment and deceit of the church; under those tyrants the merits of the just were increased.

"But during this schism, mischief and wickedness are augmented. For in this most cursed and execrable division, truth is made an enemy to all Christians, faith is not regarded, love and

charity are hated, hope is lost, justice overthrown, no kind of courage or valiantness, but only mischief. Modesty and temperance are cloaked, wisdom turned into deceit, humility feigned, equity and truth falsified, patience utterly fled, conscience small, all wickedness intended, devotion counted folly, gentleness abject and cast away, religion despised, obedience not regarded, and all manner of life reproachful and abominable. With how great and grievous sorrows is the church of God replenished and filled with, while tyrants oppress it, heretics invade it, users of simony spoil and rob it, and schismatics go about utterly to subvert it? O most miserable and wretched Christian people, whom now for forty years have been tormented and almost brought to ruin with such indurate and continual schism! O the little barque and ship of Christ, which has for so long a time wandered and strayed now in the midst of the whirlpools, and by and by sticks fast in the rocks, tossed to and fro with most grievous and tempestuous storms! O miserable and wretched boat of Peter, if the most Holy Father were to allow you to sink or drown, into what dangers and perils would the wicked pirates have brought you? Among what rocks have they placed you? O most godly and loving Christians, what faithful devout man is there, who beholding and seeing the great ruin and decay of the church, would not be provoked to tears? What good conscience is there that can refrain from weeping, because contention and strife is poured upon the ecclesiastical rulers who have made us to err in the way, because they have not found, or rather would not find the way of unity and concord, upon which so many heresies and such great confusion has sprung up, and grown in the flock of Peter and the fold of the Lord.

“Many princes, kings, and prelates, have greatly labored and worked for the rooting out of these things; yet they could never bring to pass or finish that most wholesome and necessary work. Therefore, most Christian king, this most glorious and triumphant victory has tarried only for you, the crown and glory of it shall be yours forever, and this most happy victory shall be continually celebrated to your great honor and praise, that you have restored again the church which was so spoiled, that you have removed and put away all inveterate and overgrown schisms and divisions, that you have trodden down users of simony, and rooted out all heretics. Do you not behold and see how great, perpetual, and famous the renown and glory it will be to you? For what can be more just, what more holy, what better, what more to be desired; or, finally, what can be more acceptable than to root out this wicked and abominable schism, to restore the church again to her ancient liberty, to extinguish and put away all simony, and to condemn and destroy all errors and heresies from among the flock of the faithful? Nothing, truly, can be better, nothing more holy, nothing more profitable for the whole world; and, finally, nothing more acceptable to God.

“For the performance of this most holy and godly work, you were elected and chosen by God. You were first deputed and chosen in heaven before you were elect and chosen upon earth. You were first appointed by the celestial and heavenly Prince, before the electors of the empire elected or chose you, and specially, that by the imperial force and power you should condemn and destroy those errors and heresies which we have presently in hand to be condemned and subverted. For the performance of this most holy work, God has given to you the knowledge and understanding of his divine truth and verity, power of princely majesty, and the just judgment of equity and righteousness. As the Most High himself says, ‘I have given you understanding and wisdom’ <sup>1</sup>Kng 3.12 — to speak and utter my words, and have set you to rule over nations and kingdoms, that you should help the people, pluck down and destroy iniquity, and by exercising justice you should, I say, destroy all errors and heresies, and specially this obstinate heretic here present, through whose wickedness and mischief many places of the world are infected with most pestilent and heretical poison; and by this means and occasion they are almost utterly subverted and destroyed. This most holy and godly labor, O most noble prince, was reserved only for you. Upon you alone it lies, to whom the rule and ministration of justice is given. Therefore you have established your praise and renown, even by the mouths of

infants and suckling babes, for your praises shall be celebrated for evermore, that you have destroyed and overthrown such and so great enemies of the faith. That you may prosperously and happily perform and bring to pass, our Lord Jesus grant you his grace and help, who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen.”

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When this sermon was thus ended, the proctor of the council rose up, named Henry de Piro. He requested that the process of the cause against John Huss might be continued, and that they might proceed to the definitive sentence. Then a certain bishop, who was appointed one of the judges, declared the process of the cause which was pleaded long since in the court of Rome and elsewhere, between John Huss and the prelates of Prague.

At last he repeated those articles which we mentioned before, among which he repeated one article, that John Huss should teach the two natures of the Godhead and manhood, to be one Christ. John Huss went about briefly with a word or two to answer every of them; but as often as he was about to speak, the cardinal of Cambray commanded him to hold his peace, saying, “Hereafter you shall answer all together, if you will.” Then John Huss said, “How can I at once answer all these things which are alleged against me, when I cannot remember them all?” Then the cardinal of Florence said, “We have heard you sufficiently.” But when John Huss for all that would not hold his peace, they sent the officers to force him to hold it. Then he began to entreat, pray, and beseech them, that they would hear him, so that those who were present might not credit or believe those things to be true which were reported about him. But when all this could not prevail at all, he knelt down on his knees and committed the whole matter to God and the Lord Jesus Christ; for at their hands he believed he would easily obtain what he desired.

When the articles mentioned above ended, last of all there was added a notable blasphemy, which they all imputed to John Huss — that is, that he said there should be a fourth person in divinity, and that a certain doctor heard him say it. When John Huss desired that the doctor might be named, the bishop who alleged the article said that it was not needful to name him. Then John Huss said, “O miserable and wretched man that I am, who am forced and compelled to bear such a blasphemy and slander.”

Afterwards the article was repeated, how he had appealed to Christ, and that appeal was called heretical. To which John Huss answered,

“O Lord Jesus Christ, whose word is openly condemned here in this council, to you again I appeal, who when you were evilly treated by your enemies appealed to God your Father, committing your cause to a most just Judge, that by your example we also being oppressed with manifest wrongs and injuries should flee to you.”

Last of all, the article was repeated regarding the contempt of the excommunication by John Huss. To which he answered as before, that he was excused by his advocates in the court of Rome, and therefore he did not appear when he was cited; and also that it may be proved by the acts, that the excommunication was not ratified; and finally, to the intent that he might clear himself of obstinacy, he had for that reason come to Constance under the emperor’s safe conduct. When he had spoken these words, one of them, who was appointed judge, read the definitive sentence against him, which follows thus word for word:

*The Sentence or Judgment of the Council of Constance  
against John Huss.*

“The most holy and sacred general Council of Constance, being congregated and gathered together, representing the catholic church, for a perpetual memory of the thing, as the verity and truth witnessed, ‘An evil tree brings forth evil fruit.’ Hereupon it comes that the man of most damnable memory, John Wycliffe, through his pestiferous doctrine, not through Jesus Christ by the gospel, as the holy fathers in times past have begotten faithful children, but contrary to the wholesome faith of Jesus Christ, as a most venomous root, has begotten many pestilent and wicked children whom he has left behind him, successors and followers of his perverse and wicked doctrine, against whom this sacred synod of Constance is forced to rise up, as against bastards and unlawful children, and with diligent care, with the sharp knife of the ecclesiastical authority, to cut their errors out of the Lord’s field, as most hurtful brambles and briars, lest they grow to the hurt and detriment of others.

“Forsomuch then as in the holy general council, lately celebrated and held at Rome, it was decreed that the doctrine of John Wycliffe, of most damnable memory, should be condemned, and that his books which contained the same doctrine should be burned as heretical; and this decree was approved and confirmed by the sacred authority of the whole council. Nevertheless, one John Huss here personally present in this sacred council, not the disciple of Christ, but of John Wycliffe, an arch heretic, after and contrary, or against the condemnation and decree, has taught, preached, and affirmed the articles of Wycliffe, which were condemned by the church of God, and in times past, by certain most reverend fathers in Christ — lords, archbishops, and bishops, from diverse kingdoms and realms, masters of divinity of diverse universities. John Huss especially resisted in his open sermons, and also with his adherents and accomplices in the schools, the condemnation of the said articles of Wycliffe’s, oftentimes published in the said university of Prague, and has declared the said Wycliffe, for the favor and commendation of his doctrine before the whole multitude of the clergy and people, to be a catholic man, and a true evangelical doctor. He has also published and affirmed certain and many of Wycliffe’s articles (worthily condemned) to be catholic, which are notoriously contained in the books of the said John Huss.

“Therefore, after diligent deliberation and full information first had upon the premises by the reverend fathers and lords in Christ of the holy church of Rome, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, doctors of divinity, and of both laws, in great number assembled and gathered together, this most sacred and holy Council of Constance, declares and determines the articles above said (which, after due conference was had, are found in his books, written with his own hand, which also the said John Huss in open audience, before this holy council, has confessed to be in his books), not to be catholic, nor worthy to be taught. But that many of them are erroneous, some of them wicked, others offensive to godly ears, many of them reckless and seditious, and the greater part of them notoriously heretical, and even now of late reprovèd and condemned by the holy fathers and general councils. And because the said articles are expressly contained in the books of the said John Huss, therefore this sacred council condemns and reprovès all those books which he wrote, in whatever form or phrase they may be, or whether they are translated by others, and it determines and decrees that they shall all be solemnly and openly burned in the presence of the clergy and people of the city of Constance and elsewhere; adding moreover for the premises, that all his doctrine is worthy to be despised and eschewed by all faithful Christians. And to the intent that this most pernicious and wicked doctrine may be utterly excluded and shut out of the church, this sacred synod straitly commands that diligent inquisition be made by the ordinaries of the places by the ecclesiastical censure, for such treatises and works, and that those which are found be consumed and burned with fire. And if there are any found, who scorn or despise this sentence or decree, this sacred synod ordains and decrees, that the

ordinaries of the places, and the inquisitors of heresies, shall proceed against every such person as they suspect of heresy.

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“Therefore, after due inquisition made against the said John Huss, and full information had by the commissaries and doctors of both laws, and also by the statements of the witnesses which were worthy of credit, and many other things openly read before the said John Huss, and before the fathers and prelates of this sacred council (by which allegations of the witnesses, it appears that the said John Huss has taught many evil and offensive, seditious and perilous heresies, and has preached the same for a long time), this most sacred and holy synod, lawfully congregated and gathered together in the Holy Spirit (the name of Christ being invoked and called upon) by this their sentence which here is set forth in writing, determines, pronounces, declares, and decrees that John Huss was and is a true and manifest heretic, and that he has openly preached errors and heresies recently condemned by the church of God, and many seditious, reckless, and offensive things, to no small offense of the Divine Majesty, and of the universal church, and to the detriment of the catholic faith and church, neglecting and despising the keys of the church, and ecclesiastical censures. In this error he has continued with a mind altogether indurate and hardened for many years, much offending the faithful Christians by his obstinacy and stubbornness, in his having made his appeal to the Lord Jesus Christ as the most high Judge, omitting and leaving all ecclesiastical means. In his appeal he alleges many false, injurious, and offensive matters, in contempt of the apostolic see, and the ecclesiastical censures and keys.

“Whereupon, both for the premises and many other things, the said synod pronounces John Huss to be a heretic, and judges him by these presents to be condemned and judged as a heretic, and reproves the said appeal as injurious, offensive, and done in derision to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and judges the said Huss not only to have seduced the Christian people by his writings and preachings, and especially in the kingdom of Bohemia, nor to have been a true preacher of the gospel of Christ to the said people, according to the exposition of the holy doctors, but also to have been a seducer of them, and also an obstinate and stiff-necked person, yes, and such a one who does not desire to return again to the lap of our holy mother the church, nor to abjure the errors and heresies which he has openly preached and defended. Therefore this most sacred council decrees and declares that the said John Huss shall be publicly deposed and degraded from his priestly orders and dignity, etc.”

While these things were thus read, John Huss, although he was forbidden to speak, notwithstanding, often interrupted them. And especially when he was reproved of obstinacy, he said with a loud voice:

“I was never obstinate, but as always before, even so now I again desire to be taught by the holy Scriptures, and I do profess myself to be so desirous of the truth, that if I might by only one word subvert the errors of all heretics, I would not refuse to enter into whatever peril or danger it may be.”

When his books were condemned, he said: “Why have you condemned those books, when you have not proved by any one article that they are contrary to the Scriptures or articles of faith? And moreover, what injury is this that you do to me, that you have condemned these books written in the Bohemian tongue, which you never saw, nor yet read?” And oftentimes looking up to heaven he prayed.

When the sentence and judgment was ended, kneeling down on his knees, he said: “Lord Jesus Christ, forgive my enemies, by whom you know that I am falsely accused, and that they have used false witness and slanders against me. Forgive them, I say, for your great

mercy's sake." This prayer and oration the greater part of the clergy, and especially the chief of the priests, derided and mocked.

### **The Degradation of John Huss.**

At last, the seven bishops who were chosen to degrade him of his priesthood commanded him to put on the garments pertaining to priesthood. When he had done this, he came to putting on the alb (white robe); he called to his remembrance the purple vesture which Herod put on Jesus Christ to mock him with. So likewise in all other things he comforted himself by the example of Christ. When he had now put on all his priestly vestures, the bishops exhorted him that he might yet alter and change his mind, and provide for his honor and safety. Then (according to the manner of the ceremony) he went up to the top of the scaffold. Being full of tears, he spoke to the people in this way:

"These lords and bishops exhort and counsel me, that I should here confess before you all that I have erred. To do this thing, if it were such as might be done with the infamy and reproach of man only, they might perhaps easily persuade me to it. But now truly I am in the sight of the Lord my God, without whose great displeasure and the hurt of my own conscience, I can by no means do what they require of me. For I well know that I never taught any of those things which they have falsely alleged against me, but I have always preached, taught, written, and thought contrary to them. With what countenance then should I behold the heavens? With what face should I look upon those whom I have taught, of whom there is a great number, if through me it should come to pass that those things which they have previously known to be most certain and sure, should now be made uncertain? Should I by my example astonish or trouble so many souls, so many consciences, indued with the most firm and certain knowledge of the Scriptures and gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ and his most pure doctrine, armed against all the assaults of Satan? I will never do it, nor commit any such kind of offense, that I should seem to esteem this vile carcass appointed unto death, more than their health and salvation."

At this most godly word he was forced again to hear, by the sentence of the bishops, that he obstinately and maliciously persevered in his pernicious and wicked errors.

Then he was commanded to come down to the execution of his judgment, and in his coming down, one of the seven bishops before named, first took away from him the chalice which he held in his hand, saying: "O, cursed Judas, why have you forsaken the council and ways of peace, and have counselled with the Jews? We take away from you this chalice of your salvation." But John Huss received this curse in this manner: "But I trust to God the Father omnipotent, and my Lord Jesus Christ, for whose sake I suffer these things, that he will not take away the chalice of his redemption; but I have a steadfast and firm hope that this day I shall drink from it in his kingdom."

Then the other bishops followed in order, each one of them taking the vestments away from him which they had put on, each one of them giving him their curse. To this John Huss answered that he willingly embraced and bore those blasphemies for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. At the last they came to erasing his shaven crown. But before the bishops would take that in hand, there was a great contention between them, as to what instrument it should be done with — a razor or a pair of shears.

In the meantime, John Huss, turning himself toward the emperor, said: "I marvel that seeing they are all of like cruel mind and spirit, they cannot agree on their kind of cruelty." Notwithstanding, they at last agreed to cut off the skin of the crown of his head with a pair of shears. And when they had done that, they added these words: "Now the church has taken away all her ornaments and privileges from him. Now there rests nothing else, but

that he be delivered over to the secular power.” But before they did that, there yet remained another reproach. For they had a certain crown of paper made, almost a cubit deep, in the which were painted three devils of wonderfully ugly shape, and this title set over their heads, “ARCH-HERETIC.” When he saw it, he said: “My Lord Jesus Christ for my sake wore a crown of thorns. Why should I not then for his sake again wear this light crown, however ignominious? Truly I will do it, and willingly.”

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When it was set upon his head, the bishop said: “Now we commit your soul to the devil.” “But I,” said John Huss, lifting his eyes up towards the heavens, “commit my spirit into your hands, O Lord Jesus Christ; to you I commend my spirit which you have redeemed.” These degradations thus ended, the bishops turned themselves towards the emperor and said, “This most sacred synod of Constance now leaves John Huss, who no longer has any office in the church of God, to the civil judgment and power.” Then the emperor commanded Louis, duke of Bavaria, who stood before him in his robes, holding the golden apple with the cross in his hand, that he should receive John Huss from the bishops, and deliver him to those who would do the execution. As Huss was led by them to the place of execution, before the church doors he saw his books burning, at which he smiled and laughed. And he exhorted all men who passed by, not to think that he would die for any error or heresy, but only for the hatred and ill-will of his adversaries, who had charged him with most false and unjust crimes. Nearly the whole city followed him in armor.

### ***The Execution of John Huss – 1415.***

The place appointed for the execution was before the Gotlebian gate, between the gardens and gates of the suburbs. When John Huss had come there, kneeling down on his knees, and lifting his eyes up to heaven, he prayed, and said certain Psalms, and especially the thirty-first and fiftieth Psalms. And those who stood nearby heard him oftentimes in his prayer, with a lively and cheerful countenance, repeat this verse: “Into your hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit,” etc. When the lay people who stood next to him beheld this thing, they said: “What he has done before we do not know; but now we see and hear that he speaks and prays very devoutly and godly.” Others wished that he had a confessor. There was a certain priest nearby, sitting on horseback in a green gown, drawn about with red silk, who said: “He should not to be heard, because he is a heretic.” Yet, notwithstanding, while he was in prison, he was both confessed, and also absolved by a certain doctor, a monk, as Huss himself witnesses in an epistle which he wrote to his friends from prison. Thus Christ reigns unknown to the world, even in the midst of his enemies. In the meantime, while Huss prayed, and as he bowed his neck backward to look upward to heaven, the crown of paper fell off from his head upon the ground. Then one of the soldiers, taking it up again, said, “Let us put it back on his head, so that he may be burned with his masters, the devils, whom he has served.”

When, by the commandment of the tormentors, he was raised up from his prayer, he said with a loud voice, “Lord Jesus Christ assist and help me, that with a constant and patient mind, by your most gracious help, I may bear and suffer this cruel and ignominious death, to which I am condemned for the preaching of your most holy gospel and word.” Then, as before, he declared the cause of his death to the people. In the meantime the hangman stripped him of his garments, and turning his hands behind his back, tied him fast to the stake with ropes that were made wet. And whereas by chance he was turned towards the east, certain ones cried out that he should not look towards the east, for he was a heretic; so he was turned towards the west. Then his neck was tied with a chain to the stake. When he



beheld this chain, smiling, he said that he would willingly receive the same chain for Jesus Christ's sake, who he knew was bound with a far worse chain. Under his feet they set two faggots, mixing straw with them, and so likewise from the feet up to the chin he was enclosed round about with wood. But before the wood was set on fire, Louis, duke of Bavaria, with another gentleman, who was the son of Clement, came and exhorted John Huss, that he should yet be mindful of his safety, and renounce his errors. He said to them:

“What errors should I renounce, when I know myself guilty of none? As for those things which are falsely alleged against me, I know that I never did so much as once think them, much less preach them. For this was the principal end and purpose of my doctrine, that I might teach all men repentance and the remission of sins, according to the verity of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the exposition of the holy doctors. Therefore with a cheerful mind and courage I am here ready to suffer death.”

When he had spoken these words, they left him, and shaking hands together, they departed. Then the fire was kindled, and John Huss began to sing with a loud voice, “Jesus Christ the Son of the living God have mercy upon me.” And when he began to say the same the third time, the wind drove the flame so upon his face, that it choaked him. Yet notwithstanding, he moved a while after, for the space in which a man might almost say the Lord's Prayer three times. When all the wood was burned and consumed, the upper part of the body was left hanging in the chain, so they threw down stake and all. And making a new fire, burned the remains, the head first being cut into small pieces, so that it might the sooner be consumed to ashes. The heart, which was found among the bowels, being well beaten with staves and clubs, was at last stuck on a sharp stick, and roasted at a separate fire until it was consumed. Then with great diligence gathering the ashes together, they cast them into the river Rhone, so that not the least remnant of the ashes of that man should be left upon the earth, whose memory notwithstanding cannot be abolished out of the minds of the godly, neither by fire, neither by water, neither by any kind of torment.

“I know very well that these things are very sparingly written by me regarding the labors of this most holy martyr, John Huss, with whom the labors of Hercules are not to be compared. For that ancient Hercules slew a few monsters; but this our Hercules, with a most stout and valiant courage, has subdued even the world itself, the mother of all monsters and cruel beasts. This history would be worthy of some other kind of a more intricate handling; but because I cannot otherwise perform it myself, I have endeavored according to the very truth, as the thing was indeed, to commend the same to all godly minds. Nor have I heard it reported by others, but I myself was present at the doing of all these things, and as I was able, I have put them in writing, so that by this labor and endeavor of mine, however it may be, I might preserve the memory of this holy man and excellent doctor of the evangelical truth.”

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What was the name of the author who wrote this history it is not stated.<sup>314</sup> Cochleus, in his second book “*Contra Hussitas*,” supposes his name was Johannes Pizibrara, a Bohemian.

John Huss, this godly servant and martyr of Christ, was condemned by the cruel council, and burned at Constance, A.D. 1415, about the month of July. How grievously his death was taken among the nobles of Bohemia and of Moravia, will appear later (Christ willing) by their letters which they sent to the council, and by the letters of Sigismund, the king of the Romans. In those he labors, all that he can, to purge and excuse himself of Huss's death.

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<sup>314</sup> It is unclear where this excerpt began; but I enclosed the last paragraph in quotes, to distinguish it from Foxe.

Although he was not altogether free from that cruel act, and innocent from that blood, he pretends in words to wipe away that blot from himself, so that the greatest part of the crime seems to rest upon the bloody prelates of that council. But it appears that the emperor, partly ashamed and sorry, would gladly have cleared himself of it, and along with Pilate, would have washed his hands of it. Yet he could not so clear himself, that a great portion of that murder did not remain on him, as may appear by his last words spoken in the council to John Huss. John Huss complains of it in his epistles, writing to his friends in Bohemia in his thirty-third epistle, as follows:

“I desire you again, for the love of God, that the lords of Bohemia joining together, will desire the king for a final audience to be given to me. Forsomuch as he alone said to me in the council, that they would give me an audience shortly, and that I should answer for myself briefly in writing, it will be to his great confusion if he does not perform that which he has spoken. But I fear that word of his will be as firm and sure, as the other was concerning my safe conduct granted by him.

[309] A.D. 1415.

“There were some in Bohemia, who desired me to beware of his safe conduct. And others said he will surely give you to your enemies. And the lord Mikest Dwaky told me before Master Jessenitz, saying, ‘Master, know it for certain, you shall be condemned.’ And this I suppose he spoke, knowing beforehand the intention of the king. I hoped that he had been well affected toward the law of God and the truth, and had a good understanding in it. Now I conceive that he is not very skillful, nor so prudently circumspect in himself. He condemned me even before my enemies did. If it had pleased him, he might have kept the moderation of Pilate the Gentile, who said, ‘I find no cause in this man;’ or at least, if he had but said this, ‘Behold, I have given him his safe conduct safely to return. And if he will not abide the decision of the council, I will send him home to the king of Bohemia with your sentence and attestations, so that he with his clergy may judge him.’”

### **Letters of John Huss to the People of Prague, etc.**

John Huss, while in prison, wrote several treatises, such as, “Of the Commandments;” “Of the Lord’s Prayer;” “Of Mortal Sin;” “Of Matrimony;” “Of the Knowledge and Love of God;” “Of the Three Enemies of Mankind, the World, and Flesh, and the Devil;” “Of Penance;” “Of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord;” “Of the Sufficiency of the Law of God to Rule the Church,” etc. He also wrote many epistles and letters to the lords, also to his friends in Bohemia. Some of those letters I thought to insert here, so the reader may have some taste, and take some profit, from the Christian writings and doings of this blessed man — beginning with a letter of the Lord de Clum, concerning the safe conduct of John Huss.

#### *A Letter of the Lord John de Clum, concerning the safe conduct of John Huss.*

“To all and singular who see and hear these presents, I John de Clum do it to understand how Master John Huss — bachelor of divinity, under the safe conduct and protection of the renowned prince and Lord Sigismund of the Romans, ever Augustus, and king of Hungary, etc. my gracious lord, and under the protection, defense, and safeguard of the holy empire of Rome, having the letters patent of the said my lord, king of the Romans, etc. — came to Constance to render a full account of his faith in public audience to all who would require the same. This the said Master John Huss, in this imperial city of Constance, under the safe conduct of the said my lord king of the Romans, has been and still is detained. And although the pope, with the cardinals, have been seriously required by solemn ambassadors of the said my lord king of the Romans, in the king’s name and behalf, that the said Master John Huss

Bk. V. The last 300 years from the loosing of Satan (1360-1422)

should be set at liberty, and be restored to me, yet notwithstanding, they have and still do refuse up to now to set him at liberty, to the great contempt and derogation of the safe conduct of the king, and of the safeguard and protection of the empire, or imperial majesty. Therefore I, John aforesaid, in the name of the king, do here publish and make it known, that the apprehending, and detaining of the said Master John Huss, was done wholly against the will of the forenamed king of the Romans my lord, seeing that it is done in the contempt of the safe conduct of his subjects, and of the protection of the empire, because the said my lord was then absent, far from Constance; and if he had been present there, he would never have permitted it. And when he comes, it is to be doubted by no man, but that for this great injury and contempt of this safe conduct done to him and to the empire, he will be grievously molested for it. — “Given at Constance, in the day of the Nativity of the Lord, 1414.

*An Epistle of John Huss to the People of Prague.*

“Grace and peace from our Lord Jesus Christ, that you being delivered from sin may walk in his grace, and may grow in all modesty and virtue, and after this may enjoy eternal life.

“Dearly beloved, I beseech you who walk according to the law of God, that you do not cast away the care of the salvation of your souls, when hearing the word of God you are forewarned wisely to understand that you are not to be deceived by false apostles who do not reprehend the sins of men, but rather extenuate and diminish them; who flatter the priests, and do not show to the people their offenses; who magnify themselves, boast their own works, and marvellously extol their own worthiness, but do not follow Christ in his humility, in poverty, in the cross, and other manifold afflictions. Our merciful Savior warned us before, saying, ‘False christs and false prophets will rise, and will deceive many.’<sup>Mat 24.24</sup> And when he had forewarned his well-beloved disciples, he said to them, ‘Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves: you will know them by their fruits,’<sup>Mat 7.15-16</sup> And it is true that the faithful of Christ have much need to diligently beware and take heed to themselves. For, as our Savior himself says, ‘The elect also, if it were possible, shall be brought into error.’ Wherefore, my well-beloved, be circumspect and watchful, so that you are not circumvented with the crafty trains of the devil. And the more circumspect you ought to be, for antichrist labors all the more to trouble you. The last judgment is near at hand: death shall swallow up many, but for the elect children of God, the kingdom of God draws near, because for them he gave his own body. Do not fear not death; love one another together; persevere in understanding the good will of God without ceasing. Let the terrible and horrible day of judgment always be before your eyes so that you do not sin; and also the joy of eternal life, for which you must endeavor. “

“Furthermore, let the passion of our Savior never be out of your minds, so that you may bear with him, and for him gladly, whatever will be laid upon you. For if you consider well in your minds his cross and afflictions, nothing will be grievous to you, and you will patiently give way to tribulations, cursings, rebukes, stripes, and imprisonment, and will not doubt to give your lives moreover for his holy truth, if need requires. Know, well-beloved, that antichrist being stirred up against you, he devises various persecutions. Many he has not hurt, no not the least hair of their heads, as by my own example I can testify, even though he has been vehemently incensed against me. Therefore, I desire you all, with your prayers, to make intercession for me to the Lord: to give me understanding, sufferance, patience, and constancy, so that I never swerve from his divine verity. He has brought me now to Constance. In all my journey, openly and manifestly, I have not feared to utter my name as becomes the servant of God. In no place have I kept myself secret, nor used any dissimulation. But I never found in any place, more pestilent and manifest enemies than at Constance. Nor would I have had these enemies there, had it not been for certain of our own Bohemians — hypocrites and deceivers who, for benefits received, and stirred up with covetousness, with boasting and bragging — have persuaded the

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people that I went about to seduce them away from the right way. But I am in good hope that through the mercy of our God, and by your prayers, I shall persist strongly in the immutable verity of God to the last breath. Finally, I would not have you ignorant, that whereas everyone here is put in his office, I alone, like an outcast, am neglected, etc. I commend you to the merciful Lord Jesus Christ, our true God, and the Son of the immaculate Virgin Mary, who has redeemed us by his most bitter death, without any merits [of our own], from eternal pains, from the thralldom of the devil, and from sin. — “From Constance the year of our Lord, 1415.”

*Another Letter of John Huss to his Benefactors.*

“My gracious benefactors and defenders of the truth, I exhort you by the compassion of Jesus Christ, that now setting aside the vanities of this present world, you will give your service to the Eternal King, Christ the Lord. Do not trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, in whom there is no help. For the sons of men are dissemblers and deceitful. Today they are, tomorrow they perish, but God remains forever.

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“He has his servants, not for any need he has of them, but for their own profit, to whom he performs what he promises, and fulfills what he purposes to give. He casts aside no faithful servant from him. For he says, ‘Where I am, there also shall my servant be.’ <sup>Joh 12.26</sup> And the Lord makes every servant of his to be the lord of all his possessions, giving Himself to him, and with Himself, all things, so that without tediousness or fear, and without defect, he may possess all things, rejoicing with all saints in infinite joy. O! happy is that servant whom, when the Lord comes, he shall find watching. <sup>Mat 24.46</sup> Happy is the servant who will receive that King of Glory with joy. Therefore, well beloved lords and benefactors, serve that King in fear, who shall bring you, I trust by His grace, at this present time to Bohemia, in health, and hereafter to eternal life of glory. Fare you well, for I think that this is the last letter that I shall write to you — who tomorrow, as I suppose, shall be purged in hope of Jesus Christ, through bitter death for my sins. The things that happened to me this night I am not able to write. Sigismund has done deceitfully with me in all things; God forgive him, and only for your sakes. You also heard the sentence which he awarded against me. I pray you have no suspicion of faithful Vitus.”

*Another Epistle of John Huss, in which he declares why God does not allow his People to perish.*

“The Lord God be with you. There were many causes, my dear friends, well-beloved in God, which moved me to think that those letters were the last, which I sent to you before, looking at that same time for instant death. But now understanding the same to be deferred, I take it for great comfort to me, that I have some leisure more to talk with you by letters. And therefore I write again to you, to declare and testify at least my gratitude and mindful duty toward you. And as touching death, God knows why he defers it both to me, and to my well-beloved brother, Master Jerome, who I trust will die holily and without blame. And know also that he does and suffers now more valiantly than I myself, a wretched sinner. God has given us a long time, that we might better call to memory our sins, and repent for them more fervently. He has granted us time, so that our long and great temptation should put away our grievous sins, and bring consolation all the more. He has given us time in which we should remember the horrible rebukes of our merciful King and Lord Jesus, and should ponder his cruel death, and so we might more patiently learn to bear our afflictions. And moreover, that we might keep in remembrance, how the joys of the life to come are not given immediately after the joys of this world, but through many tribulations the saints have entered into the kingdom of heaven. For some of them have been cut and chopped all to pieces, some have had their eyes bored through, some been boiled, some roasted, some flayed alive, some buried alive, stoned,

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crucified, ground between millstones, drawn here and there unto execution, drowned in waters, strangled and hanged, torn in pieces, vexed with rebukes before their death, kept in prisons, and afflicted in bonds. And who is able to recite all the torments and sufferings of the holy saints, which they suffered under the Old and New Testament for the verity of God; namely, those who have at any time rebuked the malice of the priests, or have preached against their wickedness? And it will be a marvel if any man now shall also escape unpunished, whoever dares to boldly resist the wickedness and perversity, especially of those priests, who can abide no correction. And I am glad that they are compelled now to read my books, in which their malice is somewhat described. And I know they have read the same more exactly and willingly, than they have read the holy gospel, seeking to find errors in them. — “Given at Constance upon Thursday, the 28th of June, A.D. 1415.”

*Another Letter of John Huss, in which he confirms the Bohemians, and describes the wickedness of the Council.*

“John Huss, in hope the servant of God, to all the faithful in Bohemia, who love the Lord, greeting, through the grace of God. It comes to my mind, in what I must admonish you, who are the faithful and beloved of the Lord, how the Council of Constance being full of pride, avarice, and all abomination, has condemned my books written in the Bohemian tongue, as heretical, which books they never saw, nor ever heard. And if they had heard them, yet they could not understand them, some being Italians, some Frenchmen, some Britons, some Spaniards, Germans, with other people of other nations; unless perhaps John bishop of Litomyšl understood them, who was present in that council, and certain other Bohemians and priests who are against me, and labor all they may, how to deprave both the verity of God, and the honesty of our country of Bohemia — which I judge in the hope of God, to be a godly land, right well given to the true knowledge of the faith, for it so greatly desires the word of God, and honest manners. And if you were here at Constance, you would see the grievous abomination of this council, which they call so holy and infallible. I have heard it reported of this council, that the city of Constance cannot in thirty years be purged of those abominations committed in that council. And almost all are offended with that council, being sorely grieved to behold such execrable things perpetrated in it.

“When I first stood to answer before my adversaries, seeing all things were done there with no order, and hearing them also outrageously crying out, I said plainly to them, that I looked for more honest behavior and better order and discipline in that council. Then the chief cardinal answered, ‘Do you say so? But in the Tower you speak more modestly.’ To whom said I, ‘In the Tower no man cried out against me, whereas now all rage against me.’ My faithful and beloved in Christ, do not be afraid with their sentence in condemning my books. They shall be scattered here and there abroad, like light butterflies, and their statutes will endure like spider-webs. They went about to shake my constancy from the verity of Christ; but they could not overcome the virtue of God in me. They would not reason from Scripture against me, as diverse honorable lords can witness with me, who being ready to suffer abuse for the truth of God, took my part stoutly; namely. Lord Wenceslate de Duba, and Lord John de Clum. For they were let into the council by King Sigismund. And when I said that I was desirous to be instructed if I erred in anything, then they heard the chief cardinal answer in reply, ‘Because you would be informed, there is no remedy but that you must first revoke your doctrine according to the determination of fifty bachelors of divinity, appointed.’ O high instruction!

“In like manner, St. Katherine should also have denied and revoked the verity of God and faith in Christ, because the fifty masters likewise withstood her.<sup>315</sup> Notwithstanding, that good

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<sup>315</sup> Or St. Catherine of Alexandria, martyred in the 4th century by emperor Maxentius. He summoned 50 of his best philosophers and orators to dispute with her, hoping to refute her Christian arguments, but she won the debate.

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virgin would never do this, standing in her faith unto death. But she did win her masters to Christ, whereas I cannot win these, my masters, by any means. These things I thought good to write to you, that you might know how they have overcome me without any grounded Scripture, nor with any reason: but only tried to persuade me with terrors and deceits to revoke and to abjure. But our merciful God, whose law I have magnified, was and is with me, and I trust will continue, and will keep me in His grace unto death.

“Written at Constance, after the feast of John Baptist, in prison and in bonds, daily looking for death; although for the secret judgments of God, I dare not say whether this is my last epistle: for even now, Almighty God is able to deliver me.”

[311] A.D. 1415.

*Another Letter of John Huss, in which he comforts his Friends,  
and wills them not to be troubled by the condemning of his Books;  
and also declares the wickedness of the Clergy.*

“Master John Huss, in hope the servant of God, to all the faithful who love Him and His statutes, he wishes the truth and grace of God.

“Beloved, I thought it needful to warn that you should not fear or be discouraged, because the adversaries have decreed that my books should be burnt. Remember how the Israelites burned the preachings of the prophet Jeremiah, and yet they could not avoid the things that were prophesied in them. For after they were burnt, the Lord commanded to write the same prophecy again, and make it larger, which was also done. For Jeremiah, sitting in prison spoke, and Baruch, who was ready at his hand, wrote. This is written either in the thirty-fifth or forty-fifth chapter of the vision of Jeremiah. <sup>Jer 36.26f</sup> It is also written in the books of the Maccabees, <sup>1Mac 1.56-57</sup> ‘That the wicked burned the law of God, and killed those who had them.’ Again, under the New Testament, they burned the saints, with the books of the law of God. <sup>(?)</sup> The cardinals condemned and committed to fire certain of St. Gregory’s books, and would have burnt them all if they had not been preserved by God through means of Peter, Gregory’s minister. Having these things before your eyes, take heed lest through fear you omit to read my books, and deliver them to the adversaries to be burnt. Remember the saying of our merciful Savior, by which he forewarned us. ‘There shall be,’ he says, ‘before the day of judgment, great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning of the world until this day, no, nor yet shall be: so that even the elect of God should be deceived, if it were possible. But for their sakes those days shall be shortened.’ <sup>Mat 24.21-22</sup> When you remember these things, beloved, do not be afraid, for I trust in God that this school of antichrist will be afraid of you, and He will allow you to be in quiet, nor will the Council of Constance extend to Bohemia. For I think, that many of those who are of the council, will die before they get my books from you. And they will depart from the council, and be scattered abroad, throughout the parts of the world like storks, and then they will know when winter comes, what they did in summer.

“Consider that they have judged their head, the pope, worthy of death, for the many horrible acts that he has done.<sup>316</sup> Go to now; answer to this, you preachers, who preach that the pope is the god of the earth; and that he may, as the lawyers say, make a sale of the holy things; that he is the head of the whole holy church, in verity well-governing it; that he is the heart of the church in quickening it spiritually: that he is the well-spring from which flows all virtue and goodness: that he is the sun of the holy church: that he is the safe refuge to which every Christian man ought to fly for succor. Behold now, that head is [figuratively] cut off with the sword; now the god of the earth is bound; now his sins are declared openly; now that well-

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<sup>316</sup> Pope John XXII, the 2nd pope of Avignon, was condemned by the Faculty of Theology of the Sorbonne in January 1334, accusing him of heresy. This favored King Louis IV, who opposed this pope; but it went no further.

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spring is dried up, that sun darkened, that heart is plucked out and thrown away, lest any man seek succor there. The council has condemned that head, and that is for this offense: because he took money for indulgences, bishoprics, and other such things.

“I would that in that council God had said, ‘He among you who is without sin, let him give the sentence against Pope John.’ Then surely they would all have gone out of the council-house, one after another. Why did they always bow the knee to him before his fall, kiss his feet, and call him the most holy father, seeing they saw apparently before, that he was a heretic, that he was a killer, that he was a wicked sinner, all of which things they have now found in him? Why did the cardinals choose him to be pope, knowing before that he had killed the holy father? Why did they allow him to meddle with holy things, in bearing the office of the popedom? For to this end they are his counsellors, that they should admonish him about that which is right. Are they not themselves as guilty of these faults as he is, seeing that they accounted these things vices in him, and were partakers of some of them themselves? Why did no man dare to lay anything to his charge before he had fled from Constance? But as soon as the secular power, by the sufferance of God, laid hold of him, then and never before, they all conspired together that he should not live any longer? Surely, even at this day the malice, the abomination and filthiness of antichrist, is revealed in the pope and others of this council.

“Now the faithful servants of God may understand what our Savior Christ meant by this saying, ‘When you see the abomination of desolation, which is spoken of by Daniel, etc. whoever can understand it,’ etc. <sup>Mat 24.15</sup> Surely, these are great abominations: pride, covetousness, simony, sitting in a solitary place; that is to say, in a dignity void of goodness, of humility, and other virtues; as we now clearly see in those that are constituted in any office and dignity. O how acceptable a thing it would be (if time would allow me) to disclose their wicked acts, which are now apparent, so that the faithful servants of God might know them. I trust in God that he will send after me those who will be more valiant. And there are alive at this day, those who will make more manifest the malice of antichrist, and will give their lives to the death for the truth of our Lord Jesus Christ, who will give both to you and me the joys of life everlasting.

“This epistle was written on St. John Baptist’s day, in prison and in cold irons, having this meditation with myself, that John the Baptist was beheaded in his prison and bonds, for the word of God.”

*Another Letter of John Huss.*

“John Huss, in hope the servant of God, to all the faithful at Bohemia who love the Lord, wishes to stand and die in the grace of God, and at last to attain to eternal life.

“You who bear rule over others, and are rich, and you also who are poor, well-beloved and faithful in God, I beseech you, and admonish you all, that you will be obedient to God, make much of his word, and gladly hearing the same, will humbly perform what you hear. I beseech you, stick fast to the verity of God’s word, which I have written and preached to you out of his law, and the sermons of his saints. Also I desire that if any man either in public sermon or in private talk heard anything from me, or have read anything written by me which is against the verity of God, that you do not follow it — even though I do not find my conscience guilty that I have ever spoken or written any such thing among you.

“I desire, moreover, that if any man, at any time has noted any levity either in my talk or in my conditions, that you do not follow it, but pray to God for me, to pardon me that sin of lightness. I pray that you will love your priests and ministers who are of honest behavior, to prefer and honor them before others; namely, those priests who travel in the word of God. I pray you take heed to yourselves, and beware of malicious and deceitful men, and especially of these wicked priests of whom our Savior speaks, who are under sheep’s clothing, but inwardly



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are ravening wolves. I pray those who are rulers and superiors, to behave themselves gently towards their poor inferiors, and to rule them justly. I beseech the citizens, that every man will walk in his degree and vocation, with an upright conscience. The craftsmen also, I beseech that they will exercise their occupations diligently, and use them with the fear of God. I beseech the servants that they will serve their masters faithfully. And likewise I beseech the schoolmasters, that they living honestly, will bring up their scholars virtuously, and teach them faithfully, first to learn to fear God; then for the glory of God and the public utility of the commonwealth, and their own health, and to employ their minds to honest arts, not for avarice or for worldly honor. I beseech the students of the university, and all schools, to obey their masters in all honest things, and to follow them; and that with all diligence they will study to be profitable both to setting forth the glory of God, and to the soul's health, of themselves as well as of other men.

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“Together I beseech and pray you all, that you will yield most hearty thanks to the right honorable lords, the Lord Wenceslaus de Duba, Lord John de Clum, Lord Henry Lumlovio, Lord Vilem Zagecio, Lord Nicholas, and other lords of Bohemia, of Moravia, and Polonie; so that their diligence towards me may be appreciated by all good men. Because like valiant champions of God's truth, they have oftentimes set themselves against the whole council for my deliverance, contending and standing against the same to the uttermost of their power; but especially Lord Wenceslaus de Duba, and Lord John de Clum. Whatever they report to you, give credit to them; for they were in the council when I answered many there. They know who they were from Bohemia — how many false and slanderous things they brought in against me, and that council cried out against me, and how I also answered to all things of which I was demanded. I beseech you also that you will pray for the king of the Romans, and for your king, and for his wife, your queen, that God of his mercy would abide with them and with you, both now and henceforth in everlasting life. Amen.

“This epistle I have written to you from prison and in bonds, looking the next day after the writing this, for the sentence of the council upon my death. I have a full trust that He will not leave me, nor allow me to deny his truth, and will revoke the errors which false witnesses have maliciously devised against me. How mercifully the Lord God has dealt with me, and was with me in marvellous temptations, you shall know when hereafter, by the help of Christ, we shall all meet together in the joy of the world to come. As concerning Master Jerome, my dearly beloved brother and fellow, I hear no other but that he is remaining in strait bonds, looking for death as I do; and that for the faith which he valiantly maintained among the Bohemians, our cruel enemies of Bohemia have given us into the power and hands of other enemies, and into bonds. I beseech you, pray to God for them.

“Moreover, I beseech you, namely of Prague, that you will love the temple of Bethlehem, and provide so long as God permits, that the word of God may be preached in it. For because of that place, the devil is angry, and he has stirred up priests and canons against the same, perceiving that his kingdom would be disturbed and diminished in that place. I trust in God that he will keep that holy church so long as it shall please him, and in there He will give greater increase of his word by others, than he has done by me, a weak vessel. I beseech you also, that you will love one another; and withholding no man from the hearing of God's word, that you will provide and take care that good men are not oppressed by any force and violence. Written at Constance, the year of our Lord 1415.”



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*Another right godly letter of John Huss to a certain priest,  
admonishing him about his office, and exhorting him  
to be faithful; worthy to be read by all Ministers.*

“The peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc. My dear brother, be diligent in preaching the gospel, and do the work of a good evangelist; do not neglect your vocation; labor like a blessed soldier of Christ. First, live godly and holily. Secondly, teach faithfully and truly. Thirdly, be an example to others in well-doing, so that you will not be reprehended in your sayings: correct vice and set forth virtue. To evil-livers, threaten eternal punishment; but to those who are faithful and godly, set forth the comforts of eternal joy. Preach continually, but be brief and fruitful, prudently understanding, and discreetly dispensing the holy Scriptures. Never affirm or maintain those things that are uncertain and doubtful, lest your adversaries take hold of you, who rejoice in depraving their brethren, whereby they may bring the ministers of God into contempt. Exhort men to the confession of their faith, and to the communion of both kinds, both of the body and blood of Christ, whereby those who earnestly repent of their sins may come to the holy communion more often. And I warn you that you not enter into taverns with guests, and you not be a common company-keeper. For the more a preacher keeps himself from the company of men, the more he is regarded. However, do not deny your help and diligence wherever you may profit others. Against fleshly lust, preach continually all that you ever can; for that is the raging beast which devours men, for whom the flesh of Christ suffered. Finally, whatever you do, fear God and keep his precepts; so shall you walk wisely, and not perish; so shall you subdue the flesh, disdain the world, and overcome the devil; so shall you put on God, find life, confirm others, and crown yourself with the crown of glory, which the just Judge will give you. Amen.”

*This letter of John Huss contains a confession of the infirmity of man’s flesh,  
how weak it is, and repugnant against the spirit. In which  
he also exhorts to persevere constantly in the truth.*

“Health be to you from Jesus Christ, etc. My dear friend, know that Paletz came to me to persuade me that I should not fear the shame of abjuration, but to consider the good which will come of it. I said to him that the shame of condemnation and burning is greater than to abjure.

“Almighty God shall confirm the hearts of his faithful, whom he has chosen before the foundation of the world, that they may receive the eternal crown of glory. And let antichrist rage as much as he will, yet he shall not prevail against Christ, who shall destroy him with the spirit of his mouth, as the apostle says. And then the creature shall be delivered out of the bondage of corruption, into the liberty of the glory of the sons of God, as the apostle says in the following words. ‘We also groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body.’ Rom 8.23

“I am greatly comforted in those words of our Savior, ‘Happy are you when men hate you, and separate you, and rebuke you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of Man’s sake. Rejoice and be glad, for behold, great is your reward in heaven,’ Luke 6.22-23. O worthy, yes, O most worthy consolation which, not to understand it, but to practice it in time of tribulation, is a hard lesson.

“This rule St. James, with the other apostles, well understood, when he says, ‘Count it exceeding joy, my brethren, when you fall into diverse temptations, knowing that the trial of your faith works patience: let patience have her perfect work.’ Jas 1.4 For certainly it is a great matter for a man to rejoice in trouble, and to take it for joy to be in diverse temptations. It is a light matter to say it and to expound it, but a great matter to fulfill it. Why? For our most patient and most valiant champion himself was troubled in spirit after his last supper,

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knowing that he would rise again the third day, overcoming his enemies by his death, and redeeming his elect from damnation. He said, ‘My soul is exceedingly sorrowful, even unto death.’ <sup>Mat 26.37-38</sup> The gospel also says of him, ‘He began to fear, to be sorrowful and very heavy.’ Then being in an agony, he was confirmed by the angel, and his sweat was like drops of blood falling upon the ground. <sup>Luk 22.43-44</sup> And yet notwithstanding, being so troubled, he said to his disciples, ‘Let not your hearts be troubled;’ <sup>Joh 14.1</sup> neither fear the cruelty of those who persecute you, for you shall have me with you always, that you may overcome the tyranny of your persecutors. Whereupon those soldiers of his, looking upon the Prince and King of Glory, sustained great conflicts. They passed through fire and water, and were saved, and received the crown of the Lord God. St. James speaks of this crown in his canonical epistle, saying, ‘Blessed is the man who suffers temptation, for when he is proved, he shall receive the crown of life which God has promised to those who love him.’ <sup>Jas 1.12</sup> I trust steadfastly that the Lord will make me a partaker of this crown also with you, who are the fervent sealers of the truth, and with all those who steadfastly and constantly love the Lord Jesus Christ who suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps. <sup>1Pet 2.21</sup>

[313] A.D. 1415.

“‘It behooved him to suffer,’ as Jesus says; <sup>Luk 24.46</sup> and it also behooves us to suffer, so that the members may suffer together with the Head. For he says, ‘If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross, and follow me.’ <sup>Mat 16.24</sup>

“O most merciful Christ! draw us weak creatures after you. For unless you draw us, we are not able to follow you. Give us a strong spirit, that it may be ready, and although the flesh is feeble, let your grace go before us, go with us, and follow us. For without you we can do nothing, and much less enter into a cruel death for Your sake. Give us that prompt and ready spirit, a bold heart, an upright faith, a firm hope, and perfect charity, that we may give our lives patiently and joyfully for your name’s sake. Amen.

“Written in prison in bonds on the vigil of St. John the Baptist, who being in prison and in bonds for rebuking wickedness, was beheaded.”

By the life, acts, and letters of John Huss that I recited up to here, it is evident and plain that he was condemned not for any error of doctrine — for he neither denied their popish transubstantiation, nor spoke against the authority of the church of Rome, if it were well governed; nor yet against the seven sacraments, but said mass himself. And in almost all their popish opinions, he was a papist with them. But only through evil will was he accused by his malicious adversaries, because he spoke against the pomp, pride, avarice, and other wicked enormities of the pope, cardinals, and prelates of the church; and because he could not abide the high dignities and livings of the church, and thought the doings of the pope were antichrist-like. For this cause he procured so many enemies and false witnesses against him, who straining and picking matter out of his books and writings, and having no one just article of doctrine to lay to his charge, they made him a heretic, whether he would have it or not, and brought him to his condemnation.

### ***Jerome of Prague Taken and Brought to Constance – 1415.***

*The tragic and lamentable history of the famous learned man  
and godly martyr of Christ, Master Jerome of Prague,  
burned at Constance for like cause and quarrel  
as Master John Huss, A.D. 1416.*

The things regarding the life, acts, and constant martyrdom of Master John Huss, with part of his letters, have been discoursed. His death was on the sixth of July (AD. 1415). It now remains to describe the like tragedy and cruel handling of his Christian companion, Master

Jerome of Prague. Grievously sorrowing for the slanderous reproach and defamation of his country of Bohemia, and also hearing of the manifest injuries done to that man of worthy memory, Master John Huss, Jerome freely and of his own accord came to Constance the fourth of April (A.D. 1415). There perceiving that John Huss was denied being heard, and that watch and wait was laid for himself on every side, Jerome departed to Iberling until the next day; this city was a mile from Constance. From there he wrote his letters to Sigismund, king of Hungary, to his barons, and also to the council, most earnestly requesting that the king and the council would give him a safe conduct to freely come and go, and that he would then come in open audience to answer to every man, if there were any of the council who would lay any crime to him, as it will appear more at large by the tenor of his intimation.

When the king of Hungary was requested to do this, being in the house of the lord cardinal of Cambray, he refused to give Master Jerome any safe conduct, excusing himself for the evil dealings he had with the safe conduct of John Huss before, and also alleging certain other causes. The deputies of the four nations of the council being moved to this by the lords of the king of Bohemia, also answered, "We will give him a safe conduct to *come*, but not to *depart*." Their answers were reported to Master Jerome. The next day he wrote certain intimations which he sent to Constance to be posted on the gates of the city, on the gates of the churches and monasteries, and on the houses of the cardinals and other nobles and prelates. The tenor of them follows word for word, in this manner:

"To the most noble prince and lord, the Lord Sigismund, by the grace of God, king of the Romans, always Augustus, and of Hungary, etc. — I, Jerome of Prague, master of arts of the general universities of Paris, Cologne, Heidelberg, and Prague, by these my present letters, do notify the king, together with the whole reverend council, and as much as it lies in me, to all men, to understand and know that because of the crafty slanderers, backbiters, and accusers, I am ready freely, and of my own will, to come to Constance, there to declare openly before the council, the purity and sincerity of my true faith, and my innocency, and not secretly in corners before any private or particular person. Therefore, if there are any of my slanderers, of whatever nation or estate they are, who will object against me any crime of error or heresy, let them come forth openly before me in the presence of the whole council, and in their own names object against me, and I will be ready, as I have written, to answer openly and publicly before the whole council, of my innocency, and to declare the purity and sincerity of my true faith. And if it so happens that I am found culpable in error or heresy, then I will not refuse openly to suffer such punishment as will be fitting and worthy for an erroneous person, or a heretic.

"Therefore I most humbly beseech my lord the king, and the whole sacred council, that I may have, to this end and purpose aforesaid, safe and sure access. And if it happens that offering such equity and right as I do, before any fault is proved against me, I am arrested, imprisoned, or have any violence done to me; then it may be manifest to the whole world, that this general council does not proceed according to equity and justice, if they would by any means keep me back from this profound and straight justice, having come here freely of my own mind and accord, which thing I suppose to be far from so sacred and holy a council of wise men."

When he could not get any safe conduct, then the nobles, lords, and knights, especially of the Bohemian nation, who were present in Constance, gave to Master Jerome their letters patents, confirmed with their seals for a testimony and witness of the premises. With these letters Master Jerome returned again to Bohemia. But by the treason and conspiracy of his enemies he was taken in Hirsaw by the officers of Duke John, and brought back to the presence of the duke. In the meantime, those who were the instigators of the council against Master John Huss, and Master Jerome, that is to say, Michael de Causis, and Master Paletz,

and other accomplices of theirs, required that Master Jerome be cited because of his intimations. Certain days after, a citation was set upon the gates and porches of the city and churches.

After Sigismund, king of Hungary, with the rest of the council, understood that Master Jerome was taken, they earnestly required that he be brought before them to the council. The Duke John, after he had received letters from the king and the council, brought Master Jerome bound to Constance, whom his brother, Duke Louis, led through the city to the cloisters of the friars minors in Constance, where the chief priests and elders of the people — Scribes and Pharisees — were gathered together, attending and waiting for his coming. Master Jerome carried a great hand-bolt of iron with a long chain in his hand; and as he passed, the chain made a great rattling and noise, and for more confusion and spite towards him, they led him by that same chain after Duke Louis, holding and stretching it out a great way from him. With this chain they also kept him bound in the cloister. When he was brought into the cloister, they read before him the letter of Duke John to the council, containing in effect how the duke had sent Master Jerome, who by chance had fallen into his hands. The reason was that the duke had heard an evil report about him, that Jerome was suspected of the heresies of Wycliffe. Thus the council might take order for him, whose part it was to correct and punish those who erred and strayed from the truth. Besides this, many other flattering tales were written in the said letter for the praise of the council.

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After this, they read the citation which was published by the council against Master Jerome. Then certain of the bishops said to him: “Jerome, why did you flee and run away, and not appear when you were cited?” He answered:

“Because I could not get any safe conduct, neither from you nor from the king, as it appears by these letters patents of the barons, which you have; nor by my open intimations could I obtain any safe conduct. Therefore, perceiving many of my grievous and heavy friends to be present here in the council, I would not myself be the occasion of my perils and dangers. But if I had known or had any understanding of this citation, without all doubt, even if I had been in Bohemia, I would have returned again.”

Then the whole rabble rising up, alleged various accusations against him with a great noise and tumult. When the rest held their peace, Master Gerson ` , the chancellor of Paris: “Jerome, when you were at Paris you thought yourself by means of your eloquence to be an angel, and troubled the whole university, alleging openly in the schools many erroneous conclusions with their corollaries, and especially on the question *de universalibus et de Idoeis* (about universals and the Jews),<sup>317</sup> with many other very offensive questions.” To whom Master Jerome said:

“I answer to you. Master Gerson, those matters which I put forth there in the schools at Paris, in which I also answered the arguments of the Masters, I put forth philosophically, and as a philosopher, and master of the university; and if I have put forth any questions which I should not have put forth, teach me that they are erroneous, and I will most humbly be informed, and amend them.”

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<sup>317</sup> “*De universalibus*” refers to medieval discussions about the ontological status of universals, abstract concepts or properties that apply to multiple particular things. These discussions were among the most sophisticated in the history of philosophy, involving scholastics such as Duns Scotus, William of Ockham, and Avicenna. Wycliffe wrote a book on it, opposing the *nominalism* of Ockham (which challenges the existence of universal properties), and laying the foundation for the *realism* of the Reformation.

While he was still speaking, another rose up said: "When you were also at Cologne, in your position which you there determined, you propounded many erroneous matters." Then Master Jerome said to him: "Shew me first one error which I propounded." With this, the man being in a way astonished, said: "I do not remember them now, at the first, but hereafter they will be objected against you."

By and by a third man rose up and said: "Also, when you were at Heidelberg, you propounded many erroneous matters touching the trinity, and there you painted a certain shield or escutcheon comparing the trinity of persons in the divinity to water, snow, and ice, and such things." Master Jerome answered him: "Those things that I wrote or painted there, I will also speak, write, and paint here. Teach me that they are erroneous, and I will most humbly revoke and recant them."

Then certain others cried out: "Let him be burned, let him be burned!" To them he answered: "If my death delights or pleases you, in the name of God let it be so." Then the archbishop of Saltzburg said: "Not so, Master Jerome, for as it is written, I do not will the death of a sinner, but rather that he be converted and live." <sup>Eze 18.23</sup>

When these and many other tumults and cries had passed, by which they most disorderly and outrageously witnessed against him, they delivered him bound to the officers of the city of Constance, to be carried to prison for that night. And so every one of them returned to their lodgings.

In the meantime, one of the friends of Master John Huss, looking out at a window of the cloister, said to him: "Master Jerome." He said, "You are welcome, my dear brother." Then Peter said to him: "Be constant and do not fear to suffer death for the truth's sake, of which, when you were at liberty in times past, you preached so much and so well." Jerome answered: "Truly brother I do not fear death. And as we know that we have spoken much about it in times past, let us now see what may be known or done in effect." By and by, his keepers coming to the window threatening him with blows, they pulled Peter away from the window of the cloister. Then one Vitus came to Master Jerome, and said: "Master, how do you do?" He answered, "Truly brother, I do very well." Then his keepers coming about him laid hold of Vitus, saying: "This is also one of the number," and kept him. When it drew towards evening, the archbishop of Riegen sent his servants, who led away Master Jerome, being strongly bound with chains both by the hands and by the neck, and kept him that way for some hours. When night drew on, they carried him to a tower of the city, where tying him fast to a great block, and his feet in the stocks, his hands also being made fast, they left him. The block was so high, that he could by no means sit upon it, so that his head must hang downward. They also carried Vitus to the archbishop of Riegen, who demanded of him, "Why did you dare be so bold as to talk with such a man, being a reprobate of all men, and a heretic?" When he could find no cause to imprison him, and Vitus said he was Master John de Clum's friend (taking an oath and promise from Vitus that he would not go about damaging the council because of his imprisonment and captivity), he dismissed him.

Master Jerome, whose friends did not know where he was carried to, lay in the tower two days and two nights, relieved only with bread and water. Then one of his keepers, coming to Master Peter, declared to him how Master Jerome lay nearby in bonds and chains, and how he was fed. Then Master Peter desired that he might have leave to give him food, because he would procure it for him. The keeper of the prison, granting his request, carried food to him. Within eleven days, so hanging by the heels, he had such little repast, that he fell sorely sick, even unto death. When living in that captivity and prison, he desired to have a confessor.

The council denied him this, until such time as, by great importunity, he obtained one. His friends were then present in the prison and tower in which he lay for a year, less seven days.

After they had put John Huss to death, around the time of the feast of the nativity of the Virgin Mary, they brought forth Master Jerome, whom they had kept so long in chains. Threatening him with death, and being instant (demanding) upon him, they forced him to abjure and recant, and consent to the death of Master John Huss: that he was justly and truly condemned and put to death by them. For fear of death, and hoping thereby to escape from their hands, according to their will and pleasure, and according to the tenor which was exhibited to him, he made abjuration in the cathedral church, in open session. The draft of it, penned for him by the papists, ensues here:

*The Abjuration of Master Jerome of Prague.*

“I, Jerome of Prague, master of arts, acknowledging the catholic church, and the apostolic faith, do accurse and renounce all heresies, and especially that of which I have previously been notorious, and that which in times past John Huss and John Wycliffe have held and taught in their works, treatises, and sermons, made to the people and clergy; for which cause the said Wycliffe and Huss, together with the said doctrines and errors, are condemned by this synod of Constance as heretics, and all the said doctrine sententially condemned, and especially in certain articles expressed in the sentences and judgments given against them by this sacred council.

“Also I accord and agree to the holy church of Rome, the apostolic seat in this sacred council, and with my mouth and heart profess in all things, and touching all things, and especially as touching the keys, sacraments, orders, and offices, and ecclesiastical censures, of pardons, relics of saints, ecclesiastical liberty, also ceremonies, and all other things pertaining to the Christian religion, as the church of Rome, the apostolic see, and this sacred council profess; and especially that many of the said articles are notoriously heretical, and lately reprovved by the holy fathers, some of them blasphemous, some others erroneous; some offensive to godly ears, and many of them reckless and seditious. And such also were counted the articles lately condemned by the sacred council, and it was inhibited and forbidden to all and singular catholic men to hereafter preach, teach, or presume to hold or maintain any of the said articles, under pain of being accursed.

[315] A.D. 1416.

“And I, the said Jerome, because I have labored by scholastical arts to persuade the opinion, *de universalibus realibus* — that one substance of the common kind should signify many things subject under the same, and every one of them, as St. Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine affirm, and likewise others — for teaching this, by a plain example I described, as it were, a certain triangle, form, or figure, which I called the shield of faith.

“Therefore utterly to exclude and take away the erroneous and wicked understanding of it, which perhaps some men may gather thereby, I say, affirm, and declare that I never made the said figure, nor named it the *shield of faith* to that intent or purpose, that I would extol or prefer the opinion of universalities above or before the contrary opinion, in such a way, as though that were the shield of faith, and that without the affirmation of it, the catholic faith could not be defended or maintained; when as I myself would not obstinately stick to this. But this I said because I had put an example in the description of the triangle or form, that one divine essence consisted in three subjects or persons in themselves distinct, that is to say, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The article of this Trinity is the chief shield of faith, and foundation of the catholic truth.

“Furthermore, that it may be evident to all men what the causes were for which I was reputed and thought to stick to, and sometimes favor John Huss, I signify to all men by these presents, that when I heard him oftentimes, both in his sermons, and also in the schools, I believed that he was a very good man, nor that he did in any point challenge the traditions of our holy mother the church, or holy doctors — insofar that when I was recently in this city, and the articles which I affirmed were shown to me, which were also condemned by the sacred council, at the first sight of them I did not believe that they were his, at least not in that form. But when as I had further understood, by certain famous doctors and masters of divinity, that they were his articles, I required for my further information and satisfaction to have the books of his own handwriting shown to me, in which it was said these articles were contained. These books when they were shown to me, written with his own hand, which I did know as well as my own, I found all and every one of those articles in it, written in like form as they are condemned. Therefore I do worthily judge and think him and his doctrine, with his adherents, are to be condemned and reprov'd by the sacred council as heretical and without reason. All these premises, with a pure mind and conscience, I here pronounce and speak, being now fully and sufficiently informed of the foresaid sentences and judgments given by the sacred council against the doctrines of the said John Wycliffe, and John Huss, and against their own persons, to which judgment, as a devout catholic in all things, I most humbly consent and agree.

“Also I, the foresaid Jerome, who before the reverend fathers, the lords cardinals, and reverend lords, prelates, and doctors, and other worshipful persons of this sacred council in this same place, did until now freely and willingly declare and expound my intent and purpose among other things, speaking of the church, divided it into three parts. And as I perceived afterwards, it was understood by some that I would affirm that in the triumphant church there was faith, whereas I firmly believe that there is the blessed sight and beholding of God, excluding all dark understanding and knowledge; and now also I say, affirm, and declare that it was never my intent and purpose to prove that there should be faith, speaking of faith as faith is commonly defined, but knowledge far exceeding faith. And whatever I said generally, either there, or at any time before, I refer and most humbly submit myself to the determination of this sacred Council of Constance.

“Moreover, I swear both by the Holy Trinity, and also by the most holy gospel, that I will for evermore remain and persevere without all doubt in the truth of the catholic church; and all those who by their doctrine and teaching shall impugn this faith, I judge them, together with their doctrines, worthy of eternal curse. And if I by myself at any time (which God forbid I should) presume to preach or teach contrary to this, I will submit myself to the severity of the canons, and be bound to eternal pain and punishment. Whereupon I deliver up this my confession and tenor of my profession willingly before this sacred general council, and I have subscribed and written all these things with my own hand.”

After all this they caused him to be carried back to the same prison, but not so straitly chained and bound as he was before. Notwithstanding, he was kept every day with soldiers and armed men; and when his enemies understood and knew by the words and talk of Master Jerome, and by other certain tokens, that he made the same abjuration and recantation, not of a sincere and pure mind, but only to escape their hands, they put up new accusations against Master Jerome, and drew them into articles, being very instant and earnest that he should answer to them. And as his judges and certain cardinals — such as the cardinal of Cambray, the cardinal de Ursinus, the cardinal of Aquilegia, and of Florence — considering the malice of the enemies of Master Jerome, saw the great injury that was done to him, they labored before the whole council for his delivery.

It happened on a certain day, as they were laboring in the council for the delivery of the said Master Jerome, that his enemies with all force and power resisted it, crying out that he

should in no case be dismissed. Then one called Doctor Naso started up, who said to the cardinals, "We marvel much about you, most reverend fathers, that your reverences will make intercession for such a wicked heretic, for whose sake we in Bohemia, with the whole clergy, have suffered much trouble and mischief, and perhaps your fatherhoods will suffer. And I greatly fear, lest you have received some rewards either from the king of Bohemia, or from these heretics." When the cardinals were thus rebuked, they discharged themselves from Master Jerome's cause and matter.

Then his enemies had other judges appointed, such as the patriarch of Constantinople, and a German doctor, knowing that the patriarch was a grievous enemy to Master Jerome, because having been previously appointed judge by the council, he had condemned John Huss to death.

But Master Jerome would not answer them in prison, requesting to have an open audience, because he would there finally declare his mind to them; nor would he by any means consent to those private judges. Whereupon the presidents of the council, thinking that Master Jerome would renew his recantation before the audience, and confirm it, granted him open audience.

In the year A.D. 1416, the 25th of May, Master Jerome was brought to an open audience before the whole council, in the great cathedral church of Constance, where the commissioners of the council laid against him a hundred and seven articles, to the intent that he should not escape the snare of death, which they provided and laid for him. He answered to more than forty articles most subtly objected against him; denying that he held or maintained any such articles as were either hurtful or false, and affirming that those witnesses had deposed them against him falsely and slanderously, as his most cruel and mortal enemies. In the same session, they had not yet proceeded to death, because noon-time drew near so fast, that he could not answer to the articles. Therefore, for lack of sufficient time to answer to the remainder of the articles, another time was appointed, early in the morning, at which he was again brought to the cathedral church to answer to the remainder of the articles.

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In all of these articles, those which he had answered before, as well as in the remainder, he cleared himself very learnedly, refuting his adversaries in such a way that they were themselves astonished at his oration, and by the refutation of their testimonies against him; and with shame enough, they were put to silence. Such as when one of them had demanded of him what he thought of the sacrament of the altar, he answered, "Before consecration," he said, "it is bread and wine; after the consecration it is the true body and blood of Christ," adding more words according to their catholic faith. Then another rising up, said "Jerome, there is a great rumor about you, that you hold bread remains upon the altar." To whom he pleasantly answered that he believed "bread is at the baker's." At these words one of the Dominican friars rose angrily, and said, "What! do you deny, what no man doubts?" Jerome well repressed his peevish sauciness with these words, "Hold your peace, you monk, you hypocrite!" And thus the monk being nipped in the head, sat down dumb. After him another started up, who with a loud voice cried out, "By my conscience I swear that to be true, which you deny." To whom Jerome replied, "Thus to swear by your conscience is the next way to deceive." There was another, a spiteful and bitter enemy of his, whom he called by no other name than *dog*, or *ass*. After he had thus refuted them, one after another, so that they could find no crime against him, neither in this matter, nor in any other, they were all driven to keep silence.



Then the witnesses were called, who gave testimony to the articles produced before. By reason of which the innocent cause of Jerome was oppressed, and began to be concluded in the council. Then Jerome, rising up, began to speak, "Considering that you have heard my adversaries so diligently, it is convenient that you should also now hear me speak for myself." Whereupon, with much difficulty, at last audience was given in the council for him to say his mind. This being granted, he continued from morning to noon, addressing many matters with great learning and eloquence. Beginning with his prayer to God, he besought Him to give him spirit, ability, and utterance, which might both tend to the profit and salvation of his own soul. And then he began his oration as follows: "I know, reverend lords, that there have been many excellent men who have suffered much otherwise than they deserved, being oppressed with false witnesses, and condemned with wrong judgments." And so beginning with Socrates, he declared how he was unjustly condemned by his countrymen, nor would he escape when he might — taking from us the fear of two things which seem most bitter to men, to wit, imprisonment and death. Then he introduced the captivity of Plato, the banishment of Anaxagoras, and the torments of Zeno. Moreover, he brought in the wrongful condemnation of many Gentiles, such as the banishment of Rupilius, reciting also the unworthy death of Boetius, and of others whom Boetius himself writes about.

From there he came to the examples of the Hebrews, and began with Moses, the deliverer of the people and the lawgiver, how he was oftentimes slandered by his people as being a seducer and despiser of the people. Also Joseph, who for envy was sold by his brethren, and was cast into bonds for false suspicion of a crime. Besides these, were Isaiah, Daniel, and almost all the prophets, who as despisers of God, and seditious persons, were oppressed with wrongful condemnation. From there he proceeded to the judgment of Susanna, and of diverse others besides, who being good and holy, were yet unjustly cast away under a wrongful sentence. At length he came to John Baptist. And so, in a long process he descended to our Savior, declaring how it was evident to all men, by what false witnesses both he and John Baptist were condemned. Moreover, how Stephen was slain by the college of the priests, and how all the apostles were condemned to death, not as good men, but as seditious stirrers up of the people, and despisers of the gods, and evil-doers. It is unjust, he said, to be unjustly condemned, one priest by another, and yet he proved that the same so happened most unjustly in that council of priests. These things he discoursed at large, with marvellous eloquence, and with singular admiration by all who heard him.

And because the whole sum of the cause rested only in the witnesses, by many reasons he proved that no credit was to be given to them, especially seeing that they spoke all things not from truth, but only from hatred, malice, and envy. And so prosecuting the matter, he so lively and expressly opened to them the causes of their hatred, that he had almost persuaded them. In so lively and likely a way was their hatred exposed, that almost no credit was given to their testimonies, except for the cause and quarrel in which they stood regarding the pope's doctrine. All men's minds were moved and bending to mercy toward him. For he told them how, of his own accord, he came up to the council, and to purge himself he opened to them his whole life and doings, being full of virtue and godliness. This was (he said) the old manner of ancient and learned men, and most holy elders, that in matters of faith, they differed many times in arguments, not to destroy the faith, but to find out the truth. So Augustine and Jerome dissented from one another, yet without any suspicion of heresy.

All this while the pope's holy council waited, still expecting him to begin to excuse himself, and to retract those things which were objected against him, and to crave pardon from the

council. But still persisting, in his constant oration he acknowledged no error, nor gave any indication of retraction.

At last entering to the praise and commendation of Master John Huss, he affirmed that he was a good, just, and holy man, and much unworthy of that death which he suffered. He knew him from his youth upward, to be neither immoral, a drunkard, nor any evil or vicious person, but a chaste and sober man, and a just and true preacher of the holy gospel. And whatever things Master John Huss and Wycliffe had held or written, especially against the abuse and pomp of the clergy, he would affirm even to the death, that they were holy and blessed men, and that in all points of the catholic faith, he believes as the holy catholic church holds or believes. And finally, he concluded that all those articles which John Wycliffe and John Huss had written and put forth against the enormities, pomp, and disorder of the prelates, he would firmly and steadfastly, without recantation, hold and defend even to the death. And last of all he added that all the sins that he had ever committed, did not so much gnaw and trouble his conscience as did that sole sin which he had committed in that most pestiferous act, when in his recantation he had unjustly spoken against that good and holy man and his doctrine; especially in consenting to his wicked condemnation, concluding that he utterly revoked and denied that wicked recantation which he made in that most cursed place, and that he did it through weakness of heart and fear of death. And moreover, that whatever he had spoken against that blessed man, he had altogether lied about him, and that he repented with his whole heart that he ever did it.

At hearing this, the hearts of the hearers were not a little sorry. For they wished and desired greatly that such a singular man should be saved, if otherwise their blind superstition would have allowed it. But he continued in his opinion, seeming to desire death rather than life. And persisting in the praise of John Huss, he added moreover, that he never maintained any doctrine against the state of the church, but only spoke against the abuses of the clergy, against the pride, pomp, and excess of the prelates. For as the patrimonies of the churches were first given for the poor, then for hospitality, and thirdly to the reparations of the churches; it was a grief to that good man (he said) to see the same misspent and cast away upon great feasting, keeping horses and dogs, upon gorgeous apparel, and such other things that are unbecoming to the Christian religion. And herein he showed himself marvellously eloquent; indeed, never more so.

[317] A.D. 1416.

And when his oration was interrupted many times by several of them, carping at his sentences as he was in speaking, there was yet none of all those who interrupted him who escaped unscathed, but he brought them all to confusion, and put them to silence. When any noise began, he ceased speaking, and afterward began again, proceeding in his oration, and desiring them to give him leave to speak a while, whom they would hereafter hear no more; nor was his mind ever dashed at all by these noises and tumults.

And this was marvellous to behold in him, notwithstanding that he continued in prison three hundred and forty days, having neither book, nor almost any light to read by. Yet how admirably his memory served him — declaring how all those pains of his strict handling did not grieve him so much, as their unkind humanity towards him.

When he had spoken these and many things regarding the praise of John Wycliffe and John Huss, those who sat in the council whispered together, saying by these his words it appears that he is resolved with himself. Then he was again carried to prison, and grievously fettered by the hands, arms, and feet, with great chains and fetters of iron.

The next Saturday before Ascension-day, early in the morning, he was brought with a great number of armed men to the cathedral church, before the open congregation, to have his judgment given him. There they exhorted him that those things which he had spoken before in the open audience, as aforesaid, regarding the praise and commendation of master John Wycliffe and master John Huss, confirming and establishing their doctrine, he might yet recant. But he stoutly and marvellously, without any fear, spoke against them. Among other things, he said to them,

“I take God to my witness, and I protest here before you all, that I believe and hold the articles of the faith, as the holy catholic church holds and believes them. But for this cause I shall now be condemned, because I will not consent with you to the condemnation of those most holy and blessed men, whom you have most wickedly condemned for certain articles, detesting and abhorring your wicked and abominable life.”

Then he confessed there before them all his belief, and uttered many things very profoundly and eloquently, insomuch that all men there present could not sufficiently commend and praise his great eloquence and excellent learning, and by no means could they induce or persuade him to recant. Then a certain bishop, named the Bishop of Londy, made a certain sermon against Master Jerome, persuading them to condemn him. After the bishop had ended the sermon. Master Jerome said again to them,

“You will condemn me wickedly and unjustly. But after my death I will leave a remorse in your conscience, and a nail in your hearts. And here I cite you to answer to me before the most high and just Judge, within a hundred years.”

No pen can sufficiently write or note those things which he most eloquently, profoundly, and philosophically had spoken in that audience; nor can any tongue sufficiently declare it. This is why I have but superficially touched the matter of his talk here, partly and not wholly noting it. Finally, when they could by no means persuade him to recant the premises, the sentence and judgment of his condemnation was immediately given against him, and read before him.

*The Sentence.*

“In the name of God, Amen. Christ our God, and our Savior being the true vine, whose Father is the husbandman, taught his disciples and all other faithful men, saying, ‘If any man does not abide in me, let him be cast out like a bough or branch, and let him wither and dry,’ etc. The doctrine and precepts of this most excellent doctor (Teacher) and Master, this most sacred synod of Constance executing and following in the cause of inquisition against heretics, being moved by this sacred synod, through report, public fame, and open infamy, proceeds against Jerome of Prague, master of arts, layman. By the acts and processes of whose cause it appears that the said Master Jerome has held, maintained, and taught diverse heretical and erroneous articles, lately reprov'd and condemned by the holy fathers, some being very blasphemous, some others offending godly ears, and many reckless and seditious, which have been affirmed, maintained, preached and taught by the men of the most damnable memory, John Wycliffe and John Huss, which are also written in many of their works and books. These articles of doctrine and books of the said John Huss, and John Wycliffe, together with their memory, and the person of the said John Huss, were condemned of heresy by the said sacred synod. This sentence of condemnation Jerome afterwards during the time of inquisition, acknowledged in the said sacred synod, and approved the true catholic and apostolic faith, consenting to it, cursing all heresy, especially that of which he was notorious, and confessed himself to be notorious, and that which in times past John Huss and John Wycliffe maintained and taught in their works, sermons, and books, for which the said Wycliffe and Huss, together with their doctrine and errors, were condemned as heretical by the said sacred synod. The condemnation

of all these premises he openly professed and allowed, and swore that he would persevere and continue in the verity of that faith. And if he should presume at any time to hold an opinion, or preach contrary to it, that he would submit himself to the trial and truth of the canons, and be bound to perpetual punishment. And this profession of his, written with his own hand, he delivered up to the holy council.

“Not many days after his said profession and abjuration, like a dog returning to its vomit, to the intent he might openly vomit up the most pestilent poison which had long lurked and lain hidden in his breast, he requested and desired that he might be openly heard before the council. This being granted to him, he affirmed, said, and professed before the whole synod, being publicly gathered together, that he had wickedly consented and agreed to the sentence and judgment of the condemnation of the said Wycliffe and Huss, and that he had most shamefully lied in approving and allowing the said sentence, nor was he ashamed to confess that he had lied; indeed, he also revoked and recanted his confession, approbation, and protestation, which he had made upon their condemnation, affirming that he never at any time had read any errors or heresy in the books and treatises of the said Wycliffe and Huss. Although he had confessed it before, and it is evidently proved that he diligently studied, read, and preached their books, in which it is manifest that many errors and heresies are contained in them. Also the said Master Jerome professed, regarding the sacrament of the altar and the transubstantiation of the bread into the body of Christ, that he holds and believes as the church holds and believes, saying also that he gives more credit to St. Augustine, and the other doctors of the church, than to Wycliffe and Huss. It appears moreover, by the premises, that the said Jerome is an adherent and maintainer of the said Wycliffe and Huss, and their errors, and both is, and has been, a favorer of them. Therefore the said sacred synod determines the said Master Jerome is a rotten and withered branch, not growing upon the vine, to be cut off and cast out. The said synod also pronounces, declares him excommunicate and accursed, and condemns him as a heretic, and drowned in all kinds of heresies, leaving him to the sentence and judgment of the secular judge, to receive just and due punishment, according to the quality of so great an offense. The sacred synod notwithstanding, entreats that the said judge would moderate his sentence of judgment without peril of death.”

This sentence so given before his face, being ended, a great and long miter of paper was brought to him, painted about with red devils. When he beheld and saw them, he threw his hood on the ground among the prelates. He took the miter and put it on his head saying, “Our Lord Jesus Christ, when he would suffer death for me, a most wretched sinner, wore a crown of thorns upon his head. And for his sake, instead of that crown, I will willingly wear this miter and cap.”

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Afterwards he was laid hold of by the secular power. And after that, he was led out of the said church to the place of execution. When he was going out of the church, with a cheerful countenance and loud voice lifting his eyes up to heaven, he began to sing, “I believe in one God,” etc., as it is customarily sung in the church. Afterward as he passed along, he sung some canticles of the church. These being ended upon exiting the gate of the city, as men go to Gothlehem, he sang this hymn, *Felix Namque* (Indeed Fortunate). After that, he came to the place of execution where Master John Huss had innocently suffered death before. And kneeling down before an image resembling Master John Huss, as they prepared to burn Master Jerome, he made a certain devout prayer.

While he was thus praying, the tormentors took and lifted him up from the ground, spoiled him of all his garments, left him naked, and afterwards girded him about the loins with a linen cloth. They bound him fast with cords and chains of iron, to the image which was

fastened to the earth. And so standing on the ground, as they began to lay the wood about him, he sang *Salve Festa Dies*.<sup>318</sup> When the hymn was ended, he sang again with a loud voice, “I believe in one God,” to the end. That being ended, he said to the people in the German tongue, in effect as follows.

“Dearly beloved children, even as I have now sung, so I believe, and none otherwise. And this creed is my whole faith, notwithstanding that now I die for this cause, because I would not consent and agree to the council and affirm with them and hold that Master John Huss was holily and justly condemned by them. For I knew well enough that he was a true preacher of the gospel of Jesus Christ.”

After that he was compassed about with wood up to the crown of the head. They cast all his garments on the wood also, and with a fire-brand they set it on fire. Once fired, he began to sing with a loud voice, “Into your hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit.” When that was ended, and he began to burn vehemently, he said in his native Bohemian tongue, “O Lord God, Father Almighty have mercy upon me, and be merciful to my offenses, for you know how sincerely I have loved your truth.” Then his voice was choked and stopped by the vehemence of the fire, so that it was no longer heard. But he moved his mouth and lips continually, as though he had still prayed or spoken within himself.

When his whole body with his beard was so burned round about, certain great blisters, big as an egg, appeared on his body, seen through the great burning. Yet he continually moved very strongly and stoutly, and shook his head and mouth, for almost a quarter of an hour. So burning in the fire, he lived with great pain and martyrdom, while one might easily have gone from St. Clement’s over the bridge to our lady church. After he was thus dead in the fire, by and by they brought his bedding, his straw bed, his boots, his hood, and all other things that he had in the prison, and burned them all to ashes in the same fire. After the fire was out, they diligently gathered these ashes together, and carried them in a cart, and cast them into the river Rhone, which ran nearby the city.

The man who was the true reporter of this, and testified to us the acts and doings surrounding the condemnation of Master Jerome, sent the same to us to Prague in writing. He thus concludes”

“All these things I beheld, saw, and heard done in this form and manner. And if any man tells you the contrary, do not credit him; for all those things which happened to him when he came toward Constance, and also at his first coming to Constance of his own free will, and afterward when he was brought bound to Constance, as aforesaid, I myself saw and perfectly beheld. And for a perpetual memory of it to be had forever, I have directed the same to you, not lying or falsifying any point of it, as He who is the Searcher of all men’s hearts can bear witness. I am willing to sustain the charge of ignorance and rudeness of style, to bear witness to the truth, rather than by any means be compelled — by tickling, or flattering the ears of the hearers with feigned and cloaked speech — to swerve or go aside from the truth.”

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Thus end the tragic histories of Master John Huss, and Master Jerome of Prague, faithfully gathered and collected by a certain Bohemian, being a present eyewitness and beholder of the events, written and compiled first in Latin, and sent by that Bohemian into his country of Bohemia; and then translated from Latin into our English tongue with like fidelity.

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<sup>318</sup> *Salve Festa Dies* (Hail Festival Day!): a well-known Easter hymn originally written by Venantius Fortunatus in the sixth century. Ralph Vaughan Williams composed a tune for this hymn in 1906.

In the meantime, while Master Jerome was in this trouble and before the council, the nobles and lords of Bohemia and of Moravia directed their letters to this barbarous council of popish murderers: in the following tenor and form of words.

*The Letter of the fifty-four Nobles of Moravia,  
written to the Council of Constance in defense of  
Master John Huss and Jerome of Prague.*

“To the right reverend fathers and lords in Christ, the lords cardinals, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, ambassadors, doctors, and masters, and to the whole Council of Constance; We, the nobles, lords, knights, and esquires, of the famous marquisdom of Moravia, wish the desire of all goodness, and the observation of the commandments of our Lord Jesus Christ.

“Because every man, both by the law of nature and also by God’s law, is commanded to do unto another man, that which he would have done unto himself, and is forbidden to do that thing to another, which he would not have done to himself; as our Savior says, ‘All things whatever that you would have men do to you, even so do to them: for this is the law and the prophets.’ <sup>Mat 7.12</sup> Yes, the law is fulfilled in this one point, ‘You shall love your neighbor as yourself.’ <sup>Ga; 5.14</sup> We, therefore (God being our author), having respect as much as it lies in us to the said law of God, and the love of our neighbor, previously sent our letters to Constance for our dearly beloved friend of good memory, Master John Huss, bachelor of divinity, and preacher of the gospel. Of late in the Council of Constance (we know not with what spirit being led) you have condemned him as an obstinate heretic; neither having confessed an thing, nor being lawfully convicted as was expedient; having no errors or heresies declared or laid against him, but only at the sinister, false, and importune accusations, suggestions, and instigations of his mortal enemies, and the traitors of our kingdom and marquisdom of Moravia. And being thus unmercifully condemned, you have slain him with a most shameful and cruel death, to the perpetual shame and infamy of our most Christian kingdom of Bohemia, and the famous marquisdom of Moravia (as we have written to Constance, to the most noble prince and lord, the Lord Sigismund, king of the Romans, and of Hungary, the heir and successor of our kingdom) which was also read and published in your congregations, which we will here also have enrolled. And you have burned him, as it is reported, in reproach and contempt of us.

“Therefore, we thought it good even now to direct our letters patent to your reverences now present in behalf of Master John Huss, openly professing and protesting, both with heart and mouth, that he, the said Master John Huss, was a just, good, and catholic man, and for a long season worthily commended and allowed in our kingdom for his life and conversation. He also preached and taught us and our subjects the law of the gospel, and of the holy prophets, and the books of the Old and New Testament, according to the exposition of the holy doctors approved by the church. And he left many monuments in writing, most constantly detesting and abhorring all errors and heresies, continually admonishing both us and all faithful Christians to do the like, diligently exhorting all men — as much as it lay in him by his words, writings, and labors — to quietness and concord.

[319] A.D. 1416.

So that using all the diligence that we might, we never heard nor could understand what Master John Huss had preached, taught, or by any means affirmed any error or heresy in his sermons, or that by any manner of means he had offended us, or our subjects, either by word or deed, but that he always led a quiet and a godly life in Christ, exhorting all men diligently, both by his word and works, as much as he might, to observe and keep the law of the gospel, and the institutions of the holy fathers, according to the preaching of our holy mother the church, and to the edifying of men’s souls. Nor did these premises which you had so

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perpetrated to the reproach both of us and our kingdom and marquisdom, suffice and content you, but that also without all mercy and pity, you have apprehended, imprisoned, and condemned, and even now perhaps, as you did to Master John Huss, you have most cruelly murdered the worshipful man, Master Jerome of Prague, a man abounding in eloquence, master of the seven liberal arts, and a famous philosopher, not being seen, heard, examined, nor convicted, except at the sinister and false accusations of his and our accusers and betrayers.

“Furthermore, it has come to our knowledge and understanding (which we do not repeat without great grief) as we may also evidently gather by your writings, how certain detractors, odious both to God and men, privy enviers and betrayers, have wickedly and grievously, although falsely and traitorously, accused us, our kingdom and marquisdom aforesaid, before you in your council, that in the said kingdom of Bohemia, and marquisdom of Moravia, diverse errors have sprung up, which have grievously and manifoldly infected both our hearts, and also the hearts of many faithful men; so much so, that without a speedy stop or stay of correction, the said kingdom and marquisdom, together with the faithful Christians in it, would incur an irreparable loss and ruin of their souls.

“These cruel and pernicious injuries which are laid to us, and to our said kingdom and marquisdom, although most falsely and slanderously, how may we allow it? Forsomuch as through the grace of God (when in a manner all other kingdoms of the world have oftentimes wavered, making schisms and antipopes) our most gracious kingdom of Bohemia, and most noble marquisdom of Moravia, since the time they received the catholic faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, have always without reproof stuck constantly to the church of Rome, and have sincerely done their true obedience. Also with what great costs and charges, and great labor, with what worship and due reverence, they have revered the holy mother the church and her pastors, by their princes and faithful subjects, is more manifest than daylight to the whole world; and yourselves, if you will confess the truth, can witness the same also.

“Therefore, so that we, according to the mind of the apostle, may procure honest and good things, not only before God, but before men also, and lest by neglecting the famous renown of the kingdom and marquisdom, we be found cruel toward our neighbors — having a steadfast hope, a pure and sincere conscience and intent, and a certain true faith in Christ Jesus our Lord — by the tenor of these, we signify and declare to your fatherhoods, and to all faithful Christians, openly professing both with heart and mouth, that whatever man, of whatever estate, pre-eminence, dignity, condition, degree, or religion he is, who has said or affirmed, or either does say or affirm, that in the said kingdom of Bohemia, and marquisdom of Moravia, heresies have sprung up which have infected us and other faithful Christians, as aforesaid (the only person of our most noble prince and lord, Sigismund, king of Romans, and of Hungary, etc. our Lord and heir successor, being set apart, whom we trust and believe is not guilty in the premises) all and every such man (as aforesaid) lies falsely upon his head, as a wicked and naughty traitor and betrayer of the said kingdom and marquisdom, and is most traitorous to us, and is a most pernicious heretic, the son of all malice and wickedness, yes, and of the devil himself, who is a liar, and the father of all lies.

“Notwithstanding, for this present committing of the foresaid injuries unto God, to whom vengeance pertains, who will also abundantly reward the workers of iniquity, we will prosecute them more amply before him whom God shall appoint in the apostolic see, to govern his holy church, as the only and undoubted pastor. To whom, God willing, exhibiting our due reverence and obedience as faithful children, in those things which are lawful, honest, and agreeable to reason and the law of God, we will make our request and petition, that speedy remedy may be provided for us, our said kingdom and marquisdom upon the premises, according to the law of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the institutions of the holy fathers. The premises notwithstanding,

setting apart all fear and men's ordinances provided to the contrary, we will maintain and defend the law of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the devout, humble, and constant preachers of it, even to the shedding of our blood.

“Dated at Sternberg, in A.D. 1415, upon St. Wenceslaus' day, martyr of our Lord Jesus Christ.”

Round about these letters hung fifty-four seals, and the names of those noblemen who subscribed to it, whose seals they were.

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After these things concerning the history of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the order of time calls me back to other matters here of our own country, which passed in the meantime with us in England. Once these things are finished, we will (Christ willing) return to the troubles and conflicts of the Bohemians, with other things besides, that pertain to the latter end of the Council of Constance, and the election of Pope Martin V (r. 1417-1431).

You heard before, how after the death of Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, Henry Chichesley succeeded him (A.D. 1414), and sat twenty-five years. In his time there was much trouble and great affliction of good men here in England. Many of them were compelled to abjure, some were burned, several were driven to exile. Of these, we will partly treat them as we find them recorded in various registers and histories. We will begin with John Claydon of London, and Richard Turming. Their history in the registers is declared as follows.

***The History of John Claydon, Currier; and Richard Turming, Baker.***

The 17th of August, 1415, John Claydon, currier of London (arrested by the mayor of the city on suspicion of heresy) personally appeared before Henry, archbishop of Canterbury, in St. Paul's church. It was objected to him by the archbishop, that in the city of London, and in other places of the province of Canterbury, he was suspected of heresy by diverse godly and learned men, and to be contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the church. He openly confessed, and did not deny that for twenty years he had been suspected both about the city of London, and also in the province of Canterbury, and especially by the common sort, of holding the opinions of the **Lollards** and heresy, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the church of Rome, and was defamed by the same all the time aforesaid.

It went so far, that in the time of Master Robert Braybrook, bishop of London (deceased), he was committed for two years to the prison of Conway for the foresaid defamation and suspicion, and for the same cause he was also in prison in the Fleet for three years. In the reign of King Henry IV, he was brought out of this prison, and stood before the Lord John Scarle, who was then chancellor to the king, and there he abjured all heresy and error.

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Being asked by the archbishop whether he abjured the heresy of which he was suspected before any other, this John Claydon confessed that in a convocation at London, in St. Paul's church, before Thomas Arundel, late archbishop, deceased, he abjured all such doctrine, which they called heresy and error, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the church. He confessed that he had not only left such articles and opinions in which he was defamed, but also abstained from all company who were suspected of such opinions, so that he would give neither aid, help, counsel, nor favor to them.

And, moreover, the said John was asked by the archbishop, whether he had ever since his abjuration had in his house or in his keeping, any books written in English. To which he confessed, and would not deny, that he had in his house and in his keeping, many English books. For he was arrested by the mayor of the city of London for such books as he had,



which (he thought) were in the mayor's keeping. Upon which the mayor openly confessed that he had such books in his keeping, which in his judgment were the worst, and the most perverse that he ever read or saw. The mayor gave up to the archbishop one book that was well-bound in red leather, of parchment, written in a good English hand, which was among the other books found with the said John Claydon. Whereupon the said John Claydon, being asked by the archbishop if he knew that book, openly confessed that he knew it very well, because he caused it to be written with his own costs and charges, for he spent much money on it since his abjuration. Then he was asked who wrote it. He answered, someone called John Grime.

And further, being required to say what the said John Grime was, he answered that he could not tell. Again, being demanded whether he ever read the same book, he confessed that he could not read, but he had heard a fourth of it read by one John Fullar. He was asked whether he thought the contents of that book were catholic, profitable, good and true? He answered that many things which he had heard in the same book, were both profitable, good, and healthful to his soul; and he said that he had great affection for that book, for a sermon that was preached at Horslydown, was written in the book. Being further asked whether, since the time of his said abjuration, he communed with one Richard Turming of that city, he answered yes: for the said Richard Turming often came to his house to have communication with him. And being asked whether he knew that Richard was suspected of and defamed by heresy, he answered again that he knew well that the said Richard was suspected and defamed by many men and women in the city of London, as one whom they thought to be a heretic.

This confession being made, he caused the said books to be delivered to Master Robert Gilbert, doctor of divinity, to William Lindewood, doctor of both laws, and other clerics, to be examined. In the meantime, David Beard, Alexander Philip, and Balthasar Mero, were taken as witnesses against him, and were committed to be examined by Master John Escourt, general examiner of Canterbury. This done, the archbishop adjourned his session till the next Monday, in the same place. This Monday having come, which was the 20th of August, the said Master Escourt openly and publicly exhibited the evidences, being openly read before the archbishop, and other bishops. This being read, they were then read diverse treatises found in the house of the said John Claydon. Being examined, various points were gathered out of them, and noted as heresies and errors — especially out of the aforesaid book, which John Claydon confessed was written and bound at his own cost. This book was entitled "The Lanthorn (lantern) of Light."

For the articles contained in this and other books, the archbishop, with other bishops and learned men, communing together, first condemned the books as heretical, and then burned them in the fire. And then, because they thought John Claydon was forsworn and had fallen into heresy, the archbishop proceeded to his definitive sentence against him. Claydon personally appeared before him in judgment (his confessions being read and deposed against him) in this manner:

"In the name of God, Amen. We, Henry, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolical see, in a certain cause of heretical pravity, and of relapse into the same, whereupon John Claydon, layman of the province of Canterbury, was detected, accused and denounced, and in the said province of Canterbury publicly defamed (as known to us by public fame, commonly and notoriously reported), first, sitting in the judgment-seat, and observing all things lawfully required in this behalf, we proceed to the pronouncing of the sentence, definitive in form as follows. The name of Christ being invoked and only set before our eyes, forasmuch as by the acts and things enacted, produced, exhibited

and confessed before us; also by diverse signs and evidences, we have found the said John Claydon to have been, and to be publicly and notoriously relapsed again into his former heresy, previously abjured by him; according to the merits and deserts of the said cause, being diligently searched, weighed, and pondered by us before, to the intent that the said John Claydon shall not infect others with his scab, by the consent and assent of our reverend brethren, Richard, bishop of London, John, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and Stephen, bishop of St. David's, and by other doctors of divinity as well as of both laws, and also of other discreet and learned men assisting us in this behalf, we do judge, pronounce, and declare the said John Claydon to be relapsed again into his heresy, which he abjured before, finally and definitively appointing him to be left to the secular judgment, and so leave him by these presents."

Thus John Claydon, receiving his judgment and condemnation by the archbishop, was committed to the secular power, and was committed by them to the fire at Smithfield, where he was meekly made a burnt offering to the Lord, A.D. 1415.

Robert Fabian and other chronologers who follow him, also add that Richard Turming, baker, of whom mention was made before in the examination of John Claydon, was likewise at the same time burned with him at Smithfield. But in the register I find no sentence of condemnation given against the said Turming, nor in the history of St. Albans is there any such mention of his burning made, but only of the burning of John Claydon as aforesaid. Therefore I leave the judgment of it free to the reader. Notwithstanding, concerning the said Turming this is certain: that he was accused to the bishops, and no doubt was in their hands and bands. What was done with him afterwards, I refer to the authors.

The next year after the burning of these two aforesaid men, and also John Huss being burnt at Constance, which was A.D. 1416, the prelates of England seeing the daily increase of the true gospel, and fearing the ruin of their papal kingdom, were busily occupied with all their counsel and diligence to maintain it. Therefore, to make their state and kingdom sure, by statutes, laws, constitutions, and terror of punishment, as Thomas Arundel and other prelates had done before, so Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury, in his convocation at London, made another constitution against the poor **Lollards** (as though there had not been enough made before). The copy and tenor of it he sent abroad to the bishop of London, and to other suffragans of his, to be put into strait execution by them, as follows:

"Henry, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the chief seat: to our reverend brother in the Lord, Richard, by the grace of God bishop of London, health and brotherly love, with continual increase. Lately in our last convocation in St. Paul's church in London, being kept by you and other our brethren and clergy of our province, we remember having made this order underwritten, by your consents.

[321] A.D. 1416.

"When as among many other cares of ours, this ought to be chief, that by some means we may take those heretics who, like foxes, lurk and hide themselves in the Lord's vineyard; and so that the dust of negligence may be utterly shaken from our feet and from the feet of our fellow brethren; in this said convocation of the prelates and clergy, we have ordained that our fellow brethren, our suffragans and archdeacons of our province of Canterbury, by themselves, their officials or commissaries in their jurisdictions, and every one of their charges in their country, twice every year at least, diligently inquire about those persons who are suspected of heresy. And that in every such parish in which any heretics are reported to inhabit, their archdeacons cause three or more of the most honest men, and best reported of, to take their oath upon the

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holy evangelists, that if they know or understand that anyone is frequenting either in secret conventicles, or else differing in life or manners from the common conversation of other catholic men, or else hold any heresies or errors, or else have any suspected books in the English tongue, or receive any such persons suspected of heresies and errors into their houses, or who favor those who are inhabitants in any such place, or are conversant with them, or else have any recourse to them — that they make certifications about those persons in writing, with all the circumstances with which they are suspected, to the said suffragans or archdeacons, or to their commissaries, as soon and with as much speed as they possibly can; and that the said archdeacon, and every one of their commissaries aforesaid, declare the names of all such persons denounced, together with all the circumstances of them, the diocese and places, and send the same over to us secretly under their seals. And that the same diocesans effectually direct lawful process against them, as the quality of the cause requires, and that with all diligence they discern, define, and execute the same.

“And if perhaps they do not leave such convicted persons to the secular court, notwithstanding let them commit them to the perpetual or temporal prisons, as the quality of the cause requires, until the next convocation of the prelates and clergy of our province of Canterbury, there personally to remain. And that in the same prisons, they cause them to be kept according as the law requires; and that of all and singular the things aforesaid — that is, whatever inquisition they have made, and whatever they have found, and how in the process they have behaved themselves, and what persons so convicted they have caused to be put in safe keeping, with what diligence or negligence of the commissaries aforesaid, with all and all manner of other circumstances premised and in any way pertaining to these, and especially of the abjurations, if in the meantime they chance to abjure any heresies, that then in the next convocation of the prelates and clergy under the form aforesaid, they cause the same to be distinctly and openly certified to us and our successors; and that they deliver effectually to the official of our court, the same process, to remain with them, or else in the register of our court of Canterbury, so that everyone to whom such things pertain, for the further execution of the same process, may have recourse to the same official with all effect.

“We therefore command that, as regards the constitution brought to your city and diocesan, you cause the same to be published in a convenient place and time, and that in all points you both observe the same yourselves, and also cause it to be diligently observed by others; commanding, furthermore, all and singular of our fellow brethren and suffragans, that they likewise cause the same to be published throughout all their cities and dioceses, and both diligently observe the same themselves, and also cause all others to do the same; and whatever thing you do in the premises, that you certify to us between this and the Feast of St. Peter *ad vinculo* next coming, that you duly certify these things to us by your letters patent, containing the same effect, sealed with your seals. Dated at our house in London, the first day of July, A.D. 1416.”<sup>319</sup>

During the time of this convocation, two priests were presented and brought before the bishops, defamed as heretics, one named John Barton, to whom it was objected by Philip, bishop of Lincoln, that he had been excommunicated about six or seven years before, upon articles concerning religion, and yet they would neither appear when cited, nor seek to be reconciled again to the church. These things being so proved against him, he was committed to the custody of Philip, bishop of Lincoln, to be held in prison till he heard further what should be done.

The other was Robert Chapel, otherwise named Holbech, sometime chaplain to the Lord Cobham; to whom it was likewise objected that being under the sentence of

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<sup>319</sup> [Adding auricular confession to this, it creates a shockingly effective, though abusive, spy network.](#)

excommunication for about three or four years, he nonetheless continued saying mass and preaching, and did not seek to be reconciled. Chapel denied knowing of any such excommunication given out against him. Then the copy of his excommunication, first made by the bishop of Rochester, and afterward denounced by the bishop of London at St. Paul's cross, was brought and read before Chapel. That being done, the session broke up for that time, which was about the latter end of May, A.D. 1416.

The twelfth of July next following, Chapel appeared again before the archbishop and the prelates. And confessing and submitting himself, he desired pardon. The bishop of Rochester putting in his hands the decree of the canon law, made Chapel abjure all his former articles and opinions as heretical and schismatical, never to hold the same again, according to the contents of the canon. Upon which, Robert Chapel being absolved by the authority of the archbishop (except that he could not intermeddle with saying mass before he had been dispensed from the pope himself for irregularity), he was enjoined by the archbishop himself for his penance, to stand at St. Paul's, and to publish the following articles to the people, given him to be read as his confession.

“1. I confess that bishops, priests, and other ecclesiastical persons, having no other possession to the contrary, may lawfully have, receive, and retain temporal lands and possessions, to dispense and dispose the same and their rents, to behoove themselves or their church where they dwell, as seems good to them.

“2. I confess that it would be very unlawful, indeed, rather unjust, that temporal men on any occasion whatsoever, should take away temporal lands and possessions from the church, either universal or particular, to which they are given — the consideration of the abuse of mortal prelates, priests, or other ministers in the church conversant <sup>320</sup> (which are mixed together good with bad) abusing the same, to the contrary notwithstanding.

“3. I confess that pilgrimages to the relics of saints, and to holy places, are not prohibited, nor to be despised by any catholic, but are available for the remission of sins, and approved by the holy fathers, and worthy to be commended.

“4. I confess that to worship the images of Christ or of any other saints, being set up in the church or in any other place, is not forbidden; nor does it conduce to idolatry, being so used as the holy fathers will them to be worshipped; but rather such images profit much to the health of Christians, because they put us in remembrance of the merits of those saints whom they represent, and the sight of them moves and stirs up the people to prayers and devotion.

“5. I confess that auricular confession used in the church is necessary for a sinner to the salvation of his soul, and necessary to be done by such a priest as is ordained by the church to hear the confession of the sinner, and to enjoin him to penance for the same; without which confession (if it may be had) there is no remission of sins to one who is in mortal sin.

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“6. I confess and firmly hold, that even if the priest is in mortal sin, yet he makes the body of Christ, and ministers other sacraments and sacramentals, which nevertheless are profitable to all the faithful, whoever receives them in faith and devotion of the church.

“7. I confess that bishops in their own dioceses may forbid, decree, or ordain on reasonable grounds, that priests should not, without their special license, preach the word of God, and that those who do this against the same, should suffer ecclesiastical censures.

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<sup>320</sup> Church conversant: that is, the *familiar* church, or local congregation.

Bk. V. The last 300 years from the loosing of Satan (1360-1422)

“8. I confess that private religions of monks, canons, and others, as well as the begging friars, being allowed by the church of Rome, are profitable to the universal church, and by no means contrary to God’s law, but rather founded and authorized by it.

“9. I promise and swear upon these holy evangelists, which I hold here in my hands, that I will henceforth never hold, affirm, nor by any means teach anything contrary to these premises either openly or privately.”

After setting out the aforesaid constitution in the days of Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury, great inquisition followed in England, and many good men, whose hearts began to be won to the gospel, were brought to much vexation, and caused outwardly to abjure.

Thus, while Christ had the inward hearts of men, yet the catholic antichrist would possess their outward bodies, and make them sing his song. In the number of those who were compelled to abjure, besides the others aforesaid, was John Taylor of the parish of St. Michael’s at Quern; William James, master of arts and physician, who had long remained in prison; at length, after abjuration, he was licensed with his keeper to practice his medicine.

Also John Dwarf, so named for his low stature, who was sent by the duke of Bedford to the aforesaid Chichesley, and other bishops, to be examined before them or the convocation. There at length, revolting from his doctrine, he recanted and did penance.

In like manner John Jourdelay of Lincolnshire, well commended in the registers for his learning, was accused by the priests of Lincoln for a certain book which he, contrary to the former decree of the bishops, concealed and did not exhibit to them, was therefore forced to abjure. After him, one Katharine Dertford, a spinster, was likewise brought before the bishops. Being accused and examined upon these three articles concerning the sacrament of the pope’s altar, adoration of images, and of pilgrimage, answered that she was not able, being unlearned, to answer to such high matters. Nor did she have any further skill, but only her creed and ten commandments; and so she was committed to the vicar general of the bishop of Winchester (for she was of the same diocese), to be kept and further examined by the same.

At the same sitting, the parson of Heggeley in Lincolnshire, named Master Robert, was also brought before the archbishop and his fellow bishops, by the lieutenant of the Tower. Being long kept in the Tower, at length by the king’s writ, he was brought and examined at the same time upon like articles — to wit, regarding the sacrament of their altar, pilgrimage, adoration of images, and whether it was lawful for spiritual men to enjoy temporal lordships, etc. To these articles he answered (says the register) doubly and mockingly; except that in the sacrament, he seemed somewhat more conformable, though not yet fully to their content. Therefore, being committed to the custody and examination of Richard, bishop of Lincoln, in the end he was also induced to submit himself.

William Henry of Tenterden did likewise, being suspected and arrested for keeping company with those whom the bishops called **Lollards**, and for having suspected books.

Besides these, there were many others who were assembled in the same convocation, and revoked their opinions, such as John Galle, a priest of London, for having a book in English, entitled “A Book of the New Law.” Richard Monk, vicar of Chesham in Lincolnshire, who likewise submitted himself. In this race and number followed, moreover, Bartholomew Commonger, Nicholas Hoper, servant to the Lord Cobham, and Thomas Granter, with others mentioned in the register.

Among the rest who were at this time troubled for their faith, was one Radulph Mungin, priest. For the same doctrine he was arrested and sent by the lord chancellor of England to the archbishop, and committed by him to David Price, vicar-general to the bishop of London. There, after he had endured four months in prison, he was presented to the convocation, against whom diverse articles were objected.

But to better explain the matter, it is first to be noted here, that regarding the time of this provincial convocation, Pope Martin had sent down to the clergy of England, to gather a subsidy from the church, to maintain the pope's war against the **Lollards** of Bohemia (for so the papists termed them). Also, another subsidy was demanded to persecute one Peter Clerk, master of arts of Oxford, who fleeing out of England, was at the Council of Basel, disputing on the Bohemians' side. And thirdly, another subsidy was also required to persecute William Russel, warden of the Grey Friars in London, who at the same time had fled from England to Rome, to maintain his opinion before the pope, and there escaped from prison. We will treat him more at large afterward (Christ willing). In the meantime, mark here the petty shifts of the pope to hook in the English money, by all manner of pretenses possible.

Thus Ralph Mungin, appearing before the bishops in the convocation, had objected against him, first, that he affirmed and held that it was not lawful for any Christian to fight and make war against the heretics of Bohemia. It was also objected that he held and said that it was not lawful for any man to have property of goods, but that they should be held in common, which he expressly denied that he ever said or affirmed. Whereby we have to observe how the crafty malice of these adversaries used to falsely collect and surmise about men, what they never spoke, to oppress wrongfully those whom they cannot impugn by plain truth.

Moreover, they objected against him, that he kept company with Master Clerk, and also that he dispersed in the city of London certain books of John Wycliffe and of Peter Clerk, namely the book 'Triologus,' and the gospel of John Wycliffe, etc. He was charged, moreover, to have spoken against the pope's indulgences, affirming that the pope had no more power to give indulgences than he had.

Upon these and other such articles that were objected against him, Mungin was asked if he would revoke them. He answered that it seemed to him it was not just or fitting to do so, not knowing himself to be guilty of any heresy. Thus being postponed for the time, he was committed to prison till the next sitting. Then being called afterward before the bishops, after a long inquisition and strait examination, and also after depositions were brought in against him, so many as they could find, he notwithstanding refused to recant, as before. Therefore the aforesaid Henry, the archbishop, proceeded to his sentence definitive, condemning him to perpetual imprisonment.

After this followed the recantation of Richard Monk, and Thomas Granter. Also of Edmund Frith who was previously butler to Sir John Oldcastle [*i.e.*, the Lord Cobham].

Besides these, many are recorded in the register, who were greatly vexed and troubled for their faith and religion, especially in the diocese of Kent, in the towns of Romney, Tenterden, Woodchurch, Cranbrook, Staplehurst, Benenden, Halden, Rolvenden, and others. There whole households, both man and wife, were driven to abandon their houses and towns for danger of persecution. This sufficiently appears in the process of the archbishop Chichesley against those persons, and in the certificate of Burbath, his official, in which the following persons are named:

1. W. White, priest.
2. Thomas Grenested, priest.
3. Bartholomew Commonger.
4. John Wadnon.
5. Joan his wife.
6. Thomas Everden.
7. William Everden.
8. Stephen Robin.

9. W. Chiveling.
10. John Tame.
11. John Fowlin.
12. William Somen.
13. Marian his wife.
14. John Abraham.
15. Robert Munden.
16. Laurence Coke.

[323] AD. 1418.

These being cited up together by the bishop, would not appear. Upon which a great inquisition was made for them by his officers. These people were constrained to flee their houses and towns, and shift for themselves as secretly as they could.

### **The Execution of the Lord Cobham.**

Concerning Sir John Oldcastle, the Lord Cobham, his first apprehension with his whole history and life, has been sufficiently expressed before (see pp. 282-288) — how being committed to the Tower, and falsely condemned of heresy, he escaped afterwards out of the Tower, and was in Wales about four years. In this time, a great sum of money was promised by proclamation of the king, to whoever could take Sir John Oldcastle, either alive or dead. About the end of the four years, the Lord Powis — whether for love and greed of the money, or for hatred of the true and sincere doctrine of Christ — sought all manner of ways to play the part of Judas. At length he obtained his bloody purpose, and brought the Lord Cobham bound to London; this was about December, A.D. 1417. At this time there was a parliament assembled in London. The records of this parliament say that:

“On Tuesday the fourteenth day of December, and the twenty-ninth day of the said parliament, Sir John Oldcastle of Cowling, in the county of Kent, knight, being outlawed (as mentioned before) in the king’s bench, and previously excommunicated by the archbishop of Canterbury for heresy, was brought before the lords; and having heard his said convictions, he did not answer to these in his excuse. Upon which record and process it was adjudged that he should be taken as a traitor to the king and the realm; that he should be carried to the Tower of London, and from there down through London, to the new gallows in St. Giles outside Temple Bar, and there to be hanged, and burned hanging.”

Thus, after a long process, they condemned him again for heresy and treason, by force of the aforementioned act. He rendered thanks to God, that He had so appointed him to suffer for his name’s sake.

On the day appointed, he was brought out of the Tower with his arms bound behind him, having a very cheerful countenance. Then was he laid upon a hurdle (sled), as though he had been a most heinous traitor to the crown, and so he was drawn to St. Giles’s-fields, where they had set up a new pair of gallows. As he was coming to the place of execution, and was taken from the hurdle, he fell down devoutly upon his knees, desiring Almighty God to forgive his enemies. Then he stood up and beheld the multitude, exhorting them in a most godly manner, to follow the laws of God written in the Scriptures, and in any case, to beware of those teachers who they see are contrary to Christ in their conversation and living; with many other special counsels. Then he was hanged there by the middle, in chains of iron, and so consumed alive in the fire, praising the name of God so long as his life lasted. In the end, he commended his soul into the hand of God, and so departed from here most Christianly, his body being resolved into ashes. This was done A.D. 1418, which was the fifth year of the

reign of King Henry V. The people there present, showed great sorrow. It would take too long to write about how the priests at that time fared, blaspheming and cursing the people, requiring them not to pray for the lord Cobham, but to judge him damned in hell because he did not depart in the obedience of their pope.

This terrible kind of death (with gallows, chains, and fire) does not appear very precious in the eyes of men who are carnal — no more than did the death of Christ, when he was hung between two thieves. The wise man says,

“The righteous seems to die in the sight of those who are unwise, and their end is taken for very destruction. Ungodly souls think the lives of the righteous are true madness, and their passage from here without any honor. But though they suffer pains before men, their expectation is full of immortality. They are accounted the children of God, and have their portion among the saints. As gold in the furnace, God tries his elect, and as a most pleasant burnt offering, He receives them to rest.” <sup>Wis 3.2-6</sup>

The harder the passage, the more glorious they shall appear in the latter resurrection. It is not that the afflictions of this life are worthy of such glory, but that it is God’s heavenly pleasure to so reward them. The judgments and ways of men are never like the judgments and ways of God, but evermore contrary, unless they are taught by Him. “In the latter time,” says the Lord to Daniel, “many shall be chosen, proved, and purified by fire; and yet the ungodly shall still live wickedly, and have no understanding; that is of faith.” <sup>Dan 12.10</sup> By an angel from heaven, John was earnestly commanded to write that “blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.” <sup>Rev 14.13</sup> “Right dear in the sight of God,” says David, “is the death of his servants.” <sup>Psa 116.15</sup>

Thus rested this valiant Christian knight, Sir John Oldcastle, under the altar of God, which is Jesus Christ, among that godly company who, in the kingdom of patience, suffered great tribulation with the death of their bodies for His faithful word and testimony; He abiding there with them; He fulfilling their whole number and the full restoration of his elect — which He grants in effect, who is one God eternal! Amen.

Thus have you heard the whole matter concerning the martyrdom of the good Lord Cobham, as we have gathered it partly out of the collections of John Bale <sup>321</sup> and others. Moreover, in the records mentioned above, it follows how in the parliament, after the martyrdom of this valiant knight, a motion was made that Lord Powis might be thanked and rewarded, according to the proclamation made for his great pains taken in the apprehension of “Sir John Oldcastle, knight, heretic.” Thus stand the words of the record. Two things are to be noted here: first, how Sir John is not called *traitor* in the record, but only *heretic*. Secondly, mark how this brother of Judas (Lord Powis) here craves his reward for betraying innocent blood. In this, it is not to be doubted that his light fee, and “what will you give me?” in this world, will have a heavy reward in the world to come, unless he repented.

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And now from our English matters, to return again to the history of the Bohemians, from where we have digressed a little, When the news of the barbarous cruelty exercised at Constance against John Huss and Jerome of Prague were noised in Bohemia, the nobles and gentlemen of Moravia and Bohemia, those who favored the cause of John Huss, gathered themselves together in the zeal of Christ. First they sent their letter to the council; expostulating with them for the injury done to those godly men, as expressed is before. For this letter they were all cited up to the council. Sigismund the emperor gives an answer to

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<sup>321</sup> [John Bale \(1495-1563\)](#), historian, playwright, and reformer; Bishop of Ossory in Ireland (1552-1553).



this letter in the name of the whole council. First, he excused himself of John Huss's death, which he said was against his safe conduct and against his will — insomuch that he rose in anger from the council and departed from Constance, as remembered before. Secondly, he requires them to be quiet, and to conform themselves peaceably to the order of the catholic church of Rome, etc. Also, the council hearing or fearing some stir to rise among the Bohemians, made several laws and articles by which to bridle them.

The Bohemians, however, notwithstanding these cruel articles, disdain the vain devices of these prelates and fathers of the council, did not cease to proceed in their league and purpose, joining themselves together more strongly.

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In the meantime it happened that during this council of Constance, after deposing Pope John and spoiling him of his goods — which came to 75,000 pounds of gold and silver, as reported in the history of St. Alban's — Pope Martin V was elected to the pontifical chair, on St. Martin's Day.<sup>322</sup> Concerning his election, great preparation was made beforehand by the council, so that besides the cardinals, five other bishops of every nation entered into the conclave. There they were kept together on a thin diet till they had chosen a pope; at last they agreed upon this man. And not tarrying for opening the door, like mad men, in haste they broke open a hole in the wall, crying out, "We have Pope Martin!" The emperor hearing of it, came with similar haste, and falling down he kissed the new pope's feet. Then they all went to the church together, and sang *Te Deum* (an ancient liturgical hymn)

The next day, this Martin was made priest (for he was only a cardinal deacon before). The day after he was consecrated bishop, and sang his first mass, at which 140 mitred bishops were present. After this, the new holy pope ordained a general procession, where a certain cleric was appointed to stand with flax and fire. Setting the flax on fire, he said, "Behold, holy father, thus the glory of this world passes away." Which being done, the same day the holy father was brought up to a high scaffold, the history says (I will not say to a high mountain), where he was offered all the glory of the world, etc. there to be crowned as a triple king. This done, after dinner the same day, the newly crowned pope was brought through the midst of the city of Constance with great triumph, where all the bishops and abbots followed wearing their miters. The pope's horse was all in scarlet trappings down to the ground. The cardinal's horses were all in white silk; the emperor on the right side, and prince elector on the left, went on foot (both playing the pope's footmen), leading the pope's horse by the bridle.

As this pageant thus proceeded with the great giant, and came to the market place, there the Jews (according to the custom) offered him their law and ceremonies. The pope receiving these, cast them behind him saying, "Let old things pass away, all things are become new," etc. This was A.D. 1417. (Ex Hist. St. Alb. ex paralip. Ursperg.)

Thus the pope, now being confirmed in his kingdom, first begins to write his letters to the Bohemians, in which partly he moves them to catholic obedience, and partly he dissembles with them, pretending that if it were not for the emperor's request, he would enter process against them. Thirdly, and finally, he threatens to attempt the utmost against them, and with all force to invade them with the apostolic as well as with the secular arm, if they still persisted as they began. However, these new threats of the new bishop did not move the

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<sup>322</sup> Antipope John XXII was deposed the 29th of March 1415, for notorious simony, abetting schism, and leading a scandalous life. He fled Constance but was eventually arrested and returned to the council. The council also deposed antipope Benedict XIII and accepted Gregory XII's resignation, **thus ending the Western Schism.**

constant hearts of the Bohemians, whom the inward zeal of Christ's word had inflamed before. And although it could have been wished that such bloodshed and wars had not followed, yet, to say the truth, how could these men greatly blame the Bohemians in this, whom their own bloody tyranny had provoked so unjustly before, if now with their glossing letters they could not so easily appease them again?

Therefore, these Bohemians, partly for the love of John Huss and Jerome their countrymen, and partly for the hatred of the malignant papistry, assembled together. They first agreed to celebrate a solemn memorial of the death of John Huss and Jerome, decreeing that it would be held and celebrated yearly. And afterward, by means of their friends, they obtained certain churches from king Wenceslaus, in which they might freely preach and minister the sacraments to the congregation. This done, they suppressed several monasteries, pharisaical temples, and idolatrous fanes (temples), beginning first with the great monastery of the Blackfriars, eight miles from Prague, driving the wicked and vicious priests and monks away from them, or compelling them to a better order. And thus their number more and more increasing under the safe conduct of a certain nobleman named Nicholas, they went again to the king, requesting to have more and ampler churches granted to them. The king at first seemed willingly and gently to give ear to Nicholas entreating for the people, and he commanded them to come again the next day.

When the people had departed, the king turned to the nobleman Nicholas, who tarried behind. He said, "You have begun a web to put me out of my kingdom, but I will make a rope of it with which I will hang you." Whereupon Nicholas immediately departed out of the king's presence, and the king himself went into the castle of Vissegrade. Soon after, he entered a new castle, which he himself had built five stones' cast from there, and sent ambassadors to his brother to require aid.

These protestants <sup>323</sup> were assembled in the town of Prague, holding their meetings. The king sent his chamberlain with three hundred horsemen to fall upon them; but the chamberlain fled, fearing for his life. <sup>324</sup> When the news was brought to the king, all who were around him were shocked, utterly detesting the act. But the king's cup-bearer standing by, said "I knew before, that these things would thus come to pass." The king taking hold of him in a rage, threw him down before his feet, and would have slain him with his dagger, but was prevented by those who were about him. With much persuasion the king pardoned his life. Immediately the king was taken with a palsy and fell sick. Eighteen days after (16 Aug 1419), when the king had marked the names of those whom he appointed to be put to death, and incessantly called for the aid of his brother and his other friends, he departed this life — before the princes whom he sent for had come. He reigned fifty-five years, and died about the age of fifty-seven.

### ***Ziska of Bohemia – Hussite Wars – 1419-1434***

Immediately after the death of Wenceslaus, there arose a certain nobleman named John Ziska, born at Trosnovia (c. 1360). From his youth upward, he was brought up in the king's court, and had lost one of his eyes in a battle, where he had valiantly conducted himself. This man being grieved for the death of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, and minding to

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<sup>323</sup> Our author is speaking of events about a century before the Reformation, and he gives the appellation of *protestants* to those who in that age were opposed to the papal system. There were many such in all ages of the church. [Ed.]

<sup>324</sup> [30 July 1419, a Hussite procession headed by the priest Jan Želivský attacked New Town Hall in Prague and threw the king's representatives, the burgomaster, and some town councillors from the windows into the street. This was known as the first "Defenestration of Prague."](#)

revenge the injuries which the council had done to the great dishonor of the kingdom of Bohemia, gathered together a number of men of war. He pulled down the monasteries and idolatrous temples, pulling down and breaking in pieces the images and idols, driving away the priests and monks whom he said were kept in their cloisters, like swine in their styes, to be fatted. After this, his army being increased, he gathered together about 40,000 men, and attempted to take the castle of Vissegrade, which was but slenderly defended. From there Ziska went speedily to Pelzina, where he knew he had many friends of his faction, and took the town into his power, fortifying it very strongly. Those who tarried behind, took the castle of Vissegrade.

Then Queen Sophia sent letters and messengers to the Emperor Sigismund and other nobles, requiring aid and help. But the emperor was making preparations against the Turks, who had recently won certain castles from him. Upon which the queen, seeing all aid so far off, together with Zenko Warterberge, gathered a host with the king's treasure, and fortified the castle of Prague, and the lesser city which joins to the castle — making gates and towers of wood upon the bridge, so that the protestants would have no passage that way. Then it happened that at the Isle of St. Benedict,<sup>325</sup> one Peter Steremberge fought an equal or indifferent battle with them.

[325] A.D. 1419.

In the meantime, the number of the protestants being increased in Prague, they fought for the bridge. In this battle many were slain on both sides, but at length the Hussites won the bridge and the lower part of Lesser Prague. The queen's party fled into the upper part, where turning again, they fiercely renewed the battle, and fought continually day and night for five days. Many were slain on both sides, and goodly buildings were destroyed. The council house, which was in a low place, was utterly defaced and burned.

During the time of this troublous estate, the ambassadors of the Emperor Sigismund had come, who took upon themselves the rule and government of the realm. They made a truce with the city of Prague on these conditions: that the castle of Vissegrade being surrendered, it should be lawful for them to send ambassadors to the Emperor Sigismund to negotiate as to their estate, and that Ziska should surrender Pilzina and Piesta, with the other forts which he had taken. These conditions thus agreed upon and received, all the foreign protestants departed out of the city, and the senate of the city began to govern again according to their accustomed manner; all things were quieted. However, the papists, who had left town, dared not return. But they still looked to the emperor, by whose presence they thought they should have been safe. But their hope was frustrated when certain letters were sent from the emperor, saying that he would shortly come and rule the kingdom, even in the same manner as his father Charles had done before him. Upon this, the protestants understood that their sect and religion would be utterly banished.

About Christmas, the Emperor Sigismund came to Brunna, a city of Moravia, and there he pardoned the citizens of Prague, on condition that they would let down the chains and bars of the city, and receive his rulers and magistrates. The whole city obeyed, and the magistrates, lifting up their hands to heaven, rejoiced at the coming of the new king. But the emperor turned another way, and went to Uratislavia, the head city of Silesia, where a little earlier the commonalty of the city had slain the magistrates in an insurrection (whom his brother Wenceslaus had set in authority); the leaders of that insurrection he beheaded.

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<sup>325</sup> There is no "Isle" of St. Benedict, but there is a Benedictine monastery in the Břevnov district of Prague, and the Church of St. Benedict is in the Hradčany district, near the old royal palace and Lesser Town.

When news of this was reported at Prague, the citizens were terrified by the example of the Uratistavians. Distrusting their pardon, they rebelled. And having influenced Cencho to join them, who had the government of the castle of Prague, they sent letters into all the realm, that no man should allow the emperor to enter, as he was an enemy to Bohemia, and sought nothing else but to destroy the kingdom. He had also bound the ancient city of the Prutenians under order, by pledges, and removed the marquess of Brandenburg from the Bohemian crown. The emperor had not only allowed John Huss and Jerome of Prague to be burned at the Council of Constance, but he also procured it; and with all his endeavors he impugned the doctrine and faith which they taught and followed. While these things were thus done, Ziska, having given back Pelzina by arrangement, was twice assaulted by his enemies. But through his skill he was victor each time. The places where they fought were rough and unknown; his enemies were on horseback, and his soldiers on foot; nor could any battle be fought except on foot. Whereupon, when his enemies alighted from their horses, Ziska commanded the women, who usually followed the host, to cast their kerchiefs on the ground. The horsemen being entangled in them by their spurs, they were slain before they could unloose their feet.

After this, he went to Ausca, a town situated on the river Lucinitius. Procopius and Ulricius, two brethren papists, had cast many protestants out of this town. Ziska took it by force of arms the first night of Lent, and set it on fire. He also took the castle of Litius, which was a mile off, where Ulric had fled, and put Ulric and all his family to the sword, except one.

Then, as he had no walled or fenced town to inhabit, he chose a certain place on the river, which was fenced by nature, about eight miles from the city of Ausca. This place he compassed with walls, and commanded every man to build bouses where they had pitched their tents. He named this city Tabor, and the inhabitants, his companions, Taborites, because their city was built on the top of some hill or mount. This city, though it was fenced with high rocks and cliffs, yet it was compassed with a wall and ramparts; and the river of Lucinitius fences a great part of the town. The rest is compassed with a great brook which, running straight into the river Lucinitius, is stopped by a great rock, and driven back towards the right side of the city, the whole length of it. At the further end it joins with the great river. The way into it by land is scarcely thirty feet broad, for it is almost an island. In this place a deep ditch was cast, and a triple wall made of such thickness that it could not be broken with any engine. The wall was full of towers and forts set in their convenient and strategic places. Ziska was the first to build the castle, and those who came after him fortified it, every man according to his own device.

At that time the Taborites had no horsemen among them, until such time as Nicholas, master of the mint (whom the emperor had sent into Bohemia with a thousand horsemen to set things in order, and to withstand the Taborites. They lodged all night in a village named Vogize, and was surprised by Ziska coming upon him suddenly in the night, taking away all his horse and armor, and setting fire to the village. Then Ziska taught his soldiers to mount on horseback, to leap, to run, to turn, and to cast a ring; so that after this he never led an army without his wings of horsemen.

In the meantime, Sigismund, the emperor, gathering together the nobles of Silesia, entered Bohemia, and went into Grecium, and from there to Cuthna with a great army. He allured Cencho with many great and large promises, to surrender the castle of Prague, and placed him there to annoy the town. This Cencho, infamous for double treason, returned home. The citizens of Prague sent for Ziska, who speeding himself there with the Taborites, received the city under his government. In the Bohemian's host there were but two barons,

Hilco Crusina of Lituburge, and Hilco Waldestene, and a few other nobles; all the rest were of the common people. They went first to subdue the castle, which was by nature very strongly fenced, and could not be won by any other means than with famine. Whereupon all the passages were blocked so that no victuals should be carried in. But the emperor opened the passages by dint of sword. And when he had supplied the city with all things necessary, he sent for aid outside of the empire. Ziska determined shortly after to besiege the city. In the emperor's camp were the duke of Saxony; the marquess of Brandenburg; and his son-in-law, Albert of Austria. The city was assaulted for six weeks. The Emperor Sigismund was crowned in the metropolitan house in the castle; Conrad, the archbishop, solemnizing the ceremonies of the coronation. In the meantime, the captains Rosenses and Chragery, who had taken the tents of the Taborites, were overcome in battle by Nicholas Huss (whom Ziska had sent with part of his force for that purpose), and driven out of their tents. Grecium, the queen's city, was also taken.

Above the town of Prague was a high hill, which is called Videchon (or Vitkov). On this hill Ziska had strongly embedded a garrison, so that his enemies should not possess it. The marquis of Misnia skirmishing with them, lost a great part of his soldiers (A.D. 1420). For when the Misnians had gotten to the top of the hill, they were driven back into a corner, which was broken and steep, and fiercely set upon. When they could no longer withstand the violent force of their enemies, some of them were slain, and some falling headlong from the hill, were destroyed. Upon which the Emperor Sigismund raising his siege, departed to Cuthna. Ziska with his company departed to Tabor, and subdued many places. Among them he subverted a town pertaining to the captain of Vissegrade. During this time the castle of Vissegrade was strongly besieged; when other victuals failed, they were compelled to eat horse-flesh. Last of all, unless the emperor aided them by a certain day, they promised to yield it up — but on this condition: that if the emperor came, those within the castle would no longer be molested.

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The emperor arrived before the appointed day. But being ignorant of the truce taken, he entered into a strait underneath the castle, and was suddenly set upon by the soldiers of Prague. He was greatly overthrown there; and so, leaving his purpose unperformed, he turned back again. In that conflict, fourteen noblemen of the Moravians were slain, and a great number of the Hungarians and others. While these things were in progress, Ziska took by force a very strong town under the command of Boslaus, a captain, surnamed Cigneus — Ziska brought him to his religion. A few years after, leading the protestant army in Austria, Boslaus was wounded at Rhetium, and died. There were many monasteries in the territory of Pelzina. Ziska pulled down and burned five of them. As the monastery of St. Clare was the strongest, he pitched himself there.

The emperor also came with his army: but when Ziska brought forth his forces against him, the emperor most cowardly fled. Not long after, he departed and left Bohemia. Then Ziska went with his army to Pelzina. But as he saw the city so fenced in that he was in doubt of winning it, he went to Committavia, a famous city, which he took by force, burning all the priests in it.

Afterwards, as he lay before the town of Raby and strongly besieged it, he was struck with an arrow in the only eye he had left to see with. From there he was carried to Prague by physicians, where he was cured of his wound, and his life saved. Even though he lost his sight, he would not forsake his army, but still took charge of them.

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After this, the garrisons of Prague went to Verona where there was a great garrison of the emperor's, and took it by force, many being slain on both sides. They also took the town of Broda, in Germany, and slew the garrison. Afterward they took Cuthna, and many other cities, by composition.<sup>326</sup> Further, when they led their army into a town called Pons, which was inhabited by the Misnians, the Saxons met them on the way. Because they dared not join battle, they turned back. After all this, the emperor appointed the princes electors, <sup>327</sup> so that they would invade the west part of Bohemia with their army. And he, with a host of Hungarians, would enter the east part. Coming to his aid were the archbishop of Mentz, the county palatine of Rhein, the dukes of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, and many other bishops out of Almaine; all the rest sent their aids. They encamped before the town of Sozius, a strong and well-fenced place, which they could by no means subdue. The country round about was spoiled and wasted, and the siege continued until the feast of St. Galle (*i.e.*, Oct 16th). Then it was broken up, because the emperor had not come by his appointed day. But having gathered together a great army of the Hungarians and West Moravians, about Christmas the emperor entered into Bohemia and took certain towns by force; Cuthna was yielded to him. But when Ziska (although he was blind) came towards him, and set upon him, and many of his nobles were slain. The emperor being afraid, fled. But first he burned Cuthna, which the Taborites called the Pouch of Antichrist, because of its silver mines. Ziska, pursuing the emperor a day's journey, got great and rich spoil. Taking the town of Broda by force, he set it on fire; afterwards the town remained uninhabited for almost fourteen years.

The emperor passed by a bridge over the river of Iglaria. And Piso, a Florentine, who had brought 15,000 horsemen out of Hungary to these wars, passed over the ice, which broke because of the number of his horsemen, drowning and destroying a great number of them. Ziska having obtained this victory, would not permit any image or idol to be in the churches; nor did he think it tolerable that priests should minister with copes or vestments. For this reason he was even more envied among the states of Bohemia. The consuls of Prague, being grieved at the insolence of John Premonstratensis,<sup>328</sup> called him and nine others of his adherents, whom they supposed to be the principals of this faction, into the council-house, as though they would confer with them regarding the commonwealth. When they had come in, they slew them, and afterward departed home, each man to his own house, thinking the city had been quiet, as though nothing had happened. But their servants not being circumspect enough, in washing down the court or yard, they also washed out the blood of those who were slain, through the sinks or channels. Once this was seen, the people understood what was done. By and by there was a tumult; the council-house was straightway overthrown, and eleven of the principal citizens who were thought to be the authors of it, were slain, and many houses plundered.

About the same time, the castle of Purgel, in which the emperor had left a small garrison (where many papists with their wives and children had fled), through negligence, was burned; those who escaped the fire went to Pelzina. After this, many of the Bohemian captains, and the senate of Prague, sent ambassadors to Vitold, duke of Lithuania, and made him their king, though Ziska and his adherents disputed this. Vitold sent Sigismund Coributus with 2,000 horsemen into Bohemia, and was honorably received by the

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<sup>326</sup> *By composition: by treaty, truce, or payment of a levy.*

<sup>327</sup> *Elector: a German prince entitled to elect the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.*

<sup>328</sup> *John belonged to the Order of Canons Regular of Prémontré, founded in 1120 by Norbert of Xanten. They are also known as the Premonstratensians, the Norbertines, or in Britain and Ireland, the White Canons.*



inhabitants of Prague. At his coming, they determined to lay siege to a castle situated on a hill, which was called Charles' Stone. Here Sigismund had left a garrison of four centurions of soldiers. The tents were pitched in three places. The siege continued six months, and the assault never ceased day and night. Five great slings continually threw great stones over the walls, and about two thousand vessels, tubs, or baskets, filled with dead carcasses and other excrements, were cast in among those who were besieged. This so infected them with stench, that their teeth either fell out, or became loose. Notwithstanding, they bore it with stout courage, and continued their fight until the winter.

In the meantime, Frederick the Elder, prince of Brandenburg, entering into Bohemia with a great army, caused those of Prague to raise the siege. And Vitold, at the request of Vladislaus, king of Poland, who had talked with the emperor on the borders of Hungary, called Coributus, his uncle, with his whole army, out of Bohemia. Whereupon the emperor, supposing that the protestants now being destitute of foreign aid, would sooner submit to his commandment. But he was far deceived in this. For leading their armies out of Bohemia, the Hussites subdued the adjoining borderers. It is also reported that Ziska went into Austria, and when the husbandmen of the country carried away a great number of their cattle by water into an isle of the river Danube, and by chance left certain calves and swine in their villages behind them, Ziska drove those to the riverside. He kept them there so long, beating them, and causing them to roar and cry out, until the cattle feeding on the island, hearing the lowing and grunting of the cattle on the other side the water, for the desire of their like, swam over the river. By this means he got and drove away a great booty.

About the same time the Emperor Sigismund gave to his son-in-law, Albert, duke of Austria, the country of Moravia, because it should not lack a ruler. At the same time, Eric king of Denmark, and Peter Infant, brother to the king of Portugal, and father of James cardinal of St. Eustace, came to the emperor. Both were very expert in the affairs of war, which augmented the emperor's host with their aid and power. Whereupon they straightway pitched their camp before Lutemperge, a town in Moravia, and continued the siege for three months. At that time there was a certain knight in Prague, surnamed Aqua, who was very rich, and of great authority. This man, because he had no child of his own, adopted his sister's son, named Procopius. Once he was older, he carried Procopius with him into France, Spain, and Italy, and to Jerusalem. At his return, he caused Procopius to be made priest. When the gospel began to flourish in Boliemia, Procopius took sides with Ziska. Because he was strong and valiant, and also industrious, he was greatly esteemed.

[327] A.D. 1421.

For his valiant acts, he was afterwards called Procopius Magnus. The charge of the whole province of Moravia, and the defense of the Lutemperges were committed to him. Receiving great power, by force he carried victuals into that town which was besieged, and so he frustrated the emperor's siege. The emperor before this, had delivered to the marquises of Misnia the bridge and town of Ausca on the river Elbe, that they should fortify them with their garrisons. Whereupon Ziska besieged Ausca. Frederick, the marquis of Misnia, with his brother, the landgrave of Turing, gathered together a great army out of Saxonia, Turing, Misnia, and both the Lusaces, determined to rescue and aid those who were besieged at Ausca. There was a great battle fought before the city, and the victory was long uncertain. But at last it fell on the protestants' side. Slain in the battle were the burgraves of Misnia or Chyrpogenses, the barons of Glychen, and many other nobles, besides 9,000 common soldiers. The town of Ausca was taken and utterly razed.

At last, dissension arose between Ziska (with his radical Hussites) and those of Prague (moderate Hussites called Ultraquists), who prepared an army against Ziska. Perceiving he was overmatched, he fled to the river Elbe, and was almost taken, but had passage through the town of Poggiebras. Those of Prague, pursuing the tail of the battle, slew many of Ziska's Taborites. At length they came to certain hills where Ziska, going into the valley, knew the passes of the place, and that his enemies could not spread their army. He commanded his standard to stand still; then, exhorting and encouraging his soldiers, he engaged the Ultraquists in battle.

This battle was very fierce and cruel; but Ziska having the upper hand, slew 3,000 of those of Prague, and put the rest to flight. He took the city of Cuthna by force (which those of Prague had repaired) and set it on fire. Then with all speed he went with his army to besiege Prague, and encamped within a bowshot of the town. There were many both in the city, and also in his host, who grudged sorely at that siege. Some accused Ziska, others those of Prague. There were great tumults in the camp, the soldiers saying that it was not reasonable to suppress that city, which was both the head of the kingdom, and also did not dissent from them in opinion. They said that the Bohemians' power would soon decay if their enemies knew they were divided among themselves: also that they had sufficient wars against the emperor, and it was but a foolish device to engage in wars among themselves. This talk came to the ear of Ziska. Calling together his army, and standing on a high place to be heard, he spoke these words:

“Brethren, do not be grieved against me, nor accuse the one who has sought your health and safety. The victories which you have obtained under my conduct are still fresh in memory. Nor have I brought you at any time to any place from where you have not become victors. You have become famous and rich, and for your sake I have lost my sight, and dwell in darkness. I have gotten nothing by all these fortunate battles, except a vain name. For *you* I have fought, and for *you* I have vanquished. Nor do I repent of my toil; nor is my blindness grievous to me, except that I cannot provide for you in my customary manner. Nor do I persecute those of Prague for my own cause; for it is *your* blood that they thirst and seek for, and not mine. It would be but a small pleasure for them to destroy me, now being an old man and blind. It is your valiantness and stout courage which they fear. Either you or they must perish. While they seem to lie in wait for me, they seek your lives. You must fear civil wars rather than foreign, and civil sedition should first be avoided. We will subdue Prague and banish the seditious citizens, before the emperor has any news of this sedition. And then having but a few of his faction left, we may look for [victory] with less fear, better than if these doubtful citizens of Prague were still in our camp. But because you will accuse me no longer, I give you free liberty to do what you will. If it pleases you to allow those of Prague to live in quietness, I will not be against it, so that no treason will be wrought. If you determine to have war, I am also ready. Look, whichever part you incline to, Ziska will be your aid and helper.”

When he had spoken these words, the soldiers' minds were changed, and wholly determined to make war, so that by and by they ran to take up their armor and weapons, to run to the walls, and to provoke their enemies to fight for the gates of the city. Ziska, in the meantime, prepared all things for the assault. There is near Pelzina, a certain village named Rochezana. In this place, there was a child born of poor and base parentage, whose name was John. He came to Prague, and got his living there by begging; he also learned grammar and logic. When he came to man's estate, he became the schoolmaster of a nobleman's child. As he was of an excellent wit, and ready tongue, he was received into the college of the poor. And last of all, being made a priest, he began to preach the word of God to the citizens of Prague. He was named John of Rochezana, by the name of the town where he was born. The man



grew to be of great name and authority in the town of Prague. Upon which, when Ziska besieged Prague, by the consent of the citizens, this man went out into the camp, and reconciled Ziska again to the city.

When the emperor perceived that all things came to pass according to Ziska's will and mind, and that the whole state of Bohemia depended upon him alone, he sought secret means to reconcile and get Ziska into his favor, promising him the government of the whole kingdom, the guiding of all his hosts and armies, and great yearly revenues — if he would proclaim him king, and cause the cities to be sworn to him. Upon these conditions, when Ziska went to the emperor for the performance of these covenants, during his journey at the castle of Priscovia, he was struck with sickness, and died (11 Oct 1424).<sup>329</sup>

It is reported that when he was asked, while sick, in what place he would be buried, he commanded the skin to be pulled from his carcass, and the flesh to be thrown to the fowls and beasts, and that a drum be made of his skin, which they should use in their battles — affirming that as soon as their enemies heard the sound of that drum, they would not abide, but take their flight. The Taborites, despising all other images, set up a picture of Ziska over the gates of the city.

### **The Epitaph of John Ziska, the valiant Captain of the Bohemians.**

“I, John Ziska, not inferior to an emperor, or captain in warlike skill, a severe punisher of the pride and avarice of the clergy, and a defender of my country, do lie here. That which Appius Claudius, by giving good counsel, and M. Furius Camillus by valiantness, did for the Romans, the same, I being blind, have done for my Bohemians. I never slacked opportunity for battle, nor did fortune at any time fail me. I, being blind, foresaw all opportunity of well ordering or doing my business. Eleven times in joining battle I left the field a victor. I seemed to have worthily defended the cause of the miserable and hungry against the delicate, fat, and gluttonous priests, and for that cause, to have received help at the hands of God. If their envy had not promoted it, without doubt I would have deserved to be numbered among the most famous men. Notwithstanding, my bones lie here in this hallowed place, even in spite of the pope. Signed,

*“John Ziska, a Bohemian, enemy to all wicked and covetous priests, but with a godly zeal.”*

And thus you have the acts and doings of this worthy Ziska, and other Bohemians, which for more credit, we have drawn from Eneas Sylvius.<sup>330</sup> We have suppressed only his railing terms.

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### ***Bull of Pope Martin Against the Followers of Wycliffe – 1418.***

All this while the emperor, with the whole power of the Germans, was not so busy on the one side; but Martin the pope was very much occupied on the other side. About this time (March 1418) he directed down a terrible bull, full of poison, to all bishops and archbishops, against all those as took any part or side with Wycliffe, John Huss, Jerome, or with their doctrine and opinions. A copy of this bull, which I found in an old written monument, I wish the reader to thoroughly peruse, in which he will see the pope pour out at once all his poison.

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<sup>329</sup> [The Hussite Wars would continue another ten years.](#)

<sup>330</sup> [Eneas Sylvius \(1405-1464\): author, diplomat, and orator who served as the private secretary to Antipope Felix V, and to Emperor Frederick III. He later became Pope Pius II. His autobiography was titled “Commentaries.”](#)

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*The Bull of Pope Martin directed forth against the Followers  
of John Wycliffe of England, of John Huss of Bohemia,  
and Jerome of Prague.*

“Martin, bishop, the servant of God’s servants, to our reverend brethren the archbishops of Salzeburg, Gueznen, and Prague, and to the bishops of Olumzen, Luthomuslen, Bambergen, Misnen, Patavien, Uratislaviem, Ratisponen, Cracovian, Posnamen, and Nitrien, and also to our beloved children, the inquisitors appointed by the prelates above recited, or wherever else to whom these present letters shall come, greeting, and apostolical benediction. Among all other pastoral cares with which we are oppressed, this chiefly and specially enforces us, that heretics with their false doctrine and errors, being utterly expelled from among the company of Christian men, and rooted out (so far as God will make us able to do), the right and catholic faith may remain sound and undefiled; and that all Christian people, immoveable and inviolate, may stand and abide in the sincerity of the same faith, the whole veil of security being removed. But lately, in diverse places of the world, especially in Bohemia and the dukedom of Moravia, and in the straits adjoining them, certain arch-heretics have risen and sprung up, not against one only, but against diverse and sundry documents of the catholic faith, being land-lopers, schismatics, and seditious persons, fraught with devilish pride and wolfish madness, deceived by the subtlety of Satan, and from one evil vanity brought to a worse. Who although they rose up and sprang in diverse parts of the world, yet they all agreed in one, having their tails knit together as it were, to wit: John Wycliffe of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, of damnable memory, who draw with them no small number to miserable ruin and infidelity. For when those and such like pestiferous persons in the beginning of their poisoned doctrine obstinately sowed and spread abroad perverse and false opinions, the prelates who had the government and the execution of the judicial power, like dumb dogs not able to bark, nor yet speedily revenging with the apostle all such disobedience, nor regarding to cast out of the Lord’s house (as they were enjoined by the canons) those subtle and pestilent arch-heretics, and their wolfish fury and cruelty, with all expedition, but allowing their false and pernicious doctrine negligently — by their overly-long delays — to grow and wax strong; a great multitude of people, instead of true doctrine, received those things which they long, falsely, perniciously, and damnably sowed among them, and giving credit to them, fell from the right faith, and are entangled (more the pity) in the foul errors of paganism.

“Insomuch, that these arch-heretics, and those who spring from them, have infected the catholic flock of Christ in diverse climates of the world, and parts bordering upon the same, and have caused them to putrefy in the filthy dunghill of their lies. This is why the general synod of Constance was compelled with St. Augustine to exclaim, against so great and ruinous a plague, of faithful men and of the sound and true faith itself, saying, ‘What shall the sovereign medicine of the church do, with motherly love, seeking the health of her sheep, chafing as it were, among a company of frantic men, and having the disease of lethargy? What, will she desist and depart from her good purpose? No, not so. But rather let her, if there is no remedy, be sharp to both these sorts, which are the grievous enemies of her body. For the physician is sharp to the man distracted and raging in his frenzy, and yet he is a father to his own rude and unmannerly son — in binding the one, in beating the other — by showing in this his great love to them both. But if they are negligent, and allow them to perish,’ says St. Augustine, ‘this gentleness<sup>331</sup> is rather to be supposed a false cruelty.’

“And therefore the foresaid synod, to the glory of Almighty God, and preservation of his catholic faith, and augmenting of Christian religion, and for the salvation of men’s souls, has corporally rejected and cast out of the household of God, the foresaid John Wycliffe, John

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<sup>331</sup> Originally *mansuetude*: gentleness, tameness, or mildness of manner — *i.e.*, inaction, as with Eli and his sons.

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Huss, and Jerome, who among other things believed, preached, taught, and maintained about the sacrament of the altar and other sacraments of the church, and articles of the faith, contrary to that the holy church of Rome believes, holds, preaches, and teaches; and they have presumed obstinately to preach, teach, hold, and believe many other things, to the damnation of themselves and of others. And the said synod has separated them as obstinate and malapert heretics <sup>332</sup> from the communion of the faithful people, and has declared them to be spiritually thrown out. The same council has established and decreed many other things, both wholesome and profitable, regarding the premises whereby they may, by the canonical rules, be returned to the straight path of truth and verity— which by means of those arch-heretics and their false doctrine, they have spiritually departed from the Lord's house.

“And moreover (as we to our great grief hear) not only in the kingdom of Bohemia, and dukedom of Moravia, and other places recited above, but also in certain parts and provinces near adjoining and bordering upon the same, there be many other of the sectaries and followers of the foresaid arch-heretics and heretical opinions, casting behind their back the fear of God as well as the shame of the world, neither receiving the fruit of conversion and repentance by the miserable destruction of the foresaid John Huss and Jerome, but as men drowned in the dungeon of their sins, do not cease to blaspheme the Lord God, taking his name in vain (whose minds the father of lies has damnably blinded), and they read and study the foresaid books or works containing heresies and errors, being lately condemned to be burned by the foresaid synod; also to the peril of themselves and many other simple men, and against the statutes, decrees, and ordinances in the synod aforesaid, and the canonical sanctions, they presume to preach and teach the same, to the great peril of souls, and derogation of the catholic faith, and slander of many others besides. We therefore considering that error, where it is not resisted, seems to be allowed and liked; and having a desire to resist such evil and pernicious errors, and utterly root them out from among the company of faithful Christians, especially from the afore-recited places of Bohemia, Moravia, and other straits and islands joining and bordering upon the same, lest they stretch out and enlarge their limits, we will and command your discretions by our letters apostolical, the holy Council of Constance approving and allowing the same, that you who are archbishops, bishops, and others of the clergy, and every one of you by himself, or by any other or others, being grave and fit persons to have spiritual jurisdiction, see that all and singular persons, of whatever dignity, office, pre-eminence, state, or condition they are, and by whatever name they are known, who presume otherwise to teach, preach, or observe, regarding the most high and excellent, the most wholesome and super-admirable sacrament of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, or else of the sacrament of baptism, confession of sins, penance for sins, and extreme unction, or else of any other sacraments of the church, and the articles of the faith, than that which the right holy and universal church of Rome holds, teaches, preaches, and observes; or else who presume obstinately by any ways or means, privately or openly, to hold, believe, and teach the articles, books, or doctrine of the foresaid arch-heretics, John Wycliffe, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, being damned and condemned by the aforesaid synod of Constance with their authors (as is said);

[829] A.D. 1422.

or who dare presume publicly or privately to allow or commend in any way the death and end of the said arch-heretics, or of any other their receivers, aiders, and favorers, in favor or support of the foresaid errors, and also their believers and adherents; that then as before, you see and cause them, and every one of them, to be most severely punished; and that you judge and give sentence upon them as heretics, and that as arrant heretics you leave them to the secular court or power. Let the receivers also, and the favorers and defenders of such most

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<sup>332</sup> *Malapert*: boldly disrespectful or impudent.

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pestiferous persons, notwithstanding that they neither believe, favor, nor have devotion towards their errors, but haply receive or entertain such pestiferous persons because of earthly affection or friendly love, besides the punishment due to them by both laws, over and above the same punishment by competent judges, be so afflicted, for such heinous acts of theirs, and excruciated with such severe pain and punishment, that the same may be an example of terror to others in like case offending; so that at least those whom the fear of God may by no means keep from such evil doing, yet the severity of our discipline may force and constrain them.

“Regarding the third sort, who are in any manner of ways infected with this damnable sect, and after competent admonition repent and amend themselves of such errors and sects aforesaid, and will return again into the lap and unity of our holy mother the church, and fully acknowledge and confess the catholic faith, towards them let the severity of justice, as the quality of the fact requires, be somewhat tempered with a taste of mercy.

“And furthermore we will and command, that by this our authority apostolical, you exhort and admonish all the professors of the catholic faith, such as emperors, kings, dukes, princes, marquises, earls, barons, knights, and other magistrates, rectors, consuls, proconsuls, shires, countries, and universities of the kingdoms, provinces, cities, towns, castles, villages, their lands and other places, and all other executing temporal jurisdiction, according to the form and exigence of the law, that they expel from their kingdoms, provinces, cities, towns, castles, villages and lands, and other places, all and all manner of such heretics, according to the effect and tenor of the Council of Lateran, beginning *Sicut ait Ecclesia* (as the Church says), etc., that those who publicly and manifestly by the evidence of their deeds are known to be those, like sick and scabbed sheep, who infect the Lord’s flock, they expel and banish them till such time as from us, or you, or else other ecclesiastical judges or inquisitors, holding the faith and communion of the holy church of Rome, they receive other order and countermand; and that they allow none such within their shires and circuits to preach or to keep either house or family, nor yet to use any handicraft or occupations, or other trades of merchandise, or else to solace themselves in any way, or to frequent the company of Christian men.

“And furthermore, if such public and known heretics chance to die (even if not so denounced by the church), yet in this so great a crime let him and them have no Christian burial, and let no offerings or oblations be made for them, nor received. His goods and substance also, from the time of his death, being confiscate according to the canonical sanctions, let no such persons enjoy them to whom they pertain, till sentence is declared by the ecclesiastical judges, having power and authority in this behalf, and promulgated upon his or their crime of heresy. And let those owners who are found, suspected, or noted with any such suspicion of heresy, show and declare his proper and own innocency with devotion, before a competent and ecclesiastical judge, according to the consideration and exigence of that suspicion, and according to the quality of the person, by the arbitrement of such a judge, as appropriate in that behalf. And if in his purgation, <sup>333</sup> being canonically interdicted,<sup>334</sup> he fails or is not able canonically to make his purgation, or he refuses to take his oath by damnable obstinacy to make such purgation, then let him be condemned as a heretic. But those who through negligence or through slothfulness omit to show their innocency, and to make such purgation, let him be excommunicate, and so long put out from the company of Christian men, till they make appropriate satisfaction; so that if they remain in such excommunication for one whole year, then let them be condemned as heretics.

“And further, if any are found culpable in any point of the aforesaid pestiferous doctrine of the aforesaid arch-heretics, or in any article of it, whether it is by the report of the seditious, or

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<sup>333</sup> *Purgation*: the act of clearing yourself (or another) from some stigma or charge.

<sup>334</sup> *Interdict*: to exclude someone from participation in church services, and from receiving the sacraments.

else well-disposed, let them yet be punished according to the report of the canons. If only through infamy and suspicion of the aforesaid articles, or any of them, any man is suspected, and fails in his canonical purgation, being interdicted for this, let him be accounted convicted, and as a convicted person, let him be punished by the canons (priests).

“And furthermore, we invoke and put into execution the canon of our predecessor of happy memory, Pope Boniface VIII, which begins thus, *Ut inquisitionis negotium*, (as an inquiry into the matter) etc. In exhorting-wise require, and also command all temporal potentates, lords and judges before recited, by whatever dignities, offices and names they are known, that as they desire to be had, esteemed, and counted for the faithful members and children of the church, and they rejoice in the name of Christ, so likewise for defense of that faith, they will obey, attend, give their aid and favorable help to you who are archbishops, bishops, and ecclesiastical men, inquisitors of all heretical depravity, and other judges and ecclesiastical persons by you in this regard, as aforesaid, appointed (holding the faith and communion of our holy mother the church) for the searching out, taking, and safe custody of all the aforesaid heretics, their believers, their favorers, their receivers, and their defenders, whenever they are required for this purpose.

“And that they bring and cause to be brought (all delay set apart) the aforesaid pestiferous persons so seeking to destroy others with them, into such safe keeping and prisons, as are to be appointed by you the archbishops, bishops, clergy and inquisitors aforesaid, or else to such other place or places, as either you or they shall command within any of their dominions, governments and rectories, where they by catholic men — that is, by you, the archbishops, bishops, the clergy and inquisitors, or any others who shall be appointed by you, or are already appointed by any of you — may be held and kept in safe keeping by putting them in fetters, shackles, bolts, and manacles of iron, under most strait custody for escaping away, till such time as all that business which belongs to them, is by the judgment of the church finished and determined, and that they be condemned of such heresy by a competent ecclesiastical judge (who firmly holds the faith and communion of the aforesaid holy church of Rome).

“The remainder let the aforesaid temporal lords, rectors, judges, or other their officers and pursuivants take among them, to punish with deserved deaths, without any delay. But fearing lest to the prejudice and slander of the aforesaid catholic faith and religion, through the pretext of ignorance, any man should be circumvented in this, or that any subtle and crafty men should under the veil of frivolous excuse, cloak and dissemble in this matter; and that as regards the convincing or apprehending of the aforesaid heretics, their receivers and defenders, favorers, believers, and adherents; and also of those who are suspected of heresy, and in any way spotted with similar perverse doctrine, we might give more perfect instruction — therefore, to the kingdom of Bohemia, and parts nearby adjoining it, as well as all others where this superstitious doctrine began to spread, we have thought it good to send the articles here underwritten concerning the sect of those arch-heretics, for the better direction of the aforesaid catholic faith.

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“Regarding these articles, by virtue of holy obedience, we charge and command you and all other archbishops and bishops, all manner of commissaries and inquisitors, that every one of them within the diocese and limits of their jurisdiction; and also in the foresaid kingdom and dukedom, and places nearby adjoining, even if the same places are beyond their jurisdiction, in favor of the catholic faith, give most diligent and vigilant care about the extirpation and correction of those aforesaid errors, arch-heresies, and most pestiferous sect; and also that they compel all defamed persons and those suspected of so pestiferous a contagion, whether it is under the penalty of the crime confessed, or of excommunication, suspension, or interdict, or any other formidable pain, canonical or legal, when and wherever it seems good to them,

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and as the quality of the act requires, by an oath taken corporally, either upon the holy Evangelists, or upon the relics of saints, or upon the image of the crucifix, according to the observances of certain places, and according to the interrogatories, to make convenient answer to every article written in it. For we intend against all and singular archbishops, bishops, ecclesiastical persons, or inquisitors who show themselves negligent and remiss in the extirpation of the leaven of this heretical pravity, and purging their territories, dioceses, and places appointed to them, of such evil and wicked men, to proceed and cause to be proceeded unto the deprivation and deposition of their pontifical dignities, and substitute others in their places, who can and may be able to confound the said heretical pravity, and proceed to further pains against them by the limited laws, and to others still more grievous (if need requires), we ourselves will proceed and cause to be proceeded, according to what the party, his act, and the filthiness of his crime committed, deserves. The tenor of those articles of which we mentioned in this, our own writing, is in the following words:

*The Articles of John Huss to be inquired upon.*

1. There is one only universal church, which is the university of the predestinate, as will after be declared.
2. There is only one universal church, and one university of those who are predestinate.
3. Paul was never a member of the devil, even though he did certain acts like the acts of the church malignant.
4. The reprobate are not parts of the church, for no part of that church finally falls from her, because the charity of predestination, which binds the same church together, never fails.
5. The two natures (that is) the Divinity and the humanity, are one Christ.
6. The reprobate, although he is sometimes in grace according to present justice, yet he is never a part of the holy church; and the predestinate is ever a member of the church, although he sometimes falls from adventitial (extrinsic) grace but not from grace of predestination; ever taking the church as the convocation of the predestinate, whether they are in grace or not, according to present justice. And in this way, the church is an article of our belief.
7. Peter is not, nor ever was the head of the holy catholic church.
8. Priests living viciously defile the authority of priesthood, and so, as unfaithful children, they unfaithfully believe [the teachings] of the seven sacraments, of the keys of the church, of offices, of censures, of ceremonies, of the worshipping of relics, indulgences, orders, and other holy things of the church.
9. The papal dignity came and grew from the emperor; and his government and institution sprang from the emperor's government.
10. No man can reasonably affirm either about himself or others, that he is the head of any particular church, or that the bishop of Rome is head of the church of Rome.
11. A man should not believe that the one who is bishop of Rome is the head of every particular church, unless God has predestined him.
12. None is the vicar of Christ, or else of Peter, unless he follows him in manners and conditions, seeing that there is no other following more pertinent, nor otherwise apt to receive from God this procuratory power. For the office of a vicegerent of Christ requires the conformity of manners, and the authority of the institutor.
13. The pope is not the manifest and true successor of Peter the prince of apostles, if he lives contrary to Peter in manners; and if he hunts after avarice, then he is the vicar of Judas Iscariot. And likewise the cardinals are not the true and manifest successors of the college of



the other apostles of Christ, unless they live according to the manner of the apostles, keeping the commandments and councils of our Lord Jesus Christ.

14. The doctors alleging that a man who will not be amended by ecclesiastical censures, is to be delivered to the secular powers, follow in this point the bishops, scribes and Pharisees, who delivered Christ to the secular power, saying, 'it is not lawful for us to kill any man,' because he would not obey them in all things; and such are greater homicides than Pilate.

15. The ecclesiastical obedience is such an obedience as the priests of the church have discovered outside the express authority of the Scripture. The immediate division of human works is that they are either virtuous or vicious: and if a man is vicious and does anything, then he does it viciously; and if he is virtuous, and does anything, then he does it virtuously. For just as vice, which is called a great offense or mortal sin, stains all the doings of a vicious man, so virtue quickens (animates) all the doings of a virtuous man.

16. A priest of God living under His law, and having a knowledge of the Scripture, and a desire to edify the people, ought to preach, notwithstanding any excommunication pretended by the pope. And further, if the pope, or any other magistrate, forbids a priest so disposed to preach, he should not be obedient to him. For everyone who takes upon himself the order of priesthood, receives in charge the *office* of a preacher; and he should well discharge himself of that burden, notwithstanding any excommunication pretended against him in any way.

17. By ecclesiastical censures, such as excommunication, suspending and interdicting the clergy to their own advancement, the lay people are caused to aid them; they multiply their avarice, they defend their malice, and prepare the way for antichrist. And it is an evident sign that such censures proceed from antichrist, which in their process they call *fulminations*; that is, their thunderbolts with which the clergy principally proceeds against those who declare the wickedness of antichrist, and who has so greatly abused them for his own commodity.

18. If the pope is evil, especially if he is a reprobate, then with Judas he is a very devil, a thief, and the son of perdition, and is not the head of the holy church militant, nor any member of it.

19. The grace of predestination is the bond with which the body of the church and every member of the same is indissolubly joined to their head Christ.

20. The pope or prelate who is evil and reprobate, is a pastor in name and not in deed, then he is a thief and a robber in very deed.

21. The pope should not be called the most holy one for his office' sake, for then the king should be called the most holy one by his office; and the hangman, with other such officers also, should be called holy; indeed, the devil himself ought to be called holy, in as much as he is God's officer.

22. If the pope lives contrary to Christ, even though he climbs up by right and lawful election according to the common custom of men; yet notwithstanding, he should not otherwise climb than by Christ; indeed, though we admit that he should enter by the election principally made by God. For Judas Iscariot was lawfully elect of God Christ Jesus to his bishopric; and yet he did not come the same way he ought to do to the sheepfold.

23. The condemnation of the forty-five articles of John Wycliffe made by the doctors is unreasonable, wicked, and nothing, and the cause alleged by them is feigned — that is, that none of them are catholic, but every one of them is heretical, erroneous, or slanderous.

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24. It is not that the electors, or most of them, have consented together with lively voice according to the custom of men, upon the person of anyone, that a person is therefore lawfully elect, or is therefore the true and manifest successor and vicar of Peter the Apostle, or of any

other apostle in the ecclesiastical office. Therefore, whether the electors have either well or evilly made their election, it behooves us to believe it by the works of the one who is elected. For everyone who works more meritoriously to the profit of the church, has that much more authority from God.

25. There is not so much as one spark of appearance that there ought to be one head ruling and governing the church in spiritual causes, who should always be conversant in the church militant; for Christ could rule his church a great deal better, without any such monstrous heads, by his true disciples dispersed throughout the world.

26. The apostles and faithful priests of God have right worthily, in all things necessary to salvation, governed the church before the pope's office took place, and so they might do again by like possibility, until Christ comes to judgment, if the office should fail.

“Let every one who is suspected in the foresaid articles, or otherwise found with the assertion of them, be examined in manner and form as follows:

1. Whether he knew John Wycliffe of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, or any of them, and how he came by the knowledge of them; whether during their lives, or any of them, they had been conversant with them, or found any friendship at their hands?

2. Whether knowing them, or any of them, to be excommunicate, he willingly participated with them; esteeming and affirming their participation with them to be no sin.’

3. Whether after their deaths, he ever prayed for them, or any of them, openly or secretly, doing any work of mercy for them, affirming them to be either saints, or else to be saved?

4. Whether he thought them, or any of them to be saints, or whether he ever spoke such words, and whether he ever exhibited any worship to them as to saints?

5. Whether he believes, holds, and affirms that every general council, as also the Council of Constance, represents the universal church?

6. Whether he believes that that what the holy Council of Constance, representing the universal church, has and allows in the favor of the faith, and salvation of souls, is to be approved and allowed by all the faithful Christians; and that whatever the same council has condemned and does condemn, that is contrary both to faith and to all good men, is to be believed, held, and affirmed as condemned, or not?

7. Whether he believes that the condemnations of John Huss, John Wycliffe, and Jerome of Prague, made of their persons as well as their books and doctrine by the holy general Council of Constance, is rightly and justly made, and are so to be held or affirmed by every good Catholic man, or not?

8. Whether he believes, holds, and affirms that John Wycliffe of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, were heretics or not, and to be named and preached as heretics, yes or no; and whether their books and doctrines were and are perverse or not; for which, together with their pertinancy, they were condemned by the holy sacred Council of Constance as heretics?

9. Whether he has in his custody any treatises, small works, epistles, or other writings, in whatever language or tongue, set forth and translated by any of these heretics, John Wycliffe, John Huss, and Jerome, or any other of their false disciples and followers, that he may deliver them to the ordinaries of that place, or to his commissary, or to the inquisitors upon his oath? And if he says that he has no such writing about him, but that they are in some other place, then you swear him to bring them before his ordinary, or other aforementioned, within a certain time to him, prefixed.



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10. Whether he knows anyone who has the treatises, works, epistles, or any other writings of the aforesaid John Wycliffe, John Huss, and Jerome, in whatever tongue they are made or translated, and that he detects and makes them known, for the purgation of their faith and execution of justice?
11. Especially let the learned be examined, whether he believes that the sentence of the holy Council of Constance on the forty-five articles of John Wycliffe, and the thirty articles of John Huss are not Catholic — which Council says that some of them are notorious and heretical, some erroneous, others blasphemous, some slanderous, some rash and seditious, some offensive to godly ears?
12. Whether he believes and affirms that in no case is it lawful for a man to swear?
13. Whether he believes that at the commandment of a judge or any other, it is lawful to take an oath to tell the truth in any convenient cause, even if it is but purging infamy or not?
14. Whether he believes that perjury wittingly committed, upon whatever cause, whether it is for the safeguard of his own life, or of any other man's life (yes, even if it is in the cause and defense of the faith), is a sin or not?
15. Whether a man purposely disdaining the rites of the church, and the ceremonies of exorcism, of catechism, and the consecration of the water of baptism, is in deadly sin or not?
16. Whether he believes that after the consecration of the priest, in the sacrament of the altar under the figure of bread and wine, are not material bread and wine, but in all points the very same Christ who was crucified upon the cross, and sits at the right hand of the father?
17. Whether he believes that after the consecration made by the priest, under the only form of bread, and besides the form of wine, is the very flesh of Christ; and his blood, his soul and his deity, and so wholly Christ as he is; and likewise, whether under the form of wine, without the form of bread, is the very flesh of Christ and his very blood, his soul and deity, and so wholly Christ, and the same body absolutely under every one of those kinds severally?
18. Whether he believes that the custom of administering to the lay people under the form of bread only, observed by the universal church, and allowed by the only Council of Constance, is to be used, and not to be altered without the authority of the church at men's pleasures, and that those who obstinately affirm the contrary to this are to be punished as heretics, or not?
19. Whether he believes that those which condemn the receiving of the sacraments of confirmation, or extreme unction; or else the solemnization of matrimony, commit deadly sin or not?
20. Whether he believes that a Christian man, over and besides the contrition of his heart, being licensed by a convenient priest, is bound to confess himself only to a priest, and not to any layman, however devout or good he is, upon the necessity of salvation?
21. Whether he believes that in the cases put before, a priest may absolve a sinner from all sins — confessing himself, and being contrite — and enjoin him penance for the same?
22. Whether he believes that an evil priest, with due manner and form, with the intention of doing, truly consecrates, truly absolves, truly baptizes, and truly disposes all other sacraments even as the church does?
23. Whether he believes that St. Peter was the vicar of Christ, having power to bind and loose upon the earth?
24. “Whether he believes that the pope being canonically elect (which he is for the time), by that name (pope) is expressly the successor of Peter or not, having supreme authority in the church of God?

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25. Whether he believes that the authority or jurisdiction of the pope, an archbishop, or a bishop, in binding or loosing, is more than the authority of a simple priest or not, even though the priest has charge of souls?

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26. Whether he believes that the pope may, upon a just and good cause give indulgences and remission of sins to all Christian men, being truly contrite and confessed, especially to those who go on pilgrimage to holy places and good deeds?

27. Whether he believed that by such grant, the pilgrims who visit those churches, and give them anything, may obtain remission of sins or not?

28. Whether he believes that all bishops may grant to their subjects, according to what the holy canons limit, such indulgences, or not?

29. Whether he believes and affirms that it is lawful for faithful Christians to worship images and the relics of saints, or not?

30. Whether he believes that those religions which the church has allowed, were lawfully and reasonably brought in by the holy fathers, or not?

31. Whether he believes that the pope, or any other prelate for the time being, or their vicars, may excommunicate their subject, ecclesiastical or secular, for disobedience or obstinacy, so that such a person is to be held and taken as excommunicated, or not?

32. Whether he believes that for the increasing disobedience and obstinacy of excommunicate persons, the prelates or their vicars have power in spiritual things to aggravate and to reagravate, to put upon men the interdict, and to call for the secular arm; and that the same secular arm or power ought to be obedient to the censures called for by their inferiors?

33. Whether he believes that the pope and other prelates, or else their vicars, have power in spiritual things to excommunicate priests and laymen who are stubborn and disobedient, from their office, benefice, or entrance into the church, and from the administration of the sacraments of the church, and also to suspend them?

34. Whether he believes that it is lawful for ecclesiastical persons, without committing sin, to have any possessions and temporal goods; and whether he believes that it is not lawful for laymen to take away those possessions and goods from them by their authority: but rather that such takers away and encroachers upon ecclesiastical goods, are to be punished as committing sacrilege, yes, even if such ecclesiastical persons who have such goods, live naughtily?

35. Whether any such taking away or encroaching upon any priest rashly or violently made, even if the priest is an evil liver, is sacrilege, or not?

36. Whether he believes that it is lawful for the laity, whether men or women, to preach the word of God, or not?

37. Whether he believes that it is lawful for all priests to freely preach the word of God wherever, whenever, and to whomever it pleases them, even if they are not sent at all?

38. Whether he believes that all mortal sins, and especially those which are manifest and public, are to be corrected and extirpated, or not.'

“Furthermore, we will, command, and decree, that if anyone by secret information, to be received by you or any other, is found to be either infamous or suspected of any kind of the pestiferous sect, heresy, and doctrine of the most pestilent men, John Wycliffe, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, the arch-heretics aforesaid, or of favoring, receiving, or defending the aforesaid damned men while they lived on earth, their false followers and disciples, or anyone

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who believes their errors, or any who after their death pray for them or, any of them, or who identifies them as among the number of catholic men, or who defends them being placed among the number of the saints, either by their preaching, worshipping, or other ways, in which they deserve to be suspected — that then they may be cited by you or some of you, to personally appear before you or some of you, without either proctor or doctor to answer for them, an oath being openly taken by them as aforesaid, to speak the plain and mere verity (truth) of the articles above written, and every of them, or other opportune, as case and circumstance require, according to your discretion, as you or any of you see expedient to proceed against them, or any of them, according to these presents, or otherwise canonically, as you think good.

“Also that you solemnly publish, and cause to be published these present letters, omitting the articles and interrogatories contained in it, in the cities and other places of your diocese, where you may do so conveniently, under our authority, and there denounce and cause to be denounced all and singular such heretics, with their abettors and favorers of their heresies and errors; of whatever sex or kind, who hold and defend the said errors, or participate in any manner with heretics, privately or openly; of whatever state, dignity, or condition he or they may be — patriarch, archbishop, king, queen, duke, or of whatever other dignity he may be, either ecclesiastical or secular; also with their advocates and procurators, whoever are believers, followers, favorers, defenders, or receivers of such heretics, or suspected to be believers, followers, favorers, defenders, or receivers of them, to be excommunicated every Sunday and festival day, in the presence of the people.

“Furthermore, that you diligently cause to be inquired, by our said authority, upon all and singular such persons, both men and women, who maintain, approve, defend, and teach such errors, or that are favorers, receivers and defenders of them, whether exempt or not exempt, of whatever dignity, state, pre-eminence, degree, order, or condition. And those you find in your said inquisition, either by their own confession, or by any other means, who are defamed or otherwise infected with the spot of such heresy or error, that you through the sentence of excommunication, suspension, interdiction, and privation of their dignities, parsonages, offices, or other benefices of the church, and fees which they hold from any church, monastery, and other ecclesiastical places, also of honors and secular dignities and degrees of sciences, or other faculties, as also by other pains and censures of the church, or by any ways and means whatever that seem to you expedient, by taking and imprisoning their bodies, and other corporal punishments with which heretics are punished, or are customary, and are commanded to be used by canonical sanctions; and if they are clerics, correct and punish them by degradation, and cause them to be corrected and punished with all diligence.

Furthermore, that you rise up stoutly and courageously against such heretics and the goods of them, as well of the laymen, according to the canonical sanction made against heretics and their followers, under which we will and command them and their partakers to be subject. And also those persons who are infamous for the heresies or errors aforesaid, or any of the premises, shall be bound to purge themselves at your arbitration; but the others, who either by witnesses, or by their own confessions, or other allegations or probations, shall be convicted of the aforesaid heresies or articles, or of any the premises, they shall be compelled to revoke and abjure publicly and solemnly the said articles and errors, and to suffer deserved penance and punishment, yes, even to perpetual imprisonment (if need be) for the same.

“And to the intent that they will not nourish any kind of heresies hereafter, either in word, deed, or gesture, nor induce others either in word or deed, secretly or openly, directly or indirectly to believe the same, they shall be forced to put in sufficient surety. Who, if it so changes that they will not publicly and solemnly renounce and abjure their articles and errors, and take deserved penance at your hands, even if it is to perpetual or temporal punishment

according to your discretion, nor will be content to put in sufficient surety so that they will not hereafter hold or nourish these errors and heresies, nor will induce others by word or deed secretly or openly, directly or indirectly, or by any other manner of color to believe the same, that you shall then proceed against them according to the quality of their errors and demerits.

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Yes, and if you see it so expedient, as against heretics, and those infected with heresy, by our authority, according to the canonical sanctions summarily, and simply, and plainly, *Sine strepitu et figura iudicii* (without judicial dispute and form), ceasing all office, appellation or appellations whatsoever; and that you punish the same, according to the sanctions and traditions canonical, yes if need be, in leaving and committing them to the secular power; and against those who are superiors or learned doctors, laying the censures of ecclesiastical excommunication, all appellation set aside, also invoking, if need requires, the aid of the secular arm; as well as the constitution of our predecessor Pope Boniface VIII, of blessed memory, in which it is decreed that no man outside his city or diocese (except in certain cases) or in places one day's journey distant from where he inhabits, shall be called into judgment, and that no man presume to depute judges from the apostolic see, outside the city and diocese where they are deputed to proceed against anyone; and presume to commit their authority to any other person or persons, or to fetch and remove any man beyond one day's journey from outside his diocese where he dwells, or at most two days' journey, if it is in a general council; and also all other constitutions of any bishop of Rome, regarding delegate judges, as well as persons not be called to judgment beyond a certain number; or else any other edict, indulgence, privilege, or exemption, general or special, granted from the apostolic see, for any person or persons not to be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated, or cited up to judgment without the compass (if certain limits, or else whatever thing may otherwise hinder, stop, or impeach your jurisdiction, power, and free proceeding in this, by any means to the contrary notwithstanding. Given at Constance the first year of our popedom.”

### **An Exhortation of the Bohemians to Kings and Princes.**

This bloody and abominable commission of Pope Martin, which I have copied out of a certain old monument remaining in the hands of Master Hackluyt, student in the Temple, seems to be directed and given out to the public destruction of all faithful Christian men, about the latter end and breaking up of the Council of Constance (A.D. 1418). By which the prudent reader may note and consider what labor, what policy, what counsel, and what laws have been set, what ways have been taken, what severity has been shown, how men's power, wit, and authority of the whole world have conspired together from time to time, continually by all manner of means, to subvert and supplant the word and way of the Lord. And yet, notwithstanding, man has not prevailed; but all his force and devised polices have been overthrown, dispatched and, like the counsel of Ahithophel and Ammon, brought to nothing. And contrary to the fury of the world, the gospel of Christ has still increased. Nor yet for all this will the pope cease to spurn and rebel against the kingdom of Christ and his gospel, against which neither he nor the gates of hell shall ever prevail. The Lord of hosts be merciful to his poor persecuted flock! Amen.

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Against this pestilent bull and inquisition of Pope Martin the great, antichrist, I thought it good to annex here another contrary writing of the Bohemians, bearing the name and subscription of Procopius, Conrad, and other captains of the Bohemians. This seems to have been written not long after the death of Ziska, against the pestiferous See of Rome, the tenor of which follows here.

*A fruitful and Christian Exhortation of the Bohemians  
to kings and princes, to stir them up to the zeal of the Gospel.*

“May the Almighty God the Father, by his well-beloved Son Jesus Christ, and by his Holy Spirit, open the understanding both of you and of all Christians, and lighten your hearts with the light of his doctrine of righteousness, and make you to continue in it surely established to the end. This we desire of you for your salvation, all you honorable, wise, and honest noblemen, and all the commonalty, yes rich and poor. Hear and consider with diligent heed the words of this present letter, which is sent to you from the country of the Bohemians. It is manifest and well known to you and many other cities, kings, princes, and lords, that now for a certain number of years there has been great discord between us and you; and there have been some who have moved you by letters, and provoked you to make war against us, and to destroy us. And on your part as well as ours many men, noble as well as un noble, have foolishly lost their lives. Yet never up to now have you in any way understood our faith by our own confession, nor whether we are able to prove the same out of the Scriptures, or not; and yet in the meantime kings, princes, lords, and cities, have sustained great damage. And we greatly marvel about this, that you so much trust and believe the pope and his priests, who give you drink full of poison, and such comfort as no man can understand, in that they say that they will give you forgiveness of all your sins, and great grace and pardon, to this end that you should war upon us and destroy us. Whereas their graces and pardons are none other than great lies, and a great seducing of the body and soul of all those who believe them, and put their trust in them. This we would prove to them, and convince them by the holy Scripture; and we would allow that whoever is desirous to hear, the same should hear it. For the pope and all his priests deal with you in this as the devil would have done with our Lord Jesus Christ. Luke writes of him in his fourth chapter, that he brought Jesus up on a high hill, and showed him in the twinkling of an eye, all the kingdoms that are in the compass of the earth, and said to him, ‘I will give you,’ etc. So the devil deceives the pope, and all the priests, with the riches of the world, and worldly power. And they think they can give grace and pardon when they will; and yet they themselves shall never find favor before Almighty God, unless they repent and make amends, because of their great deceiving of Christendom. How can they give that to others, which they themselves do not have? So did the devil, who was rich in promising, and poor in giving. And just as the devil is not ashamed to tell a lie, so all those are not ashamed to speak that which will never be found true, nor be proved by the holy Scriptures, because for no cause they stir up kings, princes, lords, and citizens, to make war against us — not to the end that the Christian faith should thereby be defended, but because they fear that their secret vices and heresies will be disclosed and made manifest.

“For if they had a true cause, and a godly love for the Christian faith, they would then take the books of the holy Scripture, and would come to us, and confute us with the weapons of God’s word, and that is our chief desire. For so did the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, who came to the Pagans and Jews, and brought them from their infidelity to the true faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. And they did this in the spirit of meekness, as the apostle Paul writes in the sixth chapter of the Galatians, ‘Brethren, if any man is grieved,’ etc. So they should also do, if they perceived that they were just and we are unjust. And if we would not abide instruction, then they might take themselves to kings, princes, lords, and imperial cities, and resist us according to the commandments of the holy Scripture. But this is the subtle defense of all the bishops and priests: they say that Master Huss and Jerome, who were burnt at Constance, were confuted by the holy father the pope, and by the whole council. For you must understand that they were not overcome by the Holy Spirit, but unjustly overcome with wrongful violence, which God may yet hereafter grievously punish in all those who gave their counsel and aid to it. And they say it should not be allowed that we be heard in confessing our faith. How may that be proved by the holy Scripture, since Christ heard the devil, as it is written in the fourth

chapter of Matthew? And they are not better than Christ, nor are we worse than the devil. If they are just and have the truth with them (as they say they have) and we are unrighteous, why do they fear, since the truth should not be afraid of falsehood, as Esdras writes in his second book, the third chapter? Zerubbabel declares that truth is of all things the mightiest, and overcomes all things. <sup>1Esd 4:35</sup>

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“For Christ is the truth, John 14. ‘I am the way, the truth,’ etc. And the devil is the father of lies, John 8. ‘He is a liar from the beginning, and never abided in the truth, and there is no truth in him.’ Therefore, if the pope and his priests have the truth, let them overcome us with the word of God. But if they have lies, then they cannot long abide in their presumption. Therefore, we exhort and beseech all the imperial cities, all kings, princes, noblemen, rich and poor, for God’s sake, and for his righteousness, that one of them write of this to another, and that there may be some means made, how we may commune with you safely and friendly, at some such place that will be fit both for you and us, and bring your bishops and teachers with you, and let them and our teachers fight together with the word of God, and let us hear them. And do not let the one overcome the other by violence or false subtlety, but only by the word of God. And if your bishops and teachers have better proofs of their faith out of the holy Scripture than we do, and our faith is found untrue, we will receive penance and satisfaction, according to the gospel. But if your bishops and teachers are overcome by ours, by the holy Scripture, then repent and hearken to us, and hold with us. And if your bishops and teachers will cease from their spiritual pride, and repent and make satisfaction, then we will help you according to our power; and we will compel them, either to join with us, or else we will expel them out of Christendom. And if your bishops and teachers say that it is not lawful for laymen to hear such reasoning, or to be present at it, you may understand that this tends to no other end, but that they fear they would be overcome and put to shame in the sight of you. For if they knew that *they* would overcome in this, no doubt they would desire that every man should hear it, and thereby their glory would become the greater, and their fame and praises should be increased upon the earth. And if your bishops and teachers counsel you not to come to any hearing with us, then do it whether they will have it or not, and do not allow yourselves at any time to be so foolishly seduced with their foolish pardons, but tarry at home in your houses with your wives and children. And let the pope of Rome come to us with all his cardinals and bishops, and with all his priests, with his own person and power, to war with us, and let them deserve the absolution of sins, grace and pardon, which they preach to you (for they have great need of forgiveness of sins, grace, and pardon); and by the grace of God, we will give them pardon enough as they need. But their subtle excuse is this: they say that it does not belong to priests to fight with bodily weapons. And it is true that it does not belong to them; but it belongs as little to them to stir up, to counsel, and to fortify others to fight. For Paul says in the first chapter of the Romans, <sup>Rom 1:32</sup> and in the fifth of the Galatians, ‘That all who do such things are worthy of everlasting death.’ <sup>Gal 5:21</sup>

“And if you will not determine to do any other thing than to fight against us, then will we take the Lord to our help and his truth, and we will defend it to the death, and we will not be afraid for the excommunication or curse of the pope, or his cardinals, or of the bishops, because we know that the pope is not God, as he makes himself out to be, that he can curse and excommunicate when he will, or bless when he will. He has now these many years cursed and excommunicated us, and yet notwithstanding, God and his gracious blessing has been our help. But perhaps you will say that though we see that bishops and priests are evil and wicked, yet we cannot do without them; for who would baptize our children, who would hear confessions, and minister the holy sacraments? And then we too would be within the excommunication of the pope, and of his bishops. Well-beloved, you need to take no care for these matters. The excommunicating of the pope does not hurt you at all. Fear the

excommunicating by God, and the Lord will provide for those things well enough. If you would banish evil bishops and priests, you should have good priests who should baptize your children, hear confessions, and minister the holy mysteries; because when the devil is banished, then a place is made for the Holy Ghost. So too, when bad bishops and priests are banished, a place will be made for good priests and bishops.

“Also, your bishops and priests say that we are miscreants and heretics, and that we do not believe in purgatory, upon the Virgin Mary, nor upon the saints, and that we are mistaken in this, for we will prove (they say) by the holy scripture, that we know better by God’s grace how we ought to believe in purgatory, and upon Mary the mother of our Lord, and upon his well-beloved saints, than they can tell us. Also they say that we will not be obedient to the pope. Truly, when he becomes holy and just, then we know well that we ought to be obedient to him in all things, *and not before*.

“They also say that we destroy God’s holy service, in that we destroy monasteries, banishing the wicked monks and nuns from them. Truly we did it, thinking that once they were holy, they would do the reverend service of God. But after we well perceived and considered their life and works, we perceived that they were false and lowly hypocrites, wicked builders on high, sellers of pardons and masses for the dead, and those who devoured in themselves the sins of the people. And whereas they said that they rise at midnight when other men sleep, and pray for the sins of the people, yet their selling of their prayers and masses for the dead for gifts, is no better than hypocrisy and heresy. Therefore, if do speak against them and destroy their monasteries, we do not destroy the service of God in this, but rather the service of the devil, and the schools of heretics. If you knew them as we know them, you would as diligently destroy them as we do. For Christ our Lord did not ordain any such order, and therefore it must come to pass that shortly it will be destroyed, as our Lord said in the gospel of St. Matthew, chap. 15.13. ‘Every plant which my Father has not planted, shall be rooted up.’”

[Here were added sixteen articles against the Romish priests, which we omit.]

(Signed) *Procopius, Smahors, Conrad, Samssmolich; captains of Bohemia.*

### **Division in the Bohemian Army on Choosing a Captain.**

Now to return to the wars of the Bohemians again. After Ziska was dead, there was great fear, sorrow, and lamentation in the army, the soldiers accusing fortune (fate) which gave up such an invincible captain to be overcome with death. Immediately there was a division in the host, the one part choosing Procopius Magnus to be their captain, and the other part saying there was none who could be found worthy to succeed Ziska. Whereupon, choosing certain ones to serve the wars, they called themselves orphans.

Thus the Taborites being divided into two armies, the one part retained their old and accustomed name, and the other, because of the death of their captain, named themselves orphans. And although there was often dissension between them, yet whenever any foreign power came towards them, they joined their powers together in one camp, and defended themselves. They seldom went to any fenced towns, except to buy necessaries, but lived with their wives and children in their camp and tents. They had many carts among them, which they used as a bulwark; for whenever they went into battle, they made two wings of them, which closed in the footmen. The wings of the horsemen were on the outside, and when they saw their time to join battle, the wagon-men who led the wings, going forth to the emperor’s standard and compassing that part of their enemies as they could, closed themselves in together. Thereby the enemies being enclosed so that they could not be rescued, they were slain partly by the footmen, and partly by the men who were in the carts, with their spears. The horsemen fought without the fortification; and if it happened that they were oppressed,

or put to flight, by and by the carts opening up, received them as if into a fenced city. And by this means they got many victories, in that their enemies were ignorant of their strategies.

[335] A.D. 1422.

***War Between the Pope and the Bohemians.***

These two armies went forth, the one into Silesia, and the other into Moravia, and returned again with great prey, before their enemies knew of their coming. After this they besieged the town of Swietla in Austria, where the Taborites and the Orphans during two nights, assaulted the walls without ceasing. But Albert, duke of Austria, coming with his host to aid the citizens, they fought for almost four hours, the most valiant warriors being slain on both sides. At length the battle was broken off. The Taborites lost their carts, and Albert was put out of his camp and tents. Awhile later, Procopius Magnus came again and enclosed the city of Rhetium in Austria with a notable siege. Those of Prague were in his army, and Boslaus Cygnens, whom we spoke of before, was slain there with a spear. The city of Rhetium was taken by force, sacked and burnt. The burgrave of Malderburg, lord of the town, was also taken and carried to Prague, where he too died in prison.

These things being done, the emperor sent for the nobles of Bohemia. They went to him at a town in Hungary called Posonium. It was on the border of Austria, on the banks of the river Danube. They would not enter the town, but remained outside of it in their tents. The emperor going out to them there, communed much with them, regarding his right and title, and the recovery of his father's kingdom. He promised that if there were any cause which alienated the Bohemians' minds from him, he would remove all occasion for it. They answered that he had made war upon them without cause, and that he had allowed their countrymen, *contrary* to his promise, to be burnt at Constance, not being heard; and that the kingdom was contemptuously interdicted, and the nobles of Bohemia condemned by the church of Rome as heretics; and that he should not think the force and power of the Bohemians was so small that they would not provide for their own honor. To this the emperor answered very gently, and offered them a general council, in which they might declare their innocency, if they would submit themselves to the judgment of the universal church. But the Bohemians, who had become valiant victors in arms, would not be overcome with words. And so nothing being finally concluded, the emperor returned home.

Then Pope Martin, perceiving that the true gospel was increasing daily more and more, sent the cardinal of Winchester, an Englishman, born of a noble house, into Germany, to move them to war against the Bohemians. The emperor also assisted him.

There were three armies provided. In the first army included the dukes of Saxony, and the lower cities. The second army, which was gathered by the Franconians, was under the conduct of the marquis of Brandenburg. The third army was led by Otto, the archbishop of Treves, whom the Rhenenses, the Bavarians, and the imperial cities of Swabia followed. These armies entering into Bohemia in three separate parts, after they had passed the wood, joined together and pitched before Misna. A certain learned and eloquent protestant named Prichicho, had won this town the night before from the papists. Therefore the army was determined to recover that city first, before they would go any further. But when news came to the host, how the protestants had gathered an army, and came with all speed towards them, they fled before they saw their enemies, and went to Tacovia, leaving behind them their warlike engines with a great prey. The cardinal had not yet come to the camp, but meeting them in their flight at Tacovia, he marvelled at the cowardly flight of so many noble and valiant men, desiring that they would turn back to their enemies, which he said were far



weaker than they. When he had long labored about this in vain, he was glad to be a companion with them in their flight. They had scarcely entered the wood, when the Bohemians coming upon them, set upon the rearward. Then their flight was much more disordered and fearful than before, nor did they leave off fleeing before the Bohemians left off following. Then all impediment or hindrance being taken away, the Bohemians vanquished Tacovia; and having obtained great store of warlike engines, they destroyed Misna. And when they would have returned home by Franconia, they had great sums of money sent to them, so that they would not waste or destroy the countries of Bamberg and Nuremberg. Thereby the host of the Bohemians was greatly enriched.

Sigismund, the emperor, having news of these things, went straight to Nuremberg, and there gathered fresh aid and help. Also Pope Martin sent Julian, the cardinal of St. Angelo, into Germany, with his ambassage, to make war against the Bohemians, and said that in the Council of Basel, which would shortly gather, Julian should be president in the pope's name. Entering into Germany, he went straight to Nuremberg, to the emperor, where many of the nobles of Germany were assembled.

There was a new expedition decreed against the Bohemians, the eighth of July. Frederick, marquis of Brandenburg, was appointed general of that war, who would follow the cardinal. He entered into Bohemia by the way that leads to Thopa; and Albert, prince of Austria, was appointed to bring his army through Moravia. In this expedition were Albert and Christopher of Bavaria, and Frederick, dukes of Saxony, John and Albert, princes of Brandenburg, with their father, who was general of those wars. Also the bishops of Hyperbolic, Bamberg, and Eysten. Also the company of the Swabians, which they called the company of St. George. And the magistrates of the imperial cities, the bishop of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, sent their aids, and with them the chieftains of their provinces. It is said that the number of their horsemen was over 40,000, but their footmen were not so many, for the Germans for the most part fight their battles on horseback.

Also Rhenatus, prince of Lorraine, promised to come to these wars. But being hindered by his civil wars, in that he set about to vanquish the earl of Vandome, he could not keep his promise, and the county palatine of Rheine, who aided and succored the earl of Vandome, could not go against the Bohemians. The cardinal, waiting for them, deferred his journey until the first of August. In the meantime Albert, leading his army out of Austria, understanding that the cardinal was not present at the appointed day, and seeing himself unable to encounter with the Bohemian power, he turned back again. After this the cardinal entered into Bohemia with a huge army, and destroyed many of the protestants' towns, killing men, women, and children, sparing neither old nor young. Notwithstanding this, his tyranny was exercised only in the uttermost borders of Bohemia, for his captains feared to enter very far into the land. The Bohemians, as soon as they heard that their enemy had come, made ready and gathered their host with all speed, and laid siege to a tower called Stiltverge, and brought it under subjection.

In the meantime there fell such a marvellous sudden fear among the papists throughout the whole camp, that they began to run away most shamefully, before any enemy came in sight. The cardinal Julian, marvelling at this most sudden fear, and what would move so great an army to flee, went about to the captains, exhorting them to put on armor, to order their battles, and to courageously abide their enemies, saying they did not fight for the glory of their kingdom, or for the possession of lands, but for their lives, honor, and religion of Christ, and for the salvation of souls. How ignominious a thing would it be (he said) for the Germans to flee in battle, whose courage and vallantness all the world extols? It would be

much better to die, than to give way to any enemies before they were even seen. For they can by no means live in safety within the walls, who give way to their enemy in the field. For it is the weapon that defends a man and not the walls; and unless they quickly defend their liberty with the sword, they would shortly be in greater bondage, more miserable than any death. But this exhortation was all in vain, for fear had put away all boldness. The ensigns were snatched up, and as though there had been no captain in the host, every man ran away headlong. No man regarded any command, nor once took his leave of his captain, but casting away their armor with speedy flight, they ran away, as though their enemy had been at their backs. The cardinal also, although it was against his will, was forced to do the same.

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Thus the protestants, by their enemy's fear, made even bolder and more courageous, pursued them through the woods, and had a great prey and spoil of them. Notwithstanding, when Albert heard that the cardinal had entered into Bohemia, he came back with all speed from Austria with his army, and besieged the strong town of Prezorabia. But when he understood how the cardinal had fled, he abandoned his purpose, and returned through Moravia, which was not yet subject to him. He destroyed over fifty towns with fire and sword, took many of their cities by force, and spoiled them, committing great murder and slaughter. And so he afflicted those who took his yoke upon themselves, and promised to be subject and obedient to him under this condition: that regarding religion, he would be bound to do that which the Council of Basel should determine.

Then was there an ambassage sent out of Bohemia to Basel, where Sigismund held the council. During the time of the wars, he had kept himself at Nuremberg. When he would take his journey to Rome to be crowned emperor, he wrote letters to the nobles of Bohemia, in which he said that he was a Bohemian born, and that he was attached to no nation more than to his own, and that he went to Rome for no other purpose than to be crowned, which honor should also be to the renown of the Bohemians; for it had been always his especial care to advance them. He also said that through his endeavor the council had begun at Basel, exhorting all those who were desirous to be heard regarding religion, that they should come there, and that they would not maintain any quarrel contrary to the holy mother the church; that the council would lovingly and gently hear their reasons; that they would only endeavor to agree with the synod as regards religion, and reserve and keep a quiet and peaceable kingdom for him, against his return. Nor should the Bohemians think to refuse his government, whose brother, father, and uncle had reigned over them, and that he too would reign over them, by no other means or way than other Christian kings used to do.

The Council of Basel also wrote their letter to the Bohemians, that they should send their ambassadors who should show a reason for their faith, promising safe conduct to go and come, and free liberty to speak what they would. The Bohemians on this point, were of two opinions. For the protestants and almost all the common people said it was not good to go, alleging the examples of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, who going to Constance under the safe conduct of the emperor, were there openly burned. But the nobility, following the mind of Maynard, prince of the new house, said that they ought to go to the council, and that they are not to be allowed who had invented those new and strange opinions of faith, and new kind of religion, unless they would render an account of their doings and sayings before the universal church, and defend those things which they had openly taught before learned men. This opinion prevailed, and an ambassage of three hundred horse was sent to Basel. The chiefs of these were William Cosca, a valiant knight, and Procopius, surnamed Magnus, a man of worthy fame for his manifold victories, John Rochezana, preacher of

Prague, Nicholas Galecus, minister of the Taborites, and one Peter, an Englishman, of excellent, prompt, and pregnant wit. The people came in great numbers out of the town, and many out of the synod and council, attending before the gates to see the coming of this valiant and famous people. Others gathered together in great numbers into the streets where they would pass through. The matrons, maids, and children filled the windows and houses to behold and see, and to marvel at their strange kind of apparel, and stout courageous countenances, saying that it was not untrue which was reported of them. Notwithstanding, all men beheld Procopiuni, saying, this is the one who has overthrown the papists in so many battles, who has subverted so many towns, and slain so many men, whom both his enemies, and also his own soldiers fear and reverence; also, that he was a bold, valiant and invincible captain, who could not be overcome with any terror, labor, or travail.

These Bohemian ambassadors were gently received. The day after, Cardinal Julian, sending for them to the council-house, made a gentle, long, and eloquent oration to them, exhorting them to unity and peace, saying that the church was the spouse of our Savior Christ, and the mother of all faithful, that it has the keys of binding and loosing, and also that it is white and fair, without spot or wrinkle, and cannot err in those points that are necessary to salvation, and that whoever despises that church is to be counted as a profane heathen and publican; nor can this church be represented better by any means than in this council. He also exhorts them to receive the decrees of the council, and to give no less credit to the council than to the gospel, by whose authority the Scriptures themselves are received and allowed. Also that the Bohemians, who call themselves the children of the church, ought to hear the voice of their mother, who is never unmindful of her children; how of late they have lived apart from their mother; although (he said) that is nothing new or strange, for there have been many in times past who have forsaken their mother, and yet seeking salvation, they have returned to her again; that in the time of Noah's flood, as many as were outside the ark perished; that the Lord's Passover was to be eaten in one house; that there is no salvation to be sought for out of the church, and that this is the garden and famous fountain of water, from which whoever drinks, shall not thirst everlastingly; that the Bohemians have done as they should, in that they have sought the fountains of this water at the council, and have determined now at length to give ear to their mother. Now all hatred ought to cease, all armor and weapons ought to be laid apart, and all occasion of war utterly rejected. For the fathers would lovingly and gently hear whatever they would say in their own cause or quarrel, requiring only that they would willingly receive and embrace the good counsels and determinations of the sacred synod; to which not only the Bohemians, but also all other faithful Christians, ought to consent and agree, if they would be partakers of eternal life.

This oration of the cardinal was heard and very well approved by the fathers. To which the Bohemians answered in a few words, that they had neither despised the church nor the council; that the sentence given at Constance, against those who were unheard, diminishes nothing of the Christian religion; that the authority of the fathers has always remained inviolate among them; and that whatever the Bohemians have taught, was confirmed by the Scriptures and gospel; and that they have now come to manifest their innocency before the whole church, and to require open audience, where the laity may also be present. Their request was granted them; and being further demanded in what points they disagreed from the church of Rome, they propounded four articles.

- *First Article.* They affirmed, that all those who would be saved, should of necessity receive the communion of the last supper under both kinds, of bread and wine.

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- *Second Article.* They affirmed all civil rule and dominion was to be forbidden to the clergy by the law of God.
- *Third Article.* That the preaching of the word of God is free for all men, and in all places.
- *Fourth Article.* Regarding open crimes and offenses, these are in no way to be allowed for avoiding greater evil.

These were the only propositions which they propounded before the council in the name of the whole realm. Then another ambassador affirmed that he had heard from the Bohemians very many things offensive to Christian ears, among which this was one point: that they had preached that the invention of the order of begging friars was diabolical.

[337] A.D. 1422.

Then Procopius, rising up, said, “Nor is it untrue; for if neither Moses, nor the patriarchs before him, nor the prophets after him, nor in the new law did Christ and his apostles institute the order of begging friars, who doubts but that it was an invention of the devil, and a work of darkness?”

This answer of Procopius was derided by them all. And cardinal Julian went about to prove, that not only the decrees of the patriarchs and prophets, and those things which Christ and his apostles had instituted, were of God, but also that all such decrees as the church should ordain, being guided through the Holy Spirit, are the works of God. Even though, as he said, the order of begging friars might seem to be taken out of some part of the gospel.

The Bohemians chose four divines who would declare their articles to be taken out of the Scriptures. Likewise on the contrary part there were four appointed by the council. This disputation continued for fifty days, where many things were alleged on either part, of which more will be said later (by the grace of Christ), as space serves, when we come to the time of that council.

In the meantime, while the Bohemians were thus in long conflicts with Sigismund the emperor and the pope, fighting for their religion, to whom, notwithstanding all the fulness of the pope’s power was bent against them, God of his goodness had given such noble victories, as expressed above, and ever prospered them so long as they could agree among themselves. As these things (I say) were going on in Bohemia, King Henry V of England, fighting likewise in France, although for no similar matter of religion, fell sick at Blois and died. He had reigned nine years, five months, three weeks, and odd days from his coronation. This king in life, and in all his doings, was so devout and serviceable to the pope and his chaplains, that he was called by many, the Prince of Priests. He left behind him a son, still an infant, nine months and fifteen days of age, whom he had by Queen Katharine, daughter to the French king, who married him two or three years before. The name of this prince, succeeding his father, was Henry VI. He was left under the government and protection of his uncle Humphrey, duke of Gloucester.

The names of the Archbishops of Canterbury contained in this Fifth Book.

55. Simon Islepe.

56. Simon Langham.

57. William Witlesey

58. Simon Sudbury.

59. William Courtney

60. Thomas Arundel

61. Henry Chichesley

THE END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

# ACTS AND MONUMENTS

## BOOK VI.

PERTAINING TO

### *The last 300 years from the loosing of Satan 1422-1516.*

#### *Preface To The Reader*

Up to here I have divided the order of this present church history into five principal parts, according to the five different periods and states of the church, each part containing three hundred years — never coming to the *last* three hundred years, that is, to the last times of the church, counting from the time of Wycliffe. This is because, in the compass of the last three hundred years are contained great troubles and perturbations of the church, with the marvellous reformation of the same, through the wondrous operation of the Almighty. All these things cannot be comprehended in one book. I have therefore disposed the later three hundred years into several books, beginning now with the sixth book, at the reign of King Henry VI.

In this book, besides the many and grievous persecutions raised up by antichrist, it is also to be observed that for a long time it has been received and thought by the common people, that this religion now generally used, has sprung up and arisen only recently, even (as many think) in the last twenty or thirty years. It may now manifestly appear, not only by the Acts and Monuments previous reviewed, but also by the histories following hereafter, how this profession of Christ's religion has been spread abroad in England, from old and ancient times — not only for these past two hundred years, from the time of Wycliffe, but it has continually from time to time sparkled abroad, even though its flames have never so perfectly burst out, as they have done within these hundred years and more. This will manifestly appear by these histories collected and gathered here out of registers, especially of the diocese of Norwich, in which it may be seen how many there have been within the diocese of Norwich, both men and women, who have defended the same doctrine which is now received by us in the church. These persons, although they were not then so strongly armed in their cause and quarrel as they have been in recent years, yet they were warriors in Christ's church, and fought to their power in the same cause. And even if they stepped back through tyranny, yet judge the best of them, good reader, and refer the cause of it to God, who reveals all things according to His determinate will and appointed time.

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This young prince Henry being under the age of one year, after the death of his father, succeeded to the throne and kingdom of England (September A.D. 1422). In his eighth year (1437) he was crowned at Westminster; and the second year after he was also crowned at Paris. Henry, bishop of Winchester, cardinal, was present at them both. King Henry reigned thirty-eight years, and then was deposed by Edward IV, as will be declared later in his time (Christ willing).<sup>335</sup>

In the first year of his reign, **William Tailor**, a priest and the constant witness-bearer of Christ's doctrine, was burned under Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury. I read of this William Tailor, that he was first apprehended and abjured in the days of Thomas

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<sup>335</sup> Henry VI was born in 1421 during the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453) between England and France. He reigned 1422-1461, and 1470-1471. He was king of France from 1422-1453, succeeding his maternal grandfather, Charles VI. Humphrey duke of Gloucester, and John duke of Bedford served as regents, the one in England the other in France.

Arundel. Afterwards, in the days of Henry Chichesley, about A.D. 1421, which was a year before his burning, William Tailor appeared again in the convocation before the archbishop, being brought by the bishop of Worcester. Tailor was complained of, as having taught the following articles at Bristol:

*First*, That whoever hangs any Scripture around his neck, takes away the honor due only to God, and gives it to the devil.

*Secondly*, That no human person is to be worshipped, but God alone is to be adored.

*Thirdly*, that the saints are not to be worshipped nor invoked.

Upon these articles William Tailor being examined, denied that he preached or held them in a way of defending them, but only communed and talked about them, especially the second and third articles — only in a way of reasoning, and for argument's sake. And to justify his opinion to be true in what he held, he brought out of his bosom a paper in which were contained certain articles, with the testimonies of the doctors alleged, and he exhibited the same to the archbishop.

[339] A.D. 1423—1424.

Tailor was bid to stand aside, as the archbishop consulted together with the bishops and other prelates as to what was to be done in the matter. He delivered the writings to Master John Castle and John Rikinhale, the vice-chancellors of Oxford and of Cambridge, and to John Langdon, monk of Canterbury. Advising with themselves and with other divines about the articles and allegations, on the following Monday they presented the articles of William Tailor to the archbishops and prelates, as erroneous and heretical. Upon which, William Tailor being called before them, in conclusion was content to revoke the same, and for his penance was condemned by them to perpetual prison.

Notwithstanding, through a favor they were content that he should be released from his incarceration, if he would put sufficient surety in the king's chancery, and swear that he would never hold nor favor such opinions thereafter. And thus William Tailor, appointed to appear before the archbishop the next Wednesday at Lambeth, to take his absolution from his long excommunication during the time from Thomas Arundel. He appeared again before him, where laying aside his cloak, his cap, and stripped to his doublet, he kneeled at the feet of the archbishop, who then stood up with a rod in his hand, and began the psalm *Miserere*, etc. His chaplains responded with the second verse. After that was said, the collect, *Deus cui proprium*, etc. (God to whom belongs) with certain other prayers.<sup>336</sup> And so taking an oath from him, the archbishop committed him to the custody of the bishop of Worcester, to whom power and authority was permitted to release him upon those conditions. And thus William Tailor was absolved for that time, being enjoined notwithstanding to appear at the next convocation, whenever it should be, before the archbishop or his successor who would follow him.

In the meantime, while William Tailor was thus in the custody of the bishop of Worcester, certain writings passed between him and one Thomas Smith, priest at Bristol, in which William Tailor replied against Thomas, concerning the question of worshipping saints. On the occasion of his reply being brought to the hands of the bishop of Worcester, William Tailor began to be troubled anew. He was again brought before the public convocation of the clergy by the said bishop of Worcester, to answer to his writings. This was the eleventh of

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<sup>336</sup> [The collect is a short prayer said at the beginning of the Mass.](#)

February, A.D. 1422. William being presented to this convocation, his writings were read to him. He would not and could not deny they were of his own hand-writing.

The tenor and effect of whose writing only tended to prove that every petition and prayer for any supernatural gift ought to be directed to God alone, and not to any creature. Although in his writing he did not utterly deny that it was lawful in any respect to pray to saints (and brings Thomas Aquinas to bear for that), but only in respect to that worship which is called *latria* (worship given to God alone). He seems to differ little or nothing at all from the superstition of the papists. And yet the writing, being delivered by the archbishop to the four orders of friars of London, for William to be examined by them, was found erroneous and heretical in these points:

1. That every prayer, which is a petition of some supernatural gift or free gift, is to be directed only to God.
2. That prayer is to be directed to God alone.
3. To pray to any creature is to commit idolatry.
4. There was another opinion, much like the others, to make up the fourth.

Hereupon a writ came down from the king, directed to the lord mayor and sheriffs of London, "*De hoeretico comdurendo*," i.e. "the writ for burning a heretic," dated the first day of March, the first year of his reign.<sup>337</sup> Upon which, William Tailor, condemned as a relapse, was first degraded, and then sentenced to be burned, and so he was committed to the secular power. Then being brought to Smithfield on the first of March, with Christian constancy, after a long imprisonment, he consummated his martyrdom there (A.D. 1422).

The manner of his degrading was the same as John Huss's before,<sup>338</sup> for the papists use but one form for all men First, Degrading them from priesthood, by taking from them the chalice and patine. From deaconship, by taking from them the gospel-book and tunicle. From sub-deaconship, by taking from them the epistle-book and tunicle. From acolyteship, by taking from them the cruet and candlestick. From an exorcist, by taking away the book of exorcisms or gradual. From sextonship, by taking away the church-door key and surplice. And likewise from benedict, in taking away the surplice, and first tonsure, etc. All of which they accomplished in due order upon this godly martyr, before his burning.

### **John Florence, a Turner.**

John Florence, a turner (wood-worker), dwelling in Shelton, in the diocese of Norwich, was attached, because he held and taught the following heresies (as they called them) contrary to the determination of the church of Rome.

- That the pope and cardinals have no power to make or constitute any laws.
- That there is no day to be kept holy, except Sunday which God has hallowed.
- That images are not to be worshipped, nor should the people set up any candles before them in the churches, nor go on pilgrimage, nor offer for the dead.
- That curates should not take the tithes of their parishioners, but that such tithes should be divided among the poor parishioners.
- That all those who swear by their life or power, will be damned, unless they repent.

On the second of August 1424, John Florence personally appeared before William Bernam, chancellor to William, bishop of Norwich. There, being threatened by the judge, he

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<sup>337</sup> Foxe is confused here. Yes, 1422 was the first year of king Henry VI. But this is February; and infant Henry won't become king until September. So this writ was issued by his father, Henry V, in his *last* year.

<sup>338</sup> That is on p. 307; but see also p. 263, where the degradation of William Sautre is described in such detail.

acknowledged that he had erred, and submitted himself to the correction of the church, and abjured, taking an oath that from that time forward he would not hold, teach, preach, or willingly defend any error or heresy contrary to the determination of the church of Rome, nor maintain, help, or aid anyone who teaches or holds any such errors or heresies, either privately or publicly; and for his offense he was enjoined this following penance:

That for three Sundays, in a solemn procession in the cathedral church of Norwich, he would be disciplined, *i.e.* have a rod or scourge laid on him before all the people. The same would also be done around his parish-church of Shelton, on three other separate Sundays, he being bareheaded, bare-footed, and bare-necked, in the manner of a public penitent, his body being covered with a canvass shirt, and canvass breeches, carrying in his hand a taper of a pound weight; and that being done, he was dismissed.

### **Richard Behcard of Ersham.**

Richard Belward of Ersham, in the diocese of Norwich, was accused of holding and teaching these errors and opinions here under-written, contrary to the determination of the church of Rome.

- That ecclesiastical ministers have no power to excommunicate. And that if a bishop excommunicates any man, God absolves him.
- That he held the erroneous opinions that Sir John Oldcastle held when he was in prison, and affirmed that Sir John Oldcastle was a true catholic man, and falsely condemned and put to death without reasonable cause.
- That those who go on pilgrimage, offering to images made of wood and stone, are excommunicate, because they ought to offer to the living, and not to the dead; and that the curates sell God on Easter day, when they receive offerings of those who communicate, before they minister the sacrament to them.
- That he counselled women, that they should not offer in the church for the dead.
- That the saints who are in heaven should in no case to be prayed to, but God only.

[340]

The fifth of July (A.D. 1424), Richard Belward was brought before John, bishop of Norwich. Articles were objected against him, which he denied. Therefore the bishop appointed him another day on which he appeared again before the bishop, and brought with him nine of his neighbors to purge him of those articles, and there he solemnly purged himself. Afterwards, the bishop commanded him to swear upon the evangelists: that from that day forward he should not wittingly preach, teach, or defend any error or heresy, contrary to the church of Rome; nor aid, assist, favor, or maintain, privately or openly, any manner of person or persons who would hold or maintain the said errors or heresies.

### **John Goddesel of Dichingham.**

In like manner, John Goddesel of Dichingham was accused upon the same articles, and brought before the bishop there. Denying them, he purged himself by his neighbors, as Richard Belward had done before, being sworn in like manner as he was. And so he was dismissed and set at liberty, until the year 1428. Then he was again apprehended, accused, and abjured, as will be declared more at large in the history when we come to that year.

### **Sir Hugh Pie of Ludney.**

Also Sir Hugh Pie, chaplain of Ludney, in the diocese of Norwich, was likewise accused and brought before the bishop of Norwich the fifth of July (A.D. 1424), for holding the following opinions:



Bk. VI. The last 300 years from the loosing of Satan (1422-1516)

- That the people should not go on pilgrimage.
- That the people should not give alms, except to those who beg at their doors.
- That the image of the cross and other images are not to be worshipped.
- And that the said Hugh had cast the cross of Bromehold into the fire to be burned, which he took from one John Welgate, of Ludney.

These articles being objected against him, he utterly denied. Whereupon he had a day appointed to purge himself by the witness of three laymen and three priests. That so done, he was sworn as the others mentioned before, and so he was dismissed.

After this, (A.D. 1428), King Henry VI <sup>339</sup> sent down most cruel letters of commission to John Exeter and Jacolet Germain, keeper of the castle of Colchester, for apprehending Sir William White, priest, and others suspected of heresies, the tenor of which ensues.

*The Copy of the King's Letters directed to John Exeter  
and Jacolet Germain, keeper of the Castle of Colchester,  
for apprehending Sir William White, priest:  
and other (as they called them) Lollards.*

“Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, lord of Ireland, to his well-beloved John Exeter, and Jacolet Germain, keeper of the castle of Colchester, health;

“You shall understand that we, fully trusting to your fidelity and circumspection, have appointed you jointly and severally to take and arrest William White, priest; and Thomas, late chaplain of Setling, in the county of Norfolk; and William Northampton, priest; and all others, whatever they are, who are suspected of heresy or Lollardy, wherever they may be found, within the liberties or without; and being so taken, to send them straightway to our nearest jail or prison, until such time as we have taken other orders for their delivery. And therefore we straitly command you, that you diligently attend about the premises, and fulfill the same in form aforesaid. Also we charge and command all and singular justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other our faithful officers, by the tenor of these presents, that they assist, aid, and counsel you and every one of you, in the execution of the premises, as appropriate for them. In witness of which we have caused these our letters patent to be made.

“Witness myself at Westminster, the sixth of July, the sixth of our reign.”

By virtue of this commission, we find in old monuments that a short time after, John Exeter, who was appointed one of the commissioners, attached (arrested) six persons in the town of Bungay, in the diocese of Norwich. He committed them, within the next ten days, to be sent under safe custody to the castle of Norwich.

Besides these, we also find in the old monuments within the diocese of Norfolk and Suffolk, especially in the towns of Beccles, Ersham, and Ludney, that a great number of both men and women were vexed and cast into prison, and after their abjuration, brought to open shame in churches and markets, by the bishop of the diocese, named William, and his chancellor William Bernham; John Exeter was the registrar. So that within three or four years, that is, from 1428 to 1451, about one hundred and twenty men and women were examined, and sustained great vexation for the profession of the Christian faith. Some of them were only taken upon suspicion of eating meats prohibited on vigil days. Upon their purgation, they escaped more easily, and with less punishment. Others were more cruelly handled, and some were put to death and burned. Among them we specially find these three mentioned: Father Abraham of Colchester; William White, priest; and John Waddon, priest.

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<sup>339</sup> Henry was only six or seven years old. This was the work of his regent, Humphrey duke of Gloucester.

A great number of good men and women, seventy-eight in all, were forced to abjure, sustaining such cruel penance as the bishop and his chancellor pleased to lay upon them. These soldiers of Christ, being much beaten with the cares and troubles of those days, although they were constrained to relent and abjure — that is, to protest with their tongues otherwise than their hearts thought, partly through correction, and partly through infirmity (being as yet but newly trained soldiers in God's field). Yet for the good-will they bore to the truth, even though they dared not express it with their tongues, we have thought it good to mention them here. And it is for this reason: either to stop the mouths of malignant adversaries, or else to answer to their ignorance. They follow blind prejudice rather than the true knowledge of history, and for lack of knowledge, they blame what they do not know, accusing the true doctrine of the word of God of being a novelty, and carping at the teachers of it as newly-made brethren. Whoever would understand by these histories, how this doctrine of the grace of God, lacking no antiquity, has continually from time to time sought to burst out, and in some places prevailed. Although in most places, through tyranny and the malice of men, Christ's proceedings have been suppressed and kept from rising, so much as men's power and strength joined with craft and subtlety, could labor to keep it down — as it may well appear by these good men of Norfolk and Suffolk. For if the knowledge and the goodness of those men had the same liberty of time, with the help of the same authority as we now have, and had not been restrained through the iniquity of the times and the tyranny of prelates, it would well have appeared how old this doctrine was, which they now despise and reject for its "newness." Nor did Bonner need to ask Thomas Hawks and others,<sup>340</sup> where their church was forty years ago, since forty years ago and more, within the country of Norfolk and Suffolk, plenty of persons were then found of the same profession and the like doctrine which we now profess. And thus much for the number of these persons.

**Now, regarding their articles which they maintained and defended:**

Concerning the articles, many of them were either falsely objected against them, or not truly reported, as was the usual manner of these adversaries. The notaries reported them erroneously, either mistaking what they said, or misunderstanding what they meant, especially in the two articles concerning baptism and paying of tithes. For when speaking against the ceremonial and superfluous traditions then used in baptism, such as salt, oil, spittle, taper, light, chrismes, exorcising of the water, and other such things, they accounted them as immaterial in the holy institution of baptism.

[341] A.D. 1424-1428.

The notaries slanderously corrupted this assertion, to make it more odious to the ears of the people. And so they gave out the article, as if they held that the sacrament of baptism by water, used in the church, is but a light matter and of small effect.

Again, in speaking against women christening newborn infants in private houses, against the opinion of those who think children who depart before they come to their baptism are damned, they are falsely reported — as if they said that Christian people are sufficiently baptized in the blood of Christ, and need no water, and that infants are sufficiently baptized if their parents are baptized before them.

Moreover they thought, or said, perhaps, that in certain cases tithes might be withheld from wicked priests, and be conferred to better uses to benefit the poor. Therefore they are falsely

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<sup>340</sup> Thomas Hawkes was burned to death in 1555 during the Marian Persecutions, rather than allow his son to be baptised into the Roman Catholic Church. Edmund Bonner was the Bishop of London who urged him to recant.

slandered as saying and affirming that no tithes were to be given to the ministers and curates of the churches.

And likewise for matrimony, in which they are reported to hold and affirm that it consisted only in the mutual consent between the man and the woman, needing no other solemnizing in the public church — and all because they denied it was a sacrament. Other articles were objected against them, such as these which follow:

- That auricular confession is not to be made to a priest, but to God only; because no priest has any power to absolve a sinner from his sin.
- That no priest has power to make the body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar; but that, after the sacramental words, pure material bread remains as before.
- That every true Christian man is a priest to God.
- That no man is bound under pain of damnation, to observe Lent or any other days prescribed <sup>341</sup> by the church of Rome.
- That the pope is antichrist, and his prelates the disciples of antichrist, and the pope has no power to bind and loose upon earth.
- That it is lawful for every Christian to do any bodily work (sin only excepted) on holy days.
- That it is lawful for priests to have wives.
- That excommunications and ecclesiastical censures given out by the prelates, are not to be regarded.
- That it is not lawful to swear in private cases.
- That men should not go on pilgrimages.
- That there is no honor to be given to the images of the crucifix, of our lady, or any other saint.
- That the holy water, hallowed in the church by the priest, is not holier or of more virtue than other running or well-water, because the Lord blessed all waters in their first creation.
- That the death of Thomas Becket was neither holy nor meritorious.
- That the relics, as dead men's bones, should not be worshipped or dug out of their graves, or set up in shrines.
- That prayers made in all places are acceptable to God.
- That men should not pray to any saint, but only to God.
- That the bells and ringing in the church was ordained for no other purpose, but to fill the priests' purses.
- That it is no sin to withstand the ecclesiastical precepts.
- That the catholic church is only the congregation of elect.

These were the articles which were generally objected against them all, in which they so agreed in one uniform faith, that whatever one held, all the others maintained and held the same. By their consent and doctrine it appears that they all received it from some one instructor, who was William White. Being a scholar and follower of John Wycliffe, he later resorted into this country of Norfolk, and there he instructed these men in the light of the gospel. Now it remains to speak of their troubles, how they were handled, beginning with William White.

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<sup>341</sup> Originally, "*prohibited by the the church of Rome.*"

**William White.**

William White was a follower of John Wycliffe, and a priest — not the common sort of priests, but rather reputed among the number of those whom the wise man speaks of, “He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud,” etc. <sup>Sir 50.6</sup> This man was a well-learned, upright, and well-spoken priest. He gave up his priesthood and benefice, and took a godly young woman to be his wife. Notwithstanding, he did not therefore cease from his former office and duty, but continually labored to the glory and praise of the spouse of Christ, by reading, writing, preaching. The principal points of his doctrine were these, which he was forced to recant at Canterbury.

- That men should seek the forgiveness of their sins only at the hands of God.
- That the wicked living of the pope, and his holiness, is nothing but a devilish estate and the heavy yoke of antichrist, and therefore he is an enemy to Christ’s truth.
- That men should not worship images, or other idolatrous paintings.
- That men should not worship the holy men who are dead.
- That the Romish church is the fig-tree which the Lord Christ cursed, because it has brought forth no fruit of true belief.
- That those who wear cowls, or are anointed or shorn, are the lance-knights and soldiers of Lucifer; and that all of them, because their lamps are not burning, will be shut out when the Lord comes.

Upon these articles, he was attached at Canterbury under archbishop Henry Chichesley (A.D. 1424). There for a certain space of time, he stoutly and manfully witnessed the truth which he had preached. But as he lost his courage and strength there, so afterwards he became much stouter and stronger again in Jesus Christ, and confessed his own error and offense. For after this, he went into Norfolk with his wife, and there occupied himself in busily teaching and converting the people to the true doctrine of Christ. At last, by means of the king’s letters sent down for that intent and purpose, he was apprehended and brought before William, bishop of Norwich, by whom he was convicted and condemned of thirty articles. And there he was burned in Norwich, in September, A.D. 1424.

William White and his wife lived much with one Thomas Moon of Ludney. White was of so devout and holy a life, that all the people held him in great reverence, and desired him to pray for them. So that one Margaret Wright confessed that if any saints were to be prayed to, she would rather pray to him than any other. When he came to the stake, thinking to open his mouth to speak to the people, to exhort and confirm them in the truth, one of the bishop’s servants struck him on the mouth, to force him to keep silence. And thus this good man, receiving the crown of martyrdom, ended this mortal life to the great sorrow and grief of all the good men of Norfolk. His wife followed her husband’s footsteps according to her power, teaching and sowing abroad the same doctrine, confirming many men in God’s truth. She suffered much trouble and punishment the same year at the hands of the bishop.

**Father Abraham of Colchester**, and **John Waddon**, priest, were also burned for like articles at about the same time.

It might be set out at large here concerning those who abjured, how and by whom they were examined, what depositions came in against them, and what was the order and manner of the penance enjoined them. But to avoid wordiness, it will be sufficient to briefly touch upon certain of the principals. In this way, better understanding may be given to the reader, as to the manner and order that all the others were treated.

First, among those who were arrested and forced to abjure (A.D. 1428), were **Thomas Pie**, and **John Mendham**, who, being convicted upon the articles mentioned before, were enjoined penance in their own parish church, as it more at large appears by the bishop's letter directed to the dean of Rhodenhall, and the parish priest of Aldborough.

[342]

*The copy of the Bishop of Norwich's Letter.*

“William, by the sufferance of God, bishop of Norwich, to our well-beloved sons in Christ, the dean of Rhodenhall of our diocese, and to the parish priest of the parish church of Aldborough of the same our diocese, health, grace, and benediction. In that we, according to our office, lawfully proceeding to the correction and amendment of the souls of Thomas Pie and John Mendham of Aldborough, of the diocese aforesaid, because they have held, believed and affirmed diverse and many errors and heresies, contrary to the determination of the holy church of Rome, and the universal church and catholic faith, have enjoined the said Thomas and John, appearing before us personally, and confessing before us judicially, that they have held, believed, and affirmed diverse and many errors and heresies, this penance written hereunder for their offenses, is to be done and fulfilled in manner, form, and time written hereunder, according to what justice requires; that is to say, six whippings, or disciplinings about the parish church of Aldborough aforesaid, before a solemn procession on six separate Sundays; and three disciplinings about the marketplace of Kerelstone, of our said diocese; three principal market days, with bare neck, head, legs, and feet, their bodies being covered only with their shirts and breeches, each of them carrying a taper in his hand of a pound weight, round about the church, as well as about the marketplace, on each of the aforesaid appointed days. These tapers, the last Sunday after the penance is finished, we will that the said John and Thomas humbly and devoutly offer to the high altar of the parish church of Aldborough. at the time of the offertory of the high mass the same day; and that either of them, going about the marketplace aforesaid, shall make four separate pauses and stays, and at each of those same pauses, humbly and devoutly receive at your hands three disciplinings.

“Therefore, we straitly charge and command you, and either of you, jointly and severally, by virtue of your obedience, that every Sunday and market-day after the receipt of our present commandment, you effectually admonish and bring forth the said Thomas Pie and John Mendham to begin and accomplish their said penance, and so successfully to finish the same in manner and form afore-appointed. But if they will not obey your monitions, or rather our commandments, in this behalf, and begin and finish their said penance effectually, you or one of you, shall cite them peremptorily, that they, or either of them, appear before us or our commissary, in the chapel of our palace at Norwich, the twelfth day after the citation so made, if it is a court day, or else the next court day following, to declare if they, or any of them, have any cause why they should not be excommunicated for their manifest offense committed in this behalf, according to the form and order of law; and further to receive such punishment as justice shall provide in that behalf. And what you have done in the premises, whether the said Thomas and John have obeyed your admonitions, and performed the same penance or no, we will that you, or one of you, who have received our said commandment for the execution of it, distinctly certify to us between this and the last day of November next coming. Dated at our palace of Norwich, under our commissary's seal, the eighth day of October, A.D. 1428.”

This, gentle reader, was for the most part, the order of their whole penance. However, some were more cruelly handled; and after their penance they were banished out of the diocese. Others were more straitly used by longer imprisonment, about which we will briefly recite one or two examples.

**John Beverly, alias Battild.**

John Beverly alias Battild. a laborer, was attached by the vicar of Southcreke, the parish priest of Waterden, and a lawyer. And so he was delivered to Master William Barnham the bishop's commissary, who sent him to the castle of Norwich there to be kept in irons. Afterward he was brought before the commissary, and having nothing proved against him, he took an oath that afterward he would confess his sins to his curate once a year, every year, and receive the sacrament at Easter, as other Christians did. And for his offense he was enjoined that the next Friday and Saturday he would fast on bread and water, and on the Saturday would be whipped from the palace of Norwich, going round about by Tomblands, and by St. Michael's church, by Cottlerew, and about the market, having in his hand a wax candle of twopence, to offer to the image of the Trinity after he had done his penance. And because he confessed that he had eaten flesh on Easter day, and was not shriven all of Lent, nor received on Easter day, the judge enjoined him to fast Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday in Whitsun-week, having but one meal a-day of fish and other white meats; and after this penance, he would depart out of the diocese, and never come back.

**John Skilley of Flixon, Miller.**

John Skilley of Flixon, miller, being apprehended and brought before the bishop of Norwich, the fourteenth of March, A.D. 1428, for holding and maintaining the articles above-written, was thereupon convicted and forced to abjure. After this abjuration was solemnly made, he had a most sharp sentence of penance pronounced against him: that because he was convicted by his own confession, for holding and maintaining the articles before-written, and for receiving certain good and godly men into his house, such as Sir William White, priest, and John Wadden — whom they called famous, notorious, and damnable heretics — and had now abjured the same, he was first absolved from the sentence of excommunication which he had incurred by means of his opinions, and then he was enjoined for penance, seven years' imprisonment at the monastery of Langly in the diocese of Norwich. And because in times past he used to eat flesh on Fridays, he was enjoined to fast on bread and water every Friday for seven years to come; and for the next two years immediately following the seven years, every Wednesday at the beginning of Lent, and every Maundy Thursday, he would appear before the bishop, or his successor, or the commissary at the time, in the cathedral church of Norwich, together with the other penitents, to do open penance for his offenses.

Besides these there were others of the same company, who in the same year were forced to similar abjuration and penance. And so to proceed to the next year, which was A.D. 1429, there ensued sixteen or seventeen persons in the same register, who were examined and also did penance. Among them was **John Baker**, otherwise called *Usher Tonstal*, who for having a book with the Lord's Prayer and the Ave and Creed in English, and for certain other articles of fasting, confession, and invocation, contrary to the determination of the Romish church, after much vexation, was caused to abjure and sustain such penance, as others before him had done.

**The History of Margery Backster.**

Another was Margery Backster, against whom one Joan, wife of Cliffland, was brought in by the bishop, and compelled to depose.

First, the said Margery Backster informed this deponent, that she would in no case swear, saying to her in English: "Dame, beware of the bee, for every bee will sting; and therefore

take heed you do not swear, not by God, nor by our lady, nor by any other saint. And if you do the contrary, the bee will sting your tongue and venom your soul.”

[343] A.D. 1428-1430.

Also, this deponent was demanded by Margery, what she did every day at church. She answered that she “kneeled down and said five Pater Nosters in worship of the crucifix, and as many Ave Marias in worship of our lady.” Margery rebuked her, saying, “You do evil to kneel or pray to such images in the churches, for God does not dwell in such churches, nor will He come down out of heaven. He will give you no more reward for such prayer, than a lighted candle, and set under the cover of the font, He will give light by night to those who are in the church.” Saying, moreover, in English, “Ignorant workmen hew and form such crosses and images. And after that, ignorant painters gloss them with colors. If you desire so much to see the true cross of Christ, I will show it to you at home in your own house.” This deponent being desirous to see this, Margery, stretching out her arms abroad, said to this deponent, “This is the true cross of Christ, and this cross you should and may behold and worship in your own house every day, and therefore it is but vain to run to the church to worship dead crosses and images.”

Also, this deponent being asked by Margery how she believed touching the sacrament of the altar, replied that she, “believed the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, to be the very body of Christ in the form of bread.” To whom Margery said,

“Your belief is wrong; for if every such sacrament were God, and the very body of Christ, there would be an infinite number of gods, because a thousand priests and more every day make a thousand such gods, and afterwards eat them. And therefore know for certain that by the grace of God it will never be my God, because it is falsely and deceitfully ordained by the priests in the church, to induce the simple people to idolatry; for it is only material bread.”

Moreover Margery said to this deponent that,

“Thomas of Canterbury, whom the people called St. Thomas, was a false traitor, and damned in hell, because he injuriously endowed the churches with possessions, and raised up many heresies in the church, which seduce the simple people. Therefore if God is blessed, Thomas is accursed. And those false priests who say that he suffered his death patiently before the altar, lie; for as a cowardly traitor, he was slain in the church door, as he was fleeing away.”

Moreover, this deponent says, that Margery told her that the cursed pope, cardinals, archbishop, and bishops, and especially the bishop of Norwich and others who support and maintain heresies and idolatry, reigning and ruling over the people, will shortly have the very same or worse mischief fall upon them, than that cursed man Thomas of Canterbury had. For they falsely and cursedly deceive the people, to extort money from the simple folk to sustain their pride, riot, and idleness. And know assuredly that the vengeance of God will speedily come upon those who have most cruelly slain the children of God, father Abraham, and William White, a true preacher of the law of God, and John Wadden, with many other godly men. This vengeance would have come upon the said Caiaphas — the bishop of Norwich and his ministers, who are members of the devil — before this time, if the pope had not sent over these false pardons to those parties. The said Caiaphas had falsely obtained them to induce the people to make procession for the state of them and of the church. These pardons brought the simple people to cursed idolatry.

Also Margery said to this deponent, that every faithful man and woman is not bound to fast during Lent, or other days appointed for fasting by the church, and that every man may lawfully eat flesh and all other meats on those days and times. And that it would be better to

eat the fragments left on Thursday at night on the fasting days, than to go to the market to go into debt to buy fish. And that it was Pope Silvester who made the Lenten season.

Margery also said to this deponent, that William White was falsely condemned as a heretic, and that he was a good and holy man, and that he desired her to follow him to the place of execution. There she saw that when he would have opened his mouth to speak to the people to instruct them, that a devil, one of Bishop Caiaphas's servants, struck him on the lips, and stopped his mouth, so that he could in no case declare the will of God.

This deponent says that Margery taught her that she should not go on pilgrimage, neither to our lady of Walsingham, nor to any other saint or place.

Also this deponent says that Margery desired of her, that she and Joan her maid would come secretly in the night to her chamber, and there she might hear her husband read the law of Christ to them. This law was written in a book that her husband usually read to her at night, and that her husband is well-learned in the Christian verity.

Margery said to this deponent, that the people worshipped devils which fell from heaven with Lucifer. These devils in their fall to the earth, entered into the images which stand in the churches, and have long lurked and dwelled in them. So that, the people worshipping those images commit idolatry.

She said also to this deponent, that holy bread and holy water were but trifles of no effect or force, and that the bells are to be cast out of the church, and that they are excommunicated who first ordained them.

Moreover, that she would not be burned, even if she were convicted of Lollardy, for she had a charter of salvation in her body.

Also the said deponent says that Agnes Berthem, her servant, being sent to the house of the said Margery, on the Saturday after Ash-Wednesday, and the said Margery not being within, found a brass pot standing over the fire, with a piece of bacon and oatmeal seething in it, as the said Agnes reported to this deponent.

Besides this deponent, there were others sworn and examined against the said Margery, such as John Grimley and Agnes Berthem, servants to William Clifland, who altogether confirmed the former depositions.

Thus much we have thought it good to note concerning Margery Backster. But we are not able to declare what became of her after this accusation, because we find no mention made of it in the registers.

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The same year, like depositions were also made by one William Wright against diverse good men, as follows:

First, this deponent says that William Taylor told John Piry of Ludney — in the house of John Bungay of Beghton; and in the presence of John Bungay, Robert Grigges, wright of Martham, and John Usher — that all the good men of Martham who were favorers and helpers to that good man William White, are evilly persecuted now-a-days, and that William White was a good and holy doctor. And that the best doctor after him was William Everden, who worked with William Taylor of Ludney for one month, and that the first Sunday of the month, William Everden sat all day on the table at work, saying to William Taylor, that he would not go to church to show himself as a scribe or Pharisee. And the second Sunday he



put on gentleman's apparel, and went to Norwich to listen to how the bishop and his ministers used the poor Christians in prison there.

Also the said William Wright deposed that William Taylor of Ludney was one of the sect, and went to London with Sir Hugh Pie, and often had conversation with Sir William White, often conferencing about the Lollards' doctrine.

Also that Anise, wife of Thomas Moon, is of the same sect, and favored them, and receives them often. And also the daughter of Thomas Moon is partly of the same sect, and can read English.

Also that Richard Fletcher of Beckles is a most perfect doctor in that sect, and can very well and perfectly expound the holy Scriptures, and has a book of the new law in English, which first was Sir Hugh Pie's.

Also that Nicholas Belward, son of John Belward, dwelling in the parish of Southelem, is one of the same sect, and has a new testament which he bought at London for four marks and forty pence, and taught the said William Wright and Margery his wife, and worked with them continually for one year, and studied the New Testament diligently.

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That Thomas Gremner, turner of Dychingham, is perfect in that sect and law.

John Clark the younger, of Bergh, had the bedding and apparel of William Everden in his custody after the return of William White from Bergh, and is of the same sect.

Also William Bate, tailor of Sething, and his wife, and his son, who can read English very well, are of the same sect.

Also William Skirving of Sething, received Joan the wife of William White into his house, being brought there by William Everden after their departure from Marthain.

Also William Osbourn of Sething, John Reve, glover, and Bawdwin Cooper of Beckles, are of the same sect.

Also John Pert, recent servant of Thomas Moon, is of the same sect, and can read well, and did read in the presence of William White, and was the first who brought Sir Hugh Pie into the company of the Lollards. They oftentimes assembled together at the house of Thomas Moon, and there conferred upon their doctrine. Also Sir Hugh Pie bequeathed a New Testament to Alice, a servant to William White, which they then called the Book of the New Law, and it was in the custody of Oswald Godfrey of Colchester.

John Perker, mercer of a village by Ipswich, is a famous doctor of that sect. Also he said that father Abraham of Colchester is a good man.

Also the said William Wright deposes that it is read in the prophecies among the Lollards, that the sect of the Lollards will be destroyed in a manner; but notwithstanding, at length the Lollards will prevail and have the victory against all their enemies.

Also he said that Tucke knows all of that sect in Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex.

Besides these, there were many others the same year, whose names were expressed earlier in the table of Norfolk men, we omit to treat here for brevity's sake, and pass over to the next year, which was 1430. [Ex Regist. Norw.]

**John Burrel**, servant to Thomas Moon of Ludney, in the diocese of Norwich, was apprehended and arrested for heresy, the ninth of September in this year (A.D. 1430), and examined by Mr. William Bernham, the bishop's commissary, upon the articles before mentioned, and others.

- That the catholic church is the soul of every good Christian man.
- That no man is bound to fast during Lent or other fasting days appointed by the church, for they were not appointed by God, but ordained by the priests.
- That every man may eat flesh or fish on the same days indifferently, according to his own will; and every Friday is a free day to eat both flesh and fish indifferently.
- That pilgrimage should not be made, except to the poor.
- That it is not lawful to swear, except in case of life and death.
- That masses and prayers for the dead are but vain; for the souls of the dead are either in heaven or hell: and there is no other place of purgatory but this world.

Upon being convicted of these articles, he was forced to abjure, and suffered a similar penance as the others had done before.

**Thomas Moon** of Ludney was apprehended and attached for suspicion of heresy. Against him the articles written before were objected by the bishop, but especially this article: that he had familiarity and communication with several heretics, and had received, comforted, supported, and maintained several of them, such as Sir William White, Sir Hugh Pie, Thomas Pet, and William Callis, priests, with many more. Being convicted on these articles before the bishop, he was forced to abjure, and received penance in like manner as before.

**Robert Grigges** of Martham was in like manner brought before the bishop on the seventeenth of February in the same year, for holding and affirming the aforesaid articles, but especially the following”

- That the sacrament of confirmation ministered by the bishop did not avail to salvation.
- That it was no sin to withstand the ordinances of the church of Rome.
- That holy bread and holy water were but trifles, and that the bread and water were the worse for the conjurations and characters which the priests made over them.

Upon being convicted of these articles, he was forced to abjure, and received penance in manner and form as the others had done before him.

The same also (though somewhat sharper) happened to John Finch of Colchester, the twentieth of September. Although he was of the diocese of London, being suspected of heresy, he was attached in Ipswich in the diocese of Norwich, and brought before the bishop there. Being convicted of the articles, like all the others before him, he was enjoined for penance, three disciplinings in solemn procession about the cathedral church of Norwich, three separate Sundays; and three disciplinings about the marketplace of Norwich, on three principal market-days — his head, neck, and feet being bare, and his body covered only with a short shirt or vesture, having in his hand a taper of wax of a pound weight which, the next Sunday after his penance, he would offer to the Trinity. For three years afterward, every Ash-Wednesday and Maundy-Thursaday, he was to appear in the cathedral church at Norwich, before the bishop or his vicegerent, to do open penance among the other penitentiaries for his offenses.

About the same time, in the same year, 1430, shortly after the solemn coronation of King Henry VI, a certain man named Richard Hoveden, a wool-winder and citizen of London, received the crown of martyrdom. This man, when he could by no persuasions be withdrawn

or plucked back from the opinions of Wycliffe, he was condemned for heresy by the rulers of the church: and as Fabian writes, he was burned hard by the Tower of London.

**Nicolas, Canon of Eye.**

Now to proceed in our account of the persecution of Norfolk and Suffolk, we find that in the year 1431, Nicolas, canon of Eye, was brought before the bishop of Norwich for suspicion of heresy, with witnesses sworn to depose against him. These witnesses appointed one William Christopher to speak for them, and he deposed as follows:

First, that on Easter day, when all the parishioners went about the church of Eye solemnly in procession, as the manner was, this Nicolas Canon, as it were, mocking and deriding the other parishioners, went about the church the contrary way, and met the procession.

This article Nicolas confessed, and affirmed that he thought he did well in doing so. He then asked of Master John Colman, of Eye, this question, "Master Colman, what do you think of the sacrament of the altar?" Colman answered, "I think that the sacrament of the altar is very God, and very man, the very flesh and very blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under the form of bread and wine." Nicolas answered him in derision, saying, "Truly, if the sacrament of the altar is very God and very man, and the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, then very God and very man may be put in a small space; as when it is put in the priest's mouth. Why then may we laymen not eat flesh on Fridays as well, and all other prohibited days, like the priest, eating the flesh and drinking the blood of our Lord every day indifferently?" Nicolas thought he had spoken well in that matter too.

Also, that on Corpus Christi day, at the elevation of high mass, when all the parishioners and strangers knelt down, holding up their hands, and doing reverence to the sacrament, Nicolas went behind a pillar of the church, and turning his face from the high altar, mocked those who revered the sacrament. Acknowledging this article, Nicolas affirmed that he believed he did well in doing so.

[345] A.D. 1430-1431.

Also, when his mother would have him lift up his right hand, and cross himself from the crafts and assaults of the devil, when he deferred doing so, his mother took up his right hand, and crossed him, saying, "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Amen." And then Nicolas, immediately deriding his mother's blessing, put up his right hand of his own accord, and blessed himself otherwise. This article Nicolas acknowledged to be true.

Also, that upon All-Hallows day, in the time of elevation of high mass, when many of the parishioners of Eye lit many torches and carried them up to the high altar, kneeling down there in reverence and honor of the sacrament, Nicolas carrying a torch went up to the high altar, and standing behind the priest's back, who was saying mass. At the time of the elevation, Nicolas stood upright on his feet, turning his back to the priest, and his face toward the people, and would not do reverence to the sacrament. He acknowledged this article, affirming that he thought he had done well in that behalf.

All of these articles the bishop's commissary caused to be copied out, word for word, and sent to Master William Worsted, prior of the cathedral church of Norwich, and to other doctors of divinity, so that they might deliberate upon them, and reveal their minds between that and the following Thursday. Upon that Thursday, Nicolas was again examined on two other articles, that he doubted whether, in the sacrament of the altar, it was the very body of Christ or not. This article he confessed before the commissary to be true.

Also, that he believed that a man should not confess his sins to a priest. This article he also confessed that he doubted the practice.

Now it remains to declare what these doctors concluded upon the articles. Their answer was this:

- As to the first article, they said that the article in the terms as it was propounded, is not simply a heresy, but an error.
- Also, as to the second article, the doctors agree as in the first.
- Also, as to the third article, they affirm that it is a heresy.
- To the fourth article, they answered as to the first and second.
- Also, the doctors affirm the fifth article to be a heresy.
- Also, as to the sixth article, the doctors conclude that if the said Nicolas, being of perfect mind and remembrance, doubted whether the sacrament of the altar was the very perfect body of Christ or not, then the article is simply a heresy.

Upon this, the commissary declared and pronounced Nicolas to be a heretic, and forced him to abjure. They enjoined Nicolas to do penance for his offenses, three disciplinings about the cloister of the cathedral church of Norwich, before a solemn procession, bare-headed and barefoot, carrying a taper of half-a-pound in his hand.

#### **Thomas Bagley, priest.**

I find in Fabian's *Chronicles*, that in the same year (A.D. 1431), Thomas Bagley, a priest, vicar of Monenden, beside Maiden, being a valiant disciple and adherent of Wycliffe, was condemned by the bishops of heresy at London, about the middle of Lent, and was degraded and burned in Smithfield.

#### **Paul Crow, a Bohemian.**

The same year also, Paul Crow, a Bohemian, was taken at St. Andrews by the bishop Henry, and delivered over to the secular power to be burnt, for holding opinions contrary to the church of Rome, touching the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the worshipping of saints, auricular confession, with other of Wycliffe's opinions.

#### **History of Thomas Rhedon.**

We declared before how this cruel storm of persecution, which first began in England after it had long raged here against many good and godly men, broke out and passed into Bohemia; and after a short time, increasing little by little, it invaded Scotland; and now, with greater force and violence, this furious devouring flame entered Italy, and did not allow any part of the world to be free from the murder and slaughter of good and godly men. It happened about this time that one Thomas Rhedon, a Carmelite friar, came with the Venetian ambassadors into Italy. This man, although he was a Carmelite, he understood the word of God, judging that God should not be worshipped either in that mount, nor at Jerusalem only, but in spirit and truth. This man being a true Carmelite, prepared himself to go into Italy, trusting that he would find there some by whose good life he might be edified and instructed. For where should there be more abundance of virtue, than in that place which is considered to be the fountain of all religion? And how could it be otherwise, that where such great holiness is professed, where all men's eyes are turned as upon a stage, where St. Peter's seat is, and which is thought to be the ruler and governor of the whole church, all things should flourish and abound worthy of so great a place? This holy man, having these things before his eyes, forsook his own country, and went to Rome, conceiving a firm and

sure hope that by the example of so many notable and worthy men, he would greatly profit in godliness and learning.

But the success of the matter utterly frustrated his hope, for all things were clean contrary. Whatever he saw was nothing else but mere dissimulation and hypocrisy. Instead of heavenly gifts, there reigned among them the pomp and pride of the world; in place of godliness, riot; instead of learning and study, slothfulness and superstition. Tyranny and haughtiness of mind had possessed the place of apostolic simplicity. So that now there no longer remained any place or liberty for a man to learn that which he did not know, or to teach that which he perfectly understood. Finally, all things were reversed — all things happened contrary to his expectation. But nothing so much offended this good man's mind, as the intolerable ambition and pompous pride in those whom an example of humility should especially commend and praise to the whole world. And although he saw nothing which accorded with the rule of the apostles, yet these things so much passed all measure and patience, that he could by no means refrain his tongue in so much abuse and corruption of the church — seeing such ambitious pride in their buildings, apparel, in their palaces, in their dainty fare, in their great trains of servants, in their horse and armor, and finally in all things.

These things, so far as they differed from the prescribed rule of the gospel, so much farther this good man was forced to speak, even though he well understood how little he would prevail by speaking. For if admonition would profit anything at all, the books of Wycliffe, and others were not lacking. The famous testimonies of John Huss, and of Jerome of Prague, and their bloodshed for the same, was still present before their eyes. By their most effectual exhortations, they were so little corrected and amended, that they seemed twice as cruel as they were before. Yet all this could not terrify this good man. So by this means, he who came to be a *scholar* to others, was now forced to be their *teacher*; and he who determined to follow other men's lives and manners had now, on the other hand, set his own life before them to be marked and followed. For he lived so among them, that his life might be a rule to them all, and so taught, that he might also be their schoolmaster. For even as Paul had foreshown to those who desired to live godly in Christ, that they might suffer persecution, such a reward happened to this man. He gave them the fruit of godliness which they should follow; they in return set upon his head the diadem of martyrdom. He showed them the way of salvation; and for the benefit of life, they rewarded him with death; and whereas no rewards had been worthy of his great labors and troubles, they persecuted him with the most extreme ignominy, even to the fire.

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For when, by his continual preaching, he had gotten great envy and hatred, the rulers began to consult together by what means they might circumvent this man's life. Here they had recourse to their accustomed remedies. For it was a peculiar and continual custom among the prelates of the church, that if any man displeased them, or his talk was not according to their mind, or was by any means hurtful or a hindrance to their lucre and gain, by and by they would frame out articles of some heresy which they charged him with. And as every living thing has its peculiar and proper weapon to defend itself from harm — just as nature has armed the boar with his tusks, the hedgehog with his prickles; just as the lion is feared for his claws, the dog for his biting, the bull fights with his horns; nor does the ass lack his hoofs to strike with — even so, this is the only armor of the bishops: to strangle a man with heresy once he goes about muttering against their will and ambition. This may be easily perceived and seen in this most holy man, besides a great number of others. When he began

to grow grievous to them, and could no longer be suffered, what did they do? Straightway they flew to their old devices. And as they had done with Huss, and Jerome of Prague, even so, they went about to practice against this man. They overwhelmed him with suspicion; they sought to entangle him with questions; they examined him in judgment; they compiled articles against him, and laid heresy to his charge; they condemned him as a heretic. And being so condemned, they destroyed and killed him! This was their godliness; this was the peaceable order of those Carmelites. Their religion was to wear no sword or shield; and yet they bore in their hearts malice, rancor, vengeance, poison, craft, and deceit, sharper than any sword. With how great care and policy is it provided by law, that none of these clergymen should fight with sword in the streets? When in judgment and accusations there is no murderer who has more ready vengeance, or more vilely esteems his brother's soul than they. They shed no blood themselves; they neither strike nor kill — but they deliver them over to others to be slain! What difference is there, I pray you, if not that they are the authors, and the others are but the ministers of the cruel act? They kill no man as murderers do. How then? Although it is not in the same way, yet they do it by other means.

The articles which they falsely gathered against this man, are affirmed by some to be these:

- That the church lacks reformation, and that it shall be punished and reformed.
- That infidels, Jews, Turks, and Moors, shall be converted to Christ in the latter days.
- That abominations are used at Rome.
- That unjust excommunication by the pope is not to be feared; and therefore those who do not acknowledge it, do not sin or offend.

Yet a minister was lacking for these articles. However, he could not long be lacking at Rome, where all things are to be sold, even men's souls. For this office and ministry there was no man thought more fitting than William of Rouen, cardinal of St. Martin's in the mount, vice-chancellor of the court of Rome. Eugenius IV was pope at that time. He had a little earlier succeeded Pope Martin mentioned above. This godly Rhedon, the Frenchman, was brought before Eugenius, and from there he was sent to prison. After his imprisonment, and diverse and sundry grievous torments, he was brought before the judges. The wolf sat in judgment; the lamb was accused. Why? Because he had troubled the spring. But here not many words are needed. This good Thomas Rhedon not being able to resist the malice of these mighty potentates, had offended enough, and was easily convicted and condemned to be burned, but not before he was deprived of all the degrees of priesthood which he had taken.

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After the death of Pope Martin V, who reigned fourteen years, Eugenius IV succeeded, about the year A.D. 1431. Antonius thus writes of him, that he was given much to wars, as his conflicts and fighting with the Romans may declare; also the battles between the Venetians and the Florentines.

This pope began first to celebrate the Council of Basel, which Martin his predecessor had intended to assemble earlier, according to the direction of the Council of Constance. Eugenius, however, perceiving afterward that this Council of Basel would not favor him and his doings, and fearing some injury, afterwards labored by all subtle practice to dissolve and interrupt the council, and to transfer it first from Basel to Ferrara, then to Florence, which was nearer to his own See of Rome. Concerning this Council of Basel, as we have begun to mention it here, it will be no great digression to discourse somewhat more at large about those things which seem sufficient or necessary to be known.

***The Order and Manner of the Council of Basel – 1431-1449.***

*With the principal matters concluded in this,  
briefly collected and abridged here in this present book.*

In the thirty-ninth session of the Council of Constance, it was decreed and provided concerning those General Councils which would hereafter follow: that the first council which would ensue, should be assembled the fifth year after the Council of Constance; that the second should be held the seventh year after that; and so all others would follow successively every tenth year. Therefore, according to this decree, a general council followed five years after the Council of Constance, celebrated and held at Siene, under Pope Martin, A.D. 1424; but it soon broke up. After that council, the term of seven years having expired, another council was held at Basel, A.D. 1431. This council is noted to have been the most troublesome, and to have endured longer than any other council previously celebrated and held in the church. This council continued almost seventeen years, in which it was concluded, as in the Council of Constance, *that the general councils were above the pope*, and both these councils attributed to the general council the chief authority in decreeing and determining. This is the reason that the opposite party depreciated so much the authority of this council.

Pope Martin V appointed Julian, cardinal and deacon of St. Angelo, his legate, to celebrate and hold a general council at Basel for the reformation of the church, and for rooting out heresies. But Pope Martin died a short time later (1431). Eugenius IV succeeded, and confirmed to Cardinal Julian the same authority which his predecessor had given him. To this Council of Basel came the Emperor Sigismund. During his lifetime, with his presence and authority, he protected and defended the synod. After the emperor's death, however, Pope Eugenius altered his mind and purpose, and wished to remove the council to Bononia, and thus check the authority of the Council of Basel. First he held an opposition council at Ferrara, and afterwards at Florence. For after the death of the Emperor Sigismund (1437), there were no princes or noblemen who had any care or regard for the council. Eugenius cited Cardinal Julian, and the fathers of the council, to appear at Bononia, under a great penalty. They in return cited the pope, that either he come to the council himself, or else send ambassadors under the same penalty. For this reason, the ambassadors of Albert king of the Romans, and of the other princes of Germany, assembled together at **Nuremberg**. And when they could determine nothing there, they assembled again at Frankfort, to appease the dissension between the council and the pope. For it was thought that the electors of the empire could best assemble and meet in that place. In the meantime, the emperor's ambassadors, and the ambassadors of the electors went to Basel. And conferring with the ambassadors of the other princes who were there, they earnestly exhorted the fathers of the council, that they would embrace the unity which they would offer. The request of the princes was that the fathers would transport the council, and go to another place; which was the very thing Pope Eugenius always seemed to seek and desire, so that he might either divide the fathers of the council, or else take away their liberty.

[347] A.D. 1437.

This sacred synod, however, thought it good neither to deny the princes' request, nor to grant what Pope Eugenius required. During this doubt, the emperor's ambassadors, the bishops of Patavia and Augusta, appointed a noble and valiant baron called Conrad Weinsperge, by the king's command, to be protector and defender of the council and the fathers. By doing this, the enemies perceived the emperor to be alienated from the *pope*, and the fathers of the council understood his good-will towards *them*, as he would not have

sent them a protector if he had not judged it to be a lawful council. Neither would the emperor have judged it to be a council in Basel, if he had given credit to Pope Eugenius. But owing to a great pestilence which began to spread there, the assembly that should have been held at Frankfort was transported to Mentz.

The assembly was very famous, for there were present the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, electors of the sacred empire, and all the ambassadors of the other electors. The archbishop of Cologne was the chief favorer of the council in this assembly, who with all his labor and diligence went about to bring the matter to a good end. Rabanus, the archbishop of Treves, showed himself somewhat more rough. The sacred synod also thought good to send their ambassadors, and appointed the patriarch of Aquileia, the bishop of Vicene, and the bishop of Argen; divines, John Segovius, and Thomas de Corcellis, with others. There was no man there present who would name himself the ambassador of Eugenius, although there were many of his favorers and friends, both from the council, and also out of Florence. Although they had sworn to the contrary, they favored Eugenius more than the council. But the chief Hercules of all the Eugenians was Nicolas Cusan, a man singularly well-learned, and of great experience. After several consultations, the electors of the empire, and the ambassadors of the other princes of Germany, gave command throughout their nation and country, that the decrees of the Council of Basel should be received and observed.

While these things were thus debated at Mentz, there sprang a certain very doubtful question among the divines who remained at Basel, whether Eugenius might be called a heretic, who had so rebelliously despised the commandments of the church. They gathered themselves together, disputing long among themselves, some affirming, and others holding the negative part. Upon this, three distinct opinions arose, some affirming that he was a heretic; others, not only a heretic, but also a relapse. The third sort would neither grant him to be a heretic nor a relapse. Among these divines, the chief and principal both in learning and authority, was the bishop of Ebrun, ambassador of the king of Castile; and also a certain Scottish abbot. Like two most valiant champions, they subdued all their enemies, so that the rest either consented to their arguments, or gave way to them. And so their determination took precedence, and Eugenius was pronounced both a heretic and relapse. Eight conclusions were determined and allowed there among the divines, which they called *verities*, a copy of which they published throughout Christendom.

When the ambassadors of the council had returned from Mentz, by the commandment of the deputies, all the masters, doctors, and clergy were called together, with all the other prelates, into the chapter of the great church. There they openly disputed and discussed Eugenius' heresy. This disputation continued six days, both forenoon and afternoon. Cardinal Louis, archbishop of Arelata, was appointed judge and arbiter among them. Besides many other notable virtues, he was both valiant and constant. Nicholas Amici, who was also a protector of the faith, a famous man among the divines of Paris, demanded from every man what his opinion was. John Deinletist, public notary, wrote every man's sentence and judgment. The conclusions of the divines, which were the ground and foundation of their disputation, were the following:

1. It is a verity of the catholic faith, that the sacred general council has power over the pope, or any other prelate.
2. The pope cannot by his own authority, either dissolve, transport, or prorogue the general council being lawfully congregated, without the consent of the whole council, and this is of like verity.



3. Whoever obstinately resists these verities, is to be counted a heretic.
4. Pope Eugenius IV has resisted these verities, when at the first, by the fulness of his apostolic power, he attempted to dissolve or to transport the Council of Basel.
5. Eugenius being admonished by the sacred council, recanted the errors repugnant to these verities.
6. The dissolution or translation of the council, attempted the second time by Eugenius, is against the aforesaid verities, and contains an inexcusable error regarding the faith.
7. Eugenius, in going about to dissolve and transport the council again, has fallen into his errors revoked before.
8. Eugenius being warned by the synod that he should revoke the dissolution or translation attempted the second time, after his noncompliance was declared, persevering in his rebellion, and erecting a council at Ferraria, thereby showed himself obstinate.

These were the conclusions which were read in the chapterhouse before the fathers of the council. Upon which, when they desired to speak their minds, they all confirmed and allowed them, in a manner. Archbishop Panormitan, however, disputed much against them. Also the bishop of Burgen, the king of Aragon's almoner. Yet they did not oppose the first three conclusions, but only those regarding Pope Eugenius. This Panormitan, as he was subtle, he subtly disputed against the recent conclusions, endeavoring to declare that Eugenius had not relapsed, and that he had great contention with the bishop of Argens, John Segovius, and Francis de Fuxe, divines.

The oration of Panormitan was more praised than allowed by men. Yet it wrought this effect: that afterwards this word "relapse" was taken out of the conclusions, and the word "prolapse" put in. Nor did Panormitan dare to altogether excuse Eugenius of heresy, but he defended more the first dissolution than the second. Yet he did not depart without answer. For John Segovius, an expert divine, rising up, answered him reverently, as was seemly for such a prelate.

Segovius could scarcely finish his oration without interruption; for Panormitan, often interrupting him, went to confute now this, and now that reason. Whereupon the bishop of Argens rising up, a man not only eloquent, but also of stout courage, assailed Panormitan in his reasons and arguments, and shifted him from his purpose. Yet they proceeded so far, that they did not abstain from disgraceful taunts.

When the bishop of Argens chanced to say that the bishop of Rome ought to be the minister of the church, Panormitan could not suffer that, so much that he so forgot himself, and his knowledge (which otherwise was great) failed him, so that he was not ashamed to say that the pope was lord over the church. Segovius answered, "Mark, O Panormitan, what you say; for this is the most honorable title of the bishop of Rome, in which he calls himself the 'servant of the servants of God.' That is gathered upon this point, that when Christ said to his disciples, when they demanded of him which of them was the greatest, you know he answered them, 'The princes of the Gentiles have rule and dominion over them, but among you it is not so,' etc. In this He utterly prohibits lordship and dominion. And to Peter, who was the first vicar of Christ, he said, 'Feed the flock of Christ which is committed to you, providing for them not by compulsion, but willingly.' And immediately after, Christ said, 'not as lords over God's heritage.' For if Christ, the Son of God, did not come to be ministered to, but to minister and to serve, then how can his vicar have any dominion, or be called lord, as you Panormitan will affirm? The disciple is not above his Master, nor the

servant above his Lord. And the Lord himself says, 'Nor be called masters: for one is your Master, even Christ. But he that is greatest among you shall be your servant.'" Panormitan, being somewhat disquieted with this answer, the council broke up and departed.

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The next day there was a general congregation, and they all returned again to the chapter-house after dinner, where the archbishop of Lyons, the king's orator was required to speak his mind. After he had proved Eugenius to be a heretic, he bitterly complained about those who had preferred such a man to the papacy. He so moved all their hearts who were present, that they altogether with him bewailed the calamities of the universal church.

Then the bishop of Burgen, the ambassador of Spain, divided the conclusions into two parts. Some he called general, and others personal, disputing very excellently as to the three first conclusions. He affirmed that in no point did he doubt them, but only that the addition, which mentioned the faith, seemed to be doubtful to him. But he stayed much on this point, to prove that the council was above the pope. After he had sufficiently proved this, both by God's law and man's law, he also taught it by physical reason, alleging Aristotle as a witness. He said that, "In every well-ordered kingdom it should especially be desired that the whole realm have more authority than the king. If it happened otherwise, it would not be called a kingdom but a tyranny. So likewise he thinks of the church, that it ought to have more authority than the prince of it; that is to say, the pope." He gave his oration so eloquently, learnedly, and truly, that all men depended on him, and desired him to continue.

But when he entered into the other conclusions, he seemed to have forgotten himself, and to no longer be the same man that he was. For there was neither the same eloquence in his words, nor gravity in oration, nor cheerfulness of countenance. So that if he could have seen himself, he would perhaps greatly have marvelled at himself. Every man might well see and perceive then the power and force of the truth, which ministered material to him so long as he spoke in the defense of it. But once he began to speak against truth, she took from him even his natural eloquence.

After this there were long and heated debates about the authority of councils, and about Pope Eugenius, and about the sessions of the council, and certain conclusions which were proposed. These discussions continued for many days. And it happened in them, even as it does in warlike affairs. For just as there, those who are strongest and most valiant, and who do the most worthy feats, obtain the most fame — such as in the battle of Troy, Achilles and Hector were the heroes — so in these spiritual wars and contentions, those who most excel in learning and eloquence and do more than others, should be most renowned. For on the one part, Panormitan was prince and captain; on the other, it was Arelatensis. When all was finally determined, the protector also desired from the sacred council, that none should be allowed to bring any weapon to the session which was to be held next day, as he was ready to enforce the safe conduct of the emperor, and together with the senate of the city, also to prohibit all quarrels that would lead to injury.

When the sixteenth of May had come, all those whom the session pleased assembled. The ambassadors of the princes had also come together into the choir of the church, to further attempt what they could do. Sending the bishop of Lubeck and Concense, and the dean of Turnon (an excellent, learned man), they offered themselves to be present at the session if the deposing of Pope Eugenius were deferred four months. When they received a gentle answer from Arelatensis and the other principals, returning again to the ambassadors, they would only have the first conclusion decreed. Thereupon they sent again to Arelatensis, who

answered that, “The chief force consisted in the two other conclusions, and that the council would specially determine them. If the ambassadors would not be present, they should understand that the concord was broken by those who would not observe what they had offered.” With this answer they departed, and the session began to be celebrated. “There was no prelate of Aragon present at the session — neither out of Spain, nor out of Italy; only the bishop of Grossetane, and the abbot of Dona. For their constancy and steadfast good will toward the universal church, they could not be changed from their purpose. But of the doctors and other inferiors, there were a great number of Aragon, and almost all the inferiors of Spain and Italy (for the inferiors did not fear the princes, as the bishops did). And then the worthy stoutness of the Aragon and Castilians appeared in the inferior sort, who would not shrink away in the necessity of the church. Of the two other nations, there were only twenty bishops present. The rest lurked in their lodgings, professing the faith in their hearts, but not in their mouths. Arelatensis seeing beforehand what would come to pass, asked that prayers be made. And after prayers to Almighty God, with tears and lamentation, that He would send them his Holy Spirit to aid and assist them, they were greatly comforted and encouraged. This congregation was famous. Although there were not many bishops present, yet all the seats were filled with the bishops, proctors, archdeacons, presidents, priors, priests, and doctors of both laws (secular and spiritual), who numbered four hundred or more. There was no noise among them, no chiding, no disgraceful words or contention, but one exhorted another to the profession of the faith. And there appeared a full and whole consent of them all to defend the church. The bishop of Massilia, a nobleman, read the decree, which was attentively hearkened to; not one word interrupted. When it was ended, “*Te Deum laudamus*” was sung with great joy and gladness.<sup>342</sup> and so the session dissolved, which was in number the thirty-third session, and among all the preceding ones the most quiet and peaceable.

The following day, the 22d of May, the prince’s ambassadors, against all men’s expectation, came to the general congregation; and by so doing, they at least gave their assent to the previous session. In celebrating it, if the fathers had erred, then it would not been lawful for the princes and ambassadors to hold the council with those fathers. But it was thought that they were touched with remorse of conscience, and even now detested and abhorred what they had done; just as it was not hidden to the ambassadors of the empire and France. For the bishop of Lubeck said, “The cause of his absence was, that he was appointed by the emperor’s commandment to treat for peace. Therefore it was not suitable for him to be present at any business by which he might be vexed or troubled, and with whomever that peace might be treated.” Notwithstanding, he much commended the previous session, and believed the decree promulgated in it to be most good and holy, and the verities contained in it to be undoubted. He said he, “would stick to it both now and ever, even to the death.” But the bishop of Tournon, a man both learned and eloquent, speaking for him and his fellows, said that he heard “how they were evilly spoken of, in that they had not honored their king in that most sacred session, the one whom it is specially suitable to exalt and defend the faith; and who also for that reason, above all other kings, was named most Christian, notwithstanding.” He said that, “they had a lawful excuse, in that it was convenient that those who were sent to treat for peace, should do nothing by which their ambassage might be stopped or hindered.”

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<sup>342</sup> *Te Deum laudamus* (We Praise Thee, O God) is a Latin hymn to God the Father and Christ the Son, traditionally sung on occasions of public rejoicing. It is also known as the Ambrosian Hymn.

After the bishop of Tournon had made an end, Cardinal Arelatensis gave thanks to God, who had so defended his church, and after great storms and clouds, had sent fair and clear weather. And commending the good will of the emperor and the king of France toward the church, he also praised the bishops of Lubeck and Tournon, for often in the council, and also of late at Mentz, they had defended the authority of the council. But especially he commended their present doings, that they had openly confessed the truth, and had not separated themselves from the faith of the church.

[349] A.D. 1431—1439.

Afterward, entering into the declaration of the matter, he said that he was at Pisa and at Constance, and never saw a quieter or more devout session than this. Affirming that this decree was most necessary to repress the ambition of the bishops of Rome who, exalting themselves above the universal church, thought it lawful to do all things according to their own pleasure, and also affirming that no one man should transport the council from one place to another, as Eugenius attempted to do — now to Bononia, now to Florentia, then back to Bononia, afterward to Ferrara, and after that back to Florentia. And he said that hereafter the bishops would withdraw their minds from carefulness about temporal goods. Therefore, by however much this session was most holy and necessary, by that much more the assent of the ambassadors was most laudable and acceptable to all the fathers. These words thus spoken, he rose up, and the congregation was dissolved.

Now after Pope Eugenius was deposed (removed) from the bishopric of Rome, the principal fathers of the council, being called together in the chapter-house of the great church, consulted together, whether it was expedient that a new bishop be created at once, or deferred for a time. Those who thought it good that the election should be done with speed, showed how dangerous a thing it was for such a congregation to be without a head; also a contagious sickness was spreading throughout the city, which not only consumed young men and children, but also men of middle age, and old men in like manner; and that this plague came first by strangers to the poor of the city, and then infected the rich; and now it had come to the fathers of the council — exaggerating and making the thing worse than it was. The other party which thought there should be a delay, said the council lacked no head, for Christ was the head of it; nor did it lack a ruler, for it was governed by the presidents and other officers. And they said that no mention should be made of any pestilence in such a case, seeing that to stout and strong men, death is not to be feared, nor can anything daunt or frighten those who contend for the Christian faith. The matter being thus discussed among them (although there were as many minds as there were men), it seemed to them all, that it was most profitable to choose the bishop later, and most honest to defer it.

Hereupon John Segovius, a man of excellent learning, said,

“Most reverend fathers, I am drawn by various reasons to this side and to that. But as I weigh the matter more deeply in my mind, this is my opinion: that to come to a speedy election seems good, to speak according to man’s judgment. But to delay it for two months, to speak according to God’s judgment, seems much better. I judge that not only the words, but also the meaning of our decree, ought to be observed. Therefore, if you will give any credit to me, follow dangerous honesty, rather than secure utility — even if indeed utility cannot be discerned from honesty.”

This opinion of delay took place among the fathers, and they determined to stay for two months. In the meantime, messengers were sent to the princes to declare the deposition of Eugenius by the synod, and publish it abroad.

During this time, the infected air was not at all purged; mortality daily increased. Many died and were sick. Whereupon a sudden fear came upon the fathers. Nor were they sufficiently advised what they ought to do; for they thought it was not without danger, either to depart or tarry. However they thought it good to tarry, since they had overcome famine and the assaults of their enemies on earth. Thus, they would not seem to shrink for the persecution of any plague. When the dog-days came, and all the herbs withered with heat, the pestilence daily increased more and more, so that it was incredible how many died. It was horrible to see the corpses hourly carried through the streets, and when on every side there was weeping, wailing, and sighing. There was no house void of mourning; no mirth or laughter in any place, but matrons bewailing their husbands, and husbands their wives. Men and women went through the streets, and dared not speak to one another. Some tarried at home; others who went abroad had perfumes to smell, to preserve them against the plague.

The common people died without number. As in the cold autumn the leaves of the trees fall, even so the youths of the city were consumed and fell away. The violence of the disease was such that you might have met a man merry in the street now, and within ten hours heard that he had been buried. The number of the dead corpses was such, that they lacked places to bury them in. All the church-yards were dug up and filled with dead corpses. Great holes were made in the parish churches, where a great number of corpses were thrust in together; they covered them over with earth. For this reason, the fathers were so afraid that no blood appeared in their faces; and especially, the sudden death of Louis the prothonotary<sup>343</sup> made all men afraid. For he was a strong man, and flourishing in age, and singularly learned in both laws; yet the same envious and raging sickness took him away in a few hours. By and by, Louis the patriarch of Aquileia died, a man of great age, and always brought up in troubles and adversity. He would not see the day of the pope's election which he had long wished for. However, he had taken some consolation, in that he had seen Eugenius deposed before his death. This man's death was regretted by all the fathers. For now, they said, two pillars of the council were decayed and overthrown, meaning the prothonotary and the patriarch — the one by the law, and the other with his deeds, had defended the verity of the council.

Likewise a great number of the registers and doctors died. Of who fell into that disease, few or none escaped. One among all the rest, Eneas Sylvius, being stricken with this disease, escaped by God's help. This man lay three days at the point of death, all men being in despair of him. Notwithstanding, it pleased God to grant him longer life. When the pestilence was most fervent and hot, and about one hundred died daily, there was great entreaty made to Cardinal Arelatensis, that he would go to some other town or village nearby. For these were the words of all his friends and household:

“What are you doing, most reverend father? At least avoid this wane of the moon and save yourself. If you are safe, all of us will be safe also; if you die, we all perish. If the plague oppresses you, to whom will we fly? Who will rule us? Or who will be the guide of this most faithful flock? The infection has already invaded your chamber. Your secretary and chamberlain are already dead. Consider the great danger, and save both yourself and us.”

But neither the entreaty of his household, nor the corpses of those who were dead, could move him. He was willing to preserve the council with peril of his life, rather than save his life with the peril of the council. For he knew that if he were to depart, few would have tarried behind, and deceit would have been wrought in his absence.

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<sup>343</sup> [Member of the College of Prothonotaries Apostolic, high-ranking papal officials who document papal acts.](#)

Therefore, as in war the soldiers fear no danger when they see their captain in the midst of their enemies, so the fathers of the council were ashamed to flee from this pestilence, seeing their president remain with them in the midst of all dangers. This utterly subverted the opinion of those who babbled abroad, that the fathers tarried in Basel, to seek their own profit and not the verity of the faith. For there is no commodity on earth which men would exchange for their lives. For all those who serve the world prefer it above all other things. But these fathers showed themselves as an invincible wall for the house of God, overcoming all the difficulties which this most cruel and pestiferous year brought upon them. At length, all desire for life also being set apart, they overcame all dangers, and did not hesitate to defend the verity of the council with most constant minds, even till the present.

The time of the decree having passed after the deposition of the pope, it seemed good to the fathers to proceed to the election of another bishop. First of all, they nominated those who, together with the cardinals, would elect the pope. The first and principal of the electors was Cardinal Arelatensis, a man of invincible constancy, and incomparable wisdom. To his virtue may justly be ascribed whatever was done in the council; for without him, the prelates would not have persevered in their purpose, nor could the shadow of any prince have so defended them.

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This man did not come to the election by any favor or denomination, but by his own proper right. The rest of the electors were chosen out of the Italian, French, German, and Spanish nations. Their cells and chambers were appointed to them by lots, without respect to dignity or person; as the lots fell, so they were placed. Thereby it chanced that a doctor had the highest place, and a bishop the last.

The next day a session was held. Marcus, a famous divine, made an oration to the electors. He counter up the manifold crimes of Pope Eugenius, who was deposed. He endeavored to persuade the electors to choose such a man who would in all points be contrary to Eugenius, and eschew all his vices; that as Eugenius, through his manifold reproaches, was hurtful to all men, so the one who would be chosen, should show himself acceptable to all men.

There was so great a number of people gathered together to behold this matter, that no man could pass either in the church or in the streets. John earl of Dierstein was present, who took the place of the emperor's protector; so also the senators of the city, with many other noblemen, beheld the process. The citizens were outside in arms, to ensure there would be no uproar. The electors received the communion together, and afterwards they received their oath. The Cardinal Arelatensis, opening the book of decrees, read the form of the oath in the audience of all men; and first of all, taking the oath himself, he began in this manner:

“Most reverend fathers, I promise, swear, and vow before my Lord Jesus Christ (whose most blessed body I, an unworthy sinner, have received, to whom in the last judgment I shall give an account of all my deeds) that in this business of election, to which we are now sent by the will of the council, I will seek nothing else, but only the salvation of the Christian people, and the profit of the universal church. This shall be my whole care and study, that the authority of the general councils are not despised, that the catholic faith is not impugned, and that the fathers who remain in the council are not oppressed. This I will seek; this shall be my care; to this, with my whole force and power, I will bend myself; nor in this point will I respect anything, either for my own cause or for any friend, but only God, and the profit of the church. With this mind and intent, and with this heart, I take my oath before the council.”

His words were lively and fearful. After him all the other electors in their order, swore and take their oath. Then they went with great solemnity to the conclave, where they remained seven days. The manner of their election was in this way. A desk was set before the cardinals' seat, upon which stood a basin of silver, into the which all the electors cast their schedules. The cardinal receiving these, read them one by one, and four other electors wrote as he read them.

***Amadeus VIII Duke of Savoy, Elected Pope Felix V – 1440.***

The tenor of the schedules was in this manner: "I, George, bishop of Vicenza, choose such or such a man for bishop of Rome;" and perhaps he named one or two. Every one of the electors subscribed his name to the schedule, so that he might thereby know his own, and say *nay*, if it were contrary to what was spoken; thereby all deceit was utterly excluded. The first scrutiny thus ended, it was found that there were many named to the papacy; yet none had sufficient voices, for that day there were seventeen of different nations nominated. Notwithstanding, Amadeus duke of Savoy, a man of singular virtue, surmounted them all. For in the first scrutiny (count) he had the voice of sixteen electors, who judged him worthy to govern the church.

After this, a diligent inquisition was had in the council regarding those who were named by the electors. And as every man's opinion served him, he either praised or discommended those who were nominated. But there was such report made of Amadeus, that in the next scrutiny, which was held in the nones of November, Amadeus had twenty-one voices, and in the third and fourth scrutiny, twenty-one voices. As none was found in all the scrutiny to have two parts, all the other schedules were burnt. And as there lacked but only one voice to the election of the high bishop, they fell to prayer, desiring God to grant direction to their minds to unity and concord, to worthily elect and choose the one who should take charge over the flock of God. As Amadeus seemed to be nearer to the papacy than all others, there was great communication had among them, touching his life and disposition. Some said that a layman should not so suddenly be chosen; for it would seem a strange thing for a secular prince to be called to the bishopric of Rome. This would also derogate too much from the ecclesiastical state, as though there were none in it fit or worthy for that dignity. Others said that a man who was married and had children, was unfit for such a charge. Others again affirmed that the bishop of Rome ought to be a doctor of law, and an excellent learned man.

When these words were spoken, others rose up, speaking far otherwise. They said that although Amadeus was no doctor, yet he was learned and wise, as he had bestowed all his youth in learning and study, and had sought not only the name, but even the ground of learning. Then another said,

"If you are desirous to be instructed further about this prince's life, I pray you give ear to me, who know him thoroughly. Truly this man from his youth upward, and even from his young and tender years, has lived more religiously than secularly, always being obedient to his parents and masters; and always being indued with the fear of God; never given to any vanity or wantonness; nor has there been at any time any child of the house of Savoy, in whom greater wit or decency has appeared. Thereby all those who beheld and knew this man, judged and foresaw some great matter in him; nor were they deceived. For if you desire to know his rule and government, what and how noble it has been; first know this, that this man has reigned since his father's decease, about forty years.

"During his time, justice, the lady and queen of all other virtues, has always flourished. For hearing from his subjects himself, he would never suffer the poor to be oppressed, or the weak



to be deceived. He was the defender of the fatherless, the advocate of the widows, and the protector of the poor. There was no rapine or robbery in all his territory. The poor and rich all lived under one law. Nor was he burdensome to his subjects, or importune against strangers throughout his country; there were no grievous exactions of money throughout his dominion. He thought himself rich enough if the inhabitants of his dominions abounded and were rich; knowing that it was the point of a good shepherd to shear his sheep, and not to devour them. In this also was his chief study and care: that his subjects might live in peace, and those who bordered upon him might have no occasion to grudge.<sup>344</sup>

“By these policies he not only quietly governed his father’s dominions, but also augmented the same by others who willingly submitted themselves to him. He never made war upon any, but resisting those who made war upon him, he studied to make peace rather than seek any revenge, desiring to overcome his enemies with benefits, rather than with the sword. He married only one wife, who was a noble maiden, and of singular beauty and virtue. He would have all his family live virtuously, and throughout his house, honesty and integrity of manners was observed. When his wife departed this life, and he perceived his duchy to be established, and that it would come without any controversy to his posterity, he declared his mind, which was always religious, and dedicated himself to God, and showed what will and affection he had long borne in his heart. For despising the pomp and state of this world, and calling his dear friends to himself, he departed and went into a wilderness. Building a goodly abbey there, he devoted himself wholly to the service of God; taking his cross upon himself, he followed Christ.

[351] A.D. 1439.

“Living in this place for many years, he displayed great examples of holiness, wearing no other garments but those which could withstand the cold; nor using any kind of dainty fare, but only to resist hunger; and watching and praying most of the night. Therefore this prince has not newly come to the church (as some suppose), but being a Christian, born of progenitors who have been Christians a thousand years and more, he now serves God in a monastery.

“But as to that which is said concerning a wife, I do not regard it, when not he only who has *had* a wife, but also he who *has* a wife may be elected and chosen pope. For why do the doctors dispute whether a married man chosen pope, ought to continue to live with his wife? Is it only because a married man might be received and chosen? For as you know well enough, there were many popes who had wives; and Peter also was not without a wife. But why do we stand about this? For perhaps, it would have been better that more priests had been married; for many would be saved through marriage, who are now damned through their single life. But we will speak of this in another place. I pray you, choose this man. He will augment the faith; he will reform manners; and preserve the authority of the church. Have you not heard these troubles of the church to have been spoken of before, and that the time now present, might be an end of all these troubles? Have you not heard that about this time a pope would be chosen who would comfort Zion, and set all things in peace? *Zec 1.17* And who, I pray you, should he be that could fulfill these things, unless we choose this man? Believe me, these sayings must be fulfilled, and I trust that God will move your minds to it. Notwithstanding, do whatever you think most good and holy.”

When he had spoken these words, the greatest number of the electors seemed to consent to him; and his words had such an effect that in the next scrutiny the matter was finished and ended. When the scrutiny was opened, it was found that Amadeus, the most devout duke of Savoy, according to the decree of the council, was chosen pope. Therefore suddenly there was great joy and gladness among them, and all men highly commended their doings. Then Cardinal Arelatensis published the name of the elect bishop. After this, all the prelates in

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<sup>344</sup> *Grudge*: to resent something strong enough to justify retaliation.



their pontifical robes and miters, and all the clergy of the city coming to the conclave, the electors being likewise adorned, they brought Amadeus to the great church, where after great thanks given to God, and the election again declared to the people, a hymn was sung for joy, and the congregation was dissolved.

This Amadeus was a man of reverend age, of attractive stature, of grave and discreet behavior; and also married before. Thus being elected pope (antipope) about November, he was called Felix V, and crowned in the city of Basel, in the month of July. Present at his coronation were Louis, duke of Savoy; Philip, Earl Gebenensis; Louis, marquis of Salutz; the marquis of Rotelen; Conrad of Winsperg, chamberlain of the empire; the earl of Dierstein; the ambassadors of the cities of Strasburg, Berne, Friburgh, Solatorn, with a great multitude of others besides, numbering 50,000 persons. At this coronation, the pope's two sons served and ministered to their father. Louis, cardinal of Hostia, set on his head the pontifical diadem, which was valued at 30,000 crowns. It would take too long here to recite the whole order and solemnity of the procession of the pope's riding about the city. But first proceeded the pope under his canopy of cloth of gold, having on his head a triple crown, and blessing the people as he went. Beside him went the marquis of Rotelen and Conrad of Winsperg, leading his horse by the bridle. When the procession finished, they went to dinner, which lasted four full hours, being excessively sumptuous. There the pope's two sons were butlers to his cup; the marquis of Salutz was the steward, etc.

Volaterane in his third book <sup>345</sup> thus writes about this Felix, that being asked by certain of the ambassadors if he had any dogs or hounds, to show them, he desired them to come to him the next day, and he would show them what he had. When the ambassadors had come according to the appointment, he showed to them a great number of poor people and beggars sitting at his tables at meal, declaring that those were his hounds which he fed every day, hunting with them (he trusted) for the glory of heaven to come.

And thus you have heard the state of this council up to here. It continued a long season of seventeen years. About the sixth year of the council, Sigismund the emperor died, leaving but one daughter to succeed him in his kingdoms. He had married her to Albert, the second duke of Austria, who first succeeded in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, and was a sore adversary to the Bohemians. Afterwards he was made emperor, A.D. 1458. He reigned but two years, leaving his wife, who was Sigismund's daughter, great with child. After this, his brother Frederick, the third duke of Austria, succeeded in the empire, etc.

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We have thus far proceeded in the matters of this council, until the election of Amadeus, called pope Felix V. Before we prosecute the rest, order requires us to intermix the matters concluded between this council and the Bohemians. The Bohemians then were invited to Basel, where the council was appointed. After much delay and some treaty, having procured a safe conduct from the council, from the princes, and from the city of Basel, they appeared by their ambassadors, and addressed the council.

Then John Rochezanus of Bohemia made an oration, requesting to have a day appointed when they might be heard, which was appointed the sixteenth of that month. On that day, having given his preface, he began to propound the first article of four articles regarding the communion being ministered under both kinds, and disputed on that for three days, always before noon. Then Wenceslaus the Taborite, disputed for two days on the second article, regarding the correction and punishing of sin. After him Ulderic, priest of the Orphans,

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<sup>345</sup> Volaterane, *Ecclesie Actus Vel Patrimonium Quod* (Voluntary Acts or Patrimony of the Church).

propounded and disputed for two days on the third article, regarding the free preaching of the word of God.

Last of all, Peter Pain, an Englishman, disputed for three days on the fourth article, regarding the civil dominion of the clergy. Afterward he gave copies of their disputations in writing to the council, with hearty thanks that they were heard. The last three articles somewhat inveighed against the council for condemning John Huss and John Wycliffe for their doctrine. Whereupon John of Ragusa (*Ragusinus*),<sup>346</sup> a divine, rose up desiring that he might have leave to answer in his own name, to the first article of the Bohemians. The council consented; so that for eight days, in the morning, he disputed upon it.

But before [they] began to answer, this John Ragusinus, who was the Abbot of Sistertia <sup>347</sup> (a catholic divine from Bohemia), made an oration to the Bohemians, that they should submit themselves to the determination of the holy church, which this council represented. This did not a little offend the Bohemians. In scholars' fashion, he had spoken often in his answer, about heresies and heretics. Procopius could not suffer it, but rising up with an angry spirit, complained openly to the council about this injury. "Our countryman does us great injury, often calling us heretics." Ragusinus answered: "As I am your countryman both by tongue and nation, I desire all the more to return you again to the church." It almost came to the point that, through this offense, the Bohemians would depart from Basel, and could scarcely be appeased. Certain of the Bohemians would not hear Ragusinus finish his disputation.

After him a famous divine, Egidius Carlerius, dean of the church of Cambray, answered to the second article for four days. To the third article, one Henry answered for three days. Last of all, one John Polomarius answered to the fourth article, likewise for three days, so that the length of time which they used in disputations seemed tedious to the Bohemians. Notwithstanding this answer, the Bohemians still defended their articles, and especially the first, so much so, that John Rochezanus strongly impugned Ragusinus's answer, for another three days.

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But as one disputation bred another, and it was perceived that by this means no concord could be made, Prince William, duke of Bavaria, protector of the council, attempted another remedy: that all disputations being set aside, the matter should be debated friendly.

There were certain ones appointed on either part to address the concord. Coming together on the eleventh of March, those who were appointed for the council were demanded to say their minds. "It seemed good," they said, "if these men would be united to us, and be made one body with us, so that this body might then accord, and declare and determine all manner of diversities of opinions and sects, what is to be believed or done in them."

The Bohemians, when they had paused a while, said, "This way does not seem apt enough, unless first of all, the four articles were exactly discussed, so that either we might agree with them, or they with us. For otherwise it would be but a frivolous matter if being now united, they again disagree in deciding the articles." Here an answer was made to the Bohemians, that "if they were rightly united, and the aid of the Holy Spirit called for, they would not err in deciding the matter, as every Christian ought to believe that determination which, if they would do this, it would breed a most firm and strong concord and amity on either part." But

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<sup>346</sup> John of Ragusa (c. 1380-1443) was a president at the Council of Basle (Basel), and a legate to Constantinople. He was made a cardinal by antipope Felix V.

<sup>347</sup> More likely *Silesia*, a region in Bohemia (now the Czech Republic).

this answer did not satisfy them, so that the other three rose up, and disputed against the answers which were given. At that time Cardinal Julian, president of the council, made this oration to the Bohemian ambassadors.

“This sacred synod has now for ten days patiently heard the propositions of your four articles. But we understand that, besides these four, you have many other strange doctrines in which you dissent from us. Therefore it is necessary, if a perfect unity and fraternity will follow between us, that all these things be declared in the council, to the end that by the grace of the Holy Spirit, which is the author of peace and truth, due provision may be made in this. Therefore we desire that you will certify to us on these and certain other points, what you believe, or what credit you give to them. But we do not require that you should now declare your reasons. It will satisfy us if you answer to every article by this word: ‘We believe, or we do not believe.’ If you will do this (as we trust you will) then we will perceive that you desire that we should conceive a good estimation of you. If there is anything of which you would be certified by us, ask it boldly, and we will give you an answer out of hand. For we are ready, according to the doctrine of St. Peter, to render account to every man who requires it, regarding the faith which we hold.”

To this the Bohemian ambassadors answered in a few words, saying that they “came only to propound those four articles, not in their own name, but in the name of the whole kingdom of Bohemia,” and spoke no more. Whereupon William, the noble protector of the council, called upon four men on either side, regarding pacifying the matter. Taking their advice, the council decreed to send a famous ambassage with the Bohemian ambassadors, to Prague, where the people would assemble on Sunday. But they would not receive these conditions of peace which were offered, and made haste to depart. Whereupon, on the fourteenth of April, ten were chosen out of the council, to go with the Bohemian ambassadors to Prague.

After the ambassadors arrived, much contention arose between the parties. It first began with John Rochezanus (the Bohemian), who spoke in behalf of the commonalty. He labored to commend and prefer the four verities of the Bohemians propounded before. He also charged the prelates and priests for their slanderous and undeserved insults with which they defamed the noble kingdom of Bohemia. He complained that they would not receive those Christian verities, which were left and allowed by their king. Wenceslaus (now departed) requested in behalf of the whole nation, that they would cease hereafter to oppress them as they had, and would restore to them their Joseph’s vesture — that is, the ornament of their good fame and name, of which their brethren, their enemies, had despoiled them, etc.

To this Polomar replied with a long and curious oration, exhorting them to the peace and unity of the church. If they would embrace this, then all other obstacles and impediments (he said) would be soon removed. He also promised that their vesture of honor and fame would be amply restored again; and afterward, if there were any doubtful matters, they might and should be better discussed.

But all this did not please the Bohemians, unless they might first have a declaration of their four articles, which, if they might obtain it, they promised then to embrace peace and concord. This peace (they said) was first broken by [the Roman Catholics] when the Council of Constance, by their unjust condemnation, burned John Huss, and Jerome of Prague; and also by their cruel bulls and censures, first raising up excommunication, and then making war against the whole kingdom of Bohemia.

When the ambassadors saw the matter could not otherwise be settled, they requested to have those articles delivered to them in a certain form, which they sent to the council by three Bohemian ambassadors.

Afterward the council sent a declaration into Bohemia, to be published by the ambassadors. They were commanded to report to the Bohemians, in the name of the council, that if they would receive the declaration of those three articles, and the unity of the church, a means would be found whereby the matter touching the fourth article, about communion under both kinds, might be passed with peace and quietness.

After the Bohemians deliberated, they said, “They would give no answer before they understood what would be offered them regarding the communion.” Therefore, it was necessary to declare the matter, as it was written in the following form:

“In the name of God and our Savior Jesus Christ, upon the sacrament of whose most blessed last supper we shall treat, that He who has instituted this most blessed sacrament of unity and peace, will grant to work this effect in us, and to make us one in the Lord Jesus our Head, and that He will subvert all the subtleties of the devil, who through his envious craftiness, has made the sacrament of peace and unity an occasion of war and discord; that while Christians contend regarding the *manner* of communicating,<sup>348</sup> they are not deprived of the *fruit* of communion. This was thought good to be premised above all things, that the general custom of the church, which your fathers and also you have observed in times past, has a long time had and still uses, that those who do not consecrate [i.e. priests], communicate only under the kind of bread [and not wine]. This custom being lawfully brought in by the church and holy fathers, and now observed a long time, it is not lawful to reject or to change at your will and pleasure, without the authority of the church. Therefore, to change the custom of the church, and to take in hand to communicate to the people under both kinds, without the authority of holy church, is altogether unlawful. For holy church, on reasonable occasions, may grant liberty to the people to communicate under both kinds. And every communion which is attempted without the authority and license of the church, should be unlawful; when it is done with the authority of holy church, it will be lawful, if other things do not prevent it; because, as the apostle says, ‘He that eats and drinks unworthily, eats and drinks his own damnation.’

“Moreover, doctors (theologians) say that the custom of communicating to the people, only under the kind of bread, was reasonably introduced by the church and holy fathers, for reasonable causes, especially for avoiding two perils — of error and irreverence. Of error, such as to think that the one part of Christ’s body was in the bread, and the other part in the cup, which was a great error.

[353] A.D. 1439.

“Of irreverence, as many things may happen on the part of the minister, as well as on the part of the receiver. As it is said to have happened when a certain priest carried the sacrament of the cup to a sick man. When he should have ministered it, he found nothing in the cup, being all spilled on the way, with many other such chances. We have heard, moreover, that it has often happened that the sacrament consecrated in the cup has not been sufficient for the number of communicants, by which a new consecration must be made; this is not agreeable to the doctrine of the holy fathers. And also that oftentimes they minister unconsecrated wine for consecrated wine, which is a great peril. By this means, when it is brought to pass that if you will effectually receive the unity and peace of the church in all other things besides the use of the communion under both kinds, conforming yourselves to the faith and order of the universal church, you who have that use and custom will still communicate by the authority of the church under both kinds. And this article shall be discussed fully in the sacred council, where you will see what, regarding this article, is to be held as a universal verity, and is to be done for the profit and salvation of the Christian people. All things thus being thoroughly

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<sup>348</sup> *Communicating: that is, partaking of the Lord’s Supper together (taking communion).*

Bk. VI. The last 300 years from the loosing of Satan (1422-1516)

handled, if you persevere in your desire, and your ambassadors request it, then the sacred council will grant license in the Lord to your ministers, to communicate to the people under both kinds — that is to say, to those who are of lawful years and discretion, and will reverently and devoutly request it. This being always observed, the ministers will say to those who communicate, that they ought to firmly believe, ‘that not only the flesh is contained under the form of bread, and only the blood under the wine, but under each kind is the whole and perfect Christ.’”

Thus, we have declared the decree of the council. As to the other questions, a concord and unity was concluded and confirmed by setting to their hands. The Bohemians promised to receive the peace and unity of the church, and the declaration of the three articles. This was done in the year 1438.

At last the concord was confirmed by writing with their seals at Inglavia, a city of Moravia, the fifth of July, in the presence of the emperor.

*Certain petitions which the Bohemians put up last of all  
in the sacred Council of Basel, A.D. 1438, in the month of November.*

“To the most reverend fathers in Christ, and our most gracious lords: we the ambassadors of the kingdom of Bohemia do most humbly and heartily request you, for the perpetual preservation of peace and concord, and for the firm preservation of all things contained in the composition, you will grant your clemency to give and grant to us all and singular requests of ours here underwritten, with effectual execution of the same.

“First, and above all things, we desire and request of you, for the extirpation of diverse dissensions and controversies which will undoubtedly follow among our people under the diversity of the communion, and for abolishing infinite evils which we are not able to express as we have conceived them, that you will gently grant of your goodness and liberality, to give, grant, and command to our kingdom of Bohemia and marquisdom of Moravia, one uniform order of the communion to all men, under both kinds — that is to say, to the archbishop of Prague, the bishop of Luthonus, Olmutz, and other prelates of the kingdom and marquisdom, having charge of souls, and to their vicars, and also to their flocks and subjects, and that according to those things which are contained in the bull of the ambassadors, and in the compositions made in the name of the whole council, written in the chapter, *pro firmitate* (for strength), where it is said, ‘And all other things shall be done, which shall be fit and necessary for the preservation of the peace and unity.’ For this being done, by your benefit the whole kingdom will be comforted above measure, and established in brotherly love; whereby a uniform subjection and obedience will be perpetually attributed to the holy church.

“Also, we request and desire (as before) that to avoid all suspicion and doubtfulness by many who suppose that the sacred council has granted the communion under both kinds to us only for a time, as neither profitable nor wholesome, but as a writ of divorcement; that you will grant, wholesomely and speedily to provide for our safety. and with your grant in this behalf, and with the bulls in your letters, to confirm that chapter, together with the others pertaining to the office of your ambassadors.

“Also, we beseech you (as before) that for the confirmation of obedience, and for the discipline of all the clergy, and for the final defense and observation of all things determined and agreed upon, and for the good order in spiritualities, you will grant effectually to provide for us a good and lawful pastor, archbishops, and bishops, who will seem to us most fit and acceptable for our kingdom, to execute those offices and duties.

“Also, we request that your fatherly reverences will grant, for the defense of the worthy fame of the kingdom and marquisdom, to declare and show our innocency, in that they have

communicated, do, and hereafter shall communicate under both kinds; to distribute, ordain, and direct the letters of the sacred council, in a manner and form most apt and fitting for such a declaration, to all princes, secular as well as spiritual, cities and commonalties, according to the compositions, and as the lord ambassadors are bound to us to do.

“Also, we desire of you, that in discussing the matter of the communion under both kinds, and of the commandment given to all faithful, you will not proceed otherwise than according to the *Concordatum* agreed upon in Egra: that is to say, according to the law of God, the order of Christ, and his apostles, the general councils, and the minds of the holy doctors, truly grounded upon the law of God.

“Also, we desire that your fatherly reverences, considering the great affection of our people, will give us the desired liberty to communicate to the younger sort the sacrament of the supper. For if this use of communicating should be taken away, which our kingdom being godly, moved by the writings of most great and holy doctors, and brought in by example, has received as catholic, and exercised for a long time now; truly it would raise up an intolerable offense among the people, and their minds would be grievously vexed and troubled.

“Also, we request of you (as before) that for like causes, your fatherly reverences would grant to permit at least the gospels, epistles, and creed, to be sung and read in the church in our vulgar (native) tongue, before the people, to move them to devotion; for in our language it has been used of old in the church, and likewise in our kingdom.

“Also, we request of you in the name of the said kingdom, and of the famous university of Prague, that your fatherly reverences would grant to show such diligence and care toward the desired reformation of that university, that according to the manner and form of other universities reformed by the church, prebends and collations of certain benefices of cathedral and parish churches may be annexed and incorporated into the said university, so that thereby it may be increased and preferred.

“Also, we desire you (as before) as heartily as we may, and also (saving always your fatherly reverences) request of you — and by the former compositions we most instantly admonish you — that with your whole minds and endeavors, and with all care and study, your reverences will watch for and seek that long desired and most necessary reformation of the church and Christian religion, and effectually labor for rooting out all public evils, in the head as well as in the members, as you have often promised to do in our kingdom, in the compositions, and as our fourth article, regarding avoiding all public evils, exactions, and requirements.”

### **Council of Basel Dissolved.**

There were certain answers provided by the council to these petitions of the Bohemians, which were not delivered to them, but kept back — for what purpose and intent we do not know. Therefore, because we thought them not greatly necessary for this place, and to avoid prolixity, we judged it appropriate to omit them. Thus have you heard compendiously the chief and principal matters addressed and done in this famous Council of Basel.

Concerning the authority of this general Council of Basel, what is to be thought of it, may be learned by all good men from the acts and fruits of it. Neither was it doubted by any man in the beginning, so long as the pope agreed and consented to it. But after the pope began to draw back, many others followed, especially the richer sort of prelates, who had anything to lose. In the number of those inconstant prelates was Cardinal Julian, the first collector of this council, and vicar-general of the pope, as it appears by his fervent and vehement letter written to Pope Eugenius in defense of this council. In it he most earnestly expostulates with Pope Eugenius, who sought to dissolve the council. He declares many reasons why he should rather rejoice, and give God thanks for the godly proceedings and joyful agreement

between the council and the Bohemians. And so he exhorts him with many persuasions to resort to the council himself, and not to seek its dissolution.

### **Epistle of Eneas Sylvius**

In like manner, Eneas Sylvius, in his own handwriting, not only gave testimony to the authority of this council, but also bestowed his labor and pains in setting forth the whole history of it. Notwithstanding, Sylvius afterward being made pope, with his new honor, altered and changed his old opinion. But his epistle regarding the commendation of the council, because it is short, I thought to insert it here, to satisfy the reader's mind:

*An Epistle of Eneas Sylvius to  
the Rector of the University of Cologne.*

“To a Christian man, who would be a true Christian indeed, nothing ought to be more desired than that the sincerity and pureness of faith, given to us from Christ by our forefathers, be kept immaculate by all men. And if at any time anything is wrought or attempted against the true doctrine of the gospel, the people should with one consent provide lawful remedy, and every man bring with him some water to quench the general fire; nor must we fear how we are hated or envied; so we bring the truth. We must resist every man to his face, whether he is Paul or Peter, if he does not walk directly to the truth of the gospel. I am glad, and so are we all, to hear of what your university has done in this Council of Basel. For a certain treatise of yours is brought to us here, in which you reprehend the rudeness, or rather the rashness of those who deny that the bishop of Rome, and the consistory of his judgment, are to be subject to the general council; and that the supreme tribunal seat of judgment stands in the church, and not in any one bishop. Such men who deny this, you so confound with lively reasons and the truth of the Scriptures, that they are neither able to slide away like slippery eels, nor to cavil or bring any objection against you.”

The deposed Pope Eugenius, not acknowledging the acts deposing him, called a council at Florence, and in the meantime prevailed on the French king to make war on the Council of Basel. The dauphin was defeated, but the council was at last dissolved.

As these things were going on at Basel, Pope Eugenius brought to pass in his convocation at Florence, that the emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople, with the rest of the Greeks there present, were persuaded to receive the sentence of the church of Rome, concerning the proceeding of the Holy Spirit; and also to receive the communion in unleavened bread, to admit purgatory, and to yield themselves to the authority of the Romish bishop. However, the churches of Greece would in no way assent to this at their coming home, so that they condemned with a public anathema all those legates who had consented to these articles, so that none of them would be buried in Christian burial (A.D. 1439).

And thus ends the history, both of the Council of Basel and of the Council of Florence, also of the emperor Sigismund, and of the schism between Pope Eugenius and Pope Felix (who was induced to resign the popedom to the successor of Eugenius), and also of the Bohemians. The Bohemians, notwithstanding all these troubles and tumults, did right well, and were strong enough against all their enemies, till at length through discord — partly between the two preachers of the old and new city of Prague, and partly through the discord of the messengers and captains taking sides against one other — they made their enemies strong, and enfeebled themselves. However, they so defended the cause of their religion, not by sword, but by argument and disputation, that the bishop of Rome could never, nor even to this day, remove the Taborites and city of Prague from the communion of both kinds, nor



could he ever cause them to keep the conditions which, in the beginning of the council, were enjoined their priests to observe.

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During this business beyond the sea, our bishops here in England were not unoccupied. Whether it is the nature of the country, or the great livings and wealthy promotions of the clergy that influences them, it is certain that in England there is more burning and slaying for religion, and more bloodshed for all other matters among us, than in any other land or nation in Christendom besides. After the burning of Richard Hoveden, Nicholas Canon, and Thomas Bagley, priest, recorded above, whom the bishops condemned to death in A.D. 1431, not long after (about A.D. 1439), which was the 17th year of the reign of King Henry VI, they had another poor man named Richard Wiche, priest, who was first degraded, and then burnt at Tower-hill for heresy.

After the burning of this man, a convocation was called by Henry, archbishop of Canterbury, in which it was propounded among the clergy, to consult what way would be best for removing the law of *Praemunire facias* (p. 220);<sup>349</sup> for the hearts of the temporality<sup>350</sup> were then so set against the ecclesiastical sort, that where any advantage might be given them by the law, they spared nothing. This was because the churchmen at that time were greatly molested by the law of *Praemunire*, and by the king's writs and other indictments. By long consultation and good advisement, at last this way was taken: that a petition or supplication should be drawn and presented to the king, for abolishing the law of *Praemunire facias*, and also for restricting other briefs, writs, and indictments which seemed then to lie heavily on the clergy. This bill or supplication was contrived and exhibited by the archbishops of Canterbury and of York to the king, when he was standing in need of a subsidy to be collected from the clergy. This answer was given to their supplication, on the king's behalf: that because Christmas time was drawing near, whereby the king did not have sufficient leisure to advise on the matter, he would take a further pause regarding it. In the meantime, as one tending to his quiet, he would send to all his officers and ministers within his realm, that no such brief of *Praemunire* should pass against them, or any of them, from Christmas time till the next parliament, in A.D. 1441.<sup>351</sup>

### ***The Invention of Printing – 1450.***

In following the course of years, we find this year of our Lord, 1450, to be famous and memorable, for the divine and miraculous inventing of printing. Naucclerius, and Wymselingus following him, refer the invention to A.D. 1440. Others refer it to A.D. 1446, and 1450. The first inventor is thought to be a German, dwelling first in Strasburg, afterwards a citizen of Mentz, named John Faustus, a goldsmith. The occasion of this invention was by engraving the letters of the alphabet in metal; and then by laying black ink upon the metal, it gave the form of letters on paper. The man being industrious and active, he thought to proceed further, and to test whether it would frame as well in words and whole sentences, as it did in letters.

[355] A.D. 1440.

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<sup>349</sup> *Praemunire facias*: a writ directing a sheriff to forewarn a person that he or she must appear before a court to answer a criminal charge of having brought a suit in a foreign jurisdiction, or obeyed a foreign (especially papal) court or authority, thus challenging the supremacy of the English Crown.

<sup>350</sup> *Temporality*: laity; members of the church who do not have the priestly responsibilities of ordained clergy.

<sup>351</sup> Originally "A.D. 1439"; but one had just been held in Sep 1439. The next would be held in Dec 1441.



When he perceived it did so, he acquainted one John Gutenberg, and Peter Schaffer, binding them by their oath to keep silence for a season. After ten years, John Gutenberg, copartner with Faustus, first began to broach the matter at Strasburg. The art, being yet but rude, in the course of time was advanced by various men of inventive genius, adding more and more to its perfection. Among them, John Mentel, John Pruss, and Adolphus Ruschius, were great helpers. Ulricus Han, in Latin called *Gallus*, first brought it to Rome.

However, whatever man was the instrument, without all doubt God himself was the ordainer and disposer of it, in no other way than He was of the gift of tongues, and that was for a similar purpose. And well may this gift of printing correspond to the gift of tongues; for as God then spoke with many tongues, yet all that would not turn the Jews. So it is now; when the Holy Spirit speaks to the adversaries in innumerable sorts of books, yet they will not be converted, nor turn to the gospel.

Now to consider to what end and purpose the Lord has given this gift of printing to the earth, and it is not hard to judge to what great utility and necessity it serves.

And first, regarding the time of this invention being given to man, this is to be observed: that when the bishop of Rome, with the whole and full consent of the cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, lawyers, doctors, provosts, deans, archdeacons, assembled together in the Council of Constance, had condemned poor John Huss and Jerome of Prague to death for heresy, even though they were no heretics; and after they had subdued the Bohemians and the whole world under the supreme authority of the Romish see; and had made all Christian people obedient vassals, having (as one would say) all the world at their will — the matter was now past not only the power of all men, but also the hope of any man, to be recovered. In this very time, which was so dangerous and desperate, where man's power could do no more, then the blessed wisdom and omnipotent power of the Lord began to work for his church — not with sword and target to subdue his exalted adversary, but with printing, writing, and reading to convince darkness by light, error by truth, and ignorance by learning. So that by this means of printing, the secret operation of God has heaped a double confusion upon that proud kingdom.

For the bishop of Rome had burned John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who neither denied his transubstantiation, nor his supremacy, nor yet his popish mass; but said mass, and heard mass themselves. Neither did they speak against his purgatory, nor any other great matter of his popish doctrine; but only exclaimed against his excessive and pompous pride, his unchristian, or rather anti-Christian abomination of life. Thus while the pope could not abide to have his wickedness of life touched, but made whatever was spoken against his detestable conversation and manners a heresy, or at least a matter of death, God of his secret judgment, seeing a time to help his church, has found a way by this art of printing, to not only confound the pope's life and conversation, which before he could not abide to be touched, but also to cast down the foundation of his standing — that is, to examine, confute, and reveal his most detestable doctrine, laws, and institutions in such a way, that though his life was ever so pure, yet his doctrine standing as it does, no man is so blind that he may not see that either the pope is antichrist, or else that antichrist is near cousin to the pope. And all this does and will hereafter appear more and more by printing.

The reason for it is this: Hereby tongues are known, knowledge grows, judgment increases, books are dispersed, the Scripture is seen, the doctors are read, histories opened, times compared, truth discerned, falsehood detected — and all, as I said, through the benefit of printing. Therefore, I suppose that either the pope must abolish printing, or he must seek a new world to reign over. For otherwise, as this world stands, printing doubtless will abolish

him. But the pope, and his entire college of cardinals, must understand this: that through the light of printing, the world now begins to have eyes to see, and heads to judge. He cannot walk so invisible in a net, that he will not be spied. Although through his might he stopped the mouth of John Huss and of Jerome so that they might not preach, thinking to make his kingdom sure — yet instead of John Huss and others, God has opened the *press* to preach, whose voice the pope is never able to stop with all the puissance of his triple crown. By this printing, as by the gift of tongues, and by the singular organ of the Holy Spirit, the doctrine of the gospel sounds to all nations and countries under heaven. What God reveals to one man, is dispersed to many; and what is known in one nation, is opened to all.

The first and best were for the bishop of Rome to learn and know the truth, by the benefit of printing. If he will not, then let him well understand that printing is not set up for nothing. To strive against the stream will not avail. What the pope has lost since printing and the press began to preach, let him cast his counters. First, when Erasmus wrote, and Frobenius printed, what a blow was thereby given to all friars and monks in the world! And who does not see that the pen of Luther following after Erasmus, and furthered by printing, has set the triple crown so awry on the pope's head, that it is likely never to be set straight again?

Briefly, if there were no other demonstration, yet by this one argument of printing, the bishop of Rome might understand that the counsel and purpose of the Lord are working against him. He has provided such a way on earth, that there are as many printing presses in the world, as there are bulwarks against the high castle of St. Angelo.<sup>352</sup> So that either the pope must abolish knowledge and printing, or else printing will at length root him out. Just as nothing made the pope strong in times past as the lack of knowledge and ignorance of simple Christians, so contrariwise, nothing now debilitates and shakes the high spire of his papacy so much as reading, preaching, knowledge, and judgment — that is to say, the fruit of printing. We have seen and experienced some of this already, and more is likely to follow (by the Lord's blessing). For although through outward force and violent cruelty, tongues dare not speak, yet the hearts of men are no doubt daily instructed through the benefit of printing. Though the pope now has all under his possession by cruelty, and in times past by ignorance, yet he must not think that violence will always continue, nor must he hope now for what he had then. In former days books were scarce, and so expensive that few could buy them, and still fewer could read and study them. Those books now, by the means of this art, are made accessible to all men. You heard before how Nicholas Belward bought a New Testament in those days for four marks and forty pence; whereas now the same price will well serve forty persons with so many books!

Moreover, it was noted and declared before, by the testimony of Armachanus, how for a lack of books and good authors, universities were decayed and good men kept in ignorance, while begging friars, scraping all the wealth from other priests, heaped up all books that could be gotten, in their own libraries. There they either did not diligently apply them, or else did not rightly use them; or at the least they kept them from those who would more fruitfully have perused them. Therefore Almighty God, of his merciful Providence, seeing both what lacked in the church, and also how to remedy it for the advancement of his glory, gave the understanding of this excellent art or science of printing, by which three singular benefits at one time came to the world. First, the price of all books is reduced. Secondly, the help of reading is speedily furthered. And thirdly, the plenty of all good authors is enlarged.

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<sup>352</sup> The high castle of St. Angelo at Rome had several bulwarks added to enhance its defensive capabilities. These were constructed between the 15th and 16th centuries to adapt the structure to the new firearms technology of the time.

Because of this, just as printing books ministered to reading, so reading brought learning; and learning showed light, by the brightness of which blind ignorance was suppressed, error was detected, and finally, God's glory was advanced with the truth of his word.

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### **The Lamentable Losing of Constantinople.**

In A.D. 1453, Constantinus Paleologus was emperor of Constantinople. On the 29th of May, the great city of Constantinople was taken by the Turk Mahomet (Mehmed II), after a siege of 54 days, which started at the beginning of April. Within the city, besides the citizens, there were only 6,000 rescuers from the Greeks; and 3,000 from the Venetians and Genoese. Against these Mahomet brought an army of 400,000, collected out of the countries and places adjoining nearby, such as Grecia, Illyrica, Wallachia, Dardanis, Triballis, Bulgaria, out of Bithynia, Galatia, Lydia, Sicily, and such other places which still bore the name of Christians. Thus one neighbor, for lucre's sake, helped to destroy another.

The city was compassed with the Turks, both by sea and land. Mahomet, the Turk, divided his army into three parts, which in three parts of the city so beat the walls and broke them down, that they attempted to enter the city by those breaches. But the valiantness of the Christians in the city won much commendation. Their duke was called John Justinian of Genoa. But the assaults were great, and the number of the Christian soldiers daily decreased. Fighting both at the walls and at the haven, against such a multitude of the Turks, they were not able to hold out long. Beside the armies which lay battering at the walls, the Turk had on the sea his navy of 250 sailing ships lying upon the haven of the city, reaching from the one side of the haven's mouth to the other, as if a bridge might be made from one bank to the other. This haven was barred with iron chains by the citizens, whereby the Turks were kept out a certain distance. Against this navy there were seven ships of Genoa within the haven, three from Crete, and certain one from Chios, which stood against them. Also the soldiers issuing out of the city, as occasion would serve, manfully withstood them. With wild-fire they set their ships on fire, so that for a while they could serve no use. At length the chains were broken, and a way was made. The Turk's navy entered the haven, and assaulted the city, whereby the Turk began to conceive great hope, and was eager to obtain the city. The assault and skirmish then growing hotter, Mahomet the tyrant stood by on a hill, with his warriors about him, crying and howling out to them to scale the walls and enter the town. Otherwise, if any recoiled, he threatened to kill them, and so he did. Therefore a great number of his soldiers, in their repulse and retreat, were slain by the Turk's own men, sent by his commandment to slay them. And so they were justly served, and well paid for their hire.

Although this was some comfort to the Christians to see and behold outside the city the Turk's retinue so consumed, that hope did not last long. Shortly after, by the rage of war, it happened that one Justinian, the duke named above, was wounded. Notwithstanding that he was earnestly desired by Paleologus the emperor, not to leave the tower which he had to keep, seeing that his wound was not deadly; yet he could not be entreated to tarry, but left his standing and his fort undefended, setting no one in his place to guard it. And so this doughty duke hurt more by his false heart than with the force of a weapon, gave up and fled to Chio, where shortly after he died for sorrow, rather than for soreness of his wound. Many of his soldiers, seeing their captain flee, followed after him, leaving their fort utterly destitute and without defense. The Turks, understanding that advantage, soon burst into the city. The Emperor Paleologus, seeing no other way than to flee, made toward the gate. He

was either slain, or else trampled by the multitude. In that gate, 800 dead men's bodies were found and taken up.

The city of Constantinople thus being gotten, the Turks sacked and ranged about the streets, houses, and corners, putting to the sword most unmercifully whomever they found, both aged and young, matrons, maidens, children, and infants, sparing none. The noble matrons and maidens were horribly assaulted; the goods of the city, the treasuries in houses, the ornaments in churches were all sacked and spoiled. Pictures of Christ were contemptuously handled in hatred of Christ. The spoil and havoc of the city lasted for three days, while the barbarous soldiers murdered and rifled whatever they liked.

These things being done, and the tumult ceased, after three days Mahomet the Turk (Mehmed II) entered the city. He first called for the leaders and ancients of the city; those whom he found alive he commanded to be mangled and cut in pieces. It is also reported (says my author), that in the feasts of the Turks, all those who were of the king's stock, after other barbarities, were hewn and cut in pieces for their sport.

And this was the end of that princely and famous city of Constantinople, begun first by a Constantine, and also ending with a Constantine, which for its princely royalty was named and ever honored equally with the city of Rome, from the time of the first Constantine, and was also called the New Rome, It had continued for 1123 years. I pray God that Old Rome may learn from New Rome, to take heed and beware in time.

This terrible destruction of the city of Constantinople, the queen of cities, I thought to describe here, not so much to set forth the barbarous cruelty of these filthy and merciless murderers, as especially for this: that being admonished by the doleful ruin and misery of our fellow Christians, we may call to mind the deserved plagues and miseries which seem to hang no less over our own heads. And thereby we may sooner learn to invoke and call more earnestly upon the name of our terrible and merciful God, that for his Son's sake He will keep us, and preserve his church among us, and mitigate those plagues and sorrows which we no less deserved, than those mentioned above did before us. Christ grant it, Amen.

### **History of Reynold Peacock.**

*The history of Reynold Peacock bishop of Chichester,  
afflicted and imprisoned for the gospel of Christ.*

After the death of Henry Chichesley, mentioned before, next succeeded John Stafford (A.D. 1445), who continued for eight years. After him came John Kemp (A.D. 1453), who sat but three years. Then succeeded Thomas Burschere. In the time of this archbishop, Reynold Peacock, bishop of Chichester, was afflicted by the pope's prelate for his faith and profession of the gospel. This man (says Hall) began to prompt questions not privately, but openly in the universities, concerning the Annates,<sup>353</sup> Peter-pence, and other jurisdictions, and the authorities pertaining to the See of Rome. He not only put forth the questions, but he declared his mind and opinion about them. He was for this reason abjured at Paul's Cross. This bishop, first of St. Asaph, then of Chichester, so long as Duke Humphrey lived (by whom he was promoted and made much of) was quiet and safe. He was also bold to dispute and to write his mind in several books and treatises. But after that good duke was removed, this good man was open to his enemies, and matter was soon found against him. Being

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<sup>353</sup> *Annate*: payments made to the papacy from the first year's revenue of a benefice.

complained about, and accused to the archbishop, letters were directed down from the archbishop to cite all men to appear who could say anything against him.

This citation being thus issued, the bishop came before the judges and bishops to Lambeth, where Thomas the archbishop, with his doctors and lawyers, were gathered together in the archbishop's court. The duke of Buckingham was present, accompanied with the bishops of Rochester, and of Lincoln. What opinions and articles were objected against him will be specified in his revocation. In answering for himself, in such a company of the pope's friends, although he could not prevail, yet he stoutly defended himself. He declared many things worthy of great commendation for learning, if learning could have prevailed against power. But on the contrary part, they exerted themselves with all labor and diligence, either to reduce him, or else to confound him.

[357] A.D. 1440—1457.

Briefly, no stone was left unturned, no ways unproved, either by fair means to entreat him, or by terrible menaces to terrify his mind, till at length, being vanquished and overcome by the bishops, he began to faint, and gave up. Whereupon, by and by, a recantation was put to him by the bishops, which he should declare before the people. The copy of this recantation follows here:

“In the name of God, Amen. Before you, the most reverend father in Christ and Lord, the Lord Thomas, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England and legate of the apostolic see, I, Reynold Peacock, unworthy bishop of Chichester, do purely, willingly, simply, and absolutely confess and acknowledge, that in times past, that is to say, for these past twenty years and more, have conceived, held, taught, and written, regarding the sacraments, and the articles of the faith, otherwise than the holy church of Rome, and universal church; and also that I have made, written, published, and set forth many and diverse pernicious doctrines, books, works, writings, heresies, that are contrary and against the true catholic and apostolic faith, containing in them errors contrary to the catholic faith, and especially these errors and heresies written hereunder.

1. First of all, that we are not bound by the necessity of faith, to believe that our Lord Jesus Christ after his death descended into hell. <sup>354</sup>
2. That it is not necessary to salvation to believe in the holy catholic church.
3. That it is not necessary to salvation to believe the communion of saints.
4. That it is not necessary to salvation to affirm the material body in the sacrament.
5. That the universal church may err in matters which pertain to faith.
6. That it is not necessary to salvation to believe what every general council universally ordains, approves, or determines, should necessarily, for the help of our faith and the salvation of souls, is to be approved and held by all faithful Christians.

“Therefore I, Reynold Peacock, wretched sinner, who have long walked in darkness, and now by the merciful disposition and ordinance of God, am reduced and brought again to the light and way of truth, and restored to the unity of our holy mother the church, renounce and forsake all errors and heresies aforesaid.”

It is probable that this bishop repented afterward of his recantation. This may easily be supposed, because he was committed again to prison, and detained captive, where it is

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<sup>354</sup> In the Apostle's Creed, the line “He descended into hell” was a late addition, post-fourth century. See Philip Schaff's *History of the Christian Church* (1858), Vol. 2, pp. 535-536 for examples of the original texts.

uncertain whether he was oppressed with private and secret tyranny; or whether there he obtained the crown of martyrdom.

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From the persecutions and burnings in England we will now digress a little, to speak of foreign matters of the church of Rome.

Pope Nicholas V, to get and gather great sums of money, appointed a jubilee in A.D. 1450, at which time a greater number of people resorted to Rome, than had been seen at any time before. We read in the history of Platina, that something happened at this time, which I thought not unworthy to be noted here as an example. As there was a great concourse of people resorting to the mount Vatican to behold the image of our Savior, which they had there to show to the pilgrims, the people were thick going to and fro between the mount and the city. By chance, a certain mule of the cardinals of St. Mark came by the way. The people not being able to avoid them, one or two fell upon the mule. There was such a throng of people on the bridge on that occasion, that some two hundred men and three horses were smothered there; and on each side of the bridge many others besides these fell over into the water and were drowned.

During the time of pope Nicholas, one Matthew Palmerius wrote a book *On Angels*. For defending it, he was condemned by the pope, and burned at Coma.

After Nicholas succeeded Calixtus III (1455), who among other things ordained that both at noon and evening, the bell was to toll the *Aves*, as it was used in the popish time, to help the soldiers who fought against the Turks. And for this cause he also ordained the feast of the transfiguration of the Lord, solemnizing it with like pardons and indulgencies, and also on *Corpus Christi* day.

Also this pope, proceeding contrary to the councils of Constance and Basel, decreed that no man should appeal from the pope to any council. Also by him, St. Edmund of Canterbury, with various others, were made saints.

Next after this Calixtus succeeded Pius II (1458), otherwise called Eneas Sylvius. He wrote the two books of commentaries on the Council of Basel mentioned before. This Eneas, at the time of the writing of those books, seemed to be a man of tolerable judgment and doctrine, from which he afterward, being pope, seemed to decline and swerve, seeking by all means possible, how to deface and abolish the books which he himself had written.

#### **Statements attributed to Pius II.**

“The divine nature of God may be comprehended by faith rather than by disputation.

“Christian faith is to be considered, not by what reason it is proved, but from whom it proceeds.

“Neither can a covetous man be satisfied with money, nor a learned man with knowledge.

“Learning ought to be [given] to poor men instead of silver, to noblemen instead of gold, and to princes instead of precious stones.

“An artificial oration moves fools, but not wise men.

“Suitors in the law are like birds: the court is the bait; the judges are the nets; and the lawyers are the fowlers.

“Men are to be given to dignities, and not dignities to men.

“The office of a bishop is heavy, but it is blessed to him who bears it well.

“A bishop without learning may be likened to an ass.

“An evil physician destroys bodies, but an unlearned priest destroys souls.

“Marriage was taken from priests not without great reason; but with much greater reason it ought to be restored again.”

He utters a similar sentence to this last one in his second book of the Council of Basel, saying,

“Perhaps it would not be the worst, that most priests had their wives; for many would be saved in priestly marriage, who now are damned in unmarried priesthood.”

As Celius reports, the same Pius also dissolved certain orders of nuns, of the orders of St. Bridget and St. Clare, bidding them to depart, so that they would no longer disgrace the profession of religion.

This Pius, if he had brought so much piety and godliness as he brought learning to his popedom, he would have excelled many popes that went before him. Before his elevation he preferred general councils above the pope. Now being pope, he decreed that no man should appeal from the high bishop of Rome to any general council. And likewise for priests' marriage: whereas, before he thought it best to have their wives restored, yet afterward he altered his mind.

After Pius II succeeded Paul II (1464), a pope wholly set on his own gratification and ambition, and not so much void of all learning, as filled with hatred of learned men.

After Paul came Sixtus IV (1471). This pope, among his other acts, reduced the year of jubilee from the fiftieth year to the twenty-fifth. He also instituted the feast of the Conception, and the presentation of Mary and of Anna her mother, and of Joseph. He canonized Bonaventure and St. Francis as saints. He also introduced beads, and instituted our lady's Psalter. Sixtus made thirty-two cardinals in his time.

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Next after Sixtus IV came Innocent VIII (1484), as rude and as far from all learning as his predecessor was before him.<sup>355</sup> Among the noble acts of this pope was this one: that in the town of Polus apud Equicolos, he caused eight men and six women, with the lord of the place, to be apprehended and taken, and judged as heretics, because they said none of those who came after Peter was the vicar of Christ, except those who followed the poverty of Christ. He also condemned George king of Bohemia as a heretic, and deprived him of his dignity and also of his kingdom; and he had George's whole line utterly rejected and put down, giving his kingdom to Matthias king of Pannonia.

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### **Henry VI Deposed — Succeeded by Edward IV.**

Now, from the popes let us descend to other estates, beginning with our troubles here at home pertaining to the overthrow of King Henry VI and his seat. Here it is to be remembered how, after the death of the duke of Gloucester, mischiefs came in by heaps upon the king and his realm. For after giving away Anjou and Maine to the Frenchmen by the unfortunate marriage of Queen Margaret,<sup>356</sup> the Frenchmen perceived that now, by the

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<sup>355</sup> Sixtus IV also founded the Spanish Inquisition in 1478 at the request of Isabella and Ferdinand, and was known for his nepotism, often promoting his relatives to high positions within the Church and state.

<sup>356</sup> Margaret of Anjou (1430-1482), had married Henry VI, becoming Queen of France as well as England.



death of Humphrey the duke of Gloucester, the stay and pillar of this commonwealth was decayed. And seeing, moreover, the hearts of the nobility were divided among themselves, they lost no time having such an open way into Normandy. In a short time they recovered it and also got Gascony, so that of all the parts beyond the sea, no longer remained England's except Calais. Nor did the calamity of the realm only rest in this. For the king now having lost his friendly uncle as the stay and staff of his age, who had brought him up so faithfully from his youth, Henry was now more open to his enemies, and they were more emboldened to set upon him. This appeared first by Jack Cade, the Kentish captain who encamped on Blackheath, and afterward aspired to London. He gained its spoil, the king being driven into Warwickshire (A.D. 1450). Not long after the suppression of Cade's insurrection, the duke of York, accompanied by three earls, set upon the king near St. Alban's. There the king was taken captive, and the duke of York was declared protector by parliament in the same year. After this followed long division and mortal war between the two houses of Lancaster and York, continuing many years.<sup>357</sup> At length, in the year 1450, the duke of York was slain in battle by the queen near the town of Wakefield, and with him also his son, the earl of Rutland. The queen also, shortly after, discomfited the earl of Warwick, and the duke of Norfolk, to whom the keeping of the king had been committed by the duke of York. And so the queen again delivered her husband.

After these victories, the northern men, advancing not a little in pride and courage, began to take upon themselves great attempts not only to spoil and rob churches, religious houses, and villages, but also fully intending — partly by themselves, partly by the inducement of their lords and captains — to sack, waste, and utterly subvert the city of London, and to take its spoil. No doubt (says my history) they would have proceeded in their conceived greedy intent, had not the opportune favor of God provided a speedy remedy. For as these mischiefs were in brewing, suddenly the noble Prince Edward came to London with a mighty army, on the twenty-seventh of February (1461). He was the son and heir to the duke of York mentioned above, and was accompanied by the earl of Warwick, and diverse others. In the meantime, King Henry went up to York with his victory. When Edward was at London, he caused certain articles to be proclaimed there, concerning his title to the crown of England. On the second of March, and then on the fourth, accompanied with the lords spiritual and temporal, and with a large concourse of people, he rode to Westminster-hall. There, by the full consent of the lords as well by the voice of all the commons, he took possession of the crown, and was called King Edward IV.

These things thus accomplished at London, King Edward proceeded northward against Henry. He had passed over the river of Trent with his army, and had come near Ferrybridge, where the army of King Henry was not far off. On Palm Sunday, between Ferrybridge and Tadcaster, the armies of both the southern and northern men engaged each other in battle. At the beginning, some horsemen on King Edward's side turned their backs, and yet the courageous prince, with his captains, little discouraged, fiercely and manfully set upon their adversaries. The battle was so cruelly fought on both sides, it was reported that besides men of name, 36,000 of the poor commons were slain in the conflict. Notwithstanding, the conquest fell on King Edward's part, so that King Henry having lost all, was forced to flee

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<sup>357</sup> This is the beginning of the Wars of the Roses (1455–85), a series of dynastic civil wars whose violence and civil strife preceded the strong government of the Tudors. It was fought between the houses of Lancaster and York for the English throne. The name comes from the badges of the contending parties: the white rose of York, and the red rose of Lancaster. Queen Margaret was instrumental on the Lancaster side. — *Ency. Brit.*



into Scotland, where he gave the town of Berwick to the Scots in return for helping him against the Yorks He had reigned thirty-eight and a half years.

***King Edward IV – 1461.***

King Edward, after his conquest and victory achieved against King Henry, returned again to London. There, upon the vigil of St. Peter and Paul being a Sunday (A.D. 1461), he was crowned king of England, and reigned twenty-two years.

When it was proposed that the king should marry, several alliances were suggested. First, Lady Margaret was thought of, sister to James IV king of Scots. Afterward Lady Elizabeth, sister to Henry king of Castile, but she was underage. The earl of Warwick then turned to the French king Louis XI, to obtain Lady Bona, daughter of the duke of Savoy, and sister to the French queen. He obtained consent. Meanwhile the king was pleased with Elizabeth Grey, the widow of Sir John Grey, a knight who slain earlier in the battle of St. Albans. She was daughter to the duchess of Bedford and Lord Rivers. The king first endeavored to have her as his mistress. But being unworthy (she said) to be the wife of such a high personage, and thinking herself too good to be his mistress, she so won the king's heart, that before the return of the earl of Warwick from France, he married her. At this marriage only the duchess of Bedford, two gentlewomen, the priest and cleric, were present. Upon this hasty and unlucky marriage ensued no little trouble for the king, much bloodshed to the realm, the undoing of almost all her kindred, and finally, confusion to King Edward's two sons, who were afterward declared to be illegitimate, and deprived of their lives. The earl of Warwick, who had earlier been the faithful friend and chief maintainer of the king, upon hearing of this marriage, was so angry that he ever afterwards endeavored to work displeasure to the king. He concealed his wrathful mood, till he might find a convenient time and a world to set forward his purpose. At last finding an occasion that served his mind, he made known his purpose to his two brethren, the Lord Montague, and the archbishop of York, conspiring with them to bring it about. Then he also thought to discover the mind of the duke of Clarence, King Edward's brother. He likewise won him to his side, giving him his daughter in marriage.

The matter thus being prepared against the king, the first flame of his conspiracy began to appear in the north country. There the northern men shortly gathered themselves in an open rebellion, and found captains for their wicked purpose; then they came down from York toward London. Against them the king appointed William Lord Herbert, earl of Pembroke, with the Lord Stafford, and certain other captains. The Yorkshiremen first overthrew Lord Stafford, then the earl of Pembroke and his company of Welshmen at Banbury Field. At last they joined together with the army of the earl of Warwick, and the duke of Clarence, in the dead of the night. They secretly stole onto king Edward's field at Wolney by Warwick, killed the watch, and took the king prisoner. He was first held in the castle of Warwick, then conveyed by night to Middleham castle in Yorkshire, under the custody of the archbishop of York. Being kept loosely there, with liberty to go hunting, he met with Sir William Stanley, Sir Thomas of Borough, and other friends. He was too good for his keepers, and escaped the hands of his enemies. And so king Edward came to York, where he was well received. From there he went to Lancaster, where he met with Lord Hasting his chamberlain, who was well accompanied, and by whose help the king came safely to London.

[359] A.D. 1457-1471.

After this tumult, when reconciliation could not come to perfect peace and unity, even though much labor was put into it by the nobility, the earl of Warwick raised up a new war in Lincolnshire. The captain there was Sir Robert Wells, knight. Shortly after, he was taken in battle with his father and Sir Thomas Duncock, and they were beheaded, A.D. 1470. The rest tossed their coats and fled, for which the field (at Empingham) came to be called Losecoat Field. After this, the earl of Warwick, without comfort and hope of prevailing at home, fled England — first to Calais, then to Louis the French king, accompanied by the duke of Clarence.

At that time, the fame of the earl of Warwick and of his famous acts was greatly admired, and he was so highly favored that both in England and in France all men were glad to behold his person. Therefore the arrival of this earl, and of the duke of Clarence, was not a little gratifying to the French king, and no less opportune to Queen Margaret, King Henry's wife, and Prince Edward her son. They too came to the French court to meet and confer together regarding their affairs. A league was concluded there between them. Moreover, a marriage was wrought between Edward prince of Wales, and Anne the second daughter of the earl of Warwick. Thus all things falling luckily on the earl's part, besides the large offers and great promises made by the French king, that he would do his best to set forward their purpose. The earl also had intelligence by letters, that the hearts of almost all men went with him, and longed sorely for his presence against king Edward. So that there now lacked only haste to return to England with all possible speed. Well-fortified with the French navy, he and the duke of Clarence set out towards England. For so it was previously decreed between them, that these two would prove the first venture, and then Queen Margaret, with Prince Edward her son, would follow after. The arrival of the earl was no sooner heard of at Dartmouth in Devonshire, than a great concourse of people by the thousands went to him from all quarters to receive and welcome him back. He immediately made a proclamation in the name of King Henry VI, charging all men who were able to bear armor, to prepare themselves to fight against Edward duke of York, the *usurper* of the crown. He lacked no friends, strength of men, furniture, nor policy convenient for such a matter.

When King Edward (who was passing the time in hunting, hawking, and in all pleasure and dalliance, heard what a great resort of multitudes incessantly repaired more and more daily around the earl and the duke, he began to provide for a remedy, but it was too late. Trusting too much to his friends and previous fortune, he now right well perceived what a variable and inconstant thing the people are, and especially the people of England, whose nature is never to be long content with the present state. But always delighting in newness, they seek a new variety of changes, either envying that which stands, or pitying that which has fallen. This inconstant mutability of the people, changing with the wind and wavering with the reed, well appeared in the course of King Edward's story. For through the favor of the people, when he was down, he was exalted; now being exalted by them, he was forsaken. This then should be noted by all princes: that just as there is nothing in this mutable world that is firm and stable, so there is no trust or assurance to be had, except in the favor of God, and in the promises of His word — except in Christ his Son, whose kingdom alone shall never end, and never change.

While these things were passing on in England, King Edward, accompanied by the duke of Gloucester his brother, and the Lord Hastings, who had married the earl of Warwick's sister, and yet was ever true to King Edward; and the Lord Scales, brother to the queen, sent abroad to all his friends for able soldiers to withstand his enemies. When he could obtain but little assistance, the king departed into Lincolnshire. There, he perceived his enemies were daily increasing, and all the country was in disturbance, making fires, and singing

songs, crying, “King Henry, King Henry! a Warwick, a Warwick!” and hearing that his enemies the Lancastrians were within half a day’s journey of him, he was advised to flee across the sea to the duke of Burgundy, who not long before had married King Edward’s sister.

Charles, duke of Burgundy, upon hearing of the condition of his brother-in-law, King Edward was greatly amazed and perplexed, doubting what he should do. For being then at war with the French king, he could not well provoke the English nation against him, nor could he, without great shame, leave King Edward in that necessity. So he demeaned himself through fair speech, pretending to the Englishmen to take sides with the house of Lancaster, being partly descended from the same family on his grandmother’s side. So that he was Henry’s friend openly, and Edward’s friend covertly, pretending what he did not, and doing what he did not pretend.

When tidings were spread in England of King Edward’s flight, innumerable people resorted to the earl of Warwick, to take his part against King Edward, and only a few of Edward’s constant friends took sanctuary. Among them was Elizabeth his wife, who, in despair almost of all comfort, took sanctuary at Westminster, where in great penury she was delivered of a fair son named Edward, who was baptized without any pomp, like any poor woman’s child. The godfathers were the abbot and prior of Westminster, the godmother was lady Scroope.

To make the story short, the earl of Warwick having now brought all things to his wishes, upon the 12th of Oct. rode to the Tower, which was then delivered to him, and there he took King Henry out of the ward, and placed him in the king’s lodging. The 25th of that month, the duke of Clarence, accompanied by the earls of Warwick, Shrewsbury, and the Lord Stanley, and with a great company, brought King Henry in a long gown of blue velvet through the high streets of London, first to St. Paul’s church, then to the bishop’s palace of London, and there he again resumed the royal crown, (A.D. 1470). After this followed a parliament, in which King Edward with all his partakers were judged traitors. King Edward made urgent and successful suit to Duke Charles his brother, to rescue him with such forces as he could give him; for he was fully resolved to wait no longer.

The duke secretly gave him 50,000 florins, and further had four great ships appointed for him in a haven in Zealand,<sup>358</sup> where it was free for all men to come. Also the duke had hired fourteen ships for him from the Easterlings well-appointed, taking security from them to serve him faithfully till he had landed in England, and for fifteen days afterward.

Thus King Edward with only 2,000 men of war, took his voyage into England, and landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. Concealing his purpose, he pretended not to claim the crown and kingdom, but only to claim the duchy of York, which was his own title, and he caused that to be published. This being notified to the people, that he desired no more than his just patrimony and lineal inheritance, they began to be moved with mercy and compassion towards him, either to favor him or at least not to resist him. And so, journeying toward York, he came to Beverley. He then proceeded to York without resistance, where he requested from the citizens to be admitted into their city. They dared not grant it to him, but on the contrary sent him word to approach no nearer, if he loved his own safety. The desolate king was here driven into a narrow strait. He could not retire, for in the opinion of the country, it would be the loss of his cause. Nor could he advance, because of the present danger of the city. So using policy as before, with loving words and gentle speech, he desired the messengers to declare to the citizens, that his coming was not to demand the realm of

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<sup>358</sup> Zealand: the largest island of Denmark and the site of Copenhagen.

England, but only the duchy of York, his old inheritance. And therefore he had determined to set forward, with neither army nor weapon. The messengers were no sooner inside the gates, than he was there with them.

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The citizens hearing his courteous answer, and that he intended nothing to the prejudice of the king, nor of the realm, were somewhat softened toward him. They began to parley with him from the walls, desiring him to withdraw his soldiers to some other place, and that they would then be more ready to aid him, or at least he would have no damage by them.

However, he again used such humble language, and delivered so fair a speech to them, treating them so courteously, and saluting the aldermen by their names, requiring at their hands no more than his own town, of which he had the name and title, that at length the citizens, after long talks and debating on the matter — also partly enticed with fair and large promises, agreed that if he would swear to be true to King Henry, and gentle in entertaining his citizens, they would receive him into the city.

This being concluded, the next morning upon entering the gate, a priest was ready to say mass, in which after receiving the sacrament, the king received a solemn oath to observe the two articles agreed to before. By this he obtained the city of York where, in a short time forgetting his oath, he set garrisons of armed soldiers. King Edward, soon being more fully furnished at all points, by the accession of his friends, came to the town of Leicester, and there hearing that the earl of Warwick, with the earl of Oxford were at Warwick with a great army, he marched his army, hoping to give battle to the earl. In the meantime, the duke of Clarence had levied a great host and was coming toward the earl of Warwick. But when the earl saw the duke delay the time, he began to suspect that he had changed to his brother's party. When the armies of the two brothers. King Edward and the duke of Clarence, were in sight of each other, Richard, duke of Gloucester, brother to them both, as an arbiter between them, first rode to the one, and then to the other. Whether all this was for appearances, is uncertain. But hereby both brothers, laying all army and weapons aside, first lovingly and familiarly communed. After that, they brotherly and naturally joined together. And that fraternal amity was ratified by proclamation, and thereby put out of all suspicion.

Then it was agreed between the three brothers, to test the earl of Warwick, if he likewise would be reconciled; but he stood in utter defiance, crying out *shame* upon the duke of Clarence. From there King Edward, being so strongly supported and daily increasing, makes his way to London. After it was known that the duke of Clarence had joined him, much fear fell upon the Londoners, as to what was best to be done. So the citizens consulting with themselves, having no walls to defend them, thought it best to take that way which seemed to them the surest and safest; and therefore they concluded to take part with King Edward. This was no sooner known abroad, than the commonalty ran out by heaps to meet King Edward, and to salute him as their king. The duke of Somerset, with others of King Henry's council, hearing of this, and wondering at the sudden change in the world, fled and left King Henry alone.

The earl of Warwick had now passed a great part of his journey to London, when hearing the news how affairs had changed, and that King Henry was again a prisoner in the Tower, he was not a little appalled. And so he stayed with his army at St. Albans, to see what course to take. And then he removed to Barnet, ten miles from St. Albans.

King Edward set out against him with a strong army of picked and able persons, with artillery and every requisite; also bringing with him his prisoner King Henry. On Easter

evening he came to Barnet, and there he entrenched himself. On the morning of Easter day the battle began, and fiercely continued till almost noon, with murder on each side, till both sides were almost weary with fighting and murdering. King Edward then, with a great body of fresh soldiers set upon his wearied enemies. The earl's men, encouraged with the words of their captain, fought stoutly, but being already wounded and wearied, they could hold out not long. The earl, rushing into the midst of his enemies, ventured so far, that he could not be rescued. There he was struck down and slain (April 14, 1471). The Marquis Montague thinking to succor his brother, whom he saw to be in great jeopardy, was likewise overthrown and slain. After Richard Nevil, earl of Warwick, and his brother were gone, the rest fled, and many were taken.

In the same year, about the same time, on the Ascension evening, king Henry, being prisoner in the Tower, departed, after reigning thirty-eight years and six months. Polydore (and Hall following him) affirms that he was slain with a dagger by Richard, duke of Gloucester, for the quieter safeguarding of his brother King Edward.

Polydore, after describing the virtues of king Henry VI, records that King Henry VII afterward removed his corpse from Chertsey, where he was buried, to Windsor, and he adds that certain miracles were done by him. For this reason, he says, King Henry VII labored with Pope Julius to have him canonized as a saint; but the death of the king prevented the matter proceeding. Edward Hall writing about this matter, declares that the reason why King Henry's sainting was not completed was that the fees for canonizing a king were so great at Rome (more than of bishop or prelate) that the king thought it better to keep the money in his chests, than to buy so dear, and pay so much, for a new holiday of St. Henry in the Calendar.

During the time of these doings, about A.D. 1465, there was a Carmelite friar in England, who preached at St. Paul's, in London, that our Lord Jesus Christ, while here in this world, lived in poverty, and begged. The provincial of that order also seemed to incline to this doctrine, defending it both in his reading and preaching, with other doctors and brethren of the same order; and also certain of the Jacobites. On the contrary side, many doctors and also lawyers, both in their public lectures and preaching, withstood their assertion, as most pestiferous in the church. Such a bitter contention arose among them, that its defendants were driven for a while to keep silence. This question of the begging friars, whether Christ begged or not, went so far that at length it came to the ears of Pope Paul II, who was no beggar you may be sure. After the fame of this doctrine had mounted over the Alps, and came flying to the court of Rome, A.D. 1465, it brought with it such an evil smell to the fine noses there, that there was no need to bid them to stir; for to them, begging was worse than high heresy. Therefore the holy father. Pope Paul II, to repress the sparks of this doctrine, which otherwise might have set his whole kitchen on fire, takes the matter in hand, and directs his bull into England, insinuating to the prelates here, that this heresy, which pestiferously affirms that Christ openly begged, was condemned of old by the bishops of Rome and his councils, and that it ought to be declared in all places as a damned doctrine, worthy to be trodden under all men's feet, etc.

I will omit speaking about the rest of the affairs of King Edward, who had been victorious in nine battles, himself being present, and other such things, making a supersedeas of them. This is partly because they are sufficiently described in our common English histories, and also because they are not matters greatly pertaining to the church.

These would include how afterward, through the incitement of his brother-in-law Charles, duke of Burgundy, Edward ventured into France with a powerful army, and how the duke

failed him in his promise; also how peace between these two kings was at length concluded in a solemn meeting of them both (which is marked in histories by a white dove sitting on top of King Edward's tent the day of the meeting); also of the marriage promised between the young dauphin and Elizabeth, King Edward's eldest daughter, but afterwards broken off on the French king's part; moreover, regarding the death of the duke of Burgundy, slain in war, and of his daughter Mary, niece to King Edward, wrongfully spoiled of her lands and possessions by Louis, the French king, and afterward married to Maximilian; furthermore, regarding the expedition of King Edward into Scotland, because King James broke his promise in marrying with Cicely, the second daughter of King Edward, and of driving out his brother, and how the matter was composed there, and of the recovery of Berwick.

[361] A.D. 1471-1473.

But I do find two things here, among many others, that are especially to be remembered.

The first concerns a godly and constant servant of Christ, named John Goose, who in the time of this king, was unjustly condemned and burnt at the Towerhill, A.D. 1473, in the month of August. Thus England had its John Huss (Huss signifies a goose) as well as Bohemia. It is to be noted in this, that since the time of King Richard II, there is no reign of any king in which some good man or other has not suffered the pains of fire for the religion and true testimony of Christ Jesus. I find it recorded of this John Goose (or John Huss), that being delivered to one of the sheriffs to see him burnt in the afternoon, the sheriff, like a charitable man, brought him home to his house; and there he exhorted him to deny his alleged errors. But the godly man, after long exhortation, desired the sheriff to be content, for he was satisfied in his conscience. However, he desired this of the sheriff: for God's sake to give him some food, saying that he was very sorely hungered. The sheriff commanded food for him; which he took and ate, as if he had been in no danger at all. And he said to those who stood around him, "I now eat a good and competent dinner, for I will pass a little sharper shower before I go to supper." When he had dined, he gave thanks, and requested that he might shortly be led to the place where he would yield up his spirit to God.

The second thing to be noted in this, is the death of George, duke of Clarence, the king's second brother; of whom mention was made earlier, how he assisted King Edward his brother at Barnet Field against the earl of Warwick, and helped him to the crown. Now, after all these benefits given, he was at length requited by being apprehended and cast into the Tower (for what cause it is uncertain). There being judged a traitor, he was secretly drowned in a butt of malmsey.<sup>359</sup> What the true cause of his death was cannot be affirmed with any certainty.

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Now having long tarried at home in describing the tumults and troubles within our own land, we will proceed more at large, to consider the afflictions and perturbations of other parties and places, also of Christ's church, here in Europe under the pope, as well as in the eastern parts under the Turk. We begin our history from the time of Sigismund, who was engaged in the Council of Constance against John Huss and Jerome of Prague, as recorded above. This emperor always had evil luck fighting against the Turks. Twice he warred against them, and in both battles he was discomfited and put to flight. Once he was near the city of Mysia, fighting against Bajazet I, the Great Turk, A.D. 1395. The second time was fighting against Celebinus, the son of Bajazet, near a town called Columbacium. But especially after the Council of Constance, in which those two godly martyrs were condemned

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<sup>359</sup> [That is, in a cask of Sweet Madeira wine.](#)

and burned, more unprosperous results followed Sigismund fighting against his own subjects, the Bohemians, A.D. 1420. During the times of Ziska and of Procopius, the emperor was repulsed in so many battles (described earlier), it was to his great dishonor. Having been beaten by the Turks abroad, and then by his own people at home, he never encountered the Turks again. The Council of Basel then followed in A.D. 1431. Sigismund, who was emperor, king of Hungary, and king of Bohemia, died in Moravia, A.D. 1437.

### **The Emperor Albert.**

Sigismund left behind him only one daughter, Elizabeth, who was married to Albert, duke of Austria, by which he was advanced to the empire, and so he was both duke of Austria, emperor, king of Hungary, and also king of Bohemia. This Albert was an enemy and a disquieter to the Bohemians, and especially to the good men of Tabor. As he was preparing to set forth against the Turks, he died. This was in the second year of his reign, A.D. 1439, leaving his wife great with child. Being then in Hungary, and believing she would bear a daughter, called to her the princes and the chieftains of the realms. She declared to them that she was but a woman, and insufficient to govern such a state; moreover, she thought she might bear a daughter. So she required them to provide among themselves such a prince and governor (reserving the right of the kingdom to herself) as was fit and able under her, to manage the empire committed to him. The Turk, meanwhile, being elevated and encouraged with his victories against Sigismund, began more fiercely to invade Hungary and those parts of Christendom. Therefore the Hungarians, making haste, consulted among themselves to make Duke Vladislaus their king, who was brother to Casimir, king of Poland.

But while this was in progress between the Hungarians and Vladislaus, Elizabeth brought forth a son named Ladislaus. Being the lawful heir of the kingdom, the queen annulled her former word, minding to reserve the kingdom for her son. Therefore she refused marriage with Vladislaus, which she had previously designed. But Vladislaus, joining with a great part of the Hungarians, persisted in the condition granted before, and would not give over. Thus great contention and division was kindled among the people of Hungary. Amurath, the Great Turk, took advantage of their discord, and partly elated with pride at his former success against Sigismund, invaded the realm of Hungary with his whole main and force. Huniades, surnamed Vainoda, prince of Transylvania, joined with Vladislaus, the new king of Hungary, and both together set against the Turk, A.D. 1444. Vladislaus, in the fourth year of his kingdom, was slain. Meanwhile, Elizabeth fled with her son, to Frederick the emperor. More shall be said hereafter of Huniades Vainoda, the noble captain, and of his acts, and also of Ladislaus (Christ willing), in his time and place.

### ***Frederick III, Emperor – 1440.***

After the decease of Albert, Frederick III, duke of Austria (a Habsburg), succeeded to the empire, A.D. 1440. As we signified before, he procured that Pope Felix, elected by the Council of Basel, would resign his popedom to Nicholas V, on this condition: that Pope Nicholas would ratify the acts decreed in the Council of Basel. In the days of this emperor, much war and dissension raged throughout the Christian realms, in Austria, Hungary, Poland, France, and in Burgundy; and also here in England, between King Henry VI and King Edward IV. So that it would have been easy for the Turk to overrun all the Christian realms in Europe, had not the providence of our merciful Lord otherwise provided to keep Amurath the Turk occupied in other civil wars at home. Elizabeth came with her son Ladislaus to Frederick, by whom he was nourished and entertained. After the death of Vladislaus, king of Hungary, the men of Austria rose up in arms, through the instigation of



Ulric Eizingerus, and of Ulric, earl of Cilicia. They required Frederick either to give them their young king, or else stand to his own defense.

When Frederick heard this, he would neither give a sudden answer, nor abide delaying any longer. And so the matter went to war. The new city was besieged,<sup>360</sup> where many were slain, and much harm was done. At length, the emperor's part being the weaker, and through the intervention of certain nobles of Germany, he restored Ladislaus to the Austrians' hands. But because the boy was under age, Frederick committed his three kingdoms to three governors. John Huniades, the worthy captain mentioned above, had the rule of Hungary; George Pogiebracius had Bohemia; and Ulric, the earl of Cilicia, had Austria. Ulric, having chief custody of king Ladislaus, had the greatest authority. He was a man as full of ambition and tyranny, as he was hated by almost all the Austrians. Shortly after, by means of Eizingerus, he was also excluded from the king and the court.

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But he was later restored again, and Eizingerus was thrust out. Such is the unstable condition of those who are in a place about princes. Not long after, Ladislaus, the young king, went to Bohemia to be crowned there (A.D. 1453),<sup>361</sup> where George Pogiebracius had the government. But Ladislaus, during all his time there, though being much requested, he would neither enter into the churches, nor hear the service of those who followed the doctrine of Huss. A certain priest, in the high tower of Prague, was appointed and addressed in the manner of priests to say service before the king. He was known to hold with John Huss and Rochezana. But the king disdained him, and commanded him to give way and depart, or else he would send him headlong from the rock of the tower; and so the good minister repulsed by the king, departed. At another time, when Ladislaus saw the sacrament being carried by a minister of the Hussites, he would pay no reverence to it.

At length the presence of the king, although it was not very long, seemed to the godly-disposed to be longer than they wished. This was not unknown to the king, which made him hastier to leave Bohemia. But before he departed, he thought first to visit the noble city Uratislavia, in Silesia. In that city, Ladislaus attended the [catholic] high church at service, with many great princes about him. Among them was George Pogiebracius, who then stood nearest to the king. One Chilian (jester), playing the parasite about king Pogiebracius (as the fashion is of those who feign being fools, to make other men as foolish as they are) spoke as follows:

“With what sort of countenance you behold our service I see right well, but I do not see your heart. Say, then, does the order of our religion not seem decent and fair to you? Do you not see how many and what great princes, yes, the king himself, follow one order and uniformity? Why then would you rather follow your preacher Rochezana than these? Do you think a few Bohemians are wiser than all the church of Christ besides? Why then do you not forsake that rude and rustic people, and join these nobles, as you are a nobleman yourself?”

To whom Pogiebracius sagely answered,

“If you speak these words about yourself, you are not the man whom you feign yourself to be; and so I answer to you not as to a fool. But if you speak this by the suggestion of others, then must I satisfy them. Hear, therefore: As to the ceremonies of the church, every man has a conscience of his own to follow. As for us, we use such ceremonies as we trust will please God.

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<sup>360</sup> Frederick III, Holy Roman Emperor, founded a new city named Friedrichstadt after ascending the throne.

<sup>361</sup> “Ladislaus the Posthumous,” was crowned King of Bohemia and Hungary, and Duke of Austria.



Nor is it for our choice to believe what we will ourselves. The mind of man, being persuaded with great reasons, is captivated whether he wills it or not. And as nature is instructed and taught, so she is drawn in some one way, and in some another. As for myself, I am fully persuaded in the religion of my preachers. If I were to follow your religion, I might perchance deceive men, going contrary to my own conscience; but I cannot deceive God, who sees the hearts of all. Nor will it become me to frame myself to your disposition. What is fit for a jester, is not likewise convenient for a nobleman. Either take these words to yourself as spoken to you, if you are a wise man, or else I refer them to those who set you to work.”

After the king had returned from the Bohemians to Austria, the Hungarians likewise made their petitions to the king, that he would come to them. The governor of Hungary was John Huniades, whose victorious acts against the Turks are famous. Against this Huniades, wicked Ulric, earl of Cilicia, did all he could to bring him to destruction. And therefore he caused the king to send for Huniades to come to Vienna, and there to secretly work his death. But Huniades having intelligence, offered himself in Hungary, to serve his prince in all affairs. He said it was neither best for the king, nor safest for himself to leave the land where he was. Ulric being so disappointed, came down with certain nobles of the court to the borders of Hungary, thinking either to apprehend Huniades and bring him to Vienna, or else to dispatch him there. Huniades said he would commune with him in the open fields, but he would not be brought within the town. After that, another trap was laid for Huniades. Under the pretense of having the king’s safe conduct, he should meet the king in the broad fields of Vienna. But Huniades, suspecting deceit, indeed came to the appointed place. But neither seeing the king come, nor the earl having any safe conduct for him, he was moved (and not without cause) against the earl, declaring how it was in his power there to slay him who went about to seek his blood. But out of reverence to the king he would spare him and let him go.

Not long after this, the Turk, with a great army of fighting men, numbering 115,000, arrived in Hungary, where he laid siege to the city of Alba. But through the merciful hand of God, John Huniades, and Capistranus, a certain Minorite, with a small garrison of Christian soldiers, repulses him and put him to flight, with all his mighty host. Huniades died shortly after this victory. When the king and the earl were informed of his death, they came the more boldly into Hungary. Being received into the town of Alba by Ladislaus, Huniades’ son, they viewed the place where the Turks had pitched their tents before. When this Ladislaus heard that the king was first coming toward the town, he obediently opened the gates to him. But he prevented 4,000 armed soldiers from entering the city.

In the meantime, while the king was resident in the city, earl Ulric, with other nobles, sat in council, requiring Ladislaus also to come to them. At first doubting what he might do, he at length put on secret armor, and came to them. Whether the earl first began with him, or he with the earl, is not known. The opinion of some is that Ulric first called Ladislaus a traitor for shutting the gates against the king’s soldiers. However the occasion began, this is undoubted: that Ulric, taking his sword from his page, struck at Ladislaus’ head. To break the blow, some putting up their hands had their fingers cut off. The Hungarians, hearing a noise and tumult within the chamber, broke it open, and there instantly slew Ulric the earl, wounding and cutting him almost to pieces. The king hearing of this, although he was not a little discontented at it in his mind, saw that there was then no other remedy; he dissembled his grief for a time. From there the king journeyed to Buda (now Budapest) accompanied with Ladislaus. They passed by the town where the wife of Huniades was mourning the death of her husband. The king seemed to comfort her with many fair words. After he had sufficiently refreshed himself there, with such a pretense of dissembled love and feigned

favor, that they were not suspected or feared. He set out from there on his journey, taking with him the two sons of Huniades, Ladislaus and Matthias, who were right ready to wait upon him. The king having come to Buda (whether by his own head, or set on by sinister counsel) when he had them at a disadvantage, he caused both sons to be seized. And first, Ladislaus, the elder son, was brought to the place of execution, there to be beheaded, where he meekly suffered, being charged with no other crime than this, published by the voice of the crier, saying, "Thus are they to be chastened who are rebels against their lord." Peucer, writing of his death, adds that after the hangman had struck three blows at his neck, yet Ladislaus, having his hands bound behind him, after the third stroke, rose upright on his feet, and looking up to heaven, called upon the Lord, and protested his innocency in that behalf; and so laying down his neck again, he was dispatched at the fourth blow. Matthias, the other brother, was led captive with the king into Austria. The rest of the captives broke out of the prison, and escaped.

Not long after this act of cruelty, the king being about twenty-two years of age, talk was made of the king's marriage to Magdalen, daughter to the French king. The place of the marriage was appointed at Prague, where great preparation was made. At the first entrance of the king into the city of Prague, Rochezana, with a company of ministers who were favorers of John Huss and of sincere religion, came with all solemnity to receive the king.

[363] A.D. 1473-1475.

There making his oration to congratulate the king's most joyful and prosperous access into his own realm and country of Bohemia. After he ended his oration, the king would scarcely open his mouth to thank him, or give any cheerful countenance to his company, but seemed to fiercely frown upon them. In the next pageant after these, the priests of the high minister came forth in the most popish manner, meeting him with a procession, and with the sacrament of the altar. For just as a panacea among physicians serves for all diseases, so the sacrament of the pope's altar serves for all pomps and pageants.

(First it must lie upon the altar; then it must be held up with hands; then it must hang in the pix;<sup>362</sup> it must serve for the living; it must also help the dead; it must visit the sick; it must be walked about the churchyard; it must go about the streets; it must be carried about the fields to make the grass grow; it must be had for the battle; it must ride on horseback before the pope. And finally, it must welcome kings into cities. These catholic fathers seem to forget themselves somewhat. For if the pope, being inferior to the sacrament of the altar, sits still while the kings come and kiss his feet, what reason is there that the sacrament of the altar, which is above the pope, should meet kings by the way, and welcome them to the town? But this by way of parenthesis. Let us now continue the text.)

When this catholic king, Ladislaus, who had previously shown himself so stout and stern against Rochezana and his company, had seen these catholic priests with their procession, and especially with their blessed sacrament, come with all reverence and much devotion, he lighted down from his horse, embraced and kissed the cross, and with cheerful countenance saluted the priests in order. All this while his young wife had not yet left France, but legates were sent in the most sumptuous way to conduct her. Other legates were sent at the same time to Emperor Frederick for a conclusion of peace. The third legacy was likewise directed to Pope Calixtus III about religion, how to reduce the Bohemians to the church of Rome. The author of this history (which was Pope Pius himself) further declares that the opinion of some was that King Ladislaus at that time intended to make a final end and destruction of

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<sup>362</sup> *Pix*: Any receptacle in which wafers for the Eucharist are kept.

all that sect in Bohemia, who held with the doctrine of John Huss and Jerome. He would do it by the assembly and concourse of the catholic princes, and popish prelates, who were appointed to meet together at that marriage in Prague. For there were to have been the Emperor Frederick, Elizabeth the king's mother, his sisters Elizabeth and Anna, the princes of Saxony, Bajoria, Silesia, Franconia, the Palatine, and other princes of the Rhine. Also present were many of the lords of France, besides the pope's cardinals, legates, prelates, and other potentates of the pope's church who, if they had assembled altogether in Bohemia, no doubt some great mischief would have been wrought there against the Hussites. But though man purposes, God disposes as it pleases Him.<sup>363</sup>

And therefore it is truly written by Eneas Sylvius, in the same place, saying, "De regimine civitatum, de mutatione regnorum, de orbis imperio, minimum est quod homines possint (tum vero de religionis constitutione multo minus) magna magnus disponit Deus." That is, in the government of cities, in alteration of kingdoms, in ruling and governing the world, it is less than nothing that man can do; it is the high God that rules high things. To which I may then well add this, and say that if the governance of worldly kingdoms does not stand in man's power, but in the disposition of God, then there is much less that man's power can do in the ordering and governing of religion. An example of this evidently appears in this purposed device of princes. For as this great preparation and solemnity of marriage was in progress, and the princes were ready to implement it, with a little turn of God's holy hand, all these great purposes were suddenly turned and dashed. For in the midst of this business, about the twenty-first of November 1461, this great adversary of Christ's people, King Ladislaus — king of Bohemia, of Hungary, and prince of Austria — sickened and died within thirty-six hours. Just it did not come without the just judgment of God, revenging the innocent blood of Ladislaus, Huniades' son, so by the opportune death of this king, the poor churches of Bohemia were graciously delivered. And this was the end of Ladislaus, one of the mightiest princes at that time in all of Europe, in whom three mighty kingdoms were conjoined and combined together, Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia.

After the death of Ladislaus, the kingdom of Bohemia fell to George Pogiebracius, whom Pope Innocent VIII excommunicated and deposed for his religion.

The kingdom of Hungary was given to Matthias, son of Huniades, who was in captivity (as said above) under King Ladislaus, and would have been put to death after his brother, had not the king been overtaken by death.

The noble acts of John Huniades, and of Matthias his son, were not only great stays to Hungary, but to almost all Christendom, in repelling the Turk. For besides the other victories of John Huniades, the father, his son Matthias succeeded no less in valiantness than his father. He so recovered Sirmiura and the confines of Illyrica from the hand of the Turks, and so vanquished their power, that both Mahomet (Mehmed II) and his son Bajazet (Bayezid II) were forced to seek a truce.

Matthias, conducting his army into Bosnia, recovered Jaitza, the principal town of that kingdom, from the Turks' possession, and if other Christian princes had joined him, he would have proceeded farther into Thrace. But behold here the malicious subtlety of Satan, working by the pope. For while Matthias was thus occupied in this expedition against the Turks, in which he should have been furthered and aided by Christian princes and bishops, the bishop of Rome wickedly and sinfully arranged a matter of civil discord between him

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<sup>363</sup> This is a paraphrase of the Latin "Homo proponit, sed Deus disponit" from *The Imitation of Christ*, by Thomas à Kempis (bk. I, ch. 19): *Man proposes, but God disposes*.

and Pogiebracius, in removing him from the right of his kingdom, and transferring it to Matthias. By this, not only was the tide of victory against the Turks stopped, but also great war and bloodshed followed in Christian realms: between Matthias and Pogiebracius, with his two sons Victorinus and Henry, as well as between Casimir Vladislaus and Matthias, warring over Uratislavia, till at length the dispute was taken up by the princes of Germany.

Notwithstanding all the execrable excommunication of the pope against Pogiebracius, a great part of Bohemia would not be removed from the obedience of their king, whom the pope had cursed and deposed. Yet Matthias took Moravia from him, and a great portion of Silesia, and adjoined it to his kingdom of Hungary, A.D. 1474.

This is to be noted by the way: that the religion in Bohemia, planted by John Huss, could not be extinguished or suppressed with all the power of four mighty princes — Vinceslaus, Sigismund, Albert, and Ladislaus — even though, with the popes, these four did all they possibly could. But still the Lord maintained them, as we see by Pogiebracius, king of Bohemia, whom the pope could not remove from the kingdom of Bohemia.

Matthias, besides his other memorable acts of chivalry, is no less to be commended for his singular knowledge and love of learning and of learned men, whom he brought into Pannonia with great salaries. By means of good letters and supplies of learned men, he reduced in a short time the barbarous rudeness of that country into a flourishing commonwealth. Moreover, he erected such a library there, and replenished it with all kinds of authors, sciences, and histories — which he caused to be translated from Greek into Latin — that next to Italy, its equal is not to be found in all of Europe.

Immediately after this, there was contention and war in every part of Europe. Almost no angle or portion of all Christendom was free from discord, tumults, and dissensions, whether we consider the church, or civil government. This cankered worm of ambition so mightily creeps, and everywhere prevails in these latter ends of the world, that it allows neither rest in commonwealths, nor peace in the church, nor scarcely any spark of charity to remain in the life of men.

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Why marvel then, if the Lord seeing us degenerate so far, not only from His precepts and counsels, but almost from the sense and bond of nature, that brother with brother, uncle with nephew, blood with blood, cannot agree; that in striving, killing, and fighting for worldly dominions, the Lord sends these cruel Turks upon us, to scourge and devour us? Later we will discourse more at large about their bloody tyranny and daily spilling of Christian blood (by the grace of Christ), when we come to the particular consideration of the Turkish histories. In the meantime, we will not so much note and observe how grievous the scourge is, but rather behold the causes which bring the whip upon us, which is our own miserable ambition and the wretched wars among ourselves.

And yet, if this Christian peace and love — left and commended so heartily to us by the mouth of the Son of God, now banished out of Christian realms and civil governance — might at last find some refuge in the church, or take sanctuary among men professing nothing but religion, we would have less cause to mourn. Now, however, we see little peace and amity among civil potentates. And we find less in those who are spiritual, who chiefly take upon themselves the administration of Christ's church. So that it may well be doubted whether the scourge of the Turk or the civil sword of princes have slain more in the fields, than the pope's keys have burnt in towns and cities. Even though those who are professed to the church, do not fight with sword and target for dominions and revenues, as warlike

princes do, yet ambition, pride, and avarice appear in them not at all inferior to worldly potentates — especially if we behold the doings and insatiable desires of the court of Rome. Great arguments and proofs of this are neither hard to find, nor far to be sought. What realm almost throughout Christendom has not only seen with their eyes, but felt in their purses, the intolerable ambition and insatiable avarice of that devouring church; and have also complained of the grievance, but could never obtain redress! What exactions and extortions have occurred here in England by bishoprics, monasteries, benefices, deaneries, archdeaconries, and all other offices of the church, to fill the pope's coffers! And when they had done all, yet almost every year they brought some new invention from Rome to fetch our English money. If all the floods in England (yes in all of Europe) ran into the See of Rome, still that ocean would never be able satisfy it.

In France likewise, what floods of money were swallowed up into this See of Rome! It was openly complained about in the Council of Basel, A.D. 1436, as testified by Henry Token, canon and ambassador of the archbishop of Maidenburg. He said the archbishop of Lyons declared that in the time of Pope Martin, nine million in gold came out of France to the court of Rome. This was gathered by the bishops and prelates, besides those of the inferior clergy who could not be counted. Daily, without number, they ran to the court of Rome, carrying with them their whole substance. The archbishop of Tours also said at Basel, A.D. 1439, that three million in gold came to Rome in his time, within fourteen years, from the prelates and prelacies, besides the inferior clergy who daily ran to that court.

And what made Pope Pius II labor so earnestly to Louis XI, the French king, that he should promise to abolish and utterly extinguish the constitution established at the Council of Bourges by King Charles VII, his predecessor, called the *Pragmatic Sanction*;<sup>364</sup> but not the ambition of that see, which had no measure, and their avarice which had no end? The story is this: King Charles VII was willing to obey and follow the Council of Basel. He summoned a parliament at Bourges, where by the full consent of all the states in France, both spiritual and temporal, a certain constitution was decreed and published, called the *Pragmatic Sanction*. In this was briefly comprehended the pith and effect of all the canons and decrees concluded in the Council of Basel. King Charles commanded through all his realm, that this constitution was to be observed inviolably and ratified for the honor and increase of Christian religion forever. This was A.D. 1438.

It followed that after the decease of Charles, succeeded King Louis XI. While he was dauphin, he promised Pope Pius, that if he ever came to the crown, the *Pragmatic Sanction* would be abolished. Pius hearing of his being crowned, sent to him John Balveus, a cardinal, with his letters patent, desiring him to be mindful of his promise. The king, either willing, or else pretending a willingness to perform and accomplish what he had promised, directed the pope's letters patent, with the cardinal, to the Council of Paris, requiring them to consult upon the cause. Thus the matter was brought and proposed in the parliament.

The king's attorney, named John Romane, was a man well-spoken, singularly witted, and well-reasoned, who stepped forward with great eloquence and no less boldness. He proved the sanction to be profitable, holy, and necessary for the wealth of the realm, and was in no case to be abolished. To his sentence the university of Paris adjoined their consent, and appealed from the attempts of the pope to the next general council. The cardinal, Balveus,

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<sup>364</sup> The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges required holding a General Church Council with authority superior to the papacy every ten years. It mandated election rather than appointment for ecclesiastical offices; prohibited the pope from bestowing and profiting from benefices; forbade appeals to the Roman Curia from places further than two days' journey from Rome; and stipulated that interdicts could not be placed on a city unless the entire city was culpable.

understanding this, was not a little indignant at it. He fretted and fumed, and threatened many terrible things against them. But notwithstanding all his threatening words, he returned to the pope, not having obtained his purpose, A.D. 1438.

Thus the pope's purpose in France was disappointed. Also in Germany it would have come to the same effect, if Frederick the emperor had done his part there toward the Germans. They (bemoaning their miserable estate) went with humble suit to persuade the emperor that he should no longer be under subjection to the popes of Rome, unless they first obtained certain things regarding the charter of appeals; declaring their state to be far worse than the French or Italians. The nobles and commonalty of Germany entreated with most weighty reasons, to have the emperor's aid and help as he was bound to them by an oath. They also alleged great dishonor and ignominy, in that they alone did not have the use of their own laws, declaring how the French nation had not made their suit to their king in vain against the exactions of popes. The emperor being moved and partly overcome by their persuasions, promised that he would provide no less for them than the king of France had done for the French, and to make decrees in that behalf. But the grave authority of Eneas Sylvius, as Platina writes in the history of Pius II,<sup>365</sup> broke off the matter. By his subtle and pestiferous persuasions, he so bewitched the emperor that, despising the equal, just, and necessary requests of his subjects, he chose Eneas to be his ambassador to Calixtus, the newly chosen pope, to swear to him, in his name, and to promise the absolute obedience of all Germany.

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And here ceasing with the history of Frederick III, we will now proceed to the reign of his son Maximilian. I must not pass over the Christians who were condemned, and suffered the pains of fire for the testimony of Christ and His truth. One of them was John, a pastor or a neat-herd, a keeper of cattle. The other was John de Wesalia. Although he was not burned, he was persecuted nearly to death under the reign of emperor Frederick.

First, regarding John the neat-herd. Munster writes that the bishop of Herbipolis condemned and burned as a heretic, one John, who was a keeper of cattle at a town called Nicholas Hausen in Franconia, because he taught and held that the life of the clergy was ignominious and abominable before God.

The other was doctor John de Wesalia, who was complained about to Dietherus the archbishop of Mentz, by the Thomists, concerning certain articles and opinions gathered out of his books. Therefore Dietherus directed commissions to the universities of Heidelburgh and Cologne, to take the matter under examination. They called this Doctor de Wesalia before them, making him swear that he would present and surrender all his treatises, works, and writings, whatever he had made or preached. That being done, they divided his books among themselves, severally, each man to discover whatever heresies and errors they could. His articles and opinions are these:

[365] A.D. 1475-1479.

“That all men are saved freely, and through mere grace by faith in Christ. Free will is nothing. That we should only believe the word of God, and not the gloss of any man, or the fathers. That the word of God is to be expounded by collating one place with another. That prelates have no authority to make laws, nor to expound the Scriptures, by any peculiar right given to them more than to another. That men's traditions, such as fastings, pardons, feasts, long prayers, pilgrimages, and such things, are to be rejected. Extreme unction and confirmation are to be

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<sup>365</sup> Bartolomeo Sacchi, known as Platina: an Italian writer and historian born in 1421. He is renowned for his work “Lives of the Popes,” a biographical compendium of Roman popes from St. Peter to his own time.



reproved; confession and satisfaction are to be reprehended. The primacy of the pope he also affirmed to be nothing.”

Certain other articles were also gathered out of his books by his adversaries, but in such a way that they might seem to follow their own malicious gathering, rather than the true intention of his mind. Thus when Wesalia was commanded to appear, there was the archbishop, the inquisitor, the doctors of Cologne, and the doctors of Heidelberg, with the masters of the same, and the rector of the university of Mentz, the dean of faculties, bachelors of divinity, and many other masters of the same university; also canons, and doctors, with the bishop’s chancellor and his counsellors, besides many religious prelates, scholars, with a doctor from Frankfort, the sumner and beadles (constables), who all met together in the great hall of the minorites, for the examination of this John de Wesalia.

Friar Elton, the inquisitor, sat first in the highest place, then after him, others according to their degree. At the beginning of the examination, the inquisitor began with these words,

“Most reverend fathers and honorable doctors, etc. Our reverend father and prince elector has caused this present convocation to be called, to hear the examination of Master John de Wesalia, in certain suspected articles concerning the catholic faith. But I will say something before, that may do him good, and desire that two or three of those who favor him, or some other, will rise up and give him counsel to forsake and depart his errors, to acknowledge himself, and to ask pardon. If he will do this, he will have pardon; if he will not, we will proceed against him without pardon.”

And thus Wesalia being cited, and brought in the midst between two minorites, being very aged, and having a staff in his hand, was set before the inquisitor. Beginning to answer for himself with a long protestation, he was not allowed to go on with his oration, but was cut off. He was required briefly to make an end, and to tell them in a few words whether he would stand to his opinions, or to the determination of the church. To this he answered, that he never spoke anything against the determination of the church, but said that he had written several treatises in which, if he had erred, or was found to say other than what was good, he was contented to revoke and withdraw it, and do all things that were requisite. Then the inquisitor asked, “Do you then ask pardon?” Wesalia answered, “Why should I ask pardon, when I know that no crime or error was committed?” The inquisitor said, “Well, we will call you to the remembrance of it, and proceed to the examination.”

In the meantime, others called upon him to immediately ask pardon. Then Wesalia said, “I ask pardon.” Notwithstanding this, the inquisitor proceeded to the examination, reading two instruments declaring that he had authority from the apostolic see. After this, he cited John to appear to his examination. Thirdly, he commanded him under pain of disobedience, in the virtue of the Holy Spirit, and under pain of excommunication of the greater curse (from which no man could absolve him, except the pope, or the inquisitor, but only at the point of death), to tell plainly the truth about those things which would be demanded of him concerning his faith, without doubts or sophisticated words. And so being demanded, first, whether he believed upon his oath, that he was bound to tell the truth, even if it was against himself or any other. To this he answered, “I know it.” Then the inquisitor bid him say, “I believe it.” To which he replied, “Why do I need to say that I believe the thing which I know?” The inquisitor, somewhat stirred up by this, cried with a loud voice, “Master John, Master John, Master John, say *I believe*, say *I believe*.” Then he answered, “I believe.”

Many other interrogatories were ministered to him, of which some were vain, some false.

Being demanded whether he was a favorer of the Bohemians, he said he was not. Also, being demanded concerning the sacrament of the holy body and blood of our Lord, whether he

thought Christ was contained there really, or only spiritually, and whether he believed that in the sacrament, the substance of bread remained, or only the form of it? To this he answered, not denying that the body of Christ was really contained there, and also that with the body of Christ the substance of bread remained.

After this, his opinion was demanded concerning religious persons, such as monks and nuns, whether he thought they were bound to the vow of chastity, or to keeping any other vow, and whether he said to the Minorite friars any such words in effect, "I cannot save you in your state and order." This he confessed that he had said, "how it is not your religion that saves you, but the grace of God," etc. not denying they might be saved.

Being required whether he believed or had written that there is no mortal sin, except what is expressed as mortal in the canon of the holy Bible? To this he answered that he did believe as he had written, till he was better informed. Likewise, being required what he thought of the vicar of Christ on earth, he answered that he believed that Christ left no vicar in earth. To confirm this he said that Christ, ascending up to heaven, said, 'Behold I am with you,' etc. In these words he plainly declared, that he would substitute under him no vicar here on earth. He said, moreover, "if a vicar signified any man who in the absence of the principal has to do the works of the principal, then Christ has no vicar here in earth."

In like manner, concerning indulgences and pardons, they demanded of him whether they had any efficacy, and what he thought of them. He answered that he had written a certain treatise of that matter, and what he had written in that treatise he would persist in, which was this: he believed that the treasure-box of the merits of saints could not be distributed by the pope to others, because that treasure is not left here in earth. For so it is written in the book of Revelation, 'their works follow them;' and their merits could not be applied to other men to satisfy the pain due them. Therefore the pope and other prelates cannot distribute that treasure to men.

Also, being demanded what he thought of the hallowing and blessing of altars, chalices, vestments, wax candles, palms, herbs, holy-water, and other divine things, etc., he answered, "They have no spiritual virtue and power in them to drive away devils; and holy-water has no more efficacy than other water that is not hallowed, as it concerns remission of venial sins, driving away devils, and other effects, which the school doctors attribute to it."

He believed, "God may give grace to a man, having the use of reason, without any motion of free will." Also, he thought that "St. Paul, in his conversion, did nothing of his own free will for his conversion." He believed, moreover, "God may give such grace to a man having the use of reason, of not doing that which is in him."

He affirmed that, "Nothing is to be believed which is not contained in the canon of the Bible." Also that, "The elect are saved only by the grace of God."

This examination being ended, and the articles condemned by the inquisitor and his assistants, he said: "As you do with me, if Christ himself were here, he might be condemned as a heretic."

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After this they sent several men to him to have communication with him, and to persuade him. At length, within three or four days, he was content to yield to them, and to submit to their holy mother church, and the information of the doctors. Although this aged and feeble old man, was constrained by weakness to give over to the Romish clergy by the outward profession of his mouth, yet notwithstanding, his opinions and doctrine declared his inward



heart, of what his judgment was, if fear of present death had not forced him to say otherwise than he thought.

In the year 1484, in Emperor Maximilian's time, Pope Sixtus IV died, who was more a monster of nature than a prelate of the church. Platina writes of him, that he unjustly vexed all of Italy with war and dissension, and he openly countenanced and encouraged gross vice and immorality. Of this pope it is recorded that he was a special patron and tutor to all begging friars, granting them to have and to enjoy revenues in this world, and everlasting life in the world to come. Among these friars there was one named Alanus de Rupe, a black friar, who made the rosary of our lady's psalter. Concerning the institution of this rosary, there was a book published (about A.D. 1480). In its beginning, it declares that, "The blessed virgin entered into the cell of this Alanus, and espoused him to herself as her husband." For the truth of this story Alanus swore deeply, cursing himself, if it were not just as he had related it!

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But leaving Pope Sixtus with his vices, and before proceeding to the history of Maximilian, we keep the order of our kings here in England. For a little before the reign of Maximilian, King Edward IV died (A.D. 1483), after he had reigned twenty-two years.

***Richard, Protector of King Edward V – 1483.***

King Edward IV left behind him his wife Elizabeth, two sons, Edward and Richard, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Cecilia. These two sons, Edward and Richard, as they were under age and not ripe to govern, a consultation was called among the peers. They debated whether the young prince and king should be under the government of his mother, or else that Richard, duke of Gloucester, brother to King Edward IV and uncle to the child, should be governor of the king, and protector of the realm. The duke of Buckingham was then among other noble peers of the realm, a man of great authority, who had married King Edward's sister-in-law. Because the duke was so near allied to the king, and had been treated unkindly by the king (he thought), having no advancement by the king, nor any great friendship shown toward him, he took part with Richard, duke of Gloucester, both against the queen and her children, to make the duke the chief governor and protector.

This being brought to pass by the aid, assistance, and working of the duke of Buckingham, the queen took sanctuary with her younger son. The elder brother, who was the king, remained in the custody of his uncle Richard, duke of Gloucester. Now being in a good position to obtain what he had long looked for, Richard sought all the needed means, and soon compassed the matter by false color of dissembled words, by perjury, and by the labor of friends — namely, of the duke of Buckingham, and the cardinal archbishop of Canterbury, so that the other brother would also be committed to his care. Thus the ambitious protector and unnatural uncle, having possession of his two nephews, innocent babes, thought himself almost up the wheel where he would climb, even though he could not walk in such mists and clouds. But his purposes began to be seen, which caused him to slyly remove from himself all suspicion, and to blind the people's eyes. But before he could accomplish his execrable enterprise, there were some whom he thought must first be gotten rid of; namely the Lord Hastings, and the Lord Stanley. As these two were sitting together in council within the Tower, the protector suddenly rushed in among them, and after a few words there, he suddenly hastened out again, his mind full of mischief and fury. Within an hour he returned into the chamber, with a stern countenance and a frowning look, and so he sat down in his place. Shortly afterwards he charged them as traitors, and had them both arrested without any cause whatsoever.

The Lord Hastings was commanded to speedily confess his sins, for the protector swore by St. Paul that he would die before dinner; and so without further judgment, his head was struck off.

After this tyrannous murder, the mischievous protector still aspired to the crown. To further his devices, first through gifts and fair promises, he suborned Doctor Shaw, a famous preacher then in London, at St. Paul's Cross. Richard wanted him to insinuate to the people, that neither King Edward IV, with his two sons, nor the duke of Clarence, were the lawful children of Richard, the duke of York. Rather, they were the children of the duchess their mother, by some other person; and that this protector, Richard, was the only true and lawful heir of the duke of York. Moreover, Doctor Shaw was to declare and signify to the audience, that King Edward IV was never lawfully married to the queen, but to his wife before, who was dame Elizabeth Lucy. Thus, the two children of King Edward IV were illegitimate, and therefore the title of the crown most rightly pertained to the lord protector. Thus this false flatterer, and loudly lying preacher, to serve the protector's humor, was not ashamed to most impudently abuse that holy place, that reverend auditory, and the sacred word of God. Whereupon such disdain of the people followed him, that for shame of the people crying out against him, he pined away a few days later.

When this sermon would take no effect with the people, the protector, who was unmercifully drowned in ambition, did not rest with this. But a few days later he excited the duke of Buckingham, to first broach the matter in a private talk to the mayor and certain heads of the city picked out for the purpose; and that done, to come to the Guildhall, to move the people by all flattering and lying persuasions to the same lies which shameless Shaw had before preached at St. Paul's Cross. The duke of Buckingham, with all diligence and helps of eloquence, being both learned and well spoken man, endeavored to accomplish this, making a long and artificial oration to the people, supposing no less than that the people, allured by his crafty insinuations, would cry out, "King Richard, King Richard!" But there was no King Richard in their mouths, much less in their hearts. Whereupon the duke looking to the lord mayor, and asking what this silence meant, contrary to the promise of the one and the expectation of the other, it was then answered by the mayor, that the people perhaps did not understand him. Therefore the duke, reiterating his narration in other words, declared again what he had said before. Likewise a third time he repeated his oration again and again. Then the commons who stood mute before, now in amazement seeing this opportunity, began to mutter softly among themselves. Yet no "King Richard" could sound from their lips, except that in the nether end of the hall, certain of the duke's servants, with one Nashfield and others belonging to the protector, thrusting into the hall among the press, suddenly began to cry out, "King Richard, King Richard!" throwing up their caps, at which the citizens, turning their heads, marvelled not a little, but said *nothing*.

The duke and lord mayor taking this as sufficient testimony, went to the protector, who was then at Baynard's castle. The matter being arranged before, was now so contrived that humble petition was made in the name of the whole commons, to the protector, that he — although it was utterly against his will to take it — would of his humility stoop so low as to receive the heavy kingdom of England upon his shoulders. At this, their tender request and suit of the lords and commons being made, the mild duke, seeing no other remedy, was contented at length to yield, although sorely against his will (you must so imagine), and to submit himself so low as from a protector, to be made king.

[367] A.D. 1483-1485.

This is not much unlike our prelates in the popish church, who when they have before well compounded for the pope's bulls, for manner's sake, they must still be courteous, and thrice deny that for which they have gaped so long before, and have so sweetly paid for.

***King Richard III, Usurper – 1483.***

And thus Richard duke of Gloucester took it upon himself to be made and proclaimed king of England, in the month of June, A.D. 1483.

The triumph and solemnity of his usurped coronation being finished, this unquiet tyrant could not yet think himself safe, so long as young Edward, the rightful king, and his brother were alive. Therefore the next enterprise which he did set upon was this: how to get those innocent babes out of the way, so that he might reign as king alone.

In the meantime, while all this ruffling was in hand, it is not so hard as grievous for tender hearts to understand what dread and sorrow the tender hearts of these fatherless and friendless children were in, what little joy by themselves, and what small joy of life they had. As the younger brother lingered in thought and heaviness, so the prince, who was eleven years old, was so out of heart, and so fraught with fear, that he never tied his points, nor enjoyed a good day, till the traitorous impiety of their cruel uncle had delivered them from their wretchedness. Their uncle Richard first attempted to compass his devilish device through Robert Brakenbury, constable of the Tower. When he could not win him to such a cruel act, he got one James Tyril, and with him John Dighton and Miles Forrest, to perpetrate this heinous murder. Dighton and Forrest, entered into the princes' chamber about midnight. They so wrapped and entangled them among the clothes, holding down the feather-bed and pillows hard to their mouths, that in a while they smothered and stifled them in their bed.

And thus these two young princes ended their lives, through the wretched cruelty of these tormentors who, for their detestable and bloody murder, did not long escape being punished by the just hand of God. For first Miles Forrest miserably rotted away piece-meal. John Dighton lived at Calais long after, so disdained and hated, that he was pointed at by all men, and died there in great misery. Sir James Tyril was beheaded at Tower Hill for treason. Also King Richard himself, within a year and half after, was slain in the field, hacked and hewn by his enemies' hands.

Furthermore, the justice of God's hand let not the duke of Buckingham escape free. For less than a year after, God so wrought things, that he was beheaded for treason by the very king whom he had so unjustly advanced before.

Doctor Morton, bishop of Ely, had devised bringing Henry, earl of Richmond, to England, and marrying him to Elizabeth, King Edward's daughter, thereby joining the two houses of York and Lancaster together. This device was first proposed to the duke of Buckingham, and it soon after cost him his life. But bishop Morton, more crafty to save himself, fled into Britany. The device, however, once broached, was so plausible and had such an effect, that a message was sent over the sea to Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, by his mother. And it was sent by the queen, mother to the Lady Elizabeth, that if Henry would make his return, and promise to marry the Lady Elizabeth, he would be received.

Embracing this offer, the earl of Richmond crossed the seas at Harfleur, in August 1485, accompanied with only 2,000 men, and a small number of ships. He arrived at Milford Haven in Wales and first came to Dale, then to Harford West, where he was joyfully received. And also by the alliance of Arnold Butler and the Pembroke men, he was increased

in power. From there he travelled by Cardigan across to Shrewsbury in England, and then to Newport, and so to Stafford; from there to Lichfield — his army being more and more augmented along the way. As a great flood comes in from many small rivers, gathering a greater abundance of water, so many noble captains and men of power joined themselves to this earl — such as Richard Griffith, John Morgan, Rhys ap Thomas; then Sir George Talbot, with the young earl of Shrewsbury, his ward; Sir William Stanley, Sir Thomas Burchier, and Sir Walter Hungerford, knights. At last, hearing of the king's coming, the earl Henry conducted his whole army to Tamworth.

King Richard, at first hearing of the arrival of the Earl Henry in the parts of Wales with so small a force, gave little or no regard to it. But understanding that he had come to Lichfield without resistance or incumbrance, he was sorely moved, cursing and crying out against those who had so deceived him. With all speed he sent for John duke of Norfolk, Henry earl of Northumberland, Thomas earl of Surrey, with other friends of special trust. Also Robert Brakenbury (lieutenant of the Tower) was sent for, with Sir Thomas Burchier,<sup>366</sup> and for Sir Walter Hungerford with certain other knights and esquires whom he partly misdoubted. Thus, King Richard, well-fortified and accompanied, leaving nothing undone that diligence could require, set out toward his enemies. The earl Henry by this time had come to Tamworth, to whom Sir John Savage, Sir Bryan Sanford, Sir Simon Digby, and many others resorted secretly in the evening, forsaking the part of King Richard — whom all good men hated, as he indeed deserved. The king, having perfect knowledge that the earl was encamped at Tamworth, entrenched himself in a place near a village called **Bosworth**, not far from Leicester. He determined to encounter his adversaries there. Here the matter lay in great doubt and suspense concerning the Lord Stanley (who was the earl's father-in-law, and had married his mother), as to whose part he would incline.<sup>367</sup> His heart (no doubt) went with the earl, and he had secret conference with him the night before. Yet because of his son and heir, George Lord Strange, then being in the hands of King Richard, and lest the king attempt anything against him, he dared not be openly seen to go in that way which his heart favored. And therefore he closely kept himself between both, till the push came that his help might be of signal service.

The number of the earl's party was not more than half of King Richard's. When the time and place was appointed where the two armies should encounter and join in battle, sore stripes and great blows were given on both sides, and many were slain. If number and multitude might govern the success of battle, King Richard had double the earl's. But it is God, not man, that gives victory, by what means it seems best to His divine providence. In what order, and by what occasion this field was won and lost, the certain intelligence we do not possess, only the history of Polydore Virgil, whom Sir Thomas More follows word for word. In this history it appears that as these two armies were coupling together, King Richard understood by his spies where the earl of Richmond was, and how he was but slenderly accompanied. Seeing Henry approach nearer to him, carried by courage rather than ruled by reason, Richard set spurs to his horse, and ranging out of the compass of his ranks, he

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<sup>366</sup> Foxe names "Sir Thomas Burchier" twice, one joining earl Henry, the other called upon by king Richard. They may be the same man. But the second one may instead be Thomas Bourchier (1404-1486) Archbishop of Canterbury. He crowned Edward IV, and his queen, Elizabeth Woodville. In 1457 Bourchier took the chief part in the trial for heresy of Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester. In 1473 he was created a cardinal, under Edward IV. In 1483 Bourchier persuaded the queen to allow her younger son, Richard, 1st Duke of York, to join his elder brother King Edward V in "protective" residence in the Tower of London. Though Bourchier had sworn to be faithful to King Edward V, he nonetheless crowned King Richard III in July 1483.

<sup>367</sup> Recall that Lord Stanley was one of two men Richard wanted out of the way, by accusing him of being a traitor.

pressed toward the earl, and set upon him so sharply, that first he killed Sir William Brandon, the earl's standard-bearer, father to the Lord Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. Then afterward he overthrew Sir John Cheinie, thinking likewise to oppress the earl. But as the Lord by his secret providence disposed the event of all things, as the earl with his men about him, being overmatched, began to despair of victory, suddenly and opportunely, Sir William Stanley came with three thousand well-appointed able men. Thereby King Richard's men were driven back, and Richard himself, cruelly fighting in the thick of his enemies, was slain and brought to his confusion and death, which he worthily deserved.

In the meantime, the earl of Oxford, who was guiding the forward troops, discomfited the forefront of King Richard's host, and put them to flight. In this chase many were slain, of noblemen especially above others, John duke of Norfolk, Lord Ferrers, Sir Richard Radcliff, and Robert Brankenbury, lieutenant of the Tower. etc.

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Lord Thomas Haward, earl of Surrey, there submitted himself. Although he was not received at first to grace, but remained long in the Tower, yet at length, for his fidelity, he was delivered and restored to his honor and dignity.

King Richard had but one son, who, shortly after the cruel murder of King Edward's sons, was taken with sickness and died. Moreover, as to the Lord Stanley, the history reports that King Richard being in Bosworth field, sent for Lord Stanley by a messenger, to advance with his company, otherwise he swore by Christ's passion, that he would strike off his son's head before dinner. Lord Stanley sent word back, that if he did, he had more sons alive. The king immediately commanded the Lord Strange to be beheaded, at the very time when both armies were within sight of each other, and ready to join battle. Therefore the king's councilors, pondering the time and the case, persuaded the king that it was now time to fight, and not to execute, advising him to delay the matter till the battle was ended. And so (as God would have it) King Richard broke his oath, or rather kept his oath, for he himself was slain before dinner. The Lord Strange was committed to be kept prisoner within the king's tent. After the victory was gotten, he was sought out and brought to his joyful father. And thus you have the tragic life and end of this wretched King Richard.

Henry, the earl of Richmond, after hearty thanks given to Almighty God for his glorious victory, proceeded to the town of Leicester, where the crown was brought to him by the Lord Strange, and put on the earl's head.

In the meantime, the dead corpse of King Richard was shamefully carried to the town of Leicester, naked and despoiled to the skin. And being trussed behind a servant of arms, he was carried like a hog or a dog, having his head and arms hanging on one side of the horse, and the his on the other, all sprinkled with mire and blood. And thus ended the usurped reign of King Richard, who reigned two years and two months.

### ***King Henry VII – 1485-1509.***

When King Henry VII, by the providence of God, had obtained this triumphant victory and the diadem of the realm, he first sent for Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, son of George duke of Clarence, and committed him to safe custody within the Tower. From Leicester he removed to London, and not long after, according to his oath and promise made before, he espoused the young Lady Elizabeth, heir of the house of York. Thereby both houses of York and Lancaster were joined together, to no little rejoicing of all English

hearts, and no less quiet to the realm, which was A.D. 1485.<sup>368</sup> He reigned twenty-three years and eight months. He was a prince of great policy, justice, and temperance, kept his realm in good tolerable rule and order. And here, interrupting a little the course of our English matters, we will now (Lord willing) enter the history promised above (p. 366), about Maximilian the emperor and matters of the empire, especially those which pertain to the church.

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**Maximilian the Emperor – r. 1508-1519.**

Happy was the education of this emperor in good letters. So expert was he in languages and sciences — but especially his dexterity and quickness in the Latin tongues — that imitating the example of Julius Caesar, he wrote and comprehended in Latin histories, his own acts and feats. Moreover, as he was learned himself, so he was a singular patron and advancer of learned students, as may well appear by his erecting and setting up the University of Wittenberg. Because of this emperor, many in those days were excited to embrace other liberal arts, as well as searching out old histories. By this, several persons were induced to exercise their diligence in collecting and explaining matters pertaining to the history of ancient as well as later times — such as Cuspinianus, Nauclerus, Conradus, Peutingerus, Manlius, and others.

Here now it began to appear what a great benefit was conferred on the world by the art and faculty of printing (c. 1450). Through means of this, the church and commonwealth of Christ now began to be replenished with learned men. Among the many learned men of this time must be numbered Weselus Groningensis, otherwise named Basilius.<sup>369</sup> He was so notable and worthy a man, that the people called him “The Light of the World.”

Concerning his doctrine, he reprehended the opinion of the papists regarding repentance, which they divided into three parts. Of these three parts, he disallowed satisfaction and confession. He likewise disproved purgatory and supererogation of works and pardons, both at Rome and at Paris. He spoke against the pope’s indulgences. On the occasion of this, several of the pope’s court, being persuaded by him, began to speak more freely against the matter than he himself had done.

He disallowed the abuses of masses, and praying for the dead; and likewise he utterly rejected the supremacy of the pope, denying that any supreme head or governor ought to be in the world over all others. He also affirmed and said many times that, “The pope had no authority to do anything by commandment, but only by truth. That is, so far as truth goes with him, only so far is his sentence to stand; nor should he prevail by commanding, but only by teaching, as every true Christian bishop may prevail over another.” Also in some places in his writings he does not deny that, “popes and their spiritual prelates, proceeding against Christ’s doctrine, are plain antichrists.”

Also, Weselus witnesses that the fathers who came before Albert <sup>370</sup> and Thomas (Aquinas) resisted and withstood the pope’s indulgences, calling them plain *idolatry* in their writings, mere fraud and error; adding moreover, that unless the severity of some good divines had withstood these pardons and indulgences of the pope, innumerable errors would have overflowed the church.

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<sup>368</sup> Thus bringing the War of the Roses to an end.

<sup>369</sup> Johan Wessel, (c. 1420–1489), a Dutch theologian born at Groningen. *Wessel* was a corruption of *Basilius*.

<sup>370</sup> Albertus Magnus (c. 1200-1280), known as Saint Albert the Great; Thomas Aquinas was his student.

By this it may be seen and noted how, by the grace of God and gift of printing, learning first came forth in abundance, and by learning light came to judge and discern the errors of the pope from the truth of God's word.

About the same time, when the gospel thus began to branch and spring out in Germany, the host of Christ's true church also began to muster and multiply here in England. For not long after the death of this Weselus, in the ninth year of the reign of Henry VII, on the 28th of April A.D. 1494, a very old woman named Joan Boughton, widow, and mother to the Lady Young, was burned. Lady Young was also suspected of having the same opinion as her mother. Her mother was eighty years of age or more, and held eight of Wycliffe's opinions (my author does not show which opinions), for which she was burnt in Smithfield. Our author says she was a disciple of Wycliffe, whom she considered a saint, and held so fast and firmly to eight of his ten opinions, that all the doctors of London could not turn her from even one of them. And when it was told her that she would be burnt for her obstinacy and false belief, she set nothing by their menacing words, but defied them. For she said she was so beloved of God, and his holy angels, that she did not care about the fire, and in the midst of it she cried to God to take her soul into his holy hands. The following night, most of her ashes were taken away by those who had a love for the doctrine that she died for.

Shortly after the martyrdom of this godly aged mother, on the 17th of January, A.D. 1497, being a Sunday, two men — one called Richard Milderale, and the other James Sturdy — performed the penance of carrying faggots (kindling) before the procession of St. Paul's, and afterwards stood before the preacher during his sermon.

[369] 1485-1499.

And on the Sunday following, two other men stood at Paul's Cross the whole sermon time; the one garnished with painted and written papers, the other having a faggot loaded on his neck. After that, in Lent season, on Passion Sunday, one Hugh Glover bore a faggot before the procession of St. Paul's, and afterward stood with the faggot before the preacher the entire sermon time at Paul's Cross. On the next Sunday four men stood, and did their open penance at Paul's Cross during the sermon time, and many of their books were burnt before them at the cross.

The next year, which was the beginning of May A.D. 1498, the king then being at Canterbury, a priest was burnt, who was so strong in his opinion, that all the clerics and doctors who were then there could not remove him from his faith. The king being informed of this, had the priest brought before him. By his persuasion, the king caused him to revoke, but still he was burnt immediately.

In July of the same year (1498), after the beheading of Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, and son to the duke of Clarence, the king and queen being removed to Calais, a certain godly man and a constant martyr of Christ, named Babram, in Norfolk, was burnt. Likewise, about that year or the next, the 20th of July, an old man was burnt in Smithfield.

### **Martyrdom of Jerome Savanarola, under Pope Alexander VI.**

In the year 1499, the martyrdom and burning of Jerome Savanarola took place, a man no less godly in heart than constant in his profession of faith. Being a monk in Italy, and singularly well-learned, he preached against the evil living of the spirituality, and especially of his own order, complaining against them as being the springs and authors of all mischiefs and wickedness. Whereupon, by the help of certain learned men, he began to seek reformation in his own order. The pope perceiving this, and fearing that Jerome, who was

now held in great regard among all men, should diminish or overthrow his authority, he ordained his vicar or provincial to oversee reformation in these matters. This vicar began to reform things with great superstition, but Jerome always withstood him. Whereupon he was complained about to the pope. And because he withstood this vicar contrary to the pope's commandment, he was accursed. But despite all that, Jerome did not quit preaching, but threatened Italy with the wrath and indignation of God, and prophesied to them, that the land would be overthrown for the pride and wickedness of the people, and for the untruth, hypocrisy, and falsehood of the clergy, which God would not leave unrevenge. This afterwards came to pass, when King Charles VIII came into Italy and to Rome, and so straitly beset Pope Alexander, that he was forced to draw up a compact with the king.

Now as Jerome would not quit preaching, he was commanded to appear before the pope, to give account of his new learning (for so they called the truth of the gospel then); but he made his excuse that he could not come. Then he was again forbidden by the pope to preach; his learning was pronounced and condemned as pernicious, false, and seditious.

Jerome, as a worldly-wise man, foreseeing the great perils and dangers that might come to him, for fear he quit preaching. But when the people, who sorely hungered and longed for God's word, were urgent upon him to preach again, he began again to preach A.D. 1496, in the city of Florence. Although many counselled him that he should not do so without the pope's commandment, he did not regard it, but went forward freely of his own good-will. When the pope and his shavelings heard news of this, they were grievously incensed and inflamed against him. And now again they cursed him as an obstinate and stiff-necked heretic. But for all that, Jerome proceeded in teaching and instructing the people, saying that men should not regard such curses, which are against the true doctrine and the common advantage, by which alone the people should be taught and amended, Christ's kingdom enlarged, and the kingdom of the devil utterly overthrown.

In all his preaching he desired to teach nothing else than the pure and simple word of God, often protesting that all men should certify him if they had heard him teach or preach anything contrary to it, for upon his own conscience he did not know that he had taught anything but the pure word of God. As to what his doctrine was, all men may easily judge by the books that he has written.

After this (A.D. 1498), he was taken and brought out of St. Mark's cloister, and two other friars with him, named Dominic and Sylvester, who favored his learning. He was carried into prison, where he wrote a godly meditation upon that most comfortable thirty-first Psalm: "In you, O Lord, I put my trust, let me never be ashamed: deliver me in Your righteousness." In this he excellently describes and sets forth the continual strife between the flesh and the spirit.

After this, the pope's legates came to Florence, and summoned these three good men, threatening them shockingly; but they continued constant. Then came the chief counsellors of the city, with the pope's commissioners, who had gathered certain articles against these men, upon which they were condemned to death. The tenor of these articles ensues:

1. The first article regarded our free justification through faith in Christ.
2. That the communion ought to be ministered under both kinds (bread and wine).
3. That the indulgences and pardons of the pope were of no effect.
4. For preaching against the filthy and wicked living of the cardinals and clergy.
5. For denying the pope's supremacy.



6. That he had affirmed that the keys were not given to Peter alone, but to the universal church.
7. That the pope followed neither the life nor doctrine of Christ, for he attributed more to his own pardons and traditions, than to Christ's merits, and therefore he was antichrist.
8. That the pope's excommunications are not to be feared, and that he who fears or flees them is excommunicated by God.
9. That auricular confession is not necessary.
10. That he had moved the citizens to uproar and sedition.
11. That he had neglected and condemned the pope's citation.
12. That he had shamefully spoken against and slandered the pope.
13. That he had taken Christ to witness his naughtiness and heresy.
14. Also, that Italy must be cleansed through God's scourge, for the manifold wickedness of the princes and clergy.

These and other such articles were laid against them and also read before them. Then they demanded of Jerome and his companions, whether they would recant and give up their opinions. They answered, that through God's help they would steadfastly continue in the manifest truth, and not depart from it. Then were they degraded one after the other by the bishop of Vasion, and so were delivered over to the secular rulers of Florence, with the commandment to carry them out, and handle them as obstinate and stiff-necked heretics.

Thus this worthy witness of Christ, with the other two, was first hanged openly in the marketplace, and afterward burnt to ashes. The ashes were gathered up, and cast into the river Arum, the 24th of May 1499. Savanarola suffered under Pope Alexander VI.

Now to return to the order of popes, where we left off with Innocent VIII. After Innocent succeeded Pope Alexander VI. In Alexander, among other horrible things, this is to be noted: that Djemes, brother to Bajazet the great Turk, was committed by the Rhodians to the safe custody, first of Pope Innocent, and then of Alexander VI (for whose keeping, the pope received forty thousand crowns every year).

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Yet, when Pope Alexander was compelled to send Djemes to Charles VIII, the French king, as a pledge, being bribed by the Turk, he had Djemes poisoned at Terracina. Moreover, it appears that Alexander being displeased with Charles about winning Naples, sent to have Bajazet the Turk fight against Charles.

Munsterus declared the history of Gemes somewhat otherwise, saying that he was first committed by the Rhodians to the French king. And when Alexander the pope, through his fraudulent flattery, got him out of the hands of the French king and into his own hands, then he had Gemes poisoned, as expressed above.

To these poisoning acts of the pope, let us also add his malicious wickedness, with like fury exercised upon Antonius Mancinellus, a man of excellent learning, because he wrote an eloquent oration against the pope's wicked manners and filthy life, with other vices. The pope therefore commanded both his hands and his tongue to be cut off, playing with him, as M. Antonius the tyrant before did with M. Cicero, for writing against his horrible life. At length, as one poison requires another. This poisoning pope, as he was sitting with his

cardinals, and other rich senators of Rome at dinner, his servants unawares brought him a wrong bottle, by which he was poisoned, and some of his cardinals who were about him.

In the time of Pope Alexander also it happened, that the angel statue, which stood high atop the pope's church, was struck down with terrible thunder. After pope Alexander, succeeded Pius III (A.D. 1503). After him came Julius II, a man so far surpassing all others in iniquity, that Wigelius, and others of his own friends, were compelled to say of him, "that he was more given to war and battle, than to Christ." Concerning the madness of this man, it is most certainly known that when he was going to war, he cast the keys of St. Peter into the river Tiber, saying that as the keys of St. Peter would not serve him to his purpose, he would take up the sword of St. Paul.

It is certainly reported about this Julius, that partly by his wars, and partly by his cursings, as good as 200,000 Christians were destroyed in seven years. First, he besieged Ravenna against the Venetians, then Servia, Imolia, Faventia, Forolivium, Bononia, and other cities, which he got from the princes' hands, but not without much bloodshed. The Chronicles of John Sleidan mention that when Julius was made pope, he took an oath, promising to have a council within two years. But when he had no leisure, being occupied with his wars in Italy among the Venetians, and with the French king, and in Ferrara, and in other countries, nine of his cardinals departed from him, came into Milan, and there appointed a council at the city of Pisa. Among them, the chief were Bernard, Cruceius, William Prenestinus, Francis, Constantine, with others; to whom also were added the proctors of Maximilian the emperor, and of Charles VIII, the French king. So the council was appointed (A.D. 1511) to begin in the kalends of September. The reason why they called this council was that the pope having broken his oath, gave no hope of having any council; and also because there were other crimes of which they had to accuse him. Their purpose was to remove him from his seat, which he had procured through bribes and ambition. Julius hearing this, commanded, under great penalties, that no man should obey them. And he himself called another council the next year, to begin the 19th of April. The French king understanding that Pope Julius had joined with the Venetians to take their part against him, assembled a council at Turin, in the month of September. In this council these two questions were proposed:

1. Whether it was lawful for the pope to wage war against any prince without cause?
2. Whether any prince in defending himself, might invade his adversary, and deny his obedience?

To these questions it was answered that the bishop should not invade, and that it was lawful for the king to defend himself. Moreover, the *Pragmatic Sanction* (see note on p. 364) was to be observed through the realm of France and that excommunications should not be feared, if they were found to be unjust. After this the king sent to Julius the answer of his council, requiring him either to agree to peace, or to appoint a general council somewhere else, where this matter might be more fully decided. Julius would do neither of these, but immediately accursed Charles, the French king, with all his kingdom. At length at Ravenna, in a great battle, the pope was overcome by the French king, and after much slaughter, great bloodshed, and mortal war, this pope died, the twenty-first of February A.D. 1513.

### ***History of the Turks— Mahomet — the Koran.***

Though I am afraid of filling this volume with foreign histories, when I have professed to chiefly treat the Acts and Monuments done here at home, I will yet add after these popes, something about the Turks' history — of their rise and cruel persecution of the saints of God,

to the great peril of Christendom. There are certain causes which necessarily require their wicked proceedings, their cruel tyranny and bloody victories, the ruin and subversion of so many Christian churches, with the horrible murders and captivity of infinite Christians, to be made known to our country of England, as well as to other nations.

The great victories of the Turks, and the lack of success of our men fighting against them, may admonish and teach us, following the example of the old Israelites, how to seek greater strength to encounter these enemies of Christ than we have done up to now. First, we must consider that the whole power of Satan, the prince of this world, goes with the Turks, which the strength of no man's arm is sufficient to resist. Only the name, spirit, and power of our Lord Jesus is sufficient, the Son of God going with us into our battles— just as the ark of God's covenant and promise went with the old Israelites who also fought against the enemies of God. For so are we taught in the Scripture, that we Christian men have no strength but in Christ alone. Whether we war against the devil, or against the Turk, it is true what the Scripture says, "without me you can do nothing." <sup>Joh 15:5</sup> There is no power to stand against the devil, or to conquer the world, except our faith alone, to which all the promises of God (regarding salvation) are annexed. We must not go beyond these promises, for the word must be our rule. Whoever presumes beyond the promises expressed in the word, does not go, but wanders, and he cannot tell where. Nor must we tell God how to save the world, but we must take that way which He has appointed. Let us not set God to school, nor comprehend his Holy Spirit within our knowledge. He that made us without our counsel, also redeemed us as it pleased Him. If he is merciful, let us be thankful. And if His mercies surmount our capacity, let us not therefore resist his word but search it out, and apply our will to it. If we do this, all our contentions will soon come to an end. Let us therefore search the will of our God in his word; and if He wills his salvation to stand free to all nations, why do we make merchandise of it? If he has graciously offered his waters to us, without money or money's worth, <sup>Is 55:1</sup> then let us not hedge in the plenteous springs of His grace that are so freely given to us.

And if God has determined to have his own Son stand alone, let us not presume to mix any of our trumpery (nonsense) with his majesty. Whoever brings St. George or St. Dennis as patrons to the field, to fight against the Turk, no doubt leaves Christ at home. Now, how we have fought these many years against the Turk, even if history keeps silent, yet the success declares. We fight against a persecutor, being no less persecutors ourselves. We wrestle against a bloody tyrant, and our hands are as full of blood as his. He kills Christ's people with the sword, and we burn them with fire. Observing the works of the law, the Turk seeks his justification by that, and we do the same. But neither he nor we seek our justification as we should, that is, by faith alone in the Son of God.

[371] A.D. 1499.

What marvel is it then, our doctrine being almost as corrupt as his, and our conversation worse, if Christ does not fight alongside us, as we fight against the Turk? The Turk has prevailed so mightily, not because Christ is weak, but because Christians are wicked, and their doctrine is impure. Our temples are polluted with images, and our hearts with idolatry; our priests sin before God in adultery, being restrained from lawful matrimony. The name of God is in our mouths, but the fear of Him is not in our hearts. We war against the Turk with our works, masses, traditions, and ceremonies, but we do not fight against him with Christ, and with the power of his glory, which if we did that, then the field would be won.

I do believe that when the church of Christ with its sacraments are so reformed, that Christ alone will be received as our justifier, with all other religions, merits, traditions, images,

patrons and advocates set apart, the sword of the Christians, with the strength of Christ, will soon vanquish the Turks' pride and fury. But I will address this more largely in the process of this history.

As to the time when this sect of Mahomet first began, history does not fully consent, but it is generally reckoned to be from his flight from Mecca to Medina (A.D. 622), which they call the Hegira, and in the eleventh year of Heraclius, the emperor of Constantinople. <sup>371</sup>

All writers agree in this, that this damnable Mahomet was born in the country of Arabia, bordering on the eastern part of Judea (A.D. 571). His father was an Arabian of the tribe of Koreish, and his mother was an Ishmaelite, a people of Arabia called the Hagarenes (sons of Hagar), which Mahomet afterwards changed to *Saracens*. Mention was made earlier of this wretched Mahomet, where we showed how he made himself the highest prophet of all others. And yet he does not deny that Christ was a holy prophet (next to him), and Moses was another. Moreover, he does not deny that Mary the mother of Christ was a virgin, and conceived Christ by the Holy Spirit. He affirmed further, that Christ in his own person was not crucified, but another called Judas was crucified for him. He greatly commends John (the Baptist), son of Zachary, <sup>Luk 1.13</sup> as a chaste man, while he himself permits a man to have four wives, and as many concubines as he is able to find. And he says that whereas Christ and other prophets had the gift given them to work miracles, he was sent to compel men to his religion by force of the sword.

The prodigious vanities, lies, and blasphemies contained in his law, called The Alkoran, <sup>372</sup> are rather to be laughed at than recited. It is thought that Sergius, a Nestorian, assisted Mahomet, in contriving this Alkoran, and so it appears by the scope, which especially tends to this end: to take the divinity from the person of Christ, whom Mahomet notwithstanding grants to be a most holy man, and also that he is received up to God, and shall come again to kill antichrist, etc.

Moreover, this ridiculous Alkoran is so intermingled with mixtures of the Christian, Jewish, and Gentile laws, giving such liberty to all the lusts of the flesh, setting up circumcision, abstaining from swine's flesh, and Jewish washings, and so much stands upon father Abraham, that it is supposed by some that this filthy Alkoran was indeed set out in the days of Mahomet, but that certain Jews also had some handling in the matter, and they put it out after his death. <sup>373</sup>

After Mahomet had thus seduced the people, teaching them that he did not come by miracles, but by the sword to give his law, and that those who will not obey it must either be put to death, or else pay tribute (for such are the words of the Alkoran). After he had gathered the strength of the Arabians about him, these Arabians then had occasion to rebel against the emperor. Because their stipends were not paid to them by the emperor's officers, Mahomet began to range with force and violence in parts of Syria. He subdued Mecca, then Damascus, and further increasing in power he entered Egypt, and subdued that too. From there he turned against the Persians. Chosroes, the king of Persia, encountered him with a powerful army, and overthrew the Saracens, and put Mahomet to flight. From these

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<sup>371</sup> When Mohammed arrived at Medina, he tried to win over the Jews by claiming to be one of their prophets. Their rabbis treated him with contempt. He never forgave that, and gave his followers permission to slay a Jew wherever they met one. When he came to Coraitza, he had 600 Jewish men beheaded and thrown into pits. At his death, he is said to have cursed all Jews and Christians, and called for their destruction. Thus began this "religion of peace."

<sup>372</sup> That is, the Koran, or Quran.

<sup>373</sup> In Sunni tradition, it is believed that the first caliph, Abu Bakr, ordered Zayd ibn Thabit to compile the written Quran, relying on textual fragments and the memories of those who memorized it during Mohammed's lifetime.

Persians came the Turks, who afterward joined with the Saracens, and maintained them against the Christians.

After the death of this beast (A.D. 632), who some say was poisoned in his house, he was succeeded by his father-in-law, Abu Bakr, who took upon himself the government of their followers, and got the city of Gaza, and also besieged Jerusalem. He reigned two years at Damascus.

After him followed Omar, who conquered a great part of Syria, Egypt, and Persia.

The fourth king of the Saracens, after Mahomet, was Otman; then followed Ali the son-in-law of Mahomet, and after him Mahuvias, or Moawiyah. After a siege of seven years, he obtained the Christian city of Caesarea. He also overcame the Persians, and subdued that country to his law.

Thus the wicked Saracens, in the space of thirty years, subdued Arabia, got Palestine, Phoenicia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia.

Not long after Heraclius, emperor of Constantinople, his nephew Constans succeeded him. In the sixteenth year of his empire, fighting unluckily against the Saracens in Lycia, he was overthrown by Mahuvias, A.D. 657. The Saracens after this victory spoiled all of Rhodes.

These cursed Saracens, in these great victories and conquests, were not without domestic sedition and divisions. Yet the princes of the Saracens, then called *Sultans*, had in their possession the government of Syria, Egypt, Africa, and a great part of Asia, for about four hundred years. At length the Saracen king who ruled in Persia, fighting against the Saracens of Babylon, sought aid from the Turks to fight with him against the sultan of Babylon. The Turks little by little surprised the sultan of Persia, and not long after usurped the kingdom of Persia. And this is the beginning of the Turkish dominion (*i.e.*, the Ottoman Empire).

These Turks, after they had thus overcome many countries and provinces, and made their power large, and were mighty both in Asia and Europe, they began to divide their kingdoms and countries among themselves. But when they could not agree except by deadly war, they contended for the bounds of those kingdoms and dominions. Four of the principal families conquering and subduing all the rest, parted the whole empire among themselves. And yet they were not contented either, but fell to such cruel hatred, contention, war, and slaughter (no doubt by the just judgment of God against His blasphemous enemies), that there was no end of it, until the remnant of the ancient Turks was utterly rooted out.

These four families, with their captains and armies, went raging throughout Asia and Europe about A.D. 1330. Every one of them conquered some part of the countries where they passed.<sup>374</sup>

The causes of these great invasions and victories, were the dissension and discord, falsehood, idleness, inconstancy, greedy avarice, lack of truth and fidelity among Christian men of all states and degrees, both high and low. For by the willful defection and backsliding of the Christians, the Turkish power exceedingly increased. Many who desired the licentious life and liberty of war, and allured with the prosperous success of things, forsook the church of God, and made themselves bondslaves to Mahomet and his devilish sect. This was both because liberty is delightful to all men, and also partly because the wills of men commonly incline to what fortune favors. Again, those in all ages who are profane and without the fear

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<sup>374</sup> [The Ottoman fleet was undefeated for centuries, until the battle of Lepanto, Oct 1571. It involved 500 ships and 100,000 combatants. It was the last great naval conflict dominated by armed rowing vessels.](#)

of God (of whom there is an infinite number in the church) commonly judge religion according to the success of realms and kingdoms. For many, not only for the variety of opinions, but also for the diversity of events and fortune among men, have inquired and still inquire whether there is any church of God distinct from other nations, what that church is, and where it is — especially as most men, in olden times when the four monarchies flourished, were ignorant of this doctrine, which is peculiar to the church alone; and also now, when the barbarity of Mahomet prevails and reigns in most of the world.

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How does this stand with man's reason? That a small number, both miserable and feeble, and broken with many battles, should be regarded and loved by God; and that the other, flourishing in all wealth, prosperity, victory, authority, and power, should be rejected and despised by God — seeing that there is no power and authority, except by the ordinance of God? Therefore, although the power of the Turks has been, for two hundred years, of greater force than any other monarchy of the world, there is no imperial dignity to be regarded in that Turkish tyranny, but only among those nations where the heavenly doctrine of the gospel is preached; where other disciplines necessary for the church of God and the common life of man are maintained and regarded; where the laws of God, and other honest and civil ordinances agreeable to it, flourish and reign; where lawful judgment is exercised; where virtue is honored and rewarded; where sin and wickedness is punished; where honest families are maintained and defended.

These things are not regarded among the Turks, the enemies of the Son of God, and of all lawful empires, because the Turks dissolve and reject all godly societies, honest discipline, good laws, politics, righteous judgment, the ordinance of matrimony, and godly families. For what has the empire of the Turks brought up to now, but the most deadly, cruel, and perpetual war, to work all mischief, destruction, and desolation? To subvert good laws, cities, kingdoms, policies, and to enlarge their cruel power and dominion? The stay and strength of the Turks is not love and favor proceeding of virtue and justice, as in lawful and well governed empires; but fear, violence, oppression, swarms, and many thousands of barbarous and most wicked people, ministers of Satan's malice and fury. This kind of dominion and tyranny has been condemned by the voice of God many years ago; the testimonies of which the Lord would have remain in the church, lest the godly, being moved with the power and success of such tyranny, might fall away and forsake the Son of God.

Therefore, let us not seek any imperial state in that barbarity; but let us be thankful, and acknowledge the great benefit of God, that He has reserved to us certain remnants of the Roman empire. And let us call upon him daily with hearty petitions and groans, and with zeal and love to the house of God, that this Turkish power joined with the malice of Satan against the Son of God, not prevail against the poor congregations and little remnant of his church, as it has done against those strong and noble Christian kingdoms and churches, where now we see the Turkish tyranny reign, and Satan has taken full possession. Their state was once far better than ours is now, and more likely to continue without such horrible overthrows and desolation. O that we might foresee a little, the great danger that hangs over our heads! For though the Turk seems to be far off, yet we nourish within our breasts at home, that which may soon cause us to feel his cruel hand and worse (if worse is possible) to overrun us; to lay our land waste; to scatter us among the infidels, the enemies and blasphemers of the Son of God.

Now, although those four families mentioned above long continued together in bloody wars, deadly hatred, one of them surpassed the rest in all cruelty and tyranny. Subduing the other

three families, he took upon himself the government alone. And so he became the first monarch, or emperor, who reigned among those called *Ottoman*, from whom all who reigned after him were called *Ottomans*. Succeeding in the order of his line, twelve of them have occupied the same dominion and seat of the Turks, from A.D. 1300 to this present time. Of these twelve, in such order as they lived and reigned, I intend (Christ permitting) to treat them severally and compendiously. I will shortly and briefly abstract out of prolix and tedious writers, those particulars for us Christians, which are requisite to be known.

### **The Twelve Great Emperors of the Turks.**

**I. Ottoman.** — This man was at first of poor estate, and obscure among the common sort of men, coming from a base progeny, and born of rustic parents. But through his valiantness and activity in war, he acquired a great name among the Turks. For being a man of fierce courage, refusing no labor, delighting in war, and gathering together a multitude of common soldiers by great subtlety, he began to make war, and to advance himself and his family by conquest and victories. First, he began to rob and spoil with a great band of rovers; afterward he attempted to set upon all men. Nor did he vex and destroy the Christians only, but set upon his own nation also, and sought all occasion to subdue them wholly to himself. For now the princes and captains of the Turks, inflamed with ambition and a desire to rule, began to fall out and contend among themselves, insomuch that they fell into domestic war, with all the power they could.

Ottoman, considering this occasion very fit and opportune to accomplish what he had long sought, gathered to himself all those he thought given to robbing and spoiling, and set them upon mischief. In a short time he began to grow in authority, and to set upon certain towns as he saw opportunity. Of these towns, he took some by force, some by surrender, others he spoiled and overthrew to terrify the rest, thus laying the first foundation of his rising. In the meantime, the discord which was among the Christians was no small advantage to this Ottoman. Because of it, within ten years' he subdued Bithynia, and all the provinces about Pontus; also Natolia, which comprehends all the dominion of the Greeks within Asia; Ancyra, a city in Phrygia; Synope, a city in Galatia; and Sebastia, a city in Cappadocia. And thus, still prevailing, he increased in a short time to a mighty power, either through the secret judgment of God against that nation, or else because God would have them prevail so far and so cruelly, for the punishment of the sins of other nations.

After he had reigned twenty-eight years, Ottoman died in A.D. 1328, leaving behind him three sons. Orchanes, being the youngest, killed his two brothers while they were at variance between themselves.

**II. Orchanes.** After he had slain his two brethren, he took the government of the Turks after his father. After he had drawn the hearts of the multitude to himself, those who had their dispositions set upon the licentious life of war, he applied his power to further enlarge his father's dominion, winning and subduing Mysia, Lydia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, and Caria. All these countries he added to the Turkish empire, being within the compass of Asia, up to the seaside of Hellespont and the Euxine sea. Also he won Prusa, which was the metropolitan city of Bithynia. He then made this the chief seat of the Turks' empire. Besides these, he conquered Nice, and got Nicomedia; all of which were previously Christian cities and regions. Yet all this could not make the Christian princes in Greece cease their civil wars, and to join and accord among themselves. Because of this, the Turk's aid was sent for out of Asia to help our Christians to kill one another, and at length to get all those parts of Europe from them both. Orchanes, after these victories, when he had reigned thirty-two years, was struck, some say, with an arrow in the shoulder, at the siege of Prusa. The opinion of others

is that fighting against the Tartarians, where he lost a great part of his army, he too was slain there (A.D. 1359).

**III. Amurath.** — The Greek writers inform us that Orchanes had two sons, Suleiman and Amurath; but Suleiman, who was very distinguished, died shortly before his father. After him followed Amurath. After Asia was subdued by his predecessors, he sought by all means and ways how to proceed further, and to invade Europe. To his ambitious purpose the domestic wars of the Christians gave a most prosperous occasion. This occasion is declared as follows. Certain discord fell between the princes of Greece, and John Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople.

[373] A.D. 1499.

Whereupon Paleologus, as he was not able to make his party good with the Grecians, most unwisely sent for Amurath to help him. He was glad to have such an occasion offered, which he had so long sought. To aid Paleologus, Amurath sent 12,000 Turks into Thrace; but first he used all the delays he could of crafty policy, with the intent that the Greeks would waste their strength and power upon themselves. By this means he might be better able afterward to set upon them, and to accomplish his conceived desire.

*The Turks were thus called into Europe by the Christians.* Whether they induced Amurath to invade, tasting the sweetness of the soil; or whether Amurath of his own head thought it good to use the time, in A.D. 1363, he came into Europe himself, with 60,000 Turks. They fell upon the Greeks, who had wasted and spent themselves with their long wars and battles. The pretense of the devilish Turk was to aid and assist the emperor Paleologus, whether he would have it or not, and to subdue what had fallen from him.

Thus the Turks' army being conveyed over by the Grecian sea, called the Hellespont, first got Calipolis, with other towns and cities bordering about the sea. Planting themselves there, and preparing ships of their own for transporting their munitions out of Asia, they advanced their power further into Thrace, and there won Philippolis; then they got Adrianople, which was not far from Constantinople; and there Amurath made his chief seat. Then Paleologus, the emperor, began at length to bewail his offer and covenant made with Amurath. When the Turks had thus conquered a great part of Thrace, they extended their army to Mysia, which they soon subdued. From there they proceeded against and conquered the Bessos and Triballos, then entered into Servia and Bulgaria. Joining battle with the prince of Servia, and with other dukes of Dalmatia and Epirus, they won the field, and defeated them, the prince being taken, committed to prison, and ended his life. This prince had a certain faithful client or servant, who to revenge his master's death with bold courage. Though seeing death before his eyes, he risked his life so far, that he came to the tyrant and thrust him through with his dagger. Amurath reigned thirty years, and was slain A.D. 1389.

**IV. Bajazet** (Bayezid I). The power of the Turks began to increase in Europe, when Bajazet, the first of that name, after the death of his father, took possession of the Turkish kingdom. This Bajazet had two brethren, Suleiman and Saucus. Saucus had his eyes put out by his father, for striving for the kingdom. Suleiman was slain by his brother. Thus Bajazet, beginning his kingdom with the murder of his brother, brought his imperial seat from Prusa, a city of Bithynia, to Adrianople, intending to subdue both Asia and Europe. First he set upon the Servians and Bulgarians, thinking to revenge his father's death. There he overthrew all the nobility of the Servians and Bulgarians, and put all those parts under his subjection, up to the borders of the Illyrians (western Balkans). He likewise brought all of Thrace under his yoke, with only Constantinople and Pera excepted. That done, he invaded



the rest of Grecia, prevailing against the countries of Thessaly, Macedonia, Phocia, and Attica, spoiling and burning as he passed without any resistance. And so, returning to Adrianople with innumerable spoils from the Christians, laid siege to Constantinople for eight years. He would have taken it, except that Paleologus, pushed to extremity, was driven to crave aid from the French, and from Sigismund the emperor. Accompanied with a sufficient power of French and Germans, the emperor came down to Hungary, and towards Servia, against the Turk. Bajazet hearing of their coming, raised his siege from Constantinople, and came to Nicopolis with 60,000 horsemen. There encountering them, he overthrew the Christian army, and made a prisoner of John, the captain of the French (A.D. 1392). Sigismund, the one who in the Council of Constance had burned John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, barely escaped by fleeing. After the victory, Bajazet carried away duke John, with five others in bands, into Prusa, where before John's face he caused all the other Christian prisoners to be cut to pieces. Afterward John, being ransomed with 200,000 crowns, was delivered up. Some authors refer this history to the time of Calepinus (below).

Bajazet, the cruel tyrant, after this victory, and the tyranny shown upon the Christians, returned again to the siege of Constantinople, fully determined to conquer and subdue the city. He would have no doubt have accomplished this, except that the providence of God had found such a means to prevent it. Tamerlane, king of Parthia, with a 100,000 horsemen, and swarms of footmen, like a violent flood, overran Asia and pressed upon Syria and Sebastia. He had taken Orthobule prisoner, the son of Bajazet, and afterwards slew him, exercising the same cruelty upon his prisoners as Bajazet had done before upon the Christians. He went so far that he spared neither sex nor age of the Turkish multitude. He caused 12,000 of them at one time to be overridden and trodden down under his horses' feet. By this, Bajazet, the tyrant, was forced to raise the siege of Constantinople, and to return with his army into Asia. There, near the hill called Stella, he pitched his tent to encounter Tamerlane.

The fight between these two was long and great on both sides (A.D. 1402). It was the second year after the slaughter of our Christians at Nicopolis in Pannonia; but at length the victory of this battle fell to Tamerlane. In this battle, as Munster writes, 200,000 Turks were slain. Bajazet, the tyrant, having his horse slain under him, was taken prisoner. To make a spectacle of his wretched fortune, he was bound in golden fetters, and enclosed in an iron cage (whom all of Greece could not hold before). He was led about and shown throughout Asia, to be scorned and laughed at. Moreover, he was used by Tamerlane in place of a footstool or a block, as often as he mounted his horse. Some add also that he was made to feed under Tamerlane's table like a dog. The tyranny of this Bajazet against the Christians, just as it was not much unlike the cruelty of Valerian, the Roman emperor, so neither was the example of his punishment much different. For just as Sapor, king of the Persians, did with Valerian in the eighth persecution of the primitive church, so likewise Bajazet the persecutor was worthily handled by Tamerlane, king of the Parthians, as mentioned above.

Tamerlane, after this conquest, passed with his army into Mesopotamia, into Egypt, and into Syria, where he victoriously subdued the cities and munitions of the Turks, and at length also conquered Damascus. In his sieges his manner was, the first day, to go all in white attire, the second day in red, and the third day in black, signifying thereby mercy the first day to those who yielded; the second day the sword; the third day fire and ashes. At last, after having gotten great victories, and the spoils of the Turks, he returned to his own country, and there he died (A.D. 1465).

In writing of Tamerlane, it is recorded that he had 800,000 men in his army; and that he overcame the Parthians, Scythians, Iberians, Albans, Persians, Medes, and conquered all of Mesopotamia. After he had also subdued Armenia, he passed over the river Euphrates and invaded all of Asia Minor, conquering and subduing from the river Tanais to the Nile in Egypt. He was called the terror of the world. He left behind him two sons who, falling into discord for their possessions, lost again all that their father had gotten.

In the meantime, Bajazet had died in the second year of his captivity (A.D. 1403), leaving behind him twelve sons. The four eldest at the time were Suleiman, Isa, Musa, and Mahomet (Mehmed I), who disputed with Isa and Musa over the right of succession to the remainder of Bajazet's empire. This civil war ended in the triumph of Mahomet, after the death of his brothers. In these discords and divisions among the Turks, an occasion was given to the Christians to recover from the Turks that which they had lost, if they had not been either negligent, or otherwise occupied in their own private wars among themselves.

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**V. Suleiman Calepinus.** — Calepinus or Chelebi, was the second son of Bajazet (the first died in 1400). Encouraged by the sloth and negligence of the princes of Europe, and by the discord of the Greeks among themselves and other nations near them, Suleiman long troubled and vexed the Bulgarians, Servians, and Macedonians, even to the time of king Sigismund. When this king saw that Bajazet had been overcome and taken by Tamerlane, and the power of the Turks was weakened in Europe, he saw an occasion offered him from heaven, as it were, to destroy and utterly root out that barbarous nation, cruel enemies to the name and religion of Christ — not only from Asia, but also from all of Europe. It was also an occasion to revenge the great slaughter and discomfiture of his army when he fought with Bajazet at Nicopolis, a city in Mysia. And so, with great power he made war against Calepinus at Columbatium, a town in Servia, as mentioned before — but as unluckily and with as little success as he had before against Bajazet his father. For in that battle 20,000 Christians were slain, and the rest utterly discomfited. The king himself so barely escaped, that he did not enter his kingdom again for eighteen months. After this, Suleiman was overcome by his brother Musa, in the civil contention which was still raging among the brothers. He was killed (A.D. 1409), after reigning nearly eight years.

**VI. Masa Chelebi.** — After the captivity of Bajazet above mentioned, histories vary. The Greek writers make no mention at all of Calepinus, only the sons of Bajazet generally, and of the contention among them until the time of Mahomet. The Latin histories, writing of the children of Bajazet and their succession, do not agree. Some affirm that Bajazet had only two sons, others that he had more. After the death of Suleiman, Musa was saluted as the emperor by the European army, but shortly after he was attacked by his brother Mahomet, and killed in battle. He too had reigned about eight years. <sup>375</sup>

**VII. Mahomet** (Mehmed I). — The last of the ruling sons of Bajazet, Mahomet secured to himself alone the kingdom, or rather the tyranny of the murdering Turks (A.D. 1413). He sorely afflicted the Christians with wars within Europe, especially the country called Wallachia, lying not far from the river Danube, between Hungary and Thrace. From there he moved into Asia, where he recovered diverse parts in Galatia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, which Tamerlane had taken from the Turks before. This Mahomet planted his chief imperial seat in Adrianople not far from Constantinople, within the country of Thrace. In some

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<sup>375</sup> The period from the death of Bajazet to the accession of Mahomet is usually styled "The Interregnum," the kingdom being divided by the contention of the brothers; but it was again united under Mahomet. — [Ed.]

writers, the conflict between Sigismund and the great Turk, in which the Christians were so discomfited, is attributed to this Mahomet, rather than to Calepinus. This conflict was mentioned above in the history of Sigismund. Mahomet reigned eight years after the death of Musa, and died A.D. 1421.

**VIII. Amurath the Second** (Murad II, r. 1421-1444). He was the son of Mahomet. He proved to be a wretched tyrant, and yet he was permitted, as a scourge of God, to correct the sins of the Christians. Soon after Amurath began his reign, a person sprung up calling himself Mustafa, the son of Bajazet; but it would seem that he was an impostor, as the real Mustafa was supposed to have been killed in battle before the death of Bajazet. However the Greeks supported this man, and set him up with sufficient materials and supplies of war, to fight against Amurath. But in conclusion, not being able to make his party good, he came into the hands of his enemy, and had his neck broken with a bow-string, in the manner of the Turkish execution.

The Greeks, then terrified with this sinister adversity, requested a truce from the Turk. But when that would not be granted, they set up another Mustafa, who likewise being armed by the Greeks, got the city of Nice in Bithynia, back from Amurath. Although it was not long before he was overcome in the same city, and brought to Amurath. He caused him likewise to taste the same death as the other Mustafa had done. Amurath now beyond all fear and doubt of brethren and kinsfolk rising against him, collected all his power against the Greeks. First he ranged throughout Thrace, where many cities surrendered to him, which before belonged to the emperor of Constantinople. From there he set forward to the noble and famous city of Thessalonica, then under the liege and protection of the Venetians. After Thessalonica was subdued, Phocis with all the country about Athens, Boetia likewise, also Aetolia, Acarnania, with all the region beyond Peloponnesus, to the coast of Corinth, were brought into bondage and slavery to the Turk.

In Epirus, and in that quarter that adjoins Macedonia named Albania, one John Castriot then reigned. Perceiving himself too weak to match the Turk's power, he made this convention with the Turk: that he might have Croya, a famous city in Greece. He also gave him his three sons for hostages; to wit, Constantine, Reposius, and George.

In his son George there appeared such noble courage, such vigor of mind and strength of body, that the Turk caused him to be more freely instructed in the Turkish religion and manner in his own court. Being trained up there, George so excelled in feats of activity, as well as strength of body, that he excelled all his companions — so that he was named *Scanderbeg*, which is the same as Alexander the Great.

After this Alexander had grown up to mature ripeness of age, and was well-trained in feats of war, he was sent out by the Turk to war against Caraman of Cilicia, the Turk's enemy. In this expedition he showed himself most manfully, fighting hand to hand, first with a footman of Scythia, then with a horseman of Persia, being challenged by them both to an encounter, first with the one, after with the other. He so valiantly overthrew them, that he won great renown with the Turk — insomuch that, trusting to the Turk's favor, when he heard of the decease of his father, he dared ask a grant of the Turk that his father's dominion be given to him. Though Amurath the Turk did not deny him this request, Alexander perceived the matter was dallied out only with fair words. So by subtle means and policy he slipped out of the Turk's court, and came to Epirus, his own inheritance, where first by forged letters he recovered Croya. The other cities voluntarily yielded themselves to him. Then gathering to himself the people of Epirus and Macedonia (who though not many in number, yet with good willing minds they stuck to him) he so manfully and valiantly

behaved himself, that against all the power both of Amurath, and also of Mahomet, he maintained his own, repelled their violence, and put to flight their armies for many years.

But to return again to the course of Amurath's victories, after he had prevailed against the eastern parts of Europe and Greece, and had thus strived for the dominion of Epirus, he invaded Illyricum (now called Sclavonia). It contained Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, and Liburnia. These countries he despoiled and wasted, and then continued his course to Albania and Bosnia. In these regions, once he had subdued a large part, and led away an innumerable multitude of captives, he moved further to Wallachia and Servia, hoping to conquer all of Pannonia.<sup>376</sup>

At the same time, there reigned in Servia a certain prince named George Despota, who made great suit to the Turk for truce and peace, promising to give him his daughter in marriage; for by the Turks' law they may marry as many wives as they please.

[375] A.D. 1499.

It was not long after Amurath had married the daughter of Despota, that contrary to his league and promise, he made war upon Despota, now his father-in-law, and expelled him from his kingdom, taking from him diverse cities, such as Scopia, Novomonte, Sophia, and all of Mysia. George himself fled into Hungary, leaving his son behind to defend the town of Sinderonia. Amurath hearing of Despota's flight, compassed the city with a strong siege. Once he had taken Sinderonia, he took his wife's brother, the son of Despota, and without any regard of mercy and affinity, in the barbarous tyranny of the Turks, he put out his eyes with a red hot basin set before his eyes. After that he led him about in derision, to spite his cowardly father.

Servia thus being won, Amurath, thought to go further into Hungary. He besieged the city called Belgrade, and no doubt would also have destroyed it, had the providence of God not found means that, partly through the slaughter of his men, partly for lack of food and other forage, he was compelled to raise his siege and retire.

In the meantime John Huniades (who was mentioned earlier) had gotten great victories against the Turkish power. He had recovered part of Servia, and all Moldavia; against whom Amurath the Turk, with a mighty army, moved into Pannonia. But Huniades with the power and aid of Ladislaus king of Poland (and more especially by the power of the Lord) soon weakened the power of the Turk, and overthrew him, recovering to the Christians the greatest part of Servia and Bulgaria.

In this battle, Huniades had five conflicts with the Turks in one day; and with five victories he put them to the worse. Toward night he so discomfited and overthrew the great captain of Amurath, called Bassa, the duke of Anatolia (otherwise named Asia Minor) that he slew 30,000 of the Turks that day. Amurath, although he was not a little discouraged at this, yet setting aside his fear, and with stout countenance, he sent for Carambeius, his principal stay and captain, with a new army brought out of Asia to assist him in his wars. Carambeius arrived in the downs of Transylvania. Ladislaus the king of Poland (the Lord so working), through the industry of John Huniades, received and overcame him with such celerity (speed), that his entire stout and sturdy army was either slain outright, or else put to flight. Carambeius the captain was himself taken prisoner in the same field.

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<sup>376</sup> *Pannonia*: western Hungary, western Slovakia, eastern Austria, northern Croatia, north-western Serbia, northern Slovenia, and northern Bosnia and Herzegovina.

These victories of Huniades struck no little terror to Amurath. So that for distress of mind he was ready to destroy himself (as some write). But being confirmed by Helibeus Bassa his counsellor, he kept himself within the straits of Mount Rhodope. Then hearing that Caramannus (with a Christian army) had invaded Bithynia and Pontus in Asia, Amurath was glad to make a truce with Ladislaus and Huniades upon whatever conditions they were pleased to make. Their conditions were these: that Amurath should depart from the whole region of Servia, and remove from there all his garrisons; also, he that should restore George Despota, prince of Servia, to his possession, and set his children free, whom he held in captivity, and restore their inheritance to them. And that he would make no more claim or title to the country of Moldavia mentioned above, nor to that part of Bulgaria which he had lost; and that he should desist hereafter from all wrongs and injuries against the Christians. The Turk having agreed to these conditions, a truce was concluded on both parts for ten years, and confirmed with a solemn oath between them.

This done, Amurath the tyrant addressed himself toward Asia, to resist the invasion of Caramannus. At this time Pope Eugenius, as soon as he heard the Turk had returned to Asia, sent cardinal Julian Caesarian to Ladislaus, with full dispensation and absolution to break his oath and league with the Turk, moreover promising great hope and aid if he would stoutly go to arms against the tyrant.

Here, by the way, it is to be noted that just as there is no truth of promise in that pestilent See of Rome, nor did any war ever prosper which was taken in hand by the pope's council, so there was never any council of the pope that brought with it more detriment to Christianity than this. But the pope seemed to think that just as he might lawfully break his promise with John Huss and with other Christians, so too he need not observe any league or truce taken with the Turk. But it turned much otherwise than the pope imagined, as is seen by the sequel. For Ladislaus, being thus excited by the ill-advised and sinister instigation of Pope Eugenius, and contrary to the truce established a little before, set out with his army and proceeded to Wallachia and Bulgaria. When he came to Varna, he fell sick.

It was not long before the Turk, having intelligence of this, left his wars in Asia, and made haste into Europe, passing over by the straits near Callipolis, where the entire Italian navy was looking on. But whether on purpose, or for cowardliness, they would not stir one oar to stop the passage of the Turkish army. When Amurath had come to Adrianople in Thrace, using such celerity as no man looked for, within eight days he was in Bulgaria; and there he encamped himself against Ladislaus. The day of the battle being set, the armies joined on both sides. Huniades himself was present. But the whole matter was ruled by Julian the cardinal, and the pope's clergy. The fight continued three days and three nights together, with great courage and much bloodshed on each side; so that the field was covered with lakes of blood. It seemed at first to incline to the Christians, by breaking the first ranks of the Turks. But the priests and prelates who were at the field (who were better fitted to be in the church) seeing the Turks to begin to flee, unskillfully left their array to pursue the enemy. So that leaving the other posts of the Christians naked, they gave great advantage to the Turks with their arrows and shot, to disturb the Christian ranks. By this occasion, Amurat, enclosed the Christians with his army, and obtained the victory. In this field, Ladislaus, the young king of Poland, having his horse killed under him, was struck down and slain. The pope's bishops fleeing to save themselves, fell into the marshes, and were destroyed there; they sustained a death worthy of their filthy falsehood and untruth. Julian the cardinal, who with the pope was the chief actor in breaking the league, was found dead on the way, full of wounds, and stripped naked. Of the rest of the army that escaped by fleeing, part was drowned in the marshes, some perished miserably from hunger, some from

cold, watching and wandering in the woods. Huniades barely escaped the danger, by the merciful providence of God, being reserved to the further profit of Christendom. This battle of Amurath against the Christians was fought at Varna, in A.D. 1444.

John Huniades, the worthy warrior, was born in Wallachia, being the earl of Bistice. Of all the captains who ever went against the Turks, he was most famous and singular, prudent and discreet in council, expert and politic in war, prompt of hand, circumspect before he attempted anything, and quick in expedition. In him almost no good property requisite in a warlike captain was lacking. Against two most mighty and fierce tyrants, Amurath and Mahomet, through the Lord's might, he defended all of Pannonia, And therefore he was called the thunderbolt and terror of the Turks. As Achilles was to the Grecians, so Huniades was set up by God to be like a wall or bulwark of all Europe against the cruel Turks and enemies of Christ, and of His Christians. Nor was there any king or prince who ever achieved such noble victories, either in number, or so profitable for the public utility of all Europe, as he did. And that not only in the days of this Amurath, but also of Mahomet his successor, as further remains to be seen hereafter.

Amurath, because of this victorious overthrow of the Christians, was filled with no small pride. He directed his journey immediately toward the Greeks, where John Castriot was (mentioned above), otherwise called Scanderbeg.

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First coming to Peloponnesus, and breaking down the wall around the straits of Corinth, Amurath encountered the brother of the emperor of Constantinople, whom he oppressed with his sudden coming, along with all the Greeks' army, before they were supplied. After that, Paleologus the emperor built up the wall again. But at the Turk's bidding, he was compelled to undo it again, which afterwards the Venetians repaired. After this demolition, however, Amurath entered into Peloponnesus. He took several towns and cities, and made tributaries of all the parts of Thessaly and Achaia.

In the following year, the Turk bent all his force against the country of Epirus, which the noble and victorious Scanderbeg valiantly defended against all the power of Amurath. So that he discomfited and vanquished seven of the most expert dukes of the Ottoman emperor, one after another, with all their armies of most chosen soldiers, and expelled them utterly out of all Epirus.

After this discomfiture, the saying is that Amurath gave himself to a religious order, living a contemplative life with certain other priests, in the forests of Bithynia. He renounced the government of his realm into the hands of Haly, one of the princes (the reader must understand that the Turks are not without their sundry sects of religion, any more than we Christians are without our friars and monks).

While Amurath was cloistered in his monkish religion, John Huniades, in the kingdom of Hungary; and Castriot Scanderbeg in Greece, kept a great stir against the Turks. Because of this, Amurath was taken back from his monkish vow and profession, and brought again into the field. For Huniades had rescued the whole country of Hungaria, and had repulsed all the army of the Turks far from Servia. Although the peevish practice of George, prince of Servia, had oftentimes disclosed his councils to the Turks, whereby twice Huniades was brought into danger, yet notwithstanding (through the Lord's gracious protection) he was preserved and delivered by George to the Hungarians again. After that, he manfully vanquished the Turks, so that they had no resting place around those parts of Servia and Bulgaria, so long as he lived.

Castriot Scanderbeg so foiled the Turk, and kept Amurath so short, that coming from Epirus in the straits, Amurath was so entangled by Castriot, that he was forced to give battle. In this battle he was so vanquished, and most part of his army slain, that for grief and sorrow, falling into a raving sickness, Amurath was transported out of his pavilion to Adrianople, and there he died in fury and madness, about the year 1451, after reigning thirty years.

Amurath first established the order of the Janizaries, who were the male children of those Christians that he conquered and took captive. He forced them to renounce the faith of Christ, in which they were baptized, and brought them up in Mahomet's law. He exercised them in the same feats of war as he did his own people. And after they came to adulthood, he named them Janizaries, (that is to say) soldiers of a strange country, and he made them guard his person. They wear on their head, instead of a helmet, a white attire made of the coarsest sort of wool, in so many folds around their head that it cannot be pierced with a sword. It hangs down on the back with a tail, and on the forehead, it is garnished with gold and silver. They formerly used bows and lances in the field; but now they use sabres and firearms, as our cavalry do.

At the first institution there were but 8,000; but now there are twice as many. This, of all bondage and servitude that the Christians suffer under the Turks, is the most intolerable, and greatly to be lamented by all true Christians. For what can godly minds behold more to their grief, than to see their children pulled from the faith of Christ in which they were baptized, and by whose blood they should eternally be saved, and to be instructed and nourished with the blasphemous doctrine of Mahomet — to be professed enemies of Christ and his church, to make war against heaven, and to perish everlastingly? And finally, what a lamentable thing it is, to see and behold our own children, born of our own bodies, become our mortal and cruel enemies, and to cut our throats with their own hands! This servitude of mind is far greater than death itself. If our princes would well consider this, it would cause them to agree, and bend their whole force and power against this cruel enemy.

**IX. Mahomet the Second** (Mehmed II). Amurath left behind him three sons, — Mahomet, born of the daughter of Despota, being twenty years of age; the second son, called Turcines; the third, named Calepinus. This Turcines, being an infant but eighteen months old, was strangled at the commandment of the Turk, by his servant Moses. He was present there himself and beheld the horrible murder. When Moses, the executioner of the murder, desired him not to pollute his hands with the blood of his brother, he answered that it was the manner of all the Ottoman Turks, that all the other brethren being destroyed, none should be left alive but one to govern the empire. Therefore, Moses was commanded by the tyrant, there present and in his sight, to kill the infant. Once the mother of the child understood this horrible fact, she cried out, and almost mad for sorrow, cursed the tyrant to his face. But to mitigate the rage of his mother, at her request, being desirous to be revenged upon the executioner of her son's death, he delivered Moses bound into her hands. She then, in the presence of the tyrant, thrust him to the heart with a knife; and opening his side, she took out his liver and threw it to the dogs to be devoured.

The third son, called Calepinus, was but six months old. Amurath had commended him to the custody of Halibassa, one of his nobles. To gratify and please the tyrant, Halibassa betrayed the infant, and brought him to Amurath, and at the tyrant's command, he was strangled. Some say that instead of Calepinus, another child was offered to the tyrant, and that Calepinus was conveyed to Constantinople, and after the taking of Constantinople he was carried to Venice, and then to Rome to Pope Calixtus. There he was baptized, and afterward came to Germany, to Frederic the emperor, and there was honorably entertained,

and kept in Austria during his life. If so, note how the merciful providence of God can fetch out of the devil's mouth. And note, moreover, Halibassa, the betrayer of the infant, did not escape. For Mahomet, understanding him to be a man of great substance and riches, through forging false crimes against him, put him to death with great torments, to have his riches. For this tyrant was given to insatiable avarice. Thus this bloody Mahomet began his reign with horrible murder, following the example of his predecessors, other cursed tyrants.

Although Mahomet came from a Christian mother, being the daughter of Despota, prince of Servia, and was brought up by her and instructed from his childhood in the precepts of Christian religion and manners, yet he soon forgot it, and gave himself to Mahomet's religion,. And yet, being addicted to neither religion, he became an atheist, believing and worshipping no God at all, but only the goddess of good fortune. He mocked the minds and judgments of men who believe that God, by His providence, governs and regards the state of human things on earth.

After hearing of the victories and conquests of his predecessors, and understanding how Bajazet surrounded Constantinople for eight years, and could not win it, Mahomet dispraised Bajazet — that such a long time should be spent about the siege and yet no victory gotten. And so he bent all his study and devices to know how to subdue the city. But first, having a secret hatred against the city of Athens, and having his hands lately imbrued with the blood of his brethren, this murdering Mahomet first of all voyaged to subvert and destroy that famous school of all good learning and discipline. He so furiously raged against it out of hatred for its good letters, that he thought he must not allow its foundation to stand, because that city was a good nurse and fosterer of arts and sciences.

[377] A.D. 1499.

Therefore he commanded the city to be razed and utterly subverted. Wherever any monuments or books could be found, he had them cast into dirty sinks, and the filthiest places of the city, or put to the most vile uses that could be devised, for extirpating and abolishing all good literature. If he understood that anyone lamented the loss and ruin of that noble place, he grievously punished them and put them to death.

Thus the famous and ancient school of Athens being destroyed, he turned his army toward Thrace. There, in all haste, he gathered his power both by sea and land, and with a mighty multitude, he compassed the city of Constantinople, and laid siege against it in the year 1453. On the fifty-fourth day of the siege it was taken and sacked, and the Emperor Constantine was slain. A sufficient relating of this, with a full description, was made before regarding the cruelty and fierceness of the Turks in getting this city — what slaughter there was of men, and women, and children, and what calamity and misery was to be seen there. It would be superfluous to now repeat it. This alone is not to be omitted: the principal causes of the overthrow of this city. The first of these was the filthy avarice of those citizens who, hiding their treasures in the ground, would not employ them for the necessary defense of their city. For so I find it in history, that when the Turk, after taking the city, had not found as much treasure as he looked for, suspected (as was the truth) that the treasures and riches were hidden underground, He commanded the earth to be dug up, and the foundations of the houses to be searched; there he found incredible treasures. "What?" (he asked) "How could it be that this place could lack ammunition and fortification, when it flowed and abounded with such great riches, and plenty of all things?" The second cause was the absence of the navy of the Venetians. If they had been ready in time, they might have been a safeguard against the invasion of the enemies.



Joannes Ramus, writing of the destruction of this city, among other matters related about the image of the crucifix, there in the high temple of Sophia. The Turk took this image, and wrote this superscription upon its head, "This is the God of the Christians." He gave it to his soldiers to be scorned. He commanded that the image, with trumpet sound, be carried throughout his army, and he made every man spit at it most contemptuously. The reader, by the way, may note what an occasion for slander and offense we Christians give to the barbarous infidels by our ungodly superstition, in having images in our temples, contrary to the express commandment of God in his word. For if St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, says, "We know Christ no longer after the flesh;" <sup>2Cor 5:16</sup> then how much less is Christ to be known by us in blind stocks and images set up in our temples, serving no other purpose than for infidels to laugh us to scorn, and our God, and to provoke God's vengeance?

To make the history short, such was the cruelty of these Turks in winning the city, that when Mahomet had given license to the soldiers for three days straight to spoil, kill, and do whatever they pleased, there was no corner in all of Constantinople, which did not either flow with Christian blood, or else was the scene of abomination and cruelty. Some of its citizens they murdered, some they roasted on spits, some they flayed off their skin, hanging others up to be consumed with famine. Still others they put salt into their wounds to more terribly torment them, so that one Turk contended with another as to who could devise the strangest kinds of new torments and punishments. They exercised such cruelty that the place where the city was before now seemed to be no city at all, but a slaughter-house or the shambles of Christian men's bodies. Among the dead bodies, the body of Constantine the emperor was also found. His head being brought to Mahomet, he commanded it to be carried on a spear throughout the city, as a public spectacle and derision to all the Turkish army. And because he would diminish the number of captives, who seemed to him to be very great, he never rose from his table each day, without putting some of the nobles to death, in order to fill his cruel mind with blood, as his body was filled with wine. He used to do this so long as any of the nobles of that city were left alive. And of the other sort too, as histories credibly report, no day passed in which he did not slay more than 300 persons. The rest he gave to his soldiers to kill, and to do with them what they would. It is here to be noted that as Constantine, the son of Helena, was the first emperor of Constantinople, so Constantine, also the son of Helena, was the last emperor.

Not far from the city of Constantinople, there was another little city, called Pera, once called Galata. It was situated by the seaside. Hearing of the miserable destruction of Constantinople, and seeing the city flaming with fire, they sent certain of the chief men with speed to Mahomet, declaring to him that they had neither sent any help to the city of Constantinople, nor done any injury to his army. Therefore they desired and asked him, that as they would gladly yield to him, so he would be favorable to them, and spare them, and not punish the guiltless with the guilty. Mahomet, although he was not ignorant that it was for fear, rather than any good-will, that they submitted themselves, and that they would rather have resisted him if they had been able, he received at that time the submission of their messengers. But he sent his ambassador back with them into their own city, and also commanded his army to follow, and to enter with him into the city. Although this was greatly suspected and disliked by the citizens, they dared not do otherwise, but allowed them to enter. This being done, the ambassador gave a sign to the soldiers, every man to do whatever he was bidden. Some of them ran to the walls, some to the temples and churches, some to the streets and houses of the city, pulling all things down to the ground, sacking and ranging with no less fury and abomination than they had done at Constantinople before — except that they abstained from murder. But the same day, letters came from Mahomet to

the ambassador, that he would spare no one, but destroy and murder all who were in the city. This message, because it seemed to the ambassador to be too cruel, as they had yielded themselves, he stayed his hand until night came. In the meantime, drunken Mahomet, coming somewhat to himself (whom drunkenness had overcome before) sent his second letters to revoke the first. Here again is to be noted the merciful providence of God towards his people in their deserved plagues, by staying the hands, and bridling the fury many times of their enemies, when otherwise the case seems to be past all remedy.

Mahomet, not a little exultant by winning Constantinople, made it the imperial seat of the Turkish dominion. The third year following (A.D. 1456), he set out to besiege Belgrade, a city of Hungary, lying near the banks of the Danube. He thought to have the same success there, as he had in winning Constantinople. But through the Lord's disposing, it fell out much otherwise. Within the city of Belgrade, at the time of the siege, was John Huniades, the valiant captain mentioned before. With a sufficient strength of picked soldiers, though not at all equal in number to the Turk's army, he valiantly defended the city with great courage, and no less success. In this siege great diligence was shown, and many of the Turks were slain. Among them was Mahomet himself. Being wounded under the left arm, he was carried out of the field half dead. The rest were so put to flight, that not much under 40,000 of the Turks were destroyed, besides the loss of all their ordnance, which the Turks were forced to leave behind them in the haste of their flight.

Jerome Zieglerus, writing of the siege of Belgrade, adds that when Mahomet was at the siege, seeing the town so small and weak of itself, and yet that it could not be won with all his great multitude, commanded all his bronze pieces to be laid out, to batter down the walls and towers of the town. So that, the Christians within the walls were vehemently distressed; for the siege continued both night and day without intermission.

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Among the rest of the Christians who defended the town, was a certain Bohemian worthy of much commendation. Being on the walls, and seeing that a Turk with a banner or ensign of the Turks had gotten up, and thereby realizing the whole town was in danger of being conquered and taken, he runs to the Turk. Claspings him around the middle, and speaking to John Capistranus standing below, he asked whether he would be in any danger of damnation if he voluntarily threw himself with that dog (so he termed him) headlong from the wall, to be slain with him? What would become of his soul? Might he be saved or not? When Capistranus answered that he would be saved without doubt, he immediately tumbled himself with the Turk down off the wall. By his death, he saved the life of the whole city at the same time. Mahomet being so wounded, and in despair of winning the city, was carried out of the field, as this writer heard. At length coming again to himself, partly for fear, and partly for shame, Mahomet was ready to kill himself. Thus the town of Belgrade was at that time rescued through God's providence, by means of John Huniades and this Bohemian.

This siege of Belgrade began A.D. 1456, and endured forty-six days. There were 200,000 Turks at this siege, of whom 40,000 were slain. Victory fell to the Christians through the prosperous success given by God to John Huniades. Not long after the victory, through his labor and fatigue in defending the town, Huniades was taken with a sore sickness and died. Histories give great praise and commendation to his valiant prowess and singular courage.

After this, Mahomet was done in Europe. He returned into Asia to war with Usumcassanes, a Persian, with whom he had three battles. The first was near the river Euphrates, where the Turk lost 10,000 men, and had the worse of it. In the second field he was likewise

discomfited. The third battle was at Arsenga, where through the terrible noise of the bronze pieces, the Persian horses disturbed the camp, and so Usumcassanes was overcome.

From there the Turk. reduced again his power against the Christians, and first subdued Synope and all Paphlagonia (in northern Asia Minor); also the kingdom of Trebizond, which besieging it both by land and water, he won from the Christians. He sent David the king with his two sons, and Calus his uncle, to Constantinople, where they were miserably and cruelly put to death. The whole family of the Comneni, who were of the king's family, were destroyed by the Turk. This was about A.D. 1461, at which time this mischievous Mahomet was first saluted emperor.

Not long after, he got Corinth and Mitylene from the Grecians, but not without the great slaughter of Christian men — it was so extensive that the whole city of Mitylene was destroyed almost to the ground. He also won the isles of Lemnus and Lesbos from the Venetians; on this island of Lesbos was the city of Mitylene.

Not far from this isle of Lesbos and Mitylene, there is a country in Asia toward the sea side, bordering Europe, called Mysia, or called by some Maesia, in which the city of Troy stood. Mahomet coveted to win this country by policy and falsehood, rather than by the doubtful danger of war. So he secretly sent for the prince to come to speak with him for certain causes (he pretended) which would concern the profit and commodity of them both. When the king of Mysia, either for shame or for fear, dared not deny him, he came to Mahomet to confer about necessary affairs pertaining to them in common. Mahomet had the king apprehended and cruelly slain, or rather torn in pieces. And so, invading the land of Mysia, he exercised the same tyranny upon the king's kindred and affinity.

Mysia being taken and lost by fraud, Mahomet flew again towards Europe, where he assailed the island Euboia, otherwise called Nigropont. He made a bridge of marvellous fame over the sea Euripus, to convey his army out of Greece. And there he laid his siege to the city Chalois, which at length he overcame in thirty days, but not without a great slaughter of his army. In the siege he is said to have lost 40,000 of the Turks. But the slaughter of the Christians was greater, for when the city was won, the tyrant commanded, most cruelly, that none were to be spared within the whole city, but to be put to the sword, whoever was above the age of twenty years. This cruelty was shown by the barbarous tyrant out of anger and fury, because such a number of his Turks were slain at the siege, being reckoned (as said) at 40,000. In the fierce siege of this city it is memorable, as recorded in histories, how the women of that city, seeing the men begin to faint, and the city to be in present danger, took the matter in hand themselves. Playing the men, they went to the walls, and there defended the city with no less trouble to the enemy than the men had done before. And so they continued for as long as any man's strength and diligence could do any good. A great cause of the loss of this city and island, is imputed to the cowardly timidity of the Venetian navy. Being present there, and having a prosperous wind, yet they did not dare, and would not venture upon the Turks' bridge. If they had done this, the island of Euboia and Chalcis would not have been so soon overmatched by the Turks.

Thus all the eastern parts of Greece were subdued to the Turkish tyrant, with all Achaia, Attica, Acarnania, and Euboia. Shortly after, Peloponnesus also followed in like subjection to the Turk. Within Peloponnesus were contained these provinces: Achaia, Messenia, Laconia, Argolica, Archadia, etc. The Venetians had great possessions in this Peloponnesus, and had reconstructed the wall toward the sea side, near the straits of Corinth. There, for greater speed in the work, they had 30,000 workmen in rebuilding it. When this came to the knowledge of the Turk, he broke into the country of Peloponnesus with an army of 8,000,

and first wasted the regions of the Coroneans and Methoneans, and made a great slaughter of the Venetians. In a short time he brought the whole dominion of Peloponnesus under his yoke and tribute.

It is long and more lamentable to recite all the victories of Mahomet against the Christians, both by land and sea. It was declared earlier how a truce was made between Georgius Scanderbeg and the Turk for ten years. This truce being expired, Mahomet left no time unspent, no diligence unsought, but made with all his power toward Epirus and Albania, which after long siege, he overcame and subdued. When the valiant captain Scanderbeg had done against the Turk what laid in man's strength to do, he was still overmatched by the Turk's power and multitude. Seeing no possibility to make his party good, he was forced to depart his country as an exile. He went to Italy, and there being sent for by the pope's letters, he openly declared that it was not otherwise possible to resist the furious rage of the barbarous Turks by the strength of any one king or prince, unless all Europe with one consent joined their power and force together. And thus, Scanderbeg, a man of influential courage, being driven out of his country, continued his life in exile. His courage and vehemence is reported to have been such, that in fighting against the barbarous enemy, for very eagerness of spirit, his blood was seen to burst out of his lips. It is also testified of him, that being challenged, he never refused to fight; and in fighting, he never turned his back, nor was he ever wounded but once with a light shaft in his foot. Nor did he ever set against the Turk with more than 6,000 horsemen and 3,000 footmen. He is said to have slain over 2,000 Turks with his own hand, whom he struck with such violence, that many of them he cleaved asunder, from the head to the middle.

Even so, the insatiable greediness of this Turkish hell-hound was not satisfied with all this. He still conceived greater things in his mind, thinking to conquer the whole world. And so, passing forward towards Europe, he subdued all Ulyria. Then passing into Wallachia, he set upon Dracula, its prince. Dracula, although he had no great power of soldiers, yet he so enclosed and environed the Turk, that he almost lost his army, of whom a great part was destroyed, and many of his ensigns taken.

[379] A.D. 1499.

Shortly afterwards Mahomet sent Ahmet, his captain, with one hundred ships into Italy. Passing by the coast, he despoiled and wasted several places, till at length he came to Hydruntium (Otranto) a city in Calabria in Italy, which after a long siege he overcame and subdued. He brought such a terror into all Italy, that the pope, forgetting all other things, and yet mindful of himself, fled Rome with all haste. After the city of Hydruntium was taken, A.D. 1481, Matthias Corvinus, Huniades' son, was sent for by the Italians, to set upon the city for its rescue when Ahmet was about to make his return with 25,000 Turks. In the meantime, news came that Mahomet the great Turk was dead. The siege broke up, and the city was returned to the Italians, and so Italy was delivered from peril and danger. Mahomet II won from the Christians two hundred cities, twelve kingdoms, and two empires, which he joined together. He died A.D. 1481, after having reigned fifty years.

**X. Bajazet the Second** (Bayezid II). — Mahomet had three sons; of which Mustafa, the eldest, through voluptuousness, died before his father. The other two were Bajazet and Djemes. A great controversy arose among the Turks about which should succeed in their father's kingdom, for neither of them was present at Constantinople when Mahomet died. Djemes was in Lycaonia, and Bajazet was in Cappadocia, when great dissension arose among the nobles about the succession, with great strife and bloodshed. The Janizaries, who were the Turk's guard, proclaimed Bajazet emperor. Bajazet, at length having come from

Cappadocia, had gotten the wills of the Janizaries, partly through yielding, and partly by corrupting them with money, and was made emperor. Djemes, the half brother, being in Lycaonia, which was nearer, made no less speed in his coming, but he was prevented by Bajazet, and excluded from Constantinople. Therefore, being put from all hope of his kingdom, and incited by some of his friends, he moved war against his brother. But being overcome by Ahmet in three battles, Bajazet's captain, he fled to the great master of Rhodes, leaving his mother and two young children in a place called Carrae — whom Bajazet slew.

Djemes being with the master of the knights of Rhodes, was sent to the bishop of Rome, where he was kept, and afterwards sent to Charles VIII, as a hostage of Pope Alexander VI. He was poisoned on the way by Pope Alexander, as declared before (p. 370). After his death, Bajazet, to requite Ahmet for his good service, put him to the halter, partly suspecting his power, partly for lucre's sake, to have his treasure. His death was of great profit to the Christians, as he was ever an utter enemy to the religion and name of Christ.

Bajazet thus being confirmed in his tyranny, he made an expedition against Wallachia, where he subdued two great forts. He removed his power from there, voyaging into Asia, thinking to be revenged of the sultan of Egypt, where he lost two great battles — the one fought at Adena, the other at Tarsus. But especially at Tarsus, the army of the Turk was so overthrown, that of a 100,000 brought into the field, scarcely a third remained unslain.

Thus Bajazet being overthrown and terrified with evil luck fighting against the sultan of Egypt, left Asia, and directed his army into Europe. Leading them against the Venetians, he had many and doubtful conflicts with them. The Turk was sometimes put to the worse, and sometimes prevailed. Out of Jadra and other cities around Dalmatia, he carried away great multitudes of Christians into captivity, about A.D. 1498.

Two years after this, which was A.D. 1500, Bajazet with 150,000 armed men, entered into Peloponnesus. Although Mahomet II had overrun it before, the Venetians had all this while defended Methone, or Modon, against the Turks. The Turk besieged this city with three armies. He had 500 great bronze cannons about the walls, with which he battered the city day and night. But the citizens within committed themselves to God. They defended their city as well as they could, choosing to die rather than yield to the Turk's tyranny. But the Turk prevailed, and they were not able to withstand the siege. The Christians assembled together in a certain house prepared for the purpose, men, women, and children. There they set the house on fire, giving themselves to be burned rather than come into the tyrant's hands. Certain women also, with their children, cast themselves headlong into the sea to avoid Turkish captivity. Some writers affirm that the Methonians, seeing five great ships of the Venetians coming with men and provisions toward them, issued down from the walls to the sea side to receive them; but they were all taken captives, numbering over a thousand. All were tied with long ropes, and brought before the tyrant. In his sight they were cruelly slain, except for certain nobles whom Cherseogles, son-in-law to Bajazet, got pardoned. Among them was Andreas Gritti.<sup>377</sup>

The Turk had to maintain war in Asia against Ismail Sophi, king of Persia. Sophi was stirred up by God's providence to war against Bajazet, whereby the Christian churches in Europe might have some breathing time, and freedom from the Turk's cruel tyranny and bloodshed. Sophi was a valiant Turk, who with great power and victories had overrun a great compass of the eastern parts of Asia, and defeated many of the generals of Bajazet.

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<sup>377</sup> Andreas Gritti would later become the Doge of the Venetian Republic, 1523-1538 (in Foxe's time).

Thus, these Turks were kept occupied through the admirable example of God's justice and providence. And so came it to pass, that these barbarians, being blasphemous against the Son of God, should thus horribly run on to the destruction one of another, being worthily punished with mutual slaughter and bloodshed for their impiety and blasphemy against Christ and his religion. And thereby some rest was given to the Christians in the meantime.

Bajazet, partly discouraged by these victories, partly diseased and languishing from the gout, and also partly broken with age, found himself unequal to the government of that tumultuous kingdom. He began to talk with his nobles about choosing someone to succeed him. The occasion of this provoked inward wars among the Turks. Bajazet had in all six sons; three of them died before him, and three were still alive: to wit, Ahmet, Korkud, and Selim. Bajazet himself had Ahmet most in mind, but the chief of his nobles rather favored Selim. And so he provoked him to stir up war against his father. Though he was overcome in that war, yet through intercession, he was reconciled to his father. Afterwards he was proclaimed emperor again, against his father's will, through the help and favor of the soldiers. Selim then entered the beginning of his kingdom by murdering his own father. In some authors, the story is declared as follows.

The Janizaries had persuaded Bajazet that being unsteady himself, he would therefore do well to constitute some successor. Having assigned Ahmet to succeed him, the Janizaries were offended by Ahmet, because he would not enlarge their stipends, and bribe them. Compassing about the king's palace with their swords hidden under their garments, and with a mighty cry, they required Selim to be appointed as their emperor. When Bajazet answered that he had assigned Ahmet, they refused him, because he was fat, gross, and unfit to the task; but they would have Selim as their emperor, who was stout and warlike. And with this they drew out their swords, crying Selim, Selim! Then Bajazet, giving way to their fury, showed himself content to give them Selim. The Janizaries receiving him, brought him into the palace. Bajazet his father, giving way to him, desired him not to be so hasty and furious in his doings, but to be modest and take heed what he did; and not to follow his fury, but to give way to time, which reveals all things; and to think of himself as a man subject to dangers and jeopardies as other men are.

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Thus speaking, Bajazet resigned his imperial throne and seat to Selim, and went away heavy, entering into a certain order of their religion. Whereupon great acclamations of the people followed, saluting Selim as emperor. Then taking the rule upon himself, he began to govern with great cruelty, destroying many of his nobles who as had stood against him, some with poison, some by other cruel means, and advancing his own side with great honors and promotions.

Not long after Selim was thus settled in his kingdom, Bajazet his father, intending to see and prove how he behaved himself in his government, first entered into his treasure-house, where he found all his riches scattered and gone. Afterward he came into his armory, where all the spoils gotten by war were likewise wasted. Then he entered into the jewel-house, where all his plate and gifts sent from kings and princes were kept; they likewise were dispersed and given away. At length he came into the stable, where also seeing his principal horses wanting, he sighed with himself, and cried vengeance upon Selim. He prepared himself with the remaining treasure, to sail over into Natolia, to his eldest son Ahmet. Passing by an orchard near the seaside, where he had scheduled to take ship, he sat down under a tree, and began to curse his son, and to ask vengeance upon him, for he had so despised his father, and had become so impious a wretch.

Selim hearing of his father's departure, came into the orchard where he was, seeming to be very heavy, and much lamenting that his father would so depart and go away, seeing that he did not desire the government of the empire, but was content with the title alone. "O father, (he said) do not thus secretly depart away; do not procure this shame to your son, who so tenderly loves you. Let me have but the name alone, and you be the emperor indeed. The end of your natural life I shall most patiently expect, which I pray God may long continue." And thus using many fair and flattering words to his father, he commanded a banquet with many dainty delicacies to be brought to him — but tempered and infected with poison. Which as soon as Bajazet had begun to taste, and felt the strength of the poison working in his body, he took his last farewell of his son. Going out of the city accompanied with a great retinue of men, yelling and crying out in the streets, in the middle of his journey he fell down and miserably died (A.D. 1512). Here you may see, good reader, a cursed brood of this Turkish generation, where the father dies in cursing the son, and the son reigns by poisoning his father.

**XI. Selim I.** — After this wretched Selim had exercised his barbarous cruelty upon his father, with like impiety he sought the destruction of his brethren and their children, beginning with the murder his five nephews, who were the sons of his three brethren who had previously died. His other two brothers who remained alive, Ahmet and Korkud, with their children, were likewise to be destroyed. The one had three sons, whom the father had sent to Selim, his brother and their uncle, with fair and gentle words, to entreat him to be good to their father, offering Selim their duty and service in all things, honoring him also as emperor. But cruel Selim immediately commanded his nephews to be strangled. The father hearing of the cruel murder of his sons, left house and home, and went and hid himself in the mountains. There he lived for a while on herbs and wild honey; but being betrayed by one of his men, he was brought to Selim, and was also strangled.

The wars and conquests of Selim were very many in various parts of Asia. Triumphant there, he departed to Constantinople, intending to spend the rest of his time persecuting the Christians. But in that mean space of time he was stricken with an inward cankered sore, and died after he had reigned about eight years (A.D. 1520).

The reign of this Turk was short in number of years; but in the number of his murders and cruel bloodshed it might seem exceedingly long. He lived more like a beast than a man, for he never spared any of his friends or kindred. He first poisoned his father; his brethren and all his cousins he quelled, leaving none of his kindred alive. Moreover, his chief and principal captains he put to death for small occasions — such as Mustafa, Calogere, Chendeme, Bostang his son-in-law, and Juno Bassa.

It is said that he intended to poison his own son Suleiman, sending him a shirt infected with a poison, because he seemed to somewhat freely speak against the cruel demeanor of his father. But the gift being suspected by his mother, it was given to another who was his chamberlain. Putting on the shirt, he was struck with the poison, and died.

As to this Turk Selim, here it may be noted, by the way, how the secret providence of the Lord kept him occupied with his Turkish wars at home, so that the reformation of Christian religion here in Europe, begun by Martin Luther, might more quietly take some root without disturbance or interruption. For so it appears, that in the days of this Selim, Martin Luther first began to write against the pope's indulgences, which was A.D. 1516.

**XII. Suleiman.** <sup>378</sup> The only son of Selim, succeeded after his father's death. In the beginning he seemed to some to be simple and sheepish, and not fit for the Turkish government. Therefore certain of his nobles, consulting as to how to depose him, intended to set up another emperor. In this conspiracy, Cajerbeius and Gazelli especially are named. This Cajerbeius was the one who betrayed Campson, sultan of Egypt, to Selim. Now being in consultation with Gazelli and others about this matter, he also revealed them to Suleiman. Therefore Gazelli and his fellows being thus detected, they were put to death by Suleiman, proving that he was not as sheepish as they thought he was, and as more fully appeared by his acts afterwards.

Suleiman, after this execution of the conspirators, taking his voyage into Europe, first besieged Belgrade, in Hungary. It was the strongest fort in the Roman empire, and the chief defense at that time for all of Christendom. The kingdom of Hungary at that time was under the government of Louis, a young king without experience or knowledge. Other princes, and especially the covetous churchmen, so plundered it, that they left him nothing but the bare name and title of his kingdom. Thus being unsupplied both with men and money, he was unable to match such an enemy.

Another advantage which the Turks had in besieging Belgrade, was that the Christian princes at that time were in civil dissension and at variance among themselves. Also the pope with his churchmen were so busy in suppressing Luther and the gospel, then newly springing up, that they minded nothing else, unless it was to maintain their wealth. This pope, Leo X (r. 1513-1521), if he had set his care (as was his duty) so much in stirring up princes against the common enemy, as he was bent on defacing the gospel, and persecuting the true professors of the gospel, Belgrade might have been defended against the Turk.

Certainly whatever else the pope did then, this would have been his duty: setting all other things aside, to have an earnest compassion for so many miserable and lost captives, who had fallen from their faith and religion into the misery and slavery of the Turk, and the thralldom of the devil. He should have sought all means possible to bring them, as lost sheep, into the fold again. This might have been done if prelates and princes, joining together in Christian concord, had loved so well the public glory of Christ, and the souls of Christians, as they regarded their own private, worldly, and frivolous quarrels. And even supposing that the pope had conceived ever so much malice against Luther, and supposing also that his quarrel was good — the public church standing in such danger as it then did by the invasion of the Turk, reason willed, nature led, religion taught, and time required, that a good prelate, forgetting lighter matters, should rather have put his shoulder to excluding so great a danger as was then imminent to himself, and to the universal church of Christ.

[381] A.D. 1521.

But now, his quarrel being unjust, and the cause of Luther being most just and godly, what is to be said or thought of such a prelate? Forbearing the Turk, whom in so dangerous a time, the pope should chiefly have resisted, he instead persecuted the truth which he should specially have maintained.<sup>379</sup>

Suleiman therefore taking this occasion, while our princes were thus at variance, without any resistance or interruption, brought his army to Belgrade (May 1521). The city was but

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<sup>378</sup> Known as *Suleiman the Magnificent*, or *Suleiman the Lawgiver*. He was born in 1494, ruled 1520-1566. Foxe used the anglicized name *Solyman*; but *Suleiman* is the typical spelling today.

<sup>379</sup> Leo X issued his bull against Luther Jun 15, 1520, and excommunicated him Jan 3, 1521; Leo died Dec 1, 1521.



slenderly defended. The Turk through his underminers, guns, and other engines of war, without great difficulty, and with little loss of his soldiers, soon subdued and overcame it.

After this victory Suleiman rested himself a whole year. Casting in his mind how to make all sure behind him, thought it expedient for his purpose, if he might obtain the island of Rhodes. For that was the only Christian place that remained between him and Asia. Therefore the next year he brought his fleet of 450 ships, and 300,000 men, to besiege it. Rhodes was a mighty and strong island. The inhabitants at the first manfully resisted the Turk, sparing no labor nor pains for the defense of themselves and of all Christendom. But afterwards, being brought to extremity and pinched with penury, also seeing no aid come from the Christians, they began to languish in themselves. The Turks in the meantime cast up two great mountains with strength of hand, two miles off from the city, like rolling trenches before them, that carried them near to the city. At the tops of them they planted their ordnance and artillery to batter the city. The master of the knights of Rhodes was then Philip Villadamus, a Frenchman, in whom no diligence was lacking requisite to the defense of the city. The Rhodians likewise so valiantly behaved themselves upon the walls, that with their shot, all the ditches about the city were filled with the carcasses of dead Turks. Besides this, such a disease reigned in the Turk's camp, that 30,000 of them died. And yet for all this, Suleiman would not cease from his siege. At length, by underminers tearing down the ramparts, and the outermost parts of the city, he won still more and more ground upon the Rhodians. And with his mortar-pieces he so battered the houses, that there was scarcely a free place left standing in all the city. And thus the siege continued for five or six months. And yet all this while, no help came to them from the Christians. Therefore, the Rhodians being out of all hope, through the advice of Villadamus, yielded themselves to the Turk, on condition that he would spare them life and goods, which compact the Turk kept with them faithfully and truly.

Thus Suleiman got the noble Isle of Rhodes, to his great glory and to the utter shame of all Christian princes, and to the ruin of all Christendom. But it was not without great loss to his army. At one assault, 20,000 Turks about the walls were slain with fire, sword, stones, and other engines. By this it may be conjectured what these Rhodians might or would have won, if succor had come to them from other Christian princes, as they looked for. This city was won on Christmas-day, A.D. 1522.

This conquest of Rhodes being secured, Suleiman, four years later, brought back his army into Hungary, where he found no one to resist him but Louis the young king. Being accompanied with a small army, and not able to match with the Turk, yet with hasty rashness and a vain hope of victory, he would set upon him. If he had but stayed a little he would have prospered better. For John Vaivoda, a captain well exercised in Turkish wars, was not far off, coming with a sufficient force of able soldiers. But Paulus, the archbishop of Colosse, a Franciscan friar, a man more bold than wise, troubled all their doings with his temerity and rashness. For the army of the Hungarians contained in all but 24,000 horsemen and footmen. At length coming to the battle, and being compassed about with a great multitude of the Turk's army, they were brought into great distress. The Turks twice fired their cannons against the Christian army, yet scarcely was any Christian touched. This was thought to be done on purpose, because at the time the special gunners of the Turks were Christians, whom for the sake of their fellow Christians they spared. Then the Turk's horsemen, coming upon the rear of the Christian army, compassed them about, and because of their multitude, they charged over their horsemen. Among whose slain were the archbishop of Colosse, with the bishops of Strygone and Varadine, and many other nobles besides. The king himself was compelled to flee into a marsh, where falling from his horse,

and being heavy laden with the harness, he was not able to rise again, but miserably perished there.

Suleiman the Turk marvelled at the foolishness of Louis, who with so small an army would presume to encounter with such a great host of 200,000. This battle in Hungary was fought in A.D. 1526.

After the decease of Louis, Ferdinand succeeded in the kingdom, being duke of Austria and king of Hungary. Then Suleiman, setting contention between John Vaivoda and Ferdinand for the kingdom of Hungary, marched to the city of Buda, which in a short time he also made to surrender, on condition that they would escape with their lives and goods.

In the year 1529, Ferdinand, king of Hungary, recovered several holds, and warring against his enemy John Vaivoda, expelled him from his kingdom. Whereupon Vaivoda, flying to the Turk, desired his aid. The Turk, glad to take that occasion, with great preparation addressed himself to return into Hungary. There recovering again the city of Buda, which Ferdinand had gotten from him a little before, he removed his army into Austria, despoiling and destroying along the way all that came to his hands, showing many examples of great cruelty and tyranny that is most lamentable to hear and understand. For some, he put out their eyes, some he cut off their hands, of some their ears and noses. These are examples of the horrible and barbarous tyranny that this wretched Turk perpetrated along the way coming toward Vienna, a noble city in Austria. Besides these, he took 30,000 captives along the way, and led them into most miserable slavery.

Among other strongholds, as the Turks came by the way, was a castle called Altenburch, strongly situated by nature, and defended by craft. The Turk did not intend to bypass this castle, because he would make all things sure behind him. So he began to make his assault, and lay his ordinance against it. The warders and keepers of the castle, as soon as the Turk began to lay siege against them, made no resistance. Out of womanly cowardice, they sent their messengers to the Turk to yield themselves, ready to do his commandment, and to further him with their supplies. Among them were 300 Bohemians who were commanded to follow the army, so that the Turk might learn by them what strength was in the city of Vienna; also where the king was, and what was to be done for winning it.

The Turk understood from them how all things stood, and how there were but 20,000 men in Vienna able to bear armor, and that other cities of Austria would soon yield if that were taken, and that Vienna had but two months supply of food, and that the king was of late in Bohemia. The Turk being certified of all these things, had no doubt in his mind of victory, and so he made speed toward Vienna. First coming to Neapolis, a city but eight miles distant from Vienna, he required them to yield themselves. Even so, the Neapolitans withstood, and repulsed them valiantly. Then the Turks assigned a place for pitching of their tents; and because it seemed somewhat too little for such a great multitude, they took in more ground, compassing a seven mile circuit. The multitude of his army which he planted there, is accounted by some to be 250,000 soldiers. The Turk thus being planted, he made daily excursions around the country of Austria, especially around the city of Vienna, wasting and despoiling with great cruelty and murder among the poor Christians.

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Moreover, to make all things more sure for the preparation of the siege, scouts were sent abroad and ambushments were laid on the sides of the river Danube, to provide that no aid nor provisions should be brought to Vienna. It so pleased the providence of the Lord (who disposes all things) that three days before the coming of the Turk, Frederick the earl

palatine, who was then assigned by the empire to take the charge of Vienna, had come down by the river Danube, with 14,000 men, and with a certain troop of horsemen, well equipped and picked for the purpose. After Frederick's arrival, provision was also appointed to follow shortly after by the river.

In the meantime, those who had the carriage and transport, hearing how the ways were laid, and all the passages for ten miles around Vienna were stopped by the Turks, although they knew the city to stand in great need of provisions, they saw there was no other remedy. And rather than have it come into the enemy's hand, they thought it best to sink their boats with their carriage, and so they did. Thereby, although the Christians lacked their relief, yet the Turks were disappointed of their prey and purpose.

The captains who had the keeping of the city, were chiefly Frederick the earl palatine, William Rogendorff, and Nicolas earl of Salme. They saw themselves so straightened contrary to their expectation, and had great cause to be discouraged. Yet calling their courage to themselves, they consulted together for the best way to be taken. They saw that the little city of Neapolis (mentioned above), eight miles distant from them, had so valiantly withstood the Turks, that in one day they sustained seven assaults against the main force of the Turkish army. By their example and manful standing, and being more animated and encouraged, they determined to abide the utmost before they would give up. First plucking down all the suburbs and buildings outside the walls by which the enemy might have any succor, they commanded all the farmers and inhabitants around the city to save themselves, and to bring their goods within the walls. Those places which were weak within the walls, they made strong. Around the towers and munition of the walls they provided ramparts and bulwarks eighty feet distant one from another, to keep off the shot. And every man had his place and standing awarded to him upon the wall, and his office appointed for what to do. But especially that side of the city which lies to the river Danube, they fortified in the best manner. For only that way now remained for victuals to be transported from the Bohemians to them. Therefore eight ensigns were assigned to keep the bridge. And in the plain, which was like an island enclosed within the river, a sufficient garrison of horsemen were placed, lying within gunshot of the city, that if any grain or victuals were sent from the Bohemians, they might provide for it to be safely brought into the city.

These things thus being disposed and set in order, Lord William Rogendorff, to test the strength of the Turks, made diverse sallies out with his horsemen. This was much against the minds of the Austrians, who knowing the manner of the Turks, thought it better to suffer them, lest they might be wearied with time, or consumed for lack of victuals. Among many skirmishes which the Christians had with the Turks, one especially was unfortunate to our men. Certain of the horsemen spying a small troop of the Turks scattering abroad from their company, made out after them. They were suddenly and guilefully enclosed by the Turks, before they could return to the gates of the city. And so were all taken alive; of whom three were sent from the Turks into the city, to declare to the Viennians what strength they had seen in the camp of their adversaries, and to solicit them to yield their city for fear of the punishment which would follow. The rest they reserved for torments and punishment, whom in the sight of the whole army, and of the Christians (who were to tell of it to the citizens), they caused every man to be drawn and quartered by horses.

After this was done, the barbarous Turk immediately sent his herald to talk with the captains of the city, whether they would yield the city upon honest conditions, or else abide the arbitrament of war. If they would gently submit themselves, they would have all gentleness shown to them. If they would be stubborn, and stand to their defense, he would

also stand to his siege, so that he would spare neither man, woman, or child. To this the captains answered that they were contented that Suleiman should stand to his siege, and do his utmost, whatever he would or could. As for them, they were resolved to defend themselves and their city so long as they could. The event and result of victory, they said, was doubtful, and many times it happens, that those who begin the war, are wearied sooner than those who are challenged.

Suleiman, disdaining this answer, first burned and consumed all the villages, houses and places round about the city, poisoning the springs and fountains which gave water to the city. And stopping all passages, so that no relief should have a way to them, he began to approach the city, with three great camps; sending word in scorn and insult by one of his captains, that if they stood in need of soldiers, he would send them the 300 Bohemians (mentioned a little earlier) to aid them in their defense. To whom the palatine answered that they had more soldiers in the city than they needed. As for the Bohemians who had yielded, he might do with them what he would, for Vienna stood in no great need of them.

In the meantime, a messenger coming from Ferdinand was privately let in by night into the city. He brought word that they should occupy the men in keeping out the enemy awhile; for it would not be long before both Ferdinand and his brother Charles, with the strength of all Germany, would be ready to rescue them. At this message the hearts of the soldiers began to be cheered somewhat, and to scorn the multitude of the adversaries, whose army extended in compass seven miles round the city walls.

In the meantime Suleiman beat down to the ground the ramparts, with all the suburbs of the city, and did this in such a short time, that the hearts of the inhabitants were appalled with fear, lest the Turk with celerity and violence should prevail against the walls, as he did in beating down the ramparts. No doubt the Turk had put the city in great hazard, if night coming on had not broken off the siege for that day.

In the meantime, the citizens labored all night in repairing and refreshing the walls, to make all things sure against the next assault. The next day early in the morning, the Turks approaching the city again for a new assault, thinking to scale the walls, were so repulsed and manfully resisted by the Germans, that the ditches around the walls could not be seen for the bodies of the dead Turks that filled them — so that the Turks were obliged to fight standing upon the bodies of the slain.

It happened at the same time, that a company of the Turks being seen wandering out of order, Captain Rogendorff with two legions of horsemen issuing out of the city gate called Sahnaria, and passing closely under the hillside, so set upon them, that they slew a great number of them. The rest, driven to take the river, they destroyed, and so they retired back to the city. By this victory, Captain Rogendorff began to be terrible to the Turks. For so many were slain in the skirmish (as it was known afterwards), that 5,300 horsemen and footmen, scarcely 150 escaped alive.

Suleiman thought to try this matter another way. And so, bringing his forces toward the gate called the King's Gate, making his trenches and bulwarks there, he planted his ordnance, with the violence of which the walls were so battered and shaken, that no man was able to stand there. The Turk, seeing two great breaches made in the wall, commanded his soldiers in the dark smoke of the gunpowder, to press into the city.

[383] A.D. 1529

The same thing was also done at the Scottish Tower, by which the city was invaded in two places at one time. The inhabitants at first began to withstand them, new soldiers still coming in the place of those who were slain. And so this assault continued more than six hours, our men began at length to languish and faint, not only in strength but also in courage, by which the city was in great danger, had not the two captains, Rogendorff in one place, and the earl of Salme in the other, manfully encouraged the soldiers to abide the brunt, and to bear for awhile the violence of the Turks, promising that immediately they would have aid from Ferdinand.

In the meantime the Turks came so thick for greediness of victory, scaling, climbing, and fighting upon the walls, that had it not been for the press and throng of the great multitude of the Turks, coming so thick that one of them could not fight for another, Vienna would have been taken and utterly lost. But by the policy of the captains, giving a sign within the city, as though new soldiers were being called for, our men began to be encouraged, and the Turks' hearts began to be discomfited.

When Suleiman saw his army repulsed the second time, he attempted a new way, purposing to overthrow the city by undermining it. In this work especially, he used the help of the Illyrians, of whom he had a great number in his camp, expert in that kind of feat. These Illyrians beginning to break up the earth at the gate Carinthia, and coming near the foundations of the tower which they had attempted to burst into, could not work so closely under the ground, that they were not perceived by certain men above who, countermining against them, and filling their trenches as they went with gunpowder, so conveyed their train that when fire would be set to it, the explosion would burst out by the trenches of the enemies. This done, suddenly the ground beneath made a great shaking, so that the tower was split apart, and all the underminers of the Turks, working in their trenches, were smothered and destroyed, numbering (it was supposed afterward) 8,000 persons.

When Suleiman saw that this way too would not serve, he received private intelligence that the walls about the gates of Stubarium were negligently kept; thus he might have easier entrance there. He secretly moved about ten garrisons of fresh soldiers, so as the townsmen would not perceive them. These garrisons came so suddenly upon them, that they had filled their ditches, and were upon the top of the fortresses, before our men were aware of them, or could make themselves ready to resist them. For although there was no lack of soldiers within the city, yet the whole brunt of the siege lay especially at the two gates, from where the soldiers could not be well removed. However, men were sent to the spot now attacked. And thus the assault continued terrible and doubtful until (the dark night coming upon them) they could not well know one from the other. In this affair, more than 5,000 Turks were counted slain.

Then Captain Rogendorff, commending the valiant standing of his soldiers, providing with all diligence against another assault, closed the breaches of the walls, and prepared all things necessary for resistance. The next morning, which was dark and misty, the Turks thinking to anticipate our men with their sudden coming, began to busily mount the walls.

It would require a long treatise here to describe the great distress and danger that the city was in for the three days following. During all that time there was no rest, no intermission, nor diligence lacking either in the enemy's fighting against the city, or in our men in defending it. For the Turks, besides the great ordnance with which (as with a great tempest of gunshot) they never ceased battering the walls, and beating the fortifications of the city, they also sent such heaps and multitudes of the Turks to scale and climb the walls, that notwithstanding all their defeats, the number of them never seemed diminished. Till at last

the soldiers of the Turks, perceived themselves unable to prevail by any means, but only to attack in danger of life, and to do no good. They began to wrangle among themselves, repining against their dukes and captains, imputing the whole cause to them, that the city was still untaken; and so the siege ceased for that time.

After this, Suleiman had purposed with his last and strongest siege to test the city to the utmost that he was able to do, and he had encouraged his soldiers to prepare themselves. But the soldiers showed themselves very unwilling to return again to where they had so often been repulsed before. So that a great commotion began to rise in the Turk's camp. When the rumor came to Suleiman's ears, he sent his grand captain to keep all the soldiers in order and obedience, or if they would be stubborn, to compel them, whether they would or not, to accomplish his commandment. Coming to the soldiers, he showed them the great Turk's message. And to animate and encourage them, he declared that the opportunity was not to be neglected, nor could they give up now, after so many assaults without great shame. If they would sustain but one brunt more, the victory would be in their own hands. The townsmen, he said, were wasted, and their victuals spent; and to further inflame their minds, he promised them not only great thanks and reward of their emperor, but also the whole spoil of the city.

But when all this could not stir up the tired Turks, using compulsion where persuasion would not serve, he appointed a number of horsemen to be set at their backs to force them either to go forward, or if they refused, to destroy them with guns and spears. The Turks seeing themselves in such a strait, that whether they went or tarried, it was the same peril to them, they would still not set forward unless the captain would take the lead before them. He spoke thus: "Forsake your faith and allegiance, and betray the emperor of Constantinople to the Christians if you will; but I will discharge my duty towards the commonwealth and my emperor." And with that word he advanced his ensign, making toward the city walls. When others followed him, and still more and more pressed after him, it came to pass that whole bodies of them were overthrown and slain by our men upon the walls, before it was known what they meant. Others terrified by their example, turned back and left their array. Winding themselves along by-ways and under covert of the hills, they returned again to their tents. And so it came to pass, that the strength of the enemies daily more and more decreasing, they had less hope every day of obtaining the city. For besides the innumerable slaughter of Turks upon the walls, the townsmen also watching the forages and purveyors of the Turks, as they ranged about for victuals for the camp, as occasion served them encompassed and encountered them. So that, of a whole legion, scarcely a tenth returned alive, by which the courage of the enemy began to faint greatly. As our men began to receive more hope and courage, so the Turks began still more to droop and to languish with despair. So that at length they scarcely dared appear outside the bounds where they were entrenched, except in light skirmishes, when they were challenged by our men to come out and to show themselves.

Suleiman perceiving his soldiers thus daily to go to wreck, of whom he had already lost more than 80,000, and that with long tarrying he could do no good, also being in lack of forage, for the country about him was wasted, he began to consult with his captains and counsellors, what remained best to be done. Most advised him to raise his siege, and provide for himself. The chief motive was that he heard Frederick, the Palatine, was coming with a great army at Ratisbon towards Vienna (about 200 miles away). When Suleiman had intelligence of this, thinking it not best to await the coming of the Palatine, made haste with bag and baggage to remove his camp, and to retire. First sending his carriage before him, he made speed himself, with his army to follow shortly after.

The Viennians, when they heard of the departure of the Turks, though at first scarcely believing it to be true, but afterward being certified of their departure, and how it was in a flight, they greatly desirous to make their way out of the city after them.

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In this pursuit, though the presence of the Palatine with his army, had he been there, might have stood them in great stead, yet they took the opportunity, and issued out of the city, setting after the Turks with their horsemen. First passing the tents (where the Turks had pitched their pavilions) they made such a pursuit of them, that in a little time they overtook the rearward of the army. They made such havoc and destruction that, as the author reports, there was not a shot discharged, nor a weapon drawn, nor a stroke struck by the pursuers, which did not tell on the enemy.

Thus through the merciful protection of Almighty God, Austria was delivered from the fierce and barbarous hostility of the cruel Turks. Notwithstanding that neither Ferdinand, the king, nor his brother the emperor, were present, but only the power of God, that city was defended through the valiant efforts of the worthy Germans. The safety and deliverance of all these western parts of Christendom consisted in the defense of that city. For which immortal praise and thanks be unto our immortal God in Christ our Lord, according as he has most graciously and worthily deserved from us. In this, by the way, take notice gentle reader, how and in what manner God's blessing goes with the true followers of his religion. For the Turks in so many battles and sieges had never before been so repelled and foiled, as at this time in encountering the protestants and defenders of sincere religion. This city of Vienna was besieged and delivered in A.D. 1529. The assaults of the Turk against the city numbered twenty, and his repulses were as many. The number of his army which he first brought was 250,000, of which more than 80,000 were slain.

In the year 1537, Suleiman — who could not be quiet at home, nor rest in peace — returned from his wars in Asia, entering into Europe with 270 ships, great and little. He set upon Corcyra, another island belonging to the Venetians. He besieged it ten days, wasting and burning the towns and fields as he went, besides the destruction of many people there, part of whom he slew, and part he led away captives. From there he sailed to Zacynthus and Cythera, another island not far from Corcyra, bordering the coasts of Epinis and Greece. There by night he suddenly invaded the husbandmen in villages and fields, who were sleeping and expecting no harm. He drew them out of their houses and possessions, men and women, besides children, numbering 900, whom he made his bondslaves. Moreover, he burned their houses, and carried away all the goods and cattle outside the cities of Zacynthus and Cythera.

From there the Turks turned their course to the siege of Egina, a rich and populous island, lying between Greece and Asia. At first the Eginians manfully resisted them in battle, and would likely have prevailed. But at length, wearied and oppressed with innumerable thousands of fresh Turks, continually sent in to rescue the others who were overcome, they were compelled to flee the city. The cruel Turks, with much labor, and violence of their great ordinance brought out of their ships, subdued Egina and tore it down to the ground. After the Turk had burned their houses, and ransacked their goods, he commanded that every one of the male citizens and inhabitants were to be slain. The women, both noble and ignoble, with their infants, were shipped to Constantinople — led away to perpetual misery and slavery. This was A.D. 1537.

In the year 1540, the restless Turk made his return toward Hungary. Passing by Dalmatia, he laid siege to the town called Novum Castellum, defended by the Spaniards. In this town, because they refused to yield themselves, all the inhabitants and soldiers were put to the sword, and every one slain. This Novum Castellum, or Newcastle, was a strong fort of the Christians, which now being in the Turk's power, he had great advantage over all those quarters of Dalmatia, Stiria, Carinthia, and Hungaria. From there he proceeded further, keeping his course into Hungary, where he planted his forces against the city of Buda.

Buda (now Budapest) was a principal city in Hungary, under the government of George Monachus. He had quarrelled with king Ferdinand, and said that he would never again trust the promises of Christians. Immediately upon that, he sent to Suleiman the Turk, for aid against the Christians, promising that he would surrender to him free possession of Hungary, if he would come and vanquish the army of Ferdinand lying around the siege of Buda. The Turk did not tarry long, but glad of the occasion, he came with a mighty army into Hungary, and soon overpowered the host of Ferdinand. He got the city into his own hands, commanding George Monachus with his mother, to follow after his camp.

In the history of Joannes Ramus, it follows that once Suleiman the Turk had prevailed against the city of Buda, and against other parts of Hungary, then by the assent of the empire, one Joachim, duke of Brandenburg, prince elector, was appointed with a powerful army of chosen soldiers from all nations, to recover the city of Buda from the Turk, and to deliver the other parts of Christendom from the fear of the Turk, A.D. 1542. Joachim, at his first setting out, appeared so courageous and valiant, as if he would have conquered the whole world. But this great heat was cooled in such a short time by the Turk, that before any great danger confronted him, Joachim was glad to be discharged from the voyage, and with shame enough, he returned home again. And would to God that he had left behind him in the fields no more than his own shame. For the enemies having intelligence of his cowardly departure, thinking to work some point of mastery or victory before his going, set upon the right wing of his army, out of which they took away with them over 500 strong and valiant soldiers, not killing them, but carrying them away alive. For them it would have been much better to have stood to their weapons, and died manfully upon the Turks, than by yielding themselves, to be deprived of their weapons and armor, and to be left to the cursed courtesy of the foul Turks. What courtesy was shown in the sequel, soon appeared. For after the Turks had led them out of Hungary into their own dominions, in a most horrible way, they disfigured and mangled them, and so sent them abroad throughout Greece, to be witnesses of the Turkish victory. Their punishment was this: first, they had their right arm thrust through with a red hot iron, by which they would be unable and unfit for any labor or warfare; secondly, their heads were shaven to the very skulls, in the manner of our friars and monks when they are newly shaven; thirdly, they had all their limbs cruelly and shamefully mangled and mutilated.

But to return again to the city of Buda, from where we digressed, here we must not omit what falsehood and what cruelty the Turks used towards the Christians there after their victory. For after Suleiman the Turk had given his promise of safety and life, upon the men of Buda yielding and submitting to him, a short time later he picked a quarrel with them for selling oxen to the Christians. For bargaining with them, he slew all the magistrates of the city of Buda. As in all other cities, wherever the Christians yielded to him, he never, or very rarely, kept his promise with them. Nor did any Christians ever succeed better with the Turk, than those who most valiantly resisted him.



Just as his promise with the magistrates of Buda was false and wretched, so his cruelty with the soldiers was much more notorious and abominable. For two cohorts or bands of Christian soldiers came alive into his hands. When he seemed at first to grant pardon of life to them, he commanded that they should put on their armor again, and dispose themselves in order and battle array, in the warlike manner of the Christians. When they had readily accomplished this according to his commandment, and when riding about the ranks, he had diligently viewed and beheld them a certain time, at length he commanded them to put off their armor again. This done, he picked out certain of the tallest and strongest of them; the rest he commanded by his soldiers coming behind them with swords, to be cut in pieces and slain. Of the others, whom he had elected and chosen, some he set for marks and targets to be shot at; some he appointed to his two sons, for them to slash with their swords and test their strength as to which of them could give the deeper wound, and (as they termed it) the fairer blow, by which the most blood might flow out of their Christian bodies.

[385] A.D. 1537.

After winning Buda, the Turk, purposing not to cease till he had subdued and brought under his obedience all of Hungary, proceeded further with his army. First conquered a stronghold of the Christians named Pestum or Pesta, where a great number of Christian soldiers were slain, and many were led away to crueler affliction.

Then he came to another castle called Walpo, situated in the confines of Bosnia, Croatia, and Hungary. He besieged this fort or castle for three months. No rescue or aid was sent to them, either from Ferdinand, king of Hungary, or from any other Christian prince or princess. At length the fort was given up to the Turk; but it was more through the false treachery or cowardly heart of the soldiers than of the captain. In this is to be noted an example that is not unworthy of memory. For when the cowardly soldiers, either for fear or flattery, would surrender themselves and the place to the Turk, contrary to the mind of the captain, who in no case would agree to their yielding. Thinking to find favor with the Turk, they apprehended their captain, and gave him to Suleiman. But see how the justice of God, sometimes by the hand of the enemy, disposes the end of things to the rewarding of virtue, and the punishing of vice. For where they thought to save themselves by endangering the faithful captain, the event turned clean contrary. So that the Turk was bountiful and very liberal to the captain, and the soldiers, notwithstanding that they had all yielded themselves, they were all commanded to be slain.

The Turk proceeding from one fortified town to another, took them, and greatly and cruelly extended his conquests throughout Hungary till he came to Alba. There the Turks, using the occasion of a misty darkness, approached the walls, and got up to a certain fortress where the Germans were, before our men could well perceive them. There they pressed in so thick, and in such numbers, that even though the Christian soldiers, standing strongly to the defense of their lives, did what valiant men in cases of such extremity were able to do — yet being over-matched by the multitude of the Turks, and the suddenness of their coming, they gave way. They sought to retire to the inward walls. Between the outward walls and inward gate of the city, there was a strait, or narrow passage, cast up in the manner of a bank or causeway. This passage happened to be barred and stopped. Because of this, the poor soldiers were forced to throw themselves into the ditch, thinking to swim as well as they could into the city. Many of them sticking in the mud were drowned, one pressing upon another; many were slain by their enemies coming behind them. A few who could swim out were received 'into the city, but the chief captains and warders of the town were slain there.

The citizens being destitute of their principal captains and warriors, were in great perplexity and doubt among themselves as to what to do. Some thought it good to yield, some counselled the contrary. Thus, while the citizens were distracted, the magistrates, thinking to depend on the Turk's gentleness, sent out one of their heads to the Turk, who in the name of them all would surrender the city to him, and become tributaries, on condition that they might enjoy liberty of life and goods. This was granted in the Turkish faith and assurance. The soldiers who were within the city, putting off their armor, were discharged and sent away. Now see what happened to the yielding citizens. When the Turk had entered the town, and visited the sepulcher of the kings, for three or four days he pretended much clemency toward the citizens, as though he did not come to oppress them, but to be revenged upon Ferdinand their king, and to deliver them from the servitude of the Germans. On the fourth day, all the chief and head men of the city were commanded to appear before the Turk in a plain not far from the city, as though they would come to swear to the Turk; it was where condemned persons were usually executed. When the citizens were assembled in great number, and in their best attire, at the Turk's command, contrary to his faith and promise, suddenly a general slaughter was made of them all. This was the end of the citizens of Alba.

The false and cruel Turk was thus raging in Hungary, and intended to further rage without any mercy and pity for the Christians. He might easily have prevailed and gone wherever he would then, for Charles the emperor, and Francis the French king, were at the same time in war and hostility; and also other Christian princes, such as Henry, duke of Brunswick against John Frederick, duke of Saxony; also princes and rulers were contending among themselves. Behold the gracious providence of our Lord and God towards us, who seeing the misery, and having pity on his poor Christians, suddenly reined in this raging beast. He brought him out of Europe into his own country again, on the occasion of the Persians, who were then in great preparation of war against the Turks, and had invaded his dominion. By this, the Turks were kept occupied there, fighting with the Persians for a long time (1532-1555). These wars at length being achieved and finished (in which the Turk lost great battles, with the slaughter of many thousands of his Turks) he was not only provoked by the instigation of certain evilly-disposed Hungarians, but he was also induced by the discord of Christian princes, to return again into Europe hoping to subdue all parts to his dominion. Once he had levied an army, incredible in multitude, see again the merciful providence and protection of our God toward his people. As the Turk was intending to set out with his innumerable multitude against the Christians, the hand of the Lord sent such a pestilence throughout the Turk's army and dominions, reaching from Bithynia and Thrace, to Macedonia and also to Hungary, that all the Turk's possessions seemed nothing but a heap of dead corpses, whereby his voyage for that time was stopped, and he was almost compelled to seek a new army.

Besides this plague, which was worse to them than any war, other domestic calamities, through God's providence, happened to Suleiman, the great rover and robber of the world. These kept him at home, and from vexing the Christians, especially concerning his eldest son Mustafa. Mustafa being hated and feared by Rustanus, the chief counsellor of the Turk, and by Rosa, the Turk's concubine, and afterwards by his wife, he was complained of to his father, then accused, and at length brought into such suspicion and displeasure by the Turks, that his father had him sent to his pavilion, where six Turks with masks were appointed to put him to death. They put (in their manner) a small cord or bow-string full of knots around his neck. Throwing him down on the ground, not allowing him to speak one word to his father, with the twisting of it strangled him to death. His father was standing in a secret corner nearby, and beheld it. This fact being known, afterwards when the Turk

would have given to another son, called Gianger, the treasures, horse, armor, ornaments, and province of Mustafa his brother, Gianger cried out for sorrow at his brother's death. He said to his father, "Shame on you, you impious and wretched dog, traitor, murderer! I cannot call you father. Take the treasures, the horse and armor of Mustafa to yourself." And with that, Gianger took out his dagger, and thrust it through his own body. Thus Suleiman was the murderer and parricide of his own sons. This was A.D. 1552.

In this is to be noted the singular providence and love of the Lord towards his afflicted Christians. For this Mustafa, just as he was courageous and greatly expert and exercised in all practices of war, so he had a cruel heart, maliciously set to shed the blood of the Christians. Therefore, we have great cause to congratulate, and to give thanks to God, for the happy removal of Mustafa.

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We may conceive no less hope and good comfort from our loving Lord, to think that, after these sore afflictions of his Christians under these twelve Turks recited above, our merciful God now intends some gracious good work toward Christendom, to reduce and release us from this long and miserable Turkish captivity, by taking away these young imps of this impious generation, before they might work their conceived malice against us. The Lord therefore be glorified and praised. Amen.

Moreover, as I was writing of this, a certain writing out of Germany opportunely came to my hands, certifying such news and victory recently achieved against the Turk, that it may not a little increase our hope, and comfort us, regarding the decay and ruin of the Turk's power and tyranny against us. The news is that the Turkish tyrant had besieged with an army of 30,000 men, the famous strong town and castle of Jula (Gyula) in Hungary (lying forty Dutch miles beyond the river Danube). The town sustained many grievous assaults for six weeks. But God, through his great mercy and goodness, so comforted the town, and the poor Christians in it, at their earnest prayers, that the Turk, with all his host, was driven back by the hands of a general named Karetshim Laslaw, and his valiant company. They not only defended the town, but also constrained the Turks to retire, to their great shame and confusion, with a great slaughter of the Turkish rabble — for which the everlasting God be praised forever.

The manner of the overthrow was this. As the general saw his advantage, with Captain George, and other horsemen of the Silesians and Hungarians, they set on the rearward of the Turks and killed about 8,000 of them, and also took some of their artillery. They followed them so fast, the Turks were constrained to flee into a marshy ground, and to break the wheels of the rest of their artillery to save themselves. Thereby the Hungarians got a very rich booty, besides rescuing from the Turks a great number of Christian prisoners.

Suleiman reigned forty-six years. He began the same year in which Emperor Charles V was crowned, which was A.D. 1520. And so he continued by God's permission, as a scourge to the Christians, till the year 1566. By one of his concubines, Suleiman had his eldest son Mustafa. By another concubine called Rosa, he had four sons: Mohamet, Bajazet, Zelymus, and Gianger. Of his sons, Mustafa and Gianger were slain (as you heard before) by their own father. And thus much concerning the wretched tyranny of the Turks.

***The Suffering of Christians under the Turks.***

Thus from time to time the church of Christ has had little or no rest in this earth — what for the heathen emperors on the one side; the proud pope on another side; the barbarous Turk

on the third side. For these are and have been from the beginning, the three principal and capital enemies of the church of Christ. The cruelty and malice of these enemies against Christ's people has been such, that to it is hard to say which of them most exceeded in cruelty of persecution. But it may be thought that the bloody and beastly tyranny of the Turks incomparably surmounts all the afflictions and cruel slaughters that were ever seen in any age, or read of in any history. There is no history so perfect, no writer so diligent, who writing about the miserable tyranny of the Turks, is able to express or comprehend the horrible examples of the unspeakable cruelty and slaughter exercised by these twelve Turkish tyrants upon poor Christian men's bodies, within the compass of these later three hundred years. Though a sufficient relating of this cannot be made, nor the number of casualties expressed, yet to give the reader some general guess or view of it, let us first consider what dominions and empires, how many countries, kingdoms, provinces, cities, towns, strongholds, and forts, these Turks have surprised and won from the Christians. In all these victories, there is almost no place to where the Turks ever came and subdued, where they did not either slay all the inhabitants, or lead away most of them into such captivity and slavery, that they did not live long afterward; or else, they so lived that death might almost have been more tolerable.

As in the time of the first persecutions of the Roman emperors, the saying was that no man could take a step in all of Rome, without treading on a martyr. So it may be said here. There is almost not a town, city, or village in all of Asia, Greece, or in a great part of Europe and Africa, whose streets have not flowed with the blood of the Christians whom the cruel Turks have murdered. There is to be seen in histories, heaps of soldiers slain, of men and women cut in pieces, of children stuck on poles and stakes, whom those detestable Turks most spitefully (and in the sight of their parents) used to gore to death. Some they dragged by their horse tails, or famished to death; some they tore in pieces, tying their arms and legs to four horses; others they made targets to shoot at; on some they tried their swords to see how deep they could cut and slash. The aged and feeble they tread under their horses; women and children were barbarously murdered without regard to sex. Whether the Christians yielded to them or not, it is all the same. Just as there is no truth in their promises, so in their victories there is no sense of manhood or mercy, but they make havoc of all.

So the citizens of Croja, after they had yielded and were promised their lives, were all horribly destroyed. In Mysia, after the king had given himself to the Turks, having promise of life, Mahomet the Turk slew him with his own hands. The princes of Rasia had both their eyes put out, with red hot basins set before them. Theodosia, otherwise called Capha, was also surrendered to the Turk, having like assurance of life and safety; and yet, contrary to the league, the citizens were put to the sword and slain. At the winning and yielding of Lesbos, what a number of young men and children were put upon sharp stakes and poles, and so thrust through! At the winning of the city of Buda, what tyranny was shown and exercised against the poor Christians who had yielded themselves, and against the two dukes, Christopher Bisserer and John Tranbinger — contrary to the handwritten promise of the Turk — as seen in the history of Melchior Soiterus.

The like is also to be read in the history of Bernard de Breydenbach. Writing of the taking of Hydruntum, a city in Apulia, he testifies of the miserable slaughter of the young men there; of old men trodden under the horses' feet; of matrons and maidens horribly outraged and murdered; of women with child cut and torn in pieces; of the priests slain in the churches; and of the archbishop of that city, who, being an aged man, and holding the cross in his hands, was cut asunder with a wooden saw, etc. The same Bernard, also writing of the overthrow of Nigropontus, otherwise called Chalcides (A.D. 1471), describes the like terrible

slaughter which was exercised there, where the Turk, after his promise was given to the contrary, most cruelly caused all the youth of Italy to be pricked upon sharp stakes; some to be dashed against hard stones, others to be cut asunder in the middle, and others put to death with various kinds of torments. It was so much, that all the streets and ways of Chalcides flowed with the blood of those who were slain there. In this history the writer records one memorable example of maidenly courage, worthy to be noted and commended by all Christians. The history is told of the pretor's daughter of that city. Being his only daughter father, and noted for her singular beauty, she was saved from the slaughter, and brought to Mahomet the Turk. But refusing to join the Turk's seraglio (harem), or embrace the Mahometan faith, she was commanded to be slain, and so died she a martyr.

The same cruelty was shown to those who kept the castle; afterwards yielding themselves upon hope of the Turk's promise, they were slain every one. What should I say of the miserable slaughter of Methone and its citizens, dwelling in Peloponnesus?

[387] A.D. 1566.

Seeing no remedy, but that they must come into the Turks' hands, they set the barn on fire where they were gathered together, men, women, and children; some women also voluntarily cast themselves into the sea, rather than sustain the Turks' captivity.

It is miserable to behold, long to recite, and incredible to believe all the cruel acts and horrible slaughters wrought by these miscreants against the Christians in all places of the world, both in Asia and Africa, but especially in Europe. Who is able to recite the innumerable societies and companies of the Grecians martyred by the Turks' sword in Achaia, Attica, Thessaly, Macedonia, Epirus, and all Peloponnesus? That was besides the island of Rhodes and other islands in the adjacent sea, about fifty-two in number. Patmos was one of these, where St. John wrote his Revelation. Where did the Turks ever set foot, that the blood of Christians was not shed there, without pity or measure? And what place or province is there almost anywhere in the world, where the Turks either have not pierced, or are not likely to enter shortly? In Thrace, and throughout the coasts of the Danube, in Bulgaria, Dalmatia, in Servia, Transylvania, Bosnia in Hungaria, also in Austria, it will pain any Christian heart to remember what havoc they have made of Christian men's bodies. At the siege of Moldavia and many other places; also at the battle of Varna, where Ladislaus, king of Poland, with almost his entire army were slain, through the rashness of the pope's cardinal; at Xabiacchus, Lyssus, Dynastrum; at the siege of Gunza, and of the faithful town Scorad, where the number of shots against their walls at the siege, were reckoned at 2,539. Likewise at the siege of Vienna, where all the Christian captives were brought before the whole army and slain, and many were drawn and quartered; but especially at the conquest of Constantinople mentioned above: also at Croja and Methone — what beastly cruelty was shown is unspeakable. For as in Constantinople, Mahomet, the drunken Turk, never rose from dinner, without causing every day, for his sport, 300 Christian captives of the nobles of that city to be slain before his face; so also in Methone, after his captain Omar had sent to him 500 prisoners of the Christians, the cruel tyrant commanded them all to be cut asunder by the middle, and so being slain, to be thrown into the fields.

What Christian heart will not pity the incredible slaughter done by the Turks in Euboa, where Faber testifies that "innumerable people were stuck and gored upon stakes; diverse were thrust through with a hot iron; children and infants, not yet weaned from the mother, were dashed against the stones, and many cut asunder in the midst"?

But never did any country taste and feel more the bitter and deadly tyranny of the Turks, than Rasia, called Mysia Inferior, and now Servia. There (as Wolfgang Drechsterus writes) the prince of the same country being sent for to come and speak with the Turk, under a fair pretense of words and promises, after he had come of his own gentleness expecting no harm, he was apprehended and wretchedly and falsely put to death, and his skin flayed off. His brother and sister were brought to Constantinople for a triumph, and all the nobles of his country had their eyes put out.

Briefly to conclude, by the vehement and furious rage of these cursed caitiffs, it may seem that Satan the old dragon, for the great hatred he bears to Christ, has stirred them up to be the butchers of all Christian people, inflaming their beastly hearts with such malice and cruelty against the name and religion of Christ, that degenerating from the nature of men to devils, they will neither be ruled by reason, nor satisfied by any blood or slaughter. Like in the primitive age of the church, and in the time of Diocletian and Maximilian, when the devil saw that he could not prevail against the person of Christ who was risen again, he turned all his fury upon his servants, thinking by the Roman emperors utterly to extinguish the name and profession of Christ from the earth — so in this later age of the world, Satan being loosed again, rages by the Turks, thinking to make no end of murdering and killing, till he has brought (as he intends) the whole church of Christ, with all its professors, under foot. But the Lord (I trust) will send a Constantine to vanquish proud Maxentius, a Moses to drown indurate Pharaoh, a Cyrus to subdue the stout Babylonian.

### **The Life of Christian Captives.**

And thus much, touching our Christian brethren who were slain and destroyed by these blasphemous Turks. Now, many others were torn away violently from their country, from their wives and children, from liberty, and from all their possessions, into wretched captivity and extreme penury. It likewise remains to address somewhat concerning the cruel manner of the Turks' handling of the said Christian *captives*. And here is to be noted first, that the Turk never comes into Europe to war against the Christians, that there does not follow after his army a great number of brokers or merchants — those who buy men and children to sell again, bringing with them long chains in hope of great bargains. In these chains they link fifty or sixty together, who remain undestroyed by the sword; those whom they buy from the soldiers as part of the spoils of those who rob and spoil the Christian countries.

Those who belong to the Sultan's share, *i.e.* a tenth of the whole, are sold for the use of husbandry or keeping beasts. If they are young men or women, they are sent to certain places to be instructed in their language and arts, as will be most to their advantage. And the first care of the Turk is this: to make them deny the Christian religion; after that they are appointed, each one as he seems most apt either to learn their laws, or else to learn their feats of war. Their first rudiment of war is to handle the bow, beginning with a weak bow, and as they grow in strength, coming to a stronger bow. If they miss the mark, they are sharply beaten. Their allowance is twopence or threepence a-day, till they earn wages to serve in war. Some are brought up for the purpose of being placed in the number of the wicked Janizaries.

Those who are young maidens and beautiful, are assigned to seraglios. Those who are of little beauty, serve as matrons to do the drudgery work in their houses and chambers, or else they are put to spinning and other such labors. But even so, it is not lawful for them either to profess their Christian religion, or to ever hope for any liberty.

The others who are bought and sold among private subjects, are first allured with fair words and promises to embrace Mahometanism. If they do so, they are more favorably treated, but all hope is taken from them of returning to their own country; and if they attempt that, the penalty is burning. If those coming at length to liberty want to marry, they may; but then their children remain bondslaves to the master for him to sell at his pleasure. Therefore, those who are wise among them will not marry. Those who refuse to become Mahometans are miserably handled. For example, the author who gives testimony of this adduces his own experience. Any captives who are expert in any manual art or occupation, can better shift for themselves; but those who have no handicraft to live upon, are in a worse situation. And therefore, those who have been brought up in learning, or are priests or noblemen, and others whose tender education can abide no hardness, are the least reputed. Of all others they are most neglected by the one who has the sale or keeping of them, because he sees less profit to arise from them than from the others. Therefore, no cost of clothing is bestowed on them; they go about bareheaded and barefoot, both summer and winter, in frost and snow. And if any of them faint and are sick along the way, there is no rest for him in any inn. Rather, he is first driven forward with whips, and if that will not serve, he is set perhaps upon some horse. Or if his weakness is such that he cannot sit, then is he laid overthwart the horse on his belly like a calf; if he chances to die, they take off his garment, such as he has, and throw him in a ditch.

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They are brought to the market for sale. There the buyer, if he is disposed, plucks off their garments to view all the bones and joints of their body. If he likes them he gives his price, and carries them away into miserable servitude, either to till their ground, or to pasture their cattle, or to some other strange kind of misery incredible to speak of. It goes so far, that the author reports he has seen himself certain of such Christian captives yoked together like horse and oxen, and to draw the plough. The maid servants likewise are kept in perpetual toil and work in close places, where they neither come into the sight of any man, nor are they permitted to talk with their fellow-servants, etc. Those who are committed to keep beasts, lie abroad day and night in the wild fields, without house or harbor. Changing their pasture, they go from mountain to mountain. Besides the office of keeping the beasts, other handy labor is exacted from them in their spare hours, whatever it pleases their masters to put to them.

There is no way for them to flee out of this misery, especially for those who are carried into Asia beyond the seas. Or if any attempts to do so, he takes his chance chiefly about harvest time, when he may hide himself during the day in the corn, or in woods or marshes, and find food. Only in the night does he flee, and would rather be devoured by wolves and other wild beasts, than to return to his master. In their fleeing they used to take with them a hatchet and cords, so that when they came to the sea-side, they might cut down trees, and bind together the ends of them. And so, where the sea of Hellespont is narrowest, about the Sestos and Abydos, they take to the sea, sitting upon trees. If the wind and tide serve luckily, they may run over in four or five hours. But most either perish in the floods, or are driven back upon the coasts of Asia; or else they are devoured by wild beasts in woods, or perish with hunger and famine. If any escape over the sea and make it alive into Europe, they enter into no town along the way, but wander upon the mountains, following only the North Star for their guide.

Regarding those **towns and provinces** which are won by the Turk, and in which the Christians are allowed to live under tribute: the Turk first kills all the nobility there and

make away with them; they hardly spare the churchmen and clergy. The churches, with the bells and all the furniture, they either tear down, or else they convert them to the use of their own blasphemous religion, leaving to the Christians certain old blind chapels, which when they decay, it is permitted to our men to repair them again for a great sum of money given to the Turk. Nor are they permitted to use any open preaching or ministration, but only to frequent together in silence and by stealth. Nor is it lawful for any Christian to bear office within the city province, nor to bear a weapon, nor to wear any garment like the Turks. And if any contempt or blasphemy is spoken against them, or against Christ, however great, you must bear it and hold your peace. And then if you speak one word against Mahomet, your punishment is fire and burning. If it chances that a Christian on horseback meets or passes by a Mussulman, that is, a Turkish priest, he must alight from his horse, and with a lowly look devoutly reverence and adore the Mussulman. If he does not, he is beaten down from his horse with clubs and staves.

Furthermore, for their tribute they pay a quarter of their substance and gain to the Turk, besides the ordinary tribute of the Christians, which is to pay a ducat <sup>380</sup> to the Turk for every poll within his family. If the parents cannot do this, they are compelled to sell their children into bondage. Others not being able to pay, go chained in fetters from door to door begging, to makeup their payment, or else they must lie in perpetual prison.

### **The Value in Hearing of such Suffering.**

And thus have you heard the lamentable afflictions of our Christian brethren under the cruel tyranny and captivity of the Turks, surpassing all other captivities that God's people have ever endured, either under Pharaoh in Egypt, or under Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon, or under Antiochus in the time of the Maccabees. Under this captivity, if it so pleases the Lord to have his spouse the church be nurtured, then His good will be done and obeyed. But if this misery comes by the negligence and discord of our Christian guides and leaders, then we have to pray and cry to our Lord God, either to give better hearts to our guides and rulers, or else better guides and rulers to his flocks.

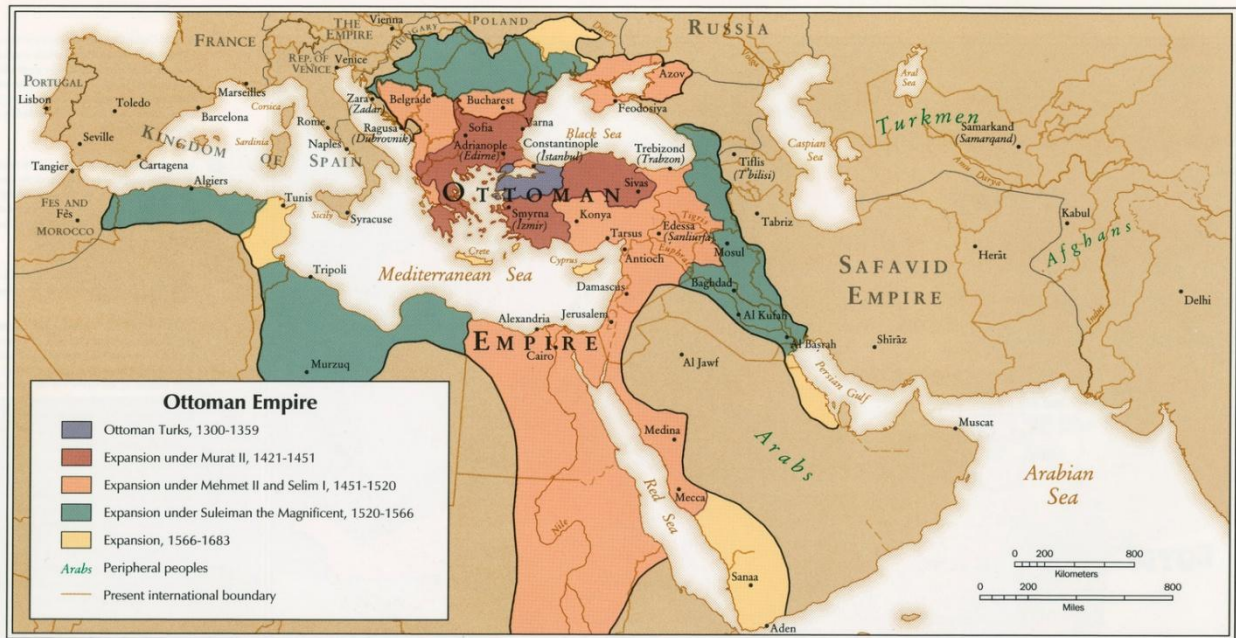
I thought it good and profitable for our country people here of England to know of these troubles and afflictions of our Christian brethren suffered by the Turks. For by their ignorance of these and similar histories worthy of consideration, I see much inconvenience follows from it. Thereby, because we Englishmen are far off from these countries, and little know what misery is abroad, are less moved with zeal and compassion to receive their grievances, and to pray for whose troubles we do not know. Whereupon it also follows that not considering the miserable state of others, we are less grateful to God when any tranquility is granted to us. And if any little cloud rises upon us, however little, such as poverty, loss of living, or a little banishment out of our country for the Lord's cause, we make a greater matter of it than it deserves, all because we go no farther than our own country. And only feeling our own cross, we do not compare what we feel with the great crosses to which the churches of Christ are commonly subject in other places abroad. If we rightly understood this, and earnestly considered and pondered it in our minds, we would not so excessively forget ourselves in times of prosperity, nor be so impatiently troubled as we are in times of adversity. And this is all because either we do not hear, or else we do not ponder the terrible crosses which the Lord lays upon our brethren in other nations.

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<sup>380</sup> *Ducat*: a gold coin weighing 3.50 grams. It could pay for a week's groceries, a fine suit, or a good horse.



## Bk. VI. The last 300 years from the loosing of Satan (1422-1516)



*Expansion of the Ottoman Empire confronting Foxe's generation.*

### ***Prophecies from Scripture Concerning the Turks.***

*The Prophecies of the Holy Scriptures considered, regarding the rise and final ruin and destruction of this wicked kingdom of the Turk, with the revelations and foreshowings of other authors concerning the same.*

You have sufficiently heard to what extent the dominion of the Turks has increased, and now understand what cruel tyranny these wretched miscreants have and do daily practice most heinously, wherever they come against the servants and professors of Christ. It will therefore not be unprofitable, but rather necessary, and to our great comfort, to consider and examine in the Scriptures, what prophecies the Holy Spirit of the Lord forewarned us with concerning the heavy persecutions that would come upon His people by this horrible antichrist. For the government and constitution of times and states of monarchies and policies do not fall to us by blind chance, but are administered and allotted to us from above. So it is not to be supposed that such a great alteration of kingdoms, such a terrible and general persecution of God's people through almost all of Christendom, and such a terror of the whole earth as is now moved and engendered by these Turks, comes without the knowledge, sufferance, and determination of the Lord, for such ends and purposes as his divine wisdom knows best. As the evidence and testimony of this, He has left sufficient instruction and declarations in his Scriptures. By these we may plainly see to our great comfort, how these grievous afflictions and troubles of the church, even though they are sharp and heavy to us, yet they do not come by chance, or only by man's working, but even as the Lord himself has appointed it.

In the later 300 years of the Jewish kingdom, what troubles and afflictions that people sustained by Antiochus and his fellows, as the history of the Maccabees report. But it was chiefly the last 166 years before the coming of Christ, in which we may also come to understand the notorious, miserable vexations and persecutions of the Christian churches in these later ends of the world by antichrist.

We read that Antiochus Epiphanes IV, in the eighth year of his reign, in his second coming to Jerusalem, first commanded that all the Jews should relinquish the law of Moses, and worship the idol of Jupiter Olympius which he set up in the temple of Jerusalem.

[389] A.D. 1566.

He burned the books of Moses and of the Prophets. He set garrisons of soldiers to guard the idol. In the city of Jerusalem he caused the feasts and revels of Bacchus to be kept, full of all filth and wickedness. Old men, women, and virgins — those who would not leave the law of Moses — he murdered with cruel torments. The mothers that circumcised their children he slew. The children that were circumcised he hanged. The temple he spoiled and wasted. The altar of God, and candlestick of God, with the other ornaments and furniture of the temple, he partly cast out, and partly carried away. Contrary to the law of God, he caused them to offer and to eat swine's flesh. He made great murder and slaughter of the people, causing them either to leave their law, or lose their lives. Besides many others, he put to death with cruel torments a godly mother with her seven sons, sending his cruel proclamations throughout the land, that whoever kept the observances of the Sabbath, and other rites of the law, and refused to condescend to his abominations, would be executed. No kind of calamity, nor face of misery, could be shown in any place, which was not seen there. The tyranny of this Antiochus is historied at large in the book of Maccabees. And Daniel had prophesied of the same, declaring that the people of the Jews deserved no less for their sins and transgressions.

By consent of all writers, this Antiochus is a figure of the great antichrist which was to follow in the latter end of the world, and has already come, and works what he can against us. Although, as St. John says, there have been and there are many antichrists, as parts and members of the body of antichrist. These are forerunners, so to speak, of the head and principal antichrist, and great enemy of Christ's church. He has come in the latter end of the world, at which time there shall be such tribulation as was never seen before. By this is meant (no doubt) the Turk, prefigured by Antiochus. By this antichrist I also mean all those who follow the same doctrine of the Turks, thinking to be saved by their works, and not by faith alone in the Son of God, of whatever title and profession they may be; especially if they use the same force and violence for the same purpose as he does, etc.

Let us hear and consider the words of Daniel in the eleventh chapter, and also in his seventh chapter, prophesying of the tyranny of this Antiochus, and of the tribulations of the church in the latter times — both of the Jews' church, and also of the Christian church to come, as follows:

“For the ships of Chittim (Cyprus) shall come against him. Therefore he shall be grieved, and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant. So shall he do: he shall even return, and have intelligence with those who forsake the holy covenant. And arms shall stand on his part, and they will pollute the sanctuary of strength, and take away the daily sacrifice, and they will place the abomination that makes desolate. And those who do wickedly against the covenant he will corrupt by flatteries; but the people who know their God shall be strong, and do exploits. And those who understand among the people will instruct many; yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil, many days. Now when they fall, they will be heled with a little help: but many will cling to them with flatteries. And some of whose who have understanding shall fall, to test and purge them, and to make them white, even to the time of the end — because it is yet for the appointed time. And the king will do according to his will; and he will exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and will speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and will prosper till the indignation is

accomplished: for what is determined shall be done. Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god: for he will magnify himself above all. But in his estate he will honor the God of forces: and a God whom his fathers did not know he will honor with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things.

“Thus he will do in most strongholds with a strange god, whom he will acknowledge and increase with glory: and he will cause them to rule over many, and will divide the land for gain. And at the time of the end, the king of the south will push at him: and the king of the north will come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he will enter into the countries, and will overflow and pass through. He will also enter into the glorious land, and many countries will be overthrown. But these will escape out of his hand, even Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon. He will stretch out his hand also upon the countries; and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt; and the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps. But tidings out of the east and out of the north shall trouble him: therefore he shall go out with great fury to destroy, and to utterly annihilate many. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palaces between the seas in the glorious holy mountain; yet he shall come to his end, and none will help him.” (Dan 11.30-45)

To this place in Daniel, might also be added the prophecy written in the seventh chapter, tending to the same effect; where regarding his vision of four beasts (which signify the four monarchies), and speaking now of the fourth monarchy, he has these words:

“After this I saw in the night-visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and exceedingly strong; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and broke in pieces, and trampled the residue with its feet: and it was different from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns. I considered the horns, and behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom three of the first horns were plucked up by the roots: and behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things — whose look was more stout than his fellows. I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them until the Ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom.” (Dan 7.7-8; 20-22)

Thus you have the plain words of Daniel, in which as he manifestly describes the coming of Antiochus the great adversary, towards the latter end of the Jews; and so by Antiochus is prefigured to us the great adversary of Christ, which is the Turk.

Although there are some with great learning and judgment, who apply this passage of Daniel not to the Turk, but to the pope, and they do that for six or seven special causes touched upon and noted here.

The first is this, that the wicked transgressors of the covenant will join with him deceitfully and hypocritically, who will pollute the tabernacle of strength, and take away the perpetual sacrifice, and bring in the abomination of desolation.

The second note is, that the prophet declares how the learned among the people will teach many, and that they will fall upon the sword, into fire and captivity, and will be banished, whereby they will be tried, chosen, and made bright and pure, etc. All of which (they say) is not among the Turks, but only in the pope's church, where the faithful preachers and teachers of the people are slain and burned, etc. Likewise it follows that they will be helped against antichrist, and that many false brethren will join them dissemblingly, etc. To this they allege that the Christians have no such help against the Turk, to whom false brethren would join themselves, as is (and has been) commonly seen from time to time, among the Christians against the pope, in almost all countries.

Thirdly, that the king will exalt himself above all that has the name of God, and will lift up his mouth to speak presumptuously against God.

Fourthly, that he does not care for the desires of women, which may seem to note how the pope's doctrine will forbid the honest and lawful marriage in churchmen.

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The fifth specialty which they apply to the pope, is what follows in the prophet (11.37-38), saying, "Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor any god; but instead of him shall set up his god of fortresses, and he shall worship him with silver and gold, and precious stones," etc. — which they apply to the pope, setting up his god of bread, and worshipping him with glistening golden ornaments, and most solemn service.

Sixthly, it follows (11.39), "And he shall increase them with much glory and riches, and shall apportion them lands and possessions," etc.; meaning that the pope, having dominion over treasures of gold and silver, and all precious things of the land, will endue his cardinals, prelates, his flattering doctors, along with friars, monks, and priests, and all those who will take his part, with great privileges, liberties, revenues, and possessions. And thus I say, there are some who apply this prophecy of the seventh and eleventh chapters of Daniel to the bishop of Rome. Although I take him to be an extreme persecutor of Christ's church, yet I rather judge those two chapters of Daniel (concerning the little horn in the middle of the ten horns, and the great destroyer of the pleasant land and glorious holy mountain), to first mean Antiochus; and by him, secondly, to mean the great antichrist the Turk, who has now already set the tabernacles of his palace between the seas, according to the prophecies of Daniel.

Let us come now to the prophecies of the New Testament, and mark the words of St. Paul, writing to the Thessalonians. They were then Christian, and are now either Turkish or under the Turk. His words are these:

"That you not be soon shaken in mind or troubled, either by spirit, word, or letter as if from us, as though the day of Christ is at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day will not come, unless there is a falling away first, and the man of sin is revealed, the son of perdition, who opposes and exalts himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he sits as God in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God" (2The 2.2-4).

Although this falling away and departing may have a double understanding — both of the pope's sect (which has departed from free justification by faith alone in Christ through the promise of grace), and also of the Turks — we will set aside speaking of the pope for now. Because the passage seems to apply more notoriously to the Turk, we will chiefly apply this passage to him. If this great apostasy from the faith had not happened in so many churches, *because* of the Turk, it would have been hard to understand the apostle's mind. But now, the history of the Turks is easily and evidently known. Consider what ruin has occurred to the church of Christ by these miserable Turks — what empires, nations, kingdoms, countries, towns, and cities, he has removed from the name and profession of Christ; how many thousands, and infinite multitudes of Christian men and children, in Asia, in Africa, and in Europe, are carried away from Christ's church to Mahomet's religion, some to serve for the Turk's guard among the Janizaries, some for soldiers, some for miners, some for gunners, to fight and war against the Christians. So that most of the churches, once planted by the apostles, have now degenerated into Turks. Only a small handful of Christians are still reserved in these western parts of Europe. What will become of this small remnant shortly, unless Christ himself helps, He alone knows.

Notwithstanding, this text of the holy apostle may also be verified with no less reason upon the bishop of Rome than upon the Turk, because he is a man of sin — that is, his seat and city is a great maintainer of wickedness; and also because he is an adversary, that is, he is contrary in all his doings and proceedings toward Christ.

Thirdly, for he sits in the temple of God, and Mahomet did not.

Fourthly, because he is an exalter of himself, and sits more like a god than a man in Rome.

Fifthly, because he seduces, and has seduced by his apostasy, most of Christendom away from the doctrine and free promises of God, into a wrong and strange way of salvation. That strange way is not to be justified freely before God except by our faith alone in Christ, his well-beloved Son (to which faith alone the promise of God has freely and graciously annexed all our salvation, and to nothing else). But the pope has taught us to work out our salvation by an infinite number of other things; so that he binds the necessity of our salvation also to this: that if we would be saved, we must believe he is and receive him as the vicar of Christ on earth, etc.

But to return again to the Turks. Among all the prophecies, both of the Old Testament and of the New, there is none that points out the antichristian kingdom of the Turks better than the Revelation of St. John, whose words let us weigh and consider. Speaking of opening the seventh and last seal (which signifies the last age of the world), and writing of the seven trumpets of the seven angels, he says that at the sounding of the sixth angel,

“Loose the four angels which are bound in the great river Euphrates. And the four angels were loosed, which were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, to slay a third of mankind. And the number of the army of the horsemen was two hundred million; I heard the number of them. And thus I saw the horses in the vision, and those who sat on them had breastplates of fire, and of jacinth, and brimstone: and the heads of the horses were like the heads of lions; and out of their mouths came fire, and smoke, and brimstone. By these three a third of mankind was killed by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone, which came out of their mouths.” (Rev 9.14-18)

By the seventh seal is meant the seventh and last age of the world. That last age of the world is from Christ to the judgment and resurrection of the dead.

By the seven angels with their seven trumpets is signified the seven plagues that come in this seventh and last age of the world.

By the sixth trumpet of the sixth angel is meant the sixth plague coming last and next before the plague of the great judgment-day. That sixth plague is here described to come by the eastern kings (Rev 16.12); that is, by the Turks.

By loosing the angels who had rule of the great river Euphrates, is signified letting out the eastern kings, that is, the Turks out of Scythia, Tartary, Persia, and Arabia, by whom a third of Christendom will be destroyed, as we see has come to pass this day.

It follows in the prophecy, “For their power is in their mouth, and in their tails: for their tails were like serpents with heads, and they do harm with them.” (Rev 9.19) Meaning that these Turks with the words of their mouths will threaten great destruction by fire and sword, to those who will not yield to them. And in the end, when the Christians yield to them, trusting to their promises, then like serpents, they will deceive them in the end, and kill them.

The same prophecy, in similar words and sense, is also to be seen and read in Revelation 16, where St. John, speaking of seven cups filled with the wrath of the living God, given to the hands of seven angels by one of the four beasts (that is, in the time of one of the four monarchies, which was the monarchy of Rome), speaks likewise of the sixth angel, “And the sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates; and its water was dried up, so that the way of the kings of the east might be prepared.” (Rev 16.12)

By the sixth angel with the *sixth vial* is meant, as before, the last plague save one that will come upon the Christians. By the *kings of the east* is meant the Saracens, and twelve Ottoman Turks. By *drying up the river Euphrates*, is signified the way of these Turks: to be prepared by the Lord’s appointment, to come out of the eastern to the western parts of the world, to molest and afflict the Christians. It follows more in the text (v. 13):

“And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet. For they are the spirits of devils, working miracles, which go out to the kings of the earth and of the whole world, to gather them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty.”

[391] A.D. 1566.

And it follows shortly after, “And he gathered them together to a place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon.” And immediately it follows in the same place, “And the seventh angel poured out his vial into the air; and a great voice came out of the temple of heaven, from the throne, saying, It is done.” (Rev 16.13, 16, 17) By this it is to be understood that towards the consummation of the world, great force will be seen, and a mighty army of the enemies will be collected and gathered against the people and saints of the Highest; and then comes the consummation.

Therefore, it is not for nothing that the Holy Spirit of God, in the same place, a little before the sixth angel pours out his vial, exhorts all the faithful, saying, “Behold, I come like a thief in the night; blessed is he that watches and keeps his garments, lest he walk naked, and men see his filthiness,” etc. (Rev 16.15)

Nicholas de Lyra; and Paul, bishop of Burdens; and Matthias Dorinke, wrote concerning the thirteenth chapter of the Apocalypse, and expounded on the mystery of the second beast rising out of the earth, having the horns of a lamb, etc. They applied it to Mahomet and the Turks, with a solemn declaration made upon it. Their interpretation, although it may seem probable in some points, yet regarding the proper and natural meaning of the apostle in that place, speaking of the false Lamb, etc. if we well consider all the circumstances of that beast, and we mark the sequence of the text, both of that which goes before and follows after, we must grant that the description and interpretation of that false horned lamb must necessarily be applied only to the bishop of Rome, and no other. This is to be proved by six principal causes or arguments.

The first is that this beast is described as bearing the horns of a Lamb; by this Lamb, no doubt, is meant Christ. By the horns of the Lamb is signified the outward show or resemblance of Christ our Savior. This show or resemblance can have no relation to Mahomet, for he made himself out to be above Christ, and Christ as an excellent prophet of God sitting at his feet. Therefore, seeing that Mahomet comes neither as an equal to Christ, nor as a vicar under Christ, this prophecy cannot apply to him, but only to the one who openly and in plain words protests that all Christ’s lambs and sheep — not singularly, but universally, throughout the world — are committed to him as vicar of Christ, and successor

of Peter, and that all men must confess the same of necessity, or else they are none of Christ's sheep, etc. In this, it is easy to see where the pretended horns of the lamb grow.

The second argument, "And he spoke like a dragon," etc. (Rev 13.11) A lamb's horns and the mouth of a dragon do not agree with each other. And just as they do not agree in nature, neither can they be found so lively in any person, Turk or other, as in the bishop of Rome. When you hear him call himself "The apostolical bishop, the vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter, the servant of God's servants," etc., you see in him the two horns of a lamb, and you might think him to be a lamb indeed, and such a person as would wash your feet out of humility. But hear him speak, and you will find him a dragon. See and read the epistle of Pope Martin V, charging, commanding, and threatening emperors, kings, dukes, princes, marquises, earls, barons, knights, rectors, consuls, proconsuls, with their shires, counties, and universities, about their kingdoms, provinces, cities, towns, castles, villages, and other places. See the answer of Pope Urban II, and his message to King William Rufus. Behold the works and doings of Pope Innocent III against King John.

Note also the answer of another pope to the king of England. For the price of the king's head, he would not grant to him the investing of his bishops. Mark well the words and doings of Pope Hildebrand against the Emperor Henry IV; also of Pope Alexander II treading on the neck of Frederick Barbarossa, not like a lamb treading on a dragon, but like a dragon treading upon a lamb.

It follows, moreover, in the same prophecy in Rev 13.12, for the third argument, "And he exercises all the power of the first beast before him, and causes the earth and those who dwell in it to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed," etc.

In this prophecy two things are to be noted; first, what the first beast is, whose power the second beast executes. Secondly, what this second beast is which so exercises his power in his sight. The first of these beasts having seven heads and ten horns, must signify the city of Rome, which may easily be proved by two demonstrations. First, by the exposition of Revelation 17.9-12, where the beast is declared and described as standing on seven hills, containing ten kings, having the whole power of the dragon given to it. Also the same city is named "The whore of Babylon, drunken with the blood of the saints," (17.6). All of these properties joined together, can in no way agree to any kingdom but the heathen empire of Rome. That city, at the time of writing these prophecies, had the government of the whole world. The second demonstration or evidence may be reduced out of the number of the months assigned to this beast. For so it is written, that this beast had power to war — that is, to work his malice against Christ's people 42 months. These months counted by Sabbaths of years (that is, each month is seven years) makes up the exact number of years in which the primitive church was under the terrible persecutions of the heathen emperors of Rome, as specified before.

This thing being thus proved, that the first beast must signify the empire and city of Rome, it must necessarily follow that the second beast with the lamb's horns, must signify the bishop and pope of the same city of Rome. The reason for this is evident by what follows in the prophecy, where it is declared that the second beast, having two horns of a lamb, received and exercised all the power of the first beast, before or in the sight of the said beast. This cannot be valid either in the Turks or in any other, but only in the pope of Rome, who (as you see) receives, usurps, and derives to himself all the power of that city and monarchy of Rome. So that he says, that when Constantine or Ludovicus yielded to him the rule and kingdom of that city, he gave him but his own, and that which of right and duty belonged to him before.

And this authority or power over the whole empire of Rome, he does not work in Asia or in Constantinople, as the Turk does, but in the sight of the beast which gave him the power — that is, in the city of Rome itself, which is the first beast described here in this prophecy of the Revelation.

Fourthly, It follows further (Rev 13.12), “And he causes the earth and those who dwell in it to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed,” etc. The interpretation of this part, as of all the other parts of the same chapter, stands upon the definition of the first beast. For it being granted, and cannot be denied, that the first beast signifies the city and empire of Rome, it must consequently follow that the bishop (whom we call the pope) of the city of Rome, must be understood as the second beast. Because neither Turk nor any other, but only the bishop of Rome, has upheld the estimation and dignity of that city, which began to be in ruin and decay by the Vandals, Goths, Herulians, and Lombards, about A.D. 456. But afterward, by the bishop of Rome, the pristine state and honor of that city revived again, and flourished in as great a veneration as it ever did before. And that is what the Holy Spirit seems to mean here by the first beast, saying that, “he had a wound from the beast, and was cured.” (Rev 13.3) For so it follows:

Fifthly, “Saying to those who dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast, which was wounded by a sword, and lived. And he had power to give life to the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause as many as would not worship the image of the beast to be killed. And he caused all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark on their right hand, or on their foreheads: and that no man might buy or sell, unless he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name,” etc. (Rev 13.14-17).

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By giving life to the image of the beast, and making it speak, it is supposed that the beast was at the point of death, and lay speechless. In the same way, the city of Rome began to lose and change its name; for a while it was called Odacria, from Odoacer king of the Herulians, who by dint of sword surprised the Romans. And yet, notwithstanding, by means of its prelates, the city of Rome, which was then ready to give up the ghost, recovered its majesty and strength again. It is even hard to say whether Rome ever ruffled and raged in tyranny, more tragically in the time of Nero, Domitian, Diocletian, and other emperors, than it has under the pope; or whether Rome had all kings, queens, princes, dukes, lords, and all subjects more under obedience and subjection when the emperors reigned, than now in the reign of the pope. And therefore it is said by the Holy Spirit, not without cause, that it is given to him to give life and speech to the image of the beast, causing all those to be slain which will not worship the image of the beast, etc. For example, who does not see what multitudes of Christian men, women, and children in all countries have been put to fire and sword? The histories of all times will declare what havoc has been made of Christian blood about the pre-eminence and majority of the See of Rome; what churches and countries, both Greeks and Latins, have been excommunicated; what kings have been deposed, and emperors stripped from their imperial seat, all because they would not stoop and bend to the image of the beast, that is, to the majesty and title of Rome. It has advanced so highly now by its bishop, that it was never higher in the reign of Nero or Diocletian. Therefore, taking the first beast to signify the empire of Rome, which cannot be denied, it is plain that the second beast must be applied to the pope and not to the Turk, as the Turk seeks nothing so little as the advancement of that empire, but rather strives against it to pluck it down.



The sixth and last argument is grounded upon the number of the name of the beast, expressed by the Holy Spirit in the same prophecy, by the letters χ-ξ-ς. In these letters lies great darkness and difficulty of understanding. Yet certain ancient fathers who were disciples and hearers of those who heard St. John himself, such as Irenaeus and others, expound the letters conjecturally, to contain the name of the beast, and to be the name of a man under this word λαγαῖνος (*lagainos*).<sup>381</sup> Whereas no other name lightly of any person, either in Greek or Latin, will agree to it, except the foresaid name λαγαῖνος. There are some other solutions to these numbers, but of all names properly signifying any man, none comes so near to the number of this mystery (if it goes by order of letters) as the word λαγαῖνος.

Let us come to the twentieth chapter of the Revelation, in which the holy Scripture seems to plainly and directly denote the Turks. The words of the prophecy are these:

“And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold of the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season.” (Rev 20.1-3)

And it follows after,

“And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle: the number of whom is as the sand of the sea. And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints, and the beloved city,” etc. (Rev 20.7-9).

For the perfect understanding of this prophecy, three things are necessary to be known. First, what is meant by the binding up, and loosing out of Satan as the old dragon. Secondly, at what time and year he was first chained up and sealed for a thousand years. Thirdly, at what year and time these thousand years ended when he should be loosed out again for a little season. These three points being well examined and marked, the prophecy may easily be understood to directly mean the Turk.

First, by the binding and loosing of Satan seems to be meant the ceasing and staying of the cruel and horrible persecution of the heathen emperors of Rome against the true Christians, as seen in Book I, ‘The Ten first Persecutions in the Primitive Church.’ In those most bloody persecutions, Satan raged without all measure, till the time it pleased Almighty God to stop this old serpent, and to tie him shorter. And thus you have to understand what is meant by the binding up of Satan for a thousand years — by which is signified that the persecution against the Christians stirred up by the beast (that is, in the empire of Rome, through the instigation of Satan) will not always continue, but it will break up after a certain time, and will cease for a thousand years, etc.

Now, at what time and year this persecution would cease, is when the fury and rage of Satan was declared in the Revelation. In its eleventh and thirteenth chapters we read that the beast mentioned before would have power to work his malice and mischief for 42 months, and no more; and then Satan would be locked up for a thousand years. The computation of these months, being counted by Sabbaths of years (following the example of the 69 weeks of Daniel, chapter 11) it brings us to the year and time when that terrible persecution in the primitive church would end, and so it did. For, if we allow to every month a Sabbath of

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<sup>381</sup> The number of these letters in Greek, makes the full number of 666.

years, that is, if we reckon every month as seven years, that makes 294 years. This includes the period between the eighteenth year of Tiberius (under whom Christ suffered), and the death of Maxentius the last persecutor of the primitive church in Europe, who was subdued by Constantine. This may appear by calculating the years, months, and days between the year of the reign of Tiberius, and the death of Maxentius. And so you have the account of the period when Satan was first bound up, after he had raged in the primitive church for 42 months. These months, as said, being counted by Sabbaths of years in the usual manner of Scripture, amount to 294 years. And that was the full time between the passion of our Lord, which was in the eighteenth year of Tiberius, to the last year of Maxentius. <sup>382</sup>

Here by the way comes a note to be observed, that just as 42 months is specified in the Revelation, the empire of Rome must necessarily be confessed to be the first beast. And therefore it must by like necessity follow that the bishop of Rome is the second beast, with the two horns of the lamb, because he only has and causes the empire of Rome to revive and be magnified, which the Turk does not, but rather labors to the contrary. Therefore let every Christian man be wise, and beware in time how he takes the mark of the beast, lest perhaps it follows upon him, that he will drink from that terrible cup of wrath mentioned in Rev 14.

Thirdly, it remains to be discussed touching the third point in this prophecy, that as we have found out (through the help of Christ) the year and time of Satan's binding, so we likewise search out the time and season of his loosing. By the testimony of Scripture, this was proved to be a thousand years after his binding up; and rightly according to the time appointed, it came to pass. For if we number accurately by the scripture, the year of his binding up was 294 years from the passion of our Lord.

[393] A.D. 1506.

Add a thousand years to it, it mounts to 1294, which was about the time when Ottoman, the first Turk, began his conquests. This was the first spring and wellhead of all these woeful calamities that the church of Christ has felt both in Asia, Africa, and Europe, for almost 300 years. For so we find in histories, that the kingdom of the Turks being first divided into four families, at length the family of Ottoman prevailed. And from there came those we now call Turks, which was about the same time as when Pope Boniface VIII was bishop of Rome.

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In this long digression, in which the grievous and wearisome persecution of the Saracens and Turks against the Christians has been sufficiently described, you have to understand, good reader, and to behold the image of a terrible antichrist evidently appearing both by his own doings, and also as prophesied and declared to us by the Scriptures. Now in comparing the Turk with the pope, if it is asked which of them is the truer or greater antichrist, it would be easy to see and judge that the Turk is the more open and manifest enemy against Christ and his church. But if it is asked which of the two has been a bloodier and more pernicious adversary to Christ and his members, or which of them has consumed and spilled more Christian blood — the one with the sword, or this one with fire and sword together — it is not a light matter to discern, nor is it my role to discuss it here. I only write the history and acts of them both. Therefore, with the history of the Turks thus finished, we will now return to where we left off, in describing the domestic troubles and persecutions here at home under the bishop of Rome, after the burning of Babram in Norfolk (p. 369).

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<sup>382</sup> See note p. 68. [Ed.]

***Martyrs under King Henry VII.***

In the days of King Henry VII (A.D. 1506), in the diocese of Lincoln, in Buckinghamshire, one William Tylsworth was burned in Amersham, in a close, called Stanley, about sixty years ago. At which time one Joan Clerk, a married woman, who was the only daughter of William Tylsworth, and a faithful woman, was compelled with her own hands to set fire to her dear father; and at the same time her husband John Clerk did penance at her father's burning, and bore a faggot, as did also twenty-three other persons; and who afterwards were compelled to wear certain badges, and went abroad to certain towns to do penance, such as to Buckingham, Aylesbury, and other towns. And also several of these men were afterwards burned on the cheek, such as William Page, who is alive at this present day, and likewise carried a faggot with the others. Agnes Wetherly, who is still alive, testifies that at the burning of William Tylsworth, there were over sixty others who were obliged to carry faggots for their penance, of whom some were enjoined to bear and wear faggots at Lincoln for seven years, some at one time, some at another, etc. In this number also was one Robert Bartlet, a rich man, who for his professions' sake was put out of his farm and goods, and was condemned to be kept in the monastery of Ashryge, where he wore on his right sleeve a square piece of cloth, for seven years.

About the same time of the burning of William Tylsworth, one Father Roberts was burned at Buckingham. He was a miller, and dwelt at Missenden. At his burning there were about twenty persons who were compelled to carry faggots, and to do such penance as the wicked Pharisees compelled them to. After that, for two or three years, there were burned at Amersham, Thomas Bernard, a husbandman, and James Mordon, a laborer; they were both burned at one fire; and there was William Littlepage (who is still alive) compelled to be burned on the right cheek; and Father Rogers, and Father Reive, who afterwards were burned. This Father Rogers was in the bishop's prison for fourteen weeks, night and day, where he was so cruelly handled with cold, hunger, and irons, that after coming out of the prison, he was so lame in his back, that he could never go upright as long as he lived, as several honest men who are now living can testify. Also there were thirty more burned on the right cheek, and obliged to carry faggots at the same time. The cause was that they would talk against superstition and idolatry, and were desirous to hear and read the holy Scriptures. The manner of their burning on the cheek was this: their necks were tied fast to a post, and their hands held fast so that they might not stir; the iron being hot, it was put to their cheeks, and thus they bore about them the prints and marks of the Lord Jesus.

*The cruel handling of Thomas Chase of Amersham, who was wickedly strangled and martyred in the Bishops' Prison at Woburn.*

Among those who were so cruelly persecuted for the gospel and word of Christ, was one Thomas Chase of Amersham. By the report of those who knew him, he was a man of godly, sober, and honest behavior (whose virtuous doings still remain in memory) and could not abide idolatry and superstition, but many times would speak against it. Therefore the ungodly and wicked hated and despised him all the more, and took him and brought him before the blind bishop, who was at that time at Woburn in the county of Buckingham. As it is written in the Acts, that wicked Herod vexed certain of the church, and killed James, the brother of John, with the sword, and because he saw that it pleased the Jews, he proceeded further, so this bishop had Thomas Chase before him. He asked him many questions regarding the Romish religion, with many taunts, checks, and rebukes, but what answer this godly man, Thomas Chase, made to them is unknown. However it is to be supposed that his answer was most zealous and godly in professing Christ's true religion and gospel, and to

the extirpation of idolatry, and superstition, and hypocrisy. For he was commanded to be put in the prison, in the bishop's house at Woburn, which would not have been done to him, if his answers had not been sound and upright. There Thomas Chase lay bound most painfully with chains, manacles, and irons, often pining with hunger, where the bishop's alms were daily brought to him by his chaplains. These alms were nothing but checks, taunts, rebukes, threatenings and mockings. All of this cruelty the godly martyr took most quietly and patiently, remembering and having respect to Christ's promises: "Blessed are those which suffer for righteousness sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," Mat 5.10. And as follows: "Blessed are you when men revile you and persecute you," etc. Mat 5.11. When the bishop, with his band of shavelings, perceived that they could not prevail against him by their daily practices of cruelty, but rather that he was even more fervent and earnest in professing Christ's true religion, and that he bore most patiently all their wickedness and cruelty to him, they imagined how and in which way they might put him to death, lest there should be a tumult or an uproar among the people. As Richard Hunne shortly after was hanged or strangled in Lollards' Tower, about A.D. 1514, even so these blood-suckers most cruelly strangled and put to death this Thomas Chase in prison, who most heartily called upon God to receive his spirit, as a certain woman witnesses who tended to him in prison.

After these vipers of the wicked brood of antichrist had thus most cruelly and impiously murdered this faithful Christian, they were at their wits' end, and could not tell what shift to make, to cloak their shameful murder. At last, to blind the ignorant silly people, these bloody butchers most slanderously caused it to be rumored abroad by their dependents, that Thomas Chase had hanged himself in prison, which was a most shameful and abominable lie, for the prison was such that a man could not stand upright, nor lie at ease. And besides, this man had so many manacles and irons upon him, that he could not well move either hand or foot, as the woman declares who saw him dead. And yet these holy catholics had not made an end of their wicked act in both killing and slandering this godly martyr; but to put out the remembrance of him, they caused him to be buried in the wood called Norland-wood, on the highway between Woburn and little Marlow. That was to the intent that he would not be dug up again to be seen. And this is how innocent men are commonly laid up by these unworthy clergymen.

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But He that is true has promised at one time or another, to clear his true servants, not with lies and fables, but by his own true word. No secret, he says, is so close that it will not be opened; nor is anything so hidden that it will not be known clearly at the last. Such a sweet Lord is God always to those who are his true servants. Blessed be his holy name for ever and ever. Amen.

Thomas Harding was one of this company. He was thus molested and troubled in the town of Amersham, for the truth of the gospel. After his abjuration and penance he was again sought, and brought to the fire in the days of King Henry VII.

After the martyrdom of these two, I also read of one Thomas Noris, who for the same cause — that is, for the profession of Christ's gospel — was condemned by the bishop, and burnt at Norwich the last day of March (A.D. 1507).

The next year, which was A.D. 1508, in the consistory of London, Elizabeth Sampson of the parish of Aldermanbury, was up on certain articles, especially for speaking against pilgrimage and adoration of images — specifically the images of our lady at Wilsdon, at Stanings, at Crome, at Walsingham — and against the sacrament of the altar. For these and

certain other articles, she was compelled to abjure before Master William Horsey, chancellor, the day and year above written.

It is lamentable to remember, and almost impossible to comprehend the names, times, and persons of all who have been slain by the pope's clergy, for the true maintaining of Christ's cause and His sacraments. Their memory being registered in the Book of Life, although it does not need our commemoration, yet for the further confirmation of the church, I thought it not unprofitable to relate the suffering and martyrdom of those who have innocently given their blood to be shed in Christ's cause.

*Laurence Ghest.*

In the catalogue of those martyrs, next in order comes the memorial of Laurence Ghest, who was burned in Salisbury for the matter of the sacrament, in the days of King Henry VII. He was of a handsome and tall personage, and otherwise not unfriended, for which the bishop and the clergy were more loath to burn him, but instead kept him in prison for two years. This Laurence had a wife and seven children. Therefore, thinking to influence and persuade his mind, by awakening his fatherly affection toward his children, when the time came which they appointed for his burning, as he was at the stake, they brought before him his wife and seven children. At the sight of them, though nature commonly works differently in other men, yet in him religion overcame his nature, made his constancy remain immovable. So that when his wife exhorted and desired him to save himself, he again began to desire her to be content, and not be a stumbling-block in his way. For he was in a good course, running toward the mark of his salvation. And so, fire being put to him, he finished his life, renouncing not only wife and children, but also himself to follow Christ. As he was burning, one of the bishop's men threw a firebrand at his face. At this the brother of Laurence, who was standing by, ran at him with his dagger, and would have slain him, had he not been otherwise prevented.

*The Woman of Chipping Sodbury.*

But among all the examples of God, of whom so many have suffered from time to time for Christ and his truth, I cannot tell if ever there were any martyrdom more notable and admirable, or in which the plain demonstration of God's mighty power and judgment has at any time been more evident against the persecutors of his flock, than at the burning of a certain godly woman put to death in Chipping Sodbury, about the same time and under the reign of King Henry VII.

The constancy of this blessed woman, as it is glorious for all true godly Christians to behold, so the example of the bishop's chancellor, who cruelly condemned the innocent, may offer a terrible spectacle to the eyes of all papistical persecutors, to consider and take an example, which the living God grant they may. Amen. The name of the town where she was martyred, was, again, Chipping Sodbury. The chancellor who condemned her, was Doctor Whittington. The time of her burning was in the reign of Henry VII.

After this godly woman, and manly martyr of Christ, was condemned by the wretched chancellor, for the faithful profession of the truth, which the papists then called heresy, and the time had come when she would be brought to the place and pains of her martyrdom, a great concourse of all the multitude, both in the town and country about was gathered to behold her end. Among them was Doctor Whittington, the chancellor, who was present to witness the execution. Thus this faithful woman, and true servant of God, constantly persisted in the testimony of the truth, committing her cause to the Lord. She gave up her life to the fire, refusing no pains or torments in order to keep her conscience clear and

unreproveable in the day of the Lord. The sacrifice being ended, the people began to return homeward, coming from the burning of this blessed martyr. It happened in the meantime, that as the popish executioners were busy slaying this Lamb at the town's side, a certain butcher was just as busy within the town, slaying a bull. He had fast bound it in ropes ready to knock him on the head. But the butcher (not as skillful in his art of killing beasts, as the papists are in murdering Christians), as he was lifting his axe to strike the bull, failed in his stroke, and struck a little too low, or else how he struck it, I do not know. This is certain, that the bull, although somewhat grieved by the stroke, but not struck down, put his strength to the ropes, and broke loose from the butcher into the street, at the very time when the people were coming in a great crowd from the burning. Seeing the bull coming towards them, and supposing him to be wild, they gave way for the beast, every man shifting for himself as well as he might. Thus the people standing back, and making a lane for the bull, he passed through the throng of them, touching neither man nor child, till it came to where the chancellor was. The bull, with a sudden vehemency, ran at him full out with his horns, and gored the chancellor through and through, and so killed him immediately, to the great wonder of all who saw it.

Although the carnal sense of man is blind in considering the works of the Lord, imputing many times to blind chance the things which properly pertain to God's only praise and providence — yet in this so strange and so evident an example, what man can be so dull or ignorant as not to see a plain interposition of God's mighty power and judgment, both in the punishing of this wretched chancellor, and also in admonishing all other persecutors by his example, to fear the Lord and to abstain from the like cruelty?

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And thus much concerning the state of the church. In this it is to be understood what storms and persecutions have been raised up in all quarters against the flock and congregation of Christ, not only by the Turks, but also at home within ourselves, by the bishop of Rome and his retinue. It is also to be noted in the days and reign of King Henry VII, how mightily the working of God's gospel has multiplied and increased, and what great numbers of men and women have suffered for the gospel with us in England.

### **The State of the Commonwealth.**

Now these things being declared relating to the church, it remains to likewise treat the commonwealth, which commonly follows the state of the church. Where the church is quietly and modestly governed, and the flock of Christ defended by godly princes in peace and safety, from devouring and violence of bloody wolves; the success of the civil estate, there and then for the most part, flourishes, and the princes long continue through God's preservation, in prosperity and tranquility. Contrariwise, where either the church of Christ through the negligence of princes, or through their instigation, the poor members of Christ are persecuted and devoured; shortly after comes some just recompence of the Lord upon those princes, that either their lives do not long continue, or else they find not that quiet in the commonwealth which they look for.

[395] A.D. 1509.

Examples of this, as they are abundant in all other ages, so in this present time they are not lacking, whether we consider the state and condition of other countries far off, or of our own country near at home.

Not that I here affirm or define, as a general rule, that worldly success and prosperity of life always follow the godly, whom we often see given over rather to the wicked. Yet speaking of

the duty of princes, I observe by the examples in histories, that those princes who have most defended the church of Christ committed to their government, from injury and violence by the bishop of Rome, have not lacked great blessing and felicity at God's hand. Whereas, contrariwise, those who either have been persecutors of Christ's members themselves, or have not shielded them by their protection from foreign tyranny and injuries, have lacked at God's hand that protection which the other had. This may appear by King Edward II, Richard III, King Henry IV, King Henry V, King Henry VI, etc. Because they have either negligently *allowed*, or cruelly *caused* such persecuting laws to be made, and devoured so much Christian blood injuriously, they have therefore been less prospered by the Lord. So that either they were deposed, or if they flourished for a while, they did not long continue, reigning almost half the time of the other kings named before.

And therefore, as the state of the commonwealth commonly follows the state of the church, so it is to be wished that King Henry VII, being otherwise a prudent and temperate prince, had not permitted the intemperate rage of the pope's clergy to have their wills over the poor flock of Christ so much as they had. Although he reigned nearly twenty-four years, yet notwithstanding, here comes the same thing to be noted which I spoke of before: that when the church of Christ begins to be injured with violence, and to go to wreck through disorder and negligence, the state of the commonwealth cannot long endure without some alteration and strokes of God's correction. But however this mark is to be taken, thus lies the history: that after the burning and vexing of these poor servants of Christ recited above, when the persecution began to be hot in the church, God called away the king the same year, which was 1509. If he had joined a little more compassionate respect, in protecting Christ's poor members from the fire of the pope's tyranny, then to his other great virtues of singular wisdom, excellent temperance, and moderate frugality, he would have been as comparable with the best of those princes, as he had been inferior to but a few. But what was lacking in him, was supplied most luckily (blessed be the Lord) by his posterity succeeding after him.

### **Persecutions at Coventry and Lichfield.**

Among many other things incident in the reign of this King Henry VII, I have passed over the history of certain godly persons persecuted in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, as we find them recorded in the registers of the diocese, here following.

The year of our Lord 1485, March 9th, among other good men in Coventry, these nine here under-named, were examined before John, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield in Saint Michael's church, upon the following articles:

**John Blomston** was openly and publicly accused, reported and impeached, that he was a heretic because he had preached, taught, held, and affirmed,

- That the power attributed to St. Peter in the church of God, by our Savior Jesus Christ directly, did not flit or pass from him, to remain with his successors.
- That there was as much virtue in an herb, as in the image of the Virgin Mary.
- That prayer and alms do not avail the dead; for immediately after death, he goes either to heaven or hell, upon which he concludes that there is no purgatory.
- That it was foolishness to go on pilgrimage to the image of our lady of Doncaster, Walsingham, or the tower of the city of Coventry; for a man might as well worship the blessed Virgin by fire-side in the kitchen as in the aforesaid places, and a man might as well worship the blessed Virgin when he sees his mother and sister, as in visiting the images, because they are no more than dead stocks and stones.

**Richard Hegham** of the same city was accused, etc., to be a very heretic, because he held

- That a Christian man being at the point of death, should renounce all his own works, good and bad, and submit himself to the mercy of God.
- That it was foolishness to worship the images of our lady of Tower in the city, or of other saints, for they are but stocks and stones.
- That if the image of our lady of Tower was put into the fire, it would make a good fire.
- That it was better to give money to poor folks, than to offer to the images of Christ and other saints, which are but dead stocks and stones.

**Robert Crowther** of the same city, was accused that he was a heretic, because he held,

- That whoever receives the sacrament of the altar in deadly sin, or out of charity, receives nothing but bread and wine.
- That neither bishop, nor priests, nor curates of churches, have power in the market of penance to bind or loose.
- That pilgrimage to our lady of Tower is foolishness; for it is but a stock or a stone.

**John Smith** was accused to be a very heretic, because he held

- That every man is bound to know the Lord's prayer, and the creed *in English*.
- That whoever believed as the churchmen believed, believes badly.
- That a man needs to frequent the schools a good while, before he can attain to the knowledge of the true and right faith.
- That no priest has power to absolve a man in the market of penance from his sins.

**Roger Brown** of the same city, was also accused to be a heretic, because he held,

- That no man ought to worship the image of our lady of Walsingham, nor the blood of Christ at Halies, but rather God Almighty, who would give him whatever he would ask.
- That he did not hold up his hand, nor look up, at the elevation of the Eucharist.
- That he promised to show someone certain books of heresy, if he would swear that he would not utter them, and if he would credit them.
- That he ate flesh during Lent, and was taken in the act.
- That if any man were not confessed and absolved his whole life, and at the point of death would be confessed, and could not, having no more than contrition alone, he would pass on to joy without purgatory.
- That if he were confessed of any sin, and enjoined only to say one paternoster for penance, and if he thought he would have any punishment in purgatory for that sin, then he would never be confessed for any sin.
- That all is lost that is given to priests.
- That there was no purgatory that would pardon all sins, without confession and satisfaction.

**Thomas Butler** of the same city was likewise openly accused as a heretic, because he held,

- That are but two ways, either to heaven or to hell.
- That no faithful man should suffer any pain after the death of Christ, for any sin, because Christ died for our sins.
- That there was no purgatory; for every man immediately after death passes either to heaven or to hell.
- That whoever departs in the faith of Christ and the Church, however he has lived, shall be saved.
- That prayers and pilgrimages are worth nothing, and to not avail to purchase heaven.



**John Falks** was accused as a heretic, because he affirmed,

- That it was a foolish thing to offer to the image of our lady, saying what is it but a block? If it could speak to me, I would give it a halfpenny-worth of ale.
- That when the priest carries to the sick, the *body* of Christ, why does he not also carry the *blood* of Christ?
- That he ate cow-milk on the first Sunday of Lent.
- That concerning the sacrament of penance and absolution, no priest has power to absolve any man from his sins, inasmuch as he cannot make one hair of his head.
- That the image of our lady was but a stone or a block.

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**Richard Hilmin** was accused that he was a heretic, because he said and maintained,

- That it was better to part with money to the poor, than to give tithes to priests, or to offer to the images of our lady; and that it was better to offer to images made by God, than to images of God painted by man.
- That he had the Lord's prayer, and the salutation of the angel, and the creed *in English*, and another book he saw and had, which contained the epistles and gospels *in English*, and according to them he would live, and thereby he believed that he would be saved.
- That no priest speaks better in the pulpit than that book.
- That the sacrament of the altar is but bread, and that the priests make it to blind the people.
- That a priest while he is at mass, is a priest; and after one mass is done, till the beginning of another mass, he is no more than a layman, and has no more power than a mere layman.

After they were forced to recant, they were absolved, and obliged to do penance.

**Margery Coyt**, wife of James Coyt of Ashburn, was brought before the foresaid John, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, the third of April A.D. 1488. She was there accused of saying the following:

- That what the priests lifted over their heads at mass, was not the true and very body of Christ; for if it was so, the priests could not break it so lightly into four parts, and swallow it as they do; for the Lord's body has flesh and bones, and what the priests receive does not.
- That priests buying forty cakes for a halfpenny, and showing them to the people, and saying that they make of every one of them, the body of Christ, do nothing but deceive the people and enrich themselves.
- Seeing that God in the beginning created and made man, how can it be that man should be able to make God?

This woman also was constrained to recant, and so was she absolved and did penance.

Thus much I thought it good to insert here, regarding these believers at Coventry, especially for this purpose: because our cavilling adversaries are in the habit of objecting against us the newness of Christ's old and ancient religion. And therefore, to the intent that they may see this doctrine is not so new as they report, I wish they would consider both the time and articles here objected against these persons.

I would also, in the same reign of King Henry VII, insert the story of **Johannes Picus**, Earl of Mirandula, whose name was mentioned in the Preface (p. 4). Picus, being but a young man, was so excellently witted, and so singularly learned in all sciences and in all tongues, both Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, that coming to Rome booted and spurred (highly motivated), he set up ninety conclusions, to dispute with anyone in all Christendom, whoever would come against him. Several of these conclusions were on the matter of the sacrament, etc. And when none was found in all Rome, nor in Europe, who

Bk. VI. The last 300 years from the loosing of Satan (1422-1516)

would openly dispute with him, then privately and in corners certain of the pope's clergy, prelates, lawyers, and friars, appointed by the pope, consulted together to inquire upon his conclusions. Whereupon they pronounced against him for suspicion of heresy. And thus the unlearned clergy of Rome privately circumvented and entangled this learned earl in their snares of heresy, a man against whom they never dared to openly dispute. He died at the age of thirty-two. He was of such wit and boldness, that it is hard to say whether Italy ever bred a better man. During the earl's sickness, Charles VIII, then French king, moved by the fame of this man's learning, came to visit him.

The names of the Archbishops of Canterbury contained in this Sixth Book.

62. John Stratford,
63. John Kempe.
64. Thomas Bouchier.
65. John Morton.
66. Thomas Langhtoc.
67. Henry Dene.
68. William Warham.

THE END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

### ***The Proud Primacy of Popes Described.***

*In order of their rising up little by little, from faithful bishops and martyrs,  
to become lords and governors over kings and kingdoms,  
exalting themselves in the temple of God,  
above all that is called God, etc.*

— *2Thessalonians 2.4.*

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In the description of the primitive church, the reader has had set forth and exhibited before his eyes, the grievous afflictions and torment which, through God's secret sufferance, fell upon the true saints and members of Christ's church in that time, especially upon the good bishops, ministers, and teachers of the flock. Some of them were scourged, some beheaded, some crucified, some burned, some had their eyes put out, some were miserably consumed one way, some another. Those days of woeful calamity continued for nearly three hundred years. During that time the spouse and elect church of God, being sharply assaulted on every side, had no rest, nor joy, nor outward safety in this world, but passed all their days in much bitterness of heart, in continual tears and mourning under the cross, being spoiled, imprisoned, despised, reviled, famished, tormented, and martyred everywhere. They dared not tarry at home for fear and dread of their enemies, much less dare to go abroad except at night, when they sometimes assembled to sing psalms and hymns together.

But notwithstanding all their dreadful dangers and sorrowful afflictions, the goodness of the Lord did not leave them desolate. But the more their outward tribulations increased, the more their inward consolations abounded. And the further off they seemed from the joys of this life, the more present was the Lord with them, with grace and fortitude to confirm and rejoice their souls. And though their possessions and riches in this world were lost and spoiled, yet were they enriched with heavenly gifts more than a hundred-fold. Then true religion was really felt in heart. Then Christianity was not merely shown in outward appearance, but was received in inward affection, and in the true image of the church — not in pretended outward show, but in her effectual perfect state. Then the name and fear of God was engrafted in the heart, and not merely dwelling on the lips. Then faith was fervent, and zeal ardent; prayer was not merely on the lips, but groaned out to God from the bottom of the spirit. Then there was no pride in the church, nor leisure to seek riches, nor time to keep them. Contention for trifles was then so far from Christians, that they were happy when they could meet to pray together against the devil, the author of all dissension. Briefly, the whole church of Christ Jesus, with all its members, the further it was from the type and shape of this world, the nearer it was to God's favor and support.

#### **The first rising of the Bishops of Rome.**

After this long time of trouble it pleased the Lord, at length, to mercifully look upon the saints and servants of his Son, to release their captivity, to relieve their misery, and to bind up the old dragon the devil, who so long vexed them. And thereby the church began to aspire to some more liberty; and the bishops who had been utterly contemned by emperors as castaways, through the providence of God (who disposes all things in his time, according to His own will) now began to be esteemed by emperors, and held in honor. And further, as emperors grew more in their devotion, so the bishops were more and more exalted, not only in favor, but also preferred in honor. So that in a short space of time they became, not quartermasters (stewards), but rather half-emperors with the emperors.

After this, as riches and worldly wealth crept into the clergy, and the devil had poured his venom into the church, so true humility began to decay, and pride to step in, till at last they played as the ivy does with the oak-tree. It begins with a goodly show of green, embraces it so long that at length it overgrows it, and so it sucks all the moisture from the oak, setting its root fast in its bark, till at last it both stifles the stock, and kills the branches. And so it comes to be a nest for owls and all unclean birds. Not untruly, therefore, it was said by Augustine, "Religion begat riches, and the daughter has devoured the mother." The truth of this may appear in the history of the church of Rome and her bishops. For after the church of Rome was endowed with lands, donations, possessions, and patrimonies, through the favor of emperors, so that the bishops began to increase in pomp and pride, feeling the pleasure of wealth, ease, and prosperity. The more they flourished in this world, the more God's Holy Spirit forsook them, till at last the bishops, who at first were poor, creeping upon the ground and persecuted, every man treading upon them in this world, now — instead of being persecuted people — they began to be the persecutors of others, and to tread upon the necks even of emperors, and to bring the heads of kings and princes under their girdle. And not only that, but through pride and riches, they were so far gone from all true religion, that in the end they became the great adversary of God (they became what we call *antichrist*) prophesied of so long before by the Spirit of God, sitting in the temple of God, etc. We thus read of him in the epistle of St. Paul, where he says,

"Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together to him, that you not be soon shaken in mind, or troubled, either by spirit, or by word, or by letter as if from us, because the day of Christ is at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means. For that day shall not come, unless there comes a falling away first, and that man of sin is revealed, the son of perdition, who opposes and exalts himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he sits as God, in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God." (2The 2.1-4)

By these words of St. Paul, we have several things to note: *First*, that the day of the Lord's coming was not then near at hand. *Secondly*, the apostle giving us a token beforehand, to know when that day will approach, bids us to look for an adversary first to be revealed. *Thirdly*, to show what kind of adversary this will be, he does not describe him as a common adversary such as were then in his time.

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Herod, Annas, and Caiaphas, the high priests and Pharisees, Tertullus, Alexander the coppersmith, Elymas and Simon Magus, and Nero the emperor, in St. Paul's time, were great adversaries. Yet here Paul means another besides these, greater than all the rest, not such a one as would likely be a priest, king, or emperor, but such as far exceeds the state of all kings, priests, and emperors — one who would be the prince of priests, who would make kings stoop, and who would tread upon the neck of emperors and make them kiss his feet. Moreover, where the apostle says that he will sit in the temple of God, thereby is meant, not merely the personal sitting of the pope in the city of Rome, but the authority and jurisdiction of his see exalted in the whole universal church, equal with God himself. For let men give to the pope that which he requires in his pontifical laws and decrees, and what difference is there between God and the pope? If God sets laws and ordinances, so does the pope. If God has his creatures, so does he. If God requires obedience, so does he. If the breach of God's commandments are punished, much more are his. God has his religion, the pope also has his. Indeed, for God's one religion, he has a hundred. God has set up an advocate; he has a hundred. God has instituted only a few holy-days, for God's one, the pope has instituted forty. Christ is the head of the church, so is the pope. Christ gives influence to

his body, so does the pope. Christ forgives sin, the pope does no less. Christ expels evil spirits by his power, so the pope pretends to do by his holy water. Furthermore, where Christ went barefoot upon the bare ground, the pope with his golden shoes is carried upon men's shoulders. Christ never used any but the spiritual sword; the pope claims both spiritual and temporal swords. Christ bought the church, he both buys and sells the church. And if it is necessary to believe Christ is the Savior of the world, so it is necessary to believe the pope is the head of the church. Christ paid tribute to Caesar; the pope makes Caesar pay tribute to him. Finally, the crown of Christ was made of sharp thorns; the pope has three crowns of gold upon his head, so far exceeding Christ the Son of God in glory of this world, as Christ exceeds him in the glory of heaven. His intolerable pride and exaltation, according to St. Paul's description of him in his epistle, we have set forth here, not only in these tables, and noted by his own facts, but also declared in his own words and registers. Clementines, extravagantes, and pontificals, will follow in order (the Lord willing). <sup>383</sup>

### **The exaltation of Popes above Kings and Emperors - Recap.**

First, after Italy and the city of Rome were overrun by the Goths and Vandals, the seat of the empire was removed to Constantinople. Then John, patriarch of Constantinople, began to put himself forth, and would be called *the universal bishop of the world*. But the bishop of Rome would in no case suffer that, and stopped it. After this the emperor's deputy and the exarch of Ravenna came to rule Italy; but the bishop of Rome, through the aid of the king of the Lombards, soon mastered him.

Not long after (A.D. 600), Phocas the murderer came, who slew the emperor of Constantinople, his master Mauricius, and his children. It was by emperor Phocas that the bishops of old Rome first aspired to their pre-eminence, to be counted the head bishops over the whole church. So together with the Lombards, they began to rule the city of Rome. Afterwards, when the Lombards would not yield to pope Zachary in accomplishing his ambitious desire, but would require from the bishop, the city of Rome, he stirred up Pepin. But first he deposed Childeric III, king of the Franks (A.D. 751). Thrusting him into an abbey, he set up in his place Pepin and his son Charlemagne, to put down the king of the Lombards, called Astulphus. And so he transferred the empire from Constantinople to France, dividing the spoil between himself and them. Thus the kings of France had all the possessions and lands which before belonged to the empire. He received from them the quiet possession of the city of Rome, with those donations and lordships that they now claim under the name *St. Peter's patrimony*, and which they falsely ascribe to a donation by Constantine the Great.

It then follows in process of time, after the days of Pepin, Charlemagne, and Louis (who had endowed these bishops of Rome, now called *popes*, with large possessions), that the kings of France were not so pliable to their beckoning, to aid and maintain the bishops against the princes of Italy, who then began to pinch the bishops for their wrongfully usurped goods. The pope therefore engaged with the Germans to convey the empire to Otto, the first of that name, duke of Spain, referring the election to seven princes, electors of Germany (A.D. 938). Notwithstanding, he still reserved in his hands the negative voice (*veto*), thinking thereby to enjoy what they had in quietness and security, and so he did for a good space of time.

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<sup>383</sup> *Extravagantes* —This word designates some papal decretals not contained in certain canonical collections which possess a special authority, *i.e.* they are not found in the Decree of Gratian or the three official collections of the "Corpus Juris" (the Decretals of Gregory IX, the Sixth Book of the Decretals, and the Clementines). The term was first applied to those papal documents which Gratian had not inserted in his "Decree" (about 1140), but which were obligatory upon the whole Church, and also to other later decretals, possessed of the same authority.

At length, when some of these German emperors after Otto, also began to spurn a little the bishops and popes of Rome, some of them the bishops cursed, some they subdued and brought to kissing their feet, some they deposed and gave others their possessions.

Henry IV was so accursed by these bishops, that he was forced with his wife and child to wait upon the pope's pleasure for three days and three nights in winter, at the gates of Canosa (A.D. 1077). Besides all this, the pope raised up Rudolph of Swabia against him; but he was slain in war. Pope Gregory VII then stirred up his own son, Henry V, to fight against his own father and to depose him. Henry V was afterwards accursed himself and excommunicated, and the Saxons were at last set up by the bishops to fight against him.

After this, the emperors began to be somewhat calmed and quieter, allowing the bishops to reign as they liked, till Frederick I (called Barbarossa) came and began to stir contention against them. However, they hampered both him and his son Henry in such a way, that they obliged Frederick to submit to be trod upon in the church of Venice (A.D. 1177); and afterwards these bishops, crowning his son Henry VI in the church of St. Peter, set his crown on his head with their feet, and with their feet they took it off again, to make him know that the popes of Rome had power both to crown emperors and to depose them again, (A.D. 1190).

Then followed Philip (A.D. 1198), brother to Henry, whom the popes also cursed. They set up in opposition to him, Otto duke of Saxony. Upon the death of Philip (A.D. 1209), the pope conferred the imperial crown upon Otto IV. But this emperor, like his predecessors, was unwilling to submit to the pontiff's nod, and began to dispossess the bishops of their cities and lands which they had gathered into their hands. This they could not bear, and immediately excommunicated him and put him aside; so that he was only allowed to reign for four years (till A.D. 1212).

At this time Frederick II, son of Henry VI, was but young. The bishops of Rome supposing to find him more malleable and tamed to their hand, advanced him to be emperor. But that fell out much contrary to their expectation. For perceiving the immoderate pomp and pride of the Roman bishops, which he could in no way abide, he so nettled them and cut their combs, and grew so stout against them, intending to extirpate their tyranny and reduce their pompous riches to the state and condition of the primitive church again, that he put some of them to flight, and imprisoned some of their cardinals. So that by three popes, one after another, he was accursed, circumvented by treason, deposed, and then poisoned. In the end, he was forsaken and died (A.D. 1250).

After Frederick, his son Conrad followed him, whom the bishops soon dispatched for his disobedience. They excited against him, in mortal war, the landgrave of Turin, by whom he was at length driven into his kingdom of Naples, and there died.

Conrad had a son called Conradine, duke and prince of Swabia. When Conradine, after the decease of his father, came to enjoy his kingdom of Naples, these bishops stirred up Charles against him, the French King's brother.

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So that, through crafty conveyance, both Conradine, who descended from the blood of so many emperors, and also Frederick duke of Austria, were both taken. After much wretched handling in their miserable endurance, and unseemly to their state, at length they were both brought under the axe by the pope's procurement, and so both were beheaded. Thus ended the imperial stock of Frederick I, surnamed Barbarossa.

The same thing that happened to Frederick the emperor, almost fell upon Philip IV also, the French king, by Pope Boniface VIII. Because he could not have his commodities and revenues out of France according to his will, Boniface sent out his bulls and letters patent to displace King Philip, and to place Albert king of the Romans in his place.

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And thus up to here in foreign histories. Now regarding our own country princes here in England, to say something similar about them: did not Pope Alexander III presumptuously take upon himself things he had nothing to do with, and to intermeddle with the king's subjects? For the death of Becket the rebel, although the king sufficiently cleared himself of it, yet notwithstanding, did he not wrongfully bring King Henry II to such penance as it pleased him to enjoin, and also violently constrain him to swear obedience to the See of Rome? The same was also shown earlier in this history, to have happened to King John his son. For when the king, like a valiant prince, held out against the tyranny of those bishops for seven years, were not all the churches in England barred up, and his inheritance with all his dominions given away by Pope Innocent III to Louis the French king? And afterwards he was compelled to submit himself, and to make his whole realm feudatory to the bishops of Rome. Moreover, the king himself was also driven to surrender his crown to Pandulph the pope's legate. And so he continued as a private person for five days, standing at the pope's courtesy, whether to receive it back again from his hands or not? And when the nobles of the realm afterwards rose against the king for that, was he not then glad to seek and sue to the pope for succor?

Yet notwithstanding all this, King John so yielded to the pope, that he was both pursued by the nobles, and also in the end was poisoned by a subject of the pope's own religion, a monk of Swinsted. Besides King Henry II and King John his son, see what kings have reigned here in England since their time, until the reign of King Henry VIII. Although there were prudent princes, and they did what they could in providing against the proud domination of these bishops, yet they were forced at length, sorely against their wills and out of fear, to subject themselves, together with their subjects, under usurped authority, such that King Henry III was glad to stoop and kiss the legate's knee.

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*The Image of AntiChrist exalting himself in the Temple of God, above all that is named God, out of his own decrees, decretals, extravagantes, pontificals, etc., word for word, as alleged and quoted out of these books.* <sup>384</sup>

(1) Forasmuch as it stands, upon necessity of salvation, for every human creature to be subject to me the pope of Rome, it shall therefore be requisite and necessary for all men who will be saved, to learn and know the dignity of my see and the excellency of my domination, as it is here set forth according to the truth and very words of my own laws, in style as follows: (2) First, my institution began in the Old Testament, and was consummated and finished in the New, in that my priesthood was prefigured by Aaron; and other bishops under me were prefigured by the sons of Aaron, who were under him. (3) Nor is it to be thought that my church of Rome has been preferred by any general council, but obtained the primacy only by the voice of the gospel, and the mouth of the Savior. (4) And has in it

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<sup>384</sup> The parenthetical numbers (1), (2), etc. refer to sources found in the footnotes which follow each section. Foxe speaks here with the voice of a composite pope, reading what is recorded in the decrees of various popes, about themselves and the obeisance due them. It is a shocking portrait of unbounded pride and self-idolatry, as if the pope were Christ incarnate in this world, rather than a humble ambassador of Christ.

neither spot nor wrinkle, nor any such thing. (5) Wherefore as other seats are all inferior to me, and as they cannot absolve me; so they have no power to bind me or to stand against me, no more than the axe has power to stand or presume above him that hews with it, or the saw to presume above him that rules it. (6) This is the holy and apostolic mother church of all other churches of Christ; (7) from whose rules it is not fitting that any person or persons should decline: but just as the Son of God came to do the will of his Father, so must you do the will of your mother, the church, the head of which is the church of Rome, (8) And if any other person or persons shall err from the said church, either let them be admonished, or else their names taken, to be known who they are that swerve from the customs of Rome. (9) Thus then, as the holy church of Rome, of which I am governor, is set up to the whole world as a mirror or example, reason would have it that whatever the church determines, or ordains, should be received by all men as a general and a perpetual rule forever. <sup>385</sup>

(10) Whereupon we see it now verified in this church, what was prophesied by Jeremiah, saying, "Behold, I have set you up over nations and kingdoms, to pluck up and to break down, to build and to plant," etc. (11) Whoever does not understand the prerogative of my priesthood, let him look up to the firmament, where he may see two great lights, the sun and the moon, one ruling over the day, the other over the night; so too in the firmament of the universal church, (12) God has set two great dignities, the authority of the pope, and of the emperor. Of these two, our dignity is so much weightier, as we have the greater charge to give account to God for kings of the earth, and the laws of men. (13) Therefore, be it known to you emperors, who also know it right well, that you depend upon our judgment; we must not be brought and reduced to your will. (14) For, as I said, see what difference there is between the sun and the moon, so great is the power of the pope ruling over the day (that is, over the spirituality), above emperors and kings ruling over the night (that is, over the laity). (15) Now then, seeing that the earth is seven times bigger than the moon, and the sun eight times greater than the earth, it follows that the pope's dignity fifty-six times surmounts the estate of the emperors. (16) Upon consideration of this, I say and pronounce that Constantine the emperor, acted naughtily in setting the patriarch of Constantinople at his feet, on his left hand. (17) And although the emperor wrote to me, alleging the word of St. Peter, commanding us to submit ourselves to every human creature, such as to kings, dukes, and others for the cause of God, etc. 1Pet 2. Yet in answering again my decretal, I expounded the mind and the words of St. Peter to pertain to his subjects, and not to his successors, commanding the emperor to consider the person of the speaker, and to whom it was spoken. For if the mind of Peter had been there to debase the order of priesthood, and to make us underlings to every human creature, then every aspirant might have dominion over prelates, which goes against the example of Christ, setting up the order of priesthood to bear dominion over kings, according to the saying of Jeremiah: "Behold, I have set you up over kings and nations," etc. (18) And as I did not fear then to write this boldly to Constantine, so now I say to all other emperors, that receiving their approbation, unction, consecration, and crown imperial from me, they must not disdain to submit their heads under me, and swear

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<sup>385</sup> (1) Pope Boniface VIII. Extravag. de majorit. & obed. cap. *Unam*.

(2) Distinct. 12. cap. *Decretis*.

(3) Pope Pelasius, Distinct. 21, cap. *Quamvis*.

(4) Pelasius. *ibid*.

(5) Pope Nicolas. Distinct. 21. cap. *Inferior*,

(6) Pope Lucius, 24, q. 1. cap. ii. *Recta*.

(7) Pope Calixtus, Dist. 12. cap. *Non decet*.

(8) Pope Innocentius. II. cap. *Quis*.

(9) Pope Stephanus Distinct. 19. cap. *Enim vero*.



their allegiance to me. (19) For so you read in the decree of Pope John, how before now princes have been in the habit of bowing and submitting their heads to bishops, and not to proceed in judgment against the heads of bishops.

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(20) If this reverence and submission was usually given to bishops, how much more should they submit their heads to me, being superior not only to kings, but to emperors? And that is for two causes: first, for my title of succession that I, pope of Rome, have to the empire, the place standing vacant; also for the fulness of power that Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords, has given to me, though unworthy, in the person of Peter; <sup>386</sup>

(21) Because of this, seeing that my power is not from man but from God, who by his celestial Providence has set me over his whole universal church as master and governor, it therefore belongs to my office to look upon every mortal sin of every Christian man: (22) whereby all criminal offenses, of kings as well as all others, be subject to my censure, (23) in such a way that in all manner of pleading, if any manner of person at any time, either before the sentence is given, or after, shall appeal to me, it shall be lawful for him so to do. (24) Neither must kings and princes think it much to submit themselves to my judgment, for so did Valentinian, the worthy emperor; so did Theodosius, and also Charles. (25) Thus you see all must be judged by me, and I am judged by no man. Yes, and even if I, pope of Rome, by my negligence or evil demeanor, am found unprofitable, or hurtful, either to myself or to others; yes, if I should draw with me innumerable souls by heaps to hell, yet no mortal man may be so hardy, so bold, or so presumptuous as to reprove me, (26) or to say to me. Sir, why do you so? (27) For although you read that Balaam was rebuked by his ass, by which ass our subjects are signified, and by Balaam, we prelates are signified; yet that ought to be no example to our subjects to rebuke us. (28) And though we read in the Scripture that Peter, who received power of the kingdom, and being chief of the apostles might by virtue of his office control all others, was content to come and answer before his inferiors, objecting to his going to the Gentiles; yet other inferiors must not learn by this example to be checkmate with their prelates, because Peter so took it at their hands, showing thereby a dispensation of humility, rather than the power of his office, by which power he might have said back to them in this way: it does become sheep, nor does it belong to their office, to accuse their shepherd; (29) for why else was Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria, condemned and excommunicated at Chalcedon? Not for any cause of his faith, but only because he dared stand against Pope Leo, and dared excommunicate the bishop of Rome; for who is he that has authority to accuse the seat of St. Peter? (30) Although I am not ignorant of what St. Jerome writes, that St. Paul would not have reprehended St. Peter, unless he had thought himself equal to him. (31) Yet St. Jerome must thus be expounded by my interpretation, that this equality between St. Peter and St. Paul does not consist in like office of dignity, but in

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<sup>386</sup> (10) Pope Boniface VIII. Extravag. cap. *Unam sanciam*. Item. Pope Joannes XXII. Extravag. cap. *Super gentes*.

(11) Pope Innocent III. art. de major. & obed. cap. *Solitiae*.

(12) Pope Gelasius, Dist. 96. cup. Dm.

(13) Ibidem.

(14) Innocentius de major. & obed. cap. *Solitae*.

(15) Glossa. Ibidem.

(16) Ibidem.

(17) Innocentius. Ibid.

(18) Pope Clement V. Clement de jure jurando. cap. *Romani*.

(19) Pope Joannes, Dist. 96. cap. *Nunquam*.

(20) Pope Clement V. Clement (le Sentent. & de rejudi pastoralis.

pureness of conversation. (32) For who gave St. Paul his license to preach but St. Peter? and that was by the authority of God, saying, "Separate to me Paul and Barnabas," etc. (33) Therefore be it known to all men, that my church of Rome is prince and head of all nations, (34) the mother of the faith, (35) the cardinal foundation upon which all churches depend as the door depends on the hinges, (36) the first of all other seats, without any spot or blemish. (37) Lady, mistress, and instructor of all churches, (38) a mirror and a spectacle to all men, to be followed in whatever she observes. (39) Which was never yet found to slide or decline from the path of apostolic tradition, or to be entangled with any newness of heresy; (40) against which church of Rome, whoever speaks any evil is forthwith a heretic, (41) yes, a very pagan, a witch, and an idolater or infidel, (42) having fulness of power in her own hands alone in ruling, (43) deciding, absolving, condemning, casting out, or receiving in. (44) Although I do not deny that other churches are partakers with her in laboring and carrying. (45) To which church of Rome, it is lawful to appeal for remedy from all other churches. Although it was otherwise concluded in the general Council of Milevitane, that no man should appeal over the sea under pain of excommunication, yet my gloss comes in here with an exception: "Unless the appeal is to the See of Rome," etc. <sup>387</sup>

(46) By the authority of which church of Rome, all synods and decrees of councils stand confirmed. (47) And she always has full authority in her hands to make new laws and decrements, and to alter statutes, privileges, rights, or documents of churches; to separate things joined, and to join things separated upon right consideration, either in whole or in part, either personally or generally. (48) I am head of this church of Rome, as a king is over his judges, (49) the vicar of St. Peter, (50) yes, not the vicar of *St. Peter* properly, but the vicar of *Christ* properly, and successor of Peter, (51) vicar of Jesus Christ, (52) rector of the universal church, director of the Lord's flock, (53) chief magistrate of the whole world, (54) the head and chief of the apostolic church, (55) universal pope, and diocesan in all places exempt, as well as every bishop is in places not exempt, (56) most mighty priest, (57) a living law on the earth, (58) judged to have all laws in the chest of my breast, (59) bearing

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<sup>387</sup> (21) Pope Innocent III De judiciis, cup. *Novit*.

(22) *Ibidem*.

(23) Pope Marcellus, caus. 2. q. 6. cap. ad *Romanam*.

(24) Innocent. Novteille.

(25) Bonifacius Martyr. diet. 40. cap. *Si Papa*.

(26) Glossa Extr. de sede vacant, ad Apostolatus.

(27) Pope Leo, caus. 2. q. 7. cap. *Nos*.

(28) Greg. 2. q. 7. cap. *Petrus*.

(29) Pope Nicol. ius, Hist. cap. 21. *In cantum*.

(30) Jer. caita. 2. q. 7. cap. *Paulas*.

(31) Glossa Gratiani. Ib.

(32) Glossa in Diss. 11. cap. *Quis*.

(33) Caus. 2. q. 7. cap. *Beati*.

(34) Pope Nicolaus, Dist. 22. Omnes.

(35) Pope Anaclet, Dist. 22. cap. *Sacrosancta*.

(36) Pope Pelagius. Dist. 21. cap. *Quamvis*.

(37) Pope Nicolaus, Dist. 21. cap. *Denique*.

(38) Pope Steplien, Di. 29. *Enim vero*.

(39) Pope Lucius, 24. q. 1. *Arect*.

(40) Pope Nicolaus, Dist. 22. cap. *Omnnes*.

(41) Pope Gregory, Dist. 81. cap. *Si qui*.

(42) Pope Leo, caus. 3. q. 62. cap. *Multum*.

(43) Dist. 20. cap. *Decretalis*.

(44) Pope Julius, caus. 2. q. 6. *qui se*.

(45) Causa. 3. q. 6. Arguta. Item. cap. *Ad Romanam*. caus. 2. q. a. cap. *Placuit*. Glossa. Gratiani. Nisi.

the place of no pure man, (60) being neither God nor man, but the admiration of the world, and a middle thing between both. (61) Having both swords in my power, both of the Spiritual and Temporal jurisdiction, (62) so far surmounting the authority of the emperor, that of my own power alone, without a council, I have authority to depose him, or to transfer his kingdom, and to give a new election, as I did to Frederick and diverse others. (63) What power then or potentate in all the world is comparable to me, who have authority to bind and loose both in heaven and in earth? (64) That is, who have power both of heavenly things, and also of temporal things. (65) To whom emperors and kings are more inferior as lead is inferior to gold. (66) For do you not see the necks of great kings and princes bend under our knees, yes and think themselves happy and well defended, if they may kiss our hands? <sup>388</sup>

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(67) Therefore the sauciness of Honorius the emperor is to be reprehended, and his constitution abolished, who with his laity would take it upon himself to intermeddle, not only with the temporal order, but also with matters ecclesiastical, and the election of the pope. (68) But here perhaps some will object, the examples and words of Christ, saying, “That his kingdom is not of this world,” and where being required to decide between two brethren their heritage, he refused it. But that ought to be no prejudice to my power. (69) For if Peter, and I in Peter — if we, I say, have power to bind and loose in heaven, how much more then is it to be thought that we have power on earth to loose and to take away empires, kingdoms, dukedoms, and whatever else mortal men may have, and to give them where we will? (70) And if we have authority over angels, which are the governors of princes, what then may we do upon their inferiors and servants? (71) And that you may not marvel when I say angels are subject to us, you shall hear what my blessed cleric Antoninus writes of the matter, saying that, “Our power is greater than the angels in four things: — 1. In jurisdiction, 2. In administration of sacraments, 3. In knowledge, 4. In reward,” etc. (72) And again in Bulla Clementis, do I not there command in my bull the angels of paradise, to absolve the soul of man out of purgatory, and to bring it into the glory of paradise? (73) And now besides my heavenly power, to speak of my earthly jurisdiction, who first transferred the

<sup>388</sup> (46) Pope Gelasi. 25. q. 1. cap. *Confidimus*.

(47) Pope Urbanus, 25. q. 1. cap. *Sunt*. P. Pelagius, 25. q. 2. cap. *Posteaquam*.

(48) Bulla Donationis, Dist. 96. cap. *Constant*.

(49) Pope Paschalis, Dist. 63. cap. *Ego*.

(50) Pope Clement V. Clement, cap. *Romani Glossa*.

(51) Pope Boniface VIII. Sext. Decret. cap. *Ubi*.

(52) *Ibidem*.

(53) Pope Boniface, prohem. Sext. Decret. 1. *Sacrosancta*.

(54) Anacletus, D. 22. cap. *Sacrosancta*.

(55) Pope Boniface IV. Sext. Decret. de poenit. et remis. cap. 5. *Glossa*. Item Alexander IV. Sext. decret. cap. 4. in *Glossa*

(56) Pope Hilarius, 25. q. 1. *Nulli*.

(57) Sext. Decret. cap. *Ab Arbitris*, *Glossa*.

(58) Pope Boniface Sext. decret. de const, cap. *Licet*.

(59) Pope Innocent III, de trans, cap. *Quanto*.

(60) Prohem. Clement. Gloss. Papa Stupor mundi, etc. *Nec Deus es nec homo, quasi neuter es inter utrumque*.

(61) Pope Boniface Extravag. de Majorit et obed. cap. *Unam*. Item Dist. 22. cap. *Omnes*.

(62) Sext. Deer, de Scntent. et re. ca. ad. Apostoli. Item in *Glossa*, *Ibidem*.

(63) Pope Nicolaus, Dist. 22, cap. *Omnes*.

(64) *Gloss. Ibidem*.

(65) Pope Gelasius, Dist. 96. cap. *Duo*.

(66) Pope Gelasius, *Ibidem*.

empire from the Greeks to the Germans, but I? (74) And not only am I emperor in the empire, the place being empty, but in all ecclesiastical benefices have full right and power to give, to translate, and to dispose according to my arbitrement. (75) Did not I, Zacharias, put down Childeric, the old king of the Franks, and set up Pepin? (76) Did not I, Gregory VII, set up Robert Wysard, and make him king of Sicily, and duke of Capua? etc. (77) Did not I the same Gregory also set up Rudolph I against Henry IV emperor? (78) And though this Henry was an emperor of most stout courage, who stood sixty-two times in open field against his enemies, (79) yet did not I, Gregory, bring him before us, and make him stand at my gate three days and three nights bare-footed and barelegged, with his wife and child, in the depth of winter, in both frost and snow, entreating for his absolution, and excommunicated him again afterwards, so that he was twice excommunicated in my days? (80) Again, did not I, Paschal II, after Gregory, set up the son of Henry against his father in war, to possess the empire, and to put down his father, and so he did? (81) Did not I, Pope Alexander III, bring under Henry II king of England, for the death of Thomas Becket, and cause him to go barefoot to his tomb at Canterbury with bleeding feet? (82) Did not I, Innocent III, cause King John to kneel down at the feet of Pandulph my legate, and offer up his crown with his own hands; also to kiss the feet of Stephen Langton, a bishop of Canterbury: and besides that, fine him a thousand marks per year? (83) Did not I, Urban II, put down Hugo, earl in Italy, discharging his subjects from their oath and obedience to him? (84) Did not I, Pascal II, also excommunicate his son Henry V, and get out of his bands all his right and title of elections and donations of spiritual promotions? Did not I, Gelasius II, bring the captain of Cintius under, even to kissing my feet? And after Gelasius, did not I, Calixtus II, quail the Emperor, Henry V, and also bring in subjection Gregory, whom the emperor had set up against me as pope, bringing him into Rome on a camel, his face to the hairy tail, making him hold the horse-tail in his hand instead of a bridle? <sup>389</sup>

(85) Further, did not I, Innocent II, set up and make Lothaire to be emperor for driving Pope Anacletus out of Rome? (86) Did not I, the said Innocent, take the dukedom of Sicily from the empire, and make Roger II king of it, whereby afterward the kingdom became the patrimony of St. Peter? (87) Did not I, Alexander III, suspend all the realm and churches of England for the king's marriage (A.D. 1159)? (88) But what do I speak of kings? Did not Alexander bring the valiant emperor, Frederick I, to Venice, by reason of his son Otto taken prisoner there, and there in St. Mark's church made him fall down flat upon the ground

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<sup>389</sup> (67) Di. 96. cap. *Illud*.

(68) Ex citatione Hiero. Marii.

(69) Pope Hildebrandus, alius Gregorius 7. Ex. Platina, in vita Gregorii.

(70) Hildebrandus, Ibidem.

(71) Antonius in tertia parte Summae majoris.

(72) Bulla Clementis.

(78) Pope Innocent, de electione. cap. *Venerabilem*.

(74) Extrav. de praebend. & dig. cap. *Execrabilis*.

(75) Pope Zacharias, Gaus. 15. q. 6. cap. *Alius*.

(76) Pope Hildebrand, alias Gregor. 7. Clement, cap. *Pastoralis*.

(77) Ex. Gestis Hildebrandi.

(78) Baptista Egnatius.

(79) Platina, Benno Nauclerus.

(80) Platina, Egnatius Benno.

(81) Polydore Virgil. Historia ornalensis de rebus. Anglorum.

(82) Chronica vernacula.

(83) Pope Urbanus, Caus. 15. q. 6. cap. *Juratos*.

(84) Pope Paschalis Cursulanus. Platina, Vincentius, Stella, Anmnus, Mattheus Parisiensis, Pope. Gelasius 2. Pope.

while I set my foot upon his neck, saying the verse of the Psalm, “You shall tread on the adder and the serpent,” etc. (89) Did not I, Adrian IV, pope, born an Englishman, excommunicate the king of Sicily, and refuse the peace which he offered? And had not he overcome me in plainfield, I would have shaken him out of his kingdom of Sicily, and dukedom of Apulia. (90) Also, did not I, Adrian, control and correct the foresaid Frederic, emperor, for holding the left stirrup of my horse, when he should have held the right? (91) And afterward did I not excommunicate and curse him, for he was so saucy to set his own name in writing before mine? (92) And although a poor fly afterward overcame and strangled me, yet I made kings and emperors to stoop. (93) Did not I, Innocent III, cast down Philip, brother to Frederic, from the imperial crown, being elected without my leave, and afterwards set him up again? And also set up Otto of Brunswick, and afterwards excommunicated and also deposed the same after four years, setting up the French king to war against him? (94) Then Frederic II was set up by me, and reigned thirty-seven years; and yet five years before he died, he was deposed. (95) Did not I, Honorius III, interdict him, for not restoring certain ones to their possessions at my request? (96) Whom also Gregory IX excommunicated twice, and raised up the Venetians against him. (97) And at length Innocent IV spoiled him of his empire; after that he caused him to be poisoned, and at length to be strangled by one Manfred, and excommunicated his son Conrad after him, not only depriving him of his right inheritance, but also caused him, with Frederic, duke of Austria, to be beheaded. (98) Thus then, did not I excommunicate and depose all these emperors in order? Henry IV, Henry V, Frederic I, Philip, Otto IV, Frederic II, and Conrad his son? (99) Did not I interdict King Henry VIII? (100) And all his kingdom of England? (101) And had not his prudence and power prevented my practice, I would have displaced him from his kingdom also. Briefly, who is able to comprehend the greatness of my power and of my seat? (102) For by me alone general councils take their force and confirmation, (103) and the interpretation of the councils, and of all other hard and doubtful causes, ought to be referred and stand to my determination. <sup>390</sup>

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(104) By me the works of all writers, whatever they may be, are either reproved or allowed. (105) Then how much more should my writings and decrees be preferred before all others? (106) So that my letters and epistles decretal are equivalent to the general councils. (107)

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<sup>390</sup> (85) Pope Innocentius 2.

(86) Nauclerus.

(87) Pope Alexanders, de sponsal. & matr. cap. *Non est.*

(88) Nauclerus acta Rom. pontificum.

(89) Pope Adrian, vit. Rom. pontificum.

(90) Ex Aventino.

(91) Bulla Adriani contra Caesarem.

(92) Acta Rom. Pont.

(93) Pope Innocentius 3. Ex Vitis & Actis Rom. pontificum. Ex ab Ursperg.

(94) Ex eodem.

(95) Pope Honor. 3. Ex. Mario.

(96) Pope Greg. 9. Ex eodem.

(97) Pope Innocent 4. Hieronymus Marius. Petros de Veneis.

(98) Ex Chronic. Carionis.

(99) Hist. Anglor.

(100) Ibidem.

(101) Ibidem.

(102) Pope Marcellus, Dist. 17. cap. *Synodum.*

(103) Dist. 20. Decretales.

And, whereas, God has ordained all causes of men to be judged by men, he has only reserved me, that is, the pope of Rome, without any question by men, unto his own judgment. (108) And therefore, where all other creatures are under their judge, only I, who on earth am the judge of all, can be judged by none, either by emperor, nor the whole clergy, nor by kings, nor by the people. (109) For who has power to judge his judge? (110) This judge am I, and that alone, without any other resistance of any council joined to me. For I have power upon councils; councils have no power upon me. But if the council determines amiss, it is in my authority alone to infringe it, or to condemn whom I wish without any council. (111) And all for the pre-eminence of my predecessor blessed St. Peter, which, by the voice of the Lord, he received, and ever shall retain. (112) Furthermore, and whereas all other sentences and judgments, both of councils, person or persons, may and ought to be examined, (113) for they may be corrupted four ways: by fear, by gifts, by hatred, or by favor; only my sentence and judgment must stand, (114) as given out of heaven by the mouth of Peter himself, which no man must (115) break or retract, (116) no man must dispute or doubt. (117) Yes, if my judgment, statute, or yoke seems scarcely tolerable, yet for remembrance of St. Peter it must be humbly obeyed. (118) Yes, and moreover, obedience is to be given, not only to those decrees set forth by me in the time of my popedom, but also to those which I foresee and commit to writing before I am pope. (119) And although it is thought by some writers, to be given to all men to err, and to be deceived, (120) yet neither am I a pure man. (121) And again, the sentence of my apostolic seat is always conceived with such moderation, is concocted and digested with such patience and ripeness, and delivered out with such gravity and deliberation, that nothing in it is thought necessary to be altered or detracted. (122) Therefore, it is manifest, and testified by the voice of holy bishops, that the dignity of this my seat is to be revered through the whole world, in that all the faithful submit themselves to it as to the head of the whole body; <sup>391</sup> (123) of which it is spoken to me by the prophet, speaking of the ark; if this is humbled, where shall you run for succor, and where shall your glory come from? Seeing then that this is so, that so holy bishops and Scriptures witness with me, what shall we say then to those who will take it upon themselves to judge my doings, to reprehend my proceedings, or to require homage and tribute from me, to whom all others are subject?

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<sup>391</sup> (104) Pope Nicolaus, Dist. 19. cap. *Si Romanorum*.  
 (105) Ibidem.  
 (106) Dist. 20. Decretales.  
 (107) Symmachus Pope, 9. q. 3. cap. *Aliorum*.  
 (108) Pope Innocentium 6. q. 3. cap. *Nemo*.  
 (109) Ibidem.  
 (110) Pope Gelasius, 9. q. 3. cap. *Cuncta*.  
 (111) Ibidem.  
 (112) Anastasius Patriarch. Dist. q. 3. cap. *Antiquis*.  
 (113) Pope Greg. a. q. 3. cap. *Quat*.  
 (114) Pope Agatho, Dist. 19. cap. *Sic omnes*.  
 (115) Pope Nicholas, 9. q. 3. Patet.  
 (116) Pope Innocent. 2. Art. 17. q. 4. cap. *Si quis*.  
 (117) Dist. 19. cap. *In memoriam*.  
 (118) Sext. Decret. T. 7. De renunc. Quoniam Glossa.  
 (119) Offic. lib. 1.  
 (120) Glossa Extra. De verb. signif. cap. *Ad*.  
 (121) Pope Greg;. Caus. 35. q. 9. cap. *Apostolicae*.  
 (122) Pope Symmachus. Caus. 9. q. 3. cap. *Aliorum*.

(124) Against the first sort, the Scripture says, “You shall not put a sickle to your neighbor’s standing corn.” <sup>Deu 23.25</sup> To attempt this thing against me, what is it but plain sacrilege? (125) According to my canonists, who thus define sacrilege to consist in three things — either when a man judges his princes’ judgment; or when the holy-day is profaned; or when reverence is not given to laws and canons. (126) Against the second sort, the place in the book of Kings speaks, where we read the ark of God was brought from Gaza to Jerusalem, and on the way, the ark inclined because of the unruly oxen, Uzzah the Levite put out his hand to help, and therefore he was stricken of the Lord. By this ark is signified the prelates; and by the inclination of it, the fall of prelates, (127) who also are signified by the angels that Jacob saw going up and coming down the ladder: (128) also, by the prophet where he says, “He bowed down the heavens and came down,” etc. <sup>2Sam 22.10</sup> By Uzzah and by the unruly oxen are meant our subjects, (129) Then, just as Uzzah was stricken for putting his hand to the inclining ark, no more must subjects rebuke their prelates going awry. (130) Although here it may be answered again, that all are not prelates who are so called; for it is not the name that makes a bishop, but his life. (131) Against the third sort of those who would bring us under the tribute and exactions of secular men, the New Testament speaks, where Peter was bid to give the groat in the fish’s mouth, but not the head or body of the fish; <sup>Mat 17.24-27</sup> no more is the head or body of the church subdued to kings, but only that which is in the mouth, that is, the external things of the church. And yet not those either. (132) For so we read in the book of Genesis, that Pharaoh, in a time of dearth, subdued all the land of the Egyptians; yet he ministered to the priests, so that he took neither their possessions from them, nor their liberty. <sup>Gen 47.22,26</sup> If then prelates of the church must neither be judged, nor reprehended, nor exacted, how much more should I be free from the same, (133) who am the bishop of bishops, and head of prelates? (134) For it is not to be thought that the case between me and other prelates; between my see and other churches, is alike, (135) although the whole catholic and apostolic church makes one bride-chamber of Christ; yet the catholic and apostolic church of Rome had the preeminence given over all others by the mouth of the Lord himself, saying to Peter, “You are Peter,” etc. (136) Thus a distinction and difference must be had in the church as it was between Aaron and his children; <sup>392</sup> (137) between the seventy-two disciples, and the twelve apostles; between the other apostles and Peter. (138) Therefore it is to be concluded, that there must be an order and difference of degrees in the church between superior and inferior power; without which order the universality of the whole cannot consist.

(139) For, as among the angelical creatures above in heaven, there is a set difference and inequality of powers and orders: some are angels, some archangels, some cherubims, and seraphims; (140) so too in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the church militant on earth, priests must not be equal with bishops, bishops must not be like in order with archbishops,

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<sup>392</sup> (123) Ibidem.

(124) Pope Greg. 6. p. 3. cap. *Scriptum est*.

(125) Caus. 17. q. 4. Sacrileg;. Glossa.

(126) 2. q. 7. cap. *Plaurumque*. Glossema Gratiaci. Item.

(127) Ibidem.

(128) Ibidem.

(129) Ibidem.

(130) Ibidem. His ita.

(131) Pope Urbanus 23. q. cap. *Tributum*.

(132) Ibidem. Quamvis.

(133) Pope Benedict. Extr. De aut. & usupallii. cap. Sanct. 4

(134) Pope Stephanus. Dist. 19. Enimvero.

(135) Pope Pelagus, Dist. 21. cap. *Quamcis*.

(136) Dist. 2 1, cap. *Decretis*.

with patriarchs or primates, (141) who contain under them three archbishops, as a king contains three dukes under him. In this number of patriarchs comes in the state of (142) cardinals or principals, so called, because as the door turns by its hinges, so the universal church ought to be ruled by them. (143) The next and highest order above these is mine, who am pope, differing in power and majority, and honor reverential, from these and all other degrees of men.

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(144) For the better declaration of this, my canonists make three kinds of power in earth; immediate, which is mine immediately from God; derived, which belongs to other inferior prelates from me; (145) ministerial, belonging to emperors and princes to minister for me. For this cause, the anointing of princes, and my consecration differ; for they are anointed only in the arms or shoulders, and I in the head, to signify the difference of power between princes and me. (146) This order, therefore, of priests, bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, and others, as a most convenient thing, my church of Rome has set and instituted through all churches — following in this, not only the example of the angelical army in heaven, but also of the apostles. (147) For among them also there was not an uniform equality or institution of one degree, (148) but a diversity or distinction of authority and power. Although they were all apostles together, yet it was granted, notwithstanding, to Peter (also agreeing to this themselves) that he should bear dominion and superiority over all the other apostles. (149) And therefore he had his name *Cephas* given to him, that is, the head or beginning of the apostleship. (150) Whereupon the order of priesthood in the New Testament first began in Peter, to whom it was said, You are Peter, and upon you I will build my church. (151) And I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and you being converted, confirm your brethren. <sup>393</sup>

(152) I have prayed for you that your faith shall not fail. Therefore seeing such power is given to Peter, (153) and to me in Peter, being his successor; (154) who is he then in all the world that should not be subject to my decrees, I who have such power in heaven, in hell, on earth, with the quick and also the dead? (155) Commanding and granting in my bull sent to Vienna, to all those who died in their pilgrimage to Rome, that the pain of hell should not touch them; and also that all those who took the holy cross upon them should every one at his request, not only be delivered himself, but also deliver three or four souls, whoever he would, out of purgatory. (156) Again, having such promise and assurance that my faith shall not fail, who then will not believe my doctrine? For did not Christ himself first pray for Peter that his faith should not fail? (157) Also do I not have a sure promise from Paul's own mouth, writing to my church in these words, "God is my witness whom I serve with my

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<sup>393</sup> (137) Pope Anaclet. Dist. 22. caft. *In novo*.

(138) Pope Bonifacius et Greg. Dist. 89. cap. *Ad hoc*. (139) *Ibidem*.

(140) Dist. 89. cap. *Siagula*.

(141) Ex citatione Buldecree. 5. ser. 3.

(142) De officio. Archipresbyt. in Glossa.

(143) [missing in the original]

(144) Ex. 3. parte Summae majoris b. Antonini.

(145) Pope Innocent 3. De sacra unctione, Qui venisset.

(146) Pope Nicholas, Dist. 22. cap. *Omnex*.

(147) Pope Clement, Dist. 80. cap. *In illis*.

(148) Pope Anacletus, Dist. 22. cap. *Sacrosancta*.

(149) *Ibidem*. Quasi vero Petrus non a Petra sed κεφαλας απο της κεφαλης ducatur.

(150) Dist. 21. cap. *In novo*.

(151) *Ibidem*.



spirit, in the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I mention you always in my prayers?" Rom 1.9. (158) Therefore, just as I worthily condemn all who will not obey my decrees, to be dispossessed of all their honor without restitution, (159) so all those who do not believe my doctrine, or stand against the privilege of the church, especially the church of Rome, I pronounce them heretics. (160) And as the other before is to be called unjust, so this man is to be called a heretic. (161) Why? he goes against the faith who goes against her who is the mother of faith. (162) But here perhaps a doubt or scruple may arise, that if my faith and knowledge stand so sure by the promise of Christ, and by the continual prayer of Saint Paul, whether it is true, or is to be granted, that any other should excel me in knowledge, or interpretation of holy Scripture? (163) For see whose knowledge is most grounded on reason, his words might seem to be of more authority.<sup>394</sup> (164) To which I answer and grant that there are many who have been more abundantly endowed with fuller grace of the Holy Spirit and greater excellency of knowledge; and therefore the writings of Augustine, Jerome, and others ought to be preferred before the constitutions of some popes; yet I say in determination of causes, because they do not have the virtue and height of that authority which is given to me, therefore in expounding Scriptures they are to be preferred, but in deciding matters, they stand inferior to my authority. By virtue of this authority, (165) they themselves are accepted as doctors, and their works approved, but all other matters are ruled through the power of the keys which were given to me directly by Christ. Although I do not deny that the same keys are also committed to other prelates, as they were to other apostles besides Peter. (166) Yet it is one thing to *have* the keys, and another thing to have the *use* of the keys. (167) Therefore here is to be noted a distinction of keys, according to the mind of my school doctors; one key, which is called the key of order, having authority to bind and loose, but not over the persons whom they bind and loose; and this authority they do not take immediately from Christ, but mediately by me, the vicar of Christ. The other key is called the key of jurisdiction, which I, the vicar of Christ, take immediately from him, having not only authority to bind and loose, but also dominion over those on whom this key is exercised. By the jurisdiction of this key, the fulness of my power is so great that whereas all others are subjects — (168) yes and emperors themselves ought to submit their executions to me — I alone am subject to no creature, (169) no not even to myself unless I wish, *in foro poenitentiae* (in the forum of repentance), submitting *myself* as a sinner to my spiritual father, but not submitting myself as *pope*. So that my papal majesty ever remains unpunished. Superior to all men, (170) whom all persons ought to obey, ( 171 ) and follow, (172) whom no man may judge nor accuse of any crime, either of murder, adultery, simony, or such like. (170) No man may depose, but I myself; (174) No man can excommunicate me, yes, even if I communicate with the excommunicate, for no canon binds me. Whom no man must lie to, (175) for he that lies to me is a church robber, (176) and who does not obey me is a heretic, and an excommunicated person. (177) For as all the Jews were commanded to obey the high priest of the Levitical order, of whatever state and condition they are, so all

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<sup>394</sup> (152) Dict. 21. cap. *Decretis*.

(153) Pope Leo, dist. 19. cap. *Ita Dominus*.

(154) Pope Nicholas in tantum, dist. 22.

(155) Pope Clemens in Bulla Viennae in sriiniis privilegiorum.

(156) Dist. 21. cap. *Decretis*.

(157) Pope Anacletus, dist. 22. cap. *Sacrosancto*. Scripture well applied, and like a clerk.

(158) Pope Damasus, 25. q. cap. *Omnia*. Item Pope Greg. Dist. 19. cap. *Null*.

(159) Pope Nicholas Dist 22. cap. *Omnnes*,

(160) *Ibidem*.

(161) *Ibidem*.

(162) Dist. 20 cap. *Decretales*.

(163) *Ibidem*.

Christian men are more and less bound to obey me, Christ's lieutenant on earth. Concerning the obedience or disobedience of whom, you have in Deut. 17. (178) There the common gloss says that he who denies obedience to the high priest, lies as much under sentence and condemnation, as he who denies to God his omnipotence. Thus it appears then, that the greatness of my priesthood (179) began in Melchizedek, was solemnized in Aaron, continued in the children of Aaron, was perfected in Christ, represented in Peter, exalted in the universal jurisdiction, and manifested in Silvester, etc. So that through this pre-eminence of my priesthood, having all things subject to me, (180) it may seem well verified in me, what was spoken of Christ, Psa 8. "You have put all things under his feet; all sheep and oxen, yes, and the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and the fish of the sea," etc. <sup>395</sup>

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(181) There it is to be noted that by oxen, Jews and heretics are signified, and by beasts of the field, pagans are signified. For although as yet they are outside of the *use* of my keys of binding and loosing, yet they are not outside of the *jurisdiction* of my keys; but if they return I may absolve them. (182) By sheep and all cattle are meant all Christian men both great and less, whether they are emperors, princes, prelates, or others. By fowls of the air you may understand the angels and potentates of heaven, who will all be subject to me, in that I am greater than the angels; and that is in four things, as declared before; and in having power to bind and loose in heaven, (183) and to give heaven to those that fight in my wars. (184) Lastly, by the fishes of the sea, are signified the souls departed in pain or in purgatory, as Gregory by his prayer delivered the soul of Trajan out of hell; and I have power to deliver out of purgatory whom I please. (185) Lastly, by the fishes of the sea are signified those who are in purgatory; so that they stand in need of other men's help, and yet are on their journey. Passengers belonging to the court of the pope, may therefore be relieved (supplied) out of the storehouse of the church, by the participation of indulgence. And forasmuch as some object that my pardons cannot extend to those who are departed, for it was said to Peter, "Whatever you shall loose *upon earth*;" and therefore seeing they are not upon earth, they cannot be loosed by me. Here I answer again by my doctors, that this word, "Upon the earth," may be explained in two ways; first, to him that is the looser, so that he who looses will be upon the earth; and so I grant that the pope being dead, can loose no man. Also it may be referred to him that is loosed, so that whoever is loosed must be upon the earth, or about the earth; and so the souls in purgatory may be loosed; although they are not upon the earth, yet they are about the earth, at least they are not in heaven. And because oftentimes one question may rise upon another, and the heads of men now-a-days are

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<sup>395</sup> (164) Ibidem.

(165) Dist. 19. cap. *Si Romanoram*.

(166) Gabriel Biel, lib. 4. Dist. 19.

(167) Petrus de Palude.

(168) Dist. 95. cap. *Imperator*.

(169) Gabriel, lib. 4. Dist. 19.

(170) Pope Nicholaus, Dist. cap. *Romanorum* in Glossa.

(171) Item 24. q. 1. Haec est.

(172) Dist. 40. cap. *Si Papae*.

(173) 2 q. 7. Nos si in Glossa.

(174) Extravag. de elect. Innotuit.

(175) De Poenitentia, Dist. 1. cap. *Serpens*, in Glossa.

(176) Dist. 19. cad. *Nuili*.

(177) August de Ancho.

(178) Glossa Ordinar.

(179) Antoninus.

(180) Antoninus, Summa majoris, 3. part. Dist. 32.

curious, a man hearing now that I can deliver out of purgatory, will ask a question here, whether I am also able to empty all purgatory at once, or not? To him my canonist answers by a triple distinction: Touching my absolute jurisdiction, he says I am able to rid all out of purgatory together, for as many as are under my jurisdiction, as all are, except unbaptized infants, in limbo, and men departed only with the baptism of the Spirit, and those who have no friends to do for them that for which my pardons are given; these only are excepted. For all others besides these, the pope, he says, has power to release all purgatory at once, as regards his absolute jurisdiction. Although Thomas Aquinas (part 4), denies that, for Christ himself, he says, when he came down, did not utterly all at once release purgatory. As regards my ordinary execution, they hold that I may if I will, but I should not do it. Thirdly, as concerning the divine acceptation, that is, how God would accept it if I did it, they say that is unknown to them, and to every creature, yes, and to the pope himself.

And to the intent that I would have all men see and understand that I do not lack more witnesses (evidences) besides these. If I wish to bring them out, you will hear the whole choir of my divine clergy brought out, with a full voice testifying in my behalf in their books, transactions, distinctions, titles, glosses, and summaries, as follows here by their own words. The pope, they say, being the vicar of Jesus Christ throughout the world, is in the place of the living God. He has that dominion and lordship which Christ here in earth would not have, although he had it in habit, but gave it to Peter in act, that is, the universal jurisdiction both of spiritual things and also of temporal, which double jurisdiction was signified by the two swords in the gospel, and also by the offering of the wise men, who offered not only incense, but also gold, to signify not only the spiritual dominion, but also the temporal, to belong to Christ and to his vicar. For as we read, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof;" as Christ says, "All power is given to him both in heaven and on earth:" so it is to be affirmed inclusive, that the vicar of Christ has power of things celestial, terrestrial, and infernal. Which he took immediately by Christ; all others take it immediately by Peter and the pope. Therefore. Those who say that the pope has dominion only in spiritual things in the world, and not of temporal, may be likened to the councilors of the kings of Syria (1Kng 20.23), which said, "That the gods of the mountains are their gods, and therefore they have overcome us; but let us fight against them in the low meadows, and in valleys where they have no power, and so we shall prevail over them."

So evil councilors now-a-days, through their pestiferous flattery, deceive kings and princes of the earth, saying popes and prelates are gods of mountains, that is, of spiritual things only; but they are not gods of valleys, that is, they have no dominion over temporal things, and therefore let us fight with them in the valleys, that is, in the power of the temporal possessions, and so we shall prevail over them. But what does the word of God say to them, let us hear. Because, he says, "the Syrians say that the god of mountains is their god, and not the god of valleys, therefore I will give all this multitude into your hand, and you shall know that I am the Lord." <sup>1Kng 20.28</sup> What can be more effectually spoken to set forth the majesty of my jurisdiction, which I received immediately from the Lord; from the Lord, I say, and from no man. For whereas Constantine the emperor gave to Silvester this possession and patrimony; that is to be so expounded and taken not so much for a donation, as to be counted as a restitution made of that which was tyrannously taken from him before. And again, whereas I have given at sundry times to Louis the other emperors, of my temporal lands and possessions, yet that was done not so much for any recognizing of homage to them, as for keeping peace with them. For I owe to emperors no due obedience that they can claim, but they owe to me as to their superior. And therefore for a diversity between their degree and mine, in their consecration they take the unction on their arm, and I on the

head. And just as I am superior to them, so I am superior to all laws, and free from all constitutions. I am able of myself, and by my interpretation, to prefer equity not being written before the law is written; having all laws within the chest of my breast, as aforesaid. And whatever this my see shall enact, approve, or disapprove, all men ought to approve or reprove the same, without either judging, disputing, doubting, or retracting. Such is the privilege given by Christ, in behalf of Peter, to the church of Rome, (186) that whatever country, kingdom or province, choosing for themselves bishops and ministers, although they agree with all other Christ's faithful people in the name of Jesus, that is, in faith and charity, believing in the same God, and in Christ his true Son, and in the Holy Spirit, having also the same creed; the same evangelists and Scriptures of the apostles. Yet unless their bishops and ministers take their origin and ordination from this apostolic seat, they are not to be counted of the church. So that succession by faith alone is not sufficient to make a church, unless their ministers take their ordination by those who have their succession from the apostles. So their faith, supremacy, the chair of Peter, keys of heaven, power to bind and loose, all these are inseparable from the church of Rome. So that it is to be presumed, that God always providing, and St. Peter helping the bishopric and diocese of Rome, it shall never fall from the faith. And likewise it is to be presumed and presupposed that the bishop of that church is good and always holy. Yes, and even if he is not always good, or destitute of his own merits, yet the merits of St. Peter, predecessor of that place, are sufficient for him, who has bequeathed and left a perpetual dowry of merits, with an inheritance of innocency, to his posterity. <sup>396</sup>

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(187) Yes, even if he falls into homicide or adultery, he may sin, yet he cannot be accused, but rather is excused by the murders of Samson, the thefts of the Hebrews, the adultery of Jacob. (188) Furthermore, the pope, they say, has all the dignities and power of all patriarchs. In his primacy, he is Abel; in government, the ark of Noah; in patriarchdom, Abraham; in order, Melchizedek; in dignity, Aaron; in authority, Moses; in judicial seat, Samuel; in zeal, Elias; in meekness, David; in power, Peter; in unction, Christ. My power, they say, is greater than all the saints. For whomever I confirm, no man may infirm. I may favor and spare whom I please, (189) to take from one and to give to another. And if I am an enemy to any man, all men ought to eschew that person immediately, and not tarry and look while I bid them to do so. All the earth is my diocese, and I the ordinary (judge) of all men, having the authority of the king of all kings upon all subjects. I am all in all, and above all, (190) so that both God himself, and I the vicar of God, have one consistory, (191) and I am able to do almost all that God can do. (192) It is said of me, that I have a heavenly arbitrator, and therefore I am able to change the nature of things, and to make things to be of nothing, and of a sentence that is nothing to make it stand in effect; in all things that I wish, my will is to stand for reason. For I am able by the law to dispense above the law, and of wrong to make justice, in correcting laws and changing them. You have heard sufficiently up to here out of my doctors. Now you shall hear greater things out of my own decrees. (193) Read there *Dist. 96. Satis.* (194) Also 12 *Caus. 11. q. 1. cap. Sacerdotibus.* (195) Also 12. q. I. cap. *Futuram.* Do you not find there expressed how Constantine the emperor sitting in the

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<sup>396</sup> (181) Antoninus, Summa majoris 3. part. Dist. 22.

(182) Ibidem.

(183) 23. q. cap. *Omnium.*

(184) Idem, Antoninus, *ibid.*

(185) Ibidem.

(186) Joan Driedo. De dogmatibus variis, 1. 4.

general Council of Nice, called us prelates of the church, all gods? (196) Again, read my canon. Decretal. *De transl. Episc. cap. Quanta*. Do you not see there manifestly expressed, how not man, but God alone separates that which the bishop of Rome dissolves and separates? Therefore, if those things that I do are said to be done not by man, but by God; what can you make me but God? Again, if prelates of the church are called and counted by Constantine for gods, I then, being above all prelates, seem by this reason to be above all gods. Therefore no marvel, if it is in my power to change time and times, to alter and abrogate laws, to dispense with all things, yes, with the precepts of Christ. For where Christ bids St. Peter put up his sword, admonishing his disciples not to use any outward force in revenging themselves; (197) do not I, Pope Nicolas, writing to the bishops of France, exhort them to draw out their material swords in pursuing their enemies, and recovering their possessions? Where Christ was present himself at the marriage in Cana of Galilee, (198) do not I, Pope Martin, in my distinction inhibit the spiritual clergy to be present at marriage feasts, and also to marry themselves? Where matrimony by Christ cannot be loosed except for adultery, (199) do not I, Pope Gregory, writing to Boniface, permit the same to be broken for infirmity of body? (200) Against the express caution of the gospel, does not Innocent IV permit to repel force by force? <sup>397</sup> (201)

Likewise against the Old Testament, I dispense in not giving tithes. (202) Against the New Testament in swearing; (203) in which two kinds of oaths are to be noted: some promissory, some are assertions, etc.; (204) in vows, *ex toto voto* (entirely of a vow); and whereas other prelates cannot dispense *ex toto a voto* (entirely of a wish), I can deliver *ex toto a voto*, like God himself. (205) In perjury, if I absolve, my absolution stands. (206) Where also note that in all swearing, the authority of the superior is always excepted. (207) Moreover, where Christ bids us to lend without hope of gain, do not I, Pope Martin, give dispensation for the same? And notwithstanding that the Council of Turin enacted the contrary, yet with two bulls I disannulled that decree. (208) What should I say of murder, making it no murder or homicide to slay those who are excommunicated. (209) Likewise against the law of nature. (210) Against the apostle. (211) Also, against the canons of the apostles, I can and do dispense. For where in their canon they command a priest to be deposed for fornication, I through the authority of Silvester do alter the rigor of that constitution, (212) considering that the minds and also the bodies of men now, are weaker than they were then. (213) Briefly, against the universal state of the church I have dispensation. And for marriage in the second degree of consanguinity and affinity between the brother's children, so that the uncle may not marry his niece, unless it is for an urgent and weighty cause. As for all such contracts between party and party, where matrimony is not yet consummated, it is but a small matter for me to dispense with all. In short, if you wish briefly to hear the whole

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<sup>397</sup> (187) Hugo, in glossa, dist. 40 cap *Nan Not*.

(188) Gloss. in caus. 12. q. 3. cap. *Absis*.

(189) Gloss, in cap. q. 3. cap *Si inimicus*.

(190) Hostiensis in cap *Quanto de transl. praeb*.

(191) Ex summa casuum fratris Baptistae.

(192) Ex Citatione Henr Bulling, de fine Seculi, Orat. Prima.

(193) Pope Nicolaus, Dist.96. cap. *Satis*.

(194) 11 q. 14. cap. *Sacerdotibus*.

(195) 12 q. 1. cap. *Futuram*.

(196) Decretal. De transl. Episc. cap. *Quanto*.

(197) Pope Nicolaus, Causa 15. q. 6. cap. *Authoritatem*.

(198) Pope Martin, Dist. 14. cap. *Lector*.

(199) Pope Greg. Junior, 32. q. 7. cap. *Quod proposuisti*.

(200) Pope Innocent 4. Sext. Decret. de sententia excom. cap. *Dilecto*.

number of all those cases that properly pertain to my papal dispensation, which come to fifty-one points, that no man may meddle with except myself alone, I will recite them in English, as they be set forth in my canonical doctors.<sup>398</sup>

*Papal cases, numbering fifty-one, in which only the Pope has power to dispense, and no one else besides, except by special license from him.*

1. Determination of doubts and questions belonging to faith.
  2. Translation of a bishop, elected or confirmed; likewise of abbots exempted.
  3. Deposition of bishops.
  4. Taking the resignation of bishops.
  5. Exemptions of bishops, not to be under archbishops.
  6. Restitution of those who are deposed from their order.
  7. The judicial definition or interpretation of his own privileges.
  8. Changing of bishoprics, or dismissal of convents, etc.
  9. New correction of bishops' seats, or institution of new religions.
  10. Subjection or division of one bishopric under another.
  11. Dispensation for vowing to go to the Holy Land.
  12. Dispensation for the vow of chastity, or of religion, or of holy orders.
  13. Dispensation against a lawful oath, or vow made.
  14. Dispensation against diverse irregularities, as in crimes greater than adultery, and in those which are suspended for simony.
  15. Dispensation in receiving into orders one who has had two wives.
  16. Dispensing with those who, being within orders, do what is above their order, such as if a deacon were to say mass, not yet being a priest.
  17. To receive into order those who are blemished or maimed in body.
  18. Dispensation with murder, or those who willingly cut off any member of man's body.
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19. Dispensation to give orders to those who have been under the sentence of the greater curse or excommunication.
  20. Dispensation with those who, being suspended with the greater curse, minister in any holy order.
  21. Dispensation with those who are unlawfully born, to receive orders or benefices.
  22. Dispensation for pluralities of benefices.
  23. Dispensation to make a man bishop before he is thirty years old.
  24. Dispensation to give orders under age.

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<sup>398</sup> (201) Pope Alexander 3. De decimis, cap *Ex parte*.

(202) Pope Nicolaus, 15. q. 6. cap. *Autoritatem*.

(203) De elect. & elect. potestate. Significasti, in Glossa.

(204) Baptista de Salia in Summa casuum ex Panormitano.

(205) Pope Innocent 4. De elect Venerabilem.

(206) Ext De Jurejurando cap. *Venientes*, Item Dist. de Elect, Significasti in Glossa.

(207) Pope Martinus 5. Extra, cap. *Regimini Universalis Ecclesiae*.

(208) Pope Urhanus 2 Cans. 2S. q. 3. cap. *Excommunicatorum*,

(209) Pope Nicolaus, caus. 15. q. 6. cap. *Autoritatem*.

(210) Ibidem.

(211) Dist. 82. I. cap. *Presbyter*.

(212) Pope Pelagius Dist. 34 cap. *Fraternitatis*.

(213) Baptista de Salis, fol. 114 Ibidem.

Bk. VI. The last 300 years from the loosing of Satan (1422-1516)

25. The pope alone has power to make and call a general council.
26. The pope alone has power to deprive an ecclesiastical person, and give away his benefice that is not vacant.
27. The pope alone is able to absolve him who is excommunicated by name.
28. The pope alone is able to absolve him whom his legate excommunicates.
29. The pope both judges in the causes of those who appeal to him; and where he judges, none may appeal from him.
30. He alone has authority to make deacon and priest, whom he made subdeacon, either on Sundays, or on other feasts.
31. Only the pope, and no one else, at all times, and in all places, wears the pall.
32. The pope alone dispenses with a man, either being not within orders, or being unworthy to be made bishop.
33. He alone either confirms or deposes the emperor when he is chosen.
34. A man being excommunicated, and his absolution referred to the pope, none may absolve that man but the pope alone.
35. The pope has authority in any election, before it is made, to pronounce it as one when it is made.
36. He canonizes saints, and no one else but him.
37. Dispensation to have many dignities and personages in one church, and without charge and cure of soul, belongs only to the pope.
38. To make that effectual which is of no effect, and contrariwise, belongs only to the pope.
39. To pluck a monk out of his cloister, both against his own will and the abbot's, pertains only to the pope.
40. His sentence makes a law.
41. The same day in which the pope is consecrated, he may give orders.
42. He dispenses in degrees in consanguinity and affinity.
43. He is able to abolish laws, *quoad utrumque forum* (in both forums), that is, both civil and canon, where there is danger of the soul.
44. It is in his dispensation to give general indulgences to certain places or persons.
45. To legitimate whatever persons he pleases, regarding spiritualities in all places, and regarding temporalities, such as honors, inheritance, etc.
46. To erect new religions, to approve or reprove rules or ordinances, and ceremonies in the church.
47. He is able to dispense with all the precepts and statutes of the church.
48. To dispense and to discharge any subject from the bond of allegiance, or oath made to any manner of person.
49. No man may accuse him of any crime, except of heresy and not even that, unless he is incorrigible.
50. The pope is free from all laws, so that he cannot incur any sentence of excommunication, suspension, irregularity, or the penalty of any crime; but in the note of crime he may well.
51. Finally, by his dispensation he may grant, even to a simple priest, to minister the sacrament of confirmation to infants, also to give lower orders, and to hallow churches and virgins, etc.

These are the cases in which I alone have power to dispense, and no other man — not bishop, nor metropolitan, nor legate — without a license from me.

Now that I have sufficiently declared my power on earth, in heaven, and in purgatory, how great it is, and what is the fulness of it in binding, loosing, commanding, permitting, electing, confirming, deposing, dispensing, doing and undoing, etc., I will now treat a little about my riches likewise, and great possessions, so that every man may see by my wealth and abundance of all things — rents, tithes, tributes, my silks, my purple miters, crowns, gold, silver, pearls and gems, lands and lordships — how God here prospers and magnifies his vicar on the earth. For to me pertains first the imperial city of Rome, the palace of Lateran, the kingdom of Sicily is proper to me, Apulia and Capua are mine. Also the kingdom of England and Ireland. Are they not, or should they not be tributaries to me?

(214) To these I also adjoin, besides other provinces and countries, both in the west and the east, from the north to the south, these dominions by name: (215) such as Ravenna, Corsica, Naples, etc. with diverse others more, (216) which Constantine the emperor gave to me, not that they were not mine before he gave them. (217) For in taking them from him, I took them not as a gift, but as a restitution. And I rendered them again to Otto. I did not do it out of any duty to him, but only for peace' sake. What should I say here about my daily revenues of my first fruits, annats, palls, indulgences, bulls, confessionals, indults and rescripts, testaments, dispensations, privileges, elections, prebends, religious houses, and such like, which come to no small mass of money? Insomuch that for one pall to the archbishop of Mentz, which was usually given for 10,000 (218) florins, now it has grown to 27,000 florins, which I received from James, the archbishop, not long before Basel council; besides the fruits of other bishoprics in Germany, numbering fifty, whereby what advantage comes into my coffers, may partly be conjectured. But what should I say of Germany, (219) when the whole world is my diocese, as my canonists say, and all men are bound to believe, (220) unless they imagine (as the Manichaeans do) two beginnings, which is false and heretical? For Moses says, "In the *beginning* God made heaven and earth," and not in the *beginnings*. (221) Therefore as I began, so I conclude, commanding, declaring, and pronouncing, to stand upon necessity of salvation, for every human creature to be subject to me. <sup>399</sup>

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<sup>399</sup> (214) Dist. 90 Constantinus.

(215) Ex Commentariis Theoderici Niemi, quem citat Illyricus in Catalogo testium, fol. 228.

(216) Dist. 96 Constantinus.

(217) Autoninus. In Summa majore, 3 part.

(218) Ex lib. Gra nomium nationis Germanicae. — Above fifty bishoprics in Germany. Eneas Sylvius.

(219) Sent. Decret. De denis, cap. *Felicis*, in Glossa. Item de privilegiis, cap *Autori atem*, in Glossa.

(220) Pope Bonifacius 8 Extr. de Majo. & obed. cap *Unam sanit*.

(221) Ibidem.



## ACTS AND MONUMENTS

### BOOK VII.

BEGINNING WITH

#### *The Reign of King Henry the Eighth – 1509-1547.*

King Henry VII died in the year 1509, and had four sons by Elizabeth his wife, and as many daughters. Only three survived: to wit, Prince Henry, Lady Margaret, and Lady Mary. Of these, King Henry VIII succeeded his father; Lady Margaret was married to James IV, king of Scotland; and Lady Mary was affianced to Charles king of Castile.

Not long before the death of King Henry VII, Prince Arthur, his eldest son, espoused Lady Catherine, daughter to Ferdinand. He was fifteen years of age and she was about the age of seventeen. Shortly after this marriage, within five months, he died at Ludlow, and was buried at Worcester. After his decease, the succession to the crown fell to King Henry VIII, who at the age of eighteen years, commenced his reign, A.D. 1509. Shortly after, he married Catherine, the widow of his late brother Prince Arthur, in order that her dowry, which was great, should not be transported out of the land. For this marriage, which was more political than scriptural, he received a dispensation from Pope Julius II, at the request of Ferdinand her father. The reign of this king continued with great nobleness and fame for thirty-eight years. During this time there was great alteration of things in the civil state of the realm, and especially in the ecclesiastical state, and in matters pertaining to the church. For by Henry the usurped power of the bishop of Rome was exiled and abolished out of the realm, idolatry and superstition were somewhat repressed, images defaced, pilgrimages abolished, abbeys and monasteries pulled down, monkish orders rooted out, the Scriptures translated into the vernacular tongue (English), and the state of the church and religion redressed. Concerning all of these things, we will endeavor (Christ willing) to discourse particularly and in order, after we first touch on a few matters which are to be noted in the beginning of his reign.

The first thing that comes to our hands is a turbulent tragedy and a fierce contention which had long before troubled the church. It was renewed afresh in 1509, between two orders of begging-friars — to wit, the Dominican and the Franciscan friars, about the conception of the Virgin Mary the mother of Christ.

The Franciscans held with St. Francis of Assisi (1181-1226), and followed the rule of his testament, commonly called *grey-friars* or *minorites*. Their opinion was this: that the Virgin Mary, prevented by the grace of the Holy Spirit, was so sanctified that she was never subject one moment in her conception, to original sin. The Dominican friars held with Dominic, who were commonly called *black-friars*, or *preaching-friars*. Their opinion was this: that the Virgin Mary was conceived as all other children of Adam; so that this privilege only belongs to Christ, to be conceived without original sin. Notwithstanding, the blessed Virgin was sanctified in her mother's womb, and purged from her original sin, as was John the Baptist, Jeremiah, or any other privileged person. This frivolous question kindling and engendering between these two orders of friars, burst out into such a flame, that it occupied the heads and wits, schools and universities, almost throughout whole church. Some held with Scotus on one side, some with Thomas Aquinas on the other. The Minorites who held with Scotus, their master, disputed and concluded that she was conceived without any spot or stain of original sin. And thereupon they caused the feast and service of the Conception of St. Mary the Virgin to be celebrated and solemnized in the church. On the other hand, the Dominican friars who took sides with Aquinas, preached that it was heresy to affirm that the

blessed Virgin was conceived without the guilt of original sin; and those who celebrated the feast of her conception, or said any masses in honor of it, grievously and mortally sinned.

At the time when this fantasy grew hot in the church, one side preaching against the other, Pope Sixtus the Fourth, A.D. 1476, joined with the Minorites or Franciscans, and first sent out his decree by authority apostolic. He willed, ordained, and commanded all men in holy church forevermore to solemnize this new-found feast of the Conception. He offered to all men and women who devoutly frequented the church, and heard mass and service from the first evensong of the feast to the octaves of the same, would receive as many days of pardon as Pope Urban IV and Pope Martin V granted for hearing the service of Corpus Christi day. This decree was given and dated at Rome, A.D. 1476.

Moreover, in order that the devotion of the people might be more encouraged in the celebration of this feast of the conception, the pope added a new clause to the Ave Maria, granting great indulgence and release of sins to all those who would invoke the blessed Virgin with the addition, saying thus: "Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with you, blessed are you among women, and blessed is the fruit of your womb, Jesus Christ; and blessed is Anna your mother, of whom your virgin's flesh has proceeded without blot of original sin. Amen."

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The reader many note for his learning, three things: first, how the pope turns that improperly into a prayer, which was sent by God for a message or tidings. Secondly, how the pope adds to the words of the Scripture, contrary to the express precept of the Lord. Thirdly, how the pope exempts Mary the blessed Virgin, not only from the seed of Abraham and Adam, but also from the condition of a mortal creature. For if there is no original sin in her, then she does not bear the image of Adam, nor does she descend from that evil seed which proceeds upon all men and women to condemnation, as St. Paul teaches, Rom 5.14-16.<sup>400</sup> Therefore, if she does descend from that seed, then the infection of original evil must necessarily proceed to her. If she does not descend from it, then she does not come from the seed of Abraham, nor of the seed of David, etc. Again, seeing that death is the effect and wages of sin, by the doctrine of St. Paul, Rom 6.23, then she would not have had to suffer the curse and punishment of death, and so she should never have died if original sin had no place in her. But to return to our history, this constitution of the pope being set forth for the feast of the Conception of the blessed Virgin, A.D. 1476, it was not long after, that Pope Sixtus perceiving that the Dominican friars with their accomplices would not conform to this, directed by the authority apostolical, a bull which in effect is as follows:

"Whereas, the holy church of Rome has ordained a special and proper service for the public solemnization of the feast of the Conception of the blessed Virgin Mary; certain orders of the Black Friars in their public sermons to the people in diverse places, have not ceased up to now to preach, and still preach daily, that all those who hold or affirm the glorious Virgin to have been conceived without original sin, are heretics; and those who celebrate the service of her conception, or hear the sermons of those who so affirm, sin grievously. Also, not content with this, they write and publish books maintaining their assertions to the great offense and ruin of godly minds. To prevent and withstand such presumptuous and perverse assertions which have risen, and may arise in the minds of the faithful hereafter, by such opinions and preachings: We therefore by the authority apostolical, condemn and reprove the same; and by

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<sup>400</sup> [Rom 5:14](#) Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over those who had not sinned according to the likeness of the transgression of Adam, who is a type of Him who was to come, etc.

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the motion, knowledge, and authority aforesaid, decree and ordain that the preachers of God's word, and all other persons, of whatever state, degree, order, or condition they may be, who presume to dare affirm or preach to the people that these opinions and assertions are true, or who read, hold, or maintain that any such books are true, having intelligence of it before, shall thereby incur the sentence of excommunication, from which they shall not be absolved other than by the bishop of Rome, except in the time of death."

This bull, being dated A.D. 1483, gave no little heart and encouragement to the Grey-Friars Franciscans, who defended the immaculate conception of the holy Virgin against the Black Dominican Friars, who held the contrary side. By the authority of this bull, the Grey Order had gotten such a conquest over the Black Order, that the Dominicans were compelled at length, as a perpetual memorial of the triumph, to give to the glorious Virgin every night, an anthem in praise of her conception, and to subscribe to their doctrine. In that doctrine are contained the following points, with others:

1. That the blessed Virgin Mary suffered the griefs and adversities in this life, not for any necessity inflicted for punishment of original sin, but only because she would conform herself to the imitation of Christ.
2. That the Virgin, just as she was not obliged to any punishment due for sin (as neither was Christ her son), so she had no need of remission of sins; but instead of that, she had the divine preservation of God's help keeping her from all sin, which was the only good she needed, and she had it.
3. That even though the body of the Virgin Mary was subject to death, and died, this is to be understood to come not for any penalty due for sin, but either for imitation of and conformity to Christ, or else for the natural constitution of her body, being elemental, as were the bodies of our first parents, who, if they had not tasted of the forbidden fruit, would have been preserved from death, not by nature, but by grace, and by the strength of other fruits and foods in paradise. These foods, because Mary did not have them, but ate our common foods she therefore died, and not for any necessity of original sin.
4. The universal proposition of St. Paul, who says that, "The Scripture has confined all men under sin," is to be understood thus: as speaking of all those who are not exempted by the special privilege of God, as is the blessed Virgin Mary.
5. If justification is taken as reconciliation of someone who was unrighteous before, and now is made righteous, then the blessed Virgin is to be taken, not as justified by Christ, but she is just from her beginning, by preservation.
- fi. If a Savior is taken for the one who saves men fallen into perdition and condemnation, then Christ is not the Savior of Mary, but is her Savior only in this respect: as saving her from not falling into condemnation, etc.
7. Neither did the Virgin Mary give thanks to God, nor should she do so, for expiation of her sins, but for her preservation from sinning.
8. Neither did she pray to God at any time for remission of her own sins, but she prayed many times only for the remission of other men's sins, and counted their sins as hers.
9. If the blessed Virgin had died before the passion of her Son, God would not have reposed her soul in the place among the patriarchs, or among the just, but in the same most pleasant place of paradise where Adam and Eve were before they transgressed.

These were the doting dreams and fantasies of the Franciscans, and of other papists, then commonly held in the schools. They were written in their books, preached in their sermons, taught in their churches, and set forth in pictures. So that the people were taught almost

nothing else in the pulpits all this while, but how the Virgin Mary was conceived immaculate and holy, without original sin, and how they should call to her for help, addressing her with special titles such as “The way of mercy — The mother of grace — The lover of piety — The comforter of mankind — The continual intercessor for the salvation of the faithful, and an advocate to the King her Son, who never ceases,” etc. Although most of the school doctors were of the contrary faction — such as Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Bernard, Bonaventure, and others — yet these new papists dismissed their objections with frivolous distinctions and blind evasions.

The Dominican Friars, for their part, were not all silent, having great authorities and also the Scripture on their side. Yet the others having the apostolical see with them, had the better hand, and got the victory triumphantly, to the high exaltation of their order. Pope Sixtus, by the authority apostolic, after he had decreed the conception-day of the Virgin was to be sanctified perpetually, and with his terrible bull had condemned as heretics all who withstood the same, the Dominican friars were driven to two inconveniences. The one was to keep silent; the other was to give way to their adversaries, the Franciscans. Although, where the mouth dared not speak, the heart would yet work; though their tongues were tied, yet their good-will was ready by all means possible to maintain their quarrel and their estimation.

It happened in this year 1509, after this dissension between the Dominican and the Franciscan Friars, that certain of the Dominicans, thought by subtle sleight to work in the people’s heads that which they dared not attempt by open preaching. They devised an image of the Virgin that was made so artfully, that by private springs the friars made it move, make gestures, lament, complain, weep, groan, and give answers to those who asked it questions.

[409] A.D. 1509.

So that the people were brought into a marvellous persuasion, till at length the fraud being detected, the friars were taken, condemned, and burnt at Berne in that same year.

This story partially appears in the history of John Stumsius. But in the registers and records of the city of Berne, the order and circumstance is more fully expressed and set forth, and is thus declared:

In the city of Berne, there were four principal actors and chiefs of the Dominican order, who influenced a simple poor friar, newly planted in the cloister. The friars so infatuated him with sundry superstitions, and feigned apparitions of St. Mary, St. Barbara, and St. Katherine, and moreover imprinted in him the wounds of St. Francis, that he fully believed the Virgin Mary had appeared to him, and offered him a red host miraculously consecrated with the blood of Christ. And also that the blessed Virgin had sent him to the senators of Berne with instructions, declaring to them from the mouth of the Virgin that, “She was conceived in sin; and that the Franciscan Friars were not to be credited nor allowed in the city, who were not yet reformed from that erroneous opinion of her conception.” He added, moreover that, “They should resort to a certain image there of the Virgin Mary (which the friars had made to weep by crafty engines) and should do their worship, and make their oblations to that image.”

This feigned device was no sooner forged by the friars, than it was believed by the people. So that for a great while the red-colored host was undoubtedly taken to be the true body and blood of Christ, and certain colored drops of it were sent abroad to noble personages and states as a great relic; and that too was not without considerable cost in return. Thus the deceived people came flocking in great numbers to the image, and to the red host, and

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colored blood, with many gifts and oblations. In short, the Dominican friars had so managed the matter, and had so swept all offerings into their own order from the order of the Franciscans, that all the alms came to their box. The Franciscans seeing their reputation decaying, their kitchen growing cold, and their coffers becoming empty, they were not able to abide that misery. Not being ignorant or unacquainted with such counterfeit doings (for, as the proverb says, “It is all stumbling before a cripple”) soon discovered the crafty juggling, and detected the fraudulent miracles of the Dominicans. Whereupon the four chief leaders were apprehended and burned. The provincial of that order was one of them.

And thus much touching the beginning and end of this tumultuous and popish tragedy. In this it may evidently appear to the reader how these turbulent friars could not agree among themselves, and in what frivolous trifles they wrangled together. Letting these ridiculous friars pass with their trifling fantasies (which deserve to be derided by all wise men), this is to be lamented in the meantime: to behold the miserable times of the church, in which the devil kept the minds of Christ’s people so attentive and occupied in such friarly devices, that scarcely anything was taught or heard in the church, but the commendation and exaltation of the Virgin Mary. But little mention was made of our justification by faith, of grace, and of the promises of God in Christ, of the strength of the law, of the horror of sin, of the difference between the law and the gospel, of the true liberty of conscience, etc.. Therefore, in so blind a time of darkness it was very needful and requisite that the Lord, of His mercy, should look upon His church and send down his gracious reformation, which He did. For shortly after this, God graciously raised up Martin Luther, which the order of history now requires that we deal with him, and we will do so (Christ willing) after the history of Richard Hunne and a few other things are premised, to better open the history that follows.

Mention was made before of the doings of Pope Julius II, and of his warlike affairs, for which he was condemned (and not unjustly) in the Council of Tours in France (A.D. 1510). Yet all this could not assuage the furious spirit of this pope, for in the same year he invaded the city of Mutina and Mirandula in Italy, and took them by force. Pope Julius, not long after, in the year 1512, refused the peace offered by Maximilian the emperor. He was encountered by Louis the French king near Ravenna, on Easter day. There he was vanquished and had 16,000 of his army slain. The following year (A.D. 1513), this apostolic warrior, who had resigned his keys to the river Tiber before, made an end of both his fighting and living, after he had reigned and fought ten years. After him next succeeded Pope Leo X to the See of Rome. About this time great changes began to work in the temporal states, as well as in the state of the church. At this time the following potentates were reigning in their several kingdoms:

<b>Name</b>	<b>Kingdom</b>	<b>Began to reign.</b>	<b>Reigned.</b>
Pope Leo X.	in Rome	A.D. 1513	9 years.
Henry VIII.	king of England	A.D. 1509	38 years
James V.	king of Scotland	A.D. 1513	29 years
Francis I.	king of France	A.D. 1515	32 years
Charles V.	emperor of Germany	A.D. 1519	39 years

In the time of the above mentioned potentates, great alterations, troubles, and changes of religion were wrought in the church by the mighty operation of God’s hand — in Italy, France, Germany, England, and the rest of Europe; such as have not been seen (although

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they had been much groaned for) many hundreds of years before. This will more manifestly appear in the course of this history. But before we come to these alterations, taking the time as it lies before us, we will first speak of Richard Hunne, and certain other godly-minded persons here in England, who were afflicted in great multitudes for the word of Christ's gospel, as they are found and taken from the registers of Fitzjames, bishop of London.

*The History of some good Men and Women, persecuted for Religion  
in the City and Diocese of the Bishop of London; as briefly  
extracted from the Registers of Richard Fitzjames.*

Besides the great number of faithful martyrs and professors of Christ, who constantly, in the strength of the Holy Spirit, gave their lives for the testimony of his truth, I find the names of many persons recorded in the register of London, between the years 1509 and 1517, both men and women who, in the fulness of that dark and misty time of ignorance also had some portion of God's good Spirit, which induced them to the knowledge of his truth and gospel, and were troubled, persecuted, and imprisoned for that. Notwithstanding, by the proud, cruel, and bloody rage of the Romish see, and through the weakness and frailty of their own nature (not then fully strengthened in God), they were suppressed and kept under for the time being. This appears by their several abjurations made before Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London (who was a most cruel persecutor of Christ's church), or else before his vicar-general deputed for that purpose. Many of the adversaries of God's truth have in recent days disdainfully and braggingly cried out, and demanded in their public assemblies, "Where was your church and religion fifty or sixty years ago?" And so I thought it not altogether in vain to somewhat stop such questioners, both by mentioning the names of those who suffered for the truth of this religion, and likewise revealing some of the chief and principal matters for which they were so unmercifully afflicted. Thereby I will make known the continuance and consent of the true church of Christ in that age, touching the chief points of our faith, and also show what fond and frivolous matters the ignorant prelates in that time of blindness were not ashamed to object against the poor and simple people, accounting them as heinous and great offenses, yea, such as deserved death both of body and soul. They were forty in number who were persecuted in the years between 1510 and 1527; and here follows the particular examinations of them all.

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There were several particular articles they were accused of, that were privately objected either by their curate, or by their neighbors (besides the common and general sort used in such cases). As I think it superfluous to make a large recital of all and every part of their several processes, I therefore purpose only to touch briefly on as many of the articles as may be sufficient to induce the Christian reader to sooner judge the rest.

The chief objection against JOAN BAKER was that she would not reverence the crucifix herself, and had also persuaded a friend of hers lying at the point of death, not to put any trust or confidence in the crucifix, but in God who is in heaven — not in the dead images, which are but stocks and stones. And therefore she was sorry that she had ever gone so often on pilgrimage to St. Savior and other idols. Also, she held that the pope had no power to give pardons, and that the Lady Young (who was burned not long before that time) died a true martyr of God, and therefore she wished of God that she herself might do no worse than the Lady Young had done.

Against WILLIAM POTTIER, besides other false and slanderous articles (such as denying the benefit and effect of Christ's passion), it was alleged that he affirmed there were six Gods:

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the first three were the holy Trinity — the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit — the fourth was a priest's concubine being kept in his chamber; the fifth was the devil; and the sixth was the thing that a man most sets his mind upon.

The first part of this article he utterly denied, confessing most firmly and truly, the blessed Trinity to be only one God in one unity of deity. As to the other three he answered that a priest delighting in his concubine made her like his god; likewise a wicked person, persisting in his sin without repentance, made the devil his god; and lastly, he granted that he once heard of certain men who, by the singing and chattering of birds, superstitiously sought to know what things were to happen either to themselves or others; and he said that those men esteemed their birds as gods.

Among the articles objected against THOMAS GOODRED, THOMAS WALKER, THOMAS FORGE, ALICE FORGE, JOHN FORGE, JOHN CALVERTON, JOHN WOODROF, RICHARD WOOLMAN, and ROGER HILLIAR (such as that they spoke against pilgrimages, praying to saints, and such like) this was principally charged against them: that they all denied the carnal and corporal presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar. And further, they had concealed and consented to their teachers and instructors in that doctrine, and had not, according to the laws of the church, accused and presented them to the bishop or his ordinary. Also great and heinous displeasure was conceived against RICHARD WOOLMAN, because he called the church of St. Paul a house of thieves, affirming that the priests and other ecclesiastical persons there were not liberal givers to the poor (as they ought to be) but rather took away from them what they could get.

Likewise, THOMAS AUSTY, JOAN AUSTY, THOMAS GRANT, JOHN GARTER, CHRISTOPHER RAVINS, DYONISE RAVINS, THOMAS VINCENT, LEWIS JOHN, JOAN JOHN, and JOHN WEB, were of one fellowship and profession of faith with those recited above. And so almost all of them were apprehended about the same time, and chiefly charged with one opinion of the sacrament. That opinion declares evidently, that notwithstanding the dark ignorance of those corrupted times, yet God ever in mercy opened the eyes of some to behold the manifest truth, even in those things of which the papists now make the greatest vaunt and boast of long continuance. Many of them were charged with having spoken against pilgrimages, and having read and used certain English books opposing the faith of the Romish church, such as the four Gospels, *Wycliffe's Wicket*, a Book of the Ten Commandments of Almighty God, the Revelation of St. John, the Epistles of St. Paul and St. James, with others that those Romish divines could never abide. And there was good cause why, for just as darkness could never agree with light, no more can ignorance, the maintainer of that kingdom, agree with the true knowledge of Christ and his gospel.

It was further objected against JOAN JOHN, the wife of Lewis John, that she learned and maintained that God commanded no holy-days are to be kept, but only the sabbath-day, and therefore she would keep none but that; nor any fasting days, affirming that to abstain from sin was the true fast. That she had despised the pope, his pardons and pilgrimages, so that when any poor body asked alms from her in the name and for the sake of the lady of Walsingham, (*i.e.* the image of the Virgin Mary at Walsingham), she would answer, in contempt of the pilgrimage, "The lady of Walsingham help you!" And if she gave anything to him, she would then say, "Take this in the name of our lady in heaven, and let the other go." This shows that for lack of better instruction and knowledge, she ignorantly attributed too much honor to the true departed saints of God, though otherwise she abhorred the idolatrous worshipping of the dead images.

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By this example, and also by many others, I have just occasion to condemn the willful subtlety of those who, in this bright shining light of God's truth, would still maintain, under color of godly remembrance, that having images in the church, they might craftily excuse their idolatrous kneeling and praying to them, and affirm that they never worshipped these dead images, but only the things that the images represented. But if that were their only doctrine and cause of having those images, why then would their predecessors so cruelly compel these poor simple people, in their recantations, to openly abjure and revoke their speaking against the gross adoration of the outward images only, and not against the thing represented — which many of them (as appears partly by this example) in their ignorant simplicity, confessed might be worshipped? However, God be thanked, their hypocritical excuses cannot now have that place in the hearts of the elect of God, as they had before, especially seeing that the word of God so manifestly forbids worshipping them, as well as making or having them for purposes of religion.

It was alleged against WILLIAM COWPER, and his wife ALICE COWPER, that they had spoken against pilgrimages, and worshipping images; but chiefly the woman, who having her child hurt by falling into a pit or ditch, and earnestly persuaded by some of her ignorant neighbors to go on pilgrimage to St. Lawrence for help to her child, said that neither St. Lawrence nor any other saint could help her child, And therefore none ought to go on pilgrimage to any image made with man's hands, but only to Almighty God; for pilgrimages were indeed worth nothing except to make the priests rich.

To JOHN HOUSHOLD, ROBERT RASCAL, and ELIZABETH STAMFORD, the article against the sacrament of the altar was objected, as also that they had spoken against praying to saints, and had despised the authority of the bishop of Rome, and of his clergy; but especially John Houshold was charged with having called them antichrists, and the pope himself, "the great whore," who with his pardons had drowned in blindness all Christian realms for money.

Also among other articles against GEORGE BROWNE, the following things were counted very heinous and heretical. First, that he said he knew no cause why the cross should be worshipped, seeing that it was the cause of pain to our Savior Christ in the time of his passion, and not any ease or pleasure to him. He alleged, for example, that if he had had a friend hanged or drowned he would never after have loved that gallows or water by which his friend died. Another objection was that he had erroneously, obstinately, and maliciously said (for so are their words), that the church was too rich.

[411] A.D. 1511.

This matter, I may tell you, somewhat touched them to the quick, and therefore it is no marvel that they counted it erroneous and malicious. For take away their gain, and farewell to their religion. They also charged him with having refused holy water to be cast about his chamber, and likewise with having spoken against priests.

The greatest matter with which they charged JOHN WIKES was that he had often and for a long time kept company with persons suspected of heresy, and had received them into his house, and there he heard them read erroneous and heretical books, contrary to the faith of the Romish church; and he also consented to their doctrine, and had many times secretly conveyed them away from those who were appointed to apprehend them.

JOHN SOUTHAKE, RICHARD BUTLER, JOHN SAM, WILLIAM KING, ROBERT DURDANT, and HENRY WOOLMAN, were charged with speaking words against the literal and carnal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar, and also against images, and the rest of the seven sacraments. They charged them with reading certain English heretical books, and named



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(most blasphemously) the gospel of Jesus Christ by the four evangelists, as being among them. This appears evidently by the eighth article objected by Thomas Bennet, doctor of law, chancellor and vicar-general to Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, against Richard Butler. The very words of that article, for a further declaration of truth, I have thought it good to insert here:

“Also we object to you, that at diverse times, and especially upon a certain night, about three years past, in Robert Durdant’s house of Iver Court, near Staines, you erroneously and damnably read in a great book of heresy of the said Robert Durdant’s, all that same night, certain chapters of the gospels in English, containing diverse erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of heresy, in the presence of the said Robert Durdant, John Butler, Robert Carder, Jenkin Butler, William King, and diverse other persons suspected of heresy, then being present, and hearing your erroneous lectures and opinions.”

Some of the articles propounded against the other four tended to the same effect and purpose. Hereby we may easily judge with what reverence those who yet desire to be considered the true and only church of Christ, bow to the word and gospel of Christ, when they are not ashamed to blaspheme it with most horrible titles of “erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of heresy.” But why should we marvel at this, when the Holy Spirit in several places of the Scripture declares that in the latter days there would come those proud and cursed talkers, who will speak lies through hypocrisy, and have their consciences seared with a hot iron? Let us, therefore, now thank our heavenly Father for revealing them to us; and let us also pray, that of His free mercy in his Son Christ Jesus, he would, if it is to his glory, either turn and soften all their hearts, or else, for the peace and quietness of His church he would in his righteous judgment take them from us.

About this time, the life of Richard Fitzjames ended. After his death Cuthbert Tunstall (afterwards bishop of Durham) succeeded in the see and bishopric of London. Soon upon his first entry into that office, minding to follow rightly the footsteps of his predecessor, he had EDMUND SPILMAN, priest, HENRY CHAMBERS, JOHN HIGGINS, and THOMAS EGGLESTONE apprehended, and to be examined upon articles. In the end, either for fear of his cruelty and the rigor of death, or else through hope of his flattering promises (such was their weakness), he compelled them to abjure and renounce their true professed faith regarding the holy sacrament of Christ’s body and blood, which was this: that Christ’s corporal body was not in the sacrament, but in heaven; and that the sacrament was a figure of his body, and not the body itself.

Moreover, about the same time there were certain articles objected against JOHN HIGGES, alias Noke, alias Johnson, by the bishop’s vicar-general. Among them were these:

First, that he had affirmed that it was as lawful for a temporal man to have two wives at once, as for a priest to have two benefices. Also, that he had in his custody a book of the four evangelists in English, and often read them; and that he favored the doctrines and opinions of Martin Luther, openly pronouncing that Luther had more learning in his little finger than all the doctors in England in their whole bodies; and that all the priests in the church were blind, and had led the people the wrong way. Likewise it was alleged against him, that he had denied purgatory, and had said that while he was alive he would do as much for himself as he could, for after his death he thought that prayers and almsdeeds could little help him.

These poor and simple men and women were chiefly charged with these and like matters, and were excommunicated and imprisoned as heinous heretics. And at last they were compelled to recant. Some of them, in utter shame and reproach — besides the ordinary bearing of faggots before the cross in procession, or else at a sermon — were enjoined for a

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penance (as they termed it) to appear once every year before their ordinary, as also to wear the sign of a faggot painted upon their sleeves or other part of their outward garment, all their lives, or so often and long as it pleased their ordinary to appoint. This long, rigorous, and open punishing was meant to utterly terrify and keep back all others from the true knowledge of Jesus Christ and his gospel. But the Lord be evermore praised, these our most lightsome days of God's glorious gospel, most joyfully declare what little effect their wicked purposes had.

Besides these, others more simple and ignorant were also troubled, who having but a very small taste of the truth, yet gladly consented to it at first. But being apprehended, they quickly yielded, and therefore only had penance assigned for them, the bearing of a little candle before the cross, without any further open abjuring or recanting. Among them I find two especially. The one was a woman called ELLEN HEYER, to whom it was objected that she had neither confessed herself to the priest, nor received the sacrament of the altar for four years, and had eaten flesh every year at Easter.

The other was a man named ROBERT BERKEWAY, who (besides most wicked blasphemies against God, which he utterly denied) was charged with having spoken heinous words against the pope's holy and blessed martyr, Thomas Becket, calling him a thief, for he wrought by crafts and imaginations.

Thus I have, as briefly as I could, summarily collected the principal articles objected against these weak and infirm earthly vessels. I do not mean hereby either to excuse or condemn them in their fearful falls and dangerous defections, but leaving them to the immeasurable rich mercies of the Lord, I wish only to make manifest the insatiable bloody cruelty of the pope's kingdom against the gospel and true church of Christ. For nothing would mitigate their envious rage which they showed even against the very simple idiots, and did that sometimes in the most frivolous and irreligious cases. But now leaving them, I will (by God's grace) go forward with other more serious matters.

### *The Death and Martyrdom of William Sweeting and John Brewster.*

In searching and perusing the register, for the collection of the names and articles recited before, I find that within the compass of the same years there were also some others, who once they had shown themselves as frail and inconstant as the rest (being either pricked in conscience, or otherwise overcome with the manifest truth of God's most sacred word), became yet again as earnest professors of Christ as they were before. And for the same profession, they were a second time apprehended, examined, condemned, and in the end were most cruelly burned. Among them were WILLIAM SWEETING and JOHN BREWSTER, who were both burned together in Smithfield, the eighteenth day of October, A.D. 1511.

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The chief case alleged against them in their articles, was their faith concerning the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. Because it differed from the absurd and gross opinion of the new schoolmen, it was counted as the most heinous heresy. There were other things objected against them, such as the reading of certain forbidden books, and accompanying such persons as were suspected of heresy. But one great and heinous offense counted among the rest, was leaving off the painted faggots, which at their first abjuring they were enjoined to wear as badges during their lifetimes, or so long as it might please their ordinary to appoint; and not to leave them off upon pain of relapse, until they were dispensed with for the same. The breach of this injunction was esteemed to be of no small weight. And yet, the

matter well and thoroughly considered, it seems by their confessions, that they were forced to it by necessity. For Sweeting, for fear of the bishop's cruelty, was constrained to wander about the country to get his living. He came at length to Colchester, where he was appointed by the parson of the parish of Magdalen to be the holy water cleric. In that consideration he had that infamous badge taken away from him. Brewster left off his at the command of the controller of the Earl of Oxford's house, who hired the poor man to labor in the earl's household business. He would not allow him to wear that badge any longer. So that the necessity of living compelled both of them to break that injunction. And therefore, if charity had borne as great sway in the hearts of the pope's clergy as did cruelty, this trifle would not have been so heinously taken as to be brought against them as an article and a cause of condemnation to death. But once tyranny takes hold, all godly love, and all human reason and duties are quite forgotten.

But to be brief, for these causes, and also because they had already once abjured, and yet (as they termed it) had fallen again into relapse, they were both burned in Smithfield. Although, as the register records, they again, before their death fearfully forsook their revived constancy, and submitted themselves to the discipline of the Romish church, craving absolution. However, as many of the registers' notes and records in such cases may well be doubted, I refer the knowledge of this to the Lord, who is the trier of all truths. Not forgetting, however, if the report is true, to charge that priesthood and their wicked laws, with a more shameless tyranny and uncharitable cruelty than before. For if they cease their bloody malice towards those who so willingly submit themselves to their mercies, what favor may the faithful and constant professors of Christ look for at their hands? I might here also ask them, how they follow the pitiful and loving admonition, or rather precept, of our Savior Christ (of whose true and only church they so stoutly boast to be), who says, "If your brother trespasses against you seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turns again to you, saying, I repent, you shall forgive him." (Luk 17.4)

*John Browne, father to Richard Browne who was in prison  
in Canterbury, and would have been burned with two more,  
the day after the death of Queen Mary, but by the  
proclaiming of Queen Elizabeth they escaped.*

The occasion of the first trouble of this JOHN BROWNE, was by a priest sitting in a Gravesend barge. John Browne, being in the barge at the same time, came and sat near by him. After some communication, the priest asked him, "Do you know who I am? You sit too near me; you sit on my clothes." "No, Sir," he said, "I do not know what you are." "I tell you I am a priest." "What, sir, are you a parson, or vicar, or a lady's chaplain?" "No," he said again, "I am a soul-priest. I sing for a soul," "Do you, sir?" says the other. "That is well done. I pray you sir, where do you find the soul when you go to mass?" "I cannot tell you," said the priest. "I pray you, where do you leave it. Sir, when the mass is done?" "I cannot tell you," said the priest. Browne says, "If you can neither tell where you find it when you go to mass, nor where you leave it when the mass is done, then how can you save the soul?" "Go your way," said the priest; "You are a heretic, and I will get even with you." So at the landing, the priest taking with him Walter More and William More, rode straightway to the Archbishop Warham, upon which John Browne, three days later, his wife being at church the same day, and he bringing in a mess of pottage to the table of his guests, he was sent for. His feet were bound under his own horse, and so he was brought to Canterbury — neither his wife, nor any of his, knew where he was taken. There he continued from Low-Sunday till the Friday before Whitsunday, his wife not knowing all this while where he was. He was set in the stocks overnight, and on the morrow he went to his death, burned at Ashford, A.D. 1517. The

same night that he was in the stocks at Ashford, where he and his wife dwelt, his wife then heard of him. She came and sat by him all night before he was burned. He declared to her the whole story of how he was handled, shown and told how he could not set his feet to the ground, for they were burnt to the bones. And he told her how, by the two bishops Warham and Fisher, his feet were heated on the hot coals, and burned to the bones "to make me," he said, "deny my Lord, which I will never do. For if I should deny my Lord in this world, he would hereafter deny me. I pray you, therefore, good Elizabeth, continue as you have begun, and bring up your children virtuously in the fear of God." And so the next day, Whitsunday evening, this godly martyr was burned. Standing at the stake, he made this prayer, holding up his hands:

"O Lord, I yield me to your grace,  
Grant me mercy for my trespass;  
Let never the fiend my soul chase.  
Lord, I will bow, and you shall beat;  
Let never my soul come in hell-heat.  
Into your hands I commend my spirit;  
You have redeemed me, O Lord of truth."

And so he ended.

### ***The History of Richard Hunne.***

There was in the year 1514, one Richard Hunne, merchant-tailor, and freeman in the city of London, He was esteemed during his lifetime, and taken not only as a man of true dealing and good substance, but also as a good catholic man. This Richard Hunne had a child at nurse in Middlesex, which died. Thomas Dryfield, the priest of the parish, sued Richard Hunne in the spiritual court for a bearing-sheet, for a mortuary for the son of Richard Hunne, who died at the age of five weeks. Hunne answered that as the child had no property in the sheet, he therefore would not pay it, nor should the other have it. The priest, moved with a covetous desire, and loth to lose his pretended right, cited him to appear in the spiritual court. Richard Hunne being troubled in the spiritual court, was forced to seek counsel of the learned in the law, and pursued a writ of *praemunire* against Thomas Dryfield. When the rest of the priestly order heard of it, indignant that any layman should attempt such a matter against any of them, and fearing that if they were now to allow this priest to be condemned, there would ever after be a liberty to all of the laity to do the same with the rest of the clergy in such cases. Straightway, both to stop this matter, and also to be revenged upon him, they sought all the means they possibly could to entrap and bring him within the danger of their own cruel laws. And so, making secret and diligent inquisition, and seeking all they could against him, at length they found means to accuse him of heresy to Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London. He (desiring to satisfy the revenging and bloody affection of his chaplains) caused the tailor to be apprehended and committed to prison in the Lollards Tower at Paul's, so that none of his friends might be allowed to come to him. This Richard Hunne was clapped in the Lollards' Tower shortly after. At the earnest instigation of Dr. Horsey, the bishop's chancellor (a man more ready to prefer the clergy's cruel tyranny, than the truth of Christ's gospel) Hunne was brought before the bishop, at his manor of Fulham, the 2d day of December.

[413] A.D. 1514.

There in his chapel, the bishop Fitzjames examined him based upon these articles, collected against him by Horsey and his accomplices:

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1. That he had read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended — against the laws of Almighty God,— that tithes, or paying tithes, was never ordained to be due, except by the covetousness of priests.
2. That he had read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended, that bishops, and priests are the scribes and Pharisees that crucified Christ and condemned him to death.
3. That he had read, taught, preached, etc., that bishops and priests are teachers and preachers, but not doers nor fulfillers of the law of God — but catching, ravening and taking all things, and ministering and giving nothing.
4. Where and when one Joan Baker was detected and abjured of many great heresies, as appears by her abjuration, the said Richard Hunne said, published, taught, preached, and obstinately took it upon himself to say that he would defend her and her opinions, if it cost him five hundred marks.
5. Afterwards, when Joan Baker, after her abjuration, was enjoined open penance, according to her demerits, the said Richard Hunne said, published, taught, and obstinately defended her, saying the bishop of London and his officers have done open wrong to Joan Baker in punishing her for heresy; for her sayings and opinions are according to the laws of God: therefore the bishop and his officers are more worthy to be punished for heresy than she.
6. That the said Richard Hunne has in his keeping diverse English Books, prohibited and condemned by the law; such as the apocalypse in English, epistles and gospels in English, Wycliffe's damnable works, and other books containing infinite errors, in which he has been for a long time accustomed to read, teach, and study daily.

I find no particular answer to these several objections in the register, saving that under them there is written in his name, with a *different* hand, these words: "As to these articles, I have not spoken them as they are here laid out; however I have unadvisedly spoken words somewhat sounding to the same effect, for which I am sorry, and ask God's mercy, and submit myself to my Lord's charitable and favorable correction" — which *they* affirm to be written with Hunne's own hand. But how likely that is to be the truth, let the discreet wisdom of the reader judge by the whole sequel of this process. And further, if it were his own act, then what occasion did they have to so cruelly murder him as they did, seeing that he had already so willingly confessed his fault, and submitted himself to the charitable and favorable correction of the bishop?

This examination being ended, the bishop sent him back the same day to the Lollards' Tower. And then, by the appointment of Dr. Horsey his chancellor, he was committed from the custody of Charles Joseph the somner, to John Spalding the bell-ringer, a man by whose simpleness the subtle chancellor thought to bring his devilish homicide to pass more easily — which he most cruelly did, by his suborned ministers, two nights after. This is proved, by the inquiry and final verdict of the coroner of London and his inquest. But once this usual practice of the papists was accomplished, there were lacking no secret shifts nor worldly-wiles for the crafty coloring of this mischief. And therefore the next morning, after they had committed this murder, Spalding got himself out of the way into the city. Leaving the keys of the prison with one of his fellows, he desired him to deliver them to the somner's boy, who used to carry to Hunne his food and other necessaries. Spalding thought that the boy, first finding the prisoner dead, hanged as they left him, they might by his relating this be thought free from having any hand in this matter. This happened at the start almost as they wished. For the boy the same morning, accompanied with two of the bishop's somners, went into the prison about ten o'clock, to serve the prisoner as he usually did. And when they came up,

they found him hanged with his face towards the wall. Astonished at this sight, they immediately told the chancellor, who was then in the church, and watching (I suppose) for such news. He immediately got certain of his colleagues, and went with them into the prison, to see what his own wicked conscience knew full well before, as was plainly proved afterwards. Although he then made a fair face to the contrary, broadcasting abroad among the people, by their officers and servants, that Hunne had hanged himself. However the people having good experience of the honest life and godly conversation of the man, and also of the devilish malice of his adversaries the priests, rather judged that he was secretly murdered by their procurement.

**Inquest concerning Hunne's death.**

There arose great contention on this. For the bishop of London on one side, taking his clergy's part, affirmed stoutly that Hunne had hanged himself. The citizens on the other side, suspecting some secret murder, caused the coroner of London, according to law, to hold an inquest, and to view the dead body, and so test the truth of the matter. As the bishop and his chaplains were then driven to extremity of shifts, and therefore wishing by some subtle show of justice to stop the mouths of the people, they determined that while the inquest was occupied about their charge, the bishop would for his part proceed *ex officio*, in case of heresy against the dead person. He supposed that once the party was condemned of heresy, the inquest dared not find anything other than him being guilty of his own death; and so it would clearly acquit them from all suspicion of murder. This determination of theirs they immediately put into practice, in the following order:

The articles mentioned before, they affirmed were objected against him in his lifetime. Dr. Horsey, the bishop of London's vicar general, now after Hunne's death collected others out of the prologue of his English Bible, which he diligently perused — not to learn any good thing, but to get from it such material as he thought might best serve their cursed purpose. This appears by the tenor of the additional articles, which are these:

1. The book condemns all holy canons, calling them ceremonies and statutes of sinful men, and calls the pope, Satan and antichrist.
2. It condemns the pope's pardons, saying they are but impositions.
3. The said book of Hunne says that kings and lords called Christian in name, and heathen in conditions, defile the sanctuary of God, bringing clerics full of covetousness, heresy, and malice, to stop God's law, so that it cannot be known, kept, and freely preached.
4. The book says, that lords and prelates pursue fully and cruelly those who would teach truly and freely the law of God, and cherish those who preach sinful men's traditions and statutes, by which he means the holy canons of Christ's church.
5. That poor and simple men have the truth of the holy Scriptures, worth more than a thousand prelates, and religious men, and clerics of the school.
6. That Christian kings and lords set idols in God's house, and excite the people to idolatry.
7. That princes, lords, and prelates who do so, are worse than Herod who pursued Christ, and worse than the Jews and heathen men who crucified Christ.
8. That every man, swearing by our lady, or any other saint or creature, gives more honor to the saints than to the Holy Trinity, and so they are idolaters.
9. He says that saints should not be honored.

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10. He condemns adoration, prayer, kneeling, and offering to images, which he calls stocks and stones.

11. He says, that the very body of the Lord is not contained in the sacrament of the altar, but that men receiving it will thereby keep in mind that Christ's flesh was wounded and crucified for us.

12. He condemns the university of Oxford, with all its degrees and faculties, such as arts, civil and canon laws, and divinity; saying that they hinder the true way to come to the knowledge of the laws of God and holy Scripture.

16. He defends the translation of the Bible and holy Scripture into the English tongue, which is prohibited by the laws of our holy mother church.

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They produced these articles thus collected, and also the others specified before, for a show of their pretended justice and innocency. They were to be openly read the next Sunday, by the preacher at Paul's Cross. Now having, they thought, sufficient material against him, they purposed to proceed to his condemnation.

Accordingly, the bishop of London, accompanied by the bishops of Durham and Lincoln, sat in judgment on Richard Hunne, the sixteenth day of December, taking as witnesses of their proceedings, six public notaries, his own register, and about twenty-five doctors, abbots, priors, and priests, with a great rabble of other common anointed catholics. After a solemn proclamation that if there were any who would defend the opinions and books of Richard Hunne, they should presently appear and be heard according to law. He commanded all the articles and objections against Hunne to be openly read before the assembled, then perceiving that none dared appear in his defense. By the advice of his assistants, he pronounced the sentence definitive against the dead carcass, condemning it of heresy, and therewith he committed the same to the secular power, to be burned by them accordingly. This ridiculous decree was accomplished in Smithfield the twentieth day of December, sixteen days after they had barbarously murdered him, to the great grief and indignation of all the people.

Notwithstanding, after all this tragical and cruel handling of the dead body, and their fair show of justice, yet the inquest never stayed their diligent searching out of the true cause and means of his death. So that when they had been called before the king's privy council several times (his majesty himself sometimes being present), and also before the chief judges and justices of the realm, and the matter being thoroughly examined and perceived to be much bolstered by the clergy, it was wholly committed to their determination. They found by good proof and sufficient evidence, that Doctor Horsey, the chancellor; Charles Joseph, the somner; and John Spalding, the bell ringer, had secretly and maliciously committed this murder. And therefore they indicted all three as willful murderers. However, through the earnest suit of the bishop of London to Cardinal Wolsey, means were found that at the next sessions of jail delivery, the king's attorney pronounced the indictment against Doctor Horsey to be false and untrue, and that he was not guilty of the murder. Yet for shame, having a guilty conscience, he never again dared come to London. But now that the truth of all this may seem more manifest and plain to all men's eyes, here will follow word for word, the whole inquiry and verdict of the inquest, exhibited by them to the coroner of London, and so given up and signed with his own band.

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### *The Minutes of the Inquest.*

“The fifth and the sixth day of December, in the sixth year of the reign of our sovereign lord King Henry VIII (A.D. 1514), William Barnwell, coroner of London, the day and year above said, within the ward of Castle Baynard of London, assembled an inquest, whose names afterwards appear, and has sworn them to truly inquire concerning the death of one Richard Hunne, who lately was found dead in the Lollards’ Tower within St. Paul’s church of London. Whereupon all we of the inquest together went up into the said tower, where we found the body of the said Hunne hanging upon a staple of iron, in a girdle of silk, with a fair countenance, his head fair combed, and his bonnet sitting right upon his head, with his eyes and mouth fair closed, without any staring, gaping, or frowning, also without any driveling in any place of his body; whereupon by one assent we all agreed to take down the body of the said Hunne, and as soon as we began to heave the body it was loose, whereby we perceived that the girdle had no knot about the staple, but it was double cast; and the links of an iron chain, which hung on the staple, were laid upon the girdle whereby he hung. Also the knot of the girdle that went about his neck, stood under his left ear, which caused his head to lean towards his right shoulder. Notwithstanding, two small streams of blood came out of his nostrils to the quantity of four drops; except for these four drops of blood, the face, lips, chin, doublet, collar, and shirt of the said Hunne was clean from any blood. Also we found that the skin of his both neck and throat, beneath the girdle of silk, was fretted away, with that thing which the murderers had broken his neck with. Also, the hands of the said Hunne were marked on the wrists, whereby we perceived that his hands had been bound. Moreover, we found that within the prison there was no means whereby a man might hang himself, but only a stool. This stool stood on a bolster of a bed, so unsteady that no man or beast might touch it a little, without it being ready to fall. By this we perceived that it was not possible that Hunne could have hanged himself, the stool so standing. Also all the girdle from the staple to his neck, as well as the part which went about his neck, was too little for his head to come out of it. Also it was not possible that the soft silken girdle could break his neck or skin beneath the girdle. Also we found in a corner, somewhat beyond the place where he hung, a great parcel of blood. Also we found on the left side of Hunne’s jacket, from the breast downward, two great streams of blood. Also within the flap of the left side of his jacket we found a great cluster of blood, and the jacket was folded down upon it. This the said Hunne could never fold or do after he was hanged. Whereby it appears plainly to us all, that the neck of Hunne was broken, and the great plenty of blood was shed *before* he was hanged. Therefore we all find, by God and our consciences, that Richard Hunne was murdered. Also we acquit the said Richard Hunne of his own death.

“Also there was an end of a wax candle which, as John the bell-ringer says, he left in the prison burning with Hunne that same Sunday night that Hunne was murdered. This wax candle we found sticking on the stocks, fairly put out, about seven or eight feet from the place where Hunne was hanged. This candle, in our opinion, was never put out by him, for the many likelihoods which we have perceived. Also at the going up of Master Chancellor into the Lollards’ Tower, we have good proof that there lay on the stocks a gown, either of mulberry, or crimson in grain, furred with shanks. We never could prove whose gown it was, nor who carried it away. We all find that Master William Horsey, chancellor to my lord of London, has had at his commandment, both the rule and guiding of the said prisoner. Moreover, we all find that the said Master Horsey, chancellor, has put Charles Joseph out of his office, as the said Charles has confessed, because he would not deal with and use the said prisoner so cruelly, and do to him as the chancellor would have had him do. Notwithstanding the deliverance of the keys to the chancellor by Charles on the Saturday night before Hunne’s death, and Charles riding out of the town on that Sunday morning ensuing, was but a convention made between Charles and the chancellor to color the murder. For the same Sunday that Charles rode out, he



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came back to the town at night, and killed Richard Hunne, as it appears in the depositions of Julian Little, Thomas Chicheley, Thomas Simonds, and Peter Turner.

“After coloring the murder, conspired between Charles and the chancellor, the chancellor called to him one John Spalding, the bell-ringer of St. Paul’s, and delivered to that same bell-ringer the keys of the Lollards’ Tower, giving the said bell-ringer a great charge, saying, ‘I charge you to keep Hunne more straitly than he has been kept, and let him have but one meal a-day. Moreover, I charge you let nobody come to him without my license, nor to bring him shirt, cap, kerchief, or any other thing, unless I see it before it comes to him.’ Also, before Hunne was carried to Fulham, the chancellor commanded to be put upon Hunne’s neck a great collar of iron, with a great chain, which is too heavy for any man or beast to wear, and too long to endure.

[415] A.D. 1514-1517.

“Moreover, it is well proved, that before Hunne’s death, the said chancellor came up into the said Lollards’ Tower, and kneeled down before Hunne, holding up his hands to him, praying of him forgiveness of all that he had done to him, and must do to him. And on the following Sunday, the chancellor commanded the penitentiary of St. Paul’s to go up to him, and say a gospel, and make holy water for him, and holy bread, and give it to him, which he did. Also the chancellor commanded that Hunne should have his dinner. And at the same dinner-time, Charles’ boy was shut up in prison with Hunne, which was never done before. And after dinner, when the bell-ringer let the boy out, the bell-ringer said to the same boy, “Do not come here any more with food for him till tomorrow; for my master chancellor has commanded that he should have but one meal a-day.” The same night following, Richard Hunne was murdered. This murder could not have been done without the consent and license of the chancellor, and also by the witting and knowledge of John Spalding, the bell-ringer. For no man could come into the prison except by the keys which were in John the bell-ringer’s keeping. Also, as it appears by my lord of London’s book, John the bell-ringer is a poor innocent man. Therefore we all perceive that this murder could not be done except by the commandment of the chancellor, and by the witting and knowing of John the bell-ringer.”

Then certain minutes of the evidence follow, and at last the following verdict:

### *The Sentence of the Inquest subscribed by the Coroner.*

“The inquisition intended and taken in the city of London, in the parish of St. Gregory, in the ward of Baynard Castle, in London, the sixth day of December, in the sixth year of the reign of King Henry VIII, before Thomas Barnwell, coroner of our sovereign lord the king, within the city of London aforesaid. Also before James Yarford and John Munday, sheriffs of the said city, upon the sight of the body of Richard Hunne, late of London, tailor, who was found hanged in the Lollards’ Tower, and by the oath and proof of lawful men of the same ward, and of other three wards next adjoining, as it ought to be, after the custom of the city aforesaid, to inquire how, and in what manner the said Richard Hunne came by his death: and upon the oath of John Barnard, Thomas Stert, William Warren, Henry Abraham, John Aborow, John Turner, Robert Allen, William Marlet, John Burton, James Page, Thomas Pickhill, William Burton, Robert Bridgewater, Thomas Busted, Gilbert Howell, Richard Gibson, Christopher Crafton, John God, Richard Holt, John Palmere, Edmund Hudson, John Arunsell, Richard Cooper, John Tim: who said upon their oaths, that whereas the said Richard Hunne by the commandment of Richard, bishop of London, was imprisoned and brought to hold, in a prison of the said bishop’s, called the Lollards’ Tower, lying in the cathedral church of St. Paul, in London, in the parish of St. Gregory, in the ward of Baynard Castle aforesaid; William Horsey, of London, cleric, otherwise called William Heresie, chancellor to Richard, bishop of London; and one Charles Joseph, late of London, somner, and John Spalding of London, otherwise

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called John the bellringer, did feloniously, as felons to our lord the king, with force and arms against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, and dignity of his crown, on the fourth day of December, in the sixth year of the reign of our sovereign lord aforesaid, of their great malice, at the parish of St. Gregory aforesaid, upon the said Richard Hunne they made a fray, and the same Richard Hunne they feloniously strangled and smothered, and also they broke the neck of the said Richard Hunne, and there feloniously slew him and murdered him; and also the body of the said Richard Hunne, afterward the same fourth day, year, place, parish, and ward aforesaid, with the proper girdle of the same Richard Hunne, of silk, black in color, of the value of twelve pence, after his death, upon a hook driven into a piece of timber in the wall of the prison aforesaid, made fast, and so hanged him, against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, and the dignity of his crown: and so the said jury has sworn on the holy evangelists, that the said William Horsey, cleric, Charles Joseph, and John Spalding, of their set malice, then and there feloniously killed and murdered the said Richard Hunne in the manner and form above said, against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, his crown and dignity. Subscribed in this manner: — *Thomas Barnwell, Coroner of the city of London.*

After the twenty-four had given up their verdict, sealed and signed with the coroner's seal, the cause was then brought into the parliament house, where the truth was laid so plainly before all men's faces, and the fact was so notorious, that immediately certain of the bloody murderers were committed to prison, and would no doubt have suffered what they deserved, had not the cardinal by his authority, practiced for his popish children, at the suit of the bishop of London. Whereupon the chancellor, by the king's pardon and secret shifting, rather than by God's pardon and his deserving, escaped and went, as was said, to Exeter, etc.

### ***Other forced abjurations and martyrdoms – 1517.***

But I will trouble the reader no further in this matter of Richard Hunne, being so clear of itself, that no impartial judge can doubt of it. Therefore, to return to the purpose of our history, among the number of those who about this time of Richard Hunne were forced to deny and abjure their professed opinions, were ELIZABETH STAMFORD, JOHN HOUSHOLD, and others, who abjured about the year of our Lord 1517. It is painful to see their weakness, yet to consider the confession of their doctrine in those days, is not unprofitable. We can see the same doctrine then taught and planted in the hearts of our forefathers, which is now publicly received, as well regarding the Lord's sacrament of his body, and also other specialties. Although they did not then have public authority to maintain the open preaching and teaching of the gospel, which the Lord's merciful grace has given us now; yet in secret knowledge and understanding they seemed then little or not at all inferior to our times of public reformation. This may appear by the confession of Elizabeth Stamford. It may suffice for an example, to understand what ripe knowledge of God's word was then abroad, even though not publicly preached in churches, for fear of the bishops; yet it was taught in secret and received by many.

Among the number of them, again, was this ELIZABETH STAMFORD. Being brought and examined before Fitzjames, bishop of London (A.D. 1517), she confessed that she was taught these words by one Thomas Beele, eleven years before: that Christ feeds and nourishes his church with his own precious body, that is, the bread of life coming down from heaven. This is the worthy word that is worthily received, and joined to man to be in one body with him. This is not received by chewing with your teeth, but by hearing with your ears, and understanding with your soul, and wisely working after it. Therefore, St. Paul says, "I fear, brethren, that many of us are feeble and sick; therefore I counsel you, to rise and watch, so that the great day of doom does not come suddenly upon us, as the thief does upon the

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merchant.” <sup>re:1The 5.2-6</sup> Also this Thomas Beele taught and showed her that the sacrament of the altar was not the true body of Christ, but true bread: and that the sacrament was the true body of Christ put upon the cross in a divine and mystical manner. Moreover, he taught her this lesson: that she should confess her sins to God, and that the pope’s pardons and indulgences were worth nothing, and that worshipping images and pilgrimages should not be done.

To this confession of Elizabeth Stamford may also be added the doctrine and confession of JOAN SAMPSON, wife of John Sampson, carpenter, of Aldermanbury, in London. Being cited and examined before the bishop of London, certain witnesses were produced against her. Being sworn, they denounced Joan Sampson in the following articles and opinions:

1. That one of them having been in labor, and Joan Sampson being with her, she called for the help of the virgin Mary in the usual manner of women; but Joan spoke against it, and was so grieved at it that the other party was compelled to leave the house.

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2. Also, that she spoke against pilgrimages, and the worshipping of the blessed Virgin, and of all saints, affirming that there is none holy but one.

3. Also, at another time, in the hearing of one Margaret Anworth, when she and other women were invoking the blessed Virgin, she stood against them, and spoke against such invocations.

4. Also, that she speaking against the pilgrimage of our lady of Wilsden (as she was then called) and of St. Savior at Barmsey, called the said St. Savior, Sym Sawyer.

5. She was also accused of having two books in English, one bigger and another lesser, which she committed to one John Anstead, a cook; the books are not named in the register.

6. She was also accused that once, at a supper, in the hearing of certain men, and of a certain widow named Joan White, she spoke openly in contempt of the sacrament of the altar, saying that the priests were idolaters, who lifted up the bread over their heads, making the people worship it, and making the people believe that it was the Lord’s body; and that it was better to eat the altar cloth, if it might be eaten and digested as easily as the other.

Then in the registers follow the names of thirty-five persons who were compelled to abjure.

It was objected against one JOHN SOUTHWICK, that when a man named William Rivelay, coming from the church of the Grey-Friars, in London, had said to his wife that he had heard mass, and had seen his Lord God in the form of bread and wine over the priest’s head, John Southwick answered, “No, William, you did not see your Lord God, you saw but bread and wine and the chalice.” And when Rivelay answered in the same words as before, saying, “I trust truly that I saw my Lord God in the form of bread and wine, and this I do not doubt.” The other replied as before; “No, I tell you that you saw but a figure or sacrament of him, which is in substance bread and wine,” etc. This was A.D. 1520. In that year he was compelled to abjure.

All these persons above-named, held and agreed together in one doctrine and religion, against whom five or six special matters were objected, namely, for speaking against the worshipping of saints, against pilgrimage, against invocation of the blessed Virgin, against the sacrament of the Lord’s body, and for having Scripture books in English. These books especially I find were named as the book of the four evangelists, a book of the epistles of

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Paul and Peter, the epistle of St. James, the book of the Revelation, and of antichrist, of the ten commandments, and ‘Wycliffe’s Wicket,’ with such others.

*John Stilman, Martyr.*

It would be tedious to recite the great multitude and number of good men and women who, in those days, recanted and abjured about the beginning of King Henry’s reign and before. Among them there were some whom the Lord brought back again, and made strong in the profession of his truth, and constant to death. John Stilman was one of these. About the 24th of September, A.D. 1518, he was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, at his manor of Pulham (notwithstanding his former recantation, oath, and abjuration, made about eleven years earlier, before Edmund, then bishop of Salisbury). He was there examined and charged, for speaking against worshipping, praying, and offering to images; as well as for denying the carnal and corporal presence in the sacrament of Christ’s memorial. Also, that since his former abjuration, he had fallen into the same opinions again, and so into the danger of relapse. And further, he had highly commended and praised John Wycliffe, affirming that he was a saint in heaven, and that his book, called *the Wicket*, was good and holy. Soon after his examination, he was sent from there to Lollards’ Tower at London, and on the 22nd of October next ensuing, he was brought openly into the consistory of Paul’s, and was there judicially examined by Thomas Hed, the bishop’s vicar-general, upon the contents of the following articles:

“1. I object to you, that you have confessed before my lord of London and me, Dr. Hed, his vicar-general, that about twenty years past, one Stephen Moone, of the diocese of Winchester, (with whom you abode six or seven years after) taught you to believe that going on pilgrimage and worshipping of images, such as that of the lady of Walsingham and others, were not to be used. And also that afterwards one Richard Smart, who was burned at Salisbury about fourteen years past, read to you ‘Wycliffe’s Wicket,’ and likewise instructed you to believe that the sacrament of the altar was not the body of Christ. All these things you have erroneously believed.

“2. You have often read the said book, called ‘Wycliffe’s Wicket,’ and another book of the ten commandments, which Richard Smart gave you, and at the time of your first apprehension you hid them in an old oak, and did not reveal them to the bishop of Salisbury, before whom you were abjured of heresy about eleven years ago. There you promised, by oath upon the evangelists, to ever after believe and hold as the Christian faith taught and preached, and never to offend again in the said heresies, or any other, upon pain of relapse. And further, you promised there to perform all such penance as the bishop of Salisbury enjoined you: who then enjoined you upon the like pain, not to depart from his diocese without his special license.

“3. It is evident that you are relapsed, by your own confession, as well as by your deeds, in that about two years after your abjuration you went into the said place where you had hidden your books. Then taking them away with you, you departed from the diocese of Salisbury, without the license of the bishop, and brought them with you to London, where now being arrested and taken with them upon great suspicion of heresy, you are brought to the bishop of London. By reason of your demeanor, you have shown both your impenitent and dissembled conversion from your errors, and also your unfaithful abjuration and disobedience to the authority of our mother holy church, in that you did not perform the penance — in which behalf you are voluntarily perjured, and also relapsed, in that you departed the same diocese without license.

“4. You are not only impenitent, disobedient, voluntarily perjured and relapsed by this your heretical demeanor, but also since your last arrest upon suspicion of heresy, you have maliciously spoken erroneous and damnable words, affirming before my lord of London, your

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ordinary, and me, judicially sitting at Fulham, that you were sorry that you ever abjured your opinions, and had not at first suffered manfully for them, for they were, and are good and true; and therefore you will now abide by them, to die for it. And furthermore, you have spoken against our holy father the pope and his authority, damnably saying that he is antichrist, and not the true successor of Peter, or Christ's vicar on earth; and that his pardons and indulgences, which he grants in the sacrament of penance, are nothing, and that you will have none of them. And likewise that the college of cardinals are limbs of antichrist: and that all other inferior prelates and priests are the synagogue of Satan. And moreover you said that the doctors of the church have subverted the truth of holy Scripture, expounding it according to their own mind. And therefore their works are nothing, and they are in hell; but that Wycliffe is a saint in heaven, and that the book called his *Wicket* is good, for in it he says the truth. Also you wish that there were 20,000 of your opinion, against us scribes and Pharisees, to see what you would do for the defense of your faith. All of these heresies you afterwards erroneously affirmed before the archbishop of Canterbury, and then said that you would abide by them to die for it, notwithstanding his earnest persuasions to the contrary. And therefore, for these premises you are evidently relapsed, and ought to be committed to the secular power."

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After these articles were thus propounded, and his constant persevering in *the truth* was perceived, Dr. Hed, vicar-general, by his sentence definitive, condemned him as a relapsed heretic, on the 25th of October, and delivered him the same day to the sheriffs of London, to be openly burned in Smithfield.

### *Thomas Man, Martyr.*

Next follows in this order of blessed martyrs, the persecution and condemnation of Thomas Man. On March 29, A.D. 1518, he was burned in Smithfield. This Thomas Man had been apprehended for the profession of Christ's gospel about six years earlier (August 14, 1511), and was examined upon these articles:

1. That he had spoken against Auricular confession, and denied the corporeal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar.
2. That he believed that all holy men were priests.
3. That he had affirmed that the Father of heaven was the altar, and the Second Person the sacrament; and that upon Ascension-day the sacrament ascended to the altar, and there abides.
4. That he did not believe aright in the sacrament of extreme unction.
5. That he had called certain priests, meanly arrayed knaves.
6. That he had said that pulpits were priest's lying stools.
7. That he believed images should not be worshipped, and that he neither believed in the crucifix, nor would he worship it.
8. That he had affirmed the word of God and God were all one, and that whoever worthily receives the word of God, receives God.
9. That he said the popish church was not the church of God, but a synagogue [of Satan]: and that holy men were the true church of God.

For these matters he was imprisoned a long time, and at last, through frailty and fear of death, he was content to abjure and yield himself to the judgment of the Romish church. Thereupon he was enjoined, not only to make his open recantation, but also to remain as a

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prisoner within the monastery of Osney, and to bear a faggot before the first cross, at the next general procession in the university. All of this, notwithstanding, he (perhaps being sorry for his offense in denying the truth, and also weary of his prison-like bondage) thought to himself how he might best escape. And therefore, seeing a good opportunity, he fled. And seeking work abroad in other counties to sustain his life, he sometimes abode in Essex, and sometimes in Suffolk. There he associated himself with such godly professors of Christ's gospel as could be heard of there. But within a few years after (such is the cruel rage of Satan and his wicked members, who never suffer the godly long to continue untroubled) he was again accused of relapse by the inquisition of London. Thereupon he was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitzjames, the bishop of London, February 9, 1518.

And although as the register notes (but how truly God only knows) he again forsook his profession of Christ's gospel, and yielded himself to the bishop of Rome, requesting to be absolved from his curse of excommunication. And he consented to do such penance as they should enjoin him. Yet he was delivered to the sheriff of London, to be burned. The bishop's chancellor who condemned him desired of the sheriff that he would receive this person as relapsed and condemned, and yet not punish him by rigorous rigor. The words in the sentence are: "We desire, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that the punishment and execution of due severity, on you, and against you, may be so moderate, that there be no rigid rigor, nor yet loose mildness, but to the health and safety of your soul," etc.

In this, these Romish churchmen well show that the laws of their church are grounded upon Pilate and Caiaphas. For as Caiaphas with his court of Pharisees cried against Christ to Pilate: "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death; but if you let him go, you are not Caesar's friend." *Joh 18,31;19,12* Even so, first condemning the saints of God to death, and then delivering them to the secular magistrate to be executed, they would yet cover their malignant hearts with the cloak of hypocritical holiness and unwillingness to shed blood. But God be thanked, who brings all things to light in his due time, and who uncovers hypocrisy at last, so that she may be seen and known in her right colors.

Thus Thomas Man, the manly martyr of Jesus Christ, being condemned unjustly, was delivered to the sheriff of London sitting on horseback in Paternoster-row, before the bishop's door, A.D. 1518. He protested to the said sheriff, that he had no power to put him to death, and therefore he desired the sheriff to take him as a relapser and condemned, to see him punished. The sheriff immediately carried him to Smithfield, and there the same day in the forenoon he caused him to become an angel in heaven.

In the deposition of one Thomas Risby against this martyr, it appears by the registers that Thomas Man had been in many places and counties in England, and had instructed many persons at Amersham, at London, at Chelmsford, at Stratford-Langthorn, at Uxbridge, at Burnham, at Henley upon Thames, in Suffolk and Norfolk, at Newbury, and many other places. He testifies that as he went westward, he found a great company of well-disposed persons, being of the same judgment regarding the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, that Man was of. Especially at Newbury, where there was (Risby confessed) a glorious and sweet society of faithful favorers, who had continued for fifteen years together — till at last they were betrayed by a person whom they trusted and made of their counsel. Then many of them abjured, numbering 120-140; but three or four of them were burnt. From there he came to the forest of Windsor, where hearing of the brethren who were at Amersham, he relocated there. He found a godly and a great company who had continued in that doctrine and teaching for 23 years.

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Against these faithful Christians of Amersham, there was great trouble and persecution in the time of William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, about the year 1507. At that time, so many were abjured that it was called “the great abjuration.” In this congregation of faithful brethren, were four principal instructors. One was TILES WORTH, who was burned at Amersham. Another was THOMAS CHASE, who was murdered and hanged in the bishop of Lincoln’s prison at Woburn. The third was this THOMAS MAN, burned as mentioned in Smithfield, A.D. 1518. As it appears by his own confession, and no less by his labors, he was God’s champion, and suffered much trouble by the priests for the cause of God. He confesses himself in the same register, that he had turned 700 people to his religion and doctrine, for which he thanked God. He also conveyed five couples of men and women from Amersham, Uxbridge, Burnham, and Henley upon Thames, where they dwelt, to Suffolk and Norfolk, so that they might be brought (as he termed it) out of the devil’s mouth.

### *Robert Cosin, Martyr.*

This ROBERT COSIN seems to be the same person mentioned in the former part of this history, who was named FATHER ROBERT, and was burnt in Buckingham., I find in the registers of Lincoln, that this Robert Cosin, along with Thomas Man, had instructed and persuaded one Joan Norman, around Amersham, not to go on pilgrimage, nor to worship any images of saints. Also when she had vowed a piece of silver to a saint for the health of her child, they dissuaded her from it, and said that she did not need to confess to a priest, but that it was sufficient to lift up her hands to Heaven.

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Moreover, they were charged by the bishop, for teaching Joan that she might as well drink on Sunday before mass, as any other day, etc. And thus you see the doctrine of these good men, for which they were abjured or condemned to death in those days.

### *Christopher Shoomaker, Martyr.*

To these blessed saints we will add CHRISTOPHER SHOOMAKER, of whom I find this briefly recorded in the register of Sir John Longland: that the said Christopher Shoomaker, a parishioner of great Missenden, came to the house of JOHN SAY. After other matters, he read to him out of a little book, the words which Christ spoke to his disciples. Coming to his house about four times, each time he read something to him out of the same book. He taught him not to be deceived in the priest’s celebration of the mass, and declared that it was not the very same present body of Christ, as the priests fancied, but in substance it was bread, in remembrance of Christ. He taught him moreover, that pilgrimage, worshipping, and setting up candles to saints, were all unprofitable. And thus the said John Say being taught by this Christopher, and also confirmed by JOHN OKENDEN and ROBERT POPE, was brought to the knowledge of the same doctrine. Thus much briefly I find in that register concerning Christopher Shoomaker. It declared further, that he was burned at Newbury about this time, which was A.D. 1518. And thus much out of the registers of London.

### *Doctor Colet.*

About this time Doctor JOHN COLET died, A.D. 1519. The men around Buckinghamshire, had a great mind to resort to his sermons. After he came from Italy and Paris, he first began to read the epistles of St. Paul openly in Oxford, instead of reading the works of Scotus and Thomas Aquinas. From there he was called by the king, and made dean of St. Paul’s, where he used to preach much with a great auditory, of the king’s court, as well as the citizens and others. His diet was frugal, his life upright, in discipline he was severe. So that his canons,

because of their stricter rule, complained that they were made like monks. He ever preferred the honest and honorable state of matrimony before the unchaste singleness of priests. At his dinner was commonly read either some chapter of St. Paul's, or of Solomon's proverbs. And although the blindness of that time carried him away to the common error of popery, yet in ripeness of judgment he seemed to depart from the common opinions of that age. He did not fancy the order of monks and friars; nor could he favor the barbarous divinity of the school-doctors. So that when Erasmus, praised and commended Thomas Aquinas,<sup>401</sup> Colet first supposed that Erasmus had spoken in jest. But afterwards, finding that he was in earnest, Dr. Colet burst out saying,

“Why do you tell me of the commendation of that man? If he did not have an arrogant and presumptuous spirit, he would not have defined and discussed things so boldly and rashly. And also, if he had not been more worldly-minded than heavenly, he would never have so polluted Christ's holy doctrine with man's profane doctrine, as he has done.”

The bishop of London at that time was Fitzjames. Bearing an old grudge and displeasure against Colet, he with other two bishops, entered a complaint against Colet to the archbishop of Canterbury, then William Warham. His complaint was divided into three articles: The *first* was for speaking against worshipping images; the *second* was about hospitality, that in treating the words of the Gospel, “Feed, — feed, — feed:” Joh 21.15. when he had expounded the first two, such as feeding with example of life, and with doctrine; in the third, which the schoolmen expound as feeding with hospitality, he left out the outward feeding of the belly, and applied it another way. The *third* crime with which they charged him, was for speaking against those who used to preach only by written sermons, preaching nothing to the people but what they brought with them in their papers. And because the bishop of London used to do this much, he took it as spoken against himself; and therefore he bore this displeasure against Dr. Colet. Archbishop Warham, weighing the matter more wisely, and being well acquainted with Colet, took his part against his accusers, and at that time Colet was gotten out of trouble.

William Tyndale, in his book *In Answer to Master More*, testifies that the bishop of London would have pronounced Colet, the dean of St. Paul's, a heretic, for translating the Lord's Prayer into English, had not the archbishop of Canterbury helped the dean.

Yet the malice of the bishop did not cease. Being thus repulsed by the archbishop, he laid by another train how to accuse Colet to the king. It happened at the time, that the king was making preparation for war against France. So the bishop with his co-adjutors taking occasion upon certain words of Colet, in which he seemed to prefer peace before war, however just, accused him of it in their sermons, and also in the presence of the king.

It so happened at this time, that on Good Friday Doctor Colet, preaching before the king, addressed the victory of Christ. He exhorted all Christians to fight under the standard of Christ, against the devil. He added moreover, what a hard thing it was to fight under Christ's banner, and that all those who, upon private hatred or ambition, took weapons against their enemy (one Christian to slay another) did not fight under the banner of Christ, but rather of Satan. And therefore he exhorted that Christian men in their wars would follow Christ their prince and captain, in fighting against their enemies, rather than the example of Caesar, or Alexander, etc. The king hearing Colet thus speak, and fearing lest the hearts of his soldiers might be withdrawn from his wars, which he then had in hand, took him aside and talked

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<sup>401</sup> Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), was a scholastic who melded Aristotelian logic with catholic doctrine; this became known as *Thomism*. It distorted Scriptural truth, and was used to justify the doctrines of the Roman church.



with him in secret conference, walking in his garden. Bishop Fitzjames, Bricot, and Standish, who were Colet's enemies, thought now that he must be committed to the Tower, and waited for his coming out. But the king treated Doctor Colet with great gentleness, and bid him familiarly to put on his cap. He much commended him for his learning and integrity of life, agreeing with him in all points. Only he required him (so that the soldiers would not rashly mistake what he had said) to explain his words more plainly; which he did. And so, after long communication and great promises, the king dismissed Colet with these words, saying, "Let every man choose what doctor he pleases, Colet shall be my doctor;" and so he departed. So that none of his adversaries dared ever trouble him after that time.

Among many other memorable acts left behind him, Colet established a foundation <sup>402</sup> for the school of St. Paul's (I pray to God that the *fruits* of the school may correspond to the *foundation*), for nurturing youth in good letters, providing a sufficient stipend for the master, as well as for the usher, whom he wished to be appointed from the number of married men, rather than from single priests. The first moderator of this school was William Lily, a man no less notable for his learning than Colet was for his foundation.

In turning over the registers and records of Lincoln likewise, and coming to A.D. 1520 and 1521, I find that as the light of the gospel began to appear more, and the number of professors began to increase, so the vehemency of persecution and the stir of the bishops also began to increase. Upon which great trouble and grievous affliction then ensued in many quarters of this realm, especially about Buckinghamshire and Amersham, Uxbridge, Henley, Newbury, in the diocese of London, in Essex, Colchester, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and other places. And this was before the name of Luther was heard among the people in these countries. So that those who condemn this doctrine as a *novelty*, were much deceived and misinformed, asking where was this church and religion before Luther's time? To them it may be answered that this religion and form of doctrine was planted by the apostles, and taught by true bishops.

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Afterwards it decayed, and is now reformed again. Although it was not received or admitted by the pope's clergy before Luther's time (nor is it now), it was received by others, in whose hearts it pleased the Lord secretly to work. There were a great number who both professed and suffered for it. And if they think this doctrine is so new that it was not heard of before Luther's time, how did such great persecution come before Luther's time here in England? If these were of the same profession as the pope's clergy, was their cruelty so unreasonable as to persecute their own fraternity? And if they were otherwise, then how is this doctrine of the gospel so new, or its professors so lately sprung up, as they pretend? But this comes only from ignorance, and through not knowing and well considering the times and antiquities of the church which have gone before us. For if they did, they would see and confess that the church of England has not lacked great multitudes who tasted and followed the sweetness of God's holy word almost in as ample a manner as now, for the number of well-disposed hearts. Although public authority then was lacking to maintain the *open* preaching of the gospel, yet the secret multitude of true professors was not much unequal. Certainly the fervent zeal of those Christian days seemed much superior to our own days and times, as may appear by their sitting up all night in reading and hearing, also by the expenses and charges they incurred in buying books in English. Some of them paid five marks for a book,

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<sup>402</sup> *Foundation*: here it refers to a trust fund or educational endowment.

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some more, some less.<sup>403</sup> Some gave a load of hay for a few chapters of St. James, or of St. Paul, in English. In that time of scarcity of books, and lack of teachers, I greatly marvel at this one thing, to note in the registers, and to consider how notwithstanding, the word of truth multiplied so exceedingly as it did among them. In this is to be seen no doubt the marvellous working of God's mighty power; for I find and observe in considering the registers, how one neighbor resorting and conferring with another, soon with a few words won and turned their minds to the truth of God's word and His sacraments. To see their labors, their earnest seeking, their burning zeals, their readings, their watchings, their sweet assemblies, their love and concord, their godly living, their faithful marrying with the faithful — these may make us blush for shame now, in our days of free profession. There were four principal points in which they stood against the church of Rome: in pilgrimages, the adoration of saints, reading Scripture books in English, and the carnal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.

They were simple, and yet not uncircumspect in their doings. But the crafty serpent being more wily than they, so circumvented them by fraudulent subtlety, that the popish clergy caused the wife to disclose the husband, the husband the wife; the father the daughter, the daughter the father; the brother his brother, and the neighbor his neighbor. Nor were any assemblies or readings kept, without both the persons and the books being known; nor was any word so closely spoken, nor article mentioned, that it was not discovered. So subtly did these prelates use their inquisitions and examinations,<sup>404</sup> that nothing was so covertly done or said among these men, fifteen or twenty years before, that it was not at length brought to their intelligence. They had such captious interrogatories; so many articles and suspicions; such spies and secret scouts sent abroad by them; such authority and credit with the king, and in the king's name; such diligence they showed; so violently and impudently they abused the book of the peaceable evangelists — wresting men's consciences upon their oath, swearing them upon it — to expose themselves, their fathers and mothers, and others of their kindred, along with their friends and neighbors, even to death.

To better declare all of this, first to be noted here touches the see of Lincoln. After bishop William Smith, succeeded John Longland. Smith was not so bloody and cruel as Longland. For I find that in the time of "the great abjuration" and affliction of the Buckinghamshire men, where many abjured, and some were burned (c. 1507), Smith sent several quietly home without punishment and penance, bidding them go home and live as good Christian men should do. And many who were enjoined penance, he released. This Smith died about the year 1515. The college of Brazen Nose in Oxford was built by him.

Again, after him followed John Longland, a fierce and cruel vexer of the faithful servants of Christ. To renew again the old persecution, which had not yet been utterly quenched, he began with one or two of those who had abjured, and caused them by oath to detect and betray not only their own opinions, but also to discover all others who were suspected. By this, an incredible multitude of men, women, and maidens, were brought to examination, and strictly handled. Those who were found in relapse, were burned.

The rest were so burdened with superstitions and idolatrous penance and injunction, that either they shortly afterwards died through grief of conscience, or else lived with shame.

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<sup>403</sup> Five marks was worth 2/3 of a pound in 1520. A pound was worth nearly a year's wages.

<sup>404</sup> Not to mention auricular confessions.

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One ROBERT BARTLET, and Richard his brother, were detected as having abjured before, in the time of William Smith bishop of Lincoln.

Being sworn, and confessing nothing before the bishop, they were at last convicted by witness. Therefore they were constrained at their next examination to utter themselves, and confess what they had both done and said — that is, that Robert had read to Richard his brother a parcel of Scripture beginning thus: “James the servant of God, to the twelve tribes,” etc. That he heard William Tylsworth say that images of saints were but stocks and stones, and dead things; and that he taught the same to his brother Richard, and concealed the words of Tylsworth. That he partly believed THOMAS MASTAL, teaching him that the true presence of Christ was not in the sacrament; and likewise about images and pilgrimages; for receiving the communion at Easter without confession, etc..

Robert Bartlet was obliged to prove against AGNES WELLIS, his own sister, that he had twice instructed her not to worship images, and also had taught her in the epistle of St. James.

The following interrogatories were put to this Agnes Wellis:—

1. Whether she knew that some of the parish of Amersham were brought before William Smith, late bishop of Lincoln, for heresy?
2. Whether she knew that some of them erred in the sacrament of the altar, or in other sacraments, and what errors they were, and in what?
3. Whether she knew any others to be suspected of the same heresy besides those of Amersham, who they were, and how many?
4. Whether she had been in the same company, or held the same opinions with them.
5. Whether she at any time had any conversation with THURSTAN LITTLEPAGE, and if she had, how often she had been in his company, how, what time, in what place, who else were present, for what causes, and whether she knew him to be suspected for heresy?
6. Whether she knew and at any time had any conversation with ALEXANDER MASTAL? and if she had, how, when, in what place, who were present, for what causes, and whether she knew him to be suspected for heresy?
7. Whether she was ever detected to the office of William Smith, late bishop of Lincoln, at what time? and whether she was then called before the bishop for heresy or not?
8. Whether she had been reputed to be of the same sect with Thurstan Littlepage?
9. Whether she had been present at any time at the readings or conferrings between Thurstan Littlepage and other convicts?
10. Whether Thurstan Littlepage ever taught her the epistle of St. James, or the epistles of St. Peter or Paul in English? and whether she had repeated the epistle of St. James to Thurstan, in the presence of Richard Bartlet her brother.’
11. Whether Richard Bartlet her brother taught her at any time the epistle of St. James? and if he did, how often, and in what place?

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12. Whether she had been instructed by Thurstan Littlepage, or by any other, that in the sacrament of the altar was not the true body of Christ, but only the substance of bread?

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13. Whether she had been instructed by Thurstan Littlepage, or any other, that pilgrimage was not to be used, nor the images of saints to be adored?

14. Whether she credited Thurstan Littlepage, or any other, teaching her in the premises? and whether she believed or expressly agreed with them in these articles?

15. Whether Robert Bartlet her brother ever taught her the epistle of St. James; and if he did, how often, and where?

16. Whether Robert Bartlet had taught her, that pilgrimage was not to be used, and that images were not to be adored?

17. Whether she knew such a law or custom among them, that those who were of that sort contracted matrimony only with themselves, and not with other Christians?

18. Whether she ever heard Thurstan or any other say, that only those who were of their doctrine were true Christians?

19. When she came to receive, and was confessed, whether she uttered and confessed her heresies to the priest?

Agnes Wellis answered negatively to almost all of these captious and cruel interrogatories, refusing to name any person to the bishop. But soon after being otherwise schooled, I cannot tell how, she was compelled to detect both herself, her brother Robert Bartlet, Thurstan Littlepage, and also ISABEL MORWIN, wife of John Morwin, and others.

By this system of examination, brother was compelled to inform against brother, sister, or neighbor, until evidence was thus craftily obtained against several hundred godly men and women, that they used to assemble together and read portions of the holy Scriptures in the English tongue.

The reader may thus learn the number of the good men and women, who were troubled and molested by the church of Rome, and all in one year. Few or none of them were learned, being simple laborers and artificers. But it pleased the Lord to work in them knowledge and understanding, by reading a few English books, such as they could get. And here is to be noted the blind ignorance and discourteous dealing of the bishops against them, not only by their violent oath and captious interrogatories, constraining the children to accuse their parents, and parents the children, the husband the wife, and the wife the husband, etc. But especially in most wrongfully afflicting them, only for believing God's word, and the reading of the holy Scriptures.

Now it remains that we show the reasons and scriptures upon which they grounded their views. First, against pilgrimage and against worshipping images, they used this text of the Revelation, chapter 9:

“I saw the horses in the vision, and those who sat on them, having breastplates of fire, and of jacinth, and brimstone: and the heads of the horses were like the heads of lions; and out of their mouths issued fire and smoke and brimstone. By these three a third of men were killed by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone, which issued out of their mouths. For their power is in their mouth, and in their tails: for their tails were like serpents, and had heads, and with them they do harm. And the rest of the men who were not killed by these plagues did not repent of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood,” etc. (Ex Regist. Longland. fol. 72.)

Also they alleged the first commandment, that there is but one God, and that they should not worship more gods than one.

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As to the sacrament, they had their instruction partly out of “Wycliffe’s Wicket,” partly out of the “Shepherd’s Calendar,” where they read that the sacrament was made in remembrance of Christ, and ought to be received in remembrance of his body, etc. They also alleged the words of Christ spoken at the supper, when sitting with his disciples. He took bread, and blessed it, and broke it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, “Eat: this (reaching out his arm, and showing the bread in his hand, and then noting his own natural body, and touching the same, and not the consecrated bread) is my body which is broken for you; do this in remembrance of me.” And he likewise took the wine cup and bid them drink, saying, “This cup is the new testament in my blood: do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me.” (1Cor 11.24, etc.)

That Christ our Savior sits at the right hand of the Father, and there He shall be till the day of judgment. Therefore, they believed that in the sacrament of the altar the very body of Christ was not there.

Such reasons as these, taken out of the Scripture, and out of the “Shepherd’s Calendar,” “Wycliffe’s Wicket,” and out of their books that they had among them. And although there was no learned man with them to ground them in their doctrine, yet communing and conferring together among themselves, they converted one another, the Lord’s hand working with them. So that in a short time, the number of these men increased exceedingly. So that the bishop, seeing the matter almost past his power, was driven to make his complaint to the king, and require his aid for suppression of these men. Whereupon, King Henry, then being young and inexpert in the bloody practices and blind leadings of these apostolical prelates, directed the following letter to the sheriffs, bailiffs, officers, and others, for the aid of the bishop in this behalf.

*The Copy of the King’s Letter for the aid of John Longland,  
bishop of Lincoln, against the Servants of Christ,  
then falsely called Heretics.*

“Henry VIII, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, lord of Ireland, defender of the faith: to all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and constables, and to all other of our officers, ministers, and subjects, hearing or seeing these letters, and to every one them, greeting. Forasmuch as the right reverend father in God, our trusty and right well-beloved counsellor, the bishop of Lincoln, has now within his diocese no small number of heretics, as it is thought, to his no little discomfort and heaviness: We, therefore, being in will and mind to safely provide for the said right reverend father in God and his officers, that they, or none of them, shall be bodily hurt or damaged by any of the said heretics or their favorers, in executing and ministering justice to the said heretics, according to the laws of holy church; do straitly charge and command you, and every of you, as you regard our high displeasure, to aid, help, and assist the said right reverend father in God, and his said officers, in the executing of justice in the premises, as they or any of them shall require you so to do; not failing to accomplish our commandment and pleasure in the premises, as you intend to please us, and will answer to the contrary at your uttermost peril. Given under our signet at our castle at Windsor, the twentieth day of October, the thirteenth year of our reign.” (A.D. 1522)

The bishop thus being armed with the authority of the king’s letter, and incited by his own fierceness, lost no time. But to accomplish his violence upon the poor flock of Christ, he called before him all those in his diocese, who were suspected of inclining toward those opinions. To those who had been but newly taken, and had not abjured before, he enjoined the most rigorous penance. The others in whom he could find any relapse, yes, even if they submitted themselves ever so humbly to his favorable courtesy — and even if at his request,

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and for hope of pardon, they had shown themselves great detectors of their brethren — yet contrary to his fair words and their expectation, he did not spare them, but read the sentence of relapse against them, committing them to the secular arm to be burnt.

The books and opinions which these persons were charged with, and for the which they were abjured, were partly expressed earlier. Here follows a brief summary of them.

[421] A.D. 1521.

### *A brief Summary of their Opinions.*

The opinions of many of these persons were,

- That he or she never believed in the sacrament of the altar, nor ever would.
- That he was known by his neighbors to be a good fellow, meaning that he was one of this sect or company.
- For saying, that he would give forty pence on condition that such a person knew as much as he knew.
- Some for saying that those of Amersham, who had abjured before by Bishop Smith, were good men, and perfect Christians, and simple folk who could not answer for themselves, and therefore were oppressed by the power of the bishop.
- Some, for hiding others in their barns.
- Some, for *reading* the Scriptures, or treatises of Scripture, in English: some for *hearing* them read.
- Some, for defending; some for marrying with those who had abjured.
- Some, for saying that matrimony was not a sacrament.
- Some, for saying that worshipping images was mummery (meaningless ceremony); some, for calling images carpenters' chips; some, for calling them stocks and stones; some, for calling them dead things.
- Some, for saying that money spent on pilgrimage, served but to maintain thieves and harlots.
- Others, for saying that nothing graven with man's hand was to be worshipped.
- Another, for calling his vicar a head-shorn priest.
- Another, for calling a certain blind chapel in ruin, an old fair milk-house.
- Another, for saying that alms should not be given before it sweat in a man's hand.
- Some, for saying that those who die, pass straight either to heaven hell.
- Isobel Bartlet was brought before the bishop and abjured for lamenting her husband when the bishop's man came for him, and saying that he was an undone man, and she was a dead woman.
- For saying that Christ, departing from his disciples into heaven, said that once he was in sinners' hands, he would come there no more.
- Some were condemned for receiving the sacrament at Easter, and doubting whether it was the very body of Christ, and not confessing their doubt to their spiritual Father.
- Some, for reading the gospels — the epistles — and Revelation. Some, for having the creed and Lord's prayer in English.
- Some, for saying that the pope had no authority to give pardon, nor to release man's soul from sin; and that it was nothing but blinding the people to get their money.

The penance enjoined upon these parties by John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, was almost uniform, save that they were separately committed to several monasteries, there to be kept all their life, unless they were otherwise dispensed with by the bishop.

And at the same time, they were all compelled to abjure. This word “abjure” meant they were constrained by their oath, swearing upon the evangelists, and subscribing with their hand, and a cross to the same, to say that they utterly and voluntarily renounced, detested, and forsaken, and would never after hold these opinions, contrary to the determination of the holy mother church of Rome; and further, that they would detect to their ordinary, whomever they might see or suspect hereafter to teach, hold, or maintain these opinions.

Among the forenamed persons who thus submitted themselves and were put to penance, there were some who, because they had been abjured before, were now condemned for their relapse, and had sentence read against them. And so they were committed to the secular arm to be burned. Their names follow here: THOMAS BERNARD, JAMES MORDEN, ROBERT RAVE, and JOHN SCRIVENER, martyrs (A.D. 1521). Mention was made of these before (p. 393), regarding both their abjuration and their martyrdom. To these we may add, JOAN NORMAN and THOMAS HOLMES.

This Thomas Holmes, although he had disclosed and detected many of his brethren; thinking thereby to please the bishop, and to save himself, and was thought to be a man paid by the bishop for that purpose: yet, in the bishop’s register appears the sentence of relapse and condemnation, written and drawn out against him; and most probable it is that he was also adjudged and executed with the others.

Regarding the burning of John Scrivener, it is to be observed here, that his children were compelled to set fire to their father; and in like manner, Joan Clerke, daughter of William Tylsworth, was also constrained to apply the fire to the burning of her own father.

The example of such cruelty is not only contrary both to God and nature, but it has not even been seen or heard of in the memory of the heathen.

### ***THE REFORMATION.***

Although it cannot be sufficiently expressed with the tongue, or with the pen of man, into what miserable ruin and desolation the church of Christ was brought in those later days, yet partly by reading these histories, some intelligence may be given to those who have the judgment to mark, or the eyes to see in what blindness and darkness the world was drowned for upwards of four hundred years. By viewing and considering these times and histories, you may understand (gentle reader) how the religion of Christ, which only consists in spirit and truth, was wholly turned into outward observances, ceremonies, and idolatry. We had so many saints, so many gods, so many monasteries, so many pilgrimages. We had as many churches, and as many relics forged and feigned — again, we believed in so many relics, so many lying miracles. Instead of the only living Lord, we worshipped dead stocks and stones. In place of immortal Christ, we adored mortal bread. No care was taken how the people were led, only that the priests were fed. Instead of God’s word, man’s word was set up. Instead of Christ’s testament, the pope’s testament, that is the canon-law. Instead of St. Paul, Aquinas took his place, and almost full possession. The law of God was little read, and the use and end of it was less known. And as the end of the law was unknown, so the difference between the Law and the Gospel was not understood, the benefit of Christ was not considered, and the effect of faith was not examined. Through this ignorance it cannot be told what infinite errors, sects, and religions crept into the church, overwhelming the world with a flood of ignorance and seduction. And no marvel; for where the foundation is not well laid, what building can stand or prosper? The foundation of all our Christianity is only this: the promise of God in the blood of Christ his Son, giving and promising light to all

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who believe in him. Giving *to us* (says the Scripture), and not bargaining or contracting *with us*. And that is freely for Christ's sake, and not conditionally for our merits' sake.

Furthermore, it is freely by grace (says the Scripture), so that the promise might be firm and sure, and not by the works that we do, which are always doubtful. By grace (says the Scripture) through promise, to all and upon all those who believe, and not by the law upon those who deserve. For if it come by deserving, then it is not of grace; if it is not of grace, then it is not of promise; and contrariwise, if it is of grace and promise, then it is not of works, says St. Paul. <sup>Rom 11.6</sup> The patriarchs, kings, and prophets first built on the foundation of God's free promises and grace. Upon this same foundation, Christ the Lord also built his church. Upon this foundation the apostles likewise built the apostolic or catholic church.

So long as the church retained this apostolical and catholic foundation, so long it continued pure and sound, which endured a long time after the apostles' time.

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But afterwards in the process of years, through wealth and negligence, as soon as this foundation began to be lost, new builders came in, who would build a new church upon a new foundation, which we now call the church of Rome. Not being content with the old foundation, and the head cornerstone, which the Lord had laid by his word, they laid the groundwork upon the condition and strength of the law and works. It is not to be denied that the doctrine of God's holy law, and of good works according to the same, is a thing most necessary to be learned and followed by all men. Yet it is not that foundation in which our salvation consists, nor is that foundation able to bear the weight of the kingdom of heaven. But rather, it is the thing which is built on the foundation which is Jesus Christ, as we are taught by St. Paul, saying, "Another foundation no man can lay than is laid, which is Jesus Christ," etc. <sup>1Cor 3.11</sup>

But this ancient foundation, which the ancient church of Christ laid, has now been long forsaken. And instead of it, a new church with a new foundation has been erected, not upon God's promise, and his free grace in Christ Jesus, nor upon free justification by faith, but upon the merits and deserts of men's working. And here they have planted all their new devices, so infinite that they cannot well be numbered — such as masses, tricenaries, dirges, obsequies, matins, and hours-singing-service, vigils, midnight-rising, going barefoot, fish-tasting, Lenten-fast, Ember-fast, stations, rogations, jubilees, advocacy of saints, praying to images, pilgrimage-walking, works of supererogation, application of merits, orders, rules, sects of religion, vows of celibacy, willful poverty, pardons, relations, indulgences, penance, and satisfaction, with auricular confession, founding abbeys, etc. And who is able to recite all their laborious buildings, falsely framed upon a wrong ground, and all for ignorance of the true foundation, which is the free justification by faith in Christ Jesus the Son of God.

Moreover, note that just as this new-found church of Rome was thus deformed in doctrine, so it was corrupt in order of life and deep hypocrisy, doing all things only under pretenses and dissembled titles. So under the pretense of Peter's chair, they exercised a majesty above emperors and kings. Under the visor of their vowed celibacy, adultery reigned; under the cloak of professed poverty, they possessed the goods of the temporalty; under the title of being dead to the world, they not only reigned in the world, but also ruled the world; under the color of the keys of heaven to hang under their girdle, they brought all the states of the world under their girdle, and crept not only into the purses of men, but also into their consciences. They heard their confessions; they knew their secrets; they dispensed as they were disposed, and absolved what they chose; and finally, when they had brought the whole



world under their subjection, their pride neither ceased, nor could their avarice ever be satisfied.

In these so blind and miserably corrupt days of darkness and ignorance, you can see, good reader, how necessary it was, and high time, that the reformation of the church should come, which now most happily and graciously began to work through the merciful providence of Almighty God. He allowed his church to wander and start aside for a long time, through the seduction of pride and prosperity. Yet at length it pleased His goodness to regard His people, and to reduce his church back to its pristine foundation and frame, from which it had piteously decayed. I now have to treat this, intending by the grace of Christ to declare how, and by what means this reformation of the church first began, and how it proceeded, increasing little by little to this perfection which we now see.

And here we first have to behold the admirable work of God's wisdom. For just as the decay and ruin of the church began by rude ignorance, and lack of knowledge in teachers, so to restore the church again by doctrine and learning, it pleased God to open to man the art of printing, shortly after the burning of John Huss and Jerome. Printing opened to the church the instruments and tools of learning and knowledge, which were good books and authors who before lay hidden and unknown. The science of printing being found, the grace of God immediately followed, which stirred up good understandings to conceive the light of knowledge and of judgment. By this light, darkness began to be seen, and ignorance to be detected; truth to be discerned from error, and religion from superstition.

After these men, stirred up by God, others followed, increasing daily more and more in science, in languages, and the perfection of knowledge. Being so armed and furnished with the help of good letters, they encountered the adversary, sustaining the cause and defense of learning against barbarity; of truth against error; of true religion against superstition. Here began the first assault against the ignorant and barbarous faction of the pope's church. After these men had opened a window of light to the world by their learned writings and laborious travel, making (as it were) a readier way for others to come after them, then according to God's gracious appointment, Martin Luther immediately followed, with others after him, by whose ministry it pleased the Lord to work a fuller reformation of his church.

***The History of Dr. Martin Luther – 1483-1546.***

Martin Luther, born at Isleben in Saxony, A.D. 1483, was sent to the university, first of Magdeburg, then of Erfurth. In this university of Erfurth there was an aged man in the convent of the Augustinians. Luther, also being an Augustinian friar, conferred upon many things with him, especially regarding the article of remission of sins. The aged father opened this article to Luther in this way: he declared that we must not generally believe forgiveness of sins belongs only to St. Peter, to St. Paul, to David, or such good men alone; rather, God's express commandment is that every man individually should believe his sins are forgiven in Christ. He further said that this interpretation was confirmed by the testimony of St. Bernard, and he showed him the place in the Sermon of the Annunciation, where it is set forth thus: — "But add that you believe this, that by Him your sins are forgiven you. This is the testimony that the Holy Spirit gives you in your heart, saying your sins are forgiven you. For this is the opinion of the apostle, that man is *freely justified by faith.*"

By these words Luther was not only strengthened, but was also instructed in the full meaning of St. Paul, who repeats so many times this sentence: "We are justified by faith." Having read the expositions of many upon this place, he perceived by the purpose of the old man, as well as by the comfort he received in his spirit, the vanity of those interpretations of

the schoolmen, which he had read before. And so reading little by little, comparing the sayings and examples of the prophets and apostles, and by continual invocation of God, and the exercise of faith and prayer, he perceived that doctrine most evidently. Then he began to read St. Augustine's books, where he found many comfortable things. Among others, in the Exposition of the Psalms, and especially of the Book of the Spirit and Letter, which not a little confirmed this doctrine of faith and consolation in his heart. Yet he did not lay aside the Sententiaries, such as Gabriel and Cameracensis.<sup>405</sup> Also he read the books of William Occam, whose subtlety he preferred above Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus. He also read Gerson; but above all the rest, he perused St. Augustine's works all over, with attentive meditation. And thus he continued his study for four years at Erfurth, in the convent of the Augustines.

About this time one Staupitius,<sup>406</sup> a famous man, was promoting the erection of an university in Wittenberg, and endeavoring to have schools of divinity founded in this new university. When he had considered the spirit and learning of Luther, he invited him from Erfurth, in order to place him in Wittenberg (A.D. 1508) at the age of twenty-six. There his learning appeared in the ordinary exercise of both his disputations in the schools, and in his preaching in churches, where many wise and learned men attentively heard Luther.

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Dr. Mellarstad would often say that Luther was of such a wonderful spirit, and so ingenious, that he was sure he would introduce a more compendious, easy, and familiar manner of teaching. At Wittenberg Luther expounded the logic and philosophy of Aristotle, and in the meanwhile did not omit his study in theology. Three years afterwards he went to Rome about some contentions of the monks. Returning the same year, he was graduated as a doctor, at the expense of the elector Frederick, duke of Saxony, according to the solemn manner of the schools. For the duke had heard him preach, well understood the quietness of his spirit, diligently considered the force of his words, and held in high admiration those profound matters which Luther so exactly explained in his sermons.

After this, Luther began to expound the Epistle to the Romans, and then the Psalms, where he showed the difference between the Law and the Gospel. He also overthrew the error that then reigned in schools and sermons, that men may merit remission of sins by their own works, and that they are just before God by outward discipline, as the Pharisees taught. Luther diligently led the minds of men to the Son of God. As John the Baptist pointed to the Lamb of God who took away the sins of the world, even so Luther, shining in the church as a bright star after a long, cloudy, and obscure sky, clearly showed that sins are freely remitted for the love of the Son of God, and that we should faithfully embrace this bountiful gift.

These happy beginnings got him great authority, especially as his life corresponded to his profession. The consideration of this, wonderfully allured to him the hearts of his auditors, and also many notable personages. All this while Luther altered nothing in the ceremonies, but precisely observed his rule among his fellows. He meddled in no doubtful opinions, but taught only this doctrine to men, as the principal of all others, opening and declaring the doctrine of repentance, remission of sins, and faith, as the only true comfort in times of adversity. Every man received a good taste of this sweet doctrine; and the learned conceived high pleasure from beholding Jesus Christ, the prophets, and apostles, coming forth into the light, out of darkness, by which they began to understand the difference between the Law

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<sup>405</sup> *Sententiaries*: commentators on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, a standard textbook in medieval universities.

<sup>406</sup> Johann von Staupitz (c. 1460-1524). Foxe used the Latin form of his name.

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and the Gospel; between the promises of the law and the promise of the gospel; between spiritual righteousness and civil things — things which certainly could not have been found in Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and similar authors who were studied during that period.

It happened about this time, that many were induced by Erasmus's learned works, to study the Greek and Latin tongues. Perceiving a gentler and readier order of teaching than before, they began to have contempt for the monks' barbarous and sophistical doctrine; and especially those who were of a liberal nature and good disposition. Luther began to study the Greek and Hebrew tongue, so that after he had learned the phrase and propriety of the language, and drawn the doctrine from its very fountains, he might give sounder judgment. As Luther was thus occupied in Germany (A.D. 1516), pope Leo X, having succeeded Julius 11, was pope of Rome. Under a pretense of waging war against the Turk, he sent a jubilee with his pardons abroad through all Christian realms and dominions, by which he gathered together innumerable riches and treasure. The gatherers and collectors persuaded the people, that whoever would give ten shillings, would at his pleasure deliver one soul from the pains of purgatory. For this they held as a general rule, that God would do whatever they would have Him do, according to the saying, "Whatever you loose upon earth, shall be loosed in heaven." But if it were but one jot less than ten shillings, they preached that it would profit them nothing.

This filthy kind of merchandising by the pope, as it spread through all quarters of Christian regions, so it also came to Germany by means of a certain Dominican friar named Tetzl. He most impudently caused the pope's indulgences or pardons to be carried and sold about the country. Luther, much moved with the blasphemous sermons of this shameless friar, and having his heart earnestly bent to maintain true religion, published certain propositions concerning indulgences. He set them openly on the temple that joins the castle of Wittenberg, on the 30th of September, A.D. 1517.

This friar, hoping to obtain the pope's blessing, assembled certain monks and divines from his convent, and commanded them to immediately write something against Luther. Not wishing to appear dumb himself, he began not only to inveigh against Luther in his sermons, but also to thunder against him, crying, "Luther is a heretic, and worthy to be persecuted with fire." Besides this, he openly burned Luther's propositions, and the sermons which he wrote on indulgences. The rage and fury of this friar forced Luther to more amply address the cause, and to maintain his argument.

And thus arose the beginning of this controversy, in which Luther, neither suspecting nor dreaming of any change that might happen, did not utterly reject the indulgences, but only required moderation in them. Therefore they falsely accused him, blazing that he began with plausible matter by which he might get praise, to the end that in time he might change the state of the commonweal, and purchase authority either for himself or others.

Certainly Luther was not stirred up by the court, for the Duke Frederick was offended that such contention and controversy should arise.

And as this Duke Frederick was one of all the princes of the time who most loved quietness and tranquility, so he neither encouraged nor supported Luther. But often he showed the heaviness and sorrow which he bore in his heart, fearing still greater dissensions. But being a wise prince, and following the counsel of God, and well deliberating on it, he thought with himself that the glory of God was to be preferred above all things. Nor was he ignorant what blasphemy it was, horribly condemned by God, to obstinately oppose the truth. Therefore he did as a godly prince should do: he obeyed God, committing himself to his holy grace, and

omnipotent protection. Although Maximilian the emperor, Charles king of Spain, and pope Julius, had given commandment to Duke Frederick, that he should prohibit Luther from all places, and from the liberty of preaching, yet the Duke, considering with himself the preaching and writing of Luther, and weighing diligently the testimonies and places of Scripture which he alleged, would not withstand the thing which he judged to be true and sincere. He did not do this, trusting to his own judgment, but was very anxious to hear the judgment of others, who were both aged and learned. In their number was Erasmus, whom the duke desired to declare to him his opinion touching the matter of Martin Luther; saying and protesting, that he would rather the ground should open and swallow him, than he bear with any opinions which he knew to be contrary to manifest truth; and therefore he desired Erasmus to declare his judgment in the matter, freely and friendly.

Erasmus, thus being entreated by the duke, began thus jestingly and merrily to answer the duke's request, saying that in Luther there were two great faults. First, that he would touch the bellies of monks; the second, that he would touch the pope's crown — which two matters are in no case to be tampered with. Then, opening his mind plainly to the duke, he said that Luther was occupied in detecting errors, and that a reformation was to be wished, and was very necessary in the church. He added that the effect of Luther's doctrine was true; only he wished in him a more temperate moderation and manner of writing. Duke Frederick shortly after wrote to Luther seriously, exhorting him to temper the vehemence of his style. This was at the city of Cologne, shortly after the coronation of the new emperor.

The next year Erasmus wrote an epistle to the archbishop of Mentz, touching Luther's cause. In this epistle he signifies to the bishop that, "many things in the books of Luther were condemned by monks and divines as heretical, which in the books of Bernard and Austin are read as sound and godly."

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Also that, "The world is burdened with men's institutions, with school-doctrines and opinions, and with the tyranny of begging friars. These friars, being nothing but the pope's servants and underlings, have so grown in power and multitude, that they are now terrible both to the pope himself, and to all princes. So long as the pope makes with them, so long they make him more than God; but if he makes anything against their purpose or advantage, then they weigh his authority as no more than a dream or a fantasy."

"Once," he said, "it was counted a heresy when a man opposed the gospel or articles of the faith. Now whoever dissents from Thomas Aquinas is a heretic; whatever they do not like, whatever they do not understand, that is heresy. To speak Greek is heresy; or to speak more finely than they do, that is heresy with them." And thus much by the way concerning the judgment of Erasmus.

Now to return, and address the acts and conflicts of Luther with his adversaries. After Tetzl (with his fellow-monks and friars) had cried out with open mouth against Luther, in maintaining the pope's indulgences; and after Luther, in defense of his cause, had set up propositions against the open abuses of indulgences, it was wonderful to see how soon those propositions were spread abroad in far places, and how greedily they were caught up in the hands of persons both far and near. And thus, with the contention increasing between them, Luther was compelled to write more largely and fully than otherwise he thought necessary, which was in A.D. 1517.

Yet all this while Luther never thought of any alteration, much less such a reformation of doctrine and ceremonies as followed afterwards. But hearing that he was accused to the

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bishop of Rome, he wrote humbly to him. In that writing, he declares the outrage of those pardon-mongers who so excessively cheated the simple people, to the great slander of the church, and shame to his holiness. And so proceeding, at the end of his writing he thus submits himself:

“Therefore, most holy father, I offer myself prostrate under the feet of your holiness, with all that I am, and all that I have. Save me, kill me, call me, recall me, approve me, reprove me as you shall please. Your voice, the voice of Christ in your speaking, I will acknowledge. If I have deserved death, I shall be content to die — for the earth is the Lord’s, and all the fulness thereof, who is blessed forever. Amen.”

This was in A.D. 1518. After Martin Luther, provoked by Tetzl, had declared his mind in writing, lowly and humbly, and had set up certain propositions to be disputed; not long after, among other monks and friars, up steps Silvester de Prierio, a Dominican friar. He began to publish abroad an impudent and railing dialogue against him.

Next after Sylvester, Eckius <sup>407</sup> stepped forth, and opposed the conclusions of Luther. Against Eckius came D. Andrew Bedenstein, archbishop of Wittenberg, making his apology in defense of Luther.

Then Martin Luther was cited the 7th of August, by Jerome, bishop of Ascalon, to appear at Rome. About this time, cardinal Thomas Cajetan, the pope’s legate, was at the city of Augsburg. He had been sent there earlier with certain mandates of Pope Leo to that city. The University of Wittenberg, hearing of Luther’s citation, soon directed their letters to the pope in Luther’s behalf, with their public seal. They also sent another letter to Charles Miltz, the pope’s chamberlain. Also, good Frederick did not cease for his part to solicit the matter with his letters and earnest suit with Cardinal Cajetan, that the cause of Luther might be removed from Rome to Augsburg, in the hearing of the cardinal. Cajetan, at the suit of the Duke, wrote to the pope, from whom he received this answer, August 23rd:

“That he had cited Luther to appear personally before him at Rome, by Jerome bishop of Ascalon, auditor of the chamber, and the bishop had diligently done what was commanded him. But Luther, abusing and contemning the gentleness offered, not only refused to come, but also became bolder and more stubborn, continuing, or rather increasing in his former heresy. Therefore he desired that the cardinal should cite and call up the said Luther, to appear at the city of Augsburg before him, adjoining with this the aid of the princes of Germany and of the emperor, if need required. So that when the said Luther appeared, he might lay hands upon him, and commit him to safe custody, and then he would be brought up to Rome. And if he perceived Luther had come to any knowledge or amendment of his fault, he would release him and restore him to the church again; or else he would be interdicted, with all his adherents, abettors, and maintainers, of whatever state or condition they were, whether dukes, marquises, earls, barons, etc. Against all these persons and degrees, he desired the cardinal to extend the same curse and malediction (only the person of the emperor excepted) interdicting by the censure of the church, all such lands, lordships, towns, tenements, and villages, as might provide any harbor to Luther, and were not obedient to the See of Rome. Contrariwise, to all those who showed themselves obedient, he would promise full remission of all their sins.”

The pope also directed other letters at the same time to Duke Frederick, complaining against Luther with many grievous words.

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<sup>407</sup> Johann Maier von Eck (1486-1543), often anglicized as John Eck.

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The cardinal being thus charged with injunctions from Rome, according to his commission, sent with all speed for Luther, to appear before him at Augsburg.

About the beginning of October, Martin Luther yielding his obedience to the church of Rome, came to Augsburg at the cardinal's message (at the charges of the noble prince elector, and also with his letters of commendation), where he remained three days before he came to his presence. For it was provided by his friends, that he would not confer with the cardinal till a sufficient warrant or safe conduct was obtained from the emperor Maximilian. This being obtained, Luther soon entered, offering himself to the presence of the cardinal. He was there received by the cardinal very gently; and according to the pope's command, he propounded to Martin Luther three things, to wit:

1. That he should repent and revoke his errors.
2. That he should promise, from that time forward, to refrain from the same.
3. That he should refrain from all things that might by any means trouble the church.

When Martin Luther requested to be informed of what he had erred in, the legate brought forth a papal bull, called the *Extravagant of Clement*, which begins, "Unigenitus," etc.; because, contrary to that canon, he had held and taught in his fifty-eight propositions, "That the merits of Christ are not the treasure of indulgences or pardons." Secondly, the cardinal, contrary to the seventh proposition of Luther, affirmed, that faith is not necessary to one who receives the sacrament.

Another day, in the presence of four of the emperor's council, having a notary and witnesses present, Luther protested for himself, in the following manner:

"I Martin Luther, an Augustinian friar, protest, that I reverence and follow the church of Rome in all my sayings and doings, present, past, and to come; and if anything has been, or shall be said by me to the contrary, I count it, and am willing that it be counted and taken as though it had never been spoken. But because the cardinal has required three things of me at the command of the pope,

1. That I should return again to the knowledge of myself.
2. That I should beware of falling into the same again hereafter.
3. That I should promise to abstain from all things which might disquiet the church of God;

"I protest here this day, that whatever I have said, seems to me to be sound, true, and catholic; yet for further proof of it, I offer myself personally, either here or elsewhere, to publicly give a reason for my sayings. And if this does not please the legate, I am also ready to answer his objections in writing, if he has any against me; and to hear the sentence and judgment of the universities of the empire, Basel, Friburg, and Louvaine."

[425] A.D. 1521.

After this, Luther prepared an answer to the legate, teaching that the merits of Christ are not committed to men; that the pope's voice is to be heard when he speaks agreeably to the Scriptures; that the pope may err, and that he ought to be reprehended. Moreover, he showed that in matters of faith, not only the general council, but also every faithful Christian is above the pope, if he depends on better authority and better reason; that the extravagant bull contains untruths; that it is an infallible truth that none is righteous; that it is necessary for whoever comes to receive the sacrament, to believe; that faith in the remission of sins is necessary; that he should not decline from the truth of the Scripture; that he sought nothing but the light of the truth, etc.

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But the cardinal would hear no Scriptures; he disputed without Scriptures; he devised glosses and expositions out of his own head; and by subtle distinctions, like a veritable Proteus,<sup>408</sup> he avoided all things. After this, Luther being commanded to come no more into the presence of the legate unless he would recant, abode there still and would not depart. Then the cardinal sent for John Stupitius, vicar of the Augustinians, and moved him earnestly to bring Luther to recant. Luther tarried the next day also, and nothing was said to him. He tarried the third day also, and delivered his mind in writing, in which, first,

“He thanked him for his courtesy and great kindness, which he perceived by the words of Stupitius toward him; and therefore he was more ready to gratify him in whatever kind of office he could do him service, confessing that where he had been somewhat sharp and eager against the pope’s dignity, that was not so much of his own mind, as it was to be ascribed to the importunity of some who gave him occasion. Notwithstanding, as he acknowledged his excess, so he was ready to show more moderation hereafter, and also promised to make amends to the bishop, and would do that in the pulpit, if he pleased. As to the matter of pardons, he also promised to proceed no further, if his adversaries likewise were bound to keep silence. But as he was pressed to retract his sentence which he had previously defended, as he had said nothing without a good conscience, and which was agreeable to the firm testimonies of the Scripture, therefore he humbly desired the determination of it to be referred to the bishop of Rome; for nothing could be more grateful to him, than to hear the voice of the church speaking.” etc.

Who does not see by this humble submission of Luther, that if the bishop of Rome had been satisfied or contented with any reason, he would never have been troubled by Luther any further? But the secret purpose of God had a further work to do. For the time had now come when God thought it good that pride should have a fall. Thus, while the unmeasurable desire of that bishop sought more than enough (like Aesop’s dog coveting to have both flesh and shadow <sup>409</sup>) he not only missed what he gaped for, but also lost what he had.

Luther delivered this writing to the cardinal, the third day after he was commanded out of his sight. The cardinal little regarded this letter or writing. When Luther saw that he would give no answer to it, he yet remained after the fourth day, and still nothing was answered; the fifth day likewise was passed with silence, and nothing done. At length, by the counsel of his friends, and especially because the cardinal said that he had a commandment before to imprison Luther and John Stupitius, he departed. This was after he had made and set up his appeal where it might be seen and read, thinking that he showed obedience long enough. Luther himself records all this, and shows why he submitted himself to the church of Rome. He declared that even those things which are most truly spoken, still ought to be maintained and defended with humility and fear. He protests that he reverences and follows the church of Rome in all things, and that he sets himself only against those who, under the name of the church of Rome, go about setting forth and commending Babylon to us.

Thus Luther, being rejected from the presence of cardinal Cajetan, and after waiting six days, departed on the advice of his friends. He returned to Wittenberg, leaving a letter in writing to be given to the cardinal, in which he declared sufficiently — his obedience in his coming — the reasons of his doctrine — his reasonable submission to the See of Rome — his long waiting after he was repelled from the cardinal’s presence — the charges of the duke —

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<sup>408</sup> *Proteus*: (Gr. mythology) a prophetic god who served Poseidon; he was capable of changing his shape at will.

<sup>409</sup> Aesop’s fable, “The Dog and Its Shadow,” tells the story of a dog carrying a piece of meat who sees its reflection in a stream. It mistakenly believes it to be another dog with a larger piece of meat. Greedily, the dog attempts to seize the reflected meat and loses its own piece in the process.



and finally, the cause of his departing. Besides this letter to the cardinal, he also left an appeal to the bishop of Rome, from the cardinal, which he caused to be published before his departure.

After Luther departed and returned to his own country, Cajetan wrote a sharp and biting letter to Duke Frederick, in which first he notices his gentle entreating and good will shown to reduce Luther from his error. Secondly, he complains of Luther's sudden departing, and that of Stupitius. Thirdly, he declares the danger of Luther's doctrine against the church of Rome. Fourthly, he exhorts the duke, that if he values his own honor and safety, and regards the favor of the high bishop, he will send him to Rome, or expel him out of his dominions, because such a pestilence could not, and should not by any means be suffered.

The duke answers this letter of the cardinal at large, clearing both Luther and himself — Luther, in that following his conscience, grounded upon the word of God, he would not revoke that for an error, which could be proved to be no error. And he excuses himself in that, where it is required of him to banish Luther from his country, or to send him up to Rome, it would be little becoming to him to do so, and less conscientious, unless he knew just cause why he should do so. If the cardinal would or could declare this to him, there should lack nothing in him which it was the duty of a Christian prince to do. And therefore he desired to endeavor with the bishop of Rome, that innocency and truth not be oppressed before the crime or error is lawfully convicted.

This done, the duke sent the letter of the cardinal to Martin Luther, who answered back to the prince, showing first how he came obediently to Cajetan with the emperor's warrant, and what talk there was between them; how Cajetan pressed him against his conscience and manifest truth, to revoke these alleged errors: First, that the merits of Christ's passion were not the treasure of the pope's pardons. Secondly, that faith was necessary in receiving the sacraments. Although in the first he was content to yield to the cardinal; yet the second, because it touched a great part of our salvation, he could not retract with a safe conscience, but desired to be taught by the Scriptures, or at least that the matter might be brought into open disputation in some free place of Germany, where the truth might be discussed and judged by learned men. The cardinal, not pleased with this, in great anger cast out many menacing words, and would not admit Luther to his presence any more. And yet Luther persisted in his obedience to the church of Rome, gave attendance, and waited upon the cardinal's pleasure a sufficient time.

At last, when no answer would come, after he had waited five or six days, to his great loss and greater danger, he departed by the persuasion of his friends. If the cardinal was displeased at this, he had most cause to blame himself.

“And now, as the cardinal threatens me,” Luther writes, “not to let the matter fall, but that the process shall be pursued at Rome, unless I either come and present myself, or else be banished from your dominions, I am not so much grieved for my own sake, as that you should sustain any danger or peril on my account. And therefore, seeing there is no place nor country, which can keep me from the malice of my adversaries, I am willing to depart from here, and to forsake my country, wherever it pleases the Lord to lead me, thanking God who has counted me worthy to suffer thus much for the glory of Christ's name.”

At this time the cause of Luther was in great danger, and he himself was ready to flee the country. And the duke in return was as much afraid to keep him, had not the marvellous providence of God provided a remedy where the power of man failed, by stirring up the whole university of Wittenberg.



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Seeing the cause of truth thus declining, with a full and general consent, they addressed their letters to the prince in defense of Luther and of his cause, making their humble suit to him, that of his princely honor he would not allow innocency and the simplicity of truth, so clearly exposed in the Scriptures, to be foiled and oppressed by mere violence of certain malignant flatterers about the pope; but that the error may first be shown and convicted, before the party is pronounced guilty.

By these letters the duke began to consider the cause of Luther more seriously in his mind, and to read his works, and also to hearken to his sermons. By which (through God's holy working) he grew to knowledge and strength, perceiving in Luther's quarrel more than he did before. This was about the beginning of December, A.D. 1518.

As this was going on, Pope Leo, playing the lion at Rome, in the month of November, to establish his seat against the defection which he feared was coming, had sent forth new indulgences into Germany, and all quarters abroad. He included a new edict in which he declared this to be the catholic doctrine of the holy mother church of Rome, prince of all other churches: that bishops of Rome, who are successors of Peter, and vicars of Christ, have this power and authority given to release and dispense, and also to grant indulgences available both for the living, and for the dead lying in the pains of purgatory. And this doctrine he charged to be received by all faithful Christian men, under pain of the great curse, and utter separation from all holy church.

This popish decree and indulgence, as a new merchandise to get money, having been sent into all quarters of Christendom for the holy father's advantage, also came to be received in Germany about the month of December. Luther in the meantime, hearing that at Rome they were about to proceed and pronounce against him, provided a certain appeal in due form of law, in which he appeals from the pope to the General Council.

When Pope Leo perceived that his pardons would not prosper to his mind, and that Luther could not be brought to Rome, he sent his chamberlain, Charles Miltitz (who was a German) into Saxony to Duke Frederick, with a golden rose, in the usual ceremony. He also carried with him secret letters to certain noblemen of the duke's council, to solicit them in favor of the pope's cause, and to remove the duke's mind, if possible, from Luther.

But before Miltitz approached Germany, Emperor Maximilian died, in January 1519. Then two candidates stood for the election — to wit, Francis the French king, and Charles king of Spain, who was also duke of Austria, and duke of Burgundy. To make this matter short, through means of Frederick, the prince elector — who having the offer of the preferment, refused it — the election fell to Charles, called emperor Charles V, about the end of August.

In the month of June previous, there was a public disputation at Leipzig, a city under the dominion of George duke of Saxony, uncle to Duke Frederick. This disputation first began through the occasion of John Eckius, a friar, and Andrew Carolostad, a doctor of Wittenberg. Eckius had impugned certain propositions or conclusions of Martin Luther, which he had written the year before against the pope's pardons. Against him Carolostad wrote in defense of Luther. Eckius, to answer Carolostad, set forth an apology. Carolostad confuted this apology in writing. Martin Luther came to this disputation with Philip Melancthon, who not a year before had come to Wittenberg. Luther was not then thinking of disputing anything because of his appeal already mentioned, but only to hear what was said and done.

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Before entering into the disputation it was agreed that everything should be penned by notaries, and afterwards published. But Eckius afterwards went back on that, pretending that the penning of the notaries would be a hindrance to them, by which their reasoning would be the more languid. But Carolostad would not dispute without notaries. The sum of their disputation was reduced to certain conclusions. Among which, first came the question of free will — that is, whether a man has of himself any election or purpose to do that which is *good*. When the question was to be discussed — what the will of man may do of itself, without grace — through heat of contention, they fell into other matters having little or nothing to do with what Carolostad proposed. Eckius affirmed that the pure strength to do good is not in man's will, but is given by God to man, to take interest and increase of man in return (which at first he seemed to deny). Then being asked by Carolostad whether the whole and full good work that is in man proceeds from God, he answered, the whole good work, but not wholly, granting that the will is moved by God, but that it is in man's power to consent. Carolostad reasoned against this, alleging certain places from Augustine, and from St. Paul, who says that, "God works in us both to will and to do." <sup>Phi 2.13</sup> This opinion of Carolostad seemed to prevail. And thus a whole week was lost about this contentious and sophistical altercation between Eckius and Carolostad.

Luther, as I said, did not come thinking to dispute at all, but having liberty granted by the duke, and under the pope's authority, he was challenged and forced against his will, to dispute with Eckius. The matter of their controversy was about the authority of the bishop of Rome. Luther had previously set forth in writing, that those who attribute the pre-eminency to the church of Rome, have no other foundation for it than the pope's decrees, which had been set forth not much more than four hundred years before; and he affirmed that these decrees were quite contrary to all ancient histories for over a thousand years past, and also contrary to the holy Scriptures, and to the Nicene council.

Against this assertion Eckius set up a contrary conclusion, saying that,

"Those who hold that the supremacy and pre-eminence of the church of Rome above all other churches was not before the time of pope Silvester I, are in error, because those who succeed in the see and faith of Peter were always received as the successors of Peter, and vicars of Christ on earth."

Though this was the last of all the other points of Eckius, he thought to begin with this against Luther, in order to bring him into more displeasure with the bishop of Rome. But Luther refused to dispute, alleging that the subject was more unpleasant than necessary for that time, and also for the bishop of Rome's sake, he would much rather keep silence on the point. But if he must be forced to it, he wished the fault should be understood to be where it really was; namely, in his adversaries who challenged him to it. Eckius again clearing himself, transfers all the fault to Luther, who in his treatise on indulgences, first asserted that before Pope Silvester's time the church of Rome had no preeminence above other churches.

Thus Luther being constrained to dispute, whether he would or not, the question began to be propounded as to the supremacy of the bishop of Rome. This supremacy, Eckius contended, was found and grounded upon God's law. Luther on the other side did not deny the supremacy of the bishop of Rome above other churches, nor did he deny it to be universal over all churches, but he only affirmed that it is not instituted by God's law. Upon this question the disputation continued for five days. During all this time, Eckius very dishonestly and discourteously demeaned himself, studying by all means how to bring his adversary into hatred with the auditors, and into danger with the pope. The reasons of

Eckius were these: “Forasmuch as the church, being a civil body, cannot be without a head, therefore, as it stands with God’s law that other civil governments should not be destitute of a head, so it is requisite by God’s law, that the pope should be the head of the universal church of Christ.” To this Martin Luther answered that, “He confesses and grants that the church is not headless so long as Christ is alive, who is the only head of the church. Nor does the church require any other head besides him, because it is a spiritual kingdom, and not earthly.” And for this he alleged Col 1.18.<sup>410</sup> Eckius again produced certain places out of Jerome and Cyprian, which made very little way to prove the primacy of the pope to exist by the law of God. As to the testimony of Bernard, the authority of that author was not of any great force in this question.

[427] A.D. 1521.

Then he came to the place in St. Matthew, “You are Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church,” etc. <sup>Mat 16.18</sup> To this it was answered that, “This was a confession of faith; and that Peter there represents the person of the whole universal church, as Augustine expounds it. Also, that Christ in that place means *Himself* to be the rock, as is manifest both by his words and the structure of the sentence, and many other conjectures. Also to the place of St. John, (21.16) “Feed my sheep” (Which Eckius alleged were spoken particularly to Peter alone). Luther answered that, “After these words were spoken, equal authority was given to all the apostles, where Christ says to them, ‘Receive the Holy Spirit: whosoever’s sins you remit, they are remitted,’ etc. <sup>Joh 20-22-23</sup> By these words (he says) Christ, assigning their office to them, teaches them what it means to feed, and what he ought to be who feeds.” After this, Eckius came to the authority of the Council of Constance, alleging this among others, — “That it stands upon necessity of our salvation, to believe the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the church: alleging, moreover, that in that council it was debated and discussed, that a general council could not err.” To this Martin Luther answered discreetly, saying, “That all the articles which John Huss held were not condemned in that council as heretical. Again, of what authority that Council of Constance is to be esteemed, he left to other men’s judgments. This is most certain (he said) that no council has authority to make new articles of faith.” Here Martin Luther was exclaimed against by Eckius and his accomplices, for diminishing the authority of general councils, even though he meant to confirm their authority. Yet Luther was called a heretic and a schismatic, and one of the Bohemian faction, with many other terms of reproachful insult. <sup>411</sup> Eckius then granted the authority of the apostles to be equal: and yet that it did not follow from there, that the authority of all bishops was equal. In conclusion, Eckius could not bear that anyone should decline from any word or sentence of the pope’s decrees, or the constitutions of the fathers. To this Luther answered, grounding himself upon Gal 2.6, where St. Paul, speaking of the principal apostles, says, “And of those who seemed to be something, whatever they were, it makes no matter to me, for God favors no man’s person: nevertheless, that they seemed to be something added nothing to me,” etc. Eckius said to this, “As to the authority of the apostles, they were all chosen by Christ, but were ordained bishops by St. Peter.” And when Luther brought forth the constitution of the decree, which says, “Let not the bishop of Rome be called universal bishop,” etc. Eckius answered that, “The bishop of Rome should not be called universal bishop; yet he may be called bishop of the universal church.” And thus much touching the question of the pope’s supremacy.

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<sup>410</sup> **Col 1:18** And He is the head of the body, the church, who is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead, that in all things He may have the preeminence.

<sup>411</sup> When Eck accused Luther of being a Hussite, Luther proudly affirmed it, saying, “Yes, I *am* a Hussite!”

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From this matter they next entered upon purgatory, where Eckius kept no order. For when they should have disputed what power the pope has in purgatory, Eckius turned the scope of the question, and endeavored to prove that there is a purgatory; and he alleged the passage of Maccabees. Luther, leaning upon the judgment of Jerome, affirmed that the book of Maccabees is not canonical. Eckius again replied that the book of Maccabees was of no less authority than the gospels. Also he alleged 1Cor 3.15, "He himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire." Also, Mat 5.25, "Agree with your adversary quickly while you are in the way with him, lest he deliver you to prison — you shall not come out from there till you have paid the last farthing," etc. To this he also added Psa 66.12, "We went through fire and water," etc. How these places are twisted to support purgatory, let the reader discern and judge. Then the question of indulgences was brought on, of which Eckius seemed to make but a trifle, and a matter of nothing, and so he passed it over.

At last they came to the question of penance. Touching this, the reasons of Eckius digressed much from the purpose, and he went to prove that there are some pains of satisfaction (which Luther never denied); but that for every particular offense, such particular penance is exacted by God's justice upon the repentant sinner, that it is in *man's* power to remit or release it. Neither Luther, nor any true Christian would admit such penance.

And thus you have the chief effect of this disputation between Luther and Eckius at Leipzig, in the month of July 1519.

About the beginning of the same year, Ulric Zuinglius (Zwingli) first came to Zurich and began to teach there. In the sixteenth article in his book of articles, he records that Luther and he at the same time, one not knowing or hearing of the other, began to write against the pope's pardons and indulgences. Yet, if the time is rightly counted, I suppose we would find that Luther began a year or two before Zuinglius. Notwithstanding, Sleidan testifies that in this year, when Sampson, a Franciscan, came with the pope's pardons to Zurich, Ulric Zuinglius withstood him, and declared his pardons to be but a vain seducing of the people, to inveigle away their money.

The next year, which was 1520, the friars and doctors of Louvaine, and of Cologne, condemned the books of Luther as heretical. Luther again effectually defended himself and charged them with obstinate violence and malicious impiety. About this same time the thunderbolt of Pope Leo flashed out from Rome against Luther, although he had so humbly and obediently revered both the person of the pope, and the authority of his see, and had also dedicated to him the book entitled, "Of Christian Liberty." In this book he discusses and proves these two points principally:

1. That a Christian man is free, and Lord over all things, and subject to none.
2. That a Christian man is a diligent underling and servant of all men, and subject to every man.

Also, in the same year he set out a defense of all his articles, which the pope's bull had condemned before. He also wrote another book to the nobility of Germany, in which he impugns and shakes the three principal walls of the papists:

1. The papists say that no temporal or profane magistrate has any power over the spirituality (clergy), but that the spirituality have power over the other.
2. Where any place of Scripture is in controversy, for it to be decided they say, "No man may expound the Scripture, or be judge of it, but only the pope."

3. When any council is brought against them, they say that, “No man has authority to call a council, but only the pope.”

Moreover, in this book he handles and discourses on other matters: that the pope cannot stop any free council, nor what things ought to be handled in councils; and that the pride of the pope is not to be suffered. What money goes out of Germany yearly to the pope, amounts to the sum of three million florins. Furthermore, he proves and discusses in this book, that the emperor is not under the pope; that the donation of Constantine is not true, but forged; that priests may have wives; that the voices of the people should not be separated from the election of ecclesiastical persons; that interdicting and suspending of matrimony at certain times was introduced from avarice; what is the right use of excommunication; that there ought to be fewer holy-days; that liberty should not be restrained in meats; that willful poverty and begging should to be abolished; what damage and inconvenience have grown up by the Council of Constance; what misfortunes Sigismund the emperor sustained for not keeping faith and promise with John Huss and Jerome of Prague; that heretics should not be convicted by fire and faggot, but by evidence of Scripture, and God’s word; how schools and universities ought to be reformed; what is to be said and judged about the pope’s decretals; and that the first teaching of children ought to begin with the gospel.

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In October 1520, the new emperor, Charles V, was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. About November, Pope Leo again sent two cardinals to Duke Frederick, of whom the one was Jerome Leander. After a few words of high commendation, he premised to the duke, regarding his noble progeny and his other famous virtues. Then they made two requests to him in the pope’s name. First, that he would cause all the books of Luther to be burned. Secondly, that he would either cause Luther to be executed, or else he would send him up to Rome to the pope. These two requests seemed very strange to the duke. Answering the cardinals, he said that,

“Having been long absent from there on other public affairs, he could not tell what had been done, nor had he communicated on the doings of Luther. However, this he had heard: that Eckius was a great disturber not only of Luther, but of other learned and good men of his university. As for himself, he was always ready to do his duty — first, in sending Luther to Cajetan the cardinal at the city of Augsburg; and afterwards, at the pope’s command, he would have sent him out of his dominions had not Meltitz, the pope’s own chamberlain, given contrary counsel to retain him in his own country, fearing lest he might do more harm in other countries than where he was better known. And so now also, he was as ready to do his duty, wherever right and equity required. But as in this cause he sees much hatred and violence shown on one side, and no error yet convicted on the other side, but rather it had the approval of many well learned and sound men of judgment. And also, as the cause of Luther was not yet heard before the emperor, he therefore desired the legates to arrange with the pope’s holiness, that certain learned persons of gravity and upright judgment might be assigned to have the hearing and determination of this matter. And that his error might first be known and proved, before he was made a heretic, or his books burned. And then, when he might see Luther’s error by manifest and sound testimonies of Scripture, Luther would find no favor at his hands. Otherwise he trusted that the pope’s holiness would exact nothing from him, which he might not with equity and honor of his place and estate, reasonably perform,” etc.

Then the cardinals, declaring to the duke again, that they could not do otherwise than according to the form of their commission. And so they took the books of Luther, and shortly after set them on fire, and openly burnt them. Luther hearing this, in like manner

called together all the students and learned men in Wittenberg. There, taking the pope's decrees and the bull lately sent down against himself, openly and solemnly, accompanied with a great number of people following him, he likewise set them on fire and burnt them, on the 10th of December.

A little before these things passed between the pope and Martin Luther, the emperor had commanded and ordained a sitting or assembly of the states of all the empire to be held at the city of Worms, on the sixth of January next ensuing. In this assembly, through means of Duke Frederick, the emperor let it be known that he would have the cause of Luther brought before him there, and so it was. For when the assembly was afterwards commenced in the city of Worms, on the sixth of March following, the emperor, through the advice of Duke Frederick, directed his letters to Luther. He signified that because Luther had set forth certain books, he therefore — by the advice of his peers and princes about him — ordained to have the cause brought before him in his own hearing. Therefore he granted Luther license to come, and return home again. And that he might safely and quietly do so, he promised Luther, by public faith and credit, in the name of the whole empire, his passport and safe conduct; and by the instrument which he sent to him, Luther might be more fully assured. Therefore, without any doubt or distrust, he desired Luther to repair to him, and to be present there by the twenty-first day after receiving it.

Martin Luther being thus provided with his safe conduct by the emperor, and after having been accursed by the pope at Rome on Maundy Thursday, he shortly after Easter sped on his journey to Worms. There he appeared before the emperor and all the states of Germany. It will now be detailed how constantly he stuck to the truth, and defended himself, and answered his adversaries.

***Martin Luther Examined at Worms – 1521.***

*The Acts and Doings of Martin Luther  
before the Emperor at the City of Worms.*

In the year 1521, about seventeen days after Easter, Martin Luther entered Worms, having been sent for by the Emperor Charles V. Three years before (October 31, 1517), Luther had published certain propositions to be disputed in the town of Wittenberg in Saxony, against the tyranny of the pope. Notwithstanding, they were torn in pieces, condemned and burned by the papists. Their objections not being supported by manifest Scriptures, nor by probable reason, the matter began to grow to a tumult and agitation. Yet all the while, Luther openly maintained his cause against the clergy. Upon this it seemed good to some, that Luther should be summoned, assigning to him a herald-at-arms, with a letter of safe conduct by the emperor and princes. Being sent for, he came, and was brought to the house of the knights of Rhodes. There he was lodged, well-treated, and visited by many earls, barons, knights of the order, gentlemen, priests, and the commonalty, who frequented his lodging until night.

To conclude, Luther came, contrary to the expectation of many. For although he was sent for by the emperor's messenger, and had letters of safe conduct, yet just a few days before, his books had been condemned by public proclamation. So it was greatly doubted by many whether he would come — especially since his friends deliberated together in nearby village (where Luther was first notified of these occurrences). Many persuaded him not to venture into such danger. When he heard their whole persuasion and advice, he answered in this way: — “Since I am sent for, I am resolved and certainly determined to enter Worms, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Yes, even if there were as many devils to resist me, as there are tiles to cover the houses in Worms.”

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The fourth day after his arrival, a gentleman named Ulrick of Pappenheim, Lieutenant-General of the men at arms of the empire, was commanded by the emperor, before dinner, to go to Luther, and to enjoin him to appear before his imperial majesty, the princes electors, dukes, and other estates of the empire, at four o'clock in the afternoon, to be informed of the cause of his being sent for. He willingly assented to this, as was his duty.

Therefore, at four o'clock, Ulrick of Pappenheim, and Caspar Sturm the emperor's herald (who conducted Luther from Wittenberg to Worms), came for Luther, and accompanied him through the garden of the knights of Rhodes, to the earl palatine's palace. And lest the people who thronged in should molest him, he was led by secret stairs to the place where he was appointed to have the audience. Yet many who perceived this stratagem, violently rushed in and were resisted, but in vain. Many ascended the galleries because they desired to see Luther.

Thus standing before the emperor, the electors, dukes, earls, and all the estates of the empire assembled there, he was first notified by Ulrick of Pappenheim to keep silence until such time as he was required to speak. Then John Eckius, mentioned above, who was the bishop of Triers' general official, spoke with a loud and intelligible voice, first in Latin, and then in Dutch according to the emperor's command. He proposed this sentence:

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"Martin Luther, his sacred and invincible imperial majesty has enjoined, by the consent of all the estates of the holy empire, that you should be appealed before the throne of his majesty, to the end that I might demand of you these two points.

"First, whether you confess that these books here (he showed a heap of Luther's books, written in the Latin and Dutch tongues), and which are dispersed in all places, entitled with your name, are yours, and that you affirm them to be yours, or not?

"Secondly, whether you will recant and revoke them, and all that is contained in them, or rather mean to stand to what you have written?"

Before Luther prepared to answer, Jerome Scurffus, a lawyer of Wittenberg, requested that the titles of the books be read. Immediately Eckius named some of the books; and those were principally the ones printed at Basel, among which he named Luther's *Commentaries on the Psalms*, his book on *Good Works*, his *Commentary on the Lord's Prayer*, and others which were not controversial.

After this, Luther answered in Latin and in Dutch:

"Two things are proposed to me by his imperial majesty: First, whether I will avow all those books that bear my name. Secondly, whether I will maintain or revoke anything that I have devised or published. I will answer as briefly as I can.

"In the first place, I cannot do otherwise than recognize those books as being mine, which were named; and certainly, I will never recant any clause of them. In the second place, to declare whether I will wholly defend, or call back anything contained in them. As there are questions of faith and the salvation of the soul (and this concerns the word of God, which is the greatest and most excellent matter that can be in heaven or earth, and which we should duly and evermore reverence), this might be accounted a rashness of judgment in me, and even a most dangerous attempt, if I were to pronounce anything before I was better advised, considering that I might recite something less than the matter imports, and more than the truth requires, if I did not premeditate upon what I would speak. These two things being well considered, it brings to my mind this sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ, where it is said,

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‘Whoever denies me before men, I will also deny him before my Father, who is in heaven.’ I request then for this cause, and humbly beseech his imperial majesty to grant me liberty and leisure to deliberate, so that I may satisfy the interrogation made to me, without prejudice of the word of God, and the peril of my own soul.”

Whereupon the princes began to deliberate. Then Eckius, the prolocutor, pronounced their resolution, saying,

“Although, master Luther, you have sufficiently understood, by the emperor’s command, the cause of your appearance here, and therefore do not deserve to have any further respite given you to determine, yet the emperor’s majesty, of his mere clemency, grants to you one day to meditate on your answer, so that tomorrow at this hour, you will exhibit your opinion, not in writing, but pronounce it with your voice.”

Then Luther was led to his lodging by the herald. But here I must not forget that on the way, as he was going to the emperor, and when he was in the assembly of the princes, he was exhorted by others to be courageous, and to conduct himself manly, and not to fear those who can kill the body, but not the soul, but rather to dread Him who is able to send both body and soul to everlasting fire. Mat 10.28

He was encouraged too by the words of our Lord, that “When you are before kings, do not think about what you will say, for it will be given to you in that hour what to say.” Luk 12.11-12

The next day, at four o’clock, the herald again came. He brought Luther from his lodging to the emperor’s court, where he stayed till six o’clock, for the princes were occupied in grave consultations. There he was surrounded with a great number of people, and almost smothered for the press that was there. Then afterwards, when the princes were set and Luther had entered, Eckius, the official, began to speak in this manner:

“Yesterday, at this hour, the emperor’s majesty assigned you to be here master Luther, for you affirmed those books that we named yesterday were yours. Further, to the interrogation made by us, whether you would approve of all that is contained in them, or retract and make void any part of them, you required time for deliberation, which was granted, and has now expired. Although, you should not have had an opportunity granted to deliberate, considering it was not unknown to you why we cited you. And concerning the matter of faith, every man ought to be so prepared that at all times, whenever he is required, he may give certain and constant reason for it — especially you, being counted a man of such learning, and so long exercised in theology. Then go to. Answer even now to the emperor’s demand, whose clemency you have experienced in giving you leisure to deliberate. Will you now maintain all your books which you have acknowledged, or revoke any part of them, and submit yourself?”

The official made this interrogation in Latin and in Dutch. Martin Luther answered in Latin and in Dutch, in this way: modestly and lowly, and yet not without some stoutness of spirit and Christian constancy. So that his adversaries would gladly have had his courage more humbled and abased, yet they more earnestly desired his recantation, of which they were in some hopes, when they heard him desire a respite to make his answer.

His Answer was this:

“Most magnificent emperor, and you most noble princes, and my most gentle lords, I appear before you here at the hour prescribed to me yesterday, yielding the obedience which I owe — humbly beseeching, for God’s mercy, your most renowned majesty, and your graces and honors, that you will minister to me this courtesy: to attend to this cause benignly, which is the cause (I trust) of justice and truth. And if by ignorance I have not given to every one of you your just titles, or if I have not observed the ceremonies and countenance of the court,



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offending against them, it may please you to pardon me of your benignities, as one who has frequented cloisters, and not courtly civilities. And first, as regards myself, I can affirm or promise no other thing except this; that I have taught up to now in simplicity of mind, that which I thought tended to God's glory, and to the salvation of men's souls.

“Now, concerning the two articles objected by your most excellent majesty, whether I would acknowledge those books which were named, and are published in my name, and whether I would maintain or revoke them, I have given a resolved answer to the first, in which I persist, and shall persevere for evermore, that these books are mine, and published by me in my name — unless it has since happened, by some fraudulent dealing of my enemies, that there is anything foisted into them or corruptly altered. For I will acknowledge nothing but what I have written, and that which I have written I will not deny.

“Now, to answer the second article. I beseech your most excellent majesty, and your graces, to grant to give ear to me. All my books are not of one sort. There are some in which I have so simply and soundly declared and opened the religion of Christian faith, and of good works, that my very enemies are compelled to confess them to be profitable, and worthy to be read by all Christians. And truly, the pope's bull (however cruel and tyrannous it is), judges some of my books to be blameless; although he thunders against me with severe sentence, and condemns my books with monstrous cruelty. If I were to revoke those books, I might worthily be thought to transgress the office of a true Christian, and to be someone who opposes the public confession of all people. There is another sort of my books, which contain invectives against the papacy, and against others of the pope's retinue, who have corrupted the whole state of our Christianity, with their pestiferous doctrine and pernicious examples. Nor can anyone deny or dissemble this. For the universal experience and common complaint of all will bear witness to it, that the consciences of all faithful men are most miserably entrapped, vexed, and cruelly tormented by the pope's laws, and by his doctrines of men.

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“Also, that the goods and substance of Christian people are devoured, especially in this noble and famous country of Germany.. And yet, in a most detestable manner, they are still allowed to be devoured without measure by incredible tyranny. This is notwithstanding that they themselves have ordained the contrary in their own proper laws, in which they themselves have decreed that, ‘all such laws of popes, as are repugnant to the doctrine of the gospel, and the opinions of the ancient fathers, are to be judged erroneous, and reprovèd.’

“If, then, I should revoke these, I do nothing but add more force to their tyranny, and open not only windows but wide gates to their impiety, which is likely to extend more widely and more licentiously than ever. And by my retracting them, their insolent assumptions will be made more licentious, and less subject to punishment; intolerable to the common people, and more confirmed and established, especially if it is known that I have done this by the authority of your most excellent majesty, and the sacred Roman empire. O, Lord! what a cover or shadow I will then be to cloak their naughtiness and tyranny!

“The rest, or third sort of my books, are those which I have written against some persons — to wit, against those who labor with tooth and nail to maintain the Romish tyranny, and to deface the true doctrine and religion which I have taught and professed. As to these, I plainly confess that I have been more vehement than my religion and profession required. For I make myself to be no saint, and I do not dispute my life, but only the doctrine of Christ.

“And these I cannot call back without prejudice. For by this recantation it will come to pass that tyranny and impiety will reign, supported by my means. And so they will exercise cruelty against God's people more violently and ragingly than before.

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“Nevertheless, as I am a man, and not God, I can defend my books in no other way than my true Lord Jesus Christ defended His doctrine. Being examined before Annas, and having received a buffeting by the officials, he said, ‘If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil.’

“If the Lord (who was perfect, and could not err) did not refuse to have testimony given against his doctrine, even from a most vile servant, then how much more should I, who am but vile corruption, and who can do nothing of myself but err, earnestly see and require if anyone will bear witness against my doctrine.

“Therefore, I request, for God’s mercy, your most excellent majesty, your graces and right honorable lordships, or whatever degree he may be, high or low, to give his testimony here to convict my errors, and confute me by the Scriptures, either out of the prophets, or the apostles, and I will be most ready, if so instructed, to revoke any manner of error. Yes, and I will be the first one to consume my own books, and burn them.

“I suppose it may seem that I have well-weighed beforehand the perils and dangers, the divisions and dissensions, which have arisen throughout the whole world because of my doctrine, and for which I was vehemently and sharply admonished yesterday. Concerning these divisions of men’s minds, what other men judge I do not know. As for myself, I conceive no greater delight in anything, than when I behold discords and dissensions stirred up for the word of God. For such is the course and proceedings of the Gospel. Jesus Christ says, ‘I did not come to bring peace, but a sword; I came to set a man at variance with his father,’ etc. (Mat 10.34).

“And further, we must think that our God is marvellous and terrible in his counsels; lest perhaps what we endeavor to achieve and bring to pass with earnest study (if we begin first with condemning his word), may redound again to a sea of evil; and lest the new reign of this young and bounteous prince Charles (in whom, next after God, we all conceive singular hope), be lamentable, unfortunate, and miserably begun.

“I could exemplify this more effectually with authorities from the Scriptures — such as by Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, and the kings of Israel, who then most obscured the bright sun of their glory, and procured their own ruin, when by their counsels, and not by God’s counsels, they attempted to pacify and establish their governments and realms. For it is God who entraps the wily in their wiliness, and subverts mountains before they are aware. This is why it is good to dread the Lord.

“I do not say this, supposing that such politic and prudent heads need my doctrine and admonition, but because I would not omit to profit my country, and offer my duty or service. And thus I humbly commend myself to your most excellent majesty, and your honorable lordships, beseeching you that I may not incur your displeasure, or be despised by you through the persecution of my adversaries. I have spoken.”

Then Eckius, the emperor’s prolocutor, with a stern countenance began, and said that Luther had not answered to any purpose. Nor did it behoove him to call into question things concluded and defined by general councils. And therefore he required from Luther a plain and direct answer, whether he would revoke or not?”

Then Luther replied. —

“Considering your sovereign majesty and your honors require a plain answer, this I say and profess as resolutely as I may, without doubtfulness or sophistication, that unless I am convinced by testimonies of the Scriptures, and by probable reasons (for I do not believe the pope, nor his general councils, which have erred many times and have been contrary to themselves), my conscience is so bound in these Scriptures, and the word of God, which I have

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alleged, that I will not, and may not revoke anything, considering it is not godly or lawful to do anything against my conscience. Here I stand and rest. God have mercy upon me.”<sup>412</sup>

The princes consulted together upon this answer; and when they had diligently examined it, the prolocutor began thus:

“Martin, you have more immodestly answered than suited your person, and also little to the purpose. You divide your books into three sorts in such a way, that all that you have said, answers nothing to the interrogation proposed. And therefore, if you had revoked those in which the greatest part of your errors is contained, the emperor’s majesty, and the noble clemency of others, would have allowed the rest to sustain no injury. But you revive and bring to light again, all that the general Council of Constance has condemned, which was assembled of all the nations of Germany, and you now require to be convinced by the Scriptures, in which you greatly err. For what does it avail to renew a disputation about things so long condemned by the church and councils, unless it were necessary to give a reason to every man of every thing that is concluded? Now if it were permitted to everyone who opposes the determination of the church and councils, that he must be convinced by the Scriptures, we would have nothing certain and established in Christendom.

“And this is the reason that the emperor’s majesty requires a simple answer from you, either negative or affirmative, whether you mind to defend all your works as Christian, or not?”

Then Luther turning to the emperor and the nobles, urging them not to force or compel him to yield against his conscience, confirmed with the holy Scriptures, without manifest arguments alleged to the contrary, by his adversaries. He said,

“I have declared and rendered my answer simply and directly. Nor do I have any more to say, unless my adversaries, with true and sufficient proofs, grounded upon the Scripture, can reduce and resolve my mind, and refute my errors which they lay to my charge. I am tied, as I said, by the Scriptures; nor may I, or can I, assent to them with a safe conscience,. For as to general councils, with whose authority alone they press me, I am able to prove that they have both erred, and have defined many things contrary to themselves. And therefore their authority is not sufficient, for which I should retract those things, the verity of which stands so firm and manifest in the holy Scripture, that neither should it be required of me, nor could I do so without impiety.”

[431] A.D. 1521.

The official again answered, denying that any man could prove the councils have erred. But Luther alleged that he could, and promised to prove it; and now with night approaching, the lords rose and departed. After Luther had taken his leave of the emperor, many Spaniards scorned and scoffed the good man on the way to his lodging, hollering and whooping after him a long while.

On the following Friday, when the princes electors, dukes, and other estates were assembled, the emperor sent to the whole body of the council a letter, in effect containing the following:

### *The Emperor’s Letter.*

“Our predecessors, who truly were Christian princes, were obedient to the Romish church, which Martin Luther now opposes. And therefore, inasmuch as he is not determined to retract his errors in any one point, we cannot, without great infamy and stain of honor, degenerate from the examples of our elders, but will maintain the ancient faith, and give aid to the See of

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<sup>412</sup> Often cited as, “Here I stand. I can do no other.”

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Rome. And further, we are resolved to pursue Martin Luther and his adherents, by excommunication and by other means that may be devised, to extinguish his doctrine. Nevertheless we will not violate our faith, which we have promised him, but mean to give order for his safe return to the place from where he came.”

The princes electors, dukes, and other estates of the empire, sat and consulted about this sentence all afternoon on Friday, and the whole day on Saturday, so that Luther still had no answer from the emperor.

During this time, many princes, earls, barons, knights of the order, gentlemen, priests, monks, with others of the laity and common sort visited him. All these were present at all hours in the emperor’s court, and could not be satisfied with the sight of him. Also there were bills setup, some against Luther, and some with him it seemed. Notwithstanding, many supposed, and especially those who well conceived the matter, that this was subtly done by his enemies, so that thereby occasion might be offered to violate the safe-conduct given to him. The Romish ambassadors endeavored with all diligence to bring this to pass.

The following Monday, the archbishop of Triers notified Luther that on Wednesday next he should appear before him at nine o’clock, and assigned him the place. On St. George’s day, a chaplain of the archbishop of Triers came to Luther, by commandment of the bishop, signifying he must appear before him on the morrow after, at the hour and place prescribed.

The day after St. George’s day, Luther obeying the archbishop’s commandment, entered his palace, accompanied with his chaplain, one of the emperor’s heralds, and those who came in his company from Saxony to Worms, with his chief friends. Then Dr. Voeus, the Marquess of Baden’s chaplain, began to declare and protest in the presence of the archbishop of Triers, Joachin Marquess of Brandenburgh, George Duke of Saxony, the bishops of Augsburg and Brandenburgh, and others, that Luther was not called there to be conferred with, nor to a disputation. It was only that the princes had procured license from the emperor’s majesty, through Christian charity, to have liberty granted to them to exhort Luther benignly and in a brotherly way.

He said further, that although the councils had ordained many things, yet they had not determined contrary matters. And even though they had greatly erred, yet their authority was not therefore abased, or at least they did not so err, that it was lawful for every man to impugn their opinions.

He said moreover, that Luther’s book would breed great tumult and incredible troubles; and that he abused the common sort with his book on *Christian Liberty*, encouraging them to shake off their yoke, confirming disobedience in them. The believers were all of one heart and soul, and therefore it was requisite and necessary to have laws. It was to be considered, he said, although he had written many good things, and no doubt from a good mind, such as *de Triplice Justicia* (Triple Justice) and other matters, the devil yet goes about bringing to pass, by crafty means, to have all Luther’s works forever condemned. For by these books which Luther wrote last, he said, men would judge and esteem him as the tree is known, not by the blossom, but by the fruit.

Here he added something about the noon devil, and about the spirit coming in the dark, and of the flying arrow. All his oration was exhortatory, full of rhetorical figures about honesty, the utility of laws, the dangers of conscience, of the commonwealth, etc. He often repeated in his oration, that this admonition was given from a singular good will and great clemency. In concluding his oration, he added menaces, saying that if Luther abided in his intention, then the emperor would proceed further, and banish him from the empire.

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Martin Luther answered:

“Most noble princes, and my most gracious lords, I render most humble thanks for your benignities and singular good wills, from which this admonition proceeds. For I know myself to be safe, as by no means can I deserve to be admonished by such mighty estates.”

Then he frankly pronounced that he had not reproved all councils, but only the Council of Constance. And that was for this principal reason: that it had condemned the word of God, which appeared in the condemnation of this article propounded by John Huss: — “The church of Christ is the communion of the predestinate.” It is evident, Luther said, that the Council of Constance abolished this article, and consequently the article of our faith, “I believe in the holy church universal.” Luther said that he was ready to spend life and blood, if he were not compelled to revoke the manifest word of God; for in defense of it we should obey God rather than men. If Christ’s sheep were fed with the pure pasture of the gospel; if the faith of Christ was sincerely preached; and if there were good ecclesiastical magistrates who would duly execute their office, then we would not need to charge the church with men’s traditions. Further, he knew well that we ought to obey the magistrates and higher powers, however unjustly and perversely they lived. We should also be obedient to their laws and judgment — all of which he had taught in all his works. He added further, that he was ready to obey them in all points, if they did not force him to deny the word of God.

Then Luther was asked to stand aside, and the princes consulted as to what answer they might give him. This done, they called him into a parlor, where the aforesaid Dr. Voews repeated his former matters, admonishing Luther to submit his writings to the emperor, and to the princes’ judgment.

Luther answered humbly and modestly, that he could not permit men to say that he would shun the judgment of the emperor, princes, and superior powers of the empire. He would not refuse to stand to their trial. And he was content to allow his writings to be discussed, considered, and judged by the simplest, provided it were done by the authority of the word of God and the holy Scriptures. He said that the word of God was so much to him, and was so manifest to him, that he could not give way, unless they could confute his doctrine by the word of God. This lesson, he said, he learned from St. Augustine, who writes that, “He gave this honor only to those books which are called *canonical*, and he believed only these to be true. Regarding other doctors, although they surpassed others in holiness and excellency of learning, yet he would not credit them further than they agreed with the touchstone of God’s word. Further, he said, “St. Paul gives us a lesson, writing to the Thessalonians: ‘Prove all things, hold fast that which is good;’ <sup>1The 5-21</sup> and to the Galatians, ‘Even if an angel from heaven preaches any other doctrine, let him be accursed.’” <sup>Gal 1.8</sup>

Finally, he meekly asked them not to urge his conscience, which was bound by the word of God and holy Scripture, to deny the same excellent word. And thus he commended his cause and himself to them, and especially to the emperor’s majesty, requiring their favor that he might not be compelled to do anything in this matter against his conscience. In all other causes, he would submit himself with all kinds of obedience and due subjection.

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As Luther had thus ended his talk, Joachim the elector, Marquis of Brandenburg, demanded if his meaning was this: that he would not yield, unless he were convinced by the Scripture. “Yes truly, right noble lord,” said Luther, “or else by ancient and evident reasons.” And so the assembly broke up, and the princes repaired to the emperor’s court.

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After their departure, the archbishop of Triers, accompanied with a few of his familiars, namely, John Eckius his official, and Cochleus, commanded Luther to repair into his parlor. With Luther was Jerome Scurfe and Nicholas Ambsdorff as his assistants.

They asked him to submit his writing to the judgment of the next general council. Luther agreed to this, but with this condition: that they themselves would present the articles collected out of his books to be submitted to the council in such a way as would be authorized by the Scripture, and confirmed with the testimonies of the same.

Then leaving Luther, they departed, and reported to the archbishop of Triers, that he had promised to submit his writings in certain articles to the next council. And in the meantime he would keep silence — which Luther never thought. Neither with admonitions, nor yet with menaces, could he be induced to deny or submit his books to the judgment of men (he had so fortified his cause with clear and manifest authorities of Scripture) unless they could prove by sacred Scripture, and apparent reasons to the contrary.

It chanced, by the special grace of God, that the archbishop of Triers sent for Luther, thinking to hear him presently. The archbishop entreated Luther, and conferred with him very gently, first removing those who were present. In this conference, Luther concealed nothing from the archbishop. He affirmed that it was dangerous to submit a matter of such great importance to those who had already condemned his opinion, and approved the pope's bull.

Then the archbishop, bidding a friend of his to draw near, requested Luther to declare what remedy might be ministered to help this difficulty. Luther answered that there was no better remedy than such as Gamaliel alleged in the fifth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, saying, 'If this council, or this work, proceeds from men it will come to nothing. But if it is of God, you cannot destroy it.' <sup>Act 5:39</sup> And so he desired that the emperor might be notified to write to the pope, that he knew certainly that if this enterprise did not proceed of God, it would be abolished within three, even within two years.

The archbishop inquired of him what he would do if certain articles were taken out of his books to be submitted to the general council. Luther answered, "Provided they are not those which the Council of Constance condemned." The archbishop said, "I fear they will be the very same; but what then?" Luther replied, "I will not, and I cannot hold my peace on such matters; for I am sure by their decrees, that the word of God was condemned. Therefore I would rather lose head and life, than abandon the manifest word of my Lord God."

Then the archbishop, seeing Luther would in no way give over the word of God to the judgment of men, gently bade Luther farewell, who then asked the archbishop to entreat the emperor's majesty to grant to him gracious leave to depart. He answered that he would take order for him, and speedily notify him of the emperor's pleasure.

A short while after, John Eckius, the archbishop's official, in the presence of the emperor's secretary, said to Luther, by the command of the emperor, that since he had been admonished by his imperial majesty, the electors, princes, and estates of the empire, and notwithstanding, Luther would not return to unity and concord, it remained that the emperor, as advocate of the catholic faith, should proceed further. And it was the emperor's ordinance, that within twenty-one days he would return boldly under safe-conduct, and be safely guarded to the place from which he came — provided that he raised no commotion among the people on his journey, either in conference or by preaching.

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Luther hearing this, answered very modestly, and Christianly; “Even as it has pleased God, so it has come to pass, the name of the Lord be blessed.” He said further, that he thanked most humbly the emperor’s majesty, and all the princes and estates of the empire, that they had given to him benign and gracious audience, and granted him safe-conduct to come and return. Finally, he said that he desired none other from them, than a reformation according to the sacred word of God, and the consonancy of holy Scripture, which he desired in his heart. Otherwise he was prepared to suffer all chances from his imperial majesty, such as life, and death, goods, fame, and reproach; reserving nothing to himself but the word of God, which he would constantly confess to the end; humbly recommending himself to the emperor’s majesty, and to all the princes and other estates of the sacred empire.

The day after, which was April 26, after Luther had taken his leave of those who supported him, and his benevolent friends who often visited him. he departed from Worms. The emperor’s herald, Casper Sturm, followed and overtook him at Oppenheim, being commanded by the emperor to conduct him safely home.

### *The usual prayer of Martin Luther.*

“Confirm in us, O God, what you have wrought, and perfect the work that you have begun in us — to your glory. Amen.”

Martin Luther thus being dismissed by the emperor, departed from Worms towards his country, accompanied with the emperor’s herald, and the rest of his company, having only twenty-one days granted to him for his return. In the meantime, he wrote to the emperor and to other nobles of the empire, reciting briefly to them the whole action and order of things done there, desiring from them their lawful good will and favor. Just as he had always stood in need of it, so now he most earnestly craves it, especially in this, his cause. which is not his cause, but the cause of the whole church universal. He desired that it may be heard with equity, and decided by the rule and authority of holy Scripture. He signified, moreover, that whenever they were pleased to send for him, he would be ready at their command, to appear at any time or place, upon their promise of safety, etc.

During the time of these doings, the doctors and school-men of Paris were not slow to show their cunning. They condemned the books of Luther, extracting out of them certain articles regarding the sacraments, laws, and decrees of the church, equality of works, vows, contrition, absolution, satisfaction, purgatory, free-will, privileges of the holy church, councils, punishment of heretics, philosophy, school divinity, and other matters. Philip Melancthon wrote an answer to them, and also Luther himself answered, though pleasantly and jestingly.

It was not long after this, that Charles V, the new emperor, to purchase favor with the pope (because he was not yet confirmed in his empire) provided and directed a solemn writ of outlawry against Luther, and all those who took his part. He commanded Luther, wherever he might be gotten, to be apprehended, and his books burned. By this decree, proclaimed against Luther, the emperor procured no small thanks from the pope; so that the pope, ceasing to take part with the French King, joined himself wholly to the emperor. In the meantime, Duke Frederick, to give some place to the emperor’s proclamation, secretly conveyed Luther a little out of sight, with the help of certain noblemen whom he well knew to be faithful and trustworthy to him in that particular. Luther being kept close and out of company there, wrote several letters and books to his friends. Among these, he dedicated one to his order of Augustinian friars, entitled, “The Mass Abolished.” The friars being encouraged by him, began at first to lay aside their private masses. Duke Frederick, fearing

it might breed some great stir or tumult, required the judgment of the whole university of Wittenberg in the matter.

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The opinion of the whole university being ascertained, it was shown to the duke that he would do well and godly, by the whole advice of the learned there, to command that the use of the mass be abolished throughout his dominions. And though it could not be done without tumult, yet that was no reason why true doctrine should be checked. Nor should such disturbance be imputed to the doctrine taught, but to the adversaries, who willingly and wickedly kick against the truth. Therefore, we should not cease from what which we know should be done, out of fear of such tumults. But we must go constantly forward in defense of God's truth, however the world may esteem us, or rage against it. Thus they showed their judgment to Duke Frederick.

Moreover, about the same year and time (A.D. 1521), King Henry VIII took occasion to impugn Luther's book, "On the Babylonian Captivity," by writing his own book in which,

1. He reprov'd Luther's opinion about the pope's pardons;
2. He defended the supremacy of the bishop of Rome; and
3. He labored to refute Luther's entire doctrine of the sacraments.

This book, although it bore the king's name in the title, it was another who planned it, and still another who formed its style. But whoever had the labor of this book, the king had the thanks and also the reward. For in return, the bishop of Rome gave to King Henry VIII, and to his successors forever, the title of "Defender of the Faith."

Shortly after this, in the same year, Pope Leo had warred against the French, and had gotten from them (with the emperor's aid) the cities of Parma, Placentia, and Milan. While sitting at supper, and rejoicing at three great gifts that God had bestowed upon him, he said,

1. That being banished out of his country, he was restored to Florence again with glory.
2. That he deserved to be called apostolic.
3. That he had driven the Frenchmen out of Italy.

After he had spoken these words, he was seized with a sudden fever and died shortly after, being just forty-seven years of age. Some suspect that he died of poison. Adrian VI, schoolmaster to Charles the emperor, succeeded but did not live much over a year and a half in his papacy. Adrian was a German, brought up at Louvaine. Just as he exceeded the common sort of popes in learning, so in moderation of life and manners he seemed not so intemperate as some other popes. Yet like a right pope, not degenerating at all from his see, he was a mortal enemy to Martin Luther. In his time, shortly after the Council of Worms was broken up, another meeting or assembly was appointed by the emperor at Nuremberg, A.D. 1522, comprised of the princes, nobles, and states of Germany.

### ***Reformation Needed – Diet of Nuremberg – 1522.***

Adrian sent his letters to this assembly in the form of a brief. He included an instruction to his legate Cheregata, to inform him how to proceed, and what to allege against Luther before the assembled princes. In this letter of instruction, among other matters, is the following admission by the pope himself, of the necessity of the reformation. He thus writes to his legate:

"This you shall say to them, that we confess ourselves, and do not deny, that God allows this persecution to be inflicted upon his church for the sins of men, especially of priests and



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prelates of the clergy. For it is certain that the hand of the Lord is not so shortened that he cannot save; but our sins have divided God and us; and therefore He hides his face from us so that he will not hear us. The Scripture testifies that the sins of the people issue from the sins of the priests; and therefore (says St. Chrysostom) Christ, going about to cure the sick city of Jerusalem, first entered into the temple, to correct the sins of the priests, like a good physician who first begins to cure the disease from the very root. We know that in this holy see there have been many abominable things wrought and practiced for a long time — such as abuses in spiritual matters, and also excesses in life and manners, and all things have turned clean contrary. And so it is no marvel if the sickness, beginning at the head, that is, at the high bishops, has descended afterward to inferior prelates. All have declined, every one is his own way. Nor has there been one who has done good, no not one. <sup>Rom 3.10</sup> Therefore there is need that we all give glory to God, and that we humble our souls to him, every one of us considering from where he has fallen; and that everyone judges himself before he is judged by God in the rod of His fury.

“For the redress of this, you shall insinuate to them, and promise in our behalf, that in us no diligence of a better reformation shall be lacking, beginning with our own court; that just as the contagion descended first from there into all the inferior parts, so reformation and amendment of all that is amiss, shall also take its beginning from the same place. To that end, they will find us that much more ready, because we see the whole world is so desirous of the same. We ourselves (as you know) never sought this dignity, but rather desired to have led a private life, if we otherwise might, and to serve God in a quiet state. And we would also have utterly refused the same, if the fear of God, and the manner of our election, and misdoubting some schism to follow after, had not urged us to take it. And thus we took the burden upon us, not for any ambition of dignity, or to enrich our friends and kinsfolks, but only to be obedient to the will of God, and FOR REFORMATION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, and for relief of the poor, and especially for the advancement of learning and learned men, with such other things as pertain to the charge of a good bishop and lawful heir of St. Peter. And though all errors, corruptions, and abuses are not straightway amended by us, men should not marvel at that. The sore is great, and far grown, and is not single, but compacted together of manifold maladies, and therefore to cure it we must proceed little by little, first beginning to cure the greater and most dangerous, lest while we intend to amend all, we destroy all. All sudden mutations in a commonwealth (says Aristotle) are perilous: and he that wrings too hard, strains out blood.”

### *The Answer of the noble and reverend Princes, and States of the sacred Roman Empire, exhibited to the Pope's Ambassador.*

“The noble and renowned prince Lord Ferdinand, lieutenant to the emperor's majesty, with other reverend peers in Christ, and mighty princes electors, and other states and orders of this present assembly of the Roman empire convened in Nuremberg, have gratefully received, and diligently perused the letters sent in the form of a brief, with the instructions also of the most holy father in Christ and Lord, Lord Adrian, the high bishop of the holy and universal church of Rome, presented to them in the cause of Luther's faction.

“By the aforesaid letters and writings, they first understand his holiness to have been born in and had his native origin and parentage out of this noble nation of Germany, at which they do not a little rejoice. Of whose great virtues and ornaments, both in mind and body, they have heard great fame and commendation, even from his tender years. Because of this, they are so much the more joyous of his advancement and preferment, by such consent of election, to the height of the apostolical dignity, and yield to God most hearty thanks for the same. They pray also, from the bottom of their hearts, for his excellent clemency, and the perpetual glory of his name, and for health of souls, and the safety of the universal church, that God will give his

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holiness long continuance of felicity. We have no doubt that, by such a full and consenting election of such a pastor of the universal catholic church, great profit and advantage will ensue. This thing to hope and look for, his holiness opens to them an evident declaration in his own letters, testifying and protesting what a care it is to him both day and night, how to discharge his pastoral function, in studying for the health of the flock committed to him; and especially in converting the minds of Christian princes from war to peace. Declaring moreover, what subsidy and relief his holiness has sent to the soldiers of Rhodes, etc.

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“Having considered with themselves all of these things, they conceived exceeding hope and comfort in their minds, thus reputed and trusting that this concord of Christian princes will be a great help and stay to better quiet the things now out of frame. Without this, neither the state of the commonwealth, nor of the Christian religion, can rightly be redressed, much less the tyranny of the barbarous Turks be repressed.

“Therefore the excellent prince, lord lieutenant to the emperor’s majesty, with the other princes electors, and orders of this present assembly, most heartily pray that his holiness will persist in his purpose and diligence, as he has virtuously begun, leaving no stone unremoved; so that the disagreeing hearts of Christian princes may be reduced to quiet and peace. Or if that will not be, then at least some truce and intermission of domestic dissensions may be obtained for the necessity of the present time, whereby all Christians may join their powers together, with the help of God, to go against the Turk, and to deliver the people of Christ from his barbarous tyranny and bondage. To this end, both the noble prince lord lieutenant, and other princes of Germany, will put to their helping hands, to the best of their ability.

“And whereas by the letters of his holiness, with his instruction also exhibited to them by his legate, they understand that his holiness is afflicted with great sorrow for the prospering of Luther’s sect, whereby innumerable souls, committed to his charge, are in danger of perdition. And therefore his holiness vehemently desires some speedy remedy against the same to be provided, with an explication of certain necessary reasons and causes whereby to move the German princes to this end; and that they will tender the execution of the apostolic sentence, and also of the emperor’s edict set forth regarding the suppressing of Luther. To these the lord lieutenant, and other princes and states answer that it is no less grief and sorrow to them than to his holiness. And they also lament as much for these impieties and perils of souls, and inconveniences which grow in the religion of Christ, either by the sect of Luther, or any other way. Further, whatever help or counsel lies in them for extirpating errors, and decay of souls’ health, whatever their moderation can do, they are willing and ready to perform — considering how they stand bound and subject to the pope’s holiness, as well as to the emperor’s majesty. But there have been (they said) causes great and urgent why the sentence of the apostolic see, and the emperor’s edict against Luther, has not been put into execution before now, which have led them to this. Such as, first, in weighing and considering with themselves, that great evils and inconveniences would ensue thereupon. For the most of the people of Germany have always had this persuasion, and now by reading Luther’s books, they are more confirmed in this: that great grievances and inconveniences have come to this nation of Germany by the court of Rome. And therefore, if they had proceeded with any rigor in executing the pope’s sentence, and the emperor’s edict, the multitude would conceive and suspect in their minds, that this was done for subverting the verity of the gospel, and for supporting and confirming the former abuses and grievances. Whereupon great wars and tumults, no doubt, would have ensued. This thing, by many arguments, has been well perceived by the princes and states there. For avoiding it, they thought to use gentler remedies, serving more opportunely for the time being.

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“Again, whereas the reverend lord legate in the name of the pope’s holiness, has been instructed to declare to them, that God suffers this persecution to rise in the church for the sins of men, and that his holiness therefore promises to begin the reformation with his own court, that just as the corruption first sprang from there to the inferior parts, so the redress of all again should first begin with the same. Also, whereas his holiness, of a good and fatherly heart, testifies in his letters that he himself always disliked that the court of Rome should intermeddle so much, and derogate from the concordates of the princes, and that his holiness fully purposes in that behalf, during his papacy, never to practice the like, but to so endeavor that every one, and especially the nation of the Germans, may have their proper due and right, granting especially to the said nation his peculiar favor. Who does not see by these premises, that this most holy bishop omits nothing which a good father, or a devout pastor may or ought to do for his sheep? Or who will not be moved by this to a loving reverence, and to amendment of his defaults — namely, seeing his holiness so intends to accomplish the same in deed, which he promises in word, according to how he has begun?”

“And thus undoubtedly, both the noble lord lieutenant, and all other princes and states of the empire, well hope that he will. And they pray most heartily that he may do, to the glory of our eternal God, to the health of souls, and to the tranquility of the public state. For unless such abuses and grievances, with certain other articles also, which the secular princes (assigned purposely for the same) will draw out in writing, shall be faithfully reformed, there can be no true peace and concord between the ecclesiastical and secular estates, nor can any true extirpation of this tumult and errors in Germany be expected. For partly by long wars, and partly by reason of other grievances and hindrances, this nation of Germany has been so wasted and consumed in money, that it is scarcely able to sustain itself in private affairs, and the necessary upholding of justice within itself; much less to minister aid and succor to the kingdom of Hungary, and to the Croatians, against the Turk. All the states of the sacred Roman empire do not doubt that the pope’s holiness right well understands how the German princes granted and condescended for the money of annates to be levied to the See of Rome for a certain term of years, on condition that the said money would be converted to maintain war against the Turkish infidels, and for the defense of the catholic faith. Though the term of these years has long since expired, when the said annates should have been gathered, yet that money has not been so bestowed to that use for which it was first granted. Therefore if any such necessity should now come, that any public contributions should be demanded of the Getman people against the Turk, they would ask in reply, Why has that money from annates, which was reserved many years before, not been bestowed and applied to that use? And so they would refuse to allow any more such burdens to be laid upon them for that cause.

“Therefore the said lord lieutenant, and other princes and degrees of the empire, make earnest petition, that the pope’s holiness will with a fatherly consideration expend what had been collected, and cease hereafter to require such annates <sup>443</sup> — which are usually paid to the court of Rome upon the death of bishops and other prelates or ecclesiastical persons — and allow them to remain in the chamber of the empire. Thereby justice and peace may be more commodiously administered, the tranquility of the public state of Germany maintained, and also that by the same, due helps may be ordained and disposed to other Christian potentates in Germany against the Turk, which otherwise is not to be hoped for without this.

“I. Whereas the pope’s holiness desires to be informed which way may be best to take in resisting those errors of the Lutherans. To this the lord lieutenant, with other princes and nobles, answered that whatever help or counsel they can devise, they will be ready to give with willing hearts. Seeing therefore that the states, ecclesiastical as well as temporal, are far out of

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<sup>443</sup> Annates was a certain portion of money usually paid to the court of Rome, out of the first year’s fruits at the vacating of an ecclesiastical living.

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frame, and have so corrupted their ways — and seeing that so many errors, abuses, and corruptions have crept in, not only on the part of Luther and his sect, but also by diverse other occasions besides — it is requisite and necessary that some effectual remedy be provided for redress of the church, as well as for repressing the Turk's tyranny.

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“Now the lord lieutenant and other estates and princes do not see that any more present or effectual remedy can be had than this: that the pope's holiness, by the consent of the emperor's majesty, summon a free Christian council in some convenient place in Germany, such as Strasburg, or Mentz, or Coblantz, and that it may be with as much speed as convenient, so that the congregation of the said council is not deferred more than one year: and that in this council it may be lawful for every person there who has an interest, either temporal or ecclesiastical, to speak and consult freely, to the glory of God, and the health of souls, and the public wealth of Christendom, without impediment or restraint, whatever oath or other bond to the contrary notwithstanding. Yes, and it will be every good man's part to speak there, not only freely, but to speak what is true, to the purpose and to edifying; and to speak not to please or flatter, but to declare his judgment simply and uprightly, without any fraud or guile. And regarding by what ways these errors and tumults of the German people may best be stayed and pacified until the council is set, the foresaid lord-lieutenant, with the other princes, thereupon have consulted and deliberated that, because Luther and certain of his fellows are within the territory and dominions of the noble Duke Frederick, the said lord lieutenant, and other states of the empire, shall so work the matter with the afore-named prince, duke of Saxony, that Luther and his followers shall not write, set forth, or print anything in the meantime. Nor do they doubt that the said noble prince of Saxony, for his Christian piety and obedience to the Roman empire, will effectually condescend to do the same, as becomes a prince of such excellent virtue.

“II. The said lord-lieutenant and princes shall work so with the preachers of Germany, that in their sermons they shall not teach or blow into the people's ears such matters whereby the multitude may be moved to rebellion or uproar, or be induced into error; that they shall preach and teach nothing but the true, pure, sincere, and holy gospel, and approved Scripture, godly, mildly, and Christianly, according to the doctrine and exposition of the Scripture, being approved and received by Christ's church — abstaining from all such things which are better unknown than learned by the people, and which are not expedient to be subtly searched, or deeply discussed. Also, that they shall provoke no contention by disputation among the vulgar sort; but whatever hangs in controversy, they shall reserve the same to the determination of the council to come.

“III. The archbishops, bishops, and other prelates within their diocese, shall assign godly and learned men, having good judgment in the Scripture, who shall diligently and faithfully attend upon such preachers. And if they perceive the said preachers either to have erred, or to have uttered anything inconveniently, they shall godly, mildly, and modestly notify and inform them of it, in such a way that no man will justly complain of the truth of the gospel being impeached. But if the preachers, continuing in their stubbornness, refuse to be admonished, and will not desist from their lewdness, then they shall be restrained and punished by the ordinaries of the place.

“Besides this, the said princes and nobles shall provide and undertake so much as possible, that from henceforth during the aforesaid time, no new book shall be printed, especially none of these famous libels; nor shall they be privately or openly sold. Also, order shall be taken among all potentates, so that if any set out, sell, or print any new work, it will first be seen and perused by certain godly, learned, and discreet men appointed for that purpose. So that if it is not admitted and approved by them, it shall not be permitted to be published in print, or to

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come abroad. By these means they hope that the tumults, errors, and offenses among the people will cease; especially if the pope's holiness himself begins with an orderly and due reformation in the above-mentioned grievances, and will procure such a free and Christian council as has been said. If so, then the people will be well contented and satisfied. Or even if the tumult will not be so fully calmed as they desire, yet the greater part will thus be quieted. For all those who are honest and good men, no doubt will be in great expectation of that general council which will shortly be assembled.

“Finally, concerning priests who contract matrimony, and religious men leaving their cloisters, which was also intimated by the apostolical legate, the aforesaid princes consider that in the civil law there is no penalty for those who are ordained. They shall therefore be referred to the canonical constitutions, to thereafter be punished accordingly — that is, by the loss of their benefices and privileges, or other condign (appropriate) censures, and that the said ordinaries shall in no case be stopped or inhibited by the secular powers from the correction of such priests. But they will add their help and favor to the maintenance of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and shall direct in their public edicts and precepts, that none of them shall impeach or prohibit the said ordinaries in their ecclesiastical castigation of transgressors.

“To conclude, the redoubted prince lord-lieutenant, and other princes, estates, and orders of the empire, vehemently and most heartily pray and beseech that the pope's holiness, and the reverend lord his legate, will accept and take all the premises to be spoken and meant in no other way than of a good, free, sincere, and Christian mind. Nor is there anything that all the aforesaid princes, estates, and nobles, wish and desire more than the furtherance and the prosperous estate of the holy catholic church of Rome, and of his holiness. To whose wishes, desires, and obedience, they offer and commend themselves most ready and compliant, as faithful children.”

Thus, loving reader, you have the full discourse of both the pope's letter and his legate's instructions, along with the answer of the states of Germany to the said letter and instructions exhibited to them in the diet of Nuremberg. It has likewise been declared what was concluded at the said diet, and what order and consultation was taken — first regarding the grievances of Germany, which they exhibited to the pope, and then concerning a general council to be called in Germany; also as to printing, preaching, priests' marriage, etc.

The disturbance about priests' marriage, was first occasioned by the ministers of Strasburg, who began to take wives about this time. And they were therefore cited by the bishop of Strasburg to appear before him on a certain day, as violators of the laws of holy church, of the holy fathers, the bishops of Rome, and of the emperor's majesty, to the prejudice of both their own order of priesthood, and the majesty of Almighty God. But they referred their cause to the hearing of the magistrates of the same city. Being suitors for them to the bishops, they labored either to have the matter released, or at least delayed for a time.

It would be tedious to recite all the circumstances following upon this diet or assembly of Nuremberg — how their decree was received by some, neglected by some, and diversely wrested and expounded by diverse others. It may be enough to say that the states address the pope to convene a general council to settle and determine these matters, and in the Interim they would require that all persons be silent, and all publications cease, and all changes of religion be unlawful until that general council assembled and decided.

In the same session of Nuremberg, mention was made of a hundred grievances exhibited to the bishop of Rome. From these one hundred grievances, thus publicly complained of in the diet by the princes of Germany, the world may see and judge not only what abuses and corruptions, monstrous and incredible, lay hidden under the glorious title of the holy church

of Rome. But it may also understand with what hypocrisy and impudence the pope takes it upon himself to so grievously complain against Luther and others, when in all the universal church of Christ there is none so much to be blamed in every way as he himself appears by these complaints of the German princes against the pope's intolerable oppressions and grievances.

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It would take too long to insert all one hundred grievances solemnly objected to in the diet; but the few which follow will illustrate the then corrupt state of the church of Rome.

*A Complaint for selling Remission of Sin for Money.*

The burden and grievance of the pope's indulgences and pardons is most insupportable. The bishops of Rome, under pretense of building some church in Rome, or to war against the Turks, make out their indulgences with their bulls, persuading and promising to the simple people strange and wonderful benefits of remission *a poena et culpa*, that is, from all their sins and punishment due for the same. And that is not in this life only, but also after this life, to those who are burning in the fire of purgatory. Through the hope of this, true piety is almost extinct in all Germany, while every evil-disposed person promises to himself, for a little money, the license and impunity to do whatever he pleases. Whereupon follows fornication, adultery, perjury, homicide, robbing, and spoiling, rapine, usury, with a whole flood of all kinds of mischiefs, etc.

*A Complaint against the Immunities of Clergymen.*

Whoever has received any ecclesiastical orders, great or small, thereby contends to be freed from all punishment of the secular magistrate, however great his offense may be. Nor does he unadvisedly presume upon this, but is maintained in that liberty to sin, by the principal estates of the clergy. For it has often been seen that, whereas by the canonical laws priests are forbidden to marry, they afterwards diligently labor and go about day and night to tempt matrons, virgins, and the wives, daughters, and sisters of the laymen. And through their continual importunity and labor, partly with gifts, rewards and flattering words, and partly by their secret confessions (as they call them) it has been found by experience that they bring to pass, that many virgins and matrons, who otherwise would be honest, have been overcome and moved to sin and wickedness. And it often happens that they detain and keep away wives and daughters from their husbands and fathers, threatening those with fire and sword who require them to return. Thus, through their raging immorality, they heap and gather together innumerable mischiefs and offenses. It is to be marvelled at, how licentiously, and without punishment, they daily offend in robberies, murder, accusing innocents, burning, rapine, theft, and counterfeiting false coin, besides a thousand other mischiefs, contrary and against all laws of both God and man. This is not without great offense to others, trusting only upon the freedom and liberty of sin, which they usurp to themselves by the privilege of their canons.

Therefore necessity and justice require that the privileges of the clergy should be abrogated and taken away, and in their place it be provided, ordained, and decreed, that the clergy, of whatever order or degree they are, shall have like laws, like judgment and punishment, as the laity have. Thus they may pretend no prerogative or freedom in like offense, more than the laymen; but every one of the clergy offending, under the judge where the offense is committed, shall be punished for his act according to the measure and quality of his offense, in such manner as other malefactors are, with the punishment appointed by the common laws of the empire.

*The Church burdened with a number of Holy days.*

Moreover, the common people are not a little oppressed with the great number of holy-days. For there are now so many holy-days, that the husbandmen scarcely have time to gather the fruits of the earth, which they have brought forth with such great labor and travel, often being in danger of hail, rain, and other storms. These fruits, notwithstanding, if they were not prevented by so many holy-days, they would gather and bring home without any loss. Besides, upon these holy-days innumerable offenses are committed and done, rather than God being honored or worshipped. This thing is so manifest, that it needs no witness. For that cause, the estates of the sacred empire think it best and most profitable for the Christian commonwealth, that this great number of holy-days should be diminished, which should be celebrated in spirit and truth, rather than with the external worship, and be better kept with abstinence from sin.

*Baptizing of Bells.*

Also the bishops have invented a practice that no other but themselves may baptize bells for the lay people. Hereby the simple people, upon the affirmation of the suffragans,<sup>444</sup> believe that such bells so baptized will drive away evil spirits and tempests. Whereupon a great number of godfathers are appointed, especially those who are rich, who at the time of baptizing, hold the rope with which the bell is tied. The suffragan speaking before them, as is the custom in baptizing young children, they answer all together, and give the name to the bell. The bell having a new garment put upon it, as is usually done to the Christians. After this they go to sumptuous banquets, to which the godfathers are also invited, that thereby they might give the greater reward. And the suffragans, with their chaplains and other ministers, are sumptuously fed. Yet this does not suffice, but the suffragan must also have a reward, which they call a small *gift* or *present*. By this means it often happens that even in small villages, a hundred florins <sup>445</sup> are consumed and spent in such christenings. This is not only superstitious, but also contrary to the Christian religion, a seducing of the simple people, and mere extortion. Notwithstanding, , to enrich their suffragans, the bishops allow these things, and others far worse. Therefore, such wicked and unlawful things ought to be abolished.

*Complaint of Officials for maintaining unlawful Usury.*

Furthermore, the officials being allured through the greedy and insatiable desire for money, not only not forbid unlawful usuries and gains of money, but also allow and maintain them. Moreover, taking a yearly stipend and pension, they allow the clergy and other religious persons to dwell unlawfully with their concubines and harlots, and to beget children by them. Every man may plainly see that these things bring great peril, offense, and detriment to both body and soul (so it need not to be recited) unless he makes himself blind as a mole.

*Complaint of Officials permitting unlawful cohabitation with others,  
when the Husband or Wife is long absent.*

Furthermore, where it so happens (as it often does) that either the good man, or the good wife, by means of war, or some other vow, has taken in hand some long journey, and so tarries longer than serves the appetite of the other, the official, taking a reward from the other, gives license to the party to dwell with any other person, not first having regard or making inquiry whether the husband or wife, being absent, is healthy or dead. And because

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<sup>444</sup> *Suffragan*: an assistant or subordinate bishop of a diocese.

<sup>445</sup> A gold florin would now be worth about 190 dollars.

their doings should not be evil spoken of, they name it a *toleration of sufferance*, not without a great offense to all men, and to the great contempt of holy matrimony.

*Complaint against Incorporations or Impropriations,<sup>416</sup>  
and other plundering of the People by Churchmen.*

Many parish churches are subject to monasteries, and to the parsons of other churches, by means of *incorporations*, as they call them, which they are otherwise bound by canon laws to foresee and look after by themselves. When they put them into others' hands to be governed, they reserve for themselves most of the stipend of the benefits and tithes.

[437] A.D. 1524.

Moreover, they aggravate and charge the others with such great pensions, that the hireling priests and other ministers of the church cannot thereupon have a decent and competent living. Thus it comes to pass that these hireling priests (for they must have something to live on) with unlawful exactions, miserably spoil and devour the poor sheep committed to them, and consume all their substance. For when the sacraments of the altar and of baptism are to be administered; or when the first, seventh, thirteenth, and year-day must be kept; when auricular confession comes to be heard, or the dead to be buried; or any other ceremony is to be done concerning the funeral, they will not do it freely. Rather, they extort and exact so much money, that the miserable commonalty is scarcely able to disburse it. And daily they increase and augment these exactions of theirs, driving the simple poor people to pay it, by threatening them with excommunication, or compelling them by other ways to be at such charges which otherwise, through poverty, they are not able to maintain obsequies, year-mind (memorials), and other such ceremonies pertaining to the funerals of the dead.

*Priests compelled to pay Tribute for Concubines.*

In many places, the bishops and their officials not only allow priests to have concubines, for which they pay certain sums of money, but they compel continent and chaste priests, who live without concubines, to also pay tribute for concubines, affirming that the bishop needs the money. This being paid, it will be lawful for them either to live chaste, or to keep concubines. Every man well understands and knows how wicked a thing this is.

These and other burdens and grievances, the secular states of Germany delivered to the pope's legate, saying they had many more grievances besides these, which likewise much needed redress. But because they would not exceed the limits of reasonable brevity, they would content themselves, they said, with these hundred, reserving the rest to a more apt and more convenient opportunity, steadfastly trusting and hoping that when those hundred grievances were abolished, the others would also decay and fall with them. This was about A.D. 1523. This being done, the assembly of Nuremberg broke up for a time, and was prorogued to the next year.

In the meantime, Pope Adrian died. After him succeeded Pope Clement VII. In A.D. 1524, he sent down his legate, Cardinal Campegius, to the council of the German princes assembled again at Nuremberg, with letters also to Duke Frederick, full of many fair petitions and sharp complaints, etc. But as to the grievances above-mentioned, no word or message at all was sent, neither by Campegius, nor by any other. Thus, when anything was to be complained of against Luther, either for suppression of the liberty of the gospel, or for upholding the pope's dignity, the pope was ever ready with all diligence to call upon the

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<sup>416</sup> *Impropriation*: putting an ecclesiastical benefice or tithes in the hands of a layman, or lay corporation.



princes. But when any redress was to be required for the public weal of Christian people, or regarding the necessary reformation of the church, the pope gave neither ear nor answer.

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And having thus discoursed about what passed between the pope and princes of Germany at the diet of Nuremberg, let us now return to the history of Luther. You have heard before of how he was kept secret and solitary for a time by certain nobles in Saxony, because of the emperor's edict. In the meantime, while Luther had thus absented himself from Wittenberg, Andrew Carolostad, proceeding more roughly and eagerly in matters of religion, had excited the people to throw down images in the temples. Luther, returning again to the city, greatly reprov'd the rashness of Carolostad. He declared that such proceedings were not orderly, but that pictures and images should first be thrown out of the hearts and consciences of men; the people should first be taught that we are saved before God; that we please Him by faith alone; and that images serve no good purpose. This being done, and the people being well instructed, there would be no danger in images, but they would fall of their own accord. Not that he would maintain images, or allow them — but that their removal ought to be done by the magistrate, and not by every private man without order and authority.

The reason why Luther oppos'd Carolostad violently throwing down images, seems to arise partly because Pope Adrian, in his letters to the princes and states of Germany, grievously complains and charges the followers of Luther with sedition and tumults; and with rebellion against magistrates, as subverters and destroyers of all order and obedience. Therefore Luther, to stop the mouth of such slanderers, and to prevent such sinister suspicions, was forced to proceed as much as possible with order and authority.

### ***The Doctrines of Luther and Zuinglius Compared.***

While for these reasons Luther differed from the more vehement proceedings of Carolostad, he also differed somewhat from Zuinglius. Now, though Luther went a little astray, and dissented from Zuinglius in this one matter of the sacrament, yet they were in accord in all other doctrines. This appeared in the synod at Marpurg, A.D. 1529, where both Luther and Zuinglius were present. Conferring together, they agreed in these articles:

1. On the unity and trinity of God.
2. In the incarnation of the Word.
3. In the passion and resurrection of Christ.
4. In the article of original sin.
5. In the article of faith in Christ Jesus.
6. That this faith comes not by merits, but by the gift of God.
7. That this faith is our righteousness.
8. Regarding the external word.
9. Likewise they agreed in the articles of baptism.
10. Of good works.
11. Of confession.
12. Of magistrates.
13. Of men's traditions.
14. Of the baptism of infants.
15. Lastly, concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. They believed and held first, that both kinds (bread and wine) are to be ministered to the people according to Christ's institution, and that the mass is not the means by which a man may obtain grace both for the quick and the dead. Also that the sacrament (which they call by the altar) is a true sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord. And that the spiritual eating of his

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body and blood is necessary for every Christian man. And furthermore, that the use of the sacrament tends to the same effect as the word, given and ordained by Almighty God, that thereby infirm consciences may be stirred to belief by the Holy Spirit, etc.

Luther and Zuinglius consented and agreed in all these sums of doctrine. Nor were their opinions so different in the matter of the Lord's Supper. But in the principal points, they were in accord. For if the question is asked of them both, what is the material substance of the sacrament, which our outward senses behold and feel? They would both confess bread, and not just the form of bread. Further, if the question is asked, whether Christ is present there? they would both confess his true presence is there. It is only in the *manner* of His presence that they differ. Again, ask whether the material substance laid before our eyes in the sacrament, is to be worshipped? they would both deny it, and judge it idolatry. And likewise for transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of the mass. They both abhor, and deny them, even as they agree that the communion should be administered in both kinds.

Their only difference is in this: concerning the sense and meaning of the words of Christ, *Hoc est corpus meum*, This is my body, etc. which Luther expounds to be taken nakedly and simply as the letter stands, without trope or figure. And therefore he holds that the body and blood of Christ are truly in the bread and wine, and so also are to be received with the mouth. Uldric Zuinglius, with John Oecolampadius and others, interpret these words otherwise, so as not to be taken literally, but with a spiritual meaning, and they are to be expounded by a trope or figure, so that the sense of these words: "This is my body," is thus expounded: this *signifies* my body and blood. The Saxons consented with Luther. The Helvetians consented with Zuinglius.

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As time went on, so the division of these opinions increased and spread farther. The one part was called from Luther, *Lutherans*; the other part had the name of *Sacramentaries*. Notwithstanding, in this one unity of opinion, both the Lutherans and Sacramentaries accorded and agreed that the bread and wine are not transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ, but they are a true sacrament of the body and blood.

Luther lived until the age of sixty-three, and continued writing and preaching about twenty-nine years. As to his death, here are the words of Melancthon:

"In the year of our Lord 1546, on the 17th of February, Dr. Martin Luther sickened a little before supper, from his accustomed malady, the oppression of humors in the orifice or opening of the stomach, of which I remember I have seen him often diseased in this place. This sickness became violent after supper. Struggling against it, he retired into his chamber, and there he rested on his bed two hours, during which time his pains increased. And as Dr. Jonas was lying in his chamber, Luther awakened, and prayed him to rise, and to call up Ambrose, his children's schoolmaster, to make a fire in another chamber. When he entered it, Albert earl of Mansfield, with his wife, and others, came into his chamber at that instant. Finally, feeling his fatal hour approach, before nine o'clock in the morning, February 18th, he commended himself to God with this devout prayer.

### *The Prayer of Luther at his death.*

"My heavenly Father, eternal and merciful God, you have manifested to me your dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. I have taught him, I have known him, I love him as my life, my health, my redemption; whom the wicked have persecuted, maligned, and afflicted with injury. Draw my soul to You."

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“After this he said, three times: ‘I commend my spirit into your hands, you have redeemed me, O God of truth. God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believes in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.’ Joh 3.16.

“Having often repeated his prayers, he was called to God, to whom he so faithfully commended his spirit, to enjoy, no doubt, the blessed society of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles in the kingdom of God the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit. Let us now love the memory of this man, and the doctrine that he taught. Let us learn to be modest and meek. Let us consider the wretched calamities and marvellous changes, that shall follow this sorrowful event. I beseech you, O Son of God, crucified for us, the risen Emmanuel — govern, preserve, and defend your church.”

Frederick Prince Elector died long before Luther, in the year of our Lord 1525, leaving no issue behind him, for he lived a single life, and was never married. He was succeeded by John Frederick duke of Saxony.

After this Council of Nuremberg, immediately followed another sitting at Ratisbone, where were present Ferdinand, Campejius, the cardinal of Salisburg, the two dukes of Bavaria, the bishops of Trent and Ratisbone; also the legates of the bishops of Bamberg, Spire, Strasburgh, Augsburg, Constance, Basel, Frising, Passame, and Brixime. In the said assembly, the following was concluded by them:

That because the emperor, at the request of Pope Leo, had condemned by his public edict set forth at Worms, the doctrine of Luther as erroneous and wicked; and also as it was agreed upon in both assemblies of Nuremberg, that the said edict should be obeyed by all men; they likewise, at the request of Cardinal Campejius, will and command the aforesaid edict to be observed throughout their fines and precincts; that the gospel, and all other holy Scriptures, should be taught in churches according to the interpretation of the ancient fathers; that all those who revive any old heresies previously condemned, or teach any new thing contemptuously, either against Christ, his blessed mother and holy saints, or which may breed any occasion of sedition, are to be punished according to the tenor of the edict abovesaid; that none are to be admitted to preach without the license of his ordinary; that those who are already admitted shall be examined as to how and what they preach; that the laws which Campejius is about to set forth for reformation of manners shall be observed; that in the sacraments, in the mass, and in all other things, there shall be no innovation, but all things are to stand as they did before; that all those who approach the Lord’s Supper without confession and absolution, or eat flesh on forbidden days, or who run outside of their order; also priests, deacons, and sub-deacons who are married, shall be punished; that nothing shall be printed without consent of the magistrate; that no book of Luther, or of any Lutheran, shall be printed or sold, etc.

Lest it be said that this faction of Luther takes its origin in the corrupt life of priests, Campejius, with his assistants in the convocation of Ratisbone, charges and commands that priests should live honestly, wear decent apparel, not play the merchants, not haunt the taverns, not be covetous, nor take money for their ministrations; that those who keep concubines should be removed; and the number of holy-days be diminished, etc.

Campejius wished to have these things enacted in a full council, and with the consent of the entire empire. But when he could not accomplish it, because the minds of many had left the pope, he was glad to get it ratified in this conference, with the assents of the bishops above named.

These matters may be seen more fully in the commentaries of John Sleidan. It now remains for us, having finished the history of Martin Luther, to touch upon the history of Zuinglius, and the Helvetians.

***The Acts and Life of Zuinglius – 1484-1531.***

In treating Luther's history, Ulric Zuinglius was mentioned. He first lived at Glarona, in a place then called *our Lord's hermitage*. From there he moved to Zurich, about A.D. 1519, and began to teach. He dwelt in the Minster, among the canons or priests of that close, using with them the same rites and ceremonies for two or three years. There he continued reading and explaining the Scriptures to the people, with great pains and no less dexterity. Because, in the same year, Pope Leo had renewed his pardons again through all countries, Zuinglius zealously withstood them. By the use of the Scriptures, he exposed such abuses, and other such corruptions which then reigned in the church. And so he continued for two years and more, till at length Hugo, bishop of Constance, wrote a letter to the senate of Zurich, complaining grievously of Zuinglius. He also wrote another letter to the college of canons, where Zuinglius was dwelling, complaining of those new teachers who troubled the church, and earnestly exhorting them to beware, and to take diligent heed to themselves. As both the pope and the imperial majesty had condemned all such new doctrine by their decrees and edicts, the bishop therefore willed them to allow no such new innovations of doctrine, without the common consent of those to whom they pertained. Hearing of this, Zuinglius referred his cause to the judgment and hearing of the senate, not refusing to render to them an account of his faith. And as the bishop's letter was read openly in the college, Zuinglius directed another letter to the bishop himself, claiming that the said letter did not proceed from the bishop, and that he was not ignorant of who were its authors thereof, desiring him not to follow their sinister counsels — because truth, he said, is an invincible thing, and cannot be resisted. In the same tenor, certain other persons of the city likewise wrote to the bishop, desiring that he would attempt nothing prejudicial to the liberty and free course of the gospel. They requested, moreover, that he would restrain the filthy and infamous lives of the priests, and would permit them to have their lawful wives, etc. This was A.D. 1522.

[439] A.D. 1524.

Besides this, Zuinglius wrote another letter to the whole nation of the Swiss, admonishing them in no case to hinder the course of pure doctrine, nor to bring any trouble upon the priests who were married. For the vow of their single life, he said, came from the devil, and a devilish thing it is. And therefore, as the Swiss had a right and custom in their towns, that when they received a new priest into their churches, they used to advise him to take his concubine, Zuinglius exhorted them to grant permission to them to take their wives in honest matrimony, rather than to take concubines, against the precept of God.

Thus, as Zuinglius continued laboring in the word of the Lord for some years, offense began to rise at this doctrine, and the Dominican friars began to preach against him. But ever keeping himself within the Scriptures, he protested that he would make good what he taught, by the word of God. Upon this, the magistrates and senate of Zurich sent a command to all priests and ministers within their dominions, to repair to the city of Zurich the 29th of January next ensuing, and there everyone was to speak freely, and be heard quietly, regarding these controversies of religion. They also directed their letters to the bishop of Constance, that he would either repair there himself, or else send his deputy. When the appointed day came, the bishop's vicegerent, John Faber, was present. The consul first stating the object of this assembly, he required that if anyone had something to object against the doctrine of Zuinglius, he should freely and quietly declare his mind.

Zuinglius had set forth all his doctrine in order, numbering sixty-seven articles. He published these articles, so that those who were so disposed might be better prepared for the disputation. Faber began to state the cause of his being sent there, and argued that neither the time nor the place were fit to discuss such matters, but that the matter belonged to a general council. Zuinglius, however, continued requiring that if he had anything to say, he would openly and freely say it. To this Faber answered that he would confute his doctrine by writing. After this, when no man appeared to dispute, the assembly broke up. The senate of Zurich then caused it to be proclaimed throughout their dominion, that the traditions of men should be abandoned, and that the gospel of Christ should be purely taught out of the Old and New Testament.

After these things, the cantons of Switzerland directed their public letters to the men of Zurich, in which they greatly lamented and complained of this newly broached doctrine which had set all men abuzz,<sup>417</sup> through the occasion of certain rash and new-fangled heads. They said it had greatly disturbed both the state of the church and of the commonwealth, and scattered the seeds of discord. For now all fasting was laid down, and all days are alike to eat both flesh and eggs, one as well as another. Priests and religious persons, both men and women, broke their vows, ran out of their order, and fell to marrying. God's service was decayed, singing in the church was abandoned, and prayer ceased. Priests grew in contempt. Religious men were thrust out of their cloisters. Confession and penance was neglected, so that men would not hesitate to presume receiving at the holy altar, without any confession previously made to the priest. The holy mass was derided and scorned. Our blessed lady and other saints were blasphemed. Images were cast down and broken in pieces. Nor was there any honor given to the sacrament. In short, men had now assumed such a license and liberty, that even the Holy Ghost could not be safe in the priest's hands, etc.

All this disorder, as it is of no small importance, so it was (they said) so grievous and lamentable, that they thought it their duty to allow it no longer. They sent them the same admonition as before, and also wrote to them by certain of the clergy, craving their aid in this. Seeing that it is so, they now earnestly called upon them again regarding the premises, desiring them to put an end to such doings, and to take a better way, by continuing in the religion of their ancestors which preceded them. And if there was anything in which they were grieved and offended against the bishop of Rome, the cardinal, bishops, or other prelates, either for their ambition in heaping, exchanging and selling the dignities of the church, or for their oppression in emptying men's purses by their indulgences, or else for their usurping jurisdiction and power which they extended too far — corruptly applying to external and political matters, what should only serve in spiritual cases. If these and such other abuses were the causes with which they were so grievously offended, they promised that for the correction and reformation of these, they would themselves join their diligence and good-will to that end. For so much they would therefore confer with them, as to how and by what way such grievances might best be removed.

To this effect, the letters of the Helvetians (Zuinglians) were written to the senate and citizens of Zurich. To which, their answer was as follows:

*An Answer by the Men of Zurich.*

“First, declaring, how their ministers had labored and travelled among them, teaching and preaching the word of God for five years; whose doctrine at first seemed to them very strange and novel, because they never heard it before. But after they understood and perceived that

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<sup>417</sup> Originally “set all men together by the ears,” as if grabbing one another by the ears to hear it.

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the scope <sup>418</sup> of this doctrine only tended to set forth Christ Jesus to us, as the pillar and refuge of our salvation, who gave his life and blood for our redemption, and who alone delivers us from eternal death, and who is the only advocate of mankind before God — they could not do otherwise, but receive with ardent affection so wholesome and joyful a message.

“The holy apostles and faithful Christians, after they had received the gospel of Christ, did not fall out in debate and variance, but lovingly agreed and consented together. And so they trusted (they said) that they should do, if they would likewise receive the word of God, setting aside men’s doctrines and traditions that were different from it.

“Whatever Luther or any other man teaches, whether it is right or wrong, is not such for the names of the persons, but only because it agrees or disagrees with the word of God.

“And if Christ alone is worshipped, and men are taught to repose their confidence solely in him, then neither the blessed Virgin, nor any saint, receives any injury.

“And whereas they charge their ministers with wresting the Scriptures according to their own interpretation, God had stirred up such a light now in the hearts of men, that most of their city have the bible in their hand, and diligently peruse it. So that their preachers cannot so twist the Scriptures, without it being quickly perceived.

“And whereas they have accused them of error, yet there was never any man who could prove any error in them. Though the bishops of Constance, of Basel, of Curiack, with others of the universities, and they themselves had also desired to do so, yet to this day neither they nor any other did so.

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“And if the bishops object and say that the word of God should not be handled by common people, they answered that it was not consistent with equity and reason. For although it belonged to the bishop’s office to provide that the sheep should not go astray; yet because they will not see to their charge, but leave it undone, referring everything to the fathers and to councils, it was therefore right that they should hear and learn, not what man determines, but what Christ himself commands in the Scripture. Nor have their ministers given any occasion for this division, but rather *they*, who for their own private lucre and preferments, contrary to the word of the Lord, seduce the people into error, and grievously offending God, they provoke Him to plague them with manifold calamities.

“As for the eating of flesh and eggs, it was free to all men, and forbidden to none by Christ.<sup>419</sup>

“And as to matrimony, God himself was the author of it, and he has left it free for all men. Also St. Paul desires a minister of the church to be the husband of one wife.

“And seeing that bishops, for money, permit their priests to have concubines, which is contrary to God’s law and to good example, why then might they not as well obey God in permitting lawful matrimony, which he has ordained, as resist God in forbidding it? The same is also to be said of women vowing celibacy.

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<sup>418</sup> If the scope of doctrine is well marked between the papists and the protestants, it will not be hard for any man to judge which is the true doctrine. For the whole end and scope of the pope’s doctrine tends to set up the honor and wealth of man, as it may appear by the doctrine of supremacy, of confession, of the mass of the sacrament of the altar, etc. All these tend to magnify priests; just as purgatory, obsequies, pardons, and such other things serve for their profit. Contrariwise, the teaching of the protestants, regarding justification, original sin, as well as the sacraments and invocation, and all other such things, tend only to setting up Christ alone, and casting down man. — Foxe.

<sup>419</sup> It was the pope’s law then, that in Lent no man should eat flesh, or eggs, nor any other white meat; in which it may seem to be verified what St. Paul had prophesied, 1Tim 4. “In the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats,” etc.

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“And as for monasteries, and other houses of canons, they were first given for relief only of the poor and needy. Whereas now those who inhabit them are wealthy, and able to live on their own patrimony. Yet nevertheless the men of Zurich have used such moderation, that they have permitted the inhabitants of those monasteries to enjoy their possessions during the term of their natural life, lest anyone should have cause for just complaint.

“Ornaments of churches serve nothing towards God’s service; but it agrees well with the service of God that the poor should be relieved. Christ commanded the young man in the gospel not to hang up his riches in the temple, but to sell them, and distribute them to the needy. Mar 10.21

“They do not condemn the order of priesthood; such priests as will discharge their duty, and teach soundly, they prize and magnify. As for the other rabble who serve no public good, but rather damnify the commonwealth, if the number were diminished little by little, and their livings put to better use, they had no doubt that it would be a service well done to God.

“As for secret confession, in which men tell their sins in the priest’s ear, they leave it in suspense as to what virtue there is such confession. But that confession whereby repenting sinners flee to *Christ*, our only intercessor, they account not only as profitable, but also necessary to all troubled consciences. As for satisfaction, which priests use, they reckon it is but a practice to get money; it is not only erroneous, but also full of impurity. True penance and satisfaction is for a man to amend his life.

“The orders of monks come only by the invention of man, and not by the institution of God.

“And as to the sacraments, they do not despise those which are of the Lord’s institution, but receive them with all reverence. And so with reverence they use the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, according to what the word of God prescribes, and not as many abuse it, making it an oblation and a sacrifice.

“Therefore, as before, so now again they desire that if they think this doctrine of theirs is repugnant to the holy Scripture, they would gently show and teach them their error.”

And thus much was contained in the answer of the men of Zurich to the litter of their colleagues of Helvetia.

In the meantime, the bishop of Constance, with the advice of his council, answered them as he was requested to do, in a book, in which he declares what images and pictures those were which the profane Jews and Gentiles adored, and what images these are which the church has received and admitted; and what difference there is between those idols of the Jews and Gentiles, and these images of the Christians. The conclusion was that, whereas the Scripture speaks against images, and does not permit them to be suffered, that (he said) is to be understood of those images and idols which the Jews and idolatrous Gentiles used; and not the images and pictures that the church has received.

From this he enters into the discourse of the mass, where he endeavors to prove by the pope’s canons and councils, that the mass is a sacrifice and oblation.

He sent this book to the senate of Zurich, about the beginning of June, exhorting them not to allow their images or the mass to be abrogated. Shortly afterwards he published the book in print, and sent it to the priests and canons of the Minster of Zurich, requiring them to follow the custom of the church.

The senate wrote to him, about the middle of August, in answer to the bishop’s book. They declared that they had read his book over and over again with all diligence. They said they were glad that he had sent it abroad in print, because the whole world thereby could better

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judge between them. After this, they explained to him the judgment and doctrine of their ministers and preachers. And finally, by the authority and testimonies of the Scriptures, they proved the doctrine of his book to be false. But before they sent their answers to him, about the 13th of June, they commanded all the images within the city, and throughout their dominions, to be taken down and burned quietly, and without any tumult.

In the month of April following, the magistrates and senate of the city of Zurich commanded the mass, with all its ceremonies, to be suppressed, both within the city, and throughout all their jurisdiction. And instead of it was placed the Lord's supper, the reading of the prophets, prayer, and preaching.

All this while, the gospel was not as yet received in any other part of Helvetia, but only in Zurich. Therefore the other twelve towns appointed a meeting at Baden, where were present among the divines, John Faber, Eckius, and Murnerus. Also the bishops of Lucerne, Basel, Coire, and Lausanne, sent their deputies there. The assertions propounded were these:

- That the true body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament.
- That the mass is a sacrifice for the quick and dead.
- That the blessed Virgin, and other saints, are to be invoked as mediators and intercessors.
- That images should not be abolished.
- That there is a purgatory.

Eckius took it upon himself to defend these conclusions or assertions. Against him reasoned Oecolampadius <sup>420</sup> (who was then chief preacher at Basel) with others. Zuinglius at that time was not present, but he confuted the doctrine of Eckius by writing. He declared the causes of his absence, which were that he dared not, for fear of his life, commit himself into the hands of his enemies; that he did not refuse to dispute, but only the place of the disputation; and that if they would assign the place of disputation, either at Zurich, or at Berne, or at Saintgallum, he would not refuse to come. The conclusion of the disputation was this: that all should remain in that religion which they had kept till then, and should follow the authority of the council, and should not admit any new doctrine within their dominions, etc.

As the time proceeded, and dissension about religion increased, it followed the next year (A.D. 1527), in the month of December, that the senate and people of Berne assigned another disputation within their city, and called to it all the bishops near them. They warned them to come themselves, and to bring their divines with them, or else lose all those possessions as they had within the bounds of their precinct. After this, they appointed certain ecclesiastical persons to dispute, prescribing and determining the whole disputation to be decided only by the authority of the old and new testament. To all who would come, they granted a safe conduct.

[441] A.D. 1527.

Also, they appointed that all things should be done modestly, without injury and brawling words; that everyone should have leave to speak his mind freely, and with such deliberation that every man's statements might be received by the notary, and penned — with this proviso, previously arranged, that whatever should be agreed upon, should be ratified and observed throughout their dominions. And that men might come there better prepared, they propounded in public writing, ten questions to be defended by their ministers, from the

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<sup>420</sup> [Johann Oecolampadius \(1482-1531\)](#) a German Protestant reformer, and friend of Zwingli.



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Scriptures. The ministers were Francis Colbus, and Berthold Halletus. The conclusions were these:

1. That the true church, of which Christ is the head, rises out of God's word, and continues in the same, and hears the voice of no other.
2. That the same church makes no laws without the word of God.
3. That the traditions ordained in the name of the church, do not bind, except so far as they are consonant to God's word.
4. That Christ alone has made satisfaction for the sins of the world: and therefore if any man say that there is any other way of salvation, or any other means to put away sin, he denies Christ.
5. That the body and blood of Christ cannot be received really and corporally, by the testimony of the Scripture.
6. That the use of the mass, in which Christ is said to be present and offered up to his heavenly Father, for the quick and the dead, is against the Scripture, and injurious to the sacrifice which Christ made for us.
7. That Christ alone is to be invoked as the mediator and advocate of mankind with God the Father.
8. That there is no place to be found in the holy Scripture, in which souls are purged after this life; and therefore, all those prayers and ceremonies, yearly dirges and obits, which are bestowed upon the dead, also lamps, tapers, and such other things, profit nothing at all.
9. That to set up any picture or image to be worshipped, is repugnant to the holy Scripture; and therefore, if any such are erected in churches for that intent, they ought to be taken down.
10. That matrimony is prohibited to no state or order of men, but to avoid fornication it is generally commanded and permitted to all men by the word of God. And as all immoral persons are excluded from the communion of the church, therefore this unchaste and filthy single life of priests, is most of all inconvenient for the order of priesthood.

When the senate and people of Berne sent abroad their letters with these conclusions to all the Helvetians, exhorting them to send their learned men, and also to allow all others to pass safely through their countries: several of the cantons refused to take any part, or to allow their divines to take any part in the proposed discussion. They said it was not lawful for any nation or province to alter the state of religion, but that it belonged to a general council. Therefore, they desired them not to attempt any such wicked act, but to continue in the religion which their parents and elders had observed. In fine, they concluded that they would neither send, nor allow any of their learned men to come, nor grant safe-conduct to any others to pass through their country.

Notwithstanding this, the lords of Berne proceeded in their purpose. On the day prescribed (January 7) they began their disputation. Of all the bishops, there was not one present. But the city of Basel, Zurich, Strasburg, Augsburg, Constance, and others, sent their ambassadors to it.

The doctors of the city of Berne began the disputation. Present were Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Bucer, Capito, Blaurerus, with others, — all of whom defended the affirmative of the conclusions propounded. On the other side, the chief was Conrad

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Tregerus an Augustinian friar. To prove his assertion, he had to resort outside of the Scriptures to seek the help of other authority; but the moderators of the disputation would not permit it (being contrary to the order previously arranged). So he departed, and would dispute no more.

The disputation continued nineteen days. In the end it was agreed by the assent of most, that the conclusions were consonant with the truth of God's word, and should be ratified not only in the city of Berne, but also proclaimed by the magistrates in other adjoining cities; and that masses, altars, and images, in all places, should be abolished.

At the city of Constance, some things had begun to be altered a little before. Now, after this disputation at Berne, the images and altars, with ceremonies and masses, were abolished at Constance.

Also those of Geneva were not behind in following the example of the city of Berne, in extirpating images and ceremonies. Because of this, the bishop and clergy left the city in no small anger.

To commemorate this event, they caused a pillar to be erected, and thereupon to be placed in golden letters, the day and year when this reformation from popery to true Christianity began among them, as a perpetual memorial for all posterity to come. This was A.D. 1528.

After the account of this disputation at Berne had reached other cities, the ministers of Strasburg began likewise to affirm and teach that the mass was wicked, and a great blasphemy against God's holy name, and therefore should be abolished, and the right use of the Lord's supper restored. On the other hand, the bishop of Rome's clergy held that the mass was good and holy. This kindled great contention on both sides. When the senate and magistrates of Strasburg would have brought the matter to a discussion, they could not, because the priests would not consent — they therefore commanded them to silence.

For a long time the bishop of Strasburg succeeded in putting off the change of religion, till at last the senate of Strasburg, seeing the matter hang in controversy for two years, and the preachers daily calling upon them for a reformation; and a petition also having been made to them by the citizens, three hundred assembled in their great council, as they customarily do on great matters of importance. And there debating the case among themselves, some declared on one side, that if they abolished the mass, they would incur danger from the emperor. On the other side, if they did not abolish it, they would offend God. And therefore, giving time to consult, they required them at the next meeting, to declare their sentence in the matter. When the day came, the voices and judgments of those who went *against* the mass prevailed. Upon which a decree was made, the 20th of February A.D. 1529, that the mass should be suspended till the Romanists could prove by good Scripture, that the mass was a service available and acceptable before God.

This decree being established by the consent of the whole city, the senate soon commanded it to be proclaimed, and to take full effect, so far as their limits and dominion extended; and afterward they notified their bishop by letters regarding the matter.

Thus the mass was overthrown in Zurich, Berne, Geneva, and in Strasburg, as you heard. Now, what followed in Basel, remains to be stated. Oecolampadius was a preacher in Basel. By his diligent labor and travel, the gospel began to take such effect, that there arose great dissension among the citizens about religion, and especially about the mass. Upon this, the senate of Basel appointed that after an open discussion, it would be determined by voice, what was to be done.

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Owing to the intrigues of some of the senate, this discussion was delayed, and the reformation retarded. The citizens proceeded to violent measures, armed themselves, and proceeded to coerce the senate. It happened the very same day, that certain of the citizens who were appointed to go about the city to see things were in order, came into the church. One of them thrusting at a certain image with his staff, caused it to fall and break. Other images were served in the same sort of devotion. When the priests came running to them, the citizens, as they would not go beyond their commission, departed.

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When word was brought to the citizens in the market place, the matter seemed worse to them than it really was. So they sent three hundred armed men to rescue their fellows in the church, supposing them to be in danger. On coming to the church, and not finding their fellows there, and all things quiet except for a few images that were broken down, they likewise (lest they came for nothing) threw down all the other idols and images which they found standing there. And so passing through all the churches in the city, they did the same. And when some of the senate came out to appease the tumult, the citizens said, "What you have been consulting and advising about for three years, whether it was best to be done or not, we have dispatched in one hour, so that henceforth no more contentions may arise between us about images." And so the senate permitted them free leave, without any more resistance. A decree was made at the same time, that within the city of Basel as well as without, throughout their jurisdiction, the mass, with all idols, should be abandoned. And further, that in all such matters and cases as concerned the glory of God and the affairs of the public weal, besides the number of the other senators, two hundred and sixty of the burghers or citizens should be appointed out of every ward in the city to sit with them in council. These decrees being established, after they had kept watch and ward about the city for three days and nights, everyone returned to his house, quiet and joyful, without any blood or blows given, or anger wreaked, except upon the images.

On the third day, which was Ash Wednesday, all the wooden images were distributed among the poor of the city, to serve as firewood for them. But when they could not well agree on dividing the prey, but fell to brawling among themselves, it was agreed that the images should all be burned together. That day, in nine great heaps, all the stocks and idols were burned to ashes before the great church door. And thus, by God's ordinance, it came to pass that the day on which the pope's priests show all their mourning, and mark men's foreheads with ashes in remembrance that they are but ashes, was a festival day for the whole city, a joyful day for turning their images to ashes. And so the day is still observed and celebrated every year, to this present time, with all mirth, plays, and pastimes, in remembrance of the ashes. This day may therefore be rightly called Ash Wednesday, by God's own making.

All this time the emperor and the French king were both occupied in wars and strife. As it turned out, this was to the great damage and detriment of the French king, who was taken prisoner by the emperor. So it happened most opportunely for the success of the Gospel; for otherwise, these Helvetians and other Germans, would not have had that leisure and rest to reform religion, and to link themselves in league together, as they did. But thus Almighty God, of his secret wisdom, disposes times and occasions to serve His will and purpose in all things. Although Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, and deputy in Germany, lost no time or diligence in doing what he could to resist the proceedings of the Protestants. This appeared by the decree set forth at Ratisbone, and at Spire. At the Council of Spire (A.D. 1529), Ferdinand had decreed against the Protestants, in effect as follows:

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“First, That the edict of the emperor made at Worms, should be in force throughout Germany, till the general council, which would shortly follow. Also, that those who had already altered their religion, and now could not revoke the same for fear of sedition, should attempt no more innovations till the time of the general council.

“Also, That the doctrine of those who hold the Lord’s supper otherwise than the church teaches, should not be received, nor the mass altered. And that all ministers of the church should be enjoined to use no interpretation of holy Scripture, but the exposition of the church doctors; while other matters that were disputable, were not to be touched. Also, that all persons and states should keep peace, so that neither party should molest the other for religion. All who should transgress these decrees, were to be outlawed and exiled.”

The ambassadors of Strasburg were not admitted to this session at Spires, but were refused by Ferdinand because they had rejected the mass. And therefore the city of Strasburg refused to pay any contribution against the Turk unless they, with the other German states, were admitted to the councils. The other princes which were received, and who opposed the decree, and showed their case in an elaborate protestation written for that purpose, were — John, duke of Saxony; George, elector of Brandenburg; Ernest and Francis, earls of Lunenburg; the Landgrave of Hesse; and the prince of Anhalt. All those cities which subscribed and consented to the protestation of these princes, soon joined themselves in a common league with them, upon which they received the name, and were therefore called *Protestants*. The names of the cities were these — Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Rottigen, Windseim, Memmingen, Lindaw, Kempten, Heilbron, Wissemburg, Nortlingen, and Saint Gall.

As to the Council of Augsburg, which followed the year after the assembly of Spires (1530), it need not yet be detailed how the princes and protestants of Germany exhibited their confession in the council, what labor was sought to confute it, and how constantly duke Frederick persisted in the defense of his conscience, against the threatening words and replies of the emperor — also, in what danger the princes would have been, had not the Landgrave secretly slipped out of the city by night.

### **Death of Zuinglius.**

We therefore return to Zuinglius and the Helvetians. The two cantons of Zurich and Berne, who had reformed their religion, were grossly insulted by the other five cantons who insultingly hanged the coat of arms of those two cities on a gallows — which led to a war between them (A.D. 1531).

The French king, with other townships of Switzerland, labored to bring them to agreement, drawing out certain conditions of peace between them. The conditions were:

- That all insults and injuries should be forgotten.
- That, hereafter, neither part should molest the other.
- That those who were banished for religion, should again be restored.
- That the five cantons might remain without disturbance in their religion, so that none would be restrained among them from reading the Old and New Testament.
- That no kind of disturbance should be raised against those of Berne and Zurich; and
- That all should confer mutual helps together, one to succor the other, as in times past.

But the five cantons would not observe these covenants. Therefore the men of Zurich and Berne, first declaring their cause in public writing, to excuse the necessity of their war, being pressed with so many wrongs, and constrained to take the sword in hand, beset the highways and passages, so that no victuals or other forage should come to the other cantons.

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When those of the five towns began to be pinched with want and penury, they armed themselves secretly, and set forward in warlike array towards the borders of Zurich. There was a garrison of the Zurich men there, numbering a thousand and more. Word was sent to the city of Zurich to succor their men with all speed; but their enemies approached so fast that they could hardly come to rescue them. For when they had come to the top of the hill, they saw their fellows in great distress in the valley under them. Upon which, encouraging themselves, they made down the hill with more haste than order, striving who might go the fastest.. But the nature of the hill was such, that only one could go down at a time. And so they were discomfited and overmatched by the multitude. Among the slain was Ulric Zuinglius, the blessed servant and saint of God.

As to the cause which moved Zuinglius to go out with his citizens to the war, it is sufficiently declared and excused by Sleidan, and especially by Oecolampadius. It was an old received custom among the Zurich men, that when they went forth in warfare, the chief minister of the church went with them. Zuinglius, also, being a man of courage, considering if he should remain at home when war was attempted against his citizens, and if he, who in his sermons so encouraged others, should now faint so cowardly, and tarry behind when the time of danger came, thought that he ought not to refuse to take part with his brethren.

[443] A.D. 1531.

Oecolampadius adds that he went out, not as a captain of the field, but as a good citizen with his citizens, and a good shepherd ready to die with his flock. And which of them all, he says, who most cry out against Zuinglius, can show any such noble heart to do the like? Again, neither did he go out of his own accord, but rather he desired not to go, foreseeing, perhaps, what danger would ensue from it. But the senate being importunate upon him, would have no refusal, urging him to go. Among them were thought to have been some false betrayers, objecting to him that he was a coward if he refused to accompany his brethren, in time of danger as well as in peace. When he was slain, great cruelty was shown upon the dead corpse by his popish enemies. Such was their hatred toward him, that their malice could not be satisfied unless they should also burn his dead body.

The report goes, that after his body was cut, first in four pieces, and then consumed with fire, three days after his death his friends came to see whether any part of him was remaining. They found his heart in the ashes, whole and unburned, in much the same way as was the heart of Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, which (it is reported) was found unconsumed in the ashes.

Such, too, was the rage of these five popish cantons, against the abbot Cappello, who was also killed, that they took his dead body, and putting out both its eyes, clothed it in a monk's cowl, and set it in the pulpit to preach, railing and jesting upon him in a most spiteful manner. Ulric Zuinglius was, when he died, forty-four years of age — younger than Martin Luther by four years.

Oecolampadius the preacher of the city of Strasburg, hearing of the death of his dear friend Zuinglius, took inward grief and sorrow at it, so that it is thought to have increased his disease. And so he also departed this life November 1531, being forty-nine years of age — older than Martin Luther by one year. Although Oecolampadius died, his learned and famous commentaries on the prophets, with other works which he left behind, live still, and shall never die.

In August of the following year, which was A.D. 1532, the worthy and memorable prince John Frederick Duke of Saxony also died. For his testimony of Christ and of his gospel, he

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sustained such trials and such vehement conflicts with the emperor, especially at the council of Augsburg, that unless the almighty hand of the Lord had sustained him, it would not have been possible for him, or any prince, to have endured so constant and immovable against so many persuasions and assaults, as he did to the end. After him succeeded John Frederick his son, etc.

And thus have you the history of Zuinglius, and of the church of Switzerland, with their proceedings and troubles, from the beginning of their reformation of religion.

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From the beginning of this book, good reader, you have heard of many troubles in the church of Christ, concerning the reformation of various abuses and great errors that had crept into the church of Rome. What godly man has there been, within these five hundred years, either virtuously disposed, or excellently learned, who has not disapproved the disorderly doings and corrupt examples of the see and bishop of Rome from time to time, till the coming of Luther? It may well be wondered at, that this Romish bishop having great enemies from time to time, speaking and working, preaching and writing against him, yet no one could ever succeed till the coming of Luther. The cause of this seems to be, that while others before him, when speaking against the pomp, pride, and avarice of the bishop of Rome, only or chiefly charged him with the manner of life. Luther went further, charging him not only with an evil life, but also with evil *learning*; not with his doings, but with his *doctrine*; not picking at the rind, but plucking up the *root*; not seeking the man, but shaking his *seat*; yes and charging him with plain heresy, as prejudicial and injurious to the blood of Christ, contrary to the true understanding of the sacred testament of God's holy word. For while the foundation of our faith, grounded upon the holy Scripture, teaches and leads us to be justified only by the merits of Christ, and the price of his blood; the pope, with a contrary doctrine, teaches us to seek our salvation not by Christ alone, but by way of men's meriting and deserving by his works. Whereupon diverse sorts of orders and religious sects arose among men, some professing one thing and some another, and every man seeking his own righteousness. But few were seeking the righteousness of Him who is appointed by God to be our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.

### Martyrdoms in Germany – 1523-

Martin Luther, therefore, reducing all things to the foundation and touchstone of the Scripture, opened the eyes of many who before were drowned in darkness. It cannot be expressed what joy, comfort, and consolation came to the hearts of men, some lying in darkness and ignorance, some wallowing in sin, some in despair, some macerating themselves by works, and some presuming upon their own righteousness, to behold that glorious privilege of the great liberty and free justification in Christ Jesus. And to speak briefly, the more glorious the benefit of this doctrine appeared to the world after long ignorance, the greater was the persecution that followed. And where the elect of God took the most occasion of comfort and of salvation, there the adversaries found the most matter for vexation and disturbance — as we commonly see the word of God bring dissension and trouble with it. And therefore it was truly said of Christ, that he came not to bring peace on earth but the sword. And this was the reason why: after the doctrine and preaching of Luther, such great troubles and persecutions followed in all quarters of the world. From this arose great disquiet among the prelates, and many laws and decrees were made to overthrow the truth, by the cruel handling of many good Christian men. Thus while authority, armed with laws and rigor, strove against the truth, it was lamentable to hear how many Christian men were troubled, and went to wreck, some tossed from place to place,

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some exiled out of the land for fear, some forced to abjure, some driven to caves in woods, some wracked with torment, and some pursued to death with fire and faggot. It is of these that we now have to treat, beginning with some who suffered in Germany, and then returning to our own histories and martyrs in England.

### *Henry Voes and John Esch, Augustinian Friars.*

In A.D. 1523, two young men were burnt at Brussels, the one named Henry Voes, at the age of 24 years; and the other John Esch, who formerly had been of the order of the Augustinian friars. They were degraded the first day of July, and spoiled of their friars' robes, at the suit of the pope's inquisitor, and by the divines of Louvaine, because they would not retract the doctrine of the gospel, which the papists called *Lutheranism*. Their examiners were Hochestratus and others, who demanded of them what they believed? They said, the books of the Old Testament and the New, in which were contained the articles of the creed. Then they were asked whether they believed the decrees of the councils, and of the fathers? They said they believed those that agreed to the Scripture. After this they proceeded further, asking, whether they thought it any deadly sin to transgress the decrees of the fathers, and of the bishop of Rome? They said, that belongs only to the commandment of God, to bind the conscience of man. When they constantly persisted and these men would not retract, they were condemned to be burned. Then they began to give thanks to God their heavenly Father, who had delivered them through his great goodness, from that false and abominable priesthood, and made them priests of his holy order, receiving them to himself as a sacrifice of sweet aroma. Then there was a bill written, which was delivered to them to read openly before the people, to declare what faith and doctrine they held. The greatest error that they were accused of was, that men ought to trust only in God, as men are liars and deceitful in all their words and deeds, and therefore no trust or confidence ought to be put in them.

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As they were led to the place of execution, on the first of July, they went joyfully and cheerfully, making continual protestation "that they died for the glory of God, and the doctrine of the gospel, as true Christians, believing and following the holy church of the Son of God, saying also that it was the day which they had long desired. After they came to the place where they were to be burned, and were despoiled of their garments, they tarried a long time in their shirts, and joyfully embraced the stake they were to be bound to, patiently and joyfully enduring whatever was done to them, praising God with, "We praise you, O God," etc., and singing psalms, and reciting the creed, in testimony of their faith. A certain doctor, beholding their cheerfulness, said to Henry Voes, that he should not so foolishly glorify himself. He answered, "God forbid that I should glory in anything, but only in the cross of my Lord Jesus Christ." Another counselled him to have God before his eyes: he answered, "I trust that I carry him truly in my heart." One of them seeing that fire was kindled at his feet, said, "I think you do strew roses under my feet." Finally, the smoke and the flame mounting up to their faces, choked them.

Henry being demanded among other things, whether Luther had seduced him or not, said "Yes, even as Christ seduced his apostles." He also said that it was contrary to God's law, that the clergy should be exempted from the power and jurisdiction of the magistrate ordained by God. For those who were ordained in office by the bishops have no power, except to preach the word of God, and to feed their flock. After their death, their monastery was dissolved at Antwerp.

*Henry Sutphen, monk, put to death in Diethmar.*

The next year after the burning of those two Christian martyrs at Brussels, mentioned above, which was A.D. 1524, one Henry Sutphen, monk was also martyred and burned with like tyranny, without any order of judgment or just condemnation, about the city of Diethmar, on the borders of Germany. This Sutphen had been with Martin Luther. Coming to Antwerp, he was excluded from there for the gospel's sake, and being driven from Antwerp he came to Bremen — not to preach, but to go to Wittenberg. While at Bremen, he was asked there by certain godly citizens to make one or two brief exhortations upon the gospel. Through the earnest love and zeal that was in him, he was easily assured and persuaded to do this. He preached his first sermon to the people on the Sunday before St. Martin's day. When the people heard him preach the word of God so sincerely, they desired him to preach again the second time, and were so in love with his doctrine, that the whole parish required him to tarry among them to preach the gospel; but being afraid of danger, he refused for a time. When the religious orders learned this, especially the canons, monks, and priests, they sought to oppress him, and to thrust him, and also the gospel of Christ out of the city, which was their chief aim.

They went to the senate, desiring that such a heretic might be banished from the town, as in his doctrine he preached against the catholic church. Upon the complaint of the canons, the senate sent for the wardens and head men of the parish where Henry had preached. Having come together, the senate declared to them the complaint of the canons, and all the other religious men. The citizens of Bremen, taking their preacher's part, answered that they had hired a learned and honest man to preach to them, and to teach them sincerely and truly the word of God. However, if the chapter-house, or any other, could bring testimony or witness, that the preacher had taught anything which either savored of heresy, or was repugnant to the word of God, then they were ready with the chapterhouse to persecute him; for God forbid that they should maintain a heretic. But if the canons of the chapterhouse, and the other religious orders would not declare and show that the preacher, whom they had hired, had taught any error or heresy, but were set on to drive him away, only through malice, they would not therefore by any means allow it. So they petitioned the senate, with all humble obedience, that they would not require it of them, but grant them equity and justice, saying that they were disposed to assist their preacher always, and to plead his cause.

When the monastic orders learned that they could not prevail, they burst out into a fury, and began to threaten, and went to the archbishop to certify that the citizens of Bremen had become heretics.

When the bishop heard of these things, he sent two of his council to Bremen, requiring that Henry should be sent to him without delay. When they were asked why they should send him, they answered, *Because he preached against the holy church.* Being again demanded in what articles, they had nothing to say. One of these counsellors was the bishop's suffragan, a naughty pernicious hypocrite, who sought by all possible means to carry Henry away a captive. The answer of the senators was that, as the preacher had not been convicted of any heresy, they could by no means consent that Henry should be carried away. So they earnestly pressed the bishop that he would speedily send his learned men to Bremen to disunite with him. And if he were convinced, they promised without any delay that he would be punished and sent away; if not, they would in no way let him depart. The suffragan answered, by requiring that he might be delivered into his hands for the quietness of the whole country. But the senate continued in their former mind. The suffragan being moved with anger at this, departed from Bremen, and would not confirm their children.



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When the popish prelates were thus disappointed, they held a provincial council at Buckstade. The prelates and learned men of the diocese were called to this council, to determine what was to be believed.

Henry also was called to the council, although they had already decreed to proceed against him, as against a heretic. Therefore the rulers of the city, together with the commonalty, detained him at home, foreseeing and suspecting the malice of the council. Then Henry gathered his doctrine into a few articles, and sent it with his letters to the archbishop, protesting his innocence. He offered himself as ready to recant it, if he were convicted of any error by the testimony of the holy Scripture, earnestly requesting that his errors might be convicted by the holy Scriptures, by the testimony of which he had previously proved his doctrines, and he not doubting hereafter to confirm them. Henry despising their madness, proceeded daily in preaching the gospel, always adding this protestation: that he was ready and willing to give account regarding his faith and doctrine, to every man who would request it. In the meantime, the holy Romans could not be idle, but sent their chaplains to every sermon to entrap him in his words. But God, whose footpaths are in the midst of the floods, would have his marvellous power be seen in them, for he converted many of them, so that the greater part of those who were sent to hear, openly acknowledged his doctrine to be God's truth, against which no man should contend, and such as they had not heard in all their lives before. But the chief priests, canons, and monks were so hardened and blinded as Pharaoh was, that they became worse for these admonitions. When God saw fit that Henry should confirm the truth that he had preached, he sent him among the cruel murderers appointed for that slaughter, on the occasion that follows.

It happened in the year 1524, that this Henry was sent for by letters from Nicholas Boy, parish priest, and other faithful Christians of the parish of Meldorph, a town in Diethmar, to preach the gospel to them, and deliver them out of the bondage of antichrist.

These letters being received on St. Catherine's eve,<sup>421</sup> he called together six brethren, honest citizens, and opened to them how he was sent for by those of Diethmar to preach the gospel. He added that he was not only indebted to them, but to all others who required his aid. Therefore he thought it good to go to Diethmar, to see what God would work by him. He also requested that they would help him with their advice as to which means he might best take his journey.

[445] A.D. 1531.

Having prepared all things for his journey, on the twenty-second of October he departed and came to Meldorph, where he was joyfully received by the parish priest and others. Although he had not yet preached, the devil with his members began to fret and fume for anger. Above all others, one Augustine Tornborch, prior of the Black Friars, began to take counsel with others as to what was to be done. It was agreed by them, above all things, to withstand the beginnings, and that he should not have license to preach. For if he preached, and the people heard him, it was to be feared that the wickedness and craft of the priests and monks would be exposed, which being manifest, they knew plainly that it would be but a folly to resist. They remembered what had recently happened in Bremen. The prior early the next morning (for he had not slept well all night) went with great speed to Heida, to speak with the forty-eight presidents of the country. With great complaints, he showed how a seditious fellow, a monk, had come from Bremen. He would seduce all the people of

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<sup>421</sup> St. Catherine's day is now celebrated Nov 25th, but obviously it was earlier back then. It commemorates the martyrdom of Catherine of Alexandria, beheaded c. 305 AD.

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Diethmar as he had done with those of Bremen. Others assisted this prior in persuading the forty-six, who were simple and unlearned men, that they would obtain great favor and the good-will of the bishop of Bremen, if they would put this heretical monk to death. When these men heard these words, they decreed that the monk should be put to death, without being heard or seen, much less convicted.

When Henry heard of this, he said that he ought to obey the word of God rather than man. And that if it pleased God that he should lose his life there, it was as near a way to heaven as in any other place. The next day Henry went up into the pulpit, and preached a sermon, expounding the place of Paul, Rom 1.9. "God is my witness," etc. After the sermon, the whole congregation being called together, the prior Augustine delivered the letters that were sent by the fifty-eight presidents, the tenor of which was this: that those of Meldorph should be fined a thousand gilders if they allowed the monk to preach. When they heard these letters read, they were much moved. And they all determined with one voice, to keep Henry as their preacher, and to defend him. For when they heard the sermon, they were greatly offended with the prior.

After dinner Henry preached again, expounding St. Paul, Rom 15.1. "We who are strong should bear with the weak," etc. The next day the citizens of Meldorph sent messengers to Heida, offering to answer in all cases before all men, for their preacher, whom they had received. Besides that, the messengers declared what Christian and godly sermons they had heard him preach. The parish priest also wrote letters by the messengers to the forty-eight rulers, in which he excused himself, that it was never his wish, nor the intention of Henry, to provoke sedition, but only to preach sincerely the word of God. He offered himself as ready to answer for Henry to all men, whenever he might be called on. He earnestly desired them not to give credit to the monks, who being blinded with hatred and avarice, were determined to oppress the truth. He also added that it was against all reason, that a man should be condemned before the truth was tried, and his cause declared; and that if, after due inquisition, he were convicted, then he should suffer punishment. This submission with the public testimonial was not regarded. But in the end, one of the council, Peter Dethleve, recommended the whole matter be referred to the next general council. They were all very well contented with this answer; and the messengers returned to Meldorph with great joy and gladness, declaring to the whole congregation the answer that was made.

On St. Nicholas' day (Dec. 6th) Henry preached twice, with such a spirit and grace, that all men held him in admiration, praying God most earnestly that they might long have such a preacher. On the day of "the Conception of our Lady," he also preached two sermons in the first chapter of Matthew, in which he recited the promises made by God to our forefathers, and under what faith our fathers had lived. He added also, that all reference to works being set apart, we must be justified by the same faith. All these things were spoken with such boldness of spirit, that all men greatly marvelled at him, giving thanks to God for his great mercy, in having sent them such a preacher, desiring him moreover, that he would tarry with them all Christmas to preach.

In the meantime, the prior Augustine Tornborch and Master John Schink were not idle. For the prior went to the Franciscan monks, and minors, for help and council, for those kinds of friars above all others were best instructed by their hypocrisy to deceive the poor and simple people. These friars straightway sent for those persons who had all the rule and authority, and especially Peter Hannus, Peter Swine, and Nicholas Roden; They declared to them, with great complaints, what a heretical monk had preached, and how he had obtained the favor of all the simple people; which if they did not speedily provide for and withstand in the first

beginnings, and put the heretic to death, it would come to pass that the honor of the Virgin Mary, and all saints, together with the two abbeys, would soon come to utter ruin and decay.

When these men heard these words, they were greatly moved. Peter Swine answered that they had written before to the parish priest and to Henry what was best to be done. But if they thought it good, they would write again. "No," said the prior, "this matter must be attempted another way: for if you write to the heretic, he will by and by answer you again. And it is to be feared that the contagion of his heresy may infect some of you, being unlearned men. For if you give him leave to speak, and to answer, there is no hope that you will overcome him." So they finally determined to take Henry by night, and burn him before the people might know it. This device pleased them all, but especially the Franciscan friars. Peter Hannus, who was the prior's chief friend, wishing to get the chief praise and thanks in the matter, met with other rulers of the neighboring towns. All these assembled together in the parish of the new church, in the house of Mr. Gunter, where the chancellor consulted with them how they might burn Henry secretly. They concluded that on the day after "the Conception of our Lady," they would meet at Henning, which is five miles from Meldorph, with a great band of husbandmen. Over five hundred men assembled there, to whom it was declared the reason for their assembling, and they were also instructed as to what was to be done — for before that, no man knew the reason for the assembly, except the presidents. When the husbandmen understood it, they would have turned back, refusing such a detestable and horrible deed. But the presidents with most bitter threats kept them in obedience. And in order to help them be more courageous, they gave them three barrels of Hamburgh beer to drink.

About midnight they came in arms to Meldorph. The monks had prepared torches for them, so that Henry would not slip away in the dark. They had also with them a traitor, named Hennegus, by whose treason they had perfect knowledge of everything. With great violence they burst into the house of the parish priest, breaking and spoiling everything, as is the manner of drunken people. If they found either gold or silver, they took it away. When they had spoiled all things, they violently fell upon the parish priest, and with great noise they cried out, "Kill the thief, kill the thief!" Some of them took him by the hair of his head, and pulled him out into the dirt, forcing him to go with them as a prisoner. Others cried out that the parish priest was not to be meddled with, for they had no commission to take him. After they had satisfied their violence upon him, they ran upon Henry with great rage and fury, drawing him naked out of his bed, and binding his hands behind him. Being so bound, they drew him to and fro so long, that Peter Hannus, who otherwise was unmerciful and a cruel persecutor of the word of God, desired that they should let him alone; for he would follow of his own accord. When he was brought to Hemmingsted, they asked him how and for what intent he came to Diethmar?

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Henry gently declared the whole cause of his coming; but in a rage they all cried out, "Away with him, Away with him! For if we hear him talk any longer, it is to be feared that he will make us heretics also." Then being very weary and faint, Henry asked to be set on horseback, for his feet were all cut and hurt with the ice, for he was led all night barefoot. When they heard him say so, they mocked and laughed at him, saying, "Must we hire a horse for a heretic? He shall go on foot whether he will or not." Because it was night, they carried him naked to Heida. Afterwards they brought him to a certain man's house, named Calden, and bound him there with chains in the stocks. The master of the house seeing the cruel deed, taking compassion upon Henry, would not allow it. So he was carried away to a

priest's house, and shut up in a cupboard, and was kept there by the rude people, who all night mocked and scorned him. Among others who came to him, were Simon in Altennord, and Christian, parish priest of the new church. Both alike were ignorant and wicked persecutors of the word of God, demanding why Henry had forsaken his holy habit? He answered by the Scriptures; but those ignorant persons understood nothing about what he said. Gunter also came to him, inquiring whether he would rather be sent to the bishop of Bremen, or receive his punishment in Diethmar? Henry answered, "If I have preached anything contrary to God's word, or done any wicked act, it is in their hands to punish me." Gunter answered, "Hark, I pray you, good friends, hark, he desires to suffer in Diethmar." The common people continued all that night in immoderate drinking.

In the morning, about eight o'clock, they gathered together in the marketplace to consult what they should do. There the rustic people churning with drink, cried out, "Burn him 'burn him! — to the fire with the heretic! Without doubt, if we do it, we shall this day obtain great glory and praise both of God and man. For the longer he lives, the more he will seduce with his heresy." What need is there for many words? Surely he was to die; for they had condemned this good Henry to be burned, without any judgment, without hearing his cause. At last they commanded the crier to proclaim that every man who was at the taking of him, should be ready in arms to bring him to the fire. Among the others, the Franciscan friars were present, encouraging the drunken rude people, saying, "Now you go the right way to work." Then they bound Henry, hands, feet, and neck, and with great noise they brought him forward to the fire. As he passed by, a woman standing at her door, wept abundantly at seeing this pitiful sight. Henry turned to her and said, "I pray you, do not weep for me." When he came to the fire, he sat down upon the ground for very weakness. One of the presidents named May was present. He condemned Henry to be burned, pronouncing this sentence upon him: "Because this thief has wickedly preached against the worship of our blessed Lady, by the commandment and sufferance of our reverend father in Christ, the bishop of Bremen, and my lord, I condemn him here to be burned and consumed with fire." Henry answered, "I have done no such thing." Lifting up his hands towards Heaven, he said, "O Lord, forgive them, for they offend ignorantly, not knowing what they do. Your name, O Almighty God, is holy."

In the meantime a woman, the wife of Jungar, and sister of Peter Hannus, offered herself to suffer a thousand stripes, and to give them much money, if they would stay the process, and keep him in prison until that he could plead his cause before the whole convocation of the country. When they heard these words, they grew more mad, and threw the woman down under their feet, and trod upon her, and beat Henry unmercifully. One of them struck him behind on the head with a sharp dagger. John Holmes, of the new church, struck him with a mace. Others thrust him in the back, and in the arms. This was not done only once or twice, but as often as he began to speak. Master Gunter cried out, encouraging them, saying, "Go to, boldly, good fellows. Truly God is present with us."

After this, he brought a Franciscan friar to Henry, that he might confess to him. Henry asked him in this manner; "Brother, when have I done you an injury, either by word or deed, or when did I ever provoke you to anger?" "Never," said the friar. "What then should I confess to you," he said, "that you think you might forgive me?" The friar, being affected by these words, departed. The fire as often as it was kindled, would not burn. However they satisfied their minds upon him, by striking and stabbing him with all kinds of weapons. Henry stood in the meantime in his shirt before all this rude people. At last, having gotten a ladder, they bound him to it. And when he began to pray, and to repeat his creed, one struck him in the face with his fist, saying, "You shall first be burnt, and afterwards pray and prate

as much as you will.” Then another treading on his breast, bound his neck so hard to a step of the ladder, that the blood gushed out of his mouth and nose.

After he was bound to the ladder, he was set upright. Then one running to him, set his halbert <sup>422</sup> for the ladder to lean against, but the ladder, slipping away from the point of the halbert, caused the halbert to strike him through the body. Then they cast this good man, ladder and all, upon the wood. Then John Holmes ran to him, and struck him with a mace on the breast, till he was dead and stirred no more. Afterwards they roasted him on the coals — for the wood, as often as it was set on fire, would not burn. And thus this godly preacher finished his martyrdom, A.D. 1524.

About the same time many other godly persons, those who feared God, for the testimony of the gospel were thrown into the Rhine, and into other rivers, where their bodies were afterwards found and taken up. Also in the town of Diethmar another faithful saint of God, named John, suffered like martyrdom. Thus these two blessed and constant martyrs, as two shining lights set up by God, in testimony of his truth, offered up the sacrifice of their confession, sealed with their blood, in a sweet savor unto God.

At the town of Hala likewise, another preacher named George, for ministering the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper in both kinds, *i.e.* in both bread and wine, was martyred by the monks and friars.

At Prague also, in Bohemia, another, for changing his monkery into matrimony, suffered in like manner. Ex Lud. Rab.

In the same year, 1524, Oct. 22, the town of Miltenberg in Germany was taken and ransacked, and several of the inhabitants slain. Many were imprisoned for maintaining and keeping Carolostad with them as their preacher.

In the same catalogue of holy martyrs is to be placed Gasper Tamber, and also another named George, who were both burned at Vienna.

*The lamentable Martyrdom of John Clerk, of Melden in France.*

Melden is a city in France, ten miles from Paris, where John Clerk was apprehended, A.D. 1523, for posting on the church door a writing against the pope’s pardons recently sent there from Rome, in which he named the pope to be antichrist. His punishment for this, was that on three separate days he would be whipped and afterwards have a mark branded on his forehead, as a note of infamy. His mother being a Christian woman (although her husband was an adversary), when she beheld her son thus piteously scourged, and ignominiously deformed in the face, constantly and boldly encouraged her son, crying with a loud voice, “Blessed be Christ, and welcome be these prints and marks.”

After this punishment, John went to Metz, where he remained at his trade, being a wool-carder.<sup>423</sup> The people of that city used to go to the suburbs on a certain day to worship certain blind idols nearby, following an old custom among them. So being inflamed with zeal, he went out of the city on the preceding day, to the place where the images were, and broke them all in pieces.

[447] A.D. 1524.

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<sup>422</sup> *Halbert*: a pike fitted with an ax head.

<sup>423</sup> *Wool-carder*: someone who cleans and disentangles wool fibers with brushes, in preparation for weaving.

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The next day, when the canons, priests, and monks, keeping their old custom, had brought with them the people out of the city to the place of idolatry, to worship as they usually did, they found all their blocks and stocks broken on the ground. They were enraged at this, and seized John Clarke, who confessed the act. The people, not being acquainted with that kind of doctrine, were shockingly moved against him, crying out against him in a great rage. He was soon tried and condemned, and led to the place of execution, where he sustained extreme torments. First, his hand was cut off from his right arm, then his nose with sharp pincers was violently plucked from his face; after that, both his arms and his nipples were likewise plucked and drawn with the same instrument. To all those who stood by, it was a horror to behold the grievous and doleful sight of his pains. Yet again, it was a wonder to behold his patience, or rather the grace of God giving him the gift to suffer. Thus he endured his torments quietly and constantly, pronouncing, or in a way *singing* the verses of the 150th Psalm: "Their idols are silver and gold, the work of man's hand," etc. His rent body was committed to the fire and consumed. This was about A.D. 1524.

### *John Castellane.*

In A.D. 1524, Master John Castellane, born at Tournay, a doctor of divinity, after he was called to the knowledge of God. He had become a true preacher of his word, and preached in France, and laid some foundation of the doctrine of the gospel in the town of Metz. In returning from there, he was taken prisoner by the cardinal of Lorraine's servants, by whom he was carried to the castle of Nommenie. The citizens of Metz took great displeasure at this, and were grievously offended to have their preacher apprehended and imprisoned. So they took some of the cardinal's subjects and kept them prisoners. John Castellane was most cruelly handled from the fourth of May until the twelfth of January. During all this time he persevered constantly in the doctrine of the Son of God. From there he was carried to the castle of Vike, persevering constantly in the profession of the same doctrine. So they proceeded to the sentence of his degradation, that he might be delivered over to the secular power. And as the form of the sentence and process of degrading is remarkable, we have thought it good to annex it here to show the horrible blasphemies joined with gross and brutish subtlety in those high mysteries which the enemies of the truth use in their processes against the children of God, and whereby every man, even the most ignorant, may perceive the horrible blindness of these papists.

### *The Sentence of Degradation.*

"Concerning the process inquisitory formed and given in form of an accusation against you John Castellane, priest and religious man of the friars Eremites, of the order of St. Augustine, and understanding likewise your confession which you have made of your own good will, of maintaining false and erroneous doctrine; and also marking, besides this, the godly admonitions and charitable exhortations which we made to you in the town of Metz, which you, like the adder, have refused and given no ear to; also considering your answers made and reiterated to interrogatories, by means of your oath, in which you have devilishly hidden and kept back not only the truth, but also, following the example of Cain, you have refused to confess your sins and mischievous offenses. And finally, hearing the great number of witnesses sworn and examined against you, their persons and depositions diligently considered, and all other things worthy of consideration being justly examined, the Reverend Master Nicholas Savin, doctor of divinity, and inquisitor of the faith, assistant to us, has entered process against you, and given full information about it. Our purpose and intent also being communicated to diverse masters and doctors both of the civil and canon laws present here, who have subscribed and signed it. Whereby it appears that you, John Castellane, have oftentimes, and in diverse places, openly and manifestly spread abroad and taught many

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erroneous propositions, full of the heresy of Luther, contrary and against the catholic faith and the verity of the gospel, and the holy apostolic see, and so accursedly looked back and turned your face, that you are found to be a liar before almighty God. It is ordained by the sacred rules of the canon law, that those who pervert the Scriptures through the sharp darts of their venomous tongue, and go about with all their power to corrupt and infect the souls of the faithful, should be punished and corrected with most sharp correction, to the end that others should be afraid to attempt the like, and better apply themselves to the study of Christian concord, through the example set before their eyes, of severity as well as of clemency.

“For these causes, and others rising upon the said process, by the apostolic authority, and also by the authority of our said reverend lord the cardinal, which we use in this our sentence definitive, which we sitting in our judgment-seat declare in these writings, having God alone before our eyes, and surely considering, that what measures we mete to others, the same shall be measured to us again. We pronounce and declare sententially and definitively, you John Castellane, being here present before us, and judge you because of your deserts, to be excommunicated with the greatest excommunication, and along with this, to be culpable of treason against the divine majesty, and a mortal enemy of the catholic faith and truth of the gospel; also to be a manifest heretic, and a follower and partaker of the execrable cruelty of Martin Luther,<sup>424</sup> a stirrer up of old heresies already condemned; and therefore you ought to be deposed and deprived of all priestly honor and dignity, of all your orders, of your shaving and religious habit, also of your ecclesiastical benefices, if you have any, and from all privilege of the clergy. So we here presently depose, deprive, and separate you, as a rotten member, from the communion and company of all the faithful. And being so deprived, we judge that you ought to be actually degraded; that done, we leave you to the secular powers, committing the degradation and actual execution of our sentence to the reverend lord and bishop here present, with the authority and commandment aforesaid.”

This sentence being thus ended with their sermon also, the bishop of Nicopolis sitting in *pontificalibus* <sup>425</sup> in the judgment-seat, being a suffragan of Metz, with the clergy, nobles, and people about him, proceeded to the degrading (as they called it) of John Castellane. Thus John Castellane being prepared and made ready for his degradation by the officers of the bishop, was apparelled in his priestly garb, and afterwards brought out from the chapel by the priests, with all his priestly ornaments upon him; and holding his hands together, he knelt down before the bishop. Then the officers gave him the chalice in his hand, with wine and water, the patine and the host;<sup>426</sup> all of which things the bishop who degraded him, took from him, saying, “We take away from you, or command to be taken from you, all power to offer sacrifice to God, and to say mass, for the quick as well as the dead.”

Moreover, the bishop scraped the nails of both his hands with a piece of glass, saying, “By this scraping we take away from you all power to sacrifice, to consecrate, and to bless, which you have received by the anointing of your hands.” Then he took away from him the chesile, saying, “We deprive you of this priestly ornament, which signifies charity; for certainly you have forsaken it, and all innocence.” Then taking away the stole, he said, “You have villainously rejected and despised the sign of our Lord, which is represented by this stole; therefore we take it away from you, and make you unable to exercise and use the office of priesthood, and all other things pertaining to priesthood.”

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<sup>424</sup> If Luther is to be noted for cruelty, who teaches all men, and kills no man, what then is to be noted in the pope, who kills all God’s children and teaches none? — Foxe.

<sup>425</sup> *Pontificalibus*: in the place of the pontif or pope, as his representative.

<sup>426</sup> *Patine*: or paten; a small plate used to hold the consecrated bread (the host); the chesile or chasuble mentioned below, is the outermost liturgical vestment worn by clergy during the celebration of the Eucharist.



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The degradation from the order of priesthood thus being ended, they proceeded to the order of deacon. Then the ministers gave him the book of the gospels, which the bishop took away, saying, "We take away from you all power to read the gospels in the church of God, for it pertains only to those who are worthy." After this he spoiled him of the dalmatike, which is the vesture that the deacons use, saying, "We deprive you of this Levitical order; for you have not fulfilled your ministry and office." After this the bishop took away the stole from behind his back, saying, "We justly take away from you the white stole which you received undefiled, which also you should have carried in the presence of our Lord; and to the end that the people dedicated to the name of Christ, may take example by you, we prohibit you to exercise or use the office of deaconship any more. Then they proceeded to degrade him from the subdeaconship.

Taking away from him the book of the epistles, and his subdeacon's vesture, they deposed him from reading the epistles in the church of God. And so proceeding to all the other orders, they degraded him from the order of Benet and Collet, from the order of exorcist, from the lectorship, and last of all, from the office of door-keeper, taking from him the keys, and commanding him thereafter not to open or shut the vestry, nor to ring any more bells in the church. That done, the bishop went forward to degrade him from his first shaving. Taking away his surplice, he said, "By the authority of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and by our authority we take away from you all clerical habit, and despoil you of all ornament of religion. Also, we depose and degrade you from all order, benefit, and privilege of the clergy, and as one unworthy of that profession, we commit you to the servitude and ignominy of the secular state." Then the bishop took the shears and began to clip his head, saying in this manner, \*' We cast you out as an unthankful child of the Lord's heritage to which you were called, and take away from your head the crown, which is the royal sign of priesthood, through your own wickedness and malice." The bishop also added these words: "That which you have sung with your mouth, you have not believed with your heart, nor accomplished in work. Therefore we take from you the office of singing in the church of God."

The degrading being thus ended, the procurator fiscal of the court and city of Metz, required from the notary an instrument or copy of the degrading. Then the ministers of the bishop stripped him of his clerical habit, and put upon him the apparel of a secular man. That done, the bishop who degraded him proceeded no further, but said, "We pronounce that the secular court shall receive you into their charge, being thus degraded of all clerical honor and privilege."

Then the bishop, in a manner, entreated the secular judge for him, saying "My lord judge, we pray you as heartily as we can, for the love of God, and from tender pity and mercy, and out of respect for our prayers, that you will not in any point do anything that shall be hurtful to this miserable man, or tending to his death, or maiming of his body." These things being thus done, the secular judge of the town of Vike, confirming the sentence, condemned Mr. John Castellane to be burned. This death he suffered on the twelfth of January 1525, with such a constancy that not only a great company of ignorant people were thereby drawn to the knowledge of the truth, but also a great number who already had some knowledge of it, were greatly confirmed by his constant and valiant death.

*John Diazius, a Spaniard, martyred, A.D. 1546.*



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John Diazius, a Spaniard, having been at Paris for thirteen years, returned from there to Geneva, then to Basel, and afterwards to Strasburg. From there he was sent as ambassador with Bucer and others, to the council at Ratisbon.<sup>427</sup> There, talking with Peter Malvenda, who was the factor (ambassador) of Pope Paul III, he stated his views of religion to him, so that Malvenda wrote about him to the friar who was the emperor's confessor. At the reading of these letters, Alphonso Diazius, brother to John Diazius and one of the pope's lawyers in Rome, learned the opinion of his brother John.

After the Council of Ratisbon, John Diazius was occupied in Germany in the printing of Bucer's book.<sup>428</sup> His brother Alphonso came from Rome to Ratisbon, where Malvenda was. He brought with him a notorious assassin belonging to the city of Rome. Alphonso then consulted with Malvenda about their devilish purpose. They labored to ascertain from friends of John Diazius where he was to be found. Alphonso and the assassin having knowledge by certain of John's secret friends, and pretending great matters of importance, came to Newburgh, where John Diazius was printing Bucer's book. They came to him, and after a long debate on religion between the two brothers, Alphonso saw the heart of his brother John, planted so constantly on the sure rock of God's truth, that he could not be moved from his opinion, nor persuaded to ride in his company (John having been so advised by Bucer and his friends). He pretended to take his leave of his brother in a friendly spirit, and departed. But shortly afterwards, he returned secretly with his assassin, and on the way they purchased a hatchet.

Alphonso sent his man in disguise with letters to his brother, and followed afterwards. As John Diazius was rising out of his bed in the morning to read the letters, the assassin took the hatchet and cleaved John's head, leaving the hatchet embedded there. He and Alphonso took to their horses, which stood outside the city gate, with as much speed as they could. The people of Newburgh hearing of the horrible act, sent horsemen after them. Coming to Augsburg, and hearing that the murderers had passed through, they gave up the pursuit and returned. One in the company, however, was more zealous than the rest. He would not return, but pursued them still. And in the city of Oenipont, he caused them to be arrested and put into prison. Otto, the elector Palatine, hearing of their arrest, wrote to the magistrates of Oenipont for judgment. But through the intrigues of the papists, and the crafty lawyers, the judicial sentence was so delayed from day to day, then from hour to hour, that the emperor's letters came at last, requiring the matter to be reserved to his hearing. Thus the terrible murder by this latter day Cain and his fellow, was bolstered by the papists. Its like, from the memory of man, was never heard of since the first example of Cain, who slew his own brother Abel. But even if true judgment in this world is perverted, yet such bloody Cains, with their willful murder, shall not escape the hands of Him who shall judge truly both the committers, and the bolsters of all mischievous wickedness.

In 1546, emperor Charles V held an armed council at Augsburg, after his victory in Germany. There some endeavored to make concord between the gospel of Christ, and the traditions of the pope; that is, to make a medley of them both, and so they framed a new

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<sup>427</sup> The Council of Ratisbon (also known as the Diet or Colloquy of Regensburg), was held in Bavaria in 1541. Through theological debate, they hoped to restore unity between the Protestants and Catholics in the Holy Roman Empire. The subject of debate was the Augsburg Confession. The Council failed in this purpose.

<sup>428</sup> Martin Bucer (1491-1551): a Dominican Monk converted to Protestantism in 1518 through Luther's teachings. He was a leader in the Reformation in Strasbourg, France, and mediated the dispute between Luther and Zwingli over the nature of the Lord's Supper. In 1549 he moved to England at the request of Thomas Cranmer, and for safety, to aid the Reformation there. He helped Cranmer to write the Book of Common Prayer, and even influenced John Calvin. The book referred to here may have been Bucer's treatise on the Book of Common Prayer, titled *Censura*.

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form of religion, called the *Interim*. Upon this began a new form of persecution in Germany. For the emperor proceeded strictly against those who would not receive the Interim, intending to overcome the reformers, but the Lord disappointed his purpose.

Among those who withstood this Interim, besides others, were the citizens of Constance. For which three thousand Spaniards came by night against the town of Constance, where they killed three of the watchmen who were in the suburbs, and had gone to ascertain what the noise was that they heard in the woods. The Spaniards intended that when the citizens were at the sermon in the morning, they would suddenly set upon the city and take it. But as the Lord would have it, some began to suspect this in the night, and the citizens were in readiness. When the morning came, the Spaniards were at the gate to break into the city. But being driven from there, and their captain Alphonso slain, the Spaniards went to the bridge over the Rhine. But also being beaten from there, with a great number of them drowned in the river, the Spaniards broke down the bridge to prevent pursuit.

[449] A.D. 1546.

At the same time, many godly ministers of the churches in Germany, were in great danger, especially those who refused to receive the Interim. Some of them were cast into prison. Among their number was Martin Frectius, with four other preachers; also his brother George, who had come to his house to comfort him. Musculus at the same time, with other preachers, left from Augsburg, Brentius from Halle, Blaurerus from Constance, and Bucer from Strasburg.

It would fill another volume, to include the acts and histories of all who in other countries suffered for the gospel. But praised be the Lord, almost every region has its own historian who has sufficiently discharged that duty, so that I will less need to overcharge this volume. It will suffice to collect three or four histories recorded by Oecolampadius and others, in a brief table, and then I will return to occupy myself with our own matters at home.

### *Wolfgang Schuch, a German in Lotharing, Martyr.*

Wolfgang Schuch, coming to St. Hyppolite, a town in Lotharing, and being received as their pastor, labored to extirpate idolatry and superstition out of the hearts of the people. Through the grace of Christ working with him, in a short time he brought this to pass; so that the observance of Lent, images, and all idols, with the abomination of the mass, were utterly abolished. It was not long before rumor of this came to duke Anthony, prince of Lorraine (under whose dominion they were), through the report of the adversaries. They misrepresented these people; as though in relinquishing the doctrine and faction of the pope, they went about to reject and shake off the authority of princes and all governors. By means of this sinister report they so incensed the prince, that he threatened to destroy the town with sword and fire. Wolfgang being informed of this, wrote to the duke's uncle, in a most humble and obedient way, in defense both of his ministry, his doctrine, and the whole cause of the Gospel.

In his epistle he excused the people, and said that those slanderous reporters were more worthy to be punished for their false rumors and forged slanders. He also opened and explained the cause of the Gospel, and of our salvation, as consisting only in the free grace of God, through faith in Christ his Son. He also compared the same doctrine of the gospel, with the doctrine of the church of Rome.

That done, he touched upon our obedience, honor, and worship, which first we owe to God and to Christ, and next under him to the princes, whom God has raised up and endued with

authority, and to whom they offered themselves now, and at all times, most ready with all service and duty, etc.

But Wolfgang availed nothing with this epistle. So, when he saw no other remedy, rather than have the town come into any danger on his account, the good man, of his own accord, rendered a confession of his doctrine, and delivered the town from danger, by taking all the danger upon himself.

As soon as he came to Nantz, hands were laid on him, and he was cast into a stinking prison, where he was sharply and bitterly handled. In that prison he continued for a whole year. Yet he would not be moved from his constancy, nor with the straitness of the prison, nor with the harshness of his keepers, nor yet with the compassion of his wife and children (of which he had about six or seven). Then was he removed to the house of the Grey Friars, where he learnedly confuted all who stood against him.

There was a friar named Bonaventure, provincial of that order, whose person was monstrously overgrown, but much more gross in blind ignorance. He was a man utterly rude, a contemner of all civility and honesty. Long being confessor to the duke, and of great authority in Lorraine, just as he was an enemy to virtue and learning, so was he ever persuading the duke to banish all learned men out of the court and country. The sum of all his divinity was this: that it was sufficient to salvation only to know the Pater Noster (Our Father), and Ave Maria (Hail, Mary)! And thus the duke was brought up and trained, and in nothing else, as the duke himself oftentimes confessed. This Bonaventure being judge where Wolfgang disputed, or was examined, had nothing else in his mouth but "You heretic, Judas, Beelzebub, etc." Wolfgang bearing patiently those injuries which referred to himself, proceeded mightily in his disputation by the Scriptures, confuting or rather confounding his adversaries. Being otherwise unable to make their party good, they took his bible, with his notes in the margin, into their monastery, and burned it! At the last disputation, duke Anthony himself was present, altering his apparel, so that he might not be known. Although he did not understand Wolfgang, who spoke in Latin, he perceived him to be bold and constant in his doctrine. He sentenced Wolfgang to be burned, because he denied the church and sacrifice of the mass. Wolfgang hearing the sentence of his condemnation, began to sing Psalm 122.<sup>429</sup>

As he was led to the place of execution, and passed by the house of the Grey Friars, Bonaventure, who was sitting at the door, cried out to him, "You heretic, do your reverence here to God, and to our lady, and to his holy saints," showing to him the idols standing at the Friars' gate. Wolfgang answered, "You hypocrite, you painted wall! The Lord shall destroy you, and bring all your false dissimulation to light." When they had come to the place of his martyrdom, first his books were thrown into the fire. Then they asked him whether he would have his pain diminished and shortened? He said, "No," bidding them to do their will, "For," he said, "as God has been with me up to now, so I trust now that He will not leave me when I have most need of him." He concluded his words saying that they should put the sentence in execution. And so, beginning to sing the 51st psalm,<sup>430</sup> he entered into the place, heaped up with faggots and wood, continuing to sing his psalm, till the smoke and flame took from him both his voice and life.

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<sup>429</sup> Psa 122, "I was glad when they said to me, 'Let us go into the house of the LORD,'" etc.

<sup>430</sup> Psa 51, "Have mercy upon me, O God, According to Your lovingkindness," etc.

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The singular virtue, constancy, and learning of this blessed man, as it refreshed and greatly edified the hearts of many good men, so it astonished the minds of his adversaries, and wrought to their confusion.

*John Huglein, Martyr.*

John Huglein, a priest, was burned at Merspurge, (A.D. 1526), by the bishop of Constance, because he did not hold the bishop of Rome's doctrine in all points.

*George Carpenter, Martyr.*

On the 8th of February (A.D. 1527), George Carpenter of Emering, was burned in Munchen, in Bavaria. When he came before the council, his offenses were read, contained in four articles:

- First, That he did not believe that a priest could forgive a man's sins.
- Secondly, That he did not believe that a man could call God out of heaven.
- Thirdly, That he did not believe that God was in the bread, which the priest hangs over the altar, but that it was the bread of the Lord.
- Fourthly, That he did not believe that the very element of the water itself in baptism gives grace.

These four articles he refused to recant. Then a certain schoolmaster came to him, saying, "My friend George, don't you fear the death and punishment which you must suffer? If you were let go, would you return to your wife and children?" He answered, "If I were at liberty, where would I rather go, than to my wife and beloved children?" Then the schoolmaster said, "Revoke your former opinion, and you will be set at liberty." George answered, "My wife and my children are so dearly loved by me, that they cannot be bought from me for all the riches and possessions of the duke of Bavaria. But for the love of the Lord God I will willingly forsake them." When he was led to the place of execution, the schoolmaster spoke to him again, saying, "Good George, believe in the sacrament of the altar; do not affirm it to be only a sign." He answered, "I believe this sacrament to be a sign of the body of Jesus Christ offered upon the cross for us."

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Then the schoolmaster said, "What do you mean, that you so little esteem baptism, knowing that Christ allowed himself to be baptized in Jordan?" He answered, and showed the true use of baptism, and the reason why Christ was baptized in Jordan, and how necessary it was that Christ should die and suffer upon the cross. "The same Christ," he said, "I will confess this day before the whole world; for he is my Savior, and in him I believe."

After this, one Master Conrade Scheter came, the vicar of the Cathedral church, saying, "George, if you will not believe the sacrament, yet put all your trust in God, and say, 'I trust my cause to be good and true; but if I should err, truly I would be sorry and repent.'" George Carpenter answered, "God, allow me not to err, I beseech you." Then Master Conrade began the Lord's prayer: — "Our Father who art in heaven." When Carpenter answered, "Truly you are our Father, and no other, this day I trust to be with you." Then Master Conrade went forward with the prayer, saying, "Hallowed be your name." Carpenter answered, "O, my God, how little is your name hallowed in this world!" Then Conrade said, "Thy kingdom come." Carpenter answered, "Let your kingdom come this day to me, that I also may come to your kingdom." Then Conrade said, "Your will be done in earth, as it is in heaven." Carpenter answered, "For this cause, O Father I am now here, that your will might be fulfilled, and not mine." Then Conrade said, "Give us this day our daily bread." Carpenter

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answered, "The only living bread, Jesus Christ, shall be my food." Then Conrade said, "And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us." Carpenter answered, "With a willing mind I forgive all men, both my friends and adversaries." Then Master Conrade said, "And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from all evil." Carpenter answered, "O, my Lord! without doubt you shall deliver me, for upon you only have I laid all my hope." Then he began to recite the creed, saying, "I believe in God the Father Almighty." Carpenter answered, "O, my God! In you alone I trust; in you alone is all my confidence, and upon no other creature." In this manner he answered to every word. His answers, if they were described at length, would be too long.

The schoolmaster said, "Do you believe so truly and constantly in your Lord and God with your heart, as you cheerfully seem to confess him with your mouth?" He answered, "It would be a very hard matter for me, who am ready to suffer death here, if I did not believe with my heart, that which I openly profess with my mouth; for I knew before that I must suffer persecution if I would cling to Christ, who says, 'Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.'" Then Master Conrade said to him, "Do you think it necessary after your death, that any man should pray for you, or say mass for you?" He answered, "So long as the soul is joined to the body, pray God for me, that he will give me grace and patience, with all humility, to suffer the pains of death with a true Christian faith; but when the soul is separate from the body, then I have no more need of your prayers." Then certain Christian brethren desired that, as soon as he was cast into the fire, he should give some sign or token of what his faith was. He answered, "This shall be my sign and token, that so long as I can open my mouth, I will not cease to call upon the name of Jesus."

Behold what an incredible constancy was in this godly man. His face and countenance never changed color, but he went cheerfully to the fire. "In the midst of the town this day," he said, "I will confess my God before the whole world." When he was laid upon the ladder, and after the executioner had put a bag of gunpowder about his neck, he said, "Let it be so, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." When they thrust him into the fire, he cried out with a loud voice, "Jesus! Jesus!" Then the executioner turned him over, and again he cried, "Jesus! Jesus!" and joyfully yielded up his spirit.

### *Leonard Keyser.*

Here also is not to be passed over the wonderful constancy of Mr. Leonard Keyser, of Bavaria, who was burned for the gospel. This man, being at his study in Wittenberg, was sent for by his brethren, who certified to him that if he ever wished to see his father alive, he should come with speed, which he did. He had scarcely arrived when, by the command of the bishop of Passaw, he was taken. The articles upon which he was accused, and for which he was most cruelly put to death, and shed his blood for the testimony of the truth, were these:

- That faith alone justifies.
- That works are the fruits of faith.
- That the mass is no sacrifice or oblation.
- He rejected confession, satisfaction, vows of chastity, purgatory, and difference of days
- He affirmed only two sacraments, and
- He denied the invocation of saints.

Sentence was given against him, that he should be degraded, and put into the hands of the secular power. The good and blessed martyr, early in the morning, being rounded and shaven, and clothed in a short gown with a black cap set on his head, all cut and jagged, was

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delivered to the officer. As he was led out of the town to the place where he was to suffer, he boldly spoke, turning his head first on the one side, and then on the other, saying, "O Lord Jesus, remain with me, sustain, and help me, and give me force and power."

Then the wood was made ready, and he began to cry out with a loud voice, "O Jesus, I am yours, have mercy upon me, and save me;" and then he felt the fire begin sharply under his feet, his hands, and about his head. But because the fire was not great enough, the executioner plucked the body, half burnt, with a long hook from under the wood. Then he made a great hole in the body, through which he thrust a stake, and cast him again into the fire. This was August 16, A.D. 1526.

### *Wendelmuta, Martyr.*

In Holland also, in the year 1527, a good and virtuous widow, named Wendelmuta was martyred and burned. This widow receiving to her heart the brightness of God's grace, by the appearing of the gospel, was apprehended and committed to the castle of Werden, and shortly after was brought to appear at the general sessions of that country. Several monks were appointed to talk with her, that they might convince her, and win her to recant; but constantly persisting in the truth, she would not be moved. Also many of her kindred were allowed to persuade with her. Among them there was a noble matron, who loved and dearly favored the widow in prison. This matron coming, and communing with her, said, "My Wendelmuta, why do you not keep silence, and secretly think these things in your heart which you believe, so that you may prolong here your days and life?" She answered, "Ah, you know not what you say. It is written, 'With the heart man believes unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.'" (Rom 10.10). And thus remaining firm and steadfast in her belief and confession, the twentieth of November she was condemned by sentence as a heretic, to be burned to ashes, and her goods to be confiscated. She took the sentence of her condemnation mildly and quietly.

After she came to the place where she was to be executed, a monk had brought out a cross, desiring her to kiss it and worship her God. "I worship," she said, "no wooden god, but only that God who is in heaven." And so with a joyful countenance she went to the stake. Then taking the powder, and laying it to her breast, she gave her neck willingly to be bound, and with an ardent prayer commending herself to the hands of God. "When the time came that she should be strangled, she modestly closed her eyes, and bowed down her head as one who would take a sleep. The fire was then put to the wood, and being strangled, she was burned to ashes, instead of this life, to get the immortal crown in heaven (A.D. 1527).

### *Peter Flistedin, and Adolphus Clarebach.*

In the number of these German martyrs, are also Peter Flistedin and Adolphus Clarebach, two men of singular learning, and knowledge of God's holy word.

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In the year 1529, because they dissented from the papists in diverse points, and especially on the supper of the Lord, and the pope's other traditions and ceremonies, after they had endured imprisonment a year and a half by the command of the archbishop and senate, they were put to death and burned in Cologne. It was not without the great grief and lamentation of many good Christians. All the fault was put upon certain divines, who at that time preached that the punishment and death of certain wicked persons would pacify the wrath of God, which then plagued Germany with a strange disease. For at that season, the sweating sickness mortally raged throughout Germany.

***Martyrs Since Luther's Time, by Country – 1521-1555.***

A list of the names and causes of the martyrs since Luther's time, who gave their lives for the testimony of the gospel, in Germany, France, Spain, Italy, and other foreign countries. <sup>431</sup>

***Germany.***

THE GERMAN MARTYRS.

*One Nicholas of Antwerp.*

The curate of Melza, near Antwerp, used to preach to a great number of people outside that town. The emperor hearing of it, gave leave to take the uppermost garment from all who came to hear, and offered thirty guilders to whoever would take the priest. Afterwards, when the people were gathered, and the curate not there, Nicholas stepped up in his place and preached. Being apprehended, he was put in a sack and drowned at Antwerp, 1521.

*Joan Pistorius, a learned man of Holland.*

Pistorius was a priest; and then he married. After that, he preached against the mass and pardons, and against the subtle abuses of priests. He was committed to prison with ten malefactors whom he comforted; and to one, being half naked and in danger of cold, he gave his gown. His father visiting him in prison, did not dissuade him, but told him to be constant. At last Pistorius was condemned, and degraded, having a fool's coat put on him. His fellow-prisoners at his death sung, "We praise you," etc. Coming to the stake, he was first strangled, and then burned, saying at his death, "O death, where is your sting? O grave, where is your victory?" (1Cor 15.55)

*Matthias Weibell, Schoolmaster.*

For saying something against the abbot's first mass, and against carrying about relics, he was hanged in Swabia.

*A certain godly Priest.*

This priest being commanded to come and give good advice to sixteen countrymen who were about to be beheaded, was afterwards bid himself to kneel down to have his head cut off. No further cause or condemnation was laid against him; it was only from mere hatred against the gospel.

*George Scherter.*

After this, George Scherter had instructed the people in Rastadt in the knowledge of the gospel. He was accused and put in prison, where he wrote a confession of his faith. He was condemned to be burned alive; but means were made that first his head should be cut off, and his body afterwards cast into the fire.

*Henry Fleming, A.D. 1535.*

This Henry, a friar from Flanders, forsook his habit, and married a wife. Being offered life if he would confess his wife to be a harlot, he refused to do so, and was burnt at Tournay.

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<sup>431</sup> This catalogue of martyrs is Foxe's memoriam to them, each distinctly honored for their sacrifice. The gruesome details help us count the cost they gladly paid for remaining faithful to Christ, and to the truth of God. (1Cor 11.1)

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*Twenty -eight Christian Men and Women of Louvaine;  
Paul a Priest; two aged Women, at Antonia. Two Men at Louvaine. A.D. 1543.*

When some of the city of Louvaine were suspected of Lutheranism, the emperor's procurator came from Brussels to make inquisition. After inquisition, bands of armed men came and beset their houses in the night. Many were taken in their beds, plucked from their wives and children, and divided into different prisons. Through such terror, many citizens returned again to idolatry. But there were twenty-eight who remained constant in that persecution. The doctors of Louvaine, especially the inquisitor, came and disputed with them, thinking either to confound them, or to convert them. But the Spirit of the Lord wrought so strongly with his saints, that these doctors went away rather confounded themselves.

Among these prisoners was one Paul, a priest, about sixty years of age. The rectors, with their colleagues, brought him out of prison to the Austin friars, where he was degraded. But at length, for fear of death, he began to stagger in his confession. And so he was condemned to perpetual prison, in a dark and stinking dungeon. There he was not allowed either to read or write, nor to have any man come to him, and was fed only with bread and water. There were two others who were put to the fire and burnt.

Then an old man and two aged women were condemned, the man to be beheaded, the two women to be buried alive, which death they suffered very cheerfully. Other prisoners who were not condemned to death, were deprived of their goods, and commanded to come to the church in a white sheet, and there kneeling with a taper in their hand, to ask forgiveness. Those who refused to do so, and to abjure the doctrine of Luther, were put to the fire.

*Master Perseval at Louvaine, A.D. 1544,*

Not long after this, one Master Perseval of the university of Louvaine, was thrown into prison for condemning certain popish superstitions, and speaking in commendation of the gospel. Then being accused of Lutheranism, he was adjudged to perpetual prison, there to be fed only with bread and water. He took this punishment patiently for Christ's sake. But what became of him no man could learn or understand. Some think that he was starved to death, or that he was secretly drowned.

*Justus Jushurg, at Brussels, A.D. 1544.*

Justus Jusburg, a skinner of Louvaine, being suspected of Lutheranism, was found to have the New Testament in his house, and certain sermons of Luther, for which he was committed. There were at the same time in the prison, Egidius, and Francis Encenas, a Spaniard, who secretly came to him, and confirmed him in the cause of righteousness. Thus is the providence of the Lord, never wanting to his saints in time of necessity. Shortly after the doctors and masters of Louvaine came to examine him regarding the pope's supremacy, sacrifice of the mass, purgatory, and the sacrament. When he had answered plainly and boldly according to the Scriptures, he was condemned to the fire. But through intercession made to the queen, his burning was pardoned, and he was only beheaded.

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*Giles Tilleman, at Brussels, A.D. 1544.*

This Giles was born in Brussels, of honest parents. He began to receive the light of the gospel through reading the holy Scriptures, and he increased in this exceedingly. As he was fervent in zeal, so he was humane, mild, and merciful. Whatever he had, which necessity could spare, he gave away to the poor, and only lived by his trade. Some he refreshed with



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his food; some with clothing; to some he gave his shoes; some he helped with household stuff; to others he ministered wholesome exhortation of good doctrine. One poor woman was brought to bed, and had no bed to lie upon; whereupon he brought his own bed to her, and contented himself to lie upon straw.

Egidius, being detected by a priest, was taken at Louvaine for that religion which the pope calls heresy. After having being detained eight months in prison, he was sent to Brussels to be judged, where he comforted some who were in prison, and exhorted them to the constancy of the truth and to the crown which was prepared for them.

Certain of the Grey friars were sometimes sent to him, but he would always desire them to depart from him. And when the friars at any time called him names, he held his peace at such personal injuries, that those blasphemers would say abroad, that he had a dumb devil in him. But when they talked of religion, there he did not spare, but answered them fully by evidences of the Scripture, so that many times they would depart wondering. At various times he might have escaped from prison, the doors having been set open, but he would not bring his keeper into peril.

He was condemned to the fire, privately, contrary to the use of the country. For they dared not openly condemn him for fear of the people, he was so well beloved. When tidings of the sentence came to him, he gave hearty thanks to God, that the hour had come when he might glorify the Lord.

Standing at the stake, the blessed martyr lifted up his eyes to heaven in the middle of the flames, and died, to the great lamentation of all. So that after that time, when the friars would go about asking for their alms, the people would say, "It was not fitting for them to receive alms with bloody hands."

### *Persecution at Ghent and Brussels, A.D. 1543, 1544.*

When the Emperor Charles was in Ghent, the friars and doctors obtained from him, that the edict made against the Lutherans might be read openly twice a-year. This being done, great persecution followed. So that there was no city or town in all Flanders, where some were not banished, beheaded, condemned to perpetual prison, or had their goods confiscated. Nor was there any respect of age or sex.

Afterwards, when the emperor came to Brussels, there was terrible slaughter and persecution of God's people in Brabant, Heunegow, and Artoise. The horror and cruelty of it is almost incredible; so that at one time as good as two hundred men and women together were brought out of the country into the city. Some of them were drowned, some buried alive, some privately made away with, others sent to perpetual prison.

### *Martin Haurblock, Fishmonger at Ghent, A.D. 1545.*

This Martin, through a sermon of his parish priest, beginning to taste some workings of grace and repentance, went out of Ghent for three months, seeking the company of godly Christians who used the reading of the Scriptures. Being more instructed, he returned to the city of Ghent, where all his neighbors first began to marvel at the sudden change of this man. The Franciscans who knew him before, now seeing him so altered from their ways and superstition, and seeing him visit the captives in prison to comfort them in persecution, and to confirm them in the word of God, they conspired against him, and seized and imprisoned him. The friars examined him in the sacrament, asking him why he was so earnest to have it in both kinds, seeing (they said) if it is, as you say, but a naked sacrament? He answered that the *elements* were naked, but the *sacrament* was not naked, as the elements of bread

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and wine being received after the institution of Christ, now make a sacrament and a mystical representation of the Lord's body, communicating himself with our souls. And as to receiving it in both kinds, because it is the institution of the Lord, "Who is he" (said Martin) that dares alter the same?" Then he was brought before the Council of Flanders. The causes laid against him were the sacrament, purgatory, and praying for the dead. And for these he was condemned and burned at Ghent, and all his goods confiscated. As he stood at the stake, a Franciscan friar said to him, "Martin, unless you turn, you will go from this fire to everlasting fire." "It is not in you to judge," said Martin. For this, the friars were afterwards so hated, that many rhymes were written against them.

*Nicholas Vanpoule, John de Buck and his wife,  
at Ghent, A.D. 1545.*

The day after the burning of Martin, which was the ninth of May, these three also were burned for the same cause for which the other was condemned and burned the day before; except that the woman was buried alive. All of them took their martyrdom with much cheerfulness.

*Ursula and Maria, at Delden, A.D. 1545.*

Delden is a town in Lower Germany, three miles from Daventry, where these two virgins of noble parentage were burned. After diligently frequenting churches and sermons, and being instructed in the word of the Lord, they believed that because the benefit of salvation comes only by our faith in Christ, all the other merchandise of the pope, which he sells to the people for money, was needless. Mary, being the younger, was put first into the fire; there she prayed ardently for her enemies, commending her soul to God. The judges greatly marvelled at her constancy.

Then they exhorted Ursula to turn, or if she would not, that at least she would request to be beheaded. She said that she was guilty of no error, nor defended anything but what was consonant to the Scripture, in which she trusted to persevere to the end. As to the kind of punishment, she said that she did not fear the fire, but rather would follow the example of her dear sister who went before.

*Andrew Thiessen, Katharine his wife, Nicholas Thiessen,  
Francis Thiessen, brethren, at Mechlin, A.D. 1545.*

Andrew Thiessen, citizen of Mechlin, had three sons and a daughter, whom he instructed diligently in the doctrine of the gospel, and despised the doings of popery. Being hated and persecuted by the friars and priest there, he went to England and there he died. Francis and Nicholas, his two sons, went to Germany to study. Returning to their mother, sister, and younger brother, they brought them to the right knowledge of God's gospel by diligent instruction. The parson there, taking counsel with William de Clerk, the head magistrate of the town of Mechlin, and others, agreed that the mother with her four children should be sent to prison. There great labor was employed to reclaim them to their church. The two younger ones, not yet being settled either in years or doctrine, inclined to them, and were "delivered." The mother, who would not consent, was condemned to perpetual prison. The other two, Francis and Nicholas, standing firmly to their confession, defended that the catholic church was not the church of Rome; that the sacrament was to be ministered in both kinds; that auricular confession was to no purpose; that invocation of saints was to be left; and that there was no purgatory. They called the friars hypocrites, and contemned their threatenings. The magistrates, after disputations, tried torments, to learn from them who

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was their master, and what companions they had. "Their master," they said, "was Christ who bore his cross before. Of friends they had innumerable, dispersed in all places."

[453] A.D. 1527-1555.

At last they were brought to the judges. Their articles were read, and they were condemned to be burned. Coming to the place of execution, as they began to exhort the people, gags were thrust into their mouths, which through vehemency in speaking they spit out again, desiring for the Lord's sake that they might have leave to speak. And so singing with a loud voice, "I believe in one God, etc. they were fastened to the stake, praying for their persecutors and exhorting one another to bear the fire patiently. The one feeling the flame come to his beard said, "Ah, what a small pain this is, compared to the glory to come!" Thus the patient martyrs committed their spirit to the hands of God.

*Marion, Wife of Adrian Taylor, Tournay, A.D. 1545.*

In the same persecution, one Adrian and Marion his wife were also apprehended. The cause of their trouble, and also of the others, was the emperor's decree made in the Council of Worms against the Lutherans. Adrian, not being so strong a man, drew back from the truth, and was only beheaded. But his wife being stronger than a woman, withstood their threats, and therefore was enclosed in an iron grate, laid in the earth and buried alive, according to the usual punishment of that country for women.

*Master Peter Bruley, Preacher, A.D. 1545.*

Master Peter Bruley was preacher in the French church at Strasburg. At the earnest request of faithful brethren he came down to visit the lower countries about Artois and Tournay in Flanders. There he most diligently preached the word of God to the people in houses, the doors standing open.

When the magistrates of Tournay had shut the gates of the town, and had searched for him three days, he was secretly let down the wall in a basket during the night. As he was let down to the ditch ready to make his way, one of those who let him down, leaning over the wall to bid him farewell, unawares caused a stone to slip out of the wall, which fell upon him breaking his leg. Complaining of his wound, he was heard by the watchmen. And so he was taken, giving thanks to God, by whose Providence he was kept there to serve the Lord in that place. So long as he remained in prison, he did not cease to fulfill the part of a diligent preacher, teaching, and confirming all that came to him in the word of grace. Being in prison, he wrote his own confession and examination, and sent it to the brethren. He remained in prison four months. His sentence was given by the emperor's commissioners at Brussels: that he should be burned to ashes, and his ashes thrown into the river. He cheerfully and constantly took his martyrdom, and suffered it.

*Peter Miocius, Bergiban, Tournay, A.D. 1545.*

The coming of Master Peter Bruley into the country of Flanders, did much good among the brethren. There, Peter Miocius, before he was called to the gospel, had led a wicked life. But after the gospel began to work in him, it altered his character so much, that he excelled all other men in godly zeal and virtue. In his first examination, he was asked, "Whether he was one of the scholars of Peter Bruley?" He said he was, and that he had received much fruit by his doctrine. "Would you then defend his doctrine?" they asked. "Yes," he said "for it is consonant both to the Old Testament and to the New." And for this he was let down into a deep dungeon under the castle-ditch, full of toads and filthy vermin. Shortly afterwards, the senate, with certain friars, came to examine him, to see whether they could convert him. He

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answered them, "That when he had lived such an ungodly life, they never spoke a word against him. But now, for favoring the word of God, they sought his blood."

There was also one Bergiban in the prison at the same time. He had been an active man in the gospel, before the coming of Bruley. But the commissioners having threatened him with cruel torments, and horror of death, he began little by little to waver and shrink from the truth at the fair words of the false friars and priests, who promised to have his punishment changed to being beheaded. At this, he was glad to grant their requests. Upon which the adversaries taking their advantage, came to Miocius. They told him of Bergiban's retractation, wishing him to do the same. But he stoutly persisted in the truth, and endured to the fire. There, having powder put to his breast, he was dispatched. The friars, hearing the crack of the powder upon his breast, told the people that the devil came out of him and carried away his soul!

### *A Priest of Germany.*

John Gastius writes of a certain prince, but does not name him, who put out the eyes of a priest in Germany for no other reason than that he said the mass was no sacrifice, in the sense in which many priests take it. Nor did the cruel prince immediately put him to death; he first kept him in prison for a long time, afflicting him with torments. Then he was brought out to be degraded in a barbarous manner. They shaved the crown of his head, then rubbed it hard with salt, so that the blood came running down his shoulders. After that, they raised and paired the tops of his fingers with cruel pain, so that no savor of the holy oil might remain. Four days later, the patient and godly martyr yielded up his life and spirit.

### *A godly Priest in Hungary.*

In Hungary, a godly priest preached that eating flesh is not prohibited in the Scripture. For this, the cruel bishop, after he had imprisoned the priest some weeks, caused him to be brought out, and his body to be tied over with hares, geese, and hens hanging round about him. And so the beastly bishop had dogs set upon the priest, which cruelly rent and tore whatever they could catch. Thus the good minister of Christ, being driven about the city with the barking of dogs, died, and was martyred. But a few days later, the impious bishop, by the stroke of God's just hand, fell sick and became mad. And so, raving without sense or wit, he died miserably.

### *Master Nicholas Finchman.*

#### *Marion, Wife of Augustine, A.D. 1549.*

Master Nicholas, and Barbara his wife; also Augustine, a barber, and Marion his wife, after they had been at Geneva, came into Germany to pass over into England. Coming to Hainault, Augustine desired Master Nicholas to come to Bruges to visit and comfort certain brethren there; which he willingly did. From there they continued their journey toward England. But on the way, Augustine and his wife, being known, were detected. Augustine escaped out of their hands that time, and could not be found. The soldiers then laying hands on Nicholas and the two women, brought them back to Tournay. In returning, by the way, when Master Nicholas gave thanks at the table (as the manner is of the faithful) the wicked officer scorned them, and swearing like a tyrant he said, "Now let us see, you lewd heretic, whether your God can deliver you out of my hand." Nicholas replying modestly, asked, "How had Christ ever offended him, that with his blasphemous swearing he so tore him to pieces? If he had anything to say against Christ, he would rather have him wreak his anger upon his poor body, and let the Lord alone." After this, the soldiers bound their hands and feet, and laid them in the dungeon.

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Shortly after, Nicholas was brought before the judges, and condemned to be burned to ashes. Upon this sentence Nicholas blessed the Lord, who had counted him worthy to be a witness in the cause of his dear and well-beloved Son. And then patiently taking his death, he commended his spirit to God in the midst of the fire.

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*Marion, Wife of Augustine. A.D. 1549.*

After the martyrdom of this Master Nicholas, Marion the wife of Augustine was called for. With her they had much talk about the manner and state of Geneva, asking her how the sacraments were administered there, and whether she had celebrated the Lord's supper there? She answered that the sacraments there were celebrated according to the Lord's institution, of which she was no celebrater, but a partaker. Her sentence of condemnation was that she would be interred alive. When she was led down to the grave, kneeling, she desired the Lord to help her. Before being thrown down, she desired to have her face covered with a napkin or some linen cloth. Being so covered, and the earth thrown upon her face and body, the executioner stamped upon her with his feet, till her breath was past.

*Augustine the Husband of Marion, A.D. 1549.*

We heard before how Augustine escaped at the taking of Nicholas and the two women. But having returned to the town of Beaumont in Hainault, he was known and detected to the magistrate. Being taken, he was examined, and valiantly standing to the defense of his doctrine, he answered his adversaries with great boldness.

Among others who came to him was the warden of the Grey friars, who persuaded him to relent, or he would be damned in hell-fire perpetually. Augustine answering said, "Prove what you said by the authority of God's word, that a man may believe you. You say much, but you prove nothing, like a doctor of lies rather than of truth," etc. At last, being condemned to be burnt, he was brought to the inn where he was to take a horse. There was a certain gentleman, a stranger. Drinking to him in a cup of wine, he desired Augustine to have pity on himself; that if he would not favor his life, he would yet favor his own soul. Augustine said, after he had thanked him for his good will, "What care I have of my soul, you may see by this, that I would rather give my body to be burned, than to do that which is against my conscience." When the day of his martyrdom came, the people being offended at his constancy, cried out to have him drawn at a horse's tail in place of burning. But the Lord would not allow that. In brief, being tied to the stake, and fire set to him, he prayed to the Lord, and so he patiently departed in the fire.

*A certain Woman at Augsburg, A.D. 1550.*

At Augsburg a woman dwelling there, seeing a priest carry the host to a sick person with taper-light, as the manner is, asked him what he meant by going with candle-light at noon-day. For this she was apprehended and in great danger, had it not been for the earnest suit and prayers of the women of that city, and at the intercession of Mary, the emperor's sister.

*Two Virgins in the Diocese of Bamberge. A.D. 1551.*

In the diocese of Bamberge, two virgins were led out to slaughter, which they sustained with patient hearts and cheerful countenances. They had garlands of straw put on their heads on going to their martyrdom. One comforting the other said, "Seeing Christ bore a crown of thorns for us, why should we hesitate to bear a crown of straw? No doubt the Lord will render us better than crowns of gold." Some said that they were anabaptists. And it might be, said Melancthon, that they had some fond opinion. Yet they held, he says, the

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foundation of the articles of our faith, and they died blessedly, in a good conscience, and in knowledge of the Son of God. Few live without errors. Do not flatter yourselves, thinking yourselves so clear that you cannot err.

*Hostius, otherwise called George, at Ghent, A.D. 1555.*

This Hostius had been in the French church in England, during the reign of King Edward. After the coming of Queen Mary, he went to Friesland with his wife and children. From there he came to Ghent, where he heard that there was a Black friar who used to preach good doctrine. Desiring to hear him, he came to his sermon. The friar, contrary to his expectation, preached in defense of transubstantiation, at which Hostius' heart was so full that he could scarcely refrain from speaking until the sermon was finished. As soon as the friar had come down from the pulpit, Hostius burst out and charged him with false doctrine, persuading the people by the Scriptures, as well as he could be heard, that the bread was but a sacrament of the Lord's body. He had not gone far, when Hesselius the chamberlain overtook him, and carried him to prison. Then doctors and friars were brought to reason with him about the sacrament, the invocation of saints, and purgatory. He ever stood to the trial by the Scripture alone, which they refused. When he was condemned, he was commanded not to speak to the people. The officer made great haste to have him dispatched. Therefore, mildly like a lamb, praying for his enemies, he gave himself to be bound. First they strangled him, and then consumed his body with fire.

*Bertrand de Bias, at Tournay, A.D. 1555.*

The story of Bertrand is lamentable, his torments incredible, the tyranny shown to him horrible, the constancy of the martyr admirable. This Bertrand, being a silk weaver, went to Wesell for the cause of religion. Being desirous to draw his wife and children from Tournay to Wesell, he came three times to persuade her to go with him. When she could not be entreated, he remained a few days at home, set his house in order, and desired his wife and brother to pray that God would establish him in the enterprise which he went about. He went on Christmas day to the high church of Tournay, where he took the cake out of the priest's hand, as he would have lifted it over his head at mass, and stamped it under his feet, saying that he did it to show the glory of that god, and what little power he had. With other words he spoke to the people to persuade them that the cake or fragment of bread was not Jesus their Savior.

At the sight of this, the people all stood amazed. At length such a stir followed, that Bertrand could hardly escape with life. The noise of this was soon carried to the bailiff of Hainault, and governor of the castle of Tournay, who lay sick of the gout at Biesie. Like a madman he cried out that God would ever be so patient as to allow that revilement to be trodden underfoot. He added that he would revenge his cause, so that it would be an example forever to all posterity; and immediately the furious tyrant commanded to be carried to the castle of Tournay. Bertrand being brought before him, was asked whether he repented of his act, or whether he would so do if it were to be done again? He answered that if it were to be done a hundred times, he would do it; and if he had a hundred lives, he would give them all in that quarrel. He was then tormented three times, most miserably. They then proceeded to the sentence, more like tyrants than Christian men. By the tenor of the sentence, this was his punishment:

First, he was dragged from the castle of Tournay to the marketplace, having a ball of iron put into his mouth. Then he was set upon a stage, where his right hand, with which he took the host, was crushed and pressed between two hot irons, with sharp iron cages, fiery red,

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till the form and fashion of his hand was misshapen. In like manner they brought irons for his right foot, made fire-hot, which he put to his foot of his own accord, to suffer as his hand had done, with wonderful constancy and firmness of mind. That done, they took the ball of iron out of his mouth, and cut off his tongue. Notwithstanding, with continual crying out, he did not cease to call upon God; whereby the hearts of the people were greatly moved. Upon this, the tormentors thrust the iron ball back into his mouth. Then his legs and his arms were bound behind him with an iron chain going about his body, and so he was let down flat upon the fire. The aforesaid governor standing by and looking on, caused him to be let up again, and so down and up again, till at last the whole body was spent to ashes, which he commanded to be cast into the river. When this was done, the chapel where this mass-god was so treated was locked up, and the board upon which the priest stood was burnt, and the marble stone upon which the host fell was broken in pieces.

In the same year, 1555, two hundred ministers and preachers of the gospel were banished from Bohemia for preaching against the superstition of the bishop of Rome, and for extolling the glory of Christ.

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*The Preachers of Locrane exiled.*

Locrane is a place between the Alps, yet subject to the Helvetians. When these had received the gospel, and the five cantons of the Helvetians were not well pleased, but would have them punished, and there was great contention among the Helvetians about it, it was concluded at length that the ministers should be exiled.

*Francis Warlut, Alexander Dayken, at Tournay, A.D. 1562.*

After these two good men had been conversant in the reformed churches in other countries, at last, for conscience sake, they returned home to do good in their own country of Tournay.

So the people there resorted to a field or wood outside the city, with a preacher, to hear the word of God, and to pray. The adversaries so pursued them, that they took over thirty, of whom these two among the rest were apprehended. Thinking no less than that they would be burned, they began to sing psalms. At length being brought forward, first one, then the other, they were both beheaded. And where the judges had intended to quarter their bodies, and to set them up by the highways, was it so provided by God, working in the hearts of the people, that they were both committed to graves.

*Gillotus Virer, James Faber his father-in-law, Michael Faber, son of James, Anna, wife of Gillotus, and daughter of James Faber, suffered in the cause of the gospel at Valence.*

James Faber, being an old man, said that although he could not answer or fortify them in reasoning, yet he would constantly abide in the truth of the gospel. Anna, his daughter, being with child, was respited; after she was delivered she followed her husband and father in like martyrdom.

*Michella Caignouele, at Valence, A.D. 1550.*

Michella. wife of James Clerk, who was before burned, had an offer of remarriage and to be carried out of the country to some reformed church, but she refused to do so. She would abide her calling, and so she was condemned with Gillotus to be burned.

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*Godfrid Hamelle, at Tournay, A.D. 1552.*

This Godfrid, a tailor, was taken and condemned at Tournay. When they had condemned him as a heretic, he said, "No, not a heretic, but an unprofitable servant of Jesus Christ." When the executioner went about to strangle him to diminish his punishment, he refused it, saying that he would abide the sentence that the judges had given.

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Besides these Germans, there were a great number both in the higher and lower countries of Germany, who were secretly drowned, or buried, or otherwise done away with in prison, whose names, though unknown to us, are yet registered in the Book of Life. In the Dutch book of Adrian, others are numbered in the catalogue of these German martyrs, who suffered in several places of the low country. The names of some are these: John Malo, Damian Witrocke, Waldrew Calier, John Porceau, Julian, Vanden Swerde, Adrian Lopphen, and Bawdwine. Specifically, at Bergen were burnt in the year 1553, John Malo, Damian Witrocke, and Waldrew Calier; buried alive, John Porceau. At Aste, Julian suffered, 1541, and Adrian Lopphen in 1535. At Brussels, Bawdwine was beheaded, 1559. Another called Gilleken Tilleman was burnt, 1551.

Add moreover to the catalogue of Dutch martyrs burnt in the Low Countries under the emperor's dominion, the following: William Swole burnt at Mechlin, 1529. Nicholas Van Pole, at Ghent, beheaded. Robert Ogvier, and Joan his wife, with Baudicon, and Martin Ogvier, their children, who suffered at Lisle, 1556. Master Nicholas burnt at Mons in Hainault: Lawrence of Brussels, at Mons; John Fasseau at Mons; Cornelius Volcart at Bruges, 1553. Hubert, the printer, and Philebert Joyner, at Bruges, 1552. A woman buried with thorns under her; Peter le Roux at Bruges, 1552. At Mechlin suffered Francis and Nicholas, two brethren, 1555. At Antwerp were burnt Adrian, a painter, and Henry, a tailor, 1555. Also Cornelius Halewine, locksmith, and Herman Janson the same year. John du Camp, schoolmaster, 1537, with a number of others, who are to be seen and read in the book. In 1525, we read also in the French history, of a certain monk who, because he forsook his abominable order and was married, was burned at Prague.

*A Preacher poisoned at Erfurt.*

In the collections of Henry Patalion, we read also of a certain godly preacher who was poisoned by the priests of Erfurt, for preaching the word of truth,.

Ceasing; here with these persecutions in Germany, we will now, Christ willing, proceed further to the French martyrs, comprehending in a like manner the names and causes of those in that kingdom who suffered for the word of God, and the cause of righteousness.

**France.**

THE FRENCH MARTYRS.

*James Pavane, Schoolmaster, at Paris, A.D. 1524.*

This James, being taken by the bishop of Meux, was compelled to recant. Afterward returning to his confession, he was burned at Paris in the year 1525.

*Dionysius (Denis) de Rieux, at Meux, A.D. 1528.*

This Denis was one of those who was burned for saying that the mass is a plain denial of the death and passion of Christ. He was always prone to have in his mouth the words of Christ:



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“He that denies me before men, him I will also deny before my Father;” and to earnestly muse upon the same. He was burnt with a slow fire.

*John de Cadurco, Bachelor of the Civil Law, A.D. 1533.*

This John, for making an exhortation to his countrymen on All Hallows day. After sitting at a feast where it was propounded that everyone should proclaim some sentence, he proclaimed this: “Christ reigns in our hearts.” And because he proved it by the Scriptures, he was accused, taken, and degraded, and afterwards burned. At his degradation, one of the Black friars of Paris preached, taking for his text the words of St. Paul, 1Tim 4.1, “The Spirit speaks expressly that in the later times, men shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils,” etc. And in handling that place, either he could not, or would not proceed further in the text. Cadurco cried out to him to proceed, and read further. The friar stood dumb and could not speak a word.

Then Cadurco, taking the text, continued it: “Teaching lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from foods which God has created to be received with thanksgiving,” etc.

*Bartholomew Myler, a lame cripple; John Burges, merchant, the receiver of Nantz; Henry Hoille of Couberon; Catella, a schoolmistress; Stephen de la Forge, merchant, 1533.* These five here specified, for certain papers circulated abroad against the abomination of the mass, and other superstitious absurdities of the pope, were condemned and burned in the city of Paris. Henry of Couberon had his tongue bored through, and tied fast to one of his cheeks with an iron wire; he likewise with the others was burned.

*Alexander Canus, Priest, otherwise called  
Laurentius Cruceus, at Paris, A.D. 1533.*

For the sincere doctrine and confession of Christ’s true religion, he was burned in Paris. Having but a small fire, he suffered much torment.

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*John Pointer, Surgeon, at Paris, A.D. 1533.*

This surgeon being detected and accused by the friars, was first condemned to be strangled, and then burned; but afterwards, because he would not do homage to a certain idol at the command of a friar who came to confess him, his sentence was changed to have his tongue cut out, and so to be burned.

*Peter Gaudet, Knight of Rhodes, A.D. 1533.*

This Peter, being at Geneva with his wife, was put in prison for defense of the gospel; and after long torments, he was burned.

*Quoquillard, A.D. 1534.*

At Bezanfon, in Burgundy, this Quoquillard was burned for the confession and testimony of Christ’s gospel.

*Nicholas, a scrivener; John de Poix; Stephen Burlet, 1534.* These three were executed and burned for the cause of the gospel, in the city of Arras.

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*Mary Becaudella, at Fountaigne, A.D. 1534.*

This Mary being virtuously instructed by her master where she lived; and being at a sermon afterwards where a friar preached, she found fault with his doctrine, and refuted it by the Scriptures. He procured her to be burned at Fountaigne.

*John Cornon, 1535.*

John Cornon was a husbandman of Mascon, and unlettered. But he was one to whom God gave such wisdom, that his judges were amazed when he was condemned by their sentence and burned.

*Martin Gonin, in Dauphine, A.D. 1536.*

This Martin being taken for a spy on the borders of France towards the Alps, was committed to prison. In going out, his jailor saw about him the letters of William Farel,<sup>432</sup> and of Peter Viret.<sup>433</sup> Therefore being examined by the king's procurator, and of the inquisitor regarding his faith, he was cast into the river and drowned.

*Claudius Painter, a Goldsmith, at Paris, A.D. 1540.*

Claudius going about converting his friends and kinsfolks in his doctrine, was committed and condemned to be burned. But the high parliament of Paris, correcting that sentence, added that he should have his tongue cut out beforehand, and so be burned.

*Stephen Brune, a Husbandman, at Rutiers, A.D. 1540.*

Stephen Brune after confessing his faith, was adjudged to be burned. This punishment he took so constantly, that it was a wonder to them. His adversaries commanded after his death, that none should mention him anymore, under pain of heresy.

*Constantius of Rouen, with three others, A.D. 1542.*

These four, for the defense of the gospel, were condemned to be burned and put in a cart. They said that they were reputed here as the offscouring of the world, yet their death was a sweet aroma unto God.

*John du Becke, Priest, A.D. 1543.*

For the doctrine of the gospel he was degraded, and constantly abode the torment of fire in the city of Troyes in Champagne.

*Aymond de Lauoy, at Bordeaux, A.D. 1543.*

Aymond preached the gospel at Saint Faith's in Anjou, where he was accused by the parish priest and by other priests, as having taught false doctrine. When the magistrates of Bordeaux had given command to apprehend him, his friends desired him to flee. But he would not, saying that he would rather never to have been born, than to do so. It was the office of a good shepherd, he said, not to flee in time of peril, but rather to abide the danger, lest the flock be scattered: or lest in so doing, he might leave some scruple in their minds, to think that he fed them with dreams and fables, contrary to the word of God. Therefore he told them that he did not fear to yield both body and soul for the truth which he had taught.

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<sup>432</sup> William Farel (1489-1565), Swiss reformer who convinced Calvin to take an active part in the Reformation.

<sup>433</sup> Peter Viret (1511-1571) Swiss reformer at Geneva, often called the "Forgotten Reformer."

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He said, with St. Paul, that he “was ready, not only to be bound, but also to die for the Lord Jesus.” <sup>Act 21.13</sup>

When the somner came to arrest him, the people rose in defense of their preacher, and flew upon the somner, to deliver him out of his hands. But Aymond desired them not to prevent his martyrdom, for as it was the will of God that he should suffer, he would not resist. So Aymond was carried to Bordeaux. Many witnesses, chiefly priests, came against him, with Mr. Riverack who had often said before, that if it cost him a thousand crowns, he would have Aymond burned. Aymond made many exceptions against the false witnesses, but they would not be accepted. The sum of their accusations was that Aymond denied purgatory.

He continued about nine months in prison, exceedingly bewailing his former life, though no man could charge him outwardly with any crime. After that, he was examined with torments. One of the head presidents came to him, and shaking him by the beard, he asked him to tell what fellows he had of his religion. Aymond answered that he had no other fellows, except those who knew and did the will of God his Father. In these torments he continued two or three hours, comforting himself with these words; “This body,” he said, “must die once, but the spirit shall live: the kingdom of God abides forever.” During the time of his tormenting, he fainted. But afterwards, upon coming to himself again, he said, “O Lord, Lord, why have you forsaken me?” To whom the president said, “No, wicked Lutheran, you have forsaken God.” Then Aymond said, “Alas, good masters, why do you miserably torment me thus? O Lord, I beseech you to forgive them; they know not what they do.” So constant was he, that they could not force him to utter one man’s name.

On the next Saturday, a sentence of condemnation was given against him. Then certain friars were appointed to hear his confession. He refused them, choosing some of his own order. The parish priest of St. Christopher’s bid those friars to depart, for he would confess Aymond’s sins to the Lord. “Do you not see,” Aymond said to them, “how I am troubled enough with men? Will you yet trouble me more? Others have had my body; will you also take from me my soul? Away from me, I pray you.” At last, when they refused to let him have the parish priest, he took a Carmelite. He had long a conversation with him, and at last converted him to the truth. Shortly after, the judges, Cassanges and Longa, with others, came to him. Aymond began to preach to them and to declare his mind regarding the Lord’s Supper. But Longa interrupted him, and demanded of him as follows.

Judge. — First declare to us your mind, what do you think of purgatory?

Martyr. — In Scripture all these are one, to purge, to cleanse, and to wash. We read of this in Isaiah, in the epistles of St. Paul, and of St. Peter; “He has washed you in his blood. You are redeemed, not with gold, but with the blood of Christ,” etc. Heb 9.12; 1Pet 1.18. And how often do we read, in the epistles of St. Paul, that we are cleansed by the blood of Christ from our sins? etc.

Judge. — These epistles are known to every child.

Martyr. — To every child? No, I fear you have scarcely read them yourself.

A friar. — With one word you may satisfy them, if you will say that there is a place where the souls are purged after this life.

Martyr. — That I leave for you to say, if you please. What, would you have me damn my own soul, and say that which I do not know?

Judge. — Do not you think that when you are dead, you shall go to purgatory? And that he who dies in venial sin, shall pass straight into paradise?

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Martyr. — I have such trust in my God, that the same day when I die, I shall enter into paradise.

Another judge. — Where is paradise?

Martyr. — There, where the majesty and glory of God is.

Judge. — The canons mention purgatory, and you in your sermons always used to pray much for the poor.

Martyr. — I have preached the word of God, and not the canons.

Judge. — Do you believe in the church?

Martyr. — I believe what the church regenerated by the blood of Christ, and founded in his word, has appointed.

Judge. — What church is that?

Martyr. — The church is a Greek word, signifying as much as a congregation or assembly: and so I say that whenever the faithful congregate together, to the honor of God, and the extending of Christian religion, the Holy Spirit is truly with them.

Judge. — By this it should follow, that there are many churches: and where any rustic clowns assemble together, there must be a church.

Martyr. — It is no absurd thing to say that there are many churches or congregations among Christians. And so St. Paul speaks, “to all the churches which are in Galatia,” etc. And yet all these congregations make but one church.

Judges. — Is the church in which you believe not the same church which our creed calls the holy church?

Martyr. — I believe the same.

Judge. — And who should be head of that church?

Martyr. — Jesus Christ.

Judge. — And not the pope?

Martyr. — No.

Judge. — And what is he then?

Martyr. — A minister, if he is a good man, like other bishops. St. Paul thus writes of them, “Let a man so consider us, as ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God,” 1Cor 4.1.

Then the judges leaving him with the friars, departed, counting him a damned creature. Aymond, however, putting his trust in God, was full of comfort, saying with St. Paul, “Who shall separate me from the love of God? Shall the sword, hunger, or nakedness? No, nothing shall pluck me from him. <sup>Rom 8.39</sup> But rather I have pity on you,” he said; and so they departed. Not long after, he was brought to the place of execution, singing Psalm 114 on the way. He moreover thanked the keeper, and desired him to be good to his poor prisoners. And so taking his leave of them, and desiring them to pray for him; also giving thanks to the mistress-keeper for her gentleness to him, he proceeded to his execution. As he came near the church of St. Andrew, they desired him to ask mercy of God, and of blessed St. Mary, and of St. Justice. “I ask mercy,” he said, “of God, and his justice, but the Virgin, blessed St. Mary, I never offended, nor did anything for which I should ask her mercy.” In passing a

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certain image of the Virgin Mary, great offense was taken against him, because he called upon Christ Jesus only, and made no mention of her. So he lifted up his voice to God, praying that He would never allow him to invoke any other. Coming to the place where he was to suffer, he was tumbled out of the cart upon the ground, testifying to magistrates and to the people standing by, that he died for the gospel of Jesus Christ. He would have spoken more, but he was not allowed to by the officers, crying, "Dispatch him! dispatch him! Do not let him speak." Then saying a few words softly in the ear of the Carmelite whom he had converted, he was bid to step up to the stage. There the people beginning to listen to him, he said this:

"O Lord, make haste to help me; do not tarry; do not despise the works of your hands. And you, my brethren, who are students and scholars, I exhort you to study and learn the gospel. For the word of God abides forever. Labor to know the will of God, and do not fear those who kill the body, but have no power upon your souls. My flesh strives against the spirit, but I will shortly cast it away. My good masters, I beseech you, pray for me. O Lord my God, into your hands I commend my soul."

As he was often repeating the same words, the executioner took and strangled him. And thus that blessed saint gave up his life; his body afterwards was consumed with fire.

*Francis Bribard*, A.D. 1544, was said to be the secretary of the cardinal of Ballaie. Being condemned for the gospel, his tongue was cut off, and with great constancy he suffered martyrdom by burning.

*William Husson, an apothecary at Rouen, in 1544,*

Husson went to the palace, and there he scattered certain books concerning Christian doctrine, and the abuse of human tradition. The council was so provoked by this, that they commanded all the gates of the city to be locked, and a diligent search be made to find out the author. So that William Husson was taken on the way, riding to Dieppe, and brought back to Rouen. Being examined there, he declared his faith boldly, and how he came purposely to disperse those books in Rouen, and had gone to do likewise at Dieppe.

The week ensuing he was condemned to be burnt alive. After the sentence he was brought in a cart, accompanied with a doctor, a Carmelite friar. This Carmelite friar was called Delanda, who afterwards was converted, and preached the gospel. Before the great church they put a torch into Husson's hand, and required him to do homage to the image of the Virgin Mary. Because he refused to do this, they cut out his tongue. The friar then preached a sermon, and when he said anything of the mercies of God, William hearkened to him; but when he spoke of the merits of saints, and other dreams, he turned away his head. The friar looking upon the countenance of Husson, lifted up his hand to heaven, saying with great exclamation, that he was damned, and was possessed with a devil. When the friar ceased his sermon, this godly Husson had his hands and feet bound behind his back, and with a pulley was lifted up into the air. When the fire was kindled, he was let down into the flame, where the blessed martyr with a smiling and cheerful countenance looked up to heaven, never moving or stirring till he let down his head, and gave up his spirit. All the people present there were not a little astonished, some saying that he had a devil; others maintained the contrary, saying that if he had a devil, he would have fallen into despair.

*James Cobard, a schoolmaster, and many others  
taken at the same time, 1545.*

This James, schoolmaster in the dukedom of Barents in Lorraine, disputed with three priests, that the sacrament of baptism, and of the supper did not avail, unless they were

received with faith. This was as much as saying that the mass profited neither the quick nor the dead. For this, and also for his confession which, while in prison, he sent to the judge by his mother, he was burned, and suffered most quietly.

Also in 1546, *William Briconatus* was bishop at Meaux, a city in France near Paris. There he did much good, and brought the light of the gospel to them, and reformed the church. But afterwards, though he apostatized, there were many who remained constant. Then came the burning of *James Pavane*. As superstition began to grow more and more, those who had continued steadfast began to assemble in the house of *Etienne Mangin*, and to set up a church for themselves.<sup>434</sup> They followed the example of the French church in Strasburg. Beginning with twenty or thirty, they increased in a short time to three or four hundred. Once the matter was known to the senate of Paris, the chamber was beset where those persons were, and they were taken. Sixty-two men and women were bound and brought to Paris, singing psalms, especially Psalm 79. It was chiefly objected against them, that being laymen, they ministered the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord.

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Of these sixty-two, fourteen were especially steadfast, and were condemned, and racked to compel them to confess more of their fellows; but they would not do so. The rest were scourged and banished from the country. These fourteen were sent to sundry monasteries to be converted; but that would not work. They were then sent in a cart to Meaux to be burned. On the way, about three miles from Paris, they met by chance a weaver of Couberon, who cried aloud to them, bidding them to be of good cheer, and to cling fast to the Lord. This man was also taken, and bound and put in the cart with them. On coming to the place of execution, which was in front of Mangin's house, they were told that those who would be confessed would not have their tongues cut out, but the others would. Of the fourteen, there were seven who confessed to save their tongues; the other seven refused. As they were burning, the people sang psalms. The priests would also sing their songs: "O saving Host," etc. and "Hail, O Queen of heaven," etc. while the sacrifice of these holy martyrs was finished. Their wives being compelled to see their husbands in torments, were afterwards put in prison, from which they were promised to be freed if they would only say that their husbands were damned; but they refused.

At Paris, in 1546, *Peter Chapot*, a printer, came into France after having been at Geneva. He brought with him some books of the holy Scripture, which he dispersed abroad among the faithful, when his great zeal caused him to be apprehended.

On being brought before the commissaries, he rendered an account of his faith, and exhibited a supplication, or writing, in which he learnedly informed the judges to do their office uprightly. Three doctors of the Sorbonne were assigned to dispute with him. When they could find no advantage, but rather were shamed at his hands, they were angry with the judges for making them dispute with heretics.

This done, the judges consulting on his condemnation could not agree. So that Chapot might have escaped, had not a wicked person so wrought his condemnation, that he would be burned. At his execution, friar Maillard called upon him not to speak to the people, but he desired him to pray. Then he bid him pray to our Lady, and confess her to be his advocate. Chapot confessed that she was a blessed Virgin, and recited the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and was about to speak of the mass, but Maillard would not let him, hastening to

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<sup>434</sup> [In this house began the first Calvin-inspired Protestant church in France.](#)

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his execution. He said that unless Chapot said the "Hail Mary," he would be burnt. Then Chapot prayed, "O Jesus Son of David, have mercy upon me." Maillard then bid him say, "Jesus, Maria," and he would be only strangled. Chapot was so weak that he could not speak. "Say," said Maillard, "Jesus Maria, or else you shall be burned." As Chapot was thus striving with the friar, it suddenly happened that Jesus Maria, slipped from his mouth. But he instantly repressed himself, saying "O God, what have I done! Pardon me, O Lord, to you only have I sinned." Then Maillard commanded the cord to be put about his neck to strangle him. After all things were done, Maillard, full of anger, went to the council-house, declaring what an uproar had almost happened among the people; saying that he would complain of the judges for allowing those heretics to have their tongues. Immediately a decree was made, that all who were to be burned, unless they recanted at the fire, should have their tongues cut off. This law was afterwards diligently observed.

*Saintinus Nivet* at Paris, in 1546. — After the burning of the fourteen, described before, this Saintinus, who was a cripple, had moved away from Meaux. But after a time he returned, and as he was selling certain small wares at the fair, he was known again and apprehended. Information having been given, he was examined, and at first he confessed all, and more than they were willing to hear. But as they were examining him on certain points of religion, and asked him whether he would stand to what he said, or not, he gave this answer, which is worthy to be registered in all men's hearts, saying, "And I ask you again, lord judges, dare you be so bold as to deny what is so plain and manifest by the open words of the Scripture?" He had so little regard to saving his own life, that he desired the judges, for God's sake, that they would rather take care of their own lives and souls, and consider how much innocent blood they spilled daily in fighting against Christ Jesus and his gospel. At last, being brought to Paris, he there suffered martyrdom. No kind of cruelty was lacking, which the innocent martyrs of Christ Jesus tended to undergo.

*Stephen Polliot*, in 1546, upon coming out of Normandy, where he was born, to Meaux, was compelled to flee. But he was apprehended and brought to Paris, and there cast into a foul and dark prison. In this prison he was kept in hand and leg fetters a long time, where he saw almost no light. At length, being called before the senate, his sentence was given to have his tongue cut out, and to be burned alive, with his books hanging about his neck in a bag. "O Lord," he said, "is the world still in blindness and darkness?" At last the worthy martyr of Jesus Christ was put into the fire, where with much patience he ended this transitory life.

*John English*, in 1547, was executed and burned at Sens in Burgundy, being condemned by the high court of Paris, for confessing the true word of God.

*Michael Michelote*, a tailor, in 1547, was apprehended for the gospel's sake, and sentenced, if he would turn, to be beheaded. And if he would not turn, then to be burned alive. On being asked which of these two he would choose, he answered that he trusted, that he who had given him grace not to deny the truth, would also give him patience to endure the fire. He was burned.

*Leonard de Prato*, in 1547, was going from Dijon to Bar, a town in Burgundy, with two false brethren, talking with them about religion. He was betrayed by them and later burned.

### *Seven Martyrs, A.D. 1457.*

*John Taffington*, and *Joan* his wife, *Simon Mareschal*, and *Joan* his wife, *William Michaut*, *James Boulerau*, and *James Bretany*. — All seven being from the city of Langres, they were committed to the fire for the word and truth of Jesus Christ. They died with much strength and comfort; but especially *Joan*, who was *Simon's* wife, being reserved to the last because

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she was the youngest. She confirmed her husband and all the others with words of singular consolation — declaring to her husband, that they would the same day be married to the Lord Jesus, to live with Him forever.

*Michael Mareschall, John Camus, Great John Camus, and John Serarphin*, in the same year, and about the same time, for the same confession of Christ's gospel, were condemned by the senate of Paris, and were burned in the same city, with like cruelty.

*Octovien Blondel*, a merchant of precious stones at Paris, 1548. — This Octovien was well known both at court and elsewhere. He was a singularly honest man of great integrity, and also a favorer of God's word. Being at his host's house at Lyons, he rebuked the filthy talk, and superstitious behavior which he heard and saw there. The host, bearing a grudge to him, had some talk with one Gabriel, concerning the riches, and a sumptuous collar set with rich jewels belonging to this Octovien.

Thus these two consulting together, suborned a person to borrow from him a sum of crowns. And because Octovien refused to lend it, the other caused him to be apprehended for heresy, thinking thereby to attach his goods. But such order was taken by Blondel's friends, that they were frustrated in their purpose. Then Blondel being examined as to his faith, gave a plain and full confession of that doctrine which he had learned. For this he was committed to prison, where he did much good to the prisoners.

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For some who were in debt, he paid their creditors and go them released. To some he gave food, to others raiment. At length, through the importune persuasions of his parents and friends, he gave up and changed his confession. However, the Presenteur Gabriel appealed to the high court of Paris. There Octovien being asked again, regarding his faith, which of his two confessions he would stick to? Being admonished before about his fall, and of the offense given by it to the faithful, said he would live and die in his first confession, which he defended as consonant to the truth of God's word. He was therefore condemned to be burned, and his execution was hastened lest his friends at court might save his life.

*Hubert Cheriet*, alias *Burre*, tailor, at Dijon, 1549. — Hubert, being a young man, nineteen years of age, was burned for the gospel at Dijon. He could not be otherwise persuaded by any terrors of death, nor allurements of his parents, but constantly remained in the truth unto death.

Master *Florent Venote*, priest at Paris, 1549. — This Florent remained in prison in Paris, about four years. During this time there was no torment which he did not overcome. Besides other torments, he was put in a narrow prison so strait, that he could neither stand nor lie down. They call it the hose or boot, because it is straight beneath, and wider above. He remained in this seven weeks, where the tormentors affirm that no thief or murderer could ever endure fifteen days without danger of life or madness. At last, when there was a great show in Paris at the king's coming to the city, Florent and other martyrs were put to death. He had his tongue cut off, and was brought to see the execution of them all; then, last of all, he was put in the fire and burned the ninth of July, in the place called Maulbert.

*Ann Audelert*, an apothecary's wife and widow at Orleans, 1549. — Going to Geneva, she was taken and brought to Paris, and adjudged by the council to be burned at Orleans. When the rope was put about her, she called it her wedding-girdle with which she would be married to Christ. And as she was to be burned on Saturday, Michaelmas-eve, she said: "On a Saturday I was first married, and on a Saturday I shall be married again." Seeing the cart brought, in



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which she was to be carried, she rejoiced at it, showing such constancy in her martyrdom as made all the beholders marvel.

### *A poor Tailor of Paris, 1549.*

Among many other godly martyrs who suffered in France, the history of this poor tailor is not the least nor the worst to be remembered. His name is not yet revealed in the French histories, through lack of diligence in those writers. The history is this: Not long after the coronation of Henry II, the French king, and upon his coming into Paris, several good martyrs were brought out and burned as a spectacle. A certain poor tailor, who then dwelt not far from the king's palace, was apprehended, because on a certain holy-day he followed his occupation, and worked for his living. Before he was led to prison, the officer asked him why he labored giving no observance to the holy-day? He answered that he was a poor man, living only upon his labor. And as for the day, he knew no other but Sunday in which he might not lawfully work for his living.' Then the officer began to ask him many questions, which the poor tailor so answered, that he was soon clapped in prison. After that, the officer coming into court to show what good service he had done for holy church, declared how he had taken a Lutheran working on a holy-day. When the rumor was rumored in the king's chamber, the poor man was sent to appear, so that the king might hear him

Only a few of the chief peers remained about the king when the simple tailor was brought. The king sitting in his chair, commanded Peter Castellan, bishop of Mascon to question him (a man very fit for such inquisitions). The tailor having entered, and not at all impressed at the king's majesty, after his reverence done to the prince, gave thanks to God that he had so greatly dignified him, as to bring him where he might testify his truth before such a mighty prince. Then Castellan, began to reason with him regarding the great and chief matters of religion. The tailor, without fear, or any halting in his speech, with wit and memory, answered excellently in behalf of the sincere doctrine and simple truth of God's gospel.

The nobles who were present, with cruel taunts and rebukes, did what they could to dash his countenance. Yet all this did not terrify him, but with boldness of heart and free liberty of speech, he defended his cause, or rather the cause of Christ the Lord. He neither flattered their persons, nor feared their threats. This was a matter of astonishment to them, to behold that simple poor artisan stand so firm and bold, answering before a king, to the questions propounded against him. When the king seemed to muse with himself, as one who might have been led to further knowledge, the bishop and other courtiers seeing the king in such a muse, said the tailor was an obstinate and stubborn person, and therefore should be sent to the judges, and punished. And so, a few days later, he was condemned to be burned alive.

*Claudius Thierry*, at Orleans, 1549. — The same year, and for the same doctrine of the gospel, this Claudius was burned at the town of Orleans, being apprehended on the way coming from Geneva to his country.

*Leonard Galimard*, at Paris, 1549. — This Leonard, for his like confession of Christ and his gospel, was taken and brought to Paris, and there, by the sentence of the council, was judged to be burned the same time that Florent Venote, above-mentioned, suffered at Paris.

*Macaus Moreou*, at Troyes, 1549. — He was burned in Troyes in Champagne, remaining constant to the end in the gospel, for which he was apprehended.

*Joannes Godeau*, *Gabriel Beraudinus*, A.D. 1550. — These two were of the church of Geneva. Godeau, standing to his confession, was burned. Gabriel, though he began to shrink a little for fear of the torments, yet, being confirmed by the constant death of Godeau,

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recovered, and standing likewise to his confession, first had his tongue cut out. And so these two, after they had confirmed many in God's truth, gave their life for Christ's gospel.

*Thomas Sanpaulinus* at Paris, 1551. — This young man, eighteen years of age, coming from Geneva to Paris, rebuked a man for swearing. For this cause, suspected of being a Lutheran, was watched and brought before the Council of Paris, and put in prison. There he was racked and miserably tormented, so that he might either change his opinion, or confess others of his profession. His torments and rackings were so sore that the sight of them made Aubert, one of the council, a cruel and vehement enemy of the gospel, turn his back and weep. The young man, when he had made the tormentors weary with racking, and yet would utter nothing, was at last brought to Maulbert place, in Paris, to be burned. Being in the fire, he was plucked up again upon the gibbet, and asked whether he would turn? He said, "That he was on his way towards God, and therefore desired them to let him go." Thus this glorious martyr glorified the Lord with constant confession of His truth.

*Mauricius Secenate* in Provence, 1551. — Being interrogated by the lieutenant of that place, this martyr made his answers so that no great advantage could be taken of them. But being greatly troubled in his conscience for dissembling with the truth, and afterwards being called before the chief judge, he answered so directly, that he was condemned and burned.

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*John Putte, or de Puteo*, surnamed *Medicus*, at Uzez in Languedoc, 1551. — This *Medicus* had a controversy about a certain pit with a citizen of the town of Uzez, where he dwelt. To cast *Medicus* in the law, this man accused him of heresy, bringing for his witnesses those laborers whom *Medicus* had hired to work in his vineyard. Being examined on the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, he was condemned and burned at Uzez in Languedoc.

*Claudius Monerius at Lyons, 1551.*

This man being well-instructed in the knowledge of God's word, came to Lyons, and there he taught children. Hearing of the lord president's coming to the city, he went to give warning to a certain friend of his, and conducted him out of the town. In returning to comfort the man's wife and children, he was taken in his house. And so, confessing what he knew to be true, and standing to that which he confessed, after much affliction in prisons and dungeons, he was condemned and burned at Lyons. Certain of the judges could not forbear weeping at his death.

In prison he wrote some letters, but one especially was very comfortable to all the faithful. He also wrote down the questions of the official, with his answers, which we have contracted here as follows:

Official. — What do you believe of the sacrament? Is the body of Christ in the bread, or not?

Martyr. — I worship Jesus Christ in heaven, sitting at the right hand of God the Father.

Official. — What do you say about purgatory?

Martyr. — Because there is no place of mercy after this life, therefore there is no need of any purgation; but it is necessary that we be purged before we go from here.

Official. — What do you think of the pope?

Martyr. — I say he is a bishop as other bishops are, if he is a true follower of St. Peter.

Official. — What do you say of vows?

Martyr. — No man can vow so much to God, but the law requires much more than he can vow.

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Official. — Are saints not to be invoked?

Martyr. — They cannot pray without faith, and therefore it is in vain to call upon them. And again, God has appointed his angels about us, to minister in our necessities.

Official — Is it not good to salute the blessed Virgin with the “Hail Mary!”

Martyr. — When she was on earth she had need of the angel’s greeting; for then she had need of salvation, as well as others; but now she is so blessed, that no more blessing can be wished to her.

Official. — Are images not to be had?

Martyr. — The nature of man is so prone to idolatry, ever occupied in those things which lie before his eyes, rather than upon those which are not seen. Images therefore are not to be set before Christians. You know nothing is to be adored, but that which is not seen with eyes, that is, God alone, who is a Spirit, and we must worship Him in spirit and in truth alone.

In 1552, *Renat Poyet*, the son of William Poyet, who was chancellor of France, for the true and sincere profession of the word of God, constantly suffered martyrdom, and was burned in the city of Salmure.

*John Joyer*, and his servant at Toulouse, 1552. — These two coming from Geneva to their country with certain books, were apprehended and brought to Toulouse, where the master was first condemned. The servant being young, was not so prompt to answer them, but sent them to his master, saying that he should answer them. When they were brought to the stake, the young man first going up, began to weep. The master fearing lest he would give up, ran to him, and he was comforted, and they began to sing. As they were in the fire, the master standing upright to the stake, shifted the fire from him to his servant, being more careful for him than for himself; and when he saw him dead, he bowed down into the flame. and so expired.

*Hugonius Gravier*, a schoolmaster coming from Geneva to Newcastle, was there elected to be minister of Cortillon. On going to see his wife’s friends at Mascon, he was taken with all his company. Desiring the women and the rest of the company to lay the fault on him for bringing them out, he was sentenced to be burned. Even though the lords of Berne sent their heralds to save his life, and the official declared him to be an honest man, and to hold nothing but what agreed with the Scriptures, in 1552, at Burg in Bresse, a day’s journey from Lyons, this Gravier was burnt.

*Martial Alba, Petrus Scriba, Bernard Segnine,  
Charlea Faber, Peter Navihere, at Lyons, 1555.*

These five students, after they had remained in the university of Lausanne a certain time, agreed among themselves, all being Frenchmen, to return home, each one to his country, so that they might instruct their parents and friends in such knowledge as the Lord had given them. So taking their journey they came to Geneva, where they remained a while. From there they went to Lyons, where they were apprehended and led to prison, and where they continued a whole year. As they were learned in the Scriptures, every one of them exhibited severally a learned confession of his faith. And through the power of the Lord’s Spirit, they confounded the friars with whom they disputed.

They were examined as to the sacrament of the Lord’s body, about purgatory, confession and invocation, free will, and the supremacy, etc. Although they proved their cause by Scripture, and refuted their adversaries in reasoning, yet right being overcome by might, sentence was given, and they were burnt at Lyons. When set upon the cart, they began to

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sing psalms. As they passed by the marketplace, one of them with a loud voice saluted the people with the words of the last chapter to the Hebrews, “The God of peace who brought again from the dead the great Shepherd of the sheep by the blood of the everlasting covenant,” etc. <sup>Heb 13.20-21</sup> Coming to the place, the two youngest went upon the heap of wood to the stake, and there were fastened, and so after them the rest. Martial Alba being the eldest, was the last. Being stripped of his clothes, and brought to the stake, he desired this petition of the governor — that he might go about to his companions tied at the stake, and kiss them: which being granted, he went and kissed every one, saying, “Farewell, my brother.” The other four, following the example, bade each one, “Farewell, my brother.” With that, fire was commanded to be put to them. So the blessed martyrs, in the midst of the fire, spoke to one another to be of good cheer, and so departed.

*Their Examinations briefly touched.*

Friar. — You say, friend, in your confession, that the pope is not supreme head of the church. I will prove to the contrary. The pope is successor of Peter, and therefore he is supreme head of the church.

Martyr. — I deny that he is successor to Peter.

Then another friar. — You say St. Peter is not the head of the church, I will prove he is; for our Lord said to Peter, “You shall be called Cephaz,” and Cephaz is the same as saying in Latin, a head; and therefore Peter is head of the church.

Martyr. — Where do you find that interpretation? St. John in his first chapter expounds it otherwise: “You shall be called Cephaz, which is by interpretation a stone.”

Then the judge, Villard, calling for a New Testament, turned to the place, and found it to be so. Upon which the friar was utterly dashed and stood mute.

Friar. — You say in your confession, that a man has no free will, I will prove it. It is written in the gospel, how a man going from Jerusalem to Jericho fell among thieves, and was robbed, maimed, and left half dead, etc. Thomas Aquinas expounds this parable to mean free-will, which he says is *maimed*; yet not so much that some power does not remain in man to work.

Martyr. — This interpretation I refuse and deny.

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Friar. — What! Do you think yourself better learned than St. Thomas?

Martyr. — I claim no such learning for myself. But I say this parable is not to be so expounded, but is set forth by the Lord to commend charity towards our neighbor, how one should help another.

Friar. You say in your confession, that we are justified only by faith, I will prove that we are justified by works. St. Paul, Hebrews 13.16, says, “Do not forget to do good and to distribute; for with such sacrifices God is *merited*.” Now as we *merit* God by our works, so we are *justified* by our works.

Martyr. — The words of St. Paul in that place are to be translated thus: — “With such sacrifices God is *well pleased*.”

Villard the judge turned to the book, and found the place even as the prisoner said. Here the friars were marvellously appalled and troubled in their minds. One asked then, what he thought of confession?

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The martyr answered that confession is to be made to God alone; and that those places which they allege for auricular confession, out of St. James and others, are to be expounded as brotherly reconciliation between one another, and not of confession in the priest's ear. And here again the friars had nothing to say against it.

A Black friar. — Do you believe that the body of Christ is be locally and corporally in the sacrament? I will prove it: Jesus Christ taking bread said, "This is my body."

Martyr. — The verb "is" is not to be taken here substantively in its own proper signification, as showing the nature of a thing in substance, but as noting the property of a thing, signifying in the manner and phrase of the Scripture; where one thing is usually called by the name of another, so the sign is called by the name of the thing signified, etc. So circumcision is named a covenant, and yet it is not the covenant. So the lamb is called the Passover, yet it is not the same. In these two sacraments of the old law you see the verb "is" must be taken, not as showing the substance of being, but the property of being in the thing that is spoken of. And so likewise in the sacrament of the new law.

Friar. — I will prove that those of the Old Testament were not partakers of the same grace with us. "The law," says St. Paul, "works wrath;" and those who are under the law are under a curse; therefore those of the old law and testament were not partakers of the same grace with us.

Martyr. — St. Paul here proves that no man can be justified by the law, but that all men are under the anger and curse of God thereby. Just as no man can perform all that is comprehended in the law, so therefore every man needs to run to Christ, to be saved by faith, seeing that no man can be saved by the law. For whoever trusts to the law, hoping to find justification thereby, and not in Christ alone, that person remains under the curse. This is not because the law is cursed, nor that any particular time is under the curse, but because of the weakness of our natures, which are not able to perform the law.

The official, seeing the friar here at a sticking point, said, 'You heretic! Do you deny the blessed sacrament?'

Martyr. — No, sir, but I embrace and reverence the sacrament, as it was instituted by the Lord, and left by his apostles.

Official. — You deny the body of Christ to be in the sacrament, and you call the sacrament bread.

Martyr. — The Scripture teaches us to seek the body of Christ in heaven, and not on earth, where we read in Col 3.1, "If you are risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sits at the right hand of God," etc. And whereas I affirm that the sacrament is not the body, but bread, speaking of bread remaining in its own substance, I do nothing else than what St. Paul does, who likewise calls it bread four or five times (1Cor 11.26).

Official. — You naughty heretic! Jesus Christ said that he was a vine, and a door, etc., where he speaks figuratively. But the words of the sacrament are not to be so expounded.

Martyr. — Those testimonies which you alleged make more for me than for you.

Official. — What are you saying heretic? That the bread of the Lord's Supper, and the bread that we eat at home, are all one, and there is no difference between them?

Martyr. — In nature and substance there is no difference; in quality and in use there is much difference. For the bread of the Lord's table, though it is of the same nature and substance as the bread that we eat at home, yet when it is applied to be a sacrament, it takes another quality, and is set before us to seal the promise of our spiritual and eternal life.

About the same time, when these five students above specified were apprehended, *Peter Bergerius* also was taken at Lyons, and examined, and made the like confession with them; and shortly after them, he suffered the same martyrdom. He had a wife and children at Geneva, to whom he wrote sweet and comfortable letters. In the dungeon with him there was a certain thief and malefactor who had lain there seven or eight months. This thief, for pain and torment, cried out to God and cursed his parents that begat him, being almost eaten up with lice, miserably handled, and fed with such bread as even dogs and horses refused to eat. So it pleased the goodness of Almighty God, that through the teaching and prayer of *Bergerius*, he was brought to repentance of himself, and knowledge of God, learning much comfort and patience by the word of the gospel preached to him.

*Stephen Peloquine, Dionysius Peloquine*, at Lyons, 1553. — *Stephen Peloquine*, brother to *Dionysius*, was taken, with *Ann Audebert*, and martyred for the gospel at the same time, with a small fire. After them followed *Dionysius Peloquine*, in the same martyrdom. The articles for which he was condemned were the mass, the sacrament, auricular confession, purgatory, the Virgin Mary, and the pope's supremacy. He suffered in the year 1553. In his martyrdom, God gave him such patience and fortitude that when he was half burned, he never ceased holding up his hands to heaven, and calling upon the Lord, to the great admiration of those who looked on.

*Lewis Marsacus, Michael Gerard, Stephen Gravot*, at Lyons, 1553. — At Lyons, in the same year, these three were also apprehended and sacrificed. *Lewis* had served the king in his wars. He was trained up in the knowledge and doctrine of the Lord. He was examined upon several articles, such as invocation of saints, and of the Virgin Mary, free will, merits, and good works, auricular confession, fasting, the Lord's Supper. In his second examination, they inquired of him, and also of the other two touching vows, the sacraments, the mass, and the vicar of Christ. In all of these articles, because their judgment dissented from the doctrine of the pope's church, they were condemned.

When the sentence of condemnation was given against these three, they were so glad that they went out praising God, and singing psalms. When brought out of prison to the stake, the executioner tied a rope about the necks of the other two. *Marsac* seeing himself spared because of his order and degree, asked that he also might have one of the precious chains about his neck, in honor of his Lord. This being granted, these three blessed martyrs were committed to the fire where, with meek patience, they yielded up their lives into the hands of the Lord, in testimony of his gospel.

*Matthew Dimonetus*, at Lyons, A.D. 1553. This merchant first lived a vicious and detestable life. But notwithstanding, being called by the grace of God, to the knowledge and favor of his word, he was shortly afterwards taken by the lieutenant, and the official. After a little examination, he was sent to prison. Being examined by the inquisitor and the official, he refused to yield any answer, knowing no authority over him, except for the lieutenant.

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His answers were, that he believed all that the holy universal church of Christ truly believed, and all the articles of the creed. To the article of the holy catholic church, being asked to add also Roman (that is, the church of Rome), he refused. He knew no advocates, but Christ alone. He knew no Purgatory, but the cross and passion of the Lamb, which purges the sins of all the world. True confession, he said, ought to be made not to the priest once a year, but every day to God, and to those whom we have offended. Eating the flesh and blood of Christ he took to be spiritual; and the sacrament of the flesh and blood of Christ to be eaten with

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the mouth, and that sacrament is bread and wine under the name and signification of the body and blood of Christ; the mass was not instituted by Christ, being contrary to his word and will. For the head of the church, he knew none but Christ alone. Being in prison, he had great conflicts with the infirmity of his flesh, but especially with the temptation of his parents, brethren, and kinsfolks, and the sorrow of his mother. Nevertheless, the Lord so assisted him, that he endured to the end. At his burning he spoke much to the people, and was heard with great attention. He suffered July 15th, 1553.

*William Neel*, a friar, suffered in the same year, and was burned at Eureux in France. His trouble arose first for rebuking the vicious demeanor of the priests there, and of the dean; for which the dean had him sent to the prison of the bishop at Eureux.

*Simon Laloe*, a spectacle-maker at Dijon, in 1553, coming from Geneva into France, was arrested by the bailiff of Dijon. Three things were demanded of him. First, where he dwelt. Secondly, what was his faith. Thirdly, what fellows he knew of his religion. His dwelling, he said, was at Geneva. His religion was such as was then used at Geneva. As for his fellows, he said, he knew none, but only those of the same city of Geneva, where his dwelling was. When they could get no other answer but this, with all their racking and torments, they proceeded to his sentence, and pursued the execution of it, which was November 21, 1553.

The executioner was named James Silvester. Seeing the great faith and constancy of that heavenly martyr Laloe, this James was so touched with repentance, and fell into such despair of himself, that he had much ado, with all the promises of the gospel, to recover any comfort. At last, through the mercy of Christ, he was comforted and also converted; and so he with all his family removed to the church at Geneva.

*Nicholas Nayle*, a shoemaker at Paris, in 1553, was apprehended. Stoutly persisting in confessing the truth, he was tried with such cruel torments that his body was almost separated one joint from another. He was induced to reveal what companions he had of his profession; but he was so constant in his silence that he would reveal none. As they brought him to the stake, they first put a gag or piece of wood in his mouth, which they bound with cords to the back of his head, so hard that his mouth on both sides gushed with blood. On the way they passed by a hospital, where they desired him to worship the picture of St. Mary standing at the gate; but he turned his back as well as he could, and would not. For this, the blind people were so enraged that they would have fallen upon him. After he was brought to the fire they so smeared his body with fat and brimstone, that at the first taking of the fire, all his skin was burned, but the inward parts were not touched. With that, the cords burst which were about his mouth, by which his voice was heard in the midst of the flame, praising the Lord; and so the blessed martyr departed.

At Toulouse in 1553, *Peter Serve* was first a priest; then changing his religion, he went to Geneva and learned the trade of a shoemaker. Afterwards he came to his brother at Toulouse, to do him good. His brother had a wife, who was not well pleased with his religion and coming. She told another woman, one of her neighbors, about this. What does she do, but go to the official and make him privy of all. The official laid hands upon Peter, and brought him before the inquisitor, to whom Peter made such declarations of his faith, that he seemed to reduce the inquisitor to some feeling of conscience, and began to instruct him in the principles of true religion. Notwithstanding, he was condemned by the chancellor to be degraded, and committed to the secular judge. The judge inquiring what his occupation was, he said that of late he was a shoemaker. Whereby the judge, understanding that he had been of some other faculty before, required what it was. He said he had been of another faculty before, but he was ashamed to utter it, or to remember it, being the worst and vilest

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science of all others in the world. The judge and the people, supposing that he had been some thief, inquired to know what it was; but for shame and sorrow he stopped his mouth, and would not declare it. At last, through their importunate clamor, he was constrained to declare the truth, and said that he had been a priest. The judge thereupon was so provoked, that he condemned him. First, he enjoined him in his condemnation to ask the king for forgiveness, and then judged him to have his tongue cut out, and so be burned.

As he went to burning, he passed by the college of St. Martial, where he was bid to honor the picture of the Virgin standing at the gate. On refusing to do so, the judge commanded his tongue to be cut off; and so being put into the fire, he stood so quietly, looking up to heaven all the time of the burning, as though he felt nothing, bringing such admiration to the people, that one of the parliament said that to bring the Lutherans to the fire would do more hurt than good.

*Stephen King, Peter Denocheus*, at Chartres, in 1553. These two were suspected of Lutheranism, and so they were apprehended by the marshal, and carried to Chartres where, upon their examination, and after their constant confession, they were committed to prison for a long time. During that time, Stephen King composed many hymns in the praise of the Lord, to refresh his spirit in that doleful captivity. At length they were condemned, and executed with the cruel punishment of fire.

*Antony Magnus*, at Paris, in 1554, was sent to Geneva by those who were in prison at Lyons, and also by others who were in captivity at Paris, to commend them to their prayers to God for them. He returned into France, and within three hours of his coming, he was betrayed and taken by certain priests at Bourges, and delivered to the official. After a few days, the king's justices took him from the official, and sent him to Paris. There, after great rebukes and torments suffered in the prison, and firmly persisting in the profession of the truth, he was adjudged by their capital sentence, to have his tongue cut out, and to be burned.

*William Alencon*, a bookseller, did much good in the provinces of France by carrying books. Coming to Montpellier, he was ensnared by false brethren, detected, and laid in prison. He was firm and constant in his faith to the end of his martyrdom, being burnt in 1554.

There was at the same time at Montpellier a certain clothworker, who was enjoined by the judges to make a public recantation, and to be present also at the burning of Alencon. Beholding Alencon's constancy and death, it pleased God to strike this man with such boldness, that he asked the judges, either that he might burn with this Alencon, or else be brought back to prison. Therefore, three days later he was likewise condemned to the fire and burned.

*Paris Panier*, in 1554. — At Dola a good and godly lawyer, named Paris Panier was beheaded for his constant standing to the gospel of Christ.

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*Peter du Val*, shoe-maker, at Nismes, in 1554, sustained grievous rackings and torments. His body being broken, dislocated, and maimed, he yet manfully bore all their extremity, and would name and reveal no one. Then he was taken to the fire, and consumed.

*John Filieul*, carpenter, *Julian le Ville*, point-maker, in 1554.

These two blessed and constant martyrs, as they were going toward Geneva with one of their sons and a daughter, were apprehended by the marshal. Overtaking them on the way, the marshal most wickedly and Judas-like pretended great favor towards them, and to their religion, which he supposed them to be of. With these and many other fair words, he allured



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them to confess what was their faith; where they were going with their children; and also that their wives were at Geneva. When they had declared this, the wretched traitor gave a sign to the horseman, and these simple saints of Christ were entrapped and brought to the castle of Nivern. Being in prison, they were examined, and answered uprightly according to their faith.

Touching the sacrament, they affirmed that the transubstantiation of the bishop of Rome was against the article of the Creed, which says that Christ has gone up to heaven, and there sits at the right hand of God. And therefore the bread and wine must remain in their proper nature, being, however, a sacrament or a holy sign of the body and blood of the Lord. For as by bread and wine the heart of man is comforted, so the body of Christ crucified, and his blood shed spiritually, has the same operation in the souls of believers.

As for the mass, they said it was a most superstitious thing, and mere idolatry. And if we put any salvation in it, that was utterly robbing the passion of Christ the Son of God, and that it was not once to be named in a Christian's mouth. Also, that those who say that Peter either was pope, or author of the mass, are far deceived. As for turning bread into the body of Christ by the words of consecration, it was an error, they said, more of madmen than anything else. For God is neither subject to men, nor to the tongues or exorcisms of men. They denied purgatory, except through the blood of Jesus Christ.

As they would not deprive the saints of God of their due honor, so neither the saints themselves, they said, will be content to rob God of the honor due only to him.

As for confession, their opinion was that the wounds and cases of conscience belong to no man, but only to God.

After these answers were given and written, they were sent to the monastery of Sanpeter, there to be disputed with. Then the matter came to be debated among the judges, what was to be done with them. Some would have their goods taken by inventory, and themselves be banished. But Bergeronius at last caused it to be determined that they should be burned, and first to hear mass.

The officer, to cause them to recant, threatened them with torments. When all that would not turn them, he sent them to a friar to press them in disputation. But as he could do no hurt to them, so they could do no good to him. When their execution approached, the officer put a wooden cross into their hands, which were tied. They took this cross with their teeth and flung it away, for which the officer commanded their tongues be cut off. At last when the tormentor came to smear them with brimstone and gunpowder, "Go on," they said, "salt on, salt on the stinking and rotten flesh." Finally, as the flame came bursting up to their faces, they persisted constant in the fire, gave up their lives, and finished their martyrdoms.

*Denis Vayre*, in this same year 1554, suffered at Rouen. First leaving his popish priesthood, he went to Geneva, where he learned the art of bookbinding, and many times he brought books into France. After that, in the reign of King Edward VI, he came to Jersey. There he was a minister, and preached. He came into Normandy with his books, to a town called Fueille. When he went to hire a cart, William Langlois with John Langlois, came and stopped his books, and also the one who had custody of them. Denis might have escaped; but hearing that the keeper of his books was in trouble, he came and presented himself. He was committed, and the other was delivered. After two and a half months imprisonment, he was charged with being a spy, because he came out of England. Then he was removed to the bishop's prison, and then to Rouen, where sentence was given that he should be burned alive, and three times lifted up and let down again into the fire. After the sentence was

given, they threatened him with many terrible torments, unless he would disclose those whom he knew of that side. He answered that the sounder part of all France, and of the senate, was of that religion. Notwithstanding, he would reveal no man's name to them. And as for their torments, he said he did not care. For if he were killed with racking, then he would not feel the burning of the fire. When they saw him care so little for their torments, they proceeded to his burning. First they put a cross in his hands, which he would not hold. Then because coming by the image of the Virgin Mary he would not adore it, they cried, "Cut out his tongue!" And so they cast him into the fire, where he was three times taken up. But the flame went so high that the executioner, being unable to come near him, cried to the people standing by to help him. And the officers with their staves laid upon the people, to help their tormentors, but never a man would stir. Tis was the end and martyrdom of that blessed Denis.

There was a rich merchant of Paris, who said in jest to the friars of St. Francis, "You wear a rope around your bodies because St. Francis should have been hanged, and the pope redeemed him on this condition, that all his life after he should wear a rope." Upon hearing this, the Franciscan friars of Paris caused him to be apprehended, and laid in prison. And so judgment passed upon him that he should be hanged. But to save his life, he was content to recant, and did so. The friars hearing of his recantation, commended him, saying that if he continued so, he would be saved. And so, calling upon the officers, they had them make haste to the gallows, to hang him up while he was yet in a good way lest, they said, he fall again! And so this merchant, notwithstanding his recantation, was hanged for jesting against the friars.

*Thomas Calbergne*, a coverlet-maker, 1554. — This Thomas had copied certain spiritual songs out of a book in Geneva, which he brought with him to Tournay, and lent to one of his friends. This book being seen, he was summoned before the justice, and examined about the book, which he said contained nothing but what was agreeing to the Scripture, and that he would stand by it. Then he was confined in the castle. After nineteen days he was brought to the town-house, and there adjudged to the fire. He went cheerfully to it, singing psalms. As he was in the flame, the warden of the friars stood crying, "Turn, Thomas — Thomas, there is yet time. Remember him who came at the last hour." <sup>Luk 23.42-43</sup> Thomas cried out to him from the flames with a loud voice, "And I trust to be one of that sort." And so calling upon the name of the Lord, he gave up his spirit.

*Richard Feurus*, a goldsmith, 1554. When in England he received the knowledge of God's word. Then he went to Geneva, where he remained nine or ten years. Returning from there to Lyons, he was apprehended and condemned, but escaped. After that, continuing at Geneva for about three years, he came on business to the province of Dauphiny. There he found fault with the grace being said in Latin. He was detected, and taken at his inn in the night by the under-marshal. The next day he was sent to the justice, and from him to the bishop. Ridding their hands of him, he was brought to the lieutenant who sent his advocate with a notary, to examine him about his faith.

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The whole process of his examinations, with his adversaries and the friars, is long. The principal contents came to this effect:

Inquisitor. — Do you believe the church of Rome?

Martyr. — No, but I believe the catholic and universal church.

Inquisitor. — What catholic church is that?

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Martyr. — The congregation or communion of Christians.

Inquisitor. — What congregation is that, or of whom does it consist?

Martyr. — It consists in the number of God's elect, whom God has chosen to be the members of his Son Jesus Christ, of whom he is also the Head.

Inquisitor. — Where is the congregation, or how is it known?

Martyr. — It is dispersed throughout the universal world, in diverse regions, and is known by the spiritual direction with which it is governed; that is to say, both by the word of God, and by the right institution of Christ's sacraments.

Inquisitor. — Do you think the church that is at Geneva, Lausanne, Berne, and such other places, a truer church than the holy church of Rome?

Martyr. — Yes, truly, for these have the notes of the true church.

Inquisitor. — What difference then do you make between those churches and the church of Rome?

Martyr. — Much; for the church of Rome is governed only by the traditions of men, but those others are ruled only by the word of God.

Inquisitor. — Do you not believe the Virgin Mary to be a mediatrix and advocate to God for sinners?

Martyr. — I believe, as testified in the word of God, Jesus Christ to be the only mediator and advocate for all sinners. Although the Virgin Mary was a blessed woman, yet the office of an advocate does not belong to her.

Inquisitor. — The saints that are in paradise, to they have no power to pray for us?

Martyr. — No, but I judged them to be blessed, and to be contented with that grace and glory which they have.

Inquisitor. — And what then do you judge of those who follow the religion of the church of Rome? Do you think they are Christians?

Martyr. — No, because that church is not governed by the Spirit of God, but rather fights against the same.

Inquisitor. — Do you then esteem all those who separate themselves from the church of Rome to be Christians?

Martyr. — I cannot answer for others, but only for myself. "Every man (says St. Paul) shall bear his own burden." Gal 6.5

At the next examination, a Franciscan friar was brought to him. First touching the words that Feurus spoke at the inn, he asked him, "Why may grace not be said in Latin?"

Martyr. — Because by the word of God, Christians are commanded to pray with heart and with spirit, and with that tongue which is most understood, and serves best to the edification of the hearers."

Friar. — God understands all tongues, and the church of Rome has prescribed this form of praying, receiving the same from the ancient church and the fathers, who then used to pray in Latin. And if any tongue is to be observed in prayer, one more than another, why is it not as good to pray in the Latin tongue, as to pray in the French?

Martyr. — My meaning is not to exclude any kind of language from prayer, whether it is Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or any other; only that the same is understood, and may edify the hearers.

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Inquisitor. — Do you believe in the holy host which the priest consecrates at the mass or not?

Martyr. — I believe neither in the host, nor in any such consecration.

Inquisitor. — Why? Do you not believe the holy sacrament of the altar was ordained by Christ Jesus himself?

Martyr. — Touching the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, I believe that whenever we use the same according to the prescription of St. Paul, we are refreshed spiritually with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the true spiritual meat and drink of our souls.

Friar. — The friar then adduced the words of St. John's gospel, saying, "My flesh is food indeed," etc. And he said that the doctors of the church had decided that matter already, and had approved the mass to be a holy memory of the death and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Martyr. — The sacrament of the supper I believe to be ordained by the Lord as a memorial of his death, and for stirring up of our thanksgiving to him. In this sacrament we have nothing to offer up to him, but do receive with all thanksgiving the benefits offered to us most abundantly in Christ Jesus his Son.

Inquisitor. — Do you believe in any purgatory?

Martyr. — I believe that Christ with his precious blood has made an end of all purgatory, and purgation of our sins.

Inquisitor. — And do you think, then, there is no place after this life, where souls of men departed remain till they have made satisfaction for their sins?

Martyr. — No; but I acknowledge one satisfaction, made once for the sins of all men, by the blood and sacrifice of Jesus Christ our Lord, which is the propitiation and purgation for the sins of the whole world.

Friar. — In the eighteenth chapter of Matthew, Christ spoke by way of a parable or similitude, of a certain cruel servant who, because he would not forgive his fellow servant, was cast into prison. Christ says that he shall not come out from there till he has paid the uttermost farthing. This similitude signifies to us a certain middle place, which is left for satisfaction to be made after this life for sins.

Martyr. — First, the satisfaction for our sins by the death of Christ is plain and evident in the Scriptures, such as in these places: "Come to me, all you who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest," Mat 11.28. "I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved," Joh 10.9. "I am the way, the truth, and the life," John 14.6. "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, for they rest from their labors," Rev 14.13. Also to the thief who hanged with the Lord, it was said, "This day you shall be with me in paradise," etc. <sup>Luk 23.43</sup> Secondly; as to this similitude, it has no other object but to admonish us of our duty to show charity, and forgive one another. Unless we do this, there is no mercy to be looked for at the hands of God.

Friar. — Christ gave to St. Peter power to bind and loose, whose successor, and vicar of Christ, is the pope. It is for the government of the church, that it might have one head in the world, as it has in heaven. And though the pastors do not live according to the word which they preach, yet their doctrine is not therefore to be refused, as Christ teaches.

Martyr. — If the pope and his adherents would preach the word purely and sincerely, mixing no inventions of their own, nor imposing laws of their own devising, I would then embrace their doctrine, however contrary their life was — as Christ tells us of the scribes and Pharisees, admonishing us to follow their doctrine, and not their lives, Mat 23.3. But there is a great difference, whether they sit in Moses's chair, or else in the chair of abomination spoken of by Daniel, and also by St. Paul, where he says that, "The man of sin, the son of perdition shall sit

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in the temple of God, exalting himself above all that is called God," 2The 2.3-4. And regarding the keys of binding and loosing, given to Peter, in this Christ assigned to Peter *and* to the other apostles, the office of preaching the word of the gospel. This they well observed, in preaching nothing else but the word; and in this word all the power is contained of binding and loosing. Nor is it to be granted that the church has two heads, one in heaven, another in earth. There is but one head, even Jesus Christ, whom the Father has appointed to be head alone both in heaven and earth. <sup>Eph 1.22</sup>

Friar. — You have no understanding how to expound the Scriptures, but the old doctors have expounded the Scriptures, and holy councils, whose judgments are to be followed. But what say you to auricular confession?

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Martyr. — I know no other confession but that which is to be made to God, and reconciliation towards our neighbor, which Christ and his apostles have commended to us.

Friar. — Have you not read in the gospel, how Christ bids us to confess to the priest, where he commanded the leper, being made whole, to show himself to the priest?

Martyr. — The true church of the Lord Jesus Christ never observed this strange kind of confession, to carry our sins to the priest's ear. And though the church of Rome has intruded this manner of confessing, it does not follow that it is to be received. And as for the leper whom the Lord sent to the priest, he was not sent to whisper his sins in the priest's ear, but only as a testimony of his health received, according to the law. Of the other confession which is to be made to God, we have both the examples and testimonies of David in the Psalms, where he says that he confessed his sins to the Lord, and received forgiveness of them (Psa 32.5; 51.4).

And thus this godly Feurus was remanded again by the deputy to the bishop's prison, and from there, shortly after, he was removed to Lyons. After he had come to Lyons, they proceeded at last to the sentence, condemning him first to have his tongue cut out, and then to be burned. All which he received willingly and quietly for righteousness' sake, thus finishing his martyrdom, July 7, 1554.

*Nicholas du Chesne, A.D. 1554.*

The occasion why this Nicholas came into trouble, was that going from Lausanne to his sister, and her husband, and other friends of his, as he went from Besanson, toward the town of Gry, he did not pay homage to a cross in the way. There a monk, who was an inquisitor, overtook him, and thereby suspected him. He was guided by the monk, craftily dissembling his religion, to a lodging in Gry, where the justice of the place took him. Nicholas seeing how he was betrayed by the monk, said, "O false traitor, have you betrayed me?" Then after examination he was condemned. Being carried to the place of martyrdom, he was promised that if he would kneel down and hear a mass, he would be let go. But Nicholas, armed with perseverance, said that he would rather die than commit such an act. Calling upon the name of the Lord, he took his death patiently.

*John Bertrand, a Forester, A.D. 1556.*

For the religion and gospel of Christ, this John was apprehended, and led bound to Blois. There he was examined on diverse points, such as, whether he had spoken at any time against God, against the church, and the he-saints, and she-saints of paradise? He said. No. Whether at any time he had called the mass abominable? He granted this, because finding no mass in all the Scripture, he was commanded by St. Paul, that if an angel from heaven

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preached any other gospel than that which was already received, he should be accursed. <sup>Gal 1.8</sup> After his condemnation, they would have him confess, and they presented him with a cross to kiss. But he bade the friars to depart with their cross. “That is not the cross that I must carry,” he said. Entering into the cart before the multitude, he gave thanks to God, that he was not there for murder, theft, or blasphemy, but only for the cause of our Savior. Being tied to the post, he sung the 25th Psalm.<sup>435</sup> He was young; his countenance was exceedingly cheerful and amiable; his eyes looked up to heaven. “O the happy journey,” he said, seeing the place where he would suffer, “and the fair place that is prepared for me!” When the fire was kindled about him, “O Lord,” he cried, “give your hand to your servant; I commend my soul to you;” and so he meekly yielded up his spirit. His patient and joyful constancy astonished the people.

*Peter Rousseau*, being constant in his confession, was put to the rack three times, which he suffered constantly with great torments. Afterwards he had his tongue cut off, and a ball of iron put in his mouth. Thus broken and maimed, he was drawn upon a hurdle (sled) to the fire, where he was lifted up into the air, and let down three times. When he was half-burned, the ball fell from his mouth, and with a loud voice he called on the name of God, saying, “Jesus Christ assist me.” And so this blessed martyr gave up his life to God, A.D. 1556.

*Arnold Moniere* and *John de Cazes*, A.D. 1556. — After Arnold Moniere was taken and laid in prison, John de Cazes heard about him. Even though warned that if he visited him he would be impeached for heresy, went to comfort him, and was imprisoned. After many examinations, sentence was given upon them to be burned. When the time of their martyrdom came, they were drawn to the place through the dirt, on a hurdle (sled), accompanied by a number of bills (infantrymen), glaves (lancers), gunners, and trumpeters. When the blessed martyrs were bound to the post, rejoicing that they were made worthy to suffer for Christ, they confessed their faith, and gave many exhortations to the people. But to prevent the people hearing these saints, the trumpeters were commanded to sound their trumpets, which never ceased during the whole time of their suffering.

*Bartholomew Hector*, A.D. 1556. — This Hector came into Piedmont, to get his living by selling books, he was taken by a certain gentleman, and there arrested and sent to Turin, then examined, and at last condemned. Being condemned, he was threatened that if he spoke anything to the people, his tongue would be cut off. Nevertheless he did not cease to speak. After his prayer, in which he prayed for the judges, that God would forgive them and open their eyes, he was offered his pardon at the stake if he would recant; which he refused. Then he prepared himself for death, which he took patiently. Many of the people wept at this, saying, “Why does this man die, who speaks of nothing but God?”

*Philip Cene*, and *James* his companion, A.D. 1557. — This Philip Cene was an apothecary at Geneva. He was taken at Dijon, imprisoned, and there burned with one James his companion. As Philip went to his death singing psalms, a friar stopped his mouth with his hand. Most of the people wept bitterly, saying, “Be of good courage, brethren, do not be afraid of death.” When one of the adversaries heard this, he said to one of the magistrates, “Do you not see how almost half the people are on their side, and comfort them?”

*Archambant Ceraphon*, and *Matthew Nicholas du Russeau*, A.D. 1557. — These two also were in prison at Dijon. Archambant heard of certain prisoners at Dijon, to whom he wrote to comfort them with his letters. The next day he was searched, and letters were found about

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<sup>435</sup> **Psa 25.1.** To You, O LORD, I lift up my soul. <sup>2</sup> O my God, I trust in You; Let me not be ashamed; Let not my enemies triumph over me.

him. Then he was brought to Dijon where he, with the other, called Master Nicholas du Rousseau, suffered with great constancy.

*Philbert Hamlin* was first a priest, and then he went to Geneva, where he practiced printing. After that, he was made minister at the town of Allenart, where he did much good in edifying the people. At last he was apprehended, and with him his host, a priest, whom he had instructed in the gospel. After confession of his faith, he was carried with the priest to Bordeaux before the president. While he was in prison, a priest came in on a Sunday to say mass. Philbert came and plucked his garments from his back with such zeal and vehemency, that the mass-garments, with the chalice and candlesticks, fell down and were broken. The priest said, "Is it not enough for you to blaspheme God in churches, but you must also pollute the prison with your idolatry?" The jailer hearing this, in his fury laid upon Philbert with his staff. He was removed to the common prison, and laid in a low pit, laden with great irons, so that his legs were swollen, and there he continued eight days.

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At last Philbert was brought to the place of his martyrdom. As he was exhorting the people, the trumpets blew without ceasing, so that his words might not be heard. Being fastened to the post, this holy martyr, praying and exhorting the people, was strangled, and his body consumed with fire on Palm Sunday eve, 1557.

In 1557 *Nicholas Sartorius*, twenty-six years of age, came to Cambray, where a warden of the friars in the town of Ost had preached on Good Friday about the Passion. The report of this sermon being recited to Sartorius, he reprehended the error and its blasphemies against the holy Scriptures. Shortly after, the party that told him about the sermon went to a secretary named Ripet, who came to entrap Nicholas. He said "Did our preacher not preach well?" — "No." said Nicholas, "Rather, he lied falsely." Ripet asked, "And do you not believe the body of the Lord to be in the host?" Nicholas answered, "That would be against our Creed, which says, 'That he ascended up, and sits,' etc." Ripet went immediately to the friar to have Nicholas apprehended. His friends perceiving the danger, wished him to flee and save himself, and they accompanied him out of the town about three leagues. But he was taken at the town of St. Remy, at the foot of the mountain of Great St. Bernard. They brought him to the rack. When the sergeant refused to draw the cord, the bailiff himself, and the receiver, with a canon, put him to the rack with their own hands. They pronounced sentence that he should be burned. He received this sentence with such constancy, that neither the king's receiver, nor all the other enemies, could divert him from the truth of the gospel, which he manfully maintained while any spirit remained in his body.

*George Tardif*, with someone from Tours, an embroiderer, and *Nicholas*, a shoemaker from Joinville, A.D. 1558. — The historian of the French martyrs memorializes George Tardif, an embroiderer of Tours, and Nicholas of Joinville, declaring that these three were together in prison, and afterward suffered in various places one from the other. George Tardif was executed at Sens.

The embroiderer of Tours, as he was coming with five or six others out of a wood, being at prayer, was taken and thereupon examined. Before he would be examined, he desired the judges that he might pray. This being granted, after his prayer was made, in which he prayed for the judges, for the king, and all estates, and for the necessity of all Christ's saints, he answered for himself with such grace and modesty, that the hearts of many were broken to the shedding of tears. They sought (it seemed) nothing else but his deliverance. However, he was at last sent to Tours, and there he was crowned with martyrdom.

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The third, which was Nicholas, was condemned and set in a cart. His father, coming with a staff, would have beaten him, but the officers would not allow it. They would have struck the old man, but the son cried out to the officers, desiring them to let his father alone. He said that his father had power over him to do with him what he would. And so going to the place where he was to suffer, having a ball of iron put in his mouth, he was brought at length to the fire, in the town of Joinville, where he patiently received his death and martyrdom.

### *The Congregation of Paris persecuted, numbering three or four hundred, at Paris, A.D. 1558.*

On September 4th, 1558, a company of the faithful, numbering three or four hundred, were assembled at Paris in a house to communicate the Lord's Supper together. But they were discovered by certain priests, who beset the house, and made an outcry, so that the watch might come to take them. In a short time, almost the whole city was in arms, thinking some conspiracy occurred in the city. Then perceiving that they were Lutherans, most of them were in extreme rage, furiously seeking their blood. They sealed the streets and lanes with carts, and made fires to see that none might escape. The faithful seeing the suddenness of their fury, were in great fear. But being exhorted by the leaders of the congregation, they went to prayer. It was then resolved that the men who had weapons should venture through the press of the crowd. The women and children remained in the house, with a few men who were less bold than the others, numbering over a hundred and twenty. Of those who went out with weapons, all escaped except one, who was beaten down with stones; and so he was killed. Of the women, who were all gentlewomen or of great wealth, only six or seven excepted, seeing no hope, and perceiving the fury of the people, went up to the windows, crying, "Mercy," and showing their innocence, required ordinary justice. The king's attorney, with the commissaries and sergeants, appeased the people with much ado, and entered the house. There, viewing the women and children, and the other furniture prepared for that congregation, they perceived sufficient testimonies of their innocence; so that for pity, the attorney's eyes could not refrain from tears. However, proceeding in his office, he brought them all to prison. I omit here the furious usage of the people along the way, how despitefully they plucked and hailed the women, tore their garments, tore their hoods from their heads, and disfigured their faces with dust and dirt.

Besides these wrongs and oppressions done to these poor innocents, there followed the cruel and slanderous reports of the friars and priests. In their railing sermons, they uttered horrible falsehoods and calumnies against their morals. These rumors and defamations were no sooner given out, than they were received and spread far — not only among the vulgar, but also among the court, and even to the king's ears.

Here the enemies began to triumph, thinking that the gospel was overthrown forever. On the other side there was no less perplexity and lamentation among the brethren, sorrowing not so much for themselves, as for the imprisonment of their companions. However, they did not lose their courage altogether, but exhorted one another, considering the great favor and providence of God in delivering them so wonderfully out of the danger. They experienced some comfort, consulting together in this order: that first they should humble themselves before God in their own private families. Secondly, to stop the slanders against their holy assemblies, they should write apologies, one to the king, another to the people. Thirdly, that letters of consolation should be written and sent to their brethren in prison.

The first apology was written to the king, and conveyed so secretly into his chamber, that it was found and read openly in the hearing of the king and all his nobles. The Christians learnedly and discreetly cleared themselves of those reports, and showed the malice of their



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enemies, especially of Satan, who from the beginning of the church has ever and still goes about to overturn the right ways of the Lord. Nevertheless, this apology to the king served to little purpose. But the other apology to the people did inestimable good, in satisfying the rumors and defending the true cause of the gospel.

As the faithful Christians were thus occupied in writing their apologies, and in comforting their brethren in prison with their letters, the adversaries were not idle. They sought all possible means to hasten the execution, giving diligent attendance about the prison and other places, to satisfy their uncharitable desire with the death of those whose religion they hated.

Finally, a commission was directed by the king, and presidents and councilors were appointed to oversee the matter. Thereupon many of the poor afflicted Christians were brought forth to their judgment and martyrdom.

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The first of this godly company was *Nicholas Clinet*, sixty years of age. He was suspected by the judges of being a minister, and therefore he was set to dispute against the chief of the Sorbonists, especially Maillard. Clinet so confuted him, both by the Scriptures and also by their own sorbonical divinity (in which he had been well-exercised and expert) in the presence of the lieutenant-civil, that the lieutenant confessed that he never heard a man better learned, and of greater intelligence.

Another was named *Taurin Gravelle*, a lawyer. He was first a student of the law at Toulouse. After that, he was made an advocate in the court of Paris. And lastly, for his godliness he was ordained an elder to the congregation, with Clinet. This Taurin having a certain house, and seeing the congregation destitute of room, received them into his house. And when he perceived the house to be compassed with enemies, though he might have escaped, he would not, being prepared to answer for receiving the assembly into his house. The constancy of this man was invincible in sustaining his conflicts with the sorbonists. In fine, these two godly elders finished their martyrdom in the cruel pains of the fire.

Next to Clinet and Gravelle was brought out *Mistress Philip*, gentlewoman, aged twenty-three. She was a widow who did not cease to serve the Lord in his church. She had many conflicts with the judges and the sorbonists, namely, Maillard. To the judges her answer was that she had learned the faith which she confessed in the word of God, and would live and die in the same. And being demanded whether the body of Christ was in the sacrament: "How is that possible," she asked, "to be the body of Christ to whom all power is given, and which is exalted above all heavens, when we see the mice and rats, apes and monkeys, play with it and tear it in pieces?" Her petition to them was that, as they had taken her sister from her, they would yet let her have a Bible or Testament to comfort herself. Her wicked neighbors, although they could touch her conversation with no part of dishonesty, yet they laid many things to her charge — such as, that there was much singing of psalms in her house, and twice or three times an infinite number of persons were seen to come out of her house. Also, when her husband was dying, no priest was called for; nor was it known where he was buried; nor did they ever hear any word of their infant being baptized.

These three holy martyrs were condemned September 27<sup>th</sup>. Being put in a chapel, doctors were sent to them, but their constancy remained immovable. After that, they were sent in a dung-cart to the place of punishment. On the way Clinet, ever protested that he said or maintained nothing but the truth of God.

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The gentlewoman, seeing a priest come to confess her, said that she had confessed to God, and had received remission from him; she found no other absolution in Scripture. And when certain councilors urged her to take the wooden cross in her hands, alleging how Christ commanded everyone to bear his cross: she answered, "My lords, you in very deed make me bear my cross, condemning me unjustly, and putting me to death in the cause of my Lord Jesus Christ; who wills us to bear our cross, but no such cross as you speak of."

Gravelle looked with a smiling countenance, and showed a cheerful color, declaring how little he regretted his condemnation. And being asked of his friends to what death he was condemned, he said; "I see well that I am condemned to death. But to what death or torment I do not regard." And coming from the chapel, when he perceived they were about to cut out his tongue, he willingly offered his tongue to be cut.

The gentlewoman also, being required to give her tongue, did likewise, with these words: — "Seeing that I do not refuse to give my body, shall I refuse to give my tongue? No, no." The constancy of Gravelle was admirable, casting up his sighs and groans to heaven, declaring thereby his ardent affection in praying to God. Clinet was somewhat sadder than the other, because of the feebleness of nature and his age. But the gentlewoman yet surmounted all the rest in constancy, changing neither countenance nor color.

After the death of her husband, she used to go in a mourning garb, in the manner of the country. But the same day, going to her burning, she put on her French hood, and decked herself in her best array, as if going to a new marriage, to be joined to her spouse Jesus Christ. And thus with singular constancy, the three were burned; Gravelle and Clinet were burned alive. Philip the gentlewoman was strangled, after she had tasted a little of the flame with her feet and visage; and so she ended her martyrdom.

Of the same company was also *Nicholas Cene*, a physician, and *Peter Gabart*. About five or six days after the other three, they were brought out to their death. When the time of their execution had come, they perceived that the judges intended that if they would relent, they would be strangled. If not, they would be burned alive, and their tongues be cut from them. Being content to suffer these torments for our Savior Jesus Christ, they offered their tongues willingly to be cut. Gabart began to sigh because he could no more praise the Lord with his tongue. Then they were drawn out of prison in the dung-cart to the suburbs of St. Germain. The people, in rage and madness, followed with cruel injuries and blasphemies, as though they would have done the execution themselves. The cruelty of their death was such as has seldom been seen: for they were held in the air over a small fire, and their lower parts burnt off", before the higher parts were severely harmed with the fire. Nevertheless these blessed saints did not ceased in all these torments to turn their eyes to heaven, and to show infinite testimonies of their faith and constancy.

In the same fire, many Testaments and Bibles were also burnt.

*Frederick Danvile*, and *Francis Rebezies*, neither of them past twenty years of age, were among the company. How valiantly they behaved themselves in those tender years, sustaining the cause of our Lord Jesus Christ. What confession they made, what conflicts they had disputing with the doctors of the Sorbonne, their own letters left in writing record. To briefly touch the effect of these, first, concerning Frederick Danvile.

On the 12th of Sept. Frederick was brought before Benedict Jacobin, and his companion, a Sorbonist, who thus began to argue with him:

Doctor. — Which do you think is the true church, the church of the Protestants, or the church of Paris?

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Martyr. — I recognize that to be the true church where the gospel is truly preached, and the sacraments rightly ministered, as they were left by Jesus Christ and his apostles.

Doctor. — And is the church of Geneva such a one as you speak of?

Martyr. — I judge it to be so.

Doctor. — And what if I prove the contrary? Will you believe me?

Martyr. — Yes, if you prove it by the Scripture.

Doctor. — Or will you believe St. Augustine and innumerable other holy doctors?

Martyr. — Yes, if they do not dissent from the Scripture and the word of God.

Doctor. — By the authority of St. Augustine, the church is where there is the succession of bishops. On this I frame this argument: — The church is where there is the perpetual succession of bishops. In the church of Paris, there is such succession of bishops. And therefore the church of Paris is the true church.

Martyr. — I answer that if St. Augustine meant the succession of those who are true bishops indeed, who truly preach the gospel, and rightly administer the sacraments, then I suppose such bishops are at Geneva, where the gospel is truly preached, and the sacraments duly ministered, and not in the church of Paris. But if St. Augustine meant the succession of *false* bishops, those who neither preach nor minister according to God's word, then that is in no way to be granted.

Doctor. — What do you say about auricular confession?

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Martyr. — The same that I said before to monsieur lieutenant. That is, I take it as a plantation *not* planted by God in his word.

*The Examination of Francis Rebezies.*

Rebezies had three examinations: the first with the civil lieutenant; the second with the presidents and the councilors; the third with the friars. He was asked whether he did not like to resort to the beautified temples to hear mass, or whether he did not take the mass to be a holy thing, ordained by God? He answered that he believed it was a great blasphemy against God, and a service set up by the devil. Whether he acknowledged purgatory? Yes, that purgatory which is the death and passion of Christ, which takes away the sins of the world. "The death of Christ is the principal," they said, "but you must also believe another." "Alas," he said, "can we never content ourselves with the simplicity of the gospel, but man will always put in something of his own brain. In so many places of the Scripture we see the blood of Jesus Christ to be sufficient." When they objected and repeated the words of the parable, "You shall not come out till you have paid the last farthing," <sup>Mat 5.26</sup> he answered that "the words of that parable had no relation to anything but civil matters; and that this word "until" means as much as never." The president asked if he was not afraid to be burned, and bring his parents into such dishonor? He answered that he knew well, "That all who would live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution." And that to him, either to live or die was an advantage in the Lord. As to his parents he said, "Christ himself forewarns that whoever loves father or mother more than him, is not worthy of him." — "Jesus Maria!" said the president, "what youth is this now-a-days, who cast themselves so headlong into the fire!"

He was brought before Benet, master of the doctors of the Sorbonne, and another called Jacobine, on the 14th of October. The doctor began to object as follows:

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Doctor. — I know well that you hold the church to be where the word is truly preached, and the sacraments sincerely ministered, as they are left by Christ and his apostles.

Martyr. — That do I believe, and in that will I live and die.

Doctor. — Do you not believe that whoever is outside that church, cannot obtain remission of his sins?

Martyr. — Whoever separates himself from that church, to make either sect, part, or division, cannot obtain remission of his sins.

Doctor. — Now let us consider two churches, the one in which the word is rightly preached, and the sacraments administered; the other, in which the word and sacraments are used otherwise. Which of these two ought we to believe. ’

Martyr. — The first.

Doctor. — Well said. Next is to speak of the gifts given to the church, such as the power of the keys, confession for the remission of sins after we are confessed to a priest. Also we must believe the seven sacraments in the church are truly administered, as they are here in the churches of Paris, where the sacrament of the altar is ministered, and the gospel is truly preached.

Martyr. — Sir, now you begin to halt. For my part, I do not receive in the church more than two sacraments, which were instituted for the whole community of Christians. And concerning the power of keys, and your confession, I believe that for remission of our sins, we ought to go to none other but God alone, as we read in 1Joh 1.9, “If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.”

Doctor. — Should I not believe that Christ, in the time of his apostles, gave to them power to remit sins?

Martyr. — The power that Christ gave to his apostles, if it is well considered, does not disagree at all with my statement. And therefore I began to say, what I confess here, that the Lord gave to his apostles to preach the word, and so to remit sins by that same word.

Doctor. — Do you then deny auricular confession?

Martyr. — Yes, truly I do.

Doctor. — Should we pray to saints?

Martyr. — I believe not.

Doctor. — Jesus Christ being here upon the earth, was he not then sufficient to hear the whole world and to be intercessor for all, as well as he is now?

Martyr. — Yes.

Doctor. — But we find that when he was here on earth, his apostles made intercession for the people. And why may they not also do the same now?

Martyr. — So long as they were in the world, they exercised their ministry, and prayed for one another. But now being in paradise, all their prayer that they make is this: that they wish that those who are yet on earth may attain to their felicity. But to obtain anything at the Father’s hand, we must have recourse only to his Son.

Doctor. — If one man has such charge to pray for another, may he not then be called an intercessor?

Martyr. — I grant that.

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Doctor. — Well, then, you say there is but one intercessor. Whereupon I infer that I, being bound to pray for another, need not now to go to Jesus Christ to have him be an intercessor, but to God alone, setting Jesus Christ apart; and so we should truly believe.

Martyr. — You do not understand, sir, that if God does not behold us in the face of his own well-beloved Son, then we shall never be able to stand in his sight. For if he looks upon us, he can see nothing but sin. And if the heavens are not pure in his eyes, what then should be thought of man, who is so abominable and unprofitable, “Who drinks in iniquity like water,” as Job says? <sup>Job 15.16</sup>

Then the other friar, seeing his fellow have nothing to answer to this, inferred as follows:

Doctor. — No, my friend, as touching the great mercy of God, let that stand. And now to speak of ourselves, this we know: that God is not displeased with those who have recourse to his saints.

Martyr. — Sir, we must not do according to our own wills, but according to what God wills and commands.

Doctor. — As no man comes into the presence of an earthly king or prince without means made by some about him, so, or rather much more, he comes to the heavenly king above, etc.

Martyr. — To this earthly example I will answer with another heavenly example of the prodigal son, who sought no other means to obtain his father’s grace, but came to the father himself.

Doctor. — Touching the mass, what do you say? Do you not believe that when the priest has consecrated the host, our Lord is there as well as he was hanging upon the cross?

Martyr. — No, truly; but I believe that Jesus Christ is sitting at the right hand of his Father; as it appears from Heb 10.12, 1Cor 15. Col 3.1. And therefore, to be brief with you, I hold your mass as none other than a false and counterfeited service, set up by Satan, and retained by his ministers, by which you annihilate the precious blood of Christ, and his oblation once made of his own body. And you know right well that it is sufficient, and should not be reiterated.

Doctor. — You deceive yourselves in the word *reiteration*, for we do not reiterate it as you think; as I will show you by example. You see me now in this religious garment. But if I should put a soldier’s attire on me, then I would be disguised. And yet for all that, I would remain the same within my doublet, that I was before in my friar’s attire. So it is with the sacrifice. We confess and grant that naturally he was once offered in sacrifice; but supernaturally, we sacrifice the same without reiteration.

Martyr. — Sir, this I say, that such a disguised sacrifice, is a diabolical sacrifice; and this you may take as a resolution.

Doctor. — And how is your belief regarding the holy supper?

Martyr. — That if it is ministered to me by the minister, as it has been left by Christ and his apostles, also preaching the word purely with it, I believe that, in receiving the material bread and wine, I receive with lively faith the body and blood of Jesus Christ spiritually.

[469] A.D. 1527-1558.

Doctor. — Say corporally.

Martyr. — No, sir, for his words are spirit and life; and let this content you.

Doctor. — What do you say, is it lawful for a priest to marry?

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Martyr. — I believe it to be lawful for him, as the apostle says, “Whoever does not have the gift of continence, let him marry; for it is better to marry than to burn.” <sup>1Cor 7.9</sup> And if this does not content you, you may read what he writes about bishops and elders, in 1Tim 3, and Tit 1.

And thus these doctors, affirming that he denied priesthood, gave him leave to depart, saying, “God have mercy on you.” He said, “Amen.”

After this, Rebezies and Frederick Danville were brought to be racked, so that they might inform about the rest of the congregation. In the chamber they found three councilors, who thus began with them: — “Lift up your hand. You shall swear by the passion of Jesus Christ, whose image you see here,” showing him a great picture. Rebezies answered, “I swear to you by the passion of Christ, which is written in my heart.” “Why do you not swear” said the councilors, “as we say to you?” “Because,” he said, “it is a great blasphemy against the Lord.” Then the councilors read the depositions, and beginning with Rebezies, said, “Will you not tell us the truth, what companions you know to be of this assembly?” Rebezies named Gravelle and Clinet, who were already burned, and John Sansot. They said, that the court had ordered that if they would give no other answer than that, he would be put to the torture or rack. And so he was commanded to be stripped to his shirt, having a cross put in his hand, being bid to commend himself to God and the Virgin Mary. But he would neither receive the cross, nor commend himself to the Virgin Mary, saying that God was able enough to guard him, and to save him out of the lion’s mouth. And so, being drawn and stretched, he began to cry out, “Come Lord, and show your strength, so that man does not prevail,” etc. But they cried, “Tell the truth, and you will be let down.” Nevertheless, he continued in his calling and prayer to the Lord, so that they could get nothing from him. After they had long tormented him, the councilors said, “Will you say nothing else?” He replied, “I have nothing else to say.” And so they commanded him to be loosed, and be put by the fireside. Being loosed, he said to them, “Is this how you handle the poor servants of God?” The like was done to Frederick Danville also, from whom they could get no other answer — so mightily did God assist and strengthen His servants.

These constant and true martyrs of Christ, after they had returned from the torture to their fellow prisoners, did not cease to thank and praise the Lord for his assistance. Frederick sighed often. Being asked why he did so, he said it was not for the evil that he had suffered, but for the evils that he knew they would suffer afterwards. “Notwithstanding,” he said, “be strong, brethren, and do not be afraid, assuring yourselves of the aid of God, who succored us, and will also comfort you.” Rebezies was so drawn and stretched with the rack, that one of his shoulders was higher than the other, and his neck drawn on one side, so that he could not move himself. When the night came they rejoiced together, and comforted themselves with meditation of the life to come, and with contempt of this world, singing psalms together till it was day.

The next day they were again required to inform. When they refused, the sentence was read, that they should be brought in a dung-cart to Maulbert place, and there, having a ball in their mouths, be tied each one to his post, and afterward strangled, and so burned to ashes.

Being brought to the place of execution, a cross was again offered them, which they refused. Then a priest standing by, bade them believe in the Virgin Mary. “Let God,” they said, “reign alone.” The people standing by said, “Ah, mischievous Lutheran!” He replied, “No, a true Christian I am.” When they were tied to their stakes, after their prayers, and they were ordered to be dispatched, one of them comforting the other, said; “Be strong, my brother, be strong. Satan, *away* from us!” One standing by, said, “These Lutherans call upon Satan.” One *John Morel*, who afterward died a martyr, answered, “I pray you, let us hear what they

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say, and we shall hear them invoke the name of God." Upon this the people listened better to them, to hear as well as they could what they said. Crying still as much as their mouths being stopped could utter, they said, "Assist us, O Lord." And so, rendering up their spirits to the hands of the Lord, they consummated their martyrdom.

After the martyrdom of these two mentioned above, the intention of the judges was to dispatch the rest one after another; they had procured process against twelve or thirteen. But a certain gentlewoman, then a prisoner among them, had presented causes for exceptions against them, by which the cruel rage of the enemies was stayed to the month of July following. In the meantime, as this persecution spread into other countries, the faithful cantons of Switzerland, perceiving these good men to be afflicted for the same doctrine which they preached in their churches, sent their ambassadors to the king to make supplication for them.

At the same time also came letters from the county palatine elector, to solicit the king for them. The king standing then in great need of the Germans for his wars, was contented at least, that they should proceed more gently with them; and so the fire ceased for that time. Most of them were sent to abbeys, where they were kept at the charge of the priors, to be constrained to be present at the service of idolatry, especially the young scholars. Some of them shrunk back; others being more loosely kept, escaped.

Many of this godly company of French protestants were afterwards condemned, and suffered the rack, and were martyred, glorifying God by their faithfulness unto death. We have the account and history of over thirty martyrs in France, but it would occupy too much space to detail them all.

### ***Spain.***

#### THE SPANISH MARTYRS.

##### *Franciscus San Romanus* (or San Romane).

In the year 1540, this Francis was sent by certain Spanish merchants of Antwerp, to Breme, where, hearing the prior of the Austin friars preach, he was so touched through the marvellous working of God's Spirit, that he proceeded further, searching and conferring with learned men, so that in a short time he had grown ripe in knowledge in the word of life.

In the meantime, the Spanish merchants of Antwerp understanding by his letters, that he had a change of religion, sent him letters, pretending outwardly much good-will, but secretly practicing his destruction. For at the day appointed for his coming, some friars were ready to receive him. They took him dismounting from his horse, rifled his books, and brought him into a merchant's house near at hand, where they examined him. When they found him not agreeing to their faith, they bound him hand and foot, and burnt his books before his face, threatening to burn himself also. Diverse Spaniards were present at this disputation within the house, which made the friars bolder. Being demanded of what faith and religion he was, he said, "My faith, is to confess and preach Christ Jesus only, and him crucified, which is the true faith of the universal church of Christ through the whole world. But you have corrupted this faith and doctrine, taking another abominable kind of life, and by your impiety you have brought most of the world into most miserable blindness." To explain his faith to them more expressly, he recited all the articles of the creed.

This done, the friars then asked whether he believed the bishop of Rome to be Christ's vicar, and head of the church, having all the treasures of the church in his own power, being able to bind and loose? Also to make new articles, and abolish the old, at his own will?

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Francis answered, "That he believed none of all this, but the contrary; namely, that the pope was antichrist, born of the devil, the enemy of Jesus Christ, transferring to himself God's honor, and being incited by the devil, turning all things upside down, and corrupting the purity of Christ's religion, partly by his false pretenses beguiling, and partly by his extreme cruelty destroying the poor flock of Christ," etc. With like boldness he uttered his mind against the mass and purgatory. The friars allowed him to speak, till he came to the pope, and began to speak against his dignity, and their profit. And then they could bear it no longer, but thundered against him words full of cruelty and terror. As they were burning his books, and began also to cast the New Testament into the fire, Francis seeing that, began to thunder out against them again. The Spaniards supposing him not to be in his right senses, conveyed him to a tower six miles from Antwerp, where he was detained in a deep cave or dungeon, with much misery, for eight months. In this time of his imprisonment, many grave and discreet persons came to visit him, exhorting him to change his opinion, and speak more modestly. Francis replied that he maintained no opinion erroneous or heretical. And if he seemed to be somewhat vehement with the friars, that was not to be ascribed to him so much as to their own importunity. Hereafter he would frame himself more temperately. Whereupon the Spaniards thinking he had come to himself, discharged him out of prison, A.D. 1541.

San Romane being thus freed out of prison, came to a certain friend of his, named *Franciscus Dryander* (who afterward died a martyr in Italy) with whom he had much conference about religion; Franciscus gave him counsel. As to religion his counsel was that he should say or do nothing for favor of men, whereby the glory of God should be diminished; but he required a sound and right judgment conformed to the rule of God's word, lest it might happen to him, as it did to many, who being carried away with an inconsiderate zeal, leave their proper callings. While they think to do good, and to edify, they destroy and do harm, and cast themselves needlessly into danger. "It is God," he said, "who has the care of his church, and will stir up faithful ministers for it. He does not care for those who rashly intrude themselves into that function without any calling."

San Romane willingly accepted this advice, promising to moderate himself more considerately. But this promise was shortly broken, as you will hear. For leaving Dryander, he went to Ratisbone, and there having an opportunity to speak to the emperor, he stepped boldly to him, beseeching him to deliver his country and subjects of Spain from false religion, and to restore again the purity of Christ's doctrine. He declared and protested that the princes and protestants of Germany were in the truer part, and that the religion of Spain, drowned in ignorance and blindness, was greatly different from the true and perfect word of God. All this while the emperor gave him gentle hearing, signifying that he would consider the matter, and so act as he trusted would be for the best. This quiet answer of the emperor ministered no little encouragement to him. He went to the emperor a second, and also a third time, who quietly answered him as before. Yet Francis, not satisfied in his mind, sought to speak to the emperor a fourth time, but was repulsed by the Spaniards about the emperor. They would have thrown him headlong into the Danube, had the emperor not stopped them, and commanded him to be judged by the laws of the empire. Then Francis, with other captives, was delivered to the inquisitors; by whom he was laid in a dark prison under ground. Many times he was called for to be examined, and he suffered great injuries and abuses, but ever remained firm and immovable in his conscience. The articles on which he stood, and for which he was condemned, were these:



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- That life and salvation in the sight of God, comes to no man in his own strength, by works or merits, but only by the free mercy of God, in the blood and sacrifice of his Son our Mediator.
- That the sacrifice of the mass, which the papists count available *ex opere operato*,<sup>436</sup> for the remission of sin, both to the quick and the dead, is horrible blasphemy.
- That auricular confession with its numbering of sins, satisfaction, purgatory, pardons, invocation of saints, worshipping of images, are blasphemy against the living God.
- That the blood of Christ is profaned and injured in these popish doctrines.

After the inquisitors perceived that he could by no means be reclaimed from his assertions, they proceeded to the sentence, condemning him to be burned as a heretic. Many other malefactors were also brought with him to the place of execution, but they were all pardoned; he alone, for the gospel, was taken and burned. As he was led to the place of suffering, they put upon him a miter (a hat) made of paper, painted full of devils.

As he was brought out of the city-gate to be burned, there stood a wooden cross by the way. Francis was required to do homage to it, which he refused, answering that, “The manner of Christians is not to worship wood,” and that he was a Christian. Upon this a great clamor arose among the vulgar people. But this was turned into a miracle. Such was the blind crudeness of the people, that they imputed this to the divine virtue, that it would not allow itself to be worshipped by a heretic. And immediately, from the opinion of that miracle, the multitude with their swords hewed the cross in pieces, every man thinking himself happy that he could carry away some chip or fragment of it!

As he was laid upon the wood, and the fire kindled about him, he lifted up his head toward heaven. When the inquisitors perceived this, hoping that he would recant, they had him taken from the fire. But when they were frustrated in their expectation, they commanded him to be thrown in again, and so he was immediately dispatched.

After the martyrdom of this blessed man was thus consummated, the inquisitors proclaimed openly that he was damned in hell, and that none should pray for him; and that whoever doubted his damnation were heretics.

*Rochus*, 1545. — Rochus was a carver, or engraver of images. As soon as he began to taste the gospel, he ceased to make the images that were used to serve for idolatry in the temples, and instead occupied himself in making seals. Only he kept at his stall, an image of the Virgin Mary, artificially graven, as a sign of his occupation. It happened that a certain inquisitor passing by, and beholding the carved image, asked of Rochus what was the price? When Rochus had set it, the inquisitor offered him scarcely half the money. Rochus said that he could not live at such a price. But still the inquisitor urged him to take his offer. Rochus said, “It shall be yours if you will give me what my labor and charges are worth, but I cannot afford it at that price. I would rather break it in pieces.” “Yes,” says the inquisitor; “break it; let me see you.” With that, Rochus took up a chisel, and dashed it upon the face of the image, so that the nose, or some other part of the face was blemished. The inquisitor cried out as if he was mad, and commanded Rochus immediately to prison. Rochus said that he might do what he liked with his own works. If the workmanship of the image was not according to his fancy, what was that to them? But all this could not help Rochus, and within three days, sentence was given that he should be burned. And so he was committed to the executioners.

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<sup>436</sup> *ex opere operato*: “by the work worked;” meaning the sacraments confer grace by themselves, by the performance of the action, rather than through the faith of the believer by the grace of God (e.g., prayer for the dead).

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I understand that there were many others in Spain whose hearts God had illuminated and stirred up, both before and also after the establishment of the inquisition, to stand in defense of his gospel; and who were so persecuted and died in prison. We will come now to this inquisition, saying something about the ceremonial pomp, and also about the barbarous abuse and cruelty of it.

[471] A.D. 1527-1558.

**THE SPANISH INQUISITION.**

The cruel and barbarous inquisition of Spain began under King Ferdinand I (r. 1479-1516), and Elizabeth (Isabella) his wife. It was instituted against the Jews who, after their baptism, again maintained their own ceremonies. But now <sup>437</sup> it is employed against those who are ever so little suspected to favor the truth of the Lord. The Spaniards, and especially the great divines there, hold that this holy and Sacred inquisition cannot err, and that the holy fathers, the inquisitors, cannot be deceived.

Three sorts of men are principally in danger of these inquisitors. Those who are rich, for the spoil of their goods. Those who are learned, because they will not have their secret abuses detected. Those who are in honor and dignity, lest they work some shame or dishonor against them.

The abuse of this inquisition is most execrable. If any word passes out of the mouth of anyone, which may be taken in an evil way — yes, even if no word is spoken, yet if they bear any grudge or evil will against the one speaking — they command him to be taken, and put in a horrible prison. Then they invent crimes against him at their leisure. And in the meantime, no man living is so hardy as to once open his mouth in favor of him. If the father speaks one word for his child, he is also taken and cast into prison as a favorer of heretics. Nor is it permitted to any person to go to the prisoner. But there he is alone, where he cannot see so much as the ground where he is. And he is not allowed either to read or write, but there he continues in palpable darkness, in infinite horrors, in miserable fear, wrestling with the assaults of death.

By this it may be imagined what trouble and sorrow, what pensive sighs and thoughts they undergo, who are not thoroughly instructed in holy doctrine. We must add, moreover, to these distresses and horrors of the prison, the injuries, threats, whippings, scourgings, irons, tortures, and racks which they endure. Sometimes they are brought out, and shown in some high place to the people, as a spectacle of rebuke and infamy. And thus they are detained there, some many years, and murdered by long torments, and whole days together — treated much more cruelly out of all comparison, than if they were in the hangman's hands to be slain at once. During all this time, what is done in the process no person knows, except the "holy fathers" and the tormentors who are sworn to execute the torments. All is done in secret. And after all these torments endured so many years in the prison, if any man is saved, it must be known only by guessing. For all the proceedings of the court of that execrable inquisition are open to no man; but all is done in close corners, by windings, by covert ways, and secret counsels. The accuser is secret, the crime secret, the witness secret, whatever is done is secret, and the poor prisoner is never informed of anything.

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<sup>437</sup> As Foxe wrote this, King Philip II of Spain reigned (1556-1598). His mother was Isabella of Portugal; his cousin was queen Mary I of England (Bloody Mary, r. 1553-1558). He married her in 1554, becoming king consort of England. When he was crowned king of Spain in 1556, Mary became queen of Spain as well.

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By this inquisition many good true servants of Jesus Christ have been brought to death, especially in these later years, since the royal and peaceable reign of our Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603). Their names and histories we will recite in part here, as we have faithful records of those who have come to our hands by writing.

May 21st, A.D. 1556, in the town of Valladolid, where the council of the inquisition is usually kept, the inquisitors had brought together thirty prisoners, of both high and low estate; also the coffin of a certain noble woman, with her picture lying upon it, who had been dead long before, there to receive judgment and sentence. To hear this sentence, they had ordained three mighty theatres or stages in this town. On the first was placed Dame Jane, sister to King Philip, and chief regent of his realms; also Prince Charles, King Philip's son, with other princes and states of Spain. On the other scaffold was mounted the archbishop of Seville, prince of the synagogue of the inquisitors, with the council of the inquisition; also other bishops of the land, and the king's council with them.

After the princes and other spiritual judges and councilors were thus seated in their places, with a great guard of archers and halberdiers (guards),<sup>438</sup> and armed soldiers, with four heralds-of-arms giving their attendance, and the earl marshal bearing the naked sword. The market-place where the stages were placed, was filled with an infinite multitude of all sorts — standing there, or gazing out of windows and houses — to hear and see the sentences and judgments of this inquisition. Then, after all, the poor servants and witnesses of Jesus Christ, all thirty of them, were brought out as a spectacle and triumph, clothed with their vesture of yellow cloth, coming both before them and behind them, spangled with red crosses, and having burning tapers in their hands. Also before them, a crucifix was borne, covered with black linen cloth in token of mourning. Those who were to receive the sentence of death had miters of paper on their heads. They were placed in their order, one under another.

Things thus being settled, a sermon then followed, given by a Dominican friar; this persisted about an hour. After the sermon, the procurator general, with the archbishop, went to the stage where the princes and nobles stood, to administer a solemn oath to them upon the crucifix. The tenor of the oath was this:

“Your majesties shall swear that you will favor the holy inquisition, and also give your consent to the same; and not only that you shall in no way hinder and impeach the same, but you shall also employ the utmost of your help and endeavor hereafter to see all them executed, who swerve from the church of Rome, and adjoin themselves to the sect of the Lutheran heretics, without any respect of any person or persons of whatever estate, degree, quality, or condition they may be.”

Thus much for the first article of the oath; the second was as follows:

“Your majesties shall swear that you will constrain all your subjects to submit themselves to the church of Rome, and to hold in reverence all the laws and commandments of the same; and also to give your aid against whoever holds the heresy of the Lutherans, or takes any part with them.”

In this sort and manner, when all the princes and states, every one in their degree, had received their oath, then the archbishop, lifting up his hand, gave them his benediction saying, “God bless your highnesses, and give you long life.” This solemn pageant thus

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<sup>438</sup> A halberd is a combination of spear and ax, used as a fearsome symbol of their power.

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finished, the poor captives and prisoners were at last called out, the procurator fiscal, or the pope's great collector, first began with Dr. Cacalla, and so proceeding to the others in order.

They then proceeded to the trial and condemnation of twenty-seven godly Christians, including thirteen pious females, whose only sin was that they loved the gospel of Jesus Christ, as contained in his holy word, instead of the traditions of the papacy. It would be too tedious to mention all in detail. At last they came to the coffin and picture of the lady.

This poor coffin contained the corpse of dame Leonora de Bivero, already long dead. Her picture was laid above her coffin, which was also condemned with her dead corpse, to be burned as a heretic. And yet I never heard of any opinion that this picture held either with or against the church of Rome. This good mother, while she lived, was a worthy maintainer of Christ's gospel, with great integrity of life; and she retained diverse assemblies of the saints in her house, for the preaching of the word of God. In fine, her corpse and image also, being brought before the fiscal, were likewise condemned to be burned as a Lutheran heretic; all her goods were to be seized; and her house was to be torn down to the ground. As a memorial of this, a marble stone was appointed to be set up in the house, in which the reason for her burning would be engraved.

After these sentences were thus pronounced, those who were condemned to be burned, with the coffin of the dead lady and her picture upon it, were committed to the secular magistrate, and to their executioners. Then they were all taken, and every one of them was set upon an ass, their faces turned backward. They were led with a great garrison of armed soldiers to the place of punishment, which was outside the gate of a town called Del Campo.

When they had come to the place, there were fourteen stakes set up of equal distance from one another, to which everyone was fastened.

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They were all first strangled, and then burnt to ashes, except Anthony Huezuello. This was because he had, both within and without the prison, vehemently detested the pope's spirituality. He was therefore burned alive, and his mouth stopped from speaking. And thus these faithful Christians, for the verity and pure word of God, were led to death as sheep to the slaughter house; who not only most Christianly comforted one another, but so exhorted all those who were present, that all men greatly marvelled, both to hear their singular constancy, and to see their quiet and peaceable end.

### **Italy.**

#### THE ITALIAN MARTYRS.

*Encenas*, otherwise called *Dryander*, A.D. 1546.

This Encenas, or Dryander, a Spaniard, was sent by his superstitious parents, when young, to Rome. There growing up in age and knowledge, he was instructed by the Lord in the truth of His word. After he was known to dislike the pope's doctrine and the impure doings at Rome, he was apprehended by some of his own countrymen at Rome. He was brought before the cardinals, and committed to prison. Afterwards he was brought forth to give testimony of his doctrine. In the presence of the cardinals, and in the face of all the pope's retinue, he boldly and constantly defended it. So that not only the cardinals, but especially the Spaniards being offended, cried out that he should be burned. The cardinals came to him before the sentence of death was given, offering life if he would take the badge of reconciliation. But Encenas, still constant in the profession of truth, refused to receive any other condition or badge but the badge of the Lord, which was to seal the doctrine of his

religion with the testimony of his blood. At last the faithful servant and witness of Christ was condemned to the fire. There, in the sight of the cardinals and in the face of the apostolic see, he gave up his life for the testimony of the gospel.

And as mention was made earlier, both in this history and others, of his brother *Francis Encenas* (Dryander, p. 470), it is not to be omitted here how Francis being a man of notable learning as ever was in Spain, being in the emperor's court at Brussels, offered the emperor, Charles V, the New Testament of Christ translated into Spanish. For this he was cast into prison where he remained in sorrowful captivity and calamity for fifteen months, looking for nothing more than present death. At last, through the providence of Almighty God, the first day of February A.D. 1545, he found the doors of the prison open. And so, issuing out of the prison, he escaped and went to Germany.

*Faninas*, A.D. 1550. — Faninus, through the reading of godly books translated into the Italian tongue, was converted from great blindness to the wholesome knowledge of Christ and of his word. There was no diligence lacking in him to communicate to others what he had received of the Lord. Being persuaded that a man, receiving by the Spirit of God the knowledge and illumination of his truth, should in no case hide it in silence, like a candle under a bushel. And therefore, being occupied diligently in that, although he used not to preach publicly, but taught by private conference, he was at length apprehended and committed to prison. He did not remain long in prison, for by the earnest persuasions and prayers of his wife, his children, and other friends, he was so overcome that he gave up, and so he was shortly dismissed out of prison. After this, it was not long until he fell into horrible distraction of mind. So that, if the great mercy of God had not kept him up, he would have fallen into utter desperation, for falling from the truth, and preferring the love of his friends and kindred above the service of Jesus Christ whom he had professed so earnestly before. This wound went so deep into his heart, that he could in no case be quieted, before he had fully fixed and determined in his mind to hazard his life more faithfully in the service of the Lord.

Being thus inflamed with zeal of spirit, he went about all the country publicly preaching the pure doctrine of the gospel with great fruit and effect. As he was thus laboring, he was apprehended again, A.D. 1547, and condemned to be burned. But he said his hour had not yet come, and so it had not. For shortly after, he was removed to Ferrara, where he was detained for two years. At last the inquisitors of the pope's heresies condemned him to death, in 1549. And yet his time not having come, he remained after that to September 1550. In the meantime, many faithful and good men came to visit him. For this reason, the pope commanded him to be enclosed in stricter custody, in which he suffered great torments for eighteen months. Yet he would have suffered greater if the Dominican friars could have gotten him in their hands.

At length he was brought to a prison where there were diverse great lords, captains, and noble personages committed for stirring up commotions and factions (as the country of Italy is full of such things). At first hearing him speak, they began to disregard and deride him, supposing that it was but a melancholy humor that troubled his brain. Those who seemed more sage among them, began to exhort him to leave his opinion, and to live with men as other men do, and not to vex his mind; rather, he ought to suspend his judgment till the matter was decided in the general council. Faninus, first thanking them for their friendly good will, modestly and quietly declared to them how the doctrine which he professed was not humor (mere emotion), nor the opinion of man's brain. Rather, it was the pure truth of God, founded in his word, and revealed to men in the gospel of Jesus Christ. And especially

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now, it was being restored in their days. This truth he had fully determined in his mind never to deny. And as in his soul, which was redeemed by the blood of the Son of God, he was free from all bondage, so likewise, regarding councils, he looked for no other sentence nor authority than that which he knew to be declared to us by Christ Jesus in his gospel, which He both preached with his word, and confirmed with his blood, etc. With these and other such words, he so moved their minds, that they were wholly altered to a new life, holding him now in admiration, whom before they held in derision. He proceeded still to preach the word of grace, declaring and confessing himself to be a miserable sinner. But by faith in the Lord Jesus, and through His grace alone, he was fully persuaded and well assured that his sins were forgiven; as all their sins would also be remitted through their faith in Christ alone, by believing His gospel. There were also others besides these, who having lived a more delicate kind of life before, could not well bear with the sharpness and the hardness of the prison. These also received such comfort from Faninus, that not only were they quietly contented, but they also rejoiced in their captivity, by the occasion of which they had received and learned a better liberty than they ever knew before.

When the imprisonment of Faninus was known to his parents and kinsfolk, his wife and sister came to him with weeping persuasions, to move him to consider and have a care for his poor family. He answered that his Lord and Master had commanded him not to deny him by looking to his family; and that it was enough for them that he had once, for their sakes, fallen into that cowardliness which they knew. Therefore he desired them to depart in peace, and solicit him no more. For, he said, he knew his end drew near, and so he commended them unto the Lord.

About the same time, Pope Paul III died, and after him succeeded Julius III, who sent letters and commandment that Faninus should be executed. When one of the magistrate's officers brought him word the next day, he rejoiced at it, and gave the messenger thanks. He began to preach a long sermon to those who were about him, on the felicity and beatitude of the life to come. Then the messenger exhorted him that, if he would change his opinion, he would save both his present life, and enjoy that which was to come. Another asked him how he could leave his little children and his wife? Faninus answered that he had left them with an overseer, who would see to them sufficiently.

[473] A.D. 1527-1558.

And being asked who that was, he said, "The Lord Jesus Christ, a faithful keeper and preserver of all that is committed to him." <sup>2Tim 1.12</sup> After the messenger had departed from Faninus, all full of tears and sorrow, the following day Faninus was removed to the common prison, and delivered to the secular magistrate. In all his ways, his words, his gestures, and countenance, he showed such constancy of faith, such modesty of manners, and tranquility of mind, that those who previously were violent against him, thinking him to have a devil, now began to hearken to him favorably, and to commend him. He talked with such grace and sweetness, ever speaking of the word of God, that several of the magistrates' wives, in hearing him, could not abstain from weeping. The executioner himself also wept. One of the public scribes came to him and said that if he would relent from his opinion, the pope's pleasure was that he should be saved: but he refused it. This was surprising, that he recited so many places of Scripture without a book, and did that so truly and promptly, as though he had studied nothing else. One seeing him so cheerful and happy going to his death, asked him why he was so cheerful at his death, seeing that Christ himself sweat blood and water before his passion? "Christ," he said, "sustained in his body all the sorrows and conflicts, with hell and death due to us. By his suffering we are delivered from sorrow and fear of

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them all.” Early in the morning he was brought forth. After his prayers were most earnestly made to the Lord, he meekly and patiently gave himself to the stake. There with a cord drawn about his neck he was strangled by the executioner in the city of Ferrara, three hours before daylight, so that the people would not see him, nor hear him speak. And about noon his body was burned.

*Dominic de Basana, at Placentia, A.D. 1550.*

The same year also, Dominic suffered in the city of Placentia. This Dominic was in Germany when he received the first taste of Christ’s gospel. He increased in this more and more, by conferring and reasoning with learned men; so that, in a short time he was able to instruct many. And he did so, till in the year 1550, coming to the city of Naples, he there preached the word; and then proceeding to Placentia, he likewise preached to the people there, about true confession, purgatory, and pardons. The next day he treated true faith and good works, how far they are necessary to salvation, promising to speak the day after about antichrist, and to paint him out in his colors. When the hour came that he was to begin his sermon, the magistrate of the city commanded him to come down from the chair in the marketplace, and he delivered him to the officers. Dominic was willing and ready to obey the commandment, saying, “That he much wondered that the devil would permit him so long in that kind of exercise.” He was led to the bishop’s chancellor, and asked whether he was a priest, and how he was placed in that function. He answered, “That he was no priest of the pope, but of Jesus Christ, by whom he was lawfully called to that office.” Then it was demanded of him, whether he would renounce his doctrine? He answered, “That he maintained no doctrine of his own, but only the doctrine of Christ, which he was ready to seal with his blood, and also he gave hearty thanks to God, who so accounted him worthy to glorify His name with his martyrdom.” Upon this he was committed to a filthy and stinking prison where, after he had remained a few months, he was exhorted to recant, or otherwise he would suffer. But still he remained constant in his doctrine. When the time came assigned for his punishment, he was brought to the marketplace where he had preached, and there he was hanged. Most heartily praying for his enemies, he so finished his days in this miserable wretched world.

*Galeazius Trecius, A.D. 1551.*

In St. Angelo was a house of Augustinian friars, to whom a certain friar named Maianard used to resort, a man expert in the study of Scripture, and of a godly conversation. By this Maianard, several townsmen, not only of the friars, but also others, were brought to the love and knowledge of God’s word, and to the detestation of the pope’s abuses. Among them was this Galeazius, a gentleman of good calling, and wealthy in worldly substance, and very benevolent to the poor. In process of time, this Galeazius increased in judgment and zeal, in setting forth the wholesome word of God’s grace. As a light shining in darkness, he could not so be hidden, but at last, in the year 1551, certain persons were sent to arrest and bring him to the bishop’s palace, where he was kept in bonds.

When the time came that he should be examined, he was brought before the commissioners, where he rendered reasons for his faith, answering to their interrogatories with such evidence of Scriptures, and constancy of mind, that he was an admiration to those who heard him. Not long after, through the importunate persuasion of his kinsfolk and friends, and other cold gossellers, laying many considerations before his eyes, he was brought at length to assent to certain points of the pope’s doctrine. Yet the mercy of God, which thus began with him, did not leave him, but brought him back to such repentance, and bewailing of what he had done, that afterward he became still more valiant in defense of Christ. He affirmed that he never felt more joy of heart than at the time of his examinations, where he

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stood to the constant confession of the truth; and that he never tasted more sorrow in all his life, than when he slipped from that by dissimulation. Declaring to his brethren, that death was much sweeter to him with testimony of the truth, than life with the least denial of truth, and with the loss of a good conscience.

As Galeazius thus continued in the prison, looking for some occasion to recover from his fall, the inquisitors and priests again repaired to him, supposing that he would now confirm what he had granted to them before. But Galeazius returned again to the defense of his former doctrine, with much more boldness of spirit — confessing Christ, and declaring his detestation of images, affirming and proving that God alone is to be worshipped, and that is to be done in spirit and in truth; also that there are no mediators but Christ alone, and that He alone, and sufficiently by his suffering, has taken away the sins of the whole world; and hence, that all those who depart this life in this faith, are certain of everlasting life; those who do not, are under everlasting damnation; along with such other matter as was utterly repugnant to the pope's proceedings. With this confession, as his mind was greatly refreshed, so the adversaries went away as much appalled. At last, perceiving that he could not be revoked, they had him committed to the secular judge to be burned.

Thus Galeazius, early in the morning, being brought out of prison to the marketplace, was left standing there bound to the stake till noon, as a gazing-stock for all men to look upon. In the meantime many came about him, exhorting him to recant, and not to cast away his life, when with ten words he might save it. But nothing could stir the mind of this valiant martyr. Fire was commanded at last to be put to the dry wood about him, and he was consumed without any noise or crying, except these words heard in the middle of the flame: "Lord Jesus!" This was November 24, A.D. 1551.

Regarding the story of this blessed martyr, this is to be noted, that a little before Galeazius was burned, there was a controversy between the major of the city, and the bishop's clergy, for the expenses of the wood that would go to his burning. Hearing of it, Galeazius sent word to both parties to agree, for he would see the cost of that matter, discharged from his own goods.

*Doctor John Mollius, a Grey Friar,  
and a certain Weaver, A.D. 1553.*

John Mollius Montilcinus, when but twelve years old, with his brother Augustinus, was placed by his parents in the house of the Grey Friars. There, in a short time, having a fresh wit, he far excelled his fellows in all languages and sciences. So growing up to the age of eighteen, he was ordained priest, and sang his first mass. After that, he was sent to Ferrara to study.

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He so profited there in six years, that he was assigned by Vigerius, general of that order, to be a doctor, and then a reader in divinity. He then, with his sophistry, opposed himself to the gospel. Afterwards he was connected with several universities with much distinction. In the meantime, God wrought in his soul such light of his word, and of true religion, that Mollius began secretly to expound the Epistle of St. Paul to a few of the Romans. This being known, his auditors increased so fast, that he was compelled to read openly in the temple. As the number of his audience daily augmented, so the eager fervency of their minds increased. So that almost every man came with his pen and ink to write. This was about the year 1538. There was at the same time, at Bononia, one Cornelius, an arrogant babbler who, envying John, took it upon himself, at the request of Cardinal Campejus, to expound the same epistle of St. Paul, confuting and disproving the explanation of John Mollius, and



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extolling the pope with all his traditions. John extolled and commended only Christ and his merits to the people. But the purpose of Cornelius came to nothing. For the auditors who came to Cornelius at first, began to fall away from him little by little, while the concourse of the John's auditors increased more and more.

When Cornelius perceived this, he persuaded Campejus that unless he dispatched that man, the esteem of the church of Rome would greatly decay. But when they could not openly bring about their purpose, this secret way was devised: that Cornelius and John should come to open disputation. This disputation endured till three in the morning. At length, when neither party could agree, John was bid to return home to his house. As he was coming down to the lower steps, where the place was most confined and his friends could not come to rescue him (although by drawing their swords they declared their good wills), he was taken and laid in prison. When the day came, such tumult and stir was in the whole city, that Cornelius was driven to hide himself. Also Campejus, the cardinal, with the bishop, were both scorned by the students. The next day the bishop of Bononia sent his chancellor to John in the prison, to signify to him that either he must recant, or be burned. But being of a bold and cheerful spirit, he could in no way be brought to recant. This one thing grieved him: that he should be condemned without his cause being heard.

In the meantime, Laurentius Spatha, general of the order of Grey Friars, posted up to Rome, and there he so dealt with the cardinal of the Holy Cross, the proctor in the court of Rome for the Grey friars, that the pope wrote down his letters to Campejus, that he should deliver John out of prison, so that within three months, Mollius would personally appear at Rome. His friends counselled him not to go to Rome, and offered him money to go to Germany; but he would not, saying, "That the gospel must also be preached at Rome." After he had come to Rome, and appeared before Pope Paul III, he humbly desired that the cause might come in public hearing, but that could not be obtained. Then he was commanded to write his mind in articles, and to bring his proofs, which he diligently performed. He addressed original sin, justification by faith, free will, purgatory, and other such doctrines; proving the articles by the authority of the Scripture, and of the ancient fathers, and exhibited them to the bishop of Rome. Upon this, certain cardinals and bishops were assigned to give the cause a hearing. They disputed with him three days, and could not sense that which he had proved. At last an answer was made to him that it was truth which he affirmed. Nevertheless it was not appropriate for this present time; for it could not be taught or published without the detriment of the apostolic see. Therefore he should afterwards abstain from the epistles of St. Paul, and so return again safe to Bononia, and there profess philosophy. Thus as he was returned to Bononia, and all men there desired to know of his case, how it went at Rome, he declared openly in the pulpit all things in order as they were done, and gave God thanks.

Herewith Campejus, being more offended than before, obtained from the pope, that the general of the order should remove John Mollius from Bononia, and place him somewhere else. So Mollius was sent to Naples, and there he was appointed leader and preacher in the monastery of St. Laurence. But Peter, the viceroy there, could not abide John's doctrine. He so nearly sought John's death, that he had much ado to escape with life. And so, departing from there, John went wandering from place to place in Italy, preaching Christ wherever he went. Not long after this, when Cardinal Campejus was dead, John was called back to Bononia by a good abbot named De Grassis, A.D. 1543. There he renewed again the reading of St. Paul's epistles in a secret way, as he did before; but that could not go undiscovered for long. By means of Cardinal de Capo, and by Bonaventura the general, he was apprehended the second time, and brought to Faventia, and laid there in a filthy and stinking prison.

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There he continued for four years, no man having leave to come to him. At length, through the intercession of the Earl Petilian, and of the good abbot De Grassis, he was again delivered, and sent to Ravenna, where he made his abode a few months. There again he taught the gospel of Christ as before. And whenever he spoke of the name of Jesus, his eyes dropped tears, for he was fraught with a mighty fervency of God's Holy Spirit.

In process of time, when this abbot was dead, John's sureties began to be weary of their bond, and so he was again, for the third time, reduced to prison by the pope's legates. There were then four men of great authority who, being stirred up by God, had pity upon him, and bailed him out of prison. One of these sureties took Mollius home to instruct his children in the doctrine of religion and good letters. Furthermore, at the fame of this man, such a concourse of people came to see him, that the adversaries began to consult with themselves to kill him, lest his doctrine disperse further abroad, to the detriment of the church of Rome.

Whereupon commandment was sent to the pope's legate to lay hands on Mollius, and to send him up fast-bound to Rome. There again, now the fourth time, he was imprisoned in the castle of Rome, and he continued there eighteen months, being greatly assaulted, sometimes with flattering promises, sometimes with terrible threats, to give up his opinion. But his building could not be shaken, for it was grounded upon a sure rock. Thus Dr. Mollius, being constant in the defense of Christ's gospel, was brought, with other men (who were also apprehended for religion) into the temple of St. Mary (called De Minerva) the fifth of September 1553; either to revoke (recant) or to be burned. There sat six cardinals in high seats, besides the judge. Before him a Dominican friar preached, inveighing against the poor prisoners with cruelty. He incensed the cardinals, with all the vehemency that he might, to condemn the prisoners. The poor men stood holding a burning taper in their hands: some revoked for fear of death. But this Doctor Mollius, with a weaver from Perusium, remained constant. Then Mollius began an earnest sermon in the Italian tongue, in which he confirmed the articles of the faith by the sacred Scriptures, declaring also that the pope was not the successor of Peter, but antichrist, and that the whore of Babylon prefigures his sectaries. He cited them up to the tribunal seat of Christ, and threw the burning taper away from him. They condemned him and the weaver to the fire, and commanded them to be taken away. So they were carried to the field called Florianum, where they remained cheerful and constant. First, the weaver was hanged. Mollius then began to exhort the people to beware of idolatry, and to have no other saviors but Christ alone. For he alone is the Mediator between God and man. And so Mollius too was hanged, commending his soul to God, and afterwards laid in the fire and burned.

Two Monks, (A.D. 1554). — In the same city of Rome, at about the same time, in the monastery of St. Austin, two monks were found in their cells with their tongues and their heads cut off, merely for rebuking the immoderate and outrageous excess of the cardinals.

[475] A.D. 1527-1558.

In the same year, *Francis Gamba*, after he had received the knowledge of the gospel, went to Geneva to confer with the wise and learned in that church, and there at the same time, he communicated with them. Afterward, on his returning home, as he was passing over the Lake of Como (in Lombardy), he was taken and brought to Como, and committed to a ward. During the time of his imprisonment, nobles and others, with doctors also, especially priests and monks, resorted to him, laboring by all manner of means and most fair promises, to reduce him from his opinions. These seemed to some but fantasies coming of some ill humor: to others they seemed uncatholic or heretical. But constantly (faithfully) disputing with them by the manifest Scriptures, he declared that the opinions which he defended were

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not any vain speculations or imaginary fantasies of man's dotting brain, but the pure truth of God, and the evident doctrine of Jesus Christ, expressed in his word — necessary for all men to believe, and also to maintain unto death. And therefore, for his part, rather than be found false to Christ and His word, he was there ready not to *deny*, but to *stand* to Christ's gospel, even to the shedding of his blood.

When he could in no way be reclaimed from the doctrine of truth, letters came from the senate of Milan, that he should be executed. But through intercession of his friends, one week's respite was granted to him, to prove whether he might be won again to the pope's church (that is to say, lost from God). Thus being long and mightily assailed by friends, and terrified by enemies, yet by no persuasions could he be overcome. Instead, he gave thanks to God, that he was made worthy to suffer the rebukes of this world, and cruel death, for the testimony of his Son. And so he went cheerfully to his death. Then certain Franciscan friars came to him to hear his confession, which he refused. They brought in their hands a cross for him to behold, to keep him from desperation upon feeling the fire. But his mind, he said, was so filled with joy and comfort in Christ, that he needed neither their cross, nor them. After this, as he was declaring many comfortable things to the people, about the fruition of those heavenly joys above, which God has prepared for His own, his tongue was bored through so that he could speak no more to the people. Immediately being tied to the stake, he was strangled to death. Every man there who saw Francis' constancy in giving testimony, saw that he died a good man.

*Pomponius Algerius, at Rome, A.D. 1555.*

Pomponius Algerius, a young man of great learning, was student in the university of Padua. There, not being able to conceal and keep close the truth of Christ's gospel, he did not cease both by doctrine and example of life, to inform as many as he could, and to bring them to Christ. For this he was accused of heresy to Pope Paul IV, who sent immediately to the magistrates of Venice, to have Algerius apprehended at Padua, and carried to Venice. There he was long detained in prison, till at last the pope commanded the magistrates there to send him bound to Rome. After he was brought to Rome, manifold persuasions and allurements were tried to remove this virtuous and blessed young man from his opinions. But when no persuasions could prevail against the operation of God's Spirit in him, he was then judged to be burned alive. This death he sustained most constantly, to the great admiration of all who beheld him.

Being in prison at Venice, Algerius wrote an epistle to the afflicted saints. It is notable for its sweetness, and it contains the most wonderful consolation in showing forth the mighty operation of God's holy power working in his afflicted saints who suffer for his sake. Thus I thought it good and expedient to communicate it, as a principal monument among all other martyrs' letters, not only with the other letters which will be inserted later (the Lord willing) at the end of the book, but also to be read in this present place. My intent is that both those who are, or will hereafter suffer affliction, may take consolation. And it is also that those who still follow the trade of this present world, by comparing its joys and commodities with the joys expressed here, may learn and consider what a difference there is between them both. Thereby they may learn to dispose themselves in such a way, as may be to their edification and to the perpetual felicity of their souls. The copy of the letter, which was first written in Latin, we have translated into English. The tenor of it ensues here.

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*A comforting Letter of Pomponius Algerius, an Italian Martyr.*

*To his dearly beloved Brethren and fellow Servants of Christ, who are departed out of Babylon into Mount Sion: grace, peace, and health, from God our Father, by Jesus Christ our Lord and Savior.*

“To mitigate your sorrow which you take for me, I can only impart to you some portion of my delight and joys which I feel and find, so that you may rejoice with me and sing before the Lord, giving thanks to Him. I will utter that which no man will believe when I declare it. I have found a nest of honey and honey-comb in the entrails of a lion. Who will ever believe what I say, or what man will ever think in the deep dark dungeon, to find a paradise of pleasure in the place of sorrow and death — to dwell in tranquility and hope of life — in an infernal cave to find joy of soul — and where other men weep, there to be rejoicing — where others shake and tremble, there to find strength and boldness to be plenty? Who will ever think, or who will believe this? in such a woeful state, such delights? in a place so desolate, such society of good men? in strait bands and cold irons, such rest? All these things the sweet hand of the Lord, my brethren, ministers to me. Behold, He that was once far from me, now is present with me. Whom once I could scarcely feel, now I see more apparently; whom once I saw afar off, now I behold near at hand; whom once I hungered for, the same now approaches and reaches his hand to me. He comforts me, and fills me with gladness; he drives away all bitterness, he ministers strength and courage, he heals me, refreshes, advances, and comforts me. O how good is the Lord, who does not allow his servants to be tempted beyond their strength! O how easy and sweet is His yoke! Is there any like the Highest, who receives the afflicted, heals the wounded, and nourishes them? Is there any like Him? Learn, well-beloved, how amiable the Lord is, how meek and merciful He is, who visits his servants in temptations, and does not disdain to keep company with us in such vile and stinking caves. Do you think the blind and incredulous world will believe this? Or rather, will it not say this:

‘No, you will never be able to abide long the burning heat, the cold snow, and the pinching hardness of that place, the manifold miseries and other innumerable grievances. How will you suffer the rebukes and frowning faces of men? Do you not consider and revolve in your mind your pleasant country, the riches of the world, your kinsfolk, the delicate pleasures and honors of this life? Do you forget the solace of your sciences, and the fruit of all your labors? Will you thus lose all your labors which you have sustained up to now — so many nights watched — your painful travels, and all your laudable enterprises, in which you have been exercised continually, even from your childhood? Finally, do you not fear death, which hangs over you, and that for no crime committed? O what a fool you are, who for speaking one word may save all this, and yet you will not. What a rude and unmannerly thing this is, not to be entreated at the instant petitions and desires of those, so many and so mighty, so just, so virtuous, so prudent and gracious senators, and such noble personages,’ etc.

“But now to answer: Let this blind world hearken to this again: What heat can there be more burning, than that fire which is prepared for you hereafter? And likewise, what snow can be colder than your heart which is in darkness, and has no light? What thing is harder, and sharper, or more crooked, than this present life which we lead here?

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“What thing is more odious and hateful than this world here present? And let these worldly men here answer me: What country can we have that is sweeter than the heavenly country above? What treasures more rich or precious than everlasting life? And who are our kinsmen, but those who hear the word of God? Where are greater riches, or more honorable dignities, than in heaven? And as to the sciences, let this foolish world consider, are they not ordained to learn to know God, whom unless we know Him, all our labors, our night watchings, our

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studies, and all our enterprises serve to no use or purpose? All is but labor lost. Furthermore, let the miserable worldly man answer me: What remedy or safe refuge can there be for him, if he lacks God, who is the life and medicine of all men? And how can he be said to flee from death, when he himself is already dead in sin? If Christ is the way, the truth, and the life, how can there be any life without Christ? The heat of the prison to me is coldness; the cold winter to me is fresh springtime in the Lord. He who does not fear to be burned in the fire, how will he fear the heat of the weather? Or what does he care for the pinching frost, who burns with the love of the Lord? The place is sharp and tedious to those who are guilty; but to the innocent and guiltless it is mellifluous. Here drops the delectable dew, here flows the pleasant nectar, here runs the sweet milk, here is plenty of all good things. And although the place itself is desert and barren, yet to me it seems a large walk, and a valley of pleasure; here to me is the better and more noble part of the world. Let the miserable worldling say and confess, if there is any plot, pasture, or meadow so delightful to the mind of man, as here. Here I see kings, princes, cities, and people; here I see wars, where some are overthrown, some are victors, some thrust down, some lifted up. Here is Mount Sion; here I am already in heaven itself. Here stands first Christ Jesus, in the front. About him stand the old fathers, prophets, and evangelists, apostles, and all the servants of God. Some of them embrace and cherish me; some exhort; some open the sacraments to me; some comfort me; others are singing about me. And how then shall I be thought to be alone, among so many and such as these are? Beholding them is to me both solace and example. Here I see some crucified, some slain, some stoned, some cut asunder, and some quartered, some roasted, some broiled, some put in hot cauldrons, some having their eyes bored through, some their tongues cut out, some their skin plucked over their heads, some their hands and feet chopped off, some put in kilns and furnaces, some cast down headlong and given to the beasts and fowls of the air to feed upon. It would take a long time if I were to recite them all.

“To be short, I see many excruciated with many torments: yet, notwithstanding, all are living, and all safe. One plaster (bandage), one salve, cures all their wounds. It also gives me strength and life, so that I sustain all these transitory anguishes and small afflictions, with a quiet mind, having a greater hope laid up in heaven. Nor do I fear my adversaries who persecute me and oppress me here. For He who dwells in heaven shall laugh them to scorn, and the Lord shall hold them in derision. I do not fear thousands of people who compass me about. The Lord my God shall deliver me — my hope, my supporter, my comforter, who lifts up my head. He shall strike all those who stand up against me without cause, and He shall dash the teeth and jaws of sinners asunder. For He alone is all blessedness and majesty. The rebukes for Christ’s cause makes us joyful; for so it is written, “If you are persecuted and reviled for Christ’s sake, you are blessed; for the glory and Spirit of God rests upon you,” 1Pet 4.14. Be sure, therefore, that our rebukes which are laid upon us, redound to the shame and harm of the rebukers. In this world there is no abiding mansion; and therefore I will travel up to the New Jerusalem which is in heaven, and which offers itself to me without paying any fine or income. Behold, I have already entered on my journey, where my house stands prepared for me, and where I shall have riches, kinsfolks, delights, and never failing honors. As for these earthly things present here, they are transitory shadows, vanishing vapors, and ruinous walls. Briefly, all is truly vanity of vanities. Whereas hope and the substance of eternity to come are lacking, which the merciful goodness of the Lord has given as companions to accompany me, and to comfort me, and now the same begin to work and to bring forth fruits in me.

“I have previously travelled, labored, and sweated early and late, watching day and night; but now my travels begin to come to effect. I have bestowed days and hours upon my studies. Behold, the true countenance of God is sealed upon me; the Lord has given mirth in my heart. And therefore, in *that* I will lay me down in peace and rest, Psalm 4. Who then shall dare to blame this our age consumed, or say that our years are cut off? What man can now quibble

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that these labors of ours are lost, who have followed and found the Lord and Maker of the world; and who have exchanged death with life? My portion is the Lord (says my soul) and therefore I will seek and wait for Him. Now then, if to die in the Lord is not to die, but to live most joyfully, then where is this wretched worldly rebel who accuses us of folly, for giving away our lives to death? O how delectable is this death to me, to taste the Lord's cup, which is an assured pledge of true salvation! For so the Lord himself has forewarned us, saying, 'What they have done to me, they will also do to you.' <sup>Joh 15.20</sup> Therefore, let the doltish world, with its blind worldlings (who in the bright sunshine, still go stumbling about in darkness, being as blind as beetles) cease thus unwisely to carp against us for our rash suffering, as they account it. To them we answer with the holy apostle, that neither tribulation nor stripes, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor persecution, nor sword, shall ever be able to separate us from the love of Christ: we are slain all day long; we are made like sheep appointed to the slaughter, Rom 8.35-36. Thus we resemble Christ our Head, who said, 'That the disciple cannot be above his Master, nor the servant above his Lord.' <sup>Mat 10.24</sup> The same Lord has also commanded that every one shall take up his cross and follow him, Luk 9.23. Rejoice, rejoice, my dear brethren, and fellow-servants, and be of good comfort, when you fall into sundry temptations. <sup>Jas 1.2</sup> Let your patience be perfect in all parts. For so it has been foreshown to us, and it is written, that those who kill you, will think they do God good service. <sup>Joh 16.2</sup> Therefore afflictions and death are like tokens and sacraments of our election and life to come. Let Us then be glad and give thanks to the Lord, when being clear from all just accusation, we are persecuted and given to death. For it is better that we suffer in doing well, if it is the will of the Lord, than in doing evil, 1Pet 3.17. We have for our example Christ and the prophets, who spoke in the name of the Lord, whom the children of iniquity murdered. And now we bless and magnify those who then suffered; let us be glad and rejoice in our innocency and uprightness. The Lord shall reward those who persecute us; let us refer all vengeance to Him.

"I am accused of foolishness, for I do not shrink from the true doctrine and knowledge of God, and do not rid myself of these troubles, when with one word I might. O the blindness of man! who does not see the sun shining, nor remembers the Lord's words! Consider therefore what he says: 'You are the light of the world. A city built on a hill cannot be hid; neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, that it may shine and give light to them in the house.' <sup>Mat 5.14-15</sup> And in another place he says, 'You shall be led before kings and rulers for My sake; <sup>Mat 13.9</sup> do not fear those who kill the body, but fear Him who kills both body and soul. <sup>Mat 10.28</sup> Whoever confesses me before men, I will also confess him before my Father who is in heaven. And he who denies me before men, I will also deny him before my Heavenly Father.' <sup>Mat 10.32-33</sup> Therefore seeing that the words of the Lord are so plain, how, or by what authority will this wise counsellor then approve this counsel which He gives? God forbid that I should relinquish the commandments of God, and follow the counsels of men. For it is written; 'Blessed is the man who does not walk in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stand in the way of sinners, nor sits in the seat of the scornful,' Psa 1.1.

[477] A.D. 1527—1560.

"God forbid that I should deny Christ, where I ought to confess Him. I will not set more by my life than by my soul. Nor will I exchange the life to come, for this present world. O how foolishly he speaks, who accuses me of foolishness.

"Nor do I take it as something so unbecoming or unseemly for me, not to obey in this matter the requests of those so honorable, just, prudent, virtuous, and noble senators, whose desires were enough to command me. For we are taught by the apostles, that 'we ought to obey God, rather than men.' <sup>Act 5.29</sup> After we have served and done our duty first to God, *then* we are next bound to obey the powers of this world, whom I wish to be perfect before the Lord. They are honorable; yet they are to be made more perfect in the Lord. They are just; yet Christ, the seat

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of justice, is lacking in them. They are wise; but where in is them the beginning of wisdom, that is, the fear of the Lord? <sup>Psa 111.10</sup> They are called virtuous; yet I wish they were more absolute in Christian charity. They are good and gracious; yet I miss in them the foundation of goodness, which is the Lord God, in whom dwells all goodness and grace. They are honorable; yet they have not received the Lord of glory, who is our Savior, most honorable and glorious. Understand you kings, and learn you who judge the earth. Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice in Him with trembling. Harken to doctrine, and get knowledge, lest you fall into God's displeasure, and so perish out of the way of righteousness. 'Why do you fret, why do you rage, O gentiles! O you people, why do you cast in your heads cogitations of vanity? You kings of the earth, and you princes, why do you conspire together against Christ and against his Holy One? Psa 2.1-2. How long will you seek after lies, and hate the truth? Turn to the Lord, and do not harden your heart. <sup>Psa 95.8</sup> For this you must confess, that those who persecute the Lord's servants, persecute the Lord himself. For so he says himself: whatever men do to you, I will count it to be done not as to you, but to myself. <sup>Mat 25.40,45</sup>

"And now let these carnal counsellors and disputers of this world tell what they blame me for — if in my examinations I have not answered so after their mind and affection as they required of me? Seeing that it is not ourselves who speak, but the Lord who speaks in us; as he himself forewitnessed saying; 'when you are brought before rulers and magistrates, it is not you who speak, but the Spirit of your Father who speaks in you,' Mat 10.18, 20. Therefore, if the Lord is true and faithful to his word, as it is most certain, then there is no blame in me. For He gave the words that I spoke — and who was I, that I could resist His will? If any man reprehends the things that I said, let him then quarrel with the Lord, whom it pleased to work so in me. And if the Lord is not to be blamed, then neither am I to be accused in this, who did what I did not purpose, and what I had not forethought. The things which I uttered and expressed there, if they were other than good, let them show it; and then I will say that they were *my* words, and not the Lord's. But if they were good and approved, and such that cannot justly be accused, then it must be granted, in spite of their teeth, that my words proceeded from the Lord. And then, who are they who shall accuse me? A people of prudence! Or who shall condemn me? Just judges! And even if they do, nevertheless the word shall not be frustrated, nor shall the gospel be foolish or therefore decay. But rather, the kingdom of God shall prosper and flourish all the more to the Israelites, and shall pass even sooner to the elect of Christ Jesus. And those who do so, will prove the grievous judgment of God. Nor will they escape without punishment, who are persecutors and murderers of the just. My well-beloved, lift up your eyes, and consider the counsels of God. He showed to us an image of His plague, which was for our correction. And if we will not receive Him, he will draw out his sword, and strike with sword, pestilence, and famine, the nation that rises against Christ.

"These have I written for your comfort, dear brethren. Pray for me. I kiss in my heart, with a holy kiss, my good masters Sylvius, Pergula, Justus, also Fidel Rocke, and the one who bears the name of Leila, whom I know, although being absent. Also the governor of the university, Syndicus, and all others whose names are written in the book of life. Farewell all my fellow servants of God; fare you well in the Lord, and pray for me continually. From the delectable orchard of Leonine prison, 12th of August A.D. 1555."

It is written by one Thebrotus, that when he had read the book of Plato, *De Immortalitate Animae*, he was so moved and persuaded by it, that he cast himself headlong down from a high wall, to be rid out of this present life. If those heathen philosophers, having no word of God, nor promise of any resurrection and life to come, could so soon be persuaded by reading the works of Plato, to condemn this world and present life here, then how much more is it to be required in Christians, instructed with so many evidences and promises of God's most perfect word, that they should learn to cast off the carnal desires and affections of this miserable pilgrimage? And that is in a double respect — not only in seeing, reading,

and understanding so many examples of the miseries of this wretched world; but also much more in considering and pondering the heavenly joys and consolations of the other world remaining for us hereafter in the life to come. For a fuller evidence of this, I thought it good to give the letter of Algerius, prefixed above, as an earnest of that, and for a lively testimony for all true Christians to read and consider.

Now let us proceed further (the Lord willing) in our list of Italian martyrs.

*Eighty-eight martyrs in one day, with one butcher's knife, slain like sheep.  
A hundred and sixty others also condemned, at Calabria, A.D. 1560.*

In Calabria, a blessed number of Christ's well beloved saints likewise suffered, both old and young, put together in one house, eighty-eight persons. All of them, one after another, were taken out of the house. And being laid upon the butcher's stall, like the sheep in the shambles, with one bloody knife, all were killed in order. It was a most tragic spectacle for all posterity to remember, and almost incredible to believe. Therefore for further credit about the matter, lest we seem to be either light of credit, or to believe what is not true, or to rashly commit things to pen, without due proof and authority, we have here annexed a piece of an epistle written by Master Simon Florius.

*The end of a certain letter of Master Simon Florius, concerning  
a lamentable slaughter of eighty-eight Christian Saints  
in the parts of Calabria.*

"I have nothing to write concerning news, except that I send you a copy of certain letters, printed either at Rome or at Venice, concerning the martyrdom or persecution in two separate towns of Calabria, 80 Italian miles from the borders of Consentia. The one is called St. Sixtus, within two miles of Montalto, under the seigniory of the duke of Montalto; the other is called Guardia, situated on the sea-coast, and 12 miles from St. Sixtus. These two towns are utterly destroyed, and 800 of the inhabitants there, or (as some write from the city of Rome) no less than 1000. The one who wrote the letter was servant to Ascanius Carracciolus. The country and people there I well knew to have taken the origin of their good doctrine and honest life from the Waldenses. For before my departure from Geneva, at their request, I sent them two schoolmasters, and two preachers. Last year the two preachers were martyred, the one at Rome, named *Joannes Aloisius Pascalis*, a citizen of Cunium: the other at Messina, named *James Bovell*, both of Piedmont. This year the remainder of that godly fellowship were martyred in the same place. I trust this good seed sown in Italy, will bring forth good and plentiful fruit."

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Now follows the copy of the letters sent from Montalto, a town in Calabria, eight miles distant from Consentia, dated the 11th of June 1560. The writer of these letters, as you may perceive, was a Romanist, one of those who call themselves Catholics, and followers of the pope. The letter was sent to a certain friend of his in Rome, containing news of the persecution of Christ's people in Calabria, by the new pope, Pius IV. The words of the letter are these:

"Up to now, most noble lord, I have certified to you, what has been done here daily about these heretics. Now I come next to certify to your lordship the horrible judgment begun this day, the eleventh of June, and executed very early in the morning against the Lutherans. When I think upon this, I truly quake and tremble. And truly the manner of their being put to death, was to be compared to the slaughter of calves and sheep. For being all thrust up in one house together as in a sheepfold, the executioner comes in, and takes one among them and



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blindfolds him with a muffler about his eyes; and so he leads him out to a place near adjoining, where he commands him to kneel down. This being done, he cuts his throat. Then leaving him half dead, and taking his butcher's knife and muffler all full of blood, he comes again to the rest. And so leading them one after another, he dispatched them all to a total of 88. How doleful and horrible this spectacle was, I leave to your lordship's judgment. For to write of it, I myself cannot choose but to weep. Neither were any of the beholders there present who seeing one die, could abide to behold the death of another. But so humbly and patiently they went to death, that it is almost incredible to believe. Some of them, as they were dying, affirmed that they believed even as we do. Notwithstanding, most of them died in their obstinate opinions. All the aged persons went to death more cheerfully; the younger were more timorous. I tremble and shake even to remember how the executioner held his bloody knife between his teeth, with the bloody muffler in his hand, and his arms all in clotted blood up to the elbows, going to the fold, and taking every one of them by the hand, one after another, and so dispatching them all, not otherwise than a butcher kills his calves and sheep.

"It is moreover appointed, and the carts have come already, that those so put to death should be quartered, and conveyed in carts to parts of Calabria, where they will be hung upon poles in the highways and other places, even to the confines of the same country. Unless the pope's holiness and the lord viceroy of Naples gives a command to the lord marquis of Buccianus, governor of the said province, to stay his hand and go no further, he will proceed with the rack and torture, examining all others, and so increase the number, that he will nearly dispatch them all.

"This day it is also determined, that 100 of the more ancient women should appear to be examined and racked, and afterward be put to death, so that the mixture may be perfect, so many men for so many women. And thus you have all that I can say of this justice. Now it is about two o'clock in the afternoon; shortly we will hear what some of them said when they went to execution. There are some of them so obstinate, that they will not look upon the crucifix, nor be confessed to the priest, and they will be burned alive.

"The heretics who are apprehended and condemned number 1,600, but as yet no more than these 88 are already executed. This people have their origin from the valley named Angrogna, near Subaudia; and in Calabria they are called Ultramontani. In the kingdom of Naples there are four other places of the same people, of whom whether they live well or not, we do not as yet know. For they are but simple people, without learning, wood-gatherers and husbandmen. But as I hear, they are very devout and religious, giving themselves to die for religion's sake. — *From Montalto the 11th of June.*"

Marquess Buccianus above specified, had a son or brother, to whom the pope promised a cardinalship at Rome if all the Lutherans were extirpated and rooted out in that province. That was probably the cause of his inhuman persecution and effusion of Christian blood.

### ***Merindole and Cabriers in Provence***

After this lamentable slaughter in Calabria, we must insert here the tragic persecution and horrible murder of the faithful flock of Christ inhabiting Merindole in France, and also the adjacent towns, in the time of Francis I (r. 1515-1547).<sup>439</sup> The furious cruelty of this persecution, because it cannot be set forth too much at large, we have contracted, omitting nothing which might seem worthy to be recorded.

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<sup>439</sup> Francis I was succeeded by his son Henry II (r. 1547-1559), then by Charles IX (r. 1560-1574).

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Here follows a notable history of the persecution and destruction of the people of Merindole and Cabriers in the country of Provence.<sup>440</sup> Not a few persons, but whole villages and townships, with most of the countryside — men, women, and children — were put to all kinds of cruelty there, and suffered martyrdom for the profession of the gospel.

Those who write of the beginning of this people say that about 200 years ago, they came out of the country of Piedmont to inhabit Provence, in certain villages destroyed by wars and in other places. They used such labor and diligence, that they had an abundance of corn, wine, oil, honey, almonds, with other fruits of the earth, and many cattle. Before they came there, Merindole had been a barren desert, and not inhabited. But these good people, in whom God had always reserved some seed of piety, were compelled to dwell in that waste and wild desert which, through the blessing of God, became exceedingly fruitful. The world, in the meantime, so detested and abhorred them, and railed against them in such a manner, that it seemed as if they were not worthy to have the earth bear them. For they had long refused the bishop of Rome's authority, and observed a more perfect doctrine than others, ever since A.D. 1200.

For this cause they were often accused to the king, as despisers of the magistrates, and rebels. Therefore they were called by diverse names, according to the countries and places where they dwelt. For in the country about Lyons, they were called the "poor people of Lyons;" in the borders of Sarmatia and Livonia, and other countries toward the north, they were called "Lollards;" in Flanders and Artois, "Turelupins," from a desert where wolves haunt. In Dauphiny they were called "Chagnards," because they lived in places open to the sun. But most commonly they were called "Waldois," from Waldo, who first instructed them in the word of God. This name continued until the name of "Lutherans" began.

Notwithstanding all this, the people dwelling at the foot of the Alps, and also in Merindole and Cabriers and thereabouts, always lived so godly, so uprightly and justly, that in all their life and conversation, there appeared to be a great fear of God in them. That little light of true knowledge which God had given them, they labored to kindle and increase daily more and more, sparing no charges to procure the holy Scriptures, or to instruct the most intelligent in learning and godliness; or else to send them into other countries where they had heard that any light of the gospel had begun to shine, even to the farthest parts of the earth.

For in the year 1530, understanding that the gospel was preached in Germany and Switzerland, they sent two learned men there, George Maurell and Peter Latom, to confer with the wise and learned ministers of the churches there, in the doctrine of the gospel, to know the whole form and manner which those churches used in the service and worshipping of God; and particularly to have their advice on certain points on which they were not agreed. These two, after long conference with the greatest in the church of God, namely, Oecolampadius at Basel, Bucer and Capito at Strasburg; and Bathold Haller at Berne. As they were returning homeward through Burgundy, Peter Latom was taken at Dijon and cast into prison; Maurell escaped and returned alone to Merindole with the books and letters which he brought with him from the churches of Germany. He declared to his brethren all his commission, and revealed to them how many and great errors they were in.

[479] A.D. 1527-1560.

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<sup>440</sup> [Provence is in southeastern France, at the border of Italy.](#)

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When the people heard these things, they were moved with so much zeal to have their churches reformed, that they sent for the most ancient brethren, and the greatest in knowledge and experience in all Calabria and Apulia, to consult with them regarding the reformation of the church. This matter was so handled that it stirred up the bishops, priests, and monks in all Provence with great rage against them. Among others, there was one cruel wretch called John de Roma, a monk. Obtaining a commission to examine those who were suspected to be of the Waldois or Lutheran profession, he did not cease to afflict the faithful in all the kinds of cruelty that he could devise or imagine. Among other torments, this was one which he most delighted in and most constantly practiced: he filled boots with boiling grease, and put them on their legs, tying them backward to a form, with their legs hanging down over a small fire; and so he examined them. Thus he tormented very many, and in the end, put them to death most cruelly.

After the death of this cruel monster, the bishop of Aix, by his official, continued the persecution, and put a great number of them in prison. Some of them turned from the truth by force of torments; the others who continued constant, after he had condemned them of heresy, were put into the hands of the ordinary judge; without any form of process or order of law, he put them to death with the cruelest torments.

After this, those of Merindole were cited personally to appear before the king's attorney. But hearing that the court had determined to burn them without any further process or order of law, they did not appear at the day appointed. For which the court awarded a cruel sentence against Merindole, and condemned all the inhabitants to be burned, both men and women, sparing none, not even the little children and infants. The town was to be razed, and their houses pulled to the ground. Also the trees were to be cut down, olive trees as well as all others, and nothing was to be left, with the intent that it should never be inhabited again, but remain as a desert or wilderness.

This bloody decree seemed so strange and shocking, that in every place throughout Provence there was great disputation concerning it, especially among the advocates and men of learning. So that many dared to boldly and openly say that they were greatly shocked how that court of parliament could be so mad, or so bewitched, as to give out such a decree, so manifestly injurious and unjust, and contrary to all right and reason, indeed, to all sense of humanity. It was also contrary to the solemn oath which all those who are received to office in courts of parliament are accustomed to make — that is to say, to judge justly and uprightly, according to the law of God, and the just ordinances and laws of the realm, so that God thereby might be honored, and every man's right regarded, without respect to persons.

Some of the advocates or lawyers, defending the decree said that in case of Lutheranism, the judges are not bound to observe either right or reason, law or ordinance; and that the judges cannot fail or do amiss, whatever judgment they give, so that it tends to the ruin and extirpation of all those who are suspected of being Lutherans.

To this the other lawyers and learned men answered that in this way it would follow that the judges should now follow the same manner and form against the Christians accused to be Lutherans, which the gospel witnesses that the priests, scribes, and Pharisees followed in pursuing, persecuting, and finally condemning our Lord Jesus Christ.

The archbishop of Aries, the bishop of Aix, and diverse abbots, priors, and others, assembled themselves together to consult how this decree might be executed with all speed, intending to raise a new persecution. For otherwise, they said, our state and honor is likely to decay. We shall be reproved, despised, and derided by all men. And if none should thus

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vaunt and set themselves against us but these peasants, and others like them, then it was but a small matter. But many doctors of divinity, and men of the religious order, diverse senators and advocates, many wise and well learned men, and also a great part of the nobility, even of the greatest peers in all Europe, began to contemn and despise us (they said), counting us as no true pastors of the church. So that unless we see to this mischief, and provide a remedy in time, it is greatly to be feared that we shall not only be compelled to forsake our dignities, possessions, and livings, which we now enjoy, but also the church being spoiled of her pastors and guides, will hereafter come to miserable ruin, and utter desolation. Then the archbishop of Aries gave his advice as follows:

“Against the nobility, we must take heed that we attempt nothing rashly, but rather we must seek all the means we can to please them; for they are our shield, — our fortress and defense. And even though we know that many of them both speak and think evil of us, and that they are of these new gospellers, yet we must not reprove them, or exasperate them. We must rather seek to win them, and to make them our friends again by gifts and presents. And by this policy we shall live in safety under their protection.”

The bishop of Aix responded that this was well said.

“But I can show you a good remedy for this disease. We must go about with all our endeavor and power, and policy, and all the friends we can make, sparing no charges, but spending goods, wealth, and treasure, to make such a slaughter of the Merindolians and rustic peasants, so that none shall be so bold hereafter, whatever they be, yes, even if they are of royal blood, to once open their mouths against us or the ecclesiastical state. And to bring this matter to pass, we have no better way than to withdraw ourselves to Avignon. In that city we will find many bishops, abbots, and other famous men who will employ their whole endeavor to maintain and uphold the majesty of our holy mother, the church.”

This counsel was well-liked by them all. Whereupon the said archbishop of Aries, and the bishop of Aix, went with all speed to Avignon. There they assembled out of hand the bishops and other men of authority and credit, to consult of this matter. In this pestilent conspiracy, the bishop of Aix, a stout champion and great defender of the traditions of men, taking it upon himself to be the chief orator, began in a manner as follows:

“O, you fathers and brethren, you are ignorant, that a great tempest is raised up against the little ship of Christ Jesus, now in great danger, and ready to perish. The storm comes from the north, from which all these troubles proceed. The seas rage, the waters rush in on every side, the winds blow and beat upon our house, and without speedy remedy we are likely to sustain shipwreck and loss of all together. For oblations cease, pilgrimage and devotion wax cold, charity is clean gone, our estimation and authority is debased, our jurisdiction decayed, and the ordinances of the church despised. And why are we set and ordained over nations and kingdoms, if not to root out and destroy, to subvert and overthrow whatever is against our holy mother, the church? Therefore let us now awake; let us stand stoutly in the right of our own profession, so that we may root out from the memory of men forever, the whole rout of the wicked Lutherans — those foxes, I say, which destroy the vineyard of the Lord; those great whales which go about to drown the little ship of the Son of God. We have already well begun, and have procured a terrible decree against these cursed heretics of Merindole. Let us therefore employ our whole endeavor, so that nothing happens which may hinder that which we have so happily begun. And let us take good heed that our gold and silver do not witness against us at the day of judgment, if we refuse to bestow the same, that we may make so good a sacrifice to God. And for my part I offer to wage and furnish of my own costs and charges, a hundred men well horsed, with all other equipment belonging to them, and do that until the utter destruction and subversion of these wretched and cursed caitiffs is fully finished.”

This oration pleased the whole multitude, except one doctor of divinity, a Jacobin friar named Bassinet, who then replied with this oration:

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“This is a weighty matter, and of great importance. We must therefore proceed wisely, and in the fear of God, and beware that we do nothing rashly. For if we seek the death and destruction of these poor and miserable people wrongfully, when the king and the nobility hear of such a horrible slaughter, we will be in great danger, lest they do to us as we read in the Scriptures was done to the priests of Baal. For my part I must say, and unfeignedly confess, that I have too rashly and lightly signed many processes against those who have been accused of heretical doctrine. But now I protest before God, who sees and knows the hearts of men, that seeing the lamentable end and effect of my assignments, I have had no quietness in my conscience, considering that the secular judges, at the report of the judgment and sentence given by me and other doctors, who are my companions, have condemned all those whom we have judged to be heretics, to most cruel deaths,. And the reason I am thus disquieted in conscience, is this: that now of late, since I have given myself more diligently to the reading and contemplation of the holy Scriptures, I have perceived that most of those articles which those who are called Lutherans maintain, are so conformable and agreeing to the Scriptures, that for my part I can no longer challenge them, unless I willfully and maliciously resist and strive against the holy ordinances of God. It seems to me that we should no longer proceed in this matter as we have done in times past. It will be sufficient to punish with fine, or to banish those who speak against the constitutions of the church, and of the pope. And those who are plainly convicted by the holy Scripture to be blasphemous or obstinate heretics, are to be condemned to death according to the enormity of their crimes or errors, or else to perpetual prison. And this is my advice and counsel.”

All the company was offended by this counsel of Bassinet, but especially the bishop of Aix. Lifting his voice above all the rest, he said this to Bassinet:

“O you man of little faith! Of what are you in doubt? Do you repent of what you have well done? You have told here a tale that smells of faggots and brimstone. Is there any difference, do you think, between heresies and blasphemies spoken and maintained against the holy Scriptures, and opinions held against our holy mother the church, and contrary to our holy father, the pope, a most undoubted and true God on earth? ‘Are you a master in Israel, and do you not know these things?’”

Bassinnet responded,

“It is true that my lord, the bishop of Aix, has well set out the manners and state of the clergy, and has aptly reprov'd the vices and heresies of this present time; and therefore as soon as mention was made of the ship of Christ Jesus, it came into my mind first of all of the high bishop of Jerusalem, the priests, the doctors of the law, the Scribes and Pharisees, who once had the government of this ship. But when they forsook the law of God, and served Him with men’s inventions and traditions, he destroyed those hypocrites in his great indignation. And having compassion and pity upon the people, who were like sheep without a shepherd, he sent diligent fishers to fish for men, faithful workmen into his harvest, and laborers into his vineyard, who will all bring forth true fruits in their season. Secondly, considering the purpose and intent of the reverend lord bishop of Aix, I called to mind the saying of the apostle in his first epistle to Timothy (chap. 4), ‘That in the latter days some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils.’ And the apostle gives a mark by which a man shall know them. Likewise our Lord Jesus Christ, in the seventh chapter of Matthew, says that, ‘The false prophets shall come clothed in sheepskins, but inwardly they are ravening wolves, and by their fruits they shall be known.’ By these, and such other places, it is easy to

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understand who are they that go about drowning this little ship of Christ. Are they not those who fill that ship with filthy and unclean things, with mire and dirt, with puddle and stinking water? Are they not those who have forsaken Jesus Christ, the fountain of living water, and have dug for themselves pits or cisterns which will hold no water? Truly, are they not those who vaunt themselves to be the salt of the earth, and yet have no savor at all; who call themselves pastors, and yet are not true pastors, for they do not minister to the sheep the true pasture and feeding, nor divide and distribute the true bread of the word of life.

“And, if I may be bold to say it, would it not be at this present time, as great a wonder to hear a bishop preach, as to see an ass fly? Are they not accursed of God who glory and boast that they themselves have the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and yet neither enter in themselves, nor allow those who would enter, to come in? They may be known right well by their fruits. For they have forsaken faith, judgment, and mercy, and there is no honest, clean, or undefiled thing in them, but only their habit, their rochet, and their surplice, and such other garments. Outwardly they are exceedingly neat and trim, but within they are full of all abomination, rapine, gluttony, lust, and all manner of uncleanness; they are like painted sepulchers, which outwardly appear beautiful and fair, but within they are full of filth and corruption. I say, a man shall know these ravening wolves by their fruits, who devour the quick and the dead under the pretense of long prayers. And as I am forced to give place to the truth, and that you call me a master in Israel, I will not be afraid to prove by the holy Scriptures, that your great pilot and patron the pope, and the bishops, the mariners, and such others who forsake the ship of Christ Jesus, in order to embark in pinnaces and brigantines, are pirates and robbers of the sea, false prophets, deceivers, and not true pastors of the church of Jesus Christ.”

When Doctor Bassinet had thus freely and boldly uttered his mind, the whole multitude began to gather about him, and spitefully railed at him. But the bishop of Aix, raging and crying out above others, as if he had been mad:

“Get out from among us, you wicked apostate! You are not worthy to be in this company. We have burned daily a great many who have not so well deserved it, as you have. We may now perceive that there is none more steadfast and fervent in the faith than the doctors of the canon law. And therefore it would be necessary to decree in the next general council, that none should deal in matters of religion except them alone; for these knaves and beggarly monks and friars will bring all to nothing.”

Then the other doctors of the same order boldly reprov'd the bishop of Aix for the injury he had done to them. After this there arose a great dissension among them, so that there was nothing determin'd at that time. After dinner all these reverend prelates assembled together again, but they allow'd neither friar nor monk to be among them, unless he was an abbot. In this assembly they made an agreement and confirm'd it with an oath, that every man should himself endeavor that the decree of Merindole should be executed with all expedition, and that every man should furnish men of war, according to his ability. This charge was given to the bishop of Aix, and to the president of the canons, to solicit the matter, and to persuade by all possible means the presidents and councilors of the court of parliament, without fear or doubt, to execute the decree with drums, ensigns displayed, artillery, and all kinds of weaponry of war.

This conspiracy being concluded and determin'd, the bishop of Aix departed to Aix, to perform the charge which was given to him. The next day after the council, they desired him to be at a banquet which would be held at the house of the bishop of Rieux. To this banquet those who were known to be the fairest and most beautiful women in all Avignon were called, to refresh and solace these good prelates, after the great pains and travel which they had taken for our holy mother, the church. After they had dined, they fell to dancing,

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playing at dice, and such other pastimes as are commonly used at the banquets and feasts of these holy prelates. After this they walked abroad to solace themselves, and to pass the time till supper.

[481] A.D. 1527-1560.

As they passed through the streets, they saw a man who sold lewd images and pictures, with filthy rhymes and ballads. All these pictures were bought up by the bishops. In the same place, as they walked along, there was a bookseller who had set out some bibles for sale in French and Latin, with diverse other books. When the prelates beheld them, they were greatly provoked at this, and said to him, "Dare you be so hardy to set out such merchandise to sell here in this town? Do you not know that such books are forbidden?" The bookseller answered: "Is not the holy Bible as good as these goodly pictures which you have bought for these gentlewomen?" He had scarcely spoken these words, when the bishop of Aix said, "I renounce my part of Paradise, if this fellow is not a Lutheran." "Let him be taken," he said, "and examined as to what he is." Instantly the bookseller was taken and carried to prison, and spitefully handled. For a company of knaves and ruffians who waited upon the prelates, began to cry out: "A Lutheran, a Lutheran! — to the fire with him, to the fire with him!" One of them gave him a blow with his fist, another pulled him by the hair, and others by the beard, in such a way that the poor man was covered with blood before he got to prison.

The next day he was brought before the judges, in the presence of the bishops, and was examined in the following manner: "Have you not set out for sale the Bible and the New Testament in French?" The prisoner answered that he had done so. And being demanded, whether he understood or knew that it was forbidden throughout all Christendom to print or sell the Bible in any other language than Latin? He answered that he knew the contrary, and that he had sold many Bibles in the French tongue, with the *emperor's* privilege, and many others printed at Lyons; also New Testaments printed by the *king's* privilege. Furthermore, he said that he knew no nation throughout all Christendom, which did not have the holy Scriptures in their vulgar tongue. Afterwards with bold courage, he spoke thus to them:

"O you inhabitants of Avignon! Are you alone in all Christendom, those men who despise and abhor the Testament of the Heavenly Father? Will you forbid and hide that which Jesus Christ has commanded to be revealed and published? Do you not know that our Lord Jesus Christ gave power to his apostles to speak all manner of tongues, to this end: that his holy gospel should be taught to all creatures in every language? And why do you not forbid those books and pictures, which are full of filthiness and abomination, and provoke God's vengeance and great indignation upon you all? What greater blasphemy can there be, than to forbid God's most holy books, which he ordained to instruct the ignorant, and to reduce and bring back into the way those who have gone astray? What cruelty is this, to take away from the poor weak souls their nourishment and sustenance? But my lords, you shall give a heavy account, who call sweet bitter, and bitter sweet, who maintain abominable and detestable books and pictures, and reject that which is holy."

Then the bishop of Aix and the other bishops began to rage and gnash their teeth against this poor prisoner. "Why do you need any more examination? Let him be sent straight to the fire without any more words." But the judge, Laberius, and certain others, were not of that mind. Nor did they find sufficient cause to put him to death, but went about to have him fined, and to make him confess and acknowledge the bishop of Aix, and others, to be the true pastors of the church. But the bookseller answered that he could not do it with a good conscience, because he saw before his eyes, that these bishops maintained filthy books and

abominable pictures, rejecting and refusing the holy books of God. And therefore he judged them to be the priests of Bacchus and Venus, rather than the true pastors of the church of Christ. Whereupon he was immediately condemned to be burned, and the sentence was executed the very same day. For a sign or token of the cause of his condemnation, he carried two bibles hanging around his neck, the one before, and the other behind him. But this poor man also had the word of God in his heart, and in his mouth, and did not cease continually by the way, until that he came to the place of execution, to exhort and admonish the people to read the holy Scriptures, so that several were thereby moved to seek the truth.

The bishop of Aix returned to prosecute the execution of the decree against Merindole. The president answered him, that it was no small matter to put the decree of Merindole into execution; also that the decree was made more to keep the Lutherans in fear, than to execute it. Moreover, he said that the decree of Merindole was not definitive, and that the laws and statutes of the realm did not permit the execution of it without further process. Then the bishop said, "If there is either law or statute which hinders or lets you, we carry in our sleeves to dispense with it." The president answered: "It would be a great sin to shed innocent blood." Then the bishop said: "The blood of those of Merindole be upon us, and upon our successors." Then the president said: "I am very well assured, that if the decree of Merindole is put into execution, the king will not be well pleased to have such destruction made of his subjects." Then the bishop said: "Although the king at first thinks it is done evilly, we will so bring it to pass, that within a short space he will think it well done. For we have the cardinals on our side, and especially the most reverend cardinal of Toulon, who will take upon himself the defense of our cause, and we can do him no greater pleasure, than to utterly root out these Lutherans. So that if we have any need of his counsel or aid, we will be well assured of him. And is he not the principal, the most excellent and prudent adversary of these Lutherans, in all Christendom?"

By this and such other talk the bishop of Aix persuaded the president and councilors of the court of parliament, to put the said decree into execution, and by this means, through the authority of the court, the drum was sounded throughout all Provence. The captains were prepared with their ensigns displayed, and a great number of footmen and horsemen began to set forward, and marched out of the town of Aix in order of battle, against Merindole, to execute the decree. The inhabitants of Merindole being notified of this, and seeing nothing but present death, with great lamentation commended themselves and their cause to God by prayer, making themselves ready to be murdered and slain, like sheep led to slaughter.

While they were in this grievous distress, piteously mourning and lamenting together, the father with the son, the daughter with the mother, the wife with the husband, suddenly there was news brought to them, that the army had retired. And no man knew at that time how, or by what means. Yet notwithstanding, afterwards it was known that the lord of Alene, a wise man, and learned in the Scriptures and in the civil law, being moved with great zeal and love of justice, declared to the president Cassanes, that he should not proceed against the inhabitants of Merindole by way of force of arms, contrary to all form and order of justice, without judgment or condemnation, and without distinguishing between the guilty and the innocent.

Then the Merindolians, understanding that the army was retired, gave thanks to God, comforting one another with admonition and exhortation always to have the fear of God before their eyes, to be obedient to his holy commandments, subject to his most holy will, and every man to submit himself to his Providence, patiently attending and looking for the hope of the blessed — that is to say, the true life, and the everlasting riches, having always



before their eyes for an example, our Lord Jesus Christ, the very Son of God, who has entered into his glory by many tribulations. Thus the Merindolians prepared themselves to endure and abide all the afflictions that it might please God to lay upon them. And such was their answer to all those who either pitied, or else sought their destruction. Whereupon the noise was so great, about the decree as well as the enterprise of the execution, and also of the patience and constancy of the Merindolians, that it was not hidden or kept secret from king Francis, a king of noble courage and great judgment.

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He commanded the noble and virtuous lord Monsieur de Langeay, who was then his lieutenant in Turin, a city in Piedmont, that he should diligently inquire and search out the truth of all this matter. Whereupon the said Monsieur de Langeay sent to Provence two men of fame and estimation, giving those in charge to bring to him the copy of the decree, and to diligently inquire about all that followed and ensued upon it. And likewise to make diligent inquiry as to the life and manners of the Merindolians, and others who were persecuted in the country of Provence.

These deputies brought the copy of a decree, and of all that happened thereupon, to the said Monsieur de Langeay, declaring to him the great injuries, pollings, extortions, exactions, tyrannies, and cruelties, which the judges, secular as well as ecclesiastical, had used against those of Merindola and others. Regarding the behavior and disposition of those who were persecuted, they reported that the inhabitants of Merindole, and the others who were persecuted, were peaceable and quiet people, beloved by all their neighbors, men of good behavior, constant in keeping their promise, and paying their debts, without traversing or pleading at the law. They were also charitable men, giving alms, relieving the poor, and allowed none among them to lack or be in necessity. Also they gave alms to strangers, and to the poor passengers, harboring, nourishing, and helping them in all their necessities, according to their power. Moreover, they were known by this throughout the country of Provence: that they would not swear, nor name the devil, nor easily be brought to take an oath except in judgment, or making some solemn covenant. They were also known by this: that they could never be moved or provoked to talk of any dishonest matters, but in whatever company they came, where they heard any wanton talk, swearing or blasphemy to the dishonor of God, they straightway departed that company. Also they said, that they never saw them go to their business, without first saying their prayers.

The people of Provence furthermore affirmed that when the Merindolians came to any fairs or markets, or came to their cities on any occasion, they were never seen in their churches in any manner. And if they were, when they prayed they turned their faces away from the images, and neither offered candles to them, nor kissed their feet. Nor would they worship the relics of saints, nor once look upon them. And, moreover, if they passed by any cross or image of the crucifix, or any other saint by the way as they went, they would not do reverence to them. Also the priests testified that they never had them say any masses, nor dirges, nor yet *de profundis* (prayer for the dead), nor would they take any holy water. And if it were carried home to their houses, they would not once say, 'God have mercy.' Indeed, they seemed utterly to abhor it. To go on pilgrimage, to make any vows to saints, to buy pardons or remission of sins with money, even though it might be gotten for a half-penny, they thought it not lawful. Likewise when it thundered or lightened, they would not cross themselves, but casting up their eyes to heaven, fetched deep sighs. Some of them would kneel down and pray, without blessing themselves with the sign of the cross, or taking holy water. Also, they were never seen to offer, or cast into the basin anything for the

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maintenance of lights, brotherhoods, churches, or to give any offering either for the quick or the dead. But if any were in affliction or poverty, those they relieved gladly, and thought nothing was too much.

This was the whole tenor of the report made to Monsieur de Langeay, regarding the life and behavior of the inhabitants of Merindole, and the others who were persecuted. Of all those things, the said Monsieur de Langeay, according to the charge that was given him, notified the king. Understanding these things, as a good prince moved with mercy and pity, the king sent letters of grace and pardon, not only for those who were condemned for lack of appearance, but also for all the rest of the country of Provence, who were accused and suspected in like cases.

On the other hand, the bishops of Aix and Cavaillon still pursued the execution of the decree of Merindole. Then it was ordained by the court of parliament, that according to the King's letters, John Durand, counsellor of the court of parliament, with a secretary, and the bishop of Cavaillon, with a doctor of divinity, should go to Merindole, and there declare to the inhabitants the errors and heresies which they knew to be contained in their confession, and make them apparent by good and sufficient information. And having so convicted them by the Word of God, they should make them to renounce and abjure the heresies. And if the Merindolians refused to abjure, then they would relate it, so that the court might appoint how they should further proceed. After this decree was made, the bishop of Cavaillon would not tarry till the time appointed by the court for the execution of this matter; but he himself, with a doctor of Divinity, came to Merindole to make them abjure. The Merindolians answered that he enterprised against the authority of the parliament, and that it was against his commission to do so. Notwithstanding, he was very earnest with them that they should abjure, and promised them that if they would do so, he would take them under his wings and protection, even as the hen does her chicks, and that they would no more be robbed or spoiled. Then they requested that he declare to them what they should abjure. The bishop answered, that the matter needed no disputation, and that he required only a general abjuration of all errors, which would be no damage or prejudice to them. For he himself would not hesitate to make the same abjuration. The Merindolians replied that they would do nothing contrary to the decree and ordinance of the court, or the king's letters, in which he commanded that first the errors should be declared to them, of which they were accused. Therefore they were resolved to understand what those errors and heresies were, that being informed of it by the Word of God, they might satisfy the king's letters. Otherwise it was but hypocrisy and dissimulation to do as he required them. And if he could make it apparent to them by good and sufficient information, that they had held any errors and heresies, or should be convicted thereupon by the Word of God, they would willingly abjure. Or if in their confession there was any word contrary to the Scriptures, they would revoke it. On the other hand, if it was not made manifest to them, that they had held any heresies, but that they had always lived according to the doctrine of the gospel, and that their confession was grounded upon it, then they should by no means move or constrain them to abjure any errors which they did not hold, and that it was plainly against all equity and justice to do so.

Then the Bishop of Cavaillon was astonishingly angry, and would hear no word spoken of any demonstration to be made by the word of God; but in a fury, he cursed and gave him to the devil who first invented that means. Then the doctor of divinity, whom the bishop brought there, demanded what articles they were that were presented by the inhabitants of Merindole, for the bishop of Cavaillon had not yet shown them to him. Then the bishop of Cavaillon delivered to the doctor the confession. After he had read it, the bishop of Cavaillon said, "What! this is full of heresy." Then those of Merindole demanded, "In what point?" The

bishop did not know not what to answer. Then the doctor demanded to have time to look at the articles of the confession, and to consider whether they were against the Scriptures or not. Thus the bishop departed.

After eight days the bishop sent for this doctor, to understand how he might order himself to make their heresies apparent which were in the confession. To which the doctor answered, that he was never so much abashed. For when he beheld the articles of the confession, and the authorities of the Scriptures that were alleged there, he found that those articles were wholly agreeable and according to the holy Scriptures; and that he had not learned so much in the Scriptures all the days of his life, as he had in those eight days, in looking upon those articles, and the authorities alleged.

[483] A.D. 1527-1560.

Shortly after, the Bishop of Cavaillon came to Merindole. Calling before him the children both great and small, he gave them money, and commanded them with fair words to learn the Lord's prayer and the creed in Latin. Most of them answered that they already knew the Lord's prayer and the creed in Latin, but they could not understand what they spoke, except in the vulgar tongue. The bishop answered that it was not necessary they should be so clever, but that it was sufficient that they knew it in Latin; and that it was not requisite for their salvation, to understand or to expound the articles of their faith; for there were many bishops, curates, and doctors of divinity, whom it would trouble to expound the Lord's prayer and the creed. Here the bailiff of Merindole, named Andrew Maynard, asked to what purpose it would serve to say the Lord's prayer and the creed, and not to understand them? For in so doing they would but mock and deride God. Then the bishop said, "Do you understand what is signified by these words, 'I believe in God?'" "The bailiff answered, "I should think myself very miserable if I did not understand it;" and then he began to give an orderly account of his faith. Then the bishop said, "I would not have thought there had been such great doctors in Merindole." The bailiff answered, "The least of the inhabitants of Merindole can do it even more readily than I can. But, I pray you, question but one or two of these young children, so that you may understand whether they are well taught or not." But the bishop either did not know how to question them, or at least he would not.

Then one named Pieron Roy said, "Sir, these children may question one another, if you think it good," and the bishop was contented. Then one of the children began to question with his fellows, with such grace and gravity as if he had been a schoolmaster. And the children one after another so answered to the purpose, that it was marvellous to hear. For it was done in the presence of many, among whom there were four religious men, who recently came from Paris. One of them said to the bishop, I must confess, that I have often been at the common schools of the Sorbonne in Paris, where I have heard the disputations of the divines. Yet I never learned so much as I have done by hearing these young children. Then William Armant said, "Did you never read that which is written in Matthew 11.25, 26, where it is said, 'I thank you, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because you have hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and have revealed them to babes. Even so, Father; for so it seemed good in your sight.'" Then every man marvelled at the ready answers of the children of Merindole.

When the bishop saw that he could not thus prevail, he tried another way, and went about by fair and flattering words to bring his purpose to pass. Causing the strangers to go away, he said that he now perceived they were not so evil as many thought them to be. Notwithstanding, it was necessary that they make some small abjuration, which only the bailiff, with two officers, might make generally in his presence, in the name of all the rest,

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without any notary to record it in writing. And in so doing, they would be loved and favored by all men, even those who now persecuted them.

The bailiff, and the two officers, with diverse other ancients of the town, answered that they were fully resolved not to consent to any abjuration, however it might be done, unless (which was always their exception) they could make it appear to them by the word of God, that they had held or maintained any heresy. They greatly marvelled that he would go about to persuade them to lie to God and to the world.

After this, John Miniers, lord of Opide near Merindole, forged a most impudent lie, giving the king to understand that those of Merindole, and all the country near about, numbering twelve or fifteen thousand, were in the field in armor with their ensigns displayed, intending to take the town of Marseilles, and to make it one of the cantons of the Switzers (Swiss). And to stay this enterprise, he said, it was necessary to execute the decree. By this means he obtained the king's letters patent, through the help of the cardinal of Toulon, commanding the sentence to be executed against the Merindolians.

After this he gathered all the king's army, which was then in Provence ready to go against the Englishmen, and took up all besides who were able to bear armor, in the chief towns of Provence, and joined them with the army which the pope's legate had levied for that purpose in Avignon, and all the country of Venice. He employed the same to the destruction of Merindole, Cabriers, and other towns and villages, numbering twenty-two of them, giving commission to his soldiers to spoil, ransack, burn, and destroy all together, and to kill man, woman, and child, without mercy.

But before this arch-tyrant came to Merindole, he ransacked and burnt certain towns — namely, La Roche, St. Stephens, Ville Laure, Lormarin, La Motte, Cabriers, St. Martin, Pipin, and other places — even though the decree extended only to Merindole. There most of the poor inhabitants were slain and murdered without any resistance. Women with child, and little infants born and to be born, were most cruelly murdered; the nipples of many women were cut off, who suckled their children, who then looking to feed at their mother's breast, died for hunger. There was never any such cruelty and tyranny seen before. The Merindolians seeing all in flames around them, left their houses, and fled into the woods.

Not long after it was shown to them how Miniers was coming with all his power to execute the charge upon them. This was in the evening. That they might go through rough and cumbersome places, hard to pass by, they all thought it most expedient for their safeguard to leave behind them all the women and children, with a few others, and among them also certain ministers of the church. The remainder were appointed to go to the town of Mussi. They did this on the hope that the enemy would show mercy to the multitude of women and children who were destitute of all succor. No tongue could express what sorrow, what tears, what sighing, what lamentation there was at that woeful departing, when they were compelled to thus be separated, the husband from his dear wife, the father from his sweet babes and tender infants, the one never likely to see the other alive again. Notwithstanding, after the ministers had ended their ordinary sermons with evening prayers and exhortations, the men departed that night, to avoid a greater inconvenience.

In the meantime Miniers came to Merindole, which was taken, ransacked, burnt, razed, and laid even with the ground.

When he had destroyed Merindole, Miniers laid siege to Cabriers, and battered it with his ordnance. But when he could not win it by force, with the lord of the town, and Poulin, his chief captain, he persuaded the inhabitants to open their gates, solemnly promising that if

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they would do so, they would lay down their armor, and also that their cause would be heard in judgment with all equity and justice, and no violence or injury should be shown against them. Upon this promise they opened their gates, and let in Miniers, with his captains and all his army. But once the tyrant had entered, he falsified his promise, and raged like a beast. For first of all he picked out about thirty men, causing them to be bound, and carried into a meadow near to the town, there to be miserably cut and hewn in pieces.

Then he exercised his fury and outrage upon the women, and caused forty of them to be taken, of whom several were great with child. He put them into a barn full of straw and hay, and caused it to be set on fire. And when the women, running to the great window where the hay is usually cast into the barn, would have leaped out, they were kept in with pikes and halberts. Then there was a soldier who, moved with pity at the crying out and lamentation of the women, opened a door to let them out. But as they were coming out, the tyrant caused them to be slain and cut in pieces. Many fled into the wine-cellar of the castle, and many hid themselves in caves. Some of them were carried into the meadow, and after being stripped naked, were slain.

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Others were bound two by two together, and carried into the hall of the castle, where they were slain by the captains, who rejoiced in their cruel and inhuman slaughter. That done, this tyrant, more cruel than Herod ever was, commanded captain John de Gay with a band of ruffians to go into the church, where there was a great number of women, children, and young infants, and to kill all that he found there. The captain at first refused to do this, saying that was a cruelty unusual among men of war. Miniers being displeased at this, charged him upon pain of rebellion and disobedience to the king, to do as he commanded him. The captain fearing what might ensue, entered with his men, and destroyed them all, sparing neither young nor old.

In the meanwhile, certain soldiers went to ransack the houses for the spoil, where they found many poor men who had hidden themselves there in cellars and other places, flying upon them, and crying out, "Kill, kill!" The other soldiers who were outside the town, killed all they could meet with. The number of those who were unmercifully murdered, were about a thousand, men, women, and children. The infants that escaped their fury, were baptized again by their enemies. In token of this victory, the pope's officers caused a pillar to be erected in Cabriers, on which was engraved the year and the day of the taking and sacking of this town by John Miniers, lord of Opide, and chief president of the parliament of Provence, as a memorial forever of that barbarous cruelty, the likes of which was never heard of before. Whereupon we, with all our posterity have to understand what are the reasons and arguments with which the antichrist of Rome usually upholds the impious seat of his abomination. He now has come to such excess and profundity of all kinds of iniquity, and all justice, equity, and verity being set aside, he seeks the defense of his cause by nothing else but force and violence, terror and oppression, and the shedding of blood.

Meanwhile, the inhabitants of Merindole and other places were among the mountains and rocks, in great need of food, and in much affliction. They had procured some men who were in some favor and authority with Miniers, to request of him that they might depart safely to where it might please God to lead them with their wives and children, although they had no more than their shirts to cover their nakedness. Miniers made this answer: "I know what I have to do. Not one of them shall escape my hands; I will send them to dwell in hell among the devils."

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Thus you have heard, loving reader, the terrible troubles and slaughters committed by the bishops and cardinals against these faithful men of Merindole.

Now, regarding the people of Merindole, is briefly to be noted that this was not the first time that these men were vexed. For these inhabitants of Provence, and other coasts bordering about France and Piedmont, had their continuance from ancient times. They received their doctrine first from the Waldenses, or Albigenses, who were (some say) about A.D. 1170; or (as others reckon) about A.D. 1216.

These Waldenses, otherwise called the poor men of Lyons, beginning with Peter Waldo, being driven out of Lyons, were dispersed in diverse countries. Some fled to Massilia, some to Germany, some to Sarmatia, Livonia, Bohemia, Calabria, and Apulia. Several strayed to France, especially around Provence and Piedmont, from whom these Merindolians came, and the Angregrnians with others. Those who were in the country of Toulouse, were called Albii, or Albigenses, from the place where they frequented. Friar Dominic was a great actor against the Albigenses, laboring and preaching against them for ten years. He caused many of them to be burned, for which he was highly accepted and rewarded in the apostolical court. At length he was made patriarch of the Dominican friars, by Pope Honorius III, who reigned from 1216-1227.

These Albigenses, against the pope of Rome, had set up for themselves a bishop of their own, named Bartholomew. The See of Rome took great indignation against the Albigenses for this, and caused all the faithful Catholics and subjects of the church to rise up in armor, and to take the sign of the holy cross upon themselves, and to fight against them, A.D. 1206. Great multitudes of them were cruelly murdered, not only around Toulouse and Avignon, but in all quarters. Miserable slaughters and burnings continued from the reign of the emperor Frederick II almost to this present, through the instigation of the Roman popes.

Among other authors who write about those Waldenses, was John Sleidan. Regarding their continuance and doctrine, he thus writes of them:

“There are in the French Provence a people called *Waldoi*. These of an ancient custom among them do not acknowledge the bishop of Rome, and have ever used a manner of doctrine purer than the rest. But especially since the coming of Luther, they have increased in knowledge and perfection of judgment.”

Concerning the confession and doctrine of the Merindolians received since ancient time from their forefathers, the Waldenses, it thus follows in Sleidan’s book:

“At last — after he had described what great cruelty was shown against them — when the report of it was spread in Germany, it offended the minds of many. And indeed the Switzers, who were then of a contrary religion to the pope, entreated the king that he would show mercy to those who had fled. The year before he had received from his subjects of Merindole, a confession of their faith and doctrine. The articles of it were that, according to the Christian faith, they confessed first, God the Father, Creator of all things: the Son, the only Mediator and Advocate of mankind: the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, and Instructor of all truth. They also confessed the church, which they acknowledged to be the fellowship of God’s elect, of which Jesus Christ is head. They also allowed the ministers of the church, wishing that those who did not do their duty should be removed.

“And as regards magistrates, they likewise granted them to be ordained by God to defend the good, and to punish the transgressors. And how they owe to him, not only love, but also tribute and custom, and no man is to be excepted in this, even by the example of Christ, who paid tribute himself, etc.

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“Likewise about baptism, they confessed it to be a visible and an outward sign, but represents to us the renewing of the spirit, and mortification of the members.

“Regarding the Lord’s Supper, they said and confessed it is a thanksgiving, and a memorial of the benefit received through Christ.

“Matrimony they affirmed to be holy, and instituted by God, and to be prohibited to no man.

“That good works are to be observed and exercised by all men, as the holy Scripture teaches.

“That false doctrine, which leads men away from the true worship of God, ought to be eschewed (shunned).

“Finally, the order and rule of their faith they confessed to be the Old and New Testament; they professed to believe all those things contained in the apostolic creed; desiring moreover, that the king give credit to their declaration of their faith; so that whatever was said to him to the contrary, was not true, and they would well prove it if they might be heard.”

### ***Persecution of the Waldenses in Piedmont – 1555-1561.***

*The History of the Persecutions and Wars against the people called Waldenses or Waldois, in the Valleys of Angrogne, Lucerne, St. Martin, Perouse, and others, in the country of Piedmont, from the year 1555 to 1561.*

To proceed now in the persecution of these Waldois, or Waldenses, you have heard how spreading themselves into various countries, they fled to Provence and Toulouse. Sufficient has been said of this. Some went to Piedmont, and into the valley of Angrogne.<sup>441</sup> It now follows to address them.

Thus these good men, by long persecution, being driven from place to place, were afflicted in all places, yet could never be utterly destroyed, nor compelled to yield to the superstitious and false religion of the church of Rome. But they ever abstained from their corruption and idolatry as much as possible, and gave themselves to the word of God, as a rule both to truly serve Him, and to direct their lives accordingly.

[485] A D. 1527-1560.

They had many books of the Old and New Testaments translated into their language. Their ministers instructed them secretly, to avoid the fury of their enemies who could not abide the light. They lived in great simplicity, and by the sweat of their brows. They were quiet and peaceable among their neighbors, abstaining from blasphemy, the profaning of the name of God by oaths, and such other impieties; also from games, dancing, songs, and other vices and dissolute life; and they conformed their life wholly to the rule of God’s word. Their principal care was always that God might be rightly served, and His word be truly preached. So that in our time, when it pleased God to set forth the light of his gospel more clearly, they never spared anything to establish the true and pure ministry of the word of God and His sacraments. This was the reason why Satan with his ministers so persecuted them of late, more cruelly than he ever did before, as it appears by the cruel and horrible persecutions which have been not only in Provence against those of Merindole and Cabriers; but also against those remaining in the valleys of Angrogne and of Lucerne; and also in the valley of St. Martin and Perouse, in Piedmont. These people were persecuted a long time by the

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<sup>441</sup> Piedmont is in northwestern Italy, at the borders of France and Switzerland, “at the foot of the Mountains.”

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papists, and especially these past few years, they have been so vexed that it seems almost incredible. Yet God has miraculously delivered them.

The people of Angrogne, before this time, had some to preach the word of God, and to minister the sacraments to them privately. Yet in the year 1555, at the beginning of August, the gospel was openly preached in Angrogne. The ministers and the people intended at first to still keep themselves as secret as they might. But there was such a concourse of people from all parts, that they were compelled to preach openly abroad. For this reason they built a church in the midst of Angrogne, where assemblies were made, and sermons preached.

At this time the French King held these valleys, and they were under the jurisdiction of the parliament of Turin. At the end of the following December, news was brought that it was ordained by the parliament, that certain horsemen and footmen would be sent to spoil and destroy Angrogne. Some who pretended great friendship to this people, counselled them not to go forward with their enterprise, but to forbear a while, and wait for better opportunity. But notwithstanding, calling upon God, they determined with one accord constantly to persist in their religion, and in hope and silence to abide the good pleasure of God, that this enterprise against Angrogne was soon dashed. At the same time they also began to openly preach in Lucerne.

In the month of March 1556, the ministers of the valley of St. Martin preached openly. At that time certain gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin took prisoner a good man named Bartholomew, a bookbinder, as he passed by the said valley. They sent him to Turin, and there, with a marvellous constancy, after he had made a good confession of his faith, he suffered death. Several of the Parliament were shocked and appalled at his constancy.

From there they went to the valley of St. Martin, and remained there a good while, tormenting the poor people, and threatening their utter ruin and destruction. After that, they came to Lucerne, troubling and vexing the people there in like manner. From there they went to Angrogne, accompanied with many gentlemen, and a great rabble of priests.

After they had come to Angrogne, the president having visited the two temples, caused a monk to preach in the one, the people being assembled there. He pretended nothing else but to exhort them to return to the obedience of the See of Rome. The aforesaid monk, with the president, and all his whole retinue, kneeled down twice, and called upon the Virgin Mary. But the ministers and all the people remained standing, and would not kneel, making no sign or token of reverence. As soon as the monk had ended his sermon, the people requested instantly that their minister might also be allowed to preach, affirming that the monk had spoken many things which were not according to the word of God. But the president would not grant their request. After that, the president admonished them in the name of the king and the parliament of Turin, that they should return to obedience to the pope, upon pain of loss of goods and life, and utter destruction of their town. He recited to them the piteous discomfiture that had been done before to their brethren and friends in Merindole and Cabriers, and other places in the country of Provence. The ministers and the people answered that they were determined to live according to the word of God, and that they would obey the king and all their superiors in all things, so that thereby God was not displeased. And if it were shown to them by the word of God, that they erred in any point of religion, they were ready to receive correction, and to be reformed. This talk endured about six hours, until night. In the end, the president said there should be a disputation appointed for those matters, to which the people gladly agreed.



Here the president remained fourteen days, daily practicing new devices to vex and torment them with new proclamations; now calling to him the syndics (magistrates) and head-officers, now separately, now altogether, that so that from fear he might make them relent. He also caused assemblies to be made in every parish by those he appointed, thinking to divide the people thereby. Notwithstanding, he did not prevail with all that he could do. They remained constant, insomuch that with one accord they presented a brief confession of their faith, with an answer to certain interrogatories propounded by the president. In this they confessed,

- That the religion in which both they and their elders had long been instructed and brought up, was the same that is contained both in the Old and New Testament, and which is also briefly comprised in the twelve articles of the Christian belief.
- Also, that they acknowledged the sacraments instituted by Christ, by which he distributes abundantly his graces and great benefits, his heavenly riches and treasures to all those who receive it with a true and lively faith.
- Furthermore, that they received the creeds of the four general councils; that is to say, of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and also the creed of Athanasius, in which the mystery of the Christian faith and religion is plainly and largely set out.
- Also, the ten commandments expressed in the 20th chapter of Exodus, and the 5th of Deuteronomy, in which the rule of a godly and holy life, and also the true service which God requires of us, is briefly comprised. Therefore, following this article, they did not allow by any means (they said) any gross iniquities to reign among them — such as unlawful swearing, perjury, blasphemy, cursing, slandering, dissension, deceit, wrong dealing, usury, gluttony, drunkenness, theft, murder, or the like; but wholly endeavored to live in the fear of God, and according to His holy will.
- Moreover, they acknowledged the superior powers, such as princes and magistrates, to be ordained by God; and that whoever resists them, resists the ordinance of God; and therefore they humbly submitted themselves to their superiors with all obedience, so that they committed nothing against God.
- Finally, they protested, that they would in no point be stubborn, but if their forefathers or they had erred in any one jot concerning true religion, the same being proved by the word of God, they would willingly yield and be reformed.

Their interrogatories concerned the mass, auricular confession, baptism, marriage and burials, according to the institution of the church of Rome.

To the *First*, they answered that they received the Lord's supper as it was instituted by Him and celebrated by his apostles; but regarding the mass, they would not receive it unless it might be proved by the word of God.

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*Secondly*, regarding auricular confession, they said that for their part they confessed themselves daily to God, acknowledging themselves before him to be miserable sinners, desiring from Him pardon and forgiveness of their sins, as Christ instructed his in the prayer which he taught them. "Lord, forgive our sins;" and as St. John says, "If we confess our sins to God, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness;" and according to that which God himself says by his prophet, "O Israel, if you return, return to me;" and again, "O Israel, it is I, it is I who forgives you your sins." So that, seeing they ought to return to God alone, and it is he alone who forgives sins, therefore

they were bound to confess themselves to God alone, and to no other. Also it appears, that David in his Psalms, and the Prophets, and other faithful servants of God, have confessed themselves both generally and particularly to God alone. Yet if the contrary might be proved by the word of God, they would (they said) receive it with all humbleness.

*Thirdly*, regarding baptism, they acknowledged and received that holy institution of Christ, and administered it with all simplicity, as he ordained it in his holy gospel, without any changing, adding or diminishing in any point; and that they did all this in their mother-tongue, according to the rule of St. Paul, who directs that in the church everything be done in the mother-tongue for the edification of our neighbor, 1Cor 14. But as for their conjurations, oiling, and salting, unless these might be proved by the sacred Scripture, they would not receive them.

*Fourthly*, regarding burials, they answered that they knew there was a difference between the bodies of the true Christians and the infidels, as the first are the members of Jesus Christ, temples of the Holy Spirit, and partakers of the glorious resurrection of the dead. And therefore they are accustomed to follow their dead to the grave reverently, with a sufficient company, and exhortation out of the word of God, as well to comfort the parents and friends of the dead, as also to admonish all men to diligently prepare themselves to die. But as for using candles or lights, praying for the dead, and the ringing of bells, unless the same might be proved to be necessary by the word of God, and that God is not offended with it, they would not receive them.

*Fifthly*, regarding obedience to men's traditions, they received and allowed all those ordinances which, as St. Paul says, serve for order, decency, and reverence of the ministry. But as for other ceremonies which have been brought into the church of God, either as a part of divine service, or to merit remission of sins, or else to bind men's consciences, they could by no means receive them because they are repugnant to the word of God,.

And whereas the commissioners affirmed the said traditions were ordained by councils, they answered first, that most of them were not ordained by councils. Secondly, that councils were not to be preferred above the word of God, which says, "If any man, yes, or an angel from heaven, should preach to you otherwise than that which has been received from the Lord Jesus, let him be accursed." And therefore, they said, if councils have ordained any thing dissenting from the word of God, they would not receive it.

Therefore they requested of the commissioners, that a disputation might be had publicly, and in their presence. And then if it might be proved by the word of God, that they erred, either in doctrine, or conversation and manner of living, they were content with all humbleness to be corrected and reformed. Beseeching them to consider also that their religion had been observed and kept from their ancestors until their time — many hundreds of years — yet for their parts, being convicted by the infallible word of God, they would not obstinately stand to the defense of it. They said moreover, that together with the said lords' deputies, they all confessed one God, one Savior, one Holy Spirit, one law, one baptism, one hope in heaven; and in sum, they affirmed that their faith and religion was firmly founded and grounded upon the pure word of God.

To be short, seeing that it is permitted to the Turks, Saracens, and Jews (who are mortal enemies to our Savior Christ), to dwell peaceably in the fairest cities of Christendom, by good reason they too should be permitted to live in the desolate mountains and valleys, having their whole religion founded upon the holy gospel, and worshipping the Lord Jesus. And therefore they most humbly besought them to have pity and compassion upon them,

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and to allow them to live quietly in their deserts; protesting that they and theirs would live in all fear and reverence of God, with all due subjection and obedience to their lord and prince, and to his lieutenants and officers.

The president, and rest of the commissions, perceiving that they labored in vain, returned to Turin with the notes of their proceedings. These were immediately sent to the king's court, and there the matter remained for one year before there was any answer made to it. During that time, the Waldois lived in great quietness, as God of his infinite goodness is wont to give some comfort and refreshing to his poor servants, after long troubles and afflictions. The number of the faithful was so augmented, that throughout the valleys, God's word was purely preached and his sacraments duly administered, and no mass was sung in Angrogne, nor in diverse other places. The year after, the president of St. Julian, with his associates, returned to Pignerol, and sent for the chief rulers of Angrogne, and of the valley of Lucerne. That is, he sent for six from Angrogne, and for two from every parish besides, and showed them that for the last year they had presented their confession, which was sent to the king's court, and there diligently examined by learned men, and condemned as heretical. Therefore, the king willed and commanded them to return to the obedience of the church of Rome, upon pain of loss both of goods and life. He enjoined them moreover to give him a direct answer within three days. From there he went to Lucerne, and caused the householders, with great threatenings, to assemble themselves before certain ones appointed by him; but with one assent, they persisted in their former confession. And lest they seem stubborn in the defense of any erroneous doctrine, they desired that their confession might be sent to all the universities of Christendom. And if any part of it were disproved by the word of God, it would immediately be amended. But contrariwise, if that were not done, then they were to be disquieted no more.

Not contented with this, the next morning the president sent for six persons from Angrogne, and two from every other parish, whom he and the gentlemen of the country threatened very sorely. And they warned twelve of the chief men of Angrogne, and of the other parishes, to appear personally at the parliament of Turin, and to bring before the judges of the parliament their ministers and schoolmasters, thinking that once they were banished from the country, their enterprise might soon be brought to an end. To this it was answered that they could not, nor should not obey such a commandment.

A little while after, a proclamation was made in every place, that no man should receive any preacher coming from Geneva, but only those who were appointed by the archbishop of Turin, and others of his officers. It was further proclaimed that upon pain of confiscation of their goods, and loss of their lives, that every one should observe the ceremonies, rites, and religion used in the church of Rome. Furthermore, if any of the aforesaid preachers of Geneva came into those quarters, they would immediately be apprehended, and that none of them should be concealed by anyone.

Now after four years, viz., A.D. 1559, there was a peace concluded between the French king and the king of Spain; the country of Piedmont (certain towns excepted) was restored to the Duke of Savoy. Under him the churches, and all other faithful people in Piedmont continued in great quietness, and were not molested. The duke himself was content to allow them to live in their religion, knowing that he had no subjects more faithful and obedient than they were. But Satan, hating all quietness, the duke was stirred up by his ministers against the churches of Piedmont, and his own natural subjects.

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For the pope and the cardinals, seeing the good inclination of the duke towards this people, incensed him to do that which otherwise he would not have done. The pope's legate also, who then followed the court, and others who favored the church of Rome, labored by all means to persuade the duke that he should banish the Waldois; alleging that he could not allow such a people to dwell within his dominion, without prejudice and dishonor to the apostolic see. Also they said that they were a rebellious people against the holy ordinances and decrees of their holy mother the church. And briefly, if he would indeed show himself a loving and obedient son, then he might no longer suffer these people being so disobedient and stubborn against the holy father.

Such devilish instigations were the cause of these horrible and furious persecutions with which these poor people of the valleys, and in the country of Piedmont, were so long vexed. Foreseeing the great calamities which they were likely to suffer, and if possible, to find some remedy for this, all the churches of Piedmont with one common consent wrote to the duke, declaring in effect, that the only cause why they were so hated, and for which he was so sorely incensed against them by their enemies, was their religion. And their religion was no new or light opinion, but that in which they and their ancestors had long continued, being wholly grounded upon the infallible word of God, contained in the Old and New Testament. Notwithstanding, if it might be proved by the same word, that they held any false or erroneous doctrine, they would submit themselves to be reformed with all obedience.

It is not certain whether this petition was delivered to the duke; for it was said that he would not hear of that religion. However, in the month of March following, there was a great persecution raised against the poor Christians who were at Carignan. Among them there were certain godly persons who were taken and burnt four days later.

Shortly after, these churches of the Waldois — that is to say, Le Larch, Meronne, Meane, and Suse — were shockingly assaulted. To recite all the outrage, cruelty, and villainy that was committed there would take too long. For brevity's sake we will recite only certain of the principal and best known. The churches of Meane and Suse suffered great affliction. Their minister was taken among others. Many fled away, and their houses and goods were ransacked and spoiled. The minister was a good and faithful servant of God, and endued with excellent gifts and graces. In the end, he was put to a most cruel and shameful death. The great patience which he showed in the midst of the fire, greatly astonished the adversaries. Likewise the churches of Larch and Meronne were horrendously tormented and afflicted. For some were taken and sent to the galleys, others consented and yielded to their adversaries, and a great number of them fled away. It is certainly known, that those who yielded to their adversaries were more cruelly handled than the others who continued constant in the truth. By this, God declares how greatly he detests all those who play the apostate, and shrink from the truth.

But for a better understanding of the beginning of this horrible persecution against the Waldois, here note that first of all the proclamations were made in every place, that none should resort to the sermons of the Lutherans, but should live according to the customs of the church of Rome, upon pain of forfeiture of their goods, to be condemned to the galleys forever, or else lose their lives. Three of the cruelest persons who could be found, were appointed to execute this commission.

At that time, Charles de Comptes of the valley of Lucerne, and one of the lords of Angrogne, wrote to the commissioners to use some lenity towards those of the valley of Lucerne. Because of this, they were more gently treated than the rest, for a while. At that season the monks of Pignerol and their associates grievously tormented the churches near them. They

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took the poor Christians as they passed by the way, and kept them prisoners within their abbey. Having assembled a company of ruffians, they sent them to spoil the churches, and to take prisoners men, women, and children. Some they so tormented, that they were compelled to swear to return to mass; others they sent to the galleys; and some they cruelly burnt. Those who escaped were afterwards so sick that they seemed to have been poisoned.

The gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin treated their tenants very cruelly, threatening them and commanding them to return to mass; also spoiling them of their goods, imprisoning them, and vexing them by all the means they could. But above all the others, there were two especially — that is to say, Charles Truchet and his brother Boniface — who on the 2nd of April, before daylight, with a company of ruffians, spoiled a village of their own subjects named Renclaret. As soon as the inhabitants of the village perceived this, they fled to the mountains. Covered with snow, naked, and without victuals, and they remained there until the third night after. In the morning, Charles' retinue took a minister of the valley prisoner, and led him to the abbey. There he was burnt soon after, with one other of the valley of St. Martin.

In the end of June next following, the lord of Raconig and the lord of la Trinite came to Angrogne to mitigate, they said, the sore persecution there. They had the chief rulers and ministers assemble together, propounding several points of religion concerning doctrine, the calling of ministers, the mass, and obedience towards princes and rulers. And they declared to them that their confession had been sent to Rome by the duke, and that they daily looked for an answer. The ministers answered to all these points. After this they demanded of the chief rulers whether, if the duke were to cause mass to be sung in their parishes, they would submit to it or not? They answered simply, that they would not. Then they demanded of the rulers whether, if the duke were to would appoint them preachers, they would receive them? They answered, that if they preached the word of God purely, they would hear them. Thirdly, if they were content that in the meantime their ministers were to cease, and if those who were to be sent did not preach the word of God sincerely, then their ministers would preach again. If they would agree to this, they were promised that the persecution would cease, and the prisoners would be restored. To this question, after they had conferred with the people, they answered that they could by no means allow their ministers to forbear preaching.

The two lords, not content with this answer, commanded in the duke's name that all the ministers who were strangers, should instantly be banished the country, saying that the duke would not allow them to dwell within his dominions, for they were his enemies.

This done, proclamations were immediately made, and the persecution began to be more furious than before. Among others, the monks of Pignerol at that time were most cruel. For they sent out a company of hired ruffians, who daily spoiled and ransacked houses, and all that they could lay hands on. They took men, women, and children, and led them captives to the abbey, where they were most spitefully afflicted and tormented. At the same time they also sent a band of ruffians by night to the minister's house of St. Germain, in the valley of Perouse, led there by a traitor who knew the house, and used to haunt there secretly. Knocking at the door, the minister knowing his voice, came out immediately. Perceiving himself betrayed, he fled. But he was soon taken and sorely wounded. Yet they pricked him behind with their halberts to make him hasten his pace. At that time also they slew many; many they hurt; and others they brought to the abbey where they kept them in prison, and cruelly handled them. The good minister endured sore imprisonment, and after that a most terrible kind of death with a wonderful constancy; for they roasted him by a small fire; and

when half his body was burnt, he confessed and called upon the Lord Jesus with a loud voice.

The inquisitor, Jacomel, with his monks, and the collateral Corbis. among others, showed one practice of most barbarous cruelty against this poor man. When he was to be burned, Jacomel had two poor women of St. Germain carry faggots to the fire, and to speak these words to their pastor:

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“Take this, you wicked heretic, in recompence for your naughty doctrine which you have taught us.” The good minister answered her, “Ah, good woman! I have taught you well, but you have learned badly.” To be brief, they so afflicted and tormented those poor people of St. Germain, and the places thereabout, that after they were spoiled of their goods, and driven from their houses, they were compelled to flee into the mountains to save their lives. So great was the spoil of these poor people, that many who before had been men of great wealth, and with their riches had ministered succor and comfort to others, were now brought to such misery, that they were compelled to crave succor and relief from others.

Now because the said monks, with their troops of ruffians (which numbered about three hundred), made such spoil and havoc in all the country, that no man could live there in safety. It was demanded of the ministers, whether it was lawful to defend themselves against the insolence and furious rage of these ruffians? The ministers answered that it was lawful, warning them in any case to take heed of bloodshed. Once this question was resolved, those from the valley of Lucerne and of Angrogne sent certain men to them from St. Germain to aid them against the supporters of these monks.

In the month of July, those of Angrogne, one morning being at harvest on the hillside of St. Germain, perceived a company of soldiers spoiling them of St. Germain, and doubting they could go to Angrogne, made an outcry. Then the people of Angrogne assembled together upon the mountain, and some ran to St. Germain over the hill, and some by the valley. Those who went by the valley met with the spoilers coming from St. Germain, loaded with spoil which they had gotten. There being but fifty of them, the people set upon them, amounting to one hundred and twenty men, well-appointed, and they soon overthrew the spoilers. The passage over the bridge being stopped, the enemy was forced to take the river Chison, where many of them were sorely hurt, others drowned, and some escaped with great difficulty. Such a slaughter was made of them, that the river was dyed with the blood of those who were wounded and slain, but none of the Angrognians were even hurt. If the river had been as great as it was usually was, there would not have ben one man escaped alive. The noise of the harquebusses (muskets) was great. In less than an hour, there were three or four hundred of the Waldois gathered together at the river. At the same time, they had purposed to recover their prisoners who were in the abbey, but they would not do it without the counsel of their ministers; and so they deferred the matter until the next day. But their ministers counselled them not to venture any such thing, but to refrain themselves, and so they did. Yet they did not doubt that if they had gone immediately after that discomfiture to the abbey, they might have found everything open, and easily have entered; for the monks were so afraid, that they fled to save their relics and images.

The next day the commander of St. Anthony de Fossan came to Angrogne, accompanied with several gentlemen, saying that he was sent by the duke. Having assembled the chief rulers and ministers of Angrogne, and of the valley of Lucerne, after he declared to them the cause of his coming, he read their supplication directed to the duke, which contained their

confession, demanding of them whether it was the same which they had sent to the duke? They answered, yes. Then he began to dispute, being sent, he said, to inform them of their errors, not doubting that they would amend their ways according to their promise. Then he entered into a disputation about the mass, in a great heat. He said the word “mass” was derived from the Hebrew word *Massa*, which signified (he supposed) consecration. And he showed that this word *Massa* might be found in ancient writers. The ministers answered that he badly applied the Hebrew word; and further, they did not dispute the word *Massa*, but what that word signified, which he should first prove by the word of God. Briefly, they said that he could not prove either by the word of God, nor by the ancient fathers, that their private mass, their expiatory or propitiatory sacrifice, their transubstantiation, their adoration, their application of it for the quick and the dead, and such other matters which are principal parts of their mass. The commander having nothing to reply to this, fell into a marvellous anger, railing and raging as if he had been mad. He told them that he had not come to dispute, but to banish their ministers, and to place others in their stead, by the duke’s command, which he could not do unless their ministers were first driven out of the country.

From there he went to the abbey of Pignerol, where he and Jacomel had a number of the poor inhabitants of Campillon and of Fenil taken prisoners, spoiling them of their goods, driving away their cattle, and forcing them to swear and forswear — and in the end, they ransomed them for great sums of money. About that time a gentleman of Campillon agreed with those who had fled, for thirty crowns to be paid into his hand, that he would ensure them from any further vexation or trouble, so that they remained quietly at home. But when he had received the money, he had the commander of Fossan, with his men, come to his house by night. Then he sent for the poor men, thinking traitorously to have delivered them into the hands of their mortal enemy, following the decree of the Council of Constance in this, which is that no promise is to be kept with heretics. But God, knowing how to succor his people in their necessity, prevented this danger. For one of them had intelligence of the commander’s coming, and so they all fled.

After this, there were many commandments and injunctions given throughout the country, to banish these poor Waldois, with the doctrine of the gospel, if possible, from the mountains and valleys of Piedmont. But the poor people still desired, according to what they had so often before protested by word and writing, that they might be allowed to serve God purely, according to the rule prescribed in His word, simply obeying their Lord and Prince always, and in all things.

In the end of the following October, the rumor went about that an army was levied to destroy them. And indeed there were certain bands levied, ready to march at an hour’s warning. Those malefactors, who had previously fled or were banished for any offense or crime, were called home again, and pardoned of all together, if they would take up their weapons, and go to destroy the Waldois. The ministers and chief rulers of the valleys of Lucerne and Angrogne often assembled together to get advice as to what was best to be done in such an extremity. In the end they determined that for a number of days following, a general fast should be kept, and a communion the Sunday after; also, that they should not defend themselves by force of arms, but that everyone should withdraw himself to the high mountains, and carry away whatever goods as they were able to bear. If their enemies pursued them there, then take such advice and counsel as it pleased God to give them. This article of not defending themselves seemed very strange to the people, being driven to such an extremity, and the cause being so just. Yet everyone began to carry their goods and victuals into the mountains, and for eight days all the ways were filled with comers and

goers to the mountains, like ants in summer providing for winter. They did all this in great perplexity and danger, with a wonderful courage and cheerfulness, praising God and singing psalms, each one comforting another.

A few days afterward, certain other ministers, hearing what those of Angrogne and Lucerne had concluded, wrote to them that this resolution seemed very strange to some, that they should not defend themselves against the violence of their enemies. They alleged many reasons why in such extremity and necessity it was lawful for them to do so, especially the quarrel being just — that is, for the defense of true religion, and for the preservation of their own lives, and the lives of their wives and children. They knew that it was the pope and his ministers who were the cause of all these troubles and cruel wars, and not the duke, who was stirred up to this only by their instigations. Therefore they might well and with good conscience withstand such furious and outrageous violence.

[489] A.D. 1527-1560.

On the 22nd of October the lord of Angrogne went from Lucerne to Mondevis, where he was then governor for the duke, and sent for the chief rulers of Angrogne at several times, declaring the great perils and dangers with which they were environed, the army already being at hand. Yet he promised them that if they would submit themselves, he would send immediately to stay the army. Those of Angrogne answered that they all determined to stand to that which they had put in writing, two days before in their assembly. He seemed to be content with this answer at that time. The next day the rumor was that those of Angrogne had submitted themselves to the duke. On the morrow, which was Sunday, there was nothing but weeping and mourning in Angrogne. The sermon being ended, the rulers were called before the ministers and the people, who affirmed that they wholly clung to their former writing. They sent secretly to the notary for the copy of what was passed in the council-house at their last assembly before the Lord de Comptes. It comprised that Angrogne had wholly submitted herself to the good pleasure of the duke. The people hearing that, were sorely astonished, and protested to die rather than obey the same. And hereupon it was agreed that at that very instant certain to the lord of Angrogne should be sent to notify him that the determination of the council was falsified, and that it might please him the next morning to come to Angrogne to hear the voice of the people, not only of the men, but also of the women and children. But he himself did not go there, having intelligence of the uproar. Rather, he sent there the judge of that place. Then that which had been falsified was duly corrected; the judge laid all the blame upon the notary.

During this time, the adversaries of the Waldois cried throughout the country of Piedmont: "To the fire with them, to the fire with them!" The Thursday after, by proclamations set up in every place, Angrogne was exposed to the fire and sword. On the Friday after, being the second of November, the army approached the borders of the valley of Lucerne, and certain horsemen came to a place called St. John, a little beneath Angrogne. Then the people retired into the mountains. Certain people of St. John, perceiving that the horsemen not only spoiled their goods, but also took their fellows prisoners, set upon them. It is not certain what number of their enemies were slain there, but suddenly they retired to Bubiane, where their camp then was, and not one of those of St. John was slain or hurt. It happened at the same time, that two of the horsemen, being sorely amazed, galloped before the rest towards the army, which was ready to march towards Angrogne, crying, "They come, they come!" At their cry the whole army was so astonished, that every man fled his way. They were all so scattered, that the captains that day were not able to bring them back into order, and yet no creature followed them.



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On that Saturday morning, the army mustered near Angrogne. Those of Angrogne had sent certain of their men to keep the passes, and to stop the army, if possible, so that they might not enter. In the meantime the people retired into the meadow of Toure, and thought little of the army coming so soon, or that they would have made such a sudden assault. For they were still carrying victuals and other stuff, so that few of them kept the passes. Now those who kept the straits, perceiving that their enemies prepared themselves to fight, fell down upon their knees, and made their prayers to God, that it would please Him to take pity upon them, and not to look upon their sins, but to the cause which they maintained, and to turn the hearts of their enemies, and so work that there might be no effusion of blood; but if it was His will to take them, with their wives and infants out of this world, that He would then mercifully receive them into His kingdom. In this way most fervent prayers were made by all those who kept the passes, with an exhortation that they should all together cry unto God, and crave His succor and assistance in this great distress.

Their prayers thus ended, suddenly they perceived their enemies coming towards them through the vines to win the top of the mountain of Angrogne. In the meantime, the prior of St. John and Jacomel were within the temple of Angrogne. They communed with the rulers regarding an agreement. These were sent there by the lord of la Trinite to keep the people occupied. To be short, the combat began in several places, and endured for a long time in the passes of Angrogne. The poor Waldois being but few in number, and some of them having but slings and cross-bows, were sorely pressed by the multitude of their enemies. At length they retired to the top of the mountain where they defended themselves until night.

When they had found a place where they might withstand their enemies who were still pursuing them, they turned and slew some of them, and wounded many. When the evening came, their enemies rested, and were about to encamp there to sup and lodge all night. When the Angrognians perceived this, they went to prayer, desiring God to assist and succor them, but their enemies mocked them and laughed them to scorn. Then the poor people devised to send a drum into a little valley nearby. As they were making their prayers to God, and the drum sounded in the valley, the lord of la Trinite caused his soldiers, which were about to encamp themselves, to remove from there. <sup>Jdg 25.16-20</sup> This was a great advantage to the poor people, who now were sorely wearied with travel, all wet with sweating, very thirsty, and in great peril if God had not given them a little breathing time. Many of their enemies were slain that day, and many wounded; very few escaped. So they reported that the shot was poisoned, which this poor simple people never used to do in all these wars. Of the Angrognians, there were but three slain that day, and one wounded, who afterwards was healed again. This combat gave great courage to the Waldois, and astonished their adversaries. At the same time, when the army retired, they burnt many houses, and made great spoil as they went, also destroying the wines which were in the presses.

The lord of la Trinite with his army encamped in a village beyond Toure, at the foot of the hill between Angrogne and the other towns of the valley of Lucerne, which professed the gospel. Those of the village were always sorely against the Waldois, and haters of true religion, and were glad of this outrage and violence done against those who possessed it. But they had their just plague, for they were all destroyed. After this, the lord of la Trinite caused the fortress to be rebuilt, which the Frenchmen had razed, and placed a garrison there. Afterwards they sent another garrison to the fort of Villars, which is of the valley of Lucerne; and another he sent to the fortress of Perouse, and he placed a fourth garrison in the castle of St. Martin. Those of Angrogne (now seeing themselves, as it were, in a sea of troubles) after they had submitted themselves to God by prayer, and committed their cause to Him,

sent to those of Perouse, St. Martin, and Pragela, for aid and succor; they sent them all the help they were able.

The next day letters came to Angrogne from the lord of la Trinite. In effect they said that he was sorry for what was done the day before, and that he did not come there to make war against them, but only to view if it was a convenient place to build a fort to serve the duke. Furthermore, his soldiers seeing the people assembled, as it were to defy them, upon that occasion only were stirred to make an assault, and to set upon them. Also that he was sorry that such spoil was made of their goods, and such hurt was done by fire. But if they would show themselves obedient to the duke, he had good hope that all would be well, and trusted some good agreement would be made. The Angrognians answered that they were terribly grieved to be so assaulted, spoiled, and tormented by the subjects of their liege and natural prince. And as they had oftentimes before offered themselves to be obedient and faithful to their sovereign prince the duke, more than any of his other subjects, so they would still offer him the same obedience.

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Also they most humbly besought him, not to think it strange if, being constrained by such extreme necessity, they defended themselves. Finally, as to their religion, they affirmed that it was the pure word of God, even as it was preached by the prophets and apostles, and the same which their predecessors had observed for some hundred years past. Moreover, the cause did not concern the goods of this world, but the honor and glory of God, the salvation or destruction of the souls of both them and theirs. And therefore it would be much better for them to die altogether, than to forsake their religion. Yet if it might be proved out of the word of God, that they were in error — not by force of arms, by blood and fire — they would then yield themselves with all obedience. They most humbly beseeched him, and all other lords of the country of Piedmont, to be their intercessors and advocates to the duke in this behalf.

On Monday, the 4th of November, the lord of la Trinite sent his army to Villars and Tailleret. The lesser company ascended towards Villars. The people seeing their enemies approaching, after they had called upon God with fervent prayer, strongly defended themselves, and slew many; many also were hurt, and the rest fled. The other company ascended towards Tailleret. Although those of that place were but few in number, and that part of the army was the greater, yet making their prayers unto God, and commending their cause unto Him, they likewise defended themselves valiantly.

In the meantime, those of Villars being emboldened by their recent victory, came to assist their neighbors. Being assembled together, they courageously pursued their enemies, and put them to flight. In this pursuit, however, it chanced that this poor people were ambushed by their enemies who came another way. They were suddenly enclosed on every side, and likely to be destroyed; yet they all escaped, and not one of them was slain, only three were hurt, who were soon cured again. On the enemy's side, so many were slain, that they were laid together by whole cart-loads. This was the reward of those who desired to shed innocent blood.

After the lord of la Trinite had received the letters of the Angrognians, he sent his secretary to them, accompanied with a gentleman of the valley; whose charge was to cause the chief rulers to send certain ones to commune with him, saying, that he had good tidings to declare to them. Moreover, he would deliver them a safe conduct to come and go. Whereupon they sent four men to him, whom he entreated very courteously, and recited to them, how the

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duke at his departure from the court, told him that although the pope, the princes and cities of Italy, indeed, his own council were fully resolved that of necessity those of the said religion should be destroyed, yet notwithstanding, God put otherwise into his mind, and he had taken counsel from God as to what he should do in this matter; that is, he would treat them gently. Furthermore, he declared to them, that the duchess bore them good affection, and favored them very much, and that she had commended their cause to the duke, persuading him to have regard for that poor people, and that their religion was ancient and old, with many other such things. "Moreover, they had," he said, "great friends in the duke's court, not doubting that if they were to send certain ones to the court with a supplication, they would obtain more than they themselves would require. And for his part, he would employ himself in their affairs to the utmost of his power; and so he promised that he would retire himself with his army. He seemed to speak this unfeignedly. The people desiring only to live peaceably in their religion, and under obedience to their lawful prince, were content to follow his counsel.

About this season, those of Angrogne perceived that a part of the army ascended the hill of Tailleret (which is halfway between Angrogne and those of the valley of Lucerne). The other part of the army had already gotten a way which led to the meadow of Toure, by which those of Angrogne might easily have been enclosed. Therefore they immediately sent certain ones to keep the way, who soon after encountered their enemies and obtained the victory, pursuing and chasing them to their camp, but not without great loss of their men. The number of their enemies slain was not known; for their custom was immediately to carry away those who were slain. Not one of Angrogne perished that day, nor was hurt. It was feared that this combat would have hindered the agreement; but the lord of la Trinite could well dissemble the matter, and excused the day's journey, putting the fault on those of Tailleret, whom he charged had slain certain of his men in the highway, his barber among others.

On the following Saturday, the 9th of November, the lord of la Trinite sent again for those of Angrogne, to consult with them regarding the agreement, using the same communication as before. He added to this, that in token of true obedience, they should carry their armor into two of the houses of the chief rulers, not fearing that it would be unsafe. For it would remain in their own keeping, and if need be, they should receive it again. Also, that on Sunday (the next day) he would have a mass sung within the temple of St. Lawrence in Angrogne, accompanied with a very few, and thereby the duke's wrath would be assuaged.

The next morning he went into the temple (at which they were sorely aggrieved, however they could not withstand him) his army marching before him: and having a mass sung, he desired to see the meadow of Toure that was so much spoken of, so that he might make a true report of it to the duke. And there the rulers with a great troop of his own men went, the rest of his company remaining behind. The lord having entered into the meadow of Toure, the people began to make a commotion. Having intelligence of this, he returned immediately. All that day he showed himself very courteous to all whom he met.

The people in the meantime perceived themselves to be in great danger, and were moved at the sight of the army, the spoil of the soldiers, the taking away of their armor, but especially because the lord of la Trinite had viewed the meadow of Toure, foreseeing his traitorous meaning and purpose. A few days after, the lord of la Trinite sent his secretary Gastaut to Angrogne to talk with them concerning the agreement, which was read in the assembly by the secretary as follows.

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*To the most excellent and worthy Prince, the duke of Savoy, etc.  
our sovereign lord and natural Prince.*

“Most noble and renowned prince, we have sent certain of our men to your highness, to give testimony of our humble, hearty, and unfeigned obedience to the same, and with all submission, we desire pardon regarding the bearing of armor by certain of our people in their extreme necessity, and for all other trespasses of ours, for which your sovereign grace might conceive any offense against us.

“Secondly, to desire in a most humble way, your highness, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that it would please you to allow us to live with freedom of conscience in our religion, which also is the religion of our ancestors, observed for a hundred years past. And we are persuaded that it is the pure gospel of our Lord Jesus, the only truth, the word of life and salvation, which we profess. Also, that it may please your most gracious clemency not to take it badly, if we, fearing to offend and displease God, cannot consent to certain traditions and ordinances of the church of Rome, and in this to have pity upon our poor souls, and the souls of our children, to the end that your highness is not in any way charged in the just judgment of God for the same, where all men must appear to answer for their doings.

“On our part, we protest that we will seek nothing but to be the true servants of God, to serve him according to His holy word; and also to be true and loyal subjects to your highness, and more obedient than any others, being always ready to give our goods, our bodies, our lives, and the lives of our children, for your noble grace, as also our religion teaches us to do. Only we desire that our souls may be left at liberty to serve God, according to his holy word.

[491] A.D. 1527-1560.

“And we your poor humble subjects shall most heartily pray our God and Father for the good and long prosperity of your highness, for the most virtuous lady your wife, and for the noble house of Savoy.”

To this supplication those of St. John, Roccapiatà, St. Bartholomew, and Perouse, with those of the valley of Lucerne, agreed. For it was concluded that the agreement made should extend to all the confederates of the same religion. While they were treating this agreement, the lord of la Trinite cruelly vexed those of Tailleret under the pretense that they had not presented themselves to treat this agreement. He tormented them in this way: first he commanded that all their armor should be brought before him, and then on their knees, they should ask him for pardon, because they did not come to treat the agreement with the rest — though notwithstanding, most of them did.

The next morning the chief of the householders went to a village named Bouvet, the appointed place. When they had heard a sermon, and called upon God, they began to write their names. Enrolling their names not being fully ended, word was brought that the soldiers had taken the top of the mountain, and had taken all the passes. Those of Tailleret were sorely amazed, and ran with all speed to defend their wives and children. Some they saved; but most of them, with their goods, were in their enemies' hands already. At this time with sacking, spoiling and burning, they did much mischief.

After this, the lord of la Trinite sent word to those who had fled, that if they would return, he would show them mercy. The poor people for the most part, trusting his promise, returned. And yet the next morning the soldiers came to apprehend them and their ministers, and beset the place on every side. Those who were swift of foot, and could shift best, escaped. The rest were all hurt or taken. Yet they all escaped by a marvellous means. For it happened that there was an old man who could not run fast, to whom one of the soldiers came with a

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naked sword in his hand to slay him. The old man seeing the imminent danger, caught the soldier by the legs, overthrew him, and drew him by the heels down the hill.

The soldier cried out, "Help, help! this villain will kill me." His fellows hearing him cry, made haste to rescue him; but in the meantime the old man escaped. The rest of the villagers seeing what the old man had done, took courage, and even though their armor and weapons had been taken from them, yet with stones and slings they so beat and discomfited their enemies, that for that time being their enemies carried no prisoners away.

The day following the soldiers returning to the said Tailleret, robbed, spoiled, and carried away all that they could find, and so they continued for three days. This was very easy for them to do, because the poor men, fearing that they would be charged with violating the agreement, made no resistance, but retired towards Villars.

The fourth day the lord of la Trinite, to torment the poor Taillerets still more cruelly, sent his army again before daylight to the mountain, and into the same place. And because the people of the village had retired towards Villars, and were scattered in the high mountains, the soldiers not yet satisfied with spoiling and sacking the rest that they found in Tailleret, ranging about its confines, sacked and made havoc on every side of whatever they could lay their hands on, taking prisoners of both men and women.

The same day two women, a mother and daughter, were found in a cave in the mountain, wounded to death by the soldiers; they died immediately after. So likewise a blind man, a hundred years of age was slain by the enemies. He had fled into a cave with his son's daughter, eighteen years old, who fed him; as they pursued the maiden, she escaped from them, but fell from the top of the mountain, and died.

Shortly after, this lord sent his army to the temple of St. Lawrence in Angrogne, pretending to sing a mass there; suddenly the soldiers besieged the minister's house. The minister being warned, managed to escape. The soldiers attempted nothing by force, but used gentle persuasions to the contrary, for there were not yet many of them. But the minister pushed on further, and the soldiers followed him half a mile, but fearing the people, they dared go no further. The minister withdrew himself into the rocks upon the mountain, accompanied with five others. The army was by and by at his heels, and sought a good while in the houses and cottages on every side, cruelly handling the people whom they took, to make them confess where their minister was, spoiling their houses, taking some prisoners, and beating others. Yet they could not learn from them where their minister was. At length, they espied him among the rocks, where they thought to enclose him; and so they pursued him in the rocks, all covered with snow, until it was night, but could not take him. Then they returned and spoiled his house, and diligently searched out all his books and writings, and carried them to the lord of la Trinite in a sack. He caused them all to be burnt in his presence. That day they spoiled forty houses in Angrogne, broke their mills, and carried away all the corn and meal that they found.

About midnight the soldiers returned with torch-light to the minister's house to seek him, and searched every corner. The next morning a command was given to the rulers of Angrogne, that within twenty-four hours they should deliver their minister, or else Angrogne should be put to fire and sword. The rulers answered that they could not so do, for they did not know where he was, and that the soldiers had chased him over the mountains. After a few days, when the soldiers had burned houses, spoiled the people, broke their mills, and did what mischief they could, the army retired.

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The poor Waldois were in great captivity and distress, but especially because they did not have the preaching of God's word among them as they usually did; and therefore taking good courage, they determined to begin preaching again. The messengers who were sent to the duke were detained six weeks, and all that while they were cruelly handled by the popish doctors. They were constrained by force and violence to promise to return to the mass. Now when these messengers returned, and the people understood that there was a new command that they should return to the mass, and also that popish preachers were appointed, there was deep lamentation, weeping, and mourning, for this great calamity.

Hereupon, those of the valley of Lucerne and of Bouvet, being assembled together, by one assent sent two ministers, with others of the people, to the churches of Pragela, to signify to them the piteous estate of the poor churches of the valleys of Piedmont, to have their counsel and advice how to prevent the great dangers at hand if it were possible. For this cause they all went to prayer. After they had long called upon God, desiring his grace, and the spirit of discretion and counsel to well consider those weighty and urgent affairs with which they were oppressed, it was concluded in the end that all the people dwelling in the valleys and mountains of Piedmont, and those of Dauphiny should join in a league together. They all promised by God's grace and assistance, to maintain the pure preaching of the gospel, and administration of the holy sacraments; the one group to aid and assist the other, and to render all obedience to their superiors, so far as they were commanded by the word of God. Moreover, that it would be lawful for none of the valleys to promise or conclude anything touching religion, without the consent of the rest of the valleys. And for confirmation of the league, certain of the ministers and elders of the churches of Dauphiny were sent to the valley of Lucerne, to ascertain if they would give their consent.

These messengers,<sup>442</sup> having arrived in the evening at the village of Bouvet, and the people having assembled, word was brought that the next day every householder should appear in the council-house, to know whether they would return to the mass or not.

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Those who would receive the mass (they were told), would quietly enjoy their houses; and those who would not, would be delivered to the justices, and condemned to be burned, or sent to the galleys. The people were brought to this extremity: either to die or flee, or else to renounce God. To flee seemed best to them, if the great snow had not prevented them. Therefore, seeing themselves in such distress, they gladly consented to the league. After this, they exhorted one another, saying, "As we shall all be called upon tomorrow to renounce and forsake our God, and revolt again to idolatry, let us now make solemn protestation, that we will utterly forsake the false religion of the pope, and that we will live and die in the maintenance and confession of God's holy word. Let us all go tomorrow to the temple, to hear the word of God, and then let us cast down to the ground all the idols and altars." To this every man agreed, saying, "Let us do so, indeed, and do it at the very same hour in which they have appointed us to be at the council-house."

The next day they assembled themselves in the church of Bouvet, and as soon as they came into the temple, without any further delay, they beat down the images and east down the altars. After the sermon they went to Villars to do the same there. Along the way they encountered a band of soldiers who were going to spoil a village named Le Valle Guichard, and to take the poor inhabitants prisoners. The soldiers, seeing them so ill appointed,

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<sup>442</sup> Presumably the ones who had been sent to the Duke, and were coerced into accepting the mass. They are now addressing this new league, trying to convince them to likewise accept the mass, or be burned.

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mocked them, and discharged their pistols at them, thinking to put them to flight. But they valiantly defended themselves, and with stones chased them to the fortress. When they came to Villars, they beat down their images and altars, and afterwards besieged the fortress, and demanded the prisoners who were detained there be released.

The same day the judge of Lucerne, named Podesta, went to the council-house to enroll the names of those who would return to the mass. But seeing what was done, he was afraid, and desired the people to allow him to return quietly, which they willingly granted. Several gentlemen also of the valley came there with the judge to make their poor tenants forsake God. But seeing the tumult, they were glad to flee to the castle where they and the garrison were besieged ten days together, not without great danger to their lives. The second day of the siege, the captain of Toure went with a company of soldiers to raise the siege; but they were either slain or discomfited. As much was done the third day. The fourth day he returned with three bands, and with the garrison of Toure, which caused a furious combat. Many of their enemies were slain, and a great number wounded, yet of those who besieged the fort, not one man was hurt.

At the time of this siege they attempted by various means to take the fortress, but without ordnance it was impossible to do so. The lord of la Trinite, returning with his army, came to the valley of Lucerne, and the next day might easily have raised the siege. Therefore when the garrison, not knowing that the lord of la Trinite was so near, desired to depart with bag and baggage; this request was granted. In this siege, half of the soldiers were slain, and many were wounded, with harquebusses as well as with stones. And the soldiers, for lack of water, were constrained to make their bread with wine. This tormented their stomachs, and caused great sickness. Here it is not to be forgotten that the soldiers who a while before so cruelly persecuted the poor ministers, seeking by all possible means to destroy them, now beseeched them to save their lives. The same night the fortress was razed.

The second day of February the lord of la Trinite encamped at Lucerne, and placed a garrison in the priory of St. John, a village of the Waldois between Lucerne and Angrogne. The next morning the lord of la Trinite sent word to those of Angrogne, that if they would not take part with the rest, they would be gently handled. The whole week before, they were solicited by him to consent to the same, but they would give no answer. The same day, those of Angrogne and the rest of the valleys, fully agreed and determined to defend their religion by force, and that the one should aid the other, and no agreement should be made by any one of them without the consent of the rest. About noon the lord of la Trinite marched with his army by St. John, to enter into the borders of Angrogne by a place called La Sonnilette, where they had fought before. The people had made certain bulwarks of earth and stone, not more than three feet high, where they defended themselves valiantly against their enemies. When the enemy were so weary that they could fight no longer, they put fresh soldiers into their places, so that the combat endured till night; all that day the army could not enter the borders of Angrogne. Many of the enemy were slain, and a great many hurt; only two men of Angrogne were slain; one of them was slain by his own folly, because he was too greedy for the spoil. The army, being beaten and tired, rested awhile.

The following Friday, the 7th of February, at the break of day, the army marched towards Angrogne by five separate ways. The people of Angrogne had not yet assembled, and there were none to resist, except a few who kept watch. Seeing their enemies coming upon them in so many places, and perceiving that they were going to enclose them, after they valiantly fought for a while, recoiled little by little to a high place where the combat was renewed with greater fierceness than before. But the lord of la Trinite seeing the loss of his men, and

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above all, that one of great credit and authority in the duke's court was wounded to death, blew a retreat, and descended to Angrogne. There he destroyed and burnt all the wines, victuals, and the rest of the goods that he could find; so that in a short time he had burnt about a thousand houses of Angrogne.

Toure is a little valley on the borders of Angrogne, environed about with mountains two miles in length, but very narrow. On both sides, and in the midst of which there are about two hundred small houses and cottages; also meadows, pastures for cattle, ground for tillage, trees, and goodly fountains. On the south side and on the north the mountains are so high, that no man can by that way approach the valley. On the other sides, a man may enter by seven or eight ways. This place is not more than two miles from Angrogne; the way is very narrow and hard to pass because of the hills on both sides. There is also a river close by, but very small, and the banks are very high in many places. The people had carried very few victuals there, partly because the way was so difficult, and also because of the sudden return of the army.

In the meantime the lord of la Trinite, after he had now twice assaulted Angrogne, sent to burn Rosa, and to discover the ways which led to the valley of Lucerne. But the soldiers were driven back for four days by those who kept the passes. Upon which he sent his whole army, whom the villagers valiantly withstood from morning till night. Then those of Lucerne sent new aid. During this combat, an ambush of soldiers descended from the top of the mountain, by a place so hard to pass by, that no man would have suspected it. The poor people, seeing themselves so environed by their enemies, saved themselves, some running through the midst of their enemies, and others among the rocks.

The enemy having entered into Rosa, consumed all with fire and sword. The rest of the people fled by the secret way leading to the valley of Lucerne, and wandered all that night upon the mountains full of snow, laden with their stuff, carrying their little infants in their arms, and leading the others by the hands. When those of the valley saw them, they ran to them, praising God for their deliverance, for they thought they had all been slain. Although these poor people were here in such great extremity, yet they were joyful, and comforted themselves, without any lamentation or mourning, except the poor little infants who cried for the cold.

A few days after, the lord of la Trinite entered into the valley of Lucerne by three ways; that is to say, by Rosa, by the plains, and by the sides of Tailleret. They who kept the passes, at first resisted their enemies valiantly, but perceiving that they were assailed on every side, they retired to Villars, and there defended themselves awhile.

[493] A.D. 1527-1560.

But because they saw that their enemies had already passed the plain, and gotten above Villars towards Bouvet, they gave up, left Villars, and fled to the mountains. The soldiers having entered, they burned the houses and slew all that they could find. The poor people who had fled into the mountains, seeing the village on fire, praised God, and gave Him thanks, that he had made them worthy to suffer for his name, and for his cause; they were also glad to see the village on fire, lest their enemies encamp there. Then the soldiers in great rage mounted the hills on every side, pursuing the poor people in great fury. But a few of them, after they had ardently called upon God, took courage, and beat back their enemies to Villars. This done, the army retired.

A few days later, the meadow of Toure was assaulted three separate ways on the east side. The combat endured a long time, many of the enemy were wounded, and many slain. But



none of this poor people were slain on that day; only two were wounded, who were soon healed again. But to declare the conflicts, assaults, skirmishes, and alarms, which were at Angrogne and other places thereabouts, would take too long; for brevity's sake it is sufficient to touch upon the most principal, and those which are most worthy of memory.

On Saturday, the 14th of February, the people who were in the uppermost part of the meadow of Toure, perceived that a company of soldiers had ascended the hill to Angrogne, and burned the rest of the houses there. They suspected that it was the policy of their enemies to draw them there, and in the meantime to set upon them from behind, and so to win the meadow of Toure from them. Therefore they sent only six harquebusses against those soldiers. Having the higher ground, and not espied by their enemies, they discharged all their guns together. Immediately the soldiers fled, although no man pursued them; whether they fled from policy, or for fear, was not known.

Every morning a sermon was made, to which the people resorted. Shortly after, those of the meadow of Toure on watch at the top of the mountain, because and they could see afar off round about them, espied a troop of soldiers marching on the side of the hill between the east and the north. Soon after that, they discovered another company who marched on the north side towards the troop. The first had ascended an hour before the other, and fought on top of the mountain called Melese; but they were soon discomfited. And because they could not run fast because of the deep snow and the difficulty of the ways, in fleeing they often fell down on the ground. While those villagers who pursued them were earnest in the chase, and had taken their drum from them, other villagers came to them crying out that the other troop had entered the meadow of Toure. So they gave up the chase, or else not one of their enemies would have escaped.

The other troop which came by the north side, took a high hill on top of the mountain, which seemed to be almost inaccessible because of the snow and ice there. When they had come to the top of the hill, they had seven soldiers go down the hill to view the way, and to see whether the troop might descend that way or not. These seven went down almost to the houses. They also sent others to occupy the rest of the high places which were near the foot of the hill and the rocks. In the meantime the ministers and the people, who were in the midst of the valley of the meadow, saw all this, and were much discouraged. So they went to prayer, and called upon God ardently, not without great sighs, lamentation, and tears even until night.

The seven spies who came down to discover the way, cried out to their captain Truchet "Come down, come down, this day Angrogne shall be taken." The other cried back to them, "Ascend, ascend, and return, or else you will be slain, every one of you." Immediately five villagers issued out against these spies; they took some and chased the rest. The first of the five who set upon them, threw two of them down on the ground. Soon after, eight men of Angrogne issued out against the whole troop, and it was wonderful to see them go with such courage and boldness to assail such a multitude; it seemed that they should all have been destroyed and hewn in pieces. The first of the eight went a good way before the others to discover the enemies, and carried a great staff somewhat bigger than a halbert (pole-ax); the other followed two by two with harquebusses (muskets). These eight went from rock to rock, from hill to hill about the mountain, and chased their enemies valiantly. Then twelve others came who, joining with the rest, fought with wonderful courage, and made great slaughter of their enemies. Soon after, a hundred harquebusses came from the valley of Lucerne, with one of their ministers. It was their habit to send out a minister with them for prayer and

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exhortation as well as to keep the people in order, so that they do not exceed in measure, as it came to pass that day.

At length they also saw those coming who had returned from the discomfiture of the former troop, making a great noise, and having a drum sounding before them (which they had taken from their enemies). They joined with those of the valley of Lucerne, and having made their earnest prayer to God, they immediately came to succor the others that were now valiantly encountering the enemy. Then the enemy seeing such a company marching against them with such courage and boldness, their hearts were so taken, that they suddenly fled. But as they could not well save themselves by running away, they turned back twice and fought, while some fled in the meantime.

The one who carried the staff, and discovered the enemy, was but a very young and simple man, and esteemed to be one who could do nothing but handle a hatchet and keep cattle. Yet with those who followed, he so discomfited the enemy that it was wonderful to behold. He broke his great staff with laying upon them; and after that he broke four of their own swords in pursuing them. There was a boy eighteen years of age, of small stature, who slew the lord of Monteil, master of the camp to the king. The enemy was astonished at this, and discouraged. Another simple man, whom one would have thought dared not once to have looked Truchet in the face (for Truchet was a very large man, strong and valiant, and one of the chief captains of the whole army), threw Truchet down with the strike of a stone. Then a young man leaped upon him and slew him with his own sword, and cleft his head in pieces.

This Truchet was one of the principal authors of the war, and one of the chief enemies of true religion and of the poor Waldois, who could then be found. It was also said that he vaunted and promised beforehand to the lord of la Trinite, that he would deliver into his hands the meadow of Toure. But God soon brought his proud boasting to nothing. And for his spoiling of the poor people, he lay spoiled and naked in the wild mountain of Angrogne. Two of the chief among them offered to pay a great sum of crowns for their ransom, but they would not be heard. They were pursued more than a mile, and were so discomfited that they fled without any resistance; if the night had not hindered them, the villagers would have pursued them further.

The minister, when he saw the great effusion of blood, and the enemy retreating, cried to the people, saying that it was enough, and exhorted them to give thanks to God. Those who heard him obeyed, and went to prayer; but those who were further off, and did not hear him, chased the enemy till dark. If the rest had done the same, very few of their enemies would have escaped. That day they had spoiled their enemies of a great part of their armor and ammunition. So God restored to the poor Waldois in this combat, and in others, the armor which the lord of la Trinite had taken from them before. Thanks were given to God in every place; and every man cried, "Who is he that does not see that God fights for us?"

This victory gave great courage to the poor Waldois, and greatly astonished their enemies.

On the 18th of February, the lord of la Trinite, not satisfied with burning and destroying most of Villars, returned to burn all the little villages round about which pertain to it, and especially to pursue the poor people who had fled to the mountains. Dividing his army into three parts, he entered by three separate ways.

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The two first companies joined together between Villars and Bouvet, and having a great company of horsemen. From there they went to seek the people who were in the mountain

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of Combe, by a way which they did not expect, and where there were no warders (guards) to defend the place. Notwithstanding, the warders who were nearby, seeing their enemies ascending that way, speedily ran before them, and calling upon God for his aid and succor, they set themselves against their enemies. Although they were but thirty in number, they valiantly beat them back twice, coming out of their bulwarks, that is to say, certain houses which at that time served for that purpose. Many of the enemies were slain in those two combats. The lord of la Trinite, seeing his men so fiercely driven back, sent out the greatest part of his army, who were estimated to be 1500 men. About 100 also came to succor the warders. The combat was very cruel and fierce. At length the poor people were assaulted so vehemently that they were glad to forsake their bulwarks, losing two of their men. The enemy thought it was all theirs, and blew their trumpets, triumphing that they had put the people to flight. But the people, who did not retire farther than a stone's cast, took courage, and crying altogether to the Lord for succor, they turned themselves to face their enemies, and with great force and power they hurled stones at them with their slings.

After this their enemies rested themselves a while. By and by they gave a furious assault, but they were again mightily resisted. Once again their enemies rested, and in the meantime the people went to prayer, calling upon God altogether, with their faces lifted up towards heaven, which terrified their enemies more than anything else. After this the enemies gave another great assault, but God by the hands of a few drove them back. Indeed, God here showed his great power, even in the little children. They fervently called upon God, and threw stones at their enemies, giving courage to the men. So also did the women, and the regular sort, that is to say, those who were not fit for any feats of war, remained upon the mountain. Beholding these furious combats, they knelt on the ground, and with their faces lifted towards heaven, they cried with tears and groanings, "Lord help us!" He heard their prayers.

After these three assaults were given, one came to them crying, "Be of good courage, God has sent those of Angrogne to succor us." He meant that those of Angrogne were fighting for them in another place, that is to say, towards Tailleret, where the third part of the army was. The people perceiving that those of Angrogne had come to that place to succor them, began to cry, "Blessed be God, who has sent us succor — those of Angrogne are to succor us." Their enemies, hearing this, were astonished, and suddenly blew a retreat. They retired into the plain.

That enemy troop which had gone towards Tailleret, was divided into three companies. The first marched by the side of the mountain, burning many houses, and joined with the main army. The second company, amounting to 140, marched higher, thinking to take the people unawares. But they were strongly resisted by seven men and driven back. The third company attained the top of the mountain, thinking to enclose the people; but as God would have it, those of Angrogne who came to succor them, encountered them, and put them to flight.

Those of Villars, mentioned before, after they had refreshed themselves with a little bread and wine (for most of them had eaten nothing all that day) chased their enemies so fiercely till it was almost night, that the master of the camp was obliged to send to the lord of la Trinite, who was at Toure, for succor, or else all would have been lost. The master did this himself. He immediately rode with all speed to Lucerne to save himself, hearing the alarm which was given at St. John by those of Angrogne, and fearing lest he be stopped on the way. The army retired with great difficulty, notwithstanding the new aid which was sent to them, and with great loss of men.

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On Monday, the 17th of March following, the lord of la Trinite, to be revenged against those of the meadow of Toure, assembled all the force that he could make with the gentlemen of the country. So that whereas before his army was usually but four thousand, it was now between six and seven thousand. Secretly in the night he encamped with part of his army in the midst of Angrogne, from where the poor inhabitants had fled. The next morning, after the sermon and prayers were ended, the villagers perceived the other part of the army encamped at the foot of the mountain of Angrogne on the east side. Soon after, they perceived how both parts of the army coasted the hill's side, one towards the other, being such a multitude, so glittering in their harness, and marching in such array, that the poor people were at first shocked. Notwithstanding, the assembly fell down upon their knees three or four times, crying, "Help us, O Lord," beseeching Him to have regard to the glory of his holy name, to stay the effusion of blood, if it were His good pleasure, and to turn the hearts of their enemies to the truth of His holy gospel. These two parts of the army joined together near the bulwarks of the meadow of Toure, and made the assault in three separate places. One of the bands mounted secretly by the rocks, thinking to enclose the people in their bulwarks. But as soon as those who kept the bulwark below espied them, they forsook the place, and marched straight towards them. As they marched, they met with the aid of those who were sent to them from the valley of Lucerne, very luckily, and coming as it were from heaven. Joining together, they soon discomfited their enemies with stones and musketry. They pursued them fiercely in the rocks, and vexed them wonderfully, because the rocks are so steep that no man can ascend or descend without great pain and difficulty.

There was also another band who kept the top of the hill, to assault the bulwarks from there. The middlemost bulwark was then assaulted, in which there were very few villagers to defend it. Seeing the number of their enemies, they retired, leaving only five to defend it. There was a huge rock not far from the bulwark; behind it a great number of the enemy were hidden. Shortly two ensigns issued out, assuring themselves to win the bulwark; but immediately one of their ensign-bearers was wounded to death. Whereupon many fell back; the other set up his ensign upon the bulwark. Those who were within had neither halbert, nor any other long weapon, but only one pike, without any iron. One of the five took it, and threw down the ensign, and manfully beat back the scalers, throwing them down to the ground. Some of the enemy had entered into the bulwark by a door below, and slew one of the five who kept the middle of the bulwark. The other four expected to be destroyed at once. Then one of the four chased away those who had entered below, with stones. The other three, leaving their pistols, likewise defended themselves with great stones. Perceiving the band who were on the rocks fleeing, they took courage, and withstood their enemies valiantly till their companions had returned from the chase.

In the meantime the bulwark which was up on the side of the mountain, was furiously assailed by half of the army. Those who were within, allowed their enemies to approach near to the bulwark, without any gunshot or other defense; the enemy much marvelled at this. But when they were at hand, the defenders fell upon them, some with throwing stones, others with rolling down mighty stones, and some with musketry. A huge stone was rolled down, which passed throughout the whole army, and slew many. The soldiers at that time had won a little cottage near the bulwark, which did much hurt to the poor men. But among them, one devised to roll down a huge stone against the cottage, which so shook it, and so shocked the soldiers, that they thought they had all been destroyed. They fled and would never enter it again.

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Then the soldiers made fences of wood, five feet long, three feet broad, and the thickness of three boards. But they were so sorely vexed with the shot of the musketry, that they were obliged to lay all those fences aside. The miners also made other defenses of earth for the soldiers. But all the skill of the enemy availed them nothing. For the slaughter was so great, that in some places you might have seen three lying dead one upon another. The shot of a musket came so near the lord of la Trinite's head, that it broke a wand which he bore in his hand, and made him retreat 120 paces. Seeing his soldiers murdered and wounded in such great numbers on every side, he wept bitterly. Then he retired. That day he thought assuredly to have entered into the meadow of Toure. Moreover, he was determined, if that day's journey had not succeeded, to encamp nearby, and very early the next morning to renew the assault. Many gentlemen and others came to see the discomfiture of the poor Waldois: and likewise those of the plain looked for nothing but to hear the piteous ruin and desolation of this poor people. But God disposed it otherwise, for the lord of Trinity did much to save himself and his. The gentlemen seeing the mischief which they intended to do to others had now fallen upon their own heads, they were wonderfully astonished. Those of the plain also, when they saw the number of dead bodies and the wounded was so great (for from noon until the evening they did not cease to carry them away) were likewise exceedingly dismayed.

Many marvelled why the people did not pursue the army, but especially the soldiers marvelled, seeing the great discomfiture which the villagers had done, and that they had gotten such advantage over the soldiers already; but this was for two reasons. The one was, because they had already determined not to follow the army once it retired, to avoid the effusion of blood, meaning only to defend themselves. The other cause was that they were weary, and had spent all their ammunition: for many of them had shot off about thirty times, and none of them under twenty.

The next day one of the principal captains of the army surrendered his charge to the lord of la Trinite, saying to him, that he would never fight against this people any more; and upon that he departed. It is a marvellous thing, and worthy of perpetual memory, that in that combat there were but two of the Waldois slain, and two wounded. Through the whole country of Piedmont, every man said, *God fights for them*. One of the captains confessed, that he had been at many fierce assaults and combats, and various well-fought battles, but he had never seen soldiers so faint-hearted and amazed. Indeed, the soldiers themselves told him that they were so astonished, that they could not strike. They said that this people never shot, without wounding or killing some of the soldiers. Others said that the ministers conjured and bewitched them by their prayers, so that they could not fight: and indeed, wonderful and marvellous are the judgments of God, that notwithstanding so many combats and conflicts, such great assaults and ventures, so much and such terrible shots continually made against this poor people, yet in a way, it all came to no effect — so mightily had God's holy power wrought for his people. Insomuch that, for all the combats, skirmishes, and many conflicts of the Angrognians, there were but nine that failed; and the whole number of those who were slain amounted only to fourteen persons.

The lord of la Trinite sent two gentlemen of the valley of Lucerne to those of Angrogne, to ask them if they would come to any agreement. The answer made to him, was that they would stand to their first answer. From that time he very often sent to negotiate an agreement: but what his meaning was might well appear. For when the poor people hoped for some agreement, they were most furiously assaulted. Upon this there was a day assigned in the valley of Lucerne, to confer regarding the agreement with certain men belonging to the lord of Raconig, and a safe conduct was promised and granted. The night before the

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ministers and rulers of Angrogne were to take their journey, they perceived a company of soldiers going up a hill, by which the people of Angrogne would pass. They hid themselves in houses on the wayside, thinking to take those of Angrogne unawares, who were sent to work out the agreement. But, having intelligence of this conspiracy, they watched and guarded. It was an easy matter, some thought, to have taken the lord of la Trinite that night, and to have spoiled his whole camp. But those of Angrogne and Lucerne would not execute this enterprise, lest they offend God by it, and pass the bounds of their vocation, taking upon themselves no more than to defend themselves.

At that time a pitiful case happened in the meadow of Toure. The lord of Raconig, seeming to be sorry for this war, sent an honest man into the meadow of Toure, Francis of Gilles, to consult what means were best to further the agreement. After conferring with the ministers and rulers, he returned homeward that day according to his master's command. Having sent back the one who conducted him, he was murdered soon after at the foot of Angrogne, by two men of Angrogne, who otherwise seemed to be honest, and of good parentage. Soon after, one of the two who had committed this act, entered into the meadow of Toure, and was immediately apprehended and bound. He confessed the deed without any further delay. Immediately the other was also taken.

The Waldois were marvellously troubled and grieved with this act, and wrote to the lord of Raconig, declaring to him the whole circumstance, that they had the offenders under guard, and that if it would please him to send someone to examine the matter, they for their part would so execute justice in the punishment of them, that their innocence would appear to all men. The lord of Raconig wrote to them that they should deliver to him the offenders, and that he would do such justice upon them as the case required. Those of Angrogne answered, that they would be delivered according to his request, on three conditions. First, that the prisoners would be compelled to do nothing against their consciences; and regarding religion, nothing would be said to them, but out of the word of God. Secondly, that speedy and sharp justice should be executed upon them; and that hereafter this would be no prejudice to the liberties and privileges of the people of Angrogne. The third, that their execution would be upon the borders of Angrogne, as an example to all others. This being accorded with one assent (indeed, without contradiction by their parents), they sent them as prisoners, accompanied with sixty gunners, to the confines of Lucerne, and there they delivered them into the hands of the lord of Raconig. This redounded to the great commendation of the people of Angrogne.

After this, the lord of la Trinite, having left garrisons about Angrogne, and the valley of Lucerne, went to Perouse, near the valley of St. Martin, to succor the garrison there, being in great danger. He remained there a month. During that time, those of Angrogne, and the valley of Lucerne, lived in more quietness than before; yet they were much afflicted by the scarcity of victuals, which sorely pressed them and those of the meadow of Toure, for they had been spoiled of their victuals. This poor people lived on milk and herbs, having very little bread. Afterwards, when they were likely to be famished, God of his goodness sent them better succor than they had before, both of corn and bread. Their enemies thought to have taken the meadow of Toure by famine; for they took away the victuals that were to be had in all the places round about. Every household was allowed to have no more than might sustain them that day, and that too was very little, so that they would not succor this poor people.

Afterwards, the lord of la Trinite, having returned from Perouse to Lucerne, sent some to discuss an agreement, and he requested to commune with some of the people. Then they

began to consult and devise by all means, how they might come to some good agreement. But on Monday, the 17th of April, by break of day, he sent certain bands of Spaniards who he had there with the garrison of Toure, to the mountain of Tailleret, by the way which leads to the meadow of Toure on the south side. They murdered the men, women, and children of Tailleret whom they found in their beds.

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Then they marched along upon the mountain, towards the meadow of Toure. Shortly after, the people perceived two other companies of soldiers, marching by Angrogne by two separate ways, to assault the meadow of Toure. In the morning as soon as they rose, they blew their horns, for they saw they had already entered. When they had offered their prayers, every man ran to meet the enemy, some on the east side, and others on the south. Those who first resisted the enemy (who were already past the bulwarks), were in the beginning but twelve gunners, and a few others whom they had go up the hill, and roll down great stones. These twelve, having found a fit place for their purpose to stay the enemy, began to shoot at them. Seeing themselves so assaulted both above and beneath, and the place so narrow and strait, the soldiers turned back, and retired as fast as they could by the same way by which they came. If they had tarried a little longer, they would have been enclosed between the two mountains, for the place was so narrow, that they could not have escaped. The people chased them to their camp, which was at Toure.

A few days later, the people of Angrogne were notified by the lord of la Trinite's letters, that he fully determined to cut down their trees and vines, and destroy their corn on the ground; and that two forts would be built at Angrogne. The day was assigned, and horsemen were appointed with all speed to execute this mischievous enterprise. The poor people thought that they should be assailed as sorely as ever, and have to fight as hard as they ever did before. But God prevented this cruel attempt. For the night before this was intended to be executed, the lord of la Trinite received letters from the duke, which stopped this enterprise. Those of the meadow of Toure being notified that the lord of la Trinite now intended to send ordnance to beat down the bulwarks which were made of stones, they made a bulwark of earth, which was about five hundred paces in compass, and which they might easily see from Lucerne. Those in the meadow of Toure told the lord la Trinite's men, that if they brought any artillery, they would not so soon carry it away again; and shortly after, the ordnance was sent back.

About this time, the chief rulers and ministers of the Waldois earnestly requested the lord of Raconig to present a supplication which they had made to the duchess of Savoy. For they had intelligence that she was displeased that her subjects were so cruelly treated. In this supplication they declared the equity of their cause, protesting all due obedience to the duke, their sovereign lord, and if it might be proved by the pure word of God that they held any error, they would with all humble submission receive correction, and be reformed, humbly beseeching her grace to appease the displeasure which the duke had conceived against them, by the untrue surmises of their adversaries; and if there was anything in which they had offended him, they most humbly craved his gracious pardon.

About the same time, the lord of la Trinite was in great danger of his life, by sickness. Soon after the supplication was delivered, the duchess sent an answer to the Waldois, by the lord of Raconig. The effect of it was that she had obtained from his grace, the duke, all that they demanded in their supplication, upon such conditions as the lord of Raconig would propose to them. But when they understood that the conditions were very rigorous, they sent

another supplication to the duchess, in which they humbly besought her grace to interpose in their behalf, that the conditions and articles might be moderated.

The articles follow here:

1. That they should banish their ministers.
2. That they should receive the mass, and other ceremonies of the Romish church.
3. That they should pay a ransom to the soldiers for some of their men whom they had taken.
4. That they should assemble and preach no more as they were used to doing.
5. That the duke would make fortresses at his pleasure in all that country, with other similar things.

The people made humble request in this, their last supplication, that it would please the duchess to give the duke, her husband, to understand how these conditions were strange and rigorous. As for their parts, although they had good trial of their ministers — that they were good men, and God-fearing, of sound doctrine, of good life, and honest conversation — nevertheless, they were content to obey, if he would give leave to some of them to remain. They requested this, that it might be permitted to them to choose some other good ministers in their places before they departed, lest their churches remain without pastors.

Concerning the mass and other ceremonies of the church of Rome, if the duke were to cause them to be ministered in their parishes, they neither would nor could withstand it, and for their part, they would do no injury or violence to those who would minister to them, or be present at them. Notwithstanding, they besought him, that they might not be constrained to be present themselves at the ministration of them, or to pay anything to maintain them, or to yield either countenance or consent to them.

As to the ransom which was demanded from them for their prisoners, considering the extreme poverty that they were in, and the great calamities and damages which they had suffered, it was an impossible thing for them. Indeed, if his highness was truly informed what losses they had sustained by the burning, spoiling, and sacking of their houses and goods, without either mercy or pity, he would not only not require any such thing from them, but as a gracious and merciful prince, he would succor and support them, that they might be able to maintain their poor families, whom they nourished (as they were bound to do) to the service of God, and of their lord and prince. And therefore they desired that it might please him, that their poor brethren remaining in captivity and prison, and those who were sent to the galleys for the profession of their religion, might be speedily delivered and set at liberty.

As for their assemblies and preachings, they were contented that they should be kept only among themselves, in their accustomed places, and in other valleys where any assembly of the faithful might take place, who were desirous to hear the preaching of the gospel.

Touching the fortresses, because they had suffered great molestation and trouble by those that were already made, as well as concerning their goods, and also their religion, they were assured that if he did build new forts, they would never be able to bear the troubles, miseries, and calamities that would follow. And therefore they most humbly desired the duchess to be so good and gracious to them, as to obtain from the duke, that he would accept their persons in the stead of forts; and that seeing those places were by nature and of themselves strong and well fortified, it might please their lord the duke to receive them into his protection and safeguard. And by the grace and assistance of God, they would serve him themselves for such walls and forts, that he not need to build any other. And because many



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of those who dwelt near them had robbed and spoiled them, not only of their household goods and such other things, but also driven away their cattle; that it might please him to give them leave to recover the goods by way of justice, and to buy back that which the soldiers had sold, and do that for the same price for which it was sold.

Briefly, they also besought their lord, that it might please him to be so gracious to them, as to grant them a confirmation of all their franchises, immunities, and privileges, general as well as particular, given to them by him as well as by his predecessors; and likewise of those which they as well as their ancestors had bought from their lords, and to receive them, as his most humble and obedient subjects, into his protection and safeguard.

And because in times past, instead of good and speedy justice, all iniquity was committed by those who had the administration of justice in their valleys, and as their purses were emptied and punished rather than the malefactors, that it might please him to give order that such justice might be done among them whereby the wicked might be punished with all severity, and the innocent defended and maintained in their rights.

[497] A.D. 1527-1560.

Finally, because diverse one of this poor people (being surprised at the coming of the army, and fearing lest they not only be spoiled of all their goods, but also that they with their wives and children would be utterly destroyed) had promised against their consciences, to live according to the traditions of the church of Rome; they were troubled and tormented in spirit, and did nothing but languish in that distress. Therefore they humbly besought the duchess to take pity upon them, and to obtain for them, that they might not be compelled to do anything against their consciences, and that it might please the duke to permit them to live in liberty and freedom of conscience. Also, that all their poor brethren banished for the cause of religion might return home to their houses; and that all confiscations and penalties made against them might be abolished. And for their part, they promised to give all due reverence and honor to God and his holy word, and to be true and faithful subjects to their lord and prince; yes, more thin any others. Underneath the supplication there was written:

“Your faithful and humble subjects, the poor afflicted of the valleys of Lucerne, Angrogne, St. Martin, and Perouse, and generally all the people of the Waldois, who inhabit the country of Piedmont.”

After this supplication was viewed and read by the duchess, she so persuaded the duke, that an answer was given with these conditions, declared in the following articles:

*Conclusions and Articles lastly agreed upon between the  
Right Honorable Lord of Raconig on the part of his Highness the Duke,  
and those of the Valleys of Piedmont, called the Waldois.*

That there shall shortly be made letters patent by his highness the duke, by which it may appear that he has forgiven and pardoned those of the valleys of Angrogne, Bouvet, Villars, Valquichard, Rora, Tailleret, La Rua de Bouvet (bordering on Tour), St. Martin, Perouse, Roccapiata, St. Bartholomew, and all those who have aided them, of all those faults which they have committed, as well as bearing arms against his highness, and against the lords and certain other gentlemen whom he retained and kept in his protection and safeguard.

That it shall be lawful for those of Angrogne, Bouvet, Villars, Valquichard, Rora (members of the valley of Lucerne), and for those of Rodoret, Marcele, Manaillon, and Salsa (members of the valley of St. Martin), to have their congregations, sermons, and other ministries of their religion in accustomed places.

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That it shall be lawful for those of Villars (members of the valley of Lucerne) to have the same, but only until the time that his highness builds a fort in the same place. But while the said fort is in building, it shall not be lawful to have their preachings and assemblies within the precinct of the place, but it shall be lawful for them to build a place for that purpose near at hand, wherever they think good, on that side towards Bouvet. Nevertheless, it shall be permitted to their ministers to come within the aforesaid precinct, to visit the sick, and exercise other things necessary to their religion, so long as they do not or have any assembly there. It shall also be permitted to those of Tailleret, La Rua de Bouvet, bordering upon Toure, to have their sermons and assemblies in the accustomed places, so that they do not enter for that purpose into the rest of the confines of Toure.

That it shall not be lawful for the said members of the valleys of Lucerne and St. Martin, to come to the rest of their borders, nor any other of his highness's dominions; nor to have their preachings, assemblies, or disputations, outside of their own borders, having liberty to have them within. And if they are examined about their faith, it shall be lawful for them to answer without danger of punishment in body or goods.

The like shall be lawful for those of the parish of Perouse, who at this present time have fled because of their religion, and usually had their assemblies, and preachings, and other ministries according to their religion, at the place called Le Puis; so that they do not come to other places and borders of the said parish.

It shall be permitted to those of the parish of Pinachia, of the valley of Perouse, who at this present time have fled because of their religion, and usually went to sermons and assemblies, and other ministries of their religion, to have the like, only at the place called Le Grandoubion.

It shall be permitted to those of the parish of St. Germain, of the valley of Perouse, and to those of Roccapiata, who at this present period have fled because of the said religion, and continue in the same, to have only one minister, who may one day preach at St. Germain, at the place called l'Adormilleux, and the other day at Roccapiata, at the place called Vandini only.

It shall be permitted to all those of the towns and villages of the valleys, who at this present time have fled, and continue in their religion, notwithstanding any promise or abjuration made before this war against the said religion, to repair and return to their houses with their households, and to live according to the same, going and coming to the sermons and assemblies which shall be made by their ministers in the places specified above, so that they obey that which is above-said.

And because many of the said towns and villages dwell outside of the precinct of preaching, having need to be visited, and of other things according to their religion, their ministers, who dwell within the precinct, shall be allowed, without prejudice, to visit and duly aid those of such ministries as shall be necessary for them, so long as they make no sermons or assemblies.

By especial grace it shall be permitted to all those of the valley of Meane, and those of St. Bartholomew, neighbors to Roccapiata, and have fled and continue in their religion, peaceably to enjoy the grace and liberties granted in the preceding article, so that they observe all that which they promised to observe before.

The goods already seized as forfeited, shall be restored to all the inhabitants of the said valleys, and to all those who have fled and continue in their religion, those of the said valleys as well as of Roccapiata, St. Bartholomew, and of Meane, so that they are not seized for any other cause than for their religion, and for the war present and recently past. It shall be lawful for those aforesaid to recover from their neighbors, by way of justice, their moveable goods and cattle, so long as it is not from soldiers. And that which has been sold, they shall also recover by way

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of justice, so that they restore the price for which it has been sold. Their neighbors shall have the like against them.

All the franchises, freedoms, and privileges, general as well as particular, granted by his highness' predecessors, as well as by himself, and obtained from other inferior lords, of which they shall make proof by public writing, shall be confirmed to them.

The said valleys shall be provided for, to have good justice ministered to them, by which they may know they are kept in safeguard by his highness, as well as all his other subjects.

The inhabitants of the said valleys shall make a roll of all the names and surnames of all those of the valleys, who have fled for religion, as well those who have abjured like others, to the end that they may be restored and maintained in their goods and households, and enjoy such grace and benefits as their prince and lord has bestowed on them. And insomuch as it is known to every man, that the prince may build fortresses in his country wherever it shall please him, without contradiction, nevertheless to take all suspicion out of the minds of the aforesaid Waldois, it is declared, if at any time hereafter his highness makes a fort at Villars, the inhabitants of the said place shall not be constrained to bear the charges, but only as they think it good to lovingly aid their prince. This fort being built (by God's aid), a governor and captain shall be appointed there, who shall attempt nothing but the service of his highness, without offense to the inhabitants, either in their goods or consciences. It shall be lawful for them, before discharging those of their ministers whom it shall please his highness to have discharged, to choose and call others in their steads; so long as they do not choose Master Martin de Pragela, nor change from one place to another of the said valleys, any of those who are discharged.

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The mass and other service following the usage of Rome, shall be kept in all the parishes of the said valleys, where the sermons, assemblies, and other ministries of their religion are made; but none shall be compelled to be present at them, nor to support, aid, or favor those who use that service.

All the expenses and charges borne by his highness in this war, shall be forgiven and released to them forever; also the 8,000 crowns for which the inhabitants of the said valleys were behind, as part of 16,000 crowns which they had promised in the war passed. And his highness will command that the writings made for that cause, shall be annulled and cancelled.

All the prisoners shall be rendered up and restored who are found to be in the hands of the soldiers, upon paying a reasonable ransom, according to the goods which they may possess; and those who are adjudged to be wrongfully taken, shall be released without ransom.

Likewise, all those of the said valleys, who for religion, and not for other causes, are detained in the galleys, shall be released without ransom.

Finally, it shall be lawful for all those of the said valleys — those of Meane, Roccapiata, and St. Bartholomew — of whatever degree, estate and condition they are (except ministers) to accompany and dwell, and to be in daily conversation with the rest of his highness's subjects, and to tarry, go, and come in all places of his highness's country, to sell and buy, and use all trades of merchandise, in all places in his highness's country, as said before, so long as they do not preach, nor make any assemblies or disputations, as we said before; and that those who are within the limits do not dwell outside of them; and those who are of the towns and villages of the said valleys do not dwell outside of them, nor outside their borders; and in so doing they shall not be molested by any means, and shall not be offended or troubled in body or goods, but shall remain under the protection and safeguard of his highness.

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Furthermore, his highness shall give orders to stay all troubles, inconveniencies, secret conspiracies of wicked persons, in such a way that they shall remain quietly in their religion. For observation of this, George Monastier, one of the elders of Angrogne; Constantion Dialestini, otherwise called Rembaldo, one of the elders of Villars; Pirrone Arduino, sent from the commonalty of Bouvet; Michael Ramondet, sent from the commonalty of Tailleret, and of La Rua de Bouvet, bordering on Toure; John Malenote, sent from certain persons of St. John; Peter Paschall, sent from the commonalty of the valley of St. Martin; Thomas Romam of St. Germaine, sent from the commonalty of the same place, and of all the valley of Perouse, promise for them and their commonalties severally, that the contents of these conclusions aforesaid shall be inviolably kept, and for breach of it will submit themselves to such punishment as shall please his highness; promising likewise to cause the chief of the families or the commonalties to allow and confirm the said promise.

The honorable lord of Raconig promises that his highness the duke shall confirm and allow the aforesaid conclusions to them, both generally and particularly, at the intercession and special favor of the noble lady the princess.

In testimony of this, the aforesaid lord of Raconig has confirmed these present conclusions with his own hand; and the ministers have likewise subscribed in the name of all the said valleys; and those who can write, in the name of all their commonalties.

At Cavor, the 5th of June 1561.

*Philip of Savoy, Francis Valla, Minister of Villars,  
Claudius Bergius, Minister of Tailleret,  
Georgius Monasterius, Michael Raymundet.*

This accord being thus made and passed by means of the duchess of Savoy, the poor Waldois have been in quiet to this present time; and God of his infinite goodness, having delivered them out of so many troubles and conflicts, has set them at liberty to serve Him purely and with quietness of conscience.

Therefore there is not one at this present time who does not see and well perceive that God would make it known by experience to these poor Waldois, and all other faithful people, that all things turn to the best for those who love and fear Him. <sup>Rom 8.28</sup> For by all these afflictions which they suffered, their heavenly Father has brought them to repentance and amendment of life; he has effectually taught them to have recourse to his fatherly mercy, and to embrace Jesus Christ as their only Savior and Redeemer. He has taught them to tame the desires and lusts of the flesh, to withdraw their hearts from the world, and lift them to heaven; and to always be in readiness to come to Him, as to their most loving and gracious Father. To be short, he has sent them to the school of his children, to the end that they should profit in patience and hope; to make them mourn, weep, and cry unto Him. And above all, He has so often made them prove His succors in time of need, to see them before their eyes, to know and touch them with their hands (as a man would say) in such a way that they have had good occasion, and all the faithful with them, never to distrust so good a Father, who is so careful for the health of His children, but to assure themselves that they shall never be confounded, whatever happens.

And yet, to see this more manifestly, so that every man may take profit in this, it will be good to understand what this poor people did while they were in these combats and conflicts. As soon as they saw the army of their enemies approach, they cried all together to the Lord for aid and succor; and before they came to defend themselves, they went to prayer; and in fighting, they lifted up their hearts and sighed to the Lord. As long as the enemy were at rest, every one of these poor people on their knees called upon God. When

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the combat was ended, they gave Him thanks for the comfort and succor which they had felt. In the meantime, the rest of the people with their ministers made their hearty prayer to God, with sighs and tears, and they did that from morning until evening. When night had come, they assembled together again. Those who had fought, recounted the wonderful aid and succor which God had sent them; and so altogether they rendered thanks to Him for his fatherly goodness. Always He changed their sorrow into joy. In the morning trouble and affliction appeared before them, with great terror on all sides; but by the evening they were delivered, and had great cause for rejoicing and comfort.

As for the monks and priests who thought to advance themselves by such means, and to bring their trumpery (nonsense) higher in estimation, they have lost the little rule which they had over that people, and are confounded, and their religion brought to disdain. Thus God beats down those who exalt themselves above measure, and He makes his adversaries fall into the pits which they themselves have made. Let us pray to Him therefore, that it would please Him likewise to stretch out his mighty arm at *this* our day, to maintain His poor afflicted church, and to confound all the devices of Satan and his members, to the advancement of His glory and kingdom.

### **CONCLUSION.**

Thus we have comprehended the troubles and persecutions of such godly saints and blessed martyrs who suffered in the other foreign nations mentioned above. Here now we end with them, and begin the eighth book. We are, God willing, returning to our own matters, to prosecute such acts and records as pertain to our own country of England. In the process of this, among many other things, the marvellous work of God's power and mercy may appear in suppressing and banishing from this realm, the long usurped supremacy of the pope. Also in subverting and overthrowing the houses of monks and friars, with diverse other matters pertaining to the reformation of Christ's true church and religion. All of these things have long been wished for, and greatly prayed for in times past, by many godly and learned men.

[499] A.D. 1527-1560.

Because of that, we should so much more rejoice and give God thanks now, seeing these days of reformation which God has given us. If John Huss, or good Jerome of Prague, or John Wycliffe before them both, or William Brute, Thorpe, Swinderby, or the Lord Cobham; if Ziska with all the company of the Bohemians; if the Earl Raymund, with all the Toulousians; if the Waldois, or the Albigenses, with infinite others, had either been in these present times, or else had then seen this ruin of the pope, and the revealing of antichrist which the Lord now has given to us, what joy and triumph would they not have made! Therefore, now beholding what they had so long wished for, let us not think the benefit to be small, but let us render most humble thanks to the Lord our God. By his mighty power, and the brightness of his word, He has revealed this great enemy of His so manifestly to the eyes of all men, who before was so hidden in the church, that few Christians could discover him. For who would ever have judged or suspected in his mind, the bishop of Rome (commonly received and believed by almost all men, to be the vicar and vicegerent of Christ here on earth) to be antichrist, and the great adversary of God — the one whom St. Paul so expressly prophesies about, who was to be revealed in these latter days by the brightness of the Lord's coming — as most men may now see it has come to pass?

Therefore, to the Lord, and Father of lights, who reveals all things in His due time, be praise and glory forever. Amen.

THE END OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.

## ACTS AND MONUMENTS

### BOOK VIII.

CONTINUING

#### *The history of English affairs pertaining both to the Ecclesiastical and Civil states.*

*Mistress Smith, widow; Robert Hatches, a shoemaker; Aacher, a shoemaker;  
Hawkins, a shoemaker: Thomas Bund, a shoemaker; Wrigsham, a glover;  
Landsdale, a hosier, martyred at Coventry, A.D. 1519.*

The principal cause of the apprehension of these persons was their teaching their children and family the Lord's Prayer and ten commandments in English, for which they were put in prison on Ash-Wednesday, till the following Friday.

Then they were sent to a monastery called Mackstock Abbey, six miles from Coventry. During this time their children were sent to the Grey Friars in Coventry, before the warden, called Friar Stafford. Examining them about their belief, and what heresies their fathers had taught them, he charged them upon pain of suffering death, to meddle no more with the Lord's Prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments in English.

On Palm Sunday the fathers of these children were brought again to Coventry, and there the week before Easter they were condemned to be burned. Mistress Smith alone was dismissed for the present. And because it was in the evening, being somewhat dark, Simon Mourton offered to go home with her. Now as he was leading her by the arm, and heard the rattling of a scroll within her sleeve, he asked, "What have you here?" And so he took it from her, and saw that it was the Lord's Prayer, the articles of the creed, and the ten commandments in English; which when the wretched somner understood this, he brought her back to the bishop, where she was immediately condemned, and burned with the six men named before, on the 4th of April, A.D. 1519.

When these were dispatched, the sheriffs went to their houses, and took all their goods and cattle for their own use, not leaving their wives and children anything. And as the people began to complain of the cruelty, and the unjust death of these innocent martyrs, the bishop, with his officers and priests, had it rumored abroad by their tenants, servants, and farmers, that they were not burned for having the Lord's Prayer and the commandments in English, but because they ate flesh on Fridays and other fast days!

*Robert Silkeb, 1521.* — Among the number of these men was Robert Silkeb, who fled, and escaped for a time. But about two years later he was taken again, and brought to Coventry, where he was burned about the 13th of January 1521.

*Patrick Hamilton, A.D. 1527.*

Patrick Hamilton, a Scotsman of high and noble stock, and of the king's blood. He was young, and of flourishing age, called *the abbot of Fern*. Coming out of his country with three companions to seek godly learning, he went to the university of Marpurg in Germany. There, in conference and familiarity with learned men like Francis Lambert, he so profited in knowledge, and mature judgment in matters of religion, that he was the first at the university of Marpurg to publicly set up conclusions to be disputed there, concerning faith and works. He also argued no less learnedly than fervently upon the subject.

This learned Patrick, daily increasing more and more in knowledge, and inflamed with godliness, at length began to consider his return to his country, being desirous to impart to

his countrymen some of the knowledge which he had received abroad. There, not bearing with the ignorance and blindness of that people, after he had valiantly taught and preached the truth, he was accused of heresy. Afterwards he constantly and stoutly sustained the cause of God's gospel against the high priest and archbishop of Saint Andrews, named James Beaton. He was cited to appear before him and his college of priests, the first day of March 1527. Not only being forward in knowledge, but also ardent in spirit, he did not wait for the appointed hour but came very early, before he was looked for. There, mightily disputing against them, when he could not be convinced by the Scriptures, he was oppressed by force. The sentence of condemnation was given against him. The same day after dinner, he was led away to the fire and there burned.

[501] A.D. 1527-1560

We think it good to express here his articles, as we received them from Scotland, out of the registers.

*The Articles and Opinions objected against Master Patrick Hamilton,  
by James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrew.*

- That man has no free-will.
- That there is no purgatory.
- That the holy patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's passion.
- That the pope has no power to loose and bind, nor any pope after St. Peter.
- That the pope is Antichrist, and that every priest has the power that the pope has.
- That Master Patrick Hamilton was a bishop.
- That it is not necessary to obtain any bulls from any bishop.
- That the vow of the pope's religion is a vow of wickedness.
- That the popes' laws have no strength.
- That all Christians, worthy to be called Christians, know that they are in the state of grace.
- That none are saved but those who are previously predestinate.
- Whoever is in deadly sin, is unfaithful.
- That God is the cause of sin only in the sense that he withdraws his grace from men, whereby they sin.
- That it is devilish doctrine to enjoin any sinner to actual penance for sin.
- That Master Patrick himself doubts whether all children, departing immediately after their baptism, are saved or condemned.
- That auricular confession is not necessary to salvation.

These articles above written, were given in and laid against Master Hamilton, and inserted in their registers, for which also he was condemned. But other learned men, who communed and reasoned with him, testify that the following articles were the very articles for which he suffered:

1. Man has no free-will.
2. A man is only justified by faith in Christ.
3. A man, so long as he lives, is not without sin.
4. He is not worthy to be called a Christian, who does not believe that he is in grace.
5. A good man does good works; good works do not make a good man.
6. An evil man brings forth evil works; evil works being faithfully repented of, do not make an evil man.
7. Faith, hope, and charity are so linked together, that one of them cannot be found without another in any one man in this life.

*Henry Forrest.* — Within a few years after the martyrdom of Master Patrick Hamilton, one Henry Forrest, a young man, affirmed that Master Patrick Hamilton died a martyr, and that his articles were true. For this he was apprehended and put in prison by James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, who shortly after, had a friar named Walter Lang, hear his confession. When Henry Forrest, in secret confession, had declared his conscience to him, how he thought Master Patrick to be a good man, and wrongfully put to death, and that his articles were true and not heretical, the friar came and uttered to the bishop the confession that he had heard. It followed, that his confession being brought as sufficient proof against him, he was summoned before the council of the clergy and doctors. There he was concluded to be a heretic, equally with Master Patrick Hamilton, and there decreed to be given to the secular judges to suffer death.

When the day of his death came, and he would first be degraded, he was brought before the clergy. As soon as he entered at the door, and saw the face of the clergy, he cried with a loud voice saying, "Fie on falsehood! Fie on false friars! Revealers of confession! After this day, let no man ever trust any friars, despisers of God's word, and deceivers of men!" When they proceeded to degrade him, he said, with a loud voice, "Do not take from me only your own orders, but also your own baptism," meaning there are great additions in baptism, besides that which Christ himself instituted. Then, after his degradation, they condemned him as a heretic. And so he suffered death for his faithful testimony of the truth of Christ and of his Gospel, at the north-church stile (gate) of the Abbey Church of St. Andrew.

*James Hamilton, brother to Patrick; Catharine Hamilton;  
a wife of Leith; David Stratton; Master Norman Gurley.*

Within a year after the martyrdom of Henry Forrest, all these five were called to the Abbey church of Holyroodhouse, in Edinburgh, in presence of King James V. On the day of their accusation, he was clad in red apparel. *James Hamilton* was accused as one who maintained the opinions of Master Patrick Hamilton, his brother. The king counselled him to depart and not to appear; for if he appeared he could not help him, because the bishops had persuaded the king, that the cause of heresy in no way pertained to James. And so he fled, and was condemned as a heretic, and all his goods and lands were confiscated, and given to others.

*Catharine Hamilton*, his sister, appeared upon the scaffold. Being accused of a horrible heresy, to wit, that her own works could not save her, she granted the same. After long reasoning between her and Master John Spens, the lawyer, she concluded in this manner, "Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly, that no kind of work can save me, but only the works of Christ my Lord and Savior." The king hearing these words, turned himself about and laughed, and called her to him, and caused her to recant, because she was his aunt, and she escaped.

The woman of Leith was accused, that when the midwife during her labor, and bid her to say, "Our Lady help me," she cried, "Christ help me! Christ help me! in whose help I trust!" She too was caused to recant, and so she escaped without confiscation of her goods, because she was married.

*Master Norman Gurley* was accused for saying there was no such thing as purgatory, and that the pope was not a bishop, but Antichrist, and had no jurisdiction in Scotland. *David Stratton* said, "There is no purgatory except the passion of Christ, and the tribulations of this world;" and when Master Robert Lawson, vicar of Eglesrig, asked his tithe-fish from him, he cast them to him outside of the boat, so that some of them fell into the sea.



Therefore the vicar accused him of saying that no tithes should be paid. These two, because they refused to abjure and recant after great solicitation was made by the king, were therefore condemned as heretics, and were burned between Leith and Edinburgh, so the inhabitants of Fife seeing the fire, might be struck with terror, and not fall into the like.

*Thomas Harding*, an aged father dwelling at Chesham in the county of Buckingham, with Alice, his wife, was first abjured (A.D. 1506) by William Smith, bishop of Lincoln. Thomas was taken with others, for speaking against idolatry and superstition. Some were compelled to bear faggots, some were burned on the cheeks with hot irons, some condemned to perpetual prison, some thrust into monasteries and robbed of all their goods; some compelled to make pilgrimage to the great block, otherwise called *our Lady of Lincoln*, some to Walsingham, some to St. Romuld of Buckingham, some to the Rood of Wendover, some to St. John Shorne, etc. Some of these we mentioned before.

At last Harding (A.D. 1532), about the Easter holidays, when the other people went to the church to engage in their usual idolatry, made his way into the woods, to solitarily worship the true living God there, in spirit and truth. As he was occupied with a book of English prayers, leaning or sitting upon a stile by the wood side, it chanced that someone saw him, and came in great haste to the officers of the town, declaring that he had seen Harding in the woods looking at a book. Upon this, a rude rabble immediately ran to his house to desperately search for books; and in searching under the boards of his floor, they found English books of the holy Scripture. Whereupon this godly father, with his books, was brought before John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, who was then lying at Woburn. With his chaplains, he put father Harding to examination, and began to reason with him, proceeding with checks and rebukes rather than with any sound arguments.

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Thomas Harding seeing their folly and rude behavior, gave them but few words, but fixing his trust and care in the Lord, he let them say what they would. Thus at last they sent him to the bishop's prison where he lay with hunger and pain enough for a certain space. At length the bishop, sitting in his tribunal, condemned Harding for relapsing, to be burned to ashes, committing his martyrdom to Roland Messenger, vicar of Great Wickham. This Roland, at the appointed day, with a rabble of others like himself, brought father Harding back to Chesham. The next day after his return, Roland gave a sermon in Chesham church, causing Thomas Harding to stand before him all the time he was preaching. This sermon was nothing but maintaining the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, and the state of the Apostolical See, with the idolatry, fancies, and traditions belonging to it. When the sermon ended, Roland took him up to the high altar and asked whether he believed that in the bread, after the consecration, there remained any substance other than the substance of Christ's natural body born of the Virgin Mary. To this Thomas Harding answered, "The articles of our belief teach us, that our Savior Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, and that he suffered death under Pilate, and rose from death the third day; that he then ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of God, in the glory of his Father."

Then he was brought into a house in the town, where he remained all night in prayer and godly meditations. So, the next morning, Roland came back with a company armed with bills and staves, to lead this godly father to his burning. A great number both of men and women followed him, many of whom bewailed his death; the wicked rejoiced at it. He was brought forth, having thrust into his hands a little cross of wood, but no idol upon it. Then he was chained to the stake. Desiring the people to pray for him, and forgiving all his

enemies and persecutors, he commended his spirit to God, and took his death most patiently and quietly, lifting up his hands to heaven, saying, "Jesus, receive my spirit!"

When they had set fire on him, someone threw a billet (crate) at him, and dashed out his brains. For what purpose he did so is not known, but it was supposed it was to have forty days of pardon. For a proclamation was made, as at the burning of William Tylsworth, that "whoever brought a faggot or a stake to the burning of a heretic, would have forty days of pardon." Many ignorant people had their children bear billets and faggots to these burnings.

*Mistress Alice Doly.* — Elizabeth Wighthill being brought before Dr. London, in the parsonage at Stanton Harcourt, and there put to her oath, deposed against Mistress Alice Doly, her mistress. Mistress Doly, speaking of John Hacker, water-bearer, said that, "he was very expert in the gospels and all other things belonging to divine service. He could express and declare it, and the Pater Noster, *i.e.*, the Lord's prayer, in English, as well as any priest, and it would do one good to hear him." She said moreover that, "she wished in no case that this were known, lest it hurt the poor man."

Over and besides this, Elizabeth deposed that, "her mistress, showed her that she had a book which spoke against pilgrimages; and after, that she had Sir John Booth, parson of Brittwell, read a book which he called the Golden Legend. <sup>443</sup> One saint's life that he read, spoke against pilgrimages. After that was read, her mistress said to her, 'Look, daughter, now you may hear as I told you, that this book speaks against pilgrimages.'"

It was also deposed by Elizabeth against Mistress Doly, that being at Sir William Barenten's place, and seeing newly gilded images there in the closet, she said to Elizabeth, "Look, here are my lady Barenten's gods." Elizabeth replied that, "they were set for remembrance of good saints." Then Mistress Doly said, "If I was in a house where there were no images, I could remember to pray to saints as well as if I saw the images." "No," said Elizabeth, "images provoke devotion." Then her mistress said, "You should not worship that thing which has ears and cannot hear, and has eyes and cannot see, and has a mouth and cannot speak, and has hands and cannot feel."

(Note here, good reader, during this time — which was over forty-six years ago — what good matter there was here to accuse and molest good women for!)

*Roger Hachman, A.D. 1525.* — It was laid against this Roger Hachman by deposition, that sitting at the Church-aisle at Norfolk, he said these words, "I will never look to be saved for any good deed that I ever did, nor for any that I will ever do, unless I may have my salvation by petition, as an outlaw has his pardon by the king;" and he said that if he might not have his salvation in this way, he thought he would be lost.

*Robert West, A.D. 1529.* — It was objected against this Robert West, priest, that he had commended Martin Luther, and thought he had done well in many things, such as in having a wife and children, etc. Also for saying that, "whereas the doctors of the church have commanded priests to say matins and evensong, they had no authority to do so." He was abjured for this (forced to recant), and was enjoined penance.

*John Ryburn, A.D. 1530.* — It was testified against John Ryburn, by his sister Elizabeth Ryburn, being put to her oath, that coming to him on the Assumption eve, she found him at supper with butter and eggs. And being bid to sit down and eat with him, she answered that it was not then a convenient time to eat. He replied to her that, "God never made such

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<sup>443</sup> Probably referring to *Legenda Aurea*, a collection of hagiographies by Jacobus de Voragine, compiled around 1259 to 1266. Curdiously, it was one of the most influential books among medieval and Renaissance Catholics.

fasting days; but you are so far in *Limbo Patrum* (limbo of the fathers), that you can never turn back.” In further communication, when she said that she would go on pilgrimage to the holy cross at Wendover, he replied that she did wrong. “For there is never a step,” he said, “that you take in going on pilgrimage, that you do not go to the devil; and you go to church to worship what the priest holds above his head, which is but bread; and if you throw it to the mouse he will eat it.” And he said that he would never believe that the priest has power to make his Lord.

Also, it was testified by another sister named Alice Ryburn, that being with her brother in a close called Brimer’s-close, she heard him say these words: “A time shall come when no elevation [of bread] shall be made.” To which she asked in reply, “And what service shall we have then?” He said, “That service which we have now.”

*John Simonds.* — It was laid against John Simonds, for saying that men walk all day in purgatory in this world, and when they depart out of this world, there are but two ways, either to hell or heaven. He said, too, that priests should have wives. It was reported by the confession of John Simonds, that he converted to his doctrine eight priests, and had helped two or three friars out of their orders.

*William Wingrave, Thomas Hawks of Hichenden, Robert Hawks of Westwycomb, John Taylor, John Hawks, Thomas Hern of Cobshill, Nicholas Field, Richard Dean, Thomas Clerk the younger, William Hawks of Chesham, A.D. 1530.*

These persons, with others, were examined, excommunicated and abjured, for being together in John Taylor’s house at Hichenden, and there hearing Nicholas Field of London read a portion of Scripture in English, and expounding many things to them; for saying that those who went on pilgrimage were accursed; that it did not benefit to pray to images, for they were but stocks made of wood, and could not help a man; that God Almighty bids us work on one day as well as another, saving the Sunday, for six days He worked, and the seventh day He rested; that they did not need to fast so many fasting days, except for the embering days.<sup>444</sup> For he had been beyond the seas in Germany, and there they did not usually fast, nor to make such holidays.

[503] A.D. 1527-1560.

That offerings do no good, for they have those who have no need of them. And when it was replied by one, that they maintained God’s service, “No,” said Nicholas, “it maintained great houses, such as abbeys and others.” That men should say their Paternoster and Ave Maria in English, with the creed, and declare them in English. That the sacrament of the altar was not, as it was pretended, the flesh, blood, and bone of Christ, but a sacrament — that is, a typical signification of his holy body.

To *William Wingrave* it was objected moreover, that he would say there was no purgatory; and if there was any purgatory, and every mass that is said would deliver a soul out of purgatory, there would never be a soul there; for there were more masses said in a day than bodies buried in a month.

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<sup>444</sup> Ember Days (Roman Catholicism) are days of fasting and abstinence observed four times a year—on a Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday in each of the four seasons.

*Simon Wisdom*, of Burford was charged in judgment for having three books in English; one was the gospels in English, another was the psalter, the third was the sum of the holy Scripture in English.

*James Alyar of Aiger, A.D.1530.* — It was stated and objected against James Algar, first, that in speaking to a certain doctor of divinity named Aglionby, he said that every true Christian man living according to the laws of God, and observing His commandments, is a priest as well as he, etc.

That he would not have his executors pay a penny for his soul after his death; for he would do it with his own hands while he was alive; and that his conscience told him that the soul, as soon as it departs the body, goes straight either to heaven or hell.

When Dr. Aglionby alleged to him the place in Matthew, chap. 16.18, “You are Peter,” etc., James replied with what follows in the gospel: “Get behind me, Satan,” etc. <sup>Mat 16.23</sup>

This James, hearing of a certain church to be robbed, openly said that it made no great difference, for the church has enough already.

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Now, passing from the abjurations of those poor men, we will speak something of the life and doings of the other party who were their persecutors, and chief rulers then of the church, that it may be better discerned and judged what manner of church that was which then so persecuted the true doctrine of Christ, and the members of his church.

### ***The History of Cardinal Wolsey.***

*A brief Discourse concerning the history of Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York; in which is to be seen the express image of the proud, vain-glorious church of Rome, how far it differs from the true church of Christ Jesus.*

Although it is not very pertinent to our history, nor very requisite in these weighty matters of Christ’s holy martyrs, to discourse much about Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York. Yet there are many who are carried away with a wrong opinion and estimation of that false glittering church of Rome. Therefore, so that the vain pomp and pride of that ambitious church, so far differing from all pure Christianity and godliness, may appear to all men, I will describe the ridiculous and pompous qualities and demeanor of this Thomas Wolsey. The Lacedemonians <sup>445</sup> in times past customarily showed drunken men to their children, to behold and look upon them, so that through the foulness of that vice, they might inflame them more to the study and desire for sobriety. Even so, it is not hurtful sometimes to set forth examples which are not honest, so that others might gather the instructions of better and more upright dealing.

We begin first with the arrival of this cardinal Wolsey and his fellow-cardinal Campeggio into England. It was about the time that Pope Leo X, intending to make war against the Turks, sent three legates from Rome. One went into Germany, another into France, and Campeggio into England.<sup>446</sup> When he came to Calais, Wolsey, the cardinal of York, learned

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<sup>445</sup> Members of an ancient Greek people from the region of Laconia, known for their military discipline.

<sup>446</sup> In 1518, Campeggio had been tasked with convincing Henry VIII to pledge his support to pope Leo’s planned crusade against Selim I. He failed. In 1528 he again went to England to inquire into the King’s marriage with Catherine of Aragon (*re* divorce), as co-legate with Cardinal Wolsey, this time under pope Clement VII. Henry had become king in 1509, at age 17. He married Catherine 7 weeks later, the widow of his elder brother Arthur; she was 23. During 24 years of marriage, she bore Henry six children, but only Mary survived (later queen Mary I).

of it. He sent certain bishops and doctors, with as much speed as he could, to meet the Roman legate, and to show him that if he would have his embassy be effectual, he should send to Rome to have the cardinal of York made legate, and join with him in the commission. He much affected this, worried that his own authority might perhaps be diminished through the coming of the legate. And therefore he requested to be joined with him in the embassy. Campeggio being a man of easy belief and suspecting nothing, sent to Rome with such speed, that within thirty days, the bull was brought to Calais, in which they were both equally joined in commission.

When all things were ready, Campeggio crossed the seas and landed at Dover; he proceeded towards London. At every town he was received with procession, accompanied with all the lords and gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to Blackheath, the duke of Norfolk met him with a great number of prelates, knights, and gentlemen, all richly apparelled. He brought him into a rich tent of gold cloth, where Campeggio put on a cardinal's robe furred with ermines; and so he took his mule, and rode towards London. Now, mark the great humility in this church of the pope, and compare it with the other church of the martyrs, and see which of them is most gospel-like.

This Campeggio had eight mules of his own, laden with goods and treasures. But the cardinal of York, not thinking them sufficient for his state, sent him twelve mules more, the night before he came to London, with empty coffers covered with red. The next day these twenty mules were led through the city, as though they had been laden with treasures, apparel, and other necessaries, to the great admiration of all men, so that they would receive a legate with so great a treasure and riches. For so the common people always judged and esteemed the majesty of the clergy — by nothing but by their outward show and pomp. But in the midst of this great admiration, a ridiculous spectacle happened, to the great derision of their pride and ambition. For as the mules passed through Cheapside, and the people were pressing about them to behold and gaze, one of the mules happened to break his collar. It ran upon the other mules, by which it happened that, running together, and their girths being loosed, they overthrew their burdens, spilling the cardinal's considerable treasure. It was not without great laughter and scorn by many, especially by boys and girls. Some of them gathered up pieces of meat, others some pieces of bread and roasted eggs. Some found horse-shoes and old boots, with such other baggage, crying out, "Behold here is my lord Cardinal's treasure!" The muleteers being greatly ashamed, gathered together their treasure again, as well as they could, and went forward.

About three o'clock, the 29th of July, the cardinal himself was brought through the city to St. Paul's church, with great pomp and solemnity. There, when he had blessed all men with the bishop's blessing, as the custom is, he was guided to the cardinal of York's house, where he was received by the cardinal. The next day, being Sunday, he was conducted by him to the king, to fulfill his embassy <sup>447</sup> against the Turk, who might have destroyed all Hungary while they were studying with what solemnity to furnish their embassy.

"The cardinal of York thus being a legate, set up a court, and called it the court of the legate, and proved testaments, and heard causes, to the great hindrance of all the bishops of the realm. He visited bishops, and all the clergy, both exempt and not exempt. Under the color of reformation, he gained much treasure. Nothing was reformed, but only came to more mischief. For by Wolsey's example of pride, priests and all spiritual persons grew so proud, that they wore velvet and silk in both gowns, jackets, doublets, and shoes, and bore

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<sup>447</sup> *Embassy*: here it means his diplomatic venture; next it refers to the elaborate ceremonies (a pun).

themselves so highly that no man dared reprove anything in them, for fear of being called a heretic; and then they would make him smoke or bear a faggot. The cardinal himself was so elated, that he thought himself equal to the king. When he had said mass, he made dukes and earls serve him with wine, and hold the basin while he washed.

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This glorious cardinal in his tragic doings exceeded all measure of a good subject, and became more like a prince than a priest. When he had well-stored his own coffers, he fetched most of the king's treasure out of the realm, in twelve great barrels full of gold and silver, to serve the pope's wars. And as his avaricious mind was never satisfied with getting, so his restless head was so busy meddling in public matters, that he never ceased before he had grabbed England, France, Flanders, Spain, and Italy together by the ears.

Thus the legate, following the steps of his master the pope, and both of them well displaying the nature of their religion under the pretense of the church, practiced great hypocrisy. And under the authority of the king, he used great extortion, with excessive taxes and loans, and the valuation of every man's substance, so plundering the commons and merchants, that every man complained; but no redress was had. Nor were the churchmen altogether free from this cardinal. Under his legatine power, he gave by anticipation all benefices belonging to spiritual persons. By this it is hard to say whether he purchased for himself more riches, or hatred from the clergy. His license stretched so far, that he had power to suppress diverse abbeys, priories, and monasteries. And he did so, taking from them all their goods, both movables and immovables, unless it was a little pension left to the heads of certain houses. By the legatine power, he held general visitations throughout the realm, sending Doctor John Alein, his chaplain, riding in his gown of velvet, and with a great train, to visit all religious houses. The friars observant complained much about this, and would not submit to it; so that they were publicly cursed at St. Paul's cross by friar Forrest, one of their same order; so that the cardinal at length prevailed against both them and all others. Great hatred arose against him among the people, perceiving how, by visitations, the making of abbots, probates of testaments, granting of faculties, licenses, and other means, he had made his treasure equal with the king's; and every year he sent great sums to Rome. And this was their daily talk against the cardinal.

Besides many other matters and grievances which stirred the hearts of the commons against the cardinal, there was this one which much incensed them: the cardinal had sent out commissions in the king's name, that every man should pay a sixth of his goods to the church. Whereupon there followed great muttering among the commons; it had almost grown to a riotous commotion or tumult, especially in parts of Suffolk, if the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk had not stepped in and appeased them with wisdom and gentleness.

Another thing that caused the anger of many, or rather which moved them to laugh at the cardinal, was his insolent presumption to take it upon himself, as the king's chief counsellor, to set a reformation in the king's household, making and establishing new ordinances in it. He likewise made new officers in the house of the duke of Richmond. In like manner he ordained a council, and established another household for the Lady Mary, who was then princess. All this, with much more, he took upon himself, making the king believe that all things should be to the cardinal's honor, and that he need not take any pains, so long as the charge of all things was committed to the cardinal.

And now in express terms, some part of the practices and busy intermeddlings of this cardinal in the princes' wars, are first to be noted here. After long wars between England



and France, in 1525 it happened that the French king, coming with his army towards Milan, at the siege of Pavia, was there taken by the duke of Bourbon, and viceroy of Naples, and led prisoner into Spain. All this while the cardinal sided with the emperor, Charles V, hoping to be made pope by him. But when that could not be obtained, he went clean away from the emperor to the French king.

After this victory, and the French king being taken prisoner, through great labor and solicitation by others, as well as by the cardinal and king Henry, conditions were proposed between the French king and the emperor. Among these conditions it was agreed that they should resist the Turks and oppress the Lutherans. And so the king was set at liberty, leaving behind him his two eldest sons for pledges. But shortly after he revoked his oath, being absolved by the bishop of Rome. He claimed that he was forced to swear, or else he would never have been delivered (A.D. 1526). Pope Clement VII, seeing the French king restored to liberty, and doubting the power of the emperor in Italy, absolved the French king from his oath, and joined together a confederacy of Venetians and other princes against the emperor, bearing great hatred against all those who favored the emperor's part, especially the family of Colonna in Rome. Therefore to show his hatred against them, Clement said to Pompey, cardinal of that family, in threatening words, "That he would take away his cardinal's hat." The cardinal replied, "That if he did, he would put on a helmet to overthrow the pope's triple crown." By this it may appear what holiness and virtue lies in the pope and cardinals of that catholic See of Rome.

Thus the pope, under the lying title of "holiness," was the father of much mischief and great wars. For the duke of Bourbon and others of the emperor's captains, having intelligence of the pope's purpose and confederacy, gathered their army together. After much bloodshed and fighting around Milan and Cremona, the duke and his captains at length approached and laid siege to Rome. After three sharp assaults they obtained the city, with the whole spoil. They besieged the pope with his cardinals, in the castle of St. Angelo, and took him prisoner, A.D. 1527. You have heard the *cause* of the besieging of Rome; the *manner* of the taking of Rome and of the pope is thus described:

*The sacking of Rome and the taking of Pope Clement VII.*

The emperor's army departing from Florence, took counsel to go to Rome, They travelled night and day, commonly travelling forty miles in a day and night. So that on the sixth of May, with banners displayed, they came before the city of Rome. The Romans made bulwarks, ramparts, and other defenses, and placed ordnance on the walls, and shot at them fiercely.

The duke of Bourbon determined that it was best not to lie still and be slain with ordnance, considering that they were all simple people, and without great ordnance. Therefore he determined to make an assault, and they manfully approached the walls. But the Romans valiantly defended them with guns, pikes, stones, and other weapons, so that their enemies were compelled to retreat. The Romans were glad to see this. They set many fair banners on their towers and bulwarks, and made great shouts. When the duke of Bourbon saw them, he cried for a new assault. Then every man with a ladder mounted the walls; and at the first encounter, again the Romans drove them back, which the duke of Bourbon perceiving it, cried, 'God and the emperor!' Then every man manfully set on. There was a sore fight; many an arrow was shot, and many a man slain. But at last the emperor's men got upon the wall. At the three assaults, three hundred Switzers of the pope's guard were slain. In this last assault, the duke of Bourbon was wounded in the thigh with a gunshot, from which he died

shortly later. Notwithstanding this, the army entered into Rome, took the pope's palace, and set up the emperor's coat of arms.

The same day that these three assaults were made, Pope Clement thought little of the emperor's army, for he had cursed them on the Saturday before. When he was hearing mass, suddenly the Germans entered the church, and slew his guard and others. He fled in all haste by a secret way, to the castle of St. Angelo. All who followed him and could not enter, were slain. And if he had been taken, he too would have been slain. The cardinals and other prelates fled to the castle of St. Angelo, over the bridge, where many of the common people were trodden over as they gave way to the cardinals and other estates that passed toward the castle for succor.

The pope was in the castle of St. Angelo, and with him were 24 cardinals, 1000 prelates and priests, 500 gentlemen, and 500 soldiers. Immediately the duke's captains determined to lay siege to the castle of St. Angelo. In the meantime, the soldiers fell to spoil.

[505] A.D. 1527-1560.

Never was Rome so plundered either by the Goths or Vandals. For the soldiers were not content with the spoil of the citizens, but they robbed the churches, broke up the houses of close religious persons, and overthrew the cloisters.

The duke D'Urbino, with 15,000 men, came to aid the pope. But hearing that Rome was taken, he tarried forty miles from Rome, till he heard back. The marquis of Saluce, and Sir Frederico de Bodso, with 15,000 footmen, and 1000 horsemen, were at Virterbo. Hearing that the city of Rome was taken, they too tarried. The cardinal of Colonna came with an army of Neapolitans to help the emperor's men. But when he saw the cruelty of the soldiers, he did little to help them, but he hated them much for their actions.

The bishop of Rome was thus besieged till the 8th of July, on which day he yielded. And then he was restored to give graces, and grant bulls as he did before; but he still tarried in the castle of St. Angelo, and had a great number of Germans and Spaniards to keep him. But the Spaniards bore the most rule in the castle, for no man entered, nor came out of the castle but by them. In the month of July, corn began to fail in Rome, and the pestilence began to grow strong.<sup>448</sup> Therefore the great army removed to a place called Nervia, forty miles from Rome, leaving behind them those who kept the bishop of Rome.

When cardinal Wolsey here in England heard how his father of Rome was taken prisoner, he began to stir himself. He labored with the king all that he might, to stir him up to fight with the pope against the emperor, and to be a defender of the churches. If he would do that, the cardinal persuaded him that he would receive great reward at God's hand. The king answered and said, "My Lord, I more lament this evil chance than my tongue can tell; but when you say that I am the defender of the faith, I assure you, that this war between the emperor and the pope is not for the faith, but for temporal possessions and dominions; and now if Pope Clement is taken by men of war, what should I do? Neither my person nor my people can rescue him; but if my treasure may help him, take what seems most convenient."

Thus the cardinal, when he could not obtain what he wished at the king's hands, in stirring him up to mortal war, he made out of the king's treasure 240,000 pounds, which he carried over the sea with him. After this, the cardinal sent his commission as legate, to all the bishops, commanding fastings and solemn processions to be had.

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<sup>448</sup> Rome's population dropped from 55,000 to 10,000 due to atrocities, famine, outbreak of plague, and flight.



The cardinal, passing the seas with these sums of money, departed from Calais, accompanied with Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London, the lord Sands, the king's chamberlain, the earl of Derby, Sir Henry Guildford, and Sir Thomas More, with many other knights and squires, numbering 1200 horse, and having in his carriage 80 wagons, and 60 mules and horses of burden.

It would take a long time to discourse in this place about the manifold abuses and treasons which Wolsey practiced when he came to the French court. He converted the great sums of money which he had obtained from the king for the relief and ransom of Pope Clement, who was at that time prisoner in the emperor's army, and bestowed it in hiring soldiers, and furnishing the French king's army; also in appointing certain English captains, in the king of England's name, to go against the emperor, to rescue the pope. This army was paid with the king of England's money.

Besides that, by certain letters he secretly caused Clarent, king-at-arms, to join with the French herald, and to openly defy the emperor. By this intrigue, great displeasure began between the emperor and the king.

When the Spanish ambassador complained to the cardinal, he laid all the fault upon Clarent — saying that Clarent had defied the emperor, without the king's knowledge, at the request of the herald of France. And therefore, at his return Clarent<sup>4</sup> would lose his head at Calais. Clarent being informed of this, took shipping and came to England, into the king's presence before the cardinal knew about it. There he showed the king the cardinal's letter of commission, and declared the whole of the circumstances. When the king heard it all, and had mused upon it a while, he said, "O Lord Jesus! The one that I trusted most, told me all these things differently. Well, Clarent, I will no longer be so light of credence hereafter. For now I see well that I have been made to believe the thing that was never done." And from that time forward, the king never put any more confidence in the cardinal.

The reason why the cardinal bore the emperor all this malice appears to be this: that when Pope Clement was taken prisoner, he wrote to the emperor and requested that he would make him pope. But when he received an answer that did not please him, he grew furious. He sought by all means to displease the emperor, writing many menacing letters, that if he would not make him pope, he would make such a strife between Christian princes as had not been seen for a hundred years — thinking to make the emperor repent, even if it cost the whole realm of England.

The emperor gave an answer in a little book, to the many menacings of the cardinal — but especially to his threat that if he would not make him pope, he would fetch such a strife between Christian princes as had not been seen for a hundred years, even if it cost the whole realm of England. The emperor bid him look well around him, lest through his attempts it might indeed cost him the realm of England.

You heard before, how when Pope Clement was prisoner in the emperor's army, the cardinal required that the king, because he bore the title of "Defender of the faith," should rescue the pope. Now, by what means and on what occasion this title of the "defender of the faith" was given to the king, we think it good to say something here. When Martin Luther denounced and opposed the abomination of the pope and his clergy, and many books had come into England, cardinal Wolsey, thinking to find a remedy, sent immediately to Rome for this title of "defender of the faith."

When this glorious title had come from Rome, the cardinal brought it to the king at Greenwich. And though the king had it already, and had read it. Yet against the morning, all

the lords and gentlemen were sent for, who could be gathered in so short a time, to come and receive it with honor. In the morning the cardinal went through the back way into the friars observants. Part of the gentlemen went round about and welcomed him from Rome; part met him halfway, and some at the court-gate. The king himself met Wolsey in the hall, and brought him up into a great chamber where a seat was prepared on high for the king and the cardinal to sit on, while the bull was read. All men of wisdom and understanding laughed this pomp to scorn.

This done, the king went to his chapel to hear mass, accompanied with many nobles of his realm, and ambassadors of sundry princes. The cardinal being revested to sing mass, the earl of Essex brought the bason of water, the duke of Suffolk gave the assay, and the duke of Norfolk held the towel; and so the cardinal proceeded to mass. When done, the bull was again published, the trumpets blew, the shawms and sackbuts played in honor of the king's new title. Then the king went to dinner, in the midst of which the king of heralds and his company began the largess, crying "*Henricus, Dei Gratia, Rex Angliae et Franciae, Defensor Fidei, et Dominicus Hiberniae.*"<sup>449</sup> Thus all things ended with great solemnity.

All this while the cardinal was aspiring to be made pope. And with that view, he had Stephen Gardiner shortly after sent as ambassador to Rome, in the time of Pope Clement VII. That was for two special causes: one was about the king's divorce, the other for promoting the cardinal to be pope. Regarding the divorce, we will speak afterward. In the meantime, concerning the advancement of the cardinal, great labor was made, as may appear in the letters sent from the cardinal to Stephen Gardiner. In those letters he solicited Gardiner to pursue the suit by all means, desiring him to hesitate at no cost, so far as six or seven thousand pounds would stretch. For he would not give more, he said, for the triple crown. Mark here, Christian reader, what a "holy catholic church" this is!

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But we may learn here how man purposes one thing, and how God disposes another. For the king's purpose was to have the cardinal and legate of York placed in the papal see, thinking by that means, if this cardinal had been pope, his divorce might more easily be compassed, which otherwise he thought it impossible to contrive. But God omnipotent, who alone is the director of all affairs, brought it otherwise to pass, not as the king devised, but after His own wisdom; so that the divorce was concluded, and yet Cardinal Wolsey was not made pope, nor had Pope Clement yet died. Indeed, He so ruled the matter, that notwithstanding Pope Clement was alive, yet the divorce proceeded, and also the pope's authority was thereby utterly extinct and abolished from this realm of England, to the singular admiration of God's wondrous works, and perpetual praise to His merciful goodness. We have to declare about this divorce and suppressing the pope's authority. But first, as we have begun with the cardinal of York, so we will make an end of him. That done, we will address ourselves to other matters of more importance.

As the ambassadors were travelling to Rome to promote the cardinal to be pope (although the pope was not yet dead), the cardinal was in the meantime playing the popish persecutor here at home. For first, sitting in his pontifical robes in the cathedral church of St. Paul's, under his cloth of state (of rich gold cloth), he had Friar Barnes, an Augustinian Friar, bear a faggot for some points which the cardinal called heresy. He also had two merchants bear faggots for eating flesh on a Friday. At this time, the bishop of Rochester gave a sermon against Martin Luther, who had written against the power of the bishop of Rome. This

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<sup>449</sup> Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, Defender of the Faith, and Lord of Ireland.

bishop spoke so much in his sermon, of the honor of the pope and his cardinals, and of their dignity and pre-eminency, that he forgot to speak of the gospel which he took in hand to declare.

After this, A.D. 1528, the cardinal was sitting at Westminster as legate. He called before him the whole clergy, and there promised that all abuses of the church would be amended. But nothing was done except that he caused Thomas Arthur, Thomas Bilney, Geoffery Loni, and Thomas Gerrard, to abjure for speaking against the pope's authority and his pompous pride.

The next year (A.D. 1529), the question of the king's marriage began to be revived. Upon which Cardinal Campeggio was again sent into England from Rome for the hearing and debating of the matter. He with Cardinal Wolsey, consulting with the king, at first seemed to incline to the king's wishes. Yet afterwards, perceiving the consequence of the case — that it might perhaps shake the chair of the pope's authority if this case were thoroughly decided by the truth of God's word — he therefore slipped his neck out of the collar, and craftily took himself out of the realm before the appointed day came for determination. The king, thus seeing himself disappointed with false promises, and craftily deluded by the cardinals, and after so many delays and long expectation with nothing being concluded, he was grieved in his mind with them, but especially with Cardinal Wolsey. The king had before so highly exalted and promoted him to so many great dignities, such as to the archbishopric of York, the bishopric of Winchester, of Durham, the abbey of St. Alban's, besides the chancellorship of England, and many other high offices and preferments in the realm. This induced him to cast the cardinal out of favor, so that he never more came into the king's presence.

Then followed a council of the nobles, which was summoned for the 1st of October. During this council, all the lords and others of the king's council resorted to the king at Windsor, and informed the king that almost all things which Wolsey had done by his legatine power, were in the case of praemunire;<sup>450</sup> and that the cardinal had thereby forfeited all his lands, tenements, goods and chattels to the king. So the king caused his attorney, Christopher Hales, to sue out a writ of praemunire against the cardinal. On the 17th of November, he sent the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to his palace at Westminster, to bring back the great seal of England, which the cardinal was unwilling to deliver.

Besides this, the king sent Sir William Fitzwilliams, knight of the garter, and treasurer of his house, and Doctor Stephen Gardiner, newly-made secretary, to see that no goods would be embezzled out of his house. He further ordained that the cardinal should remove to Esher, beside Kingston, to await the king's pleasure, and to have all things delivered to him which were necessary for him, but not in the cardinal's old pompous and superfluous fashion; for all his goods were seized for the king's use. When the seal was thus taken from the cardinal, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with many earls, bishops, and barons, came to the Star chamber on the 19th of October. The duke of Norfolk then declared that the king's highness, for many and various offenses, had taken from the cardinal his great seal, and deposed him from all his offices. And lest men complain of a lack of justice, he appointed him and the duke of Suffolk, with the assent of the other lords, to sit in the chamber, to hear and determine causes. So that week they sat in the Star-chamber, and determined causes.

A few days after, in the same month, the cardinal moved out of his house called York place. He took his barge, and went to Putney by water, and there took his horse and rode to Esher, where he remained till after Lent.

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<sup>450</sup> *Act of Praemunire*: established the offense of asserting or maintaining papal jurisdiction in England (p. 220).

During that time, being called for an answer in the king's bench to the praemunire, for giving benefices by pre-emption, in disturbing men's inheritance, and other open causes in the praemunire according to the king's license, the cardinal constituted John Scute and Edmond Jenney, apprentices of the law, his attorneys. By his own warrant, signed with his own hand, he confessed all things concerning the suit, for they were too open to be cloaked or hidden. And so judgment was given that he should forfeit all his lands, tenements, goods, and chattels, and should be out of the king's protection. But for all that, the king sent him a sufficient protection, and out of his gentleness, he left to him the bishoprics of York and Winchester, and gave him plate and stuff convenient for his degree. The king gave the bishopric of Durham to Doctor Tunstall, bishop of London, and the abbey of St. Alban's he gave to the prior of Norwich; and he promoted Doctor John Stokesley to London, the ambassador to the universities, for the marriage. For all this kindness shown to the cardinal, the cardinal still maligned the king, as we will hereafter relate. But first we will proceed in the course of these matters, as they passed in order.

*Articles against the Clergy and Wolsey.*

The following year, A.D. 1530, in the month of November, a general parliament was summoned, to be held at Westminster. In that year, about the 23rd of October, the king came to his manor of Greenwich. There he consulted with his council, for a fit man to be his chancellor, but in no way was he to be a man of the clergy. And so, after long debate, the king resolved to appoint Sir Thomas More, knight, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, a man well learned in the languages, and also in the common law; whose wit was fine and full of imagination.

We stated before how a council of the nobles was appointed by the king in October to assemble in the Star-chamber concerning the matter of the cardinal; and also how a parliament was summoned to begin in November of the following year, 1530. At the beginning of that parliament, after Thomas More, the new chancellor, had finished his oration, the commons were commanded to choose a speaker, who was Thomas Audley, Esquire, and attorney to the duchy of Lancaster. Thus the parliament began the sixth of November, at Westminster, where the king with all the lords were set in the parliament chamber. The commons, after they had presented their speaker, assembled in the lower house, and began to debate their grievances against the clergy, by which they were oppressed, contrary both to all right, and to the law of the realm, and especially in the following six great causes.

[507] A.D. 1527-1560.

*Grievances against the Clergy of England.*

1. The first, for the excessive fines which the ordinaries took for probates of testaments, so that Sir Henry Guilford, knight of the garter, and controller of the king's house, declared in the open parliament, that he and others being executors to Sir William Compton, knight, paid a thousand marks sterling to the cardinal and the archbishop of Canterbury, for the probate of his will.
2. The second cause was, the great taxing and extreme exaction which the spiritual men used in taking presents, or mortuaries.
3. The third cause was that priests being surveyors, stewards, and officers to bishops, abbots, and other spiritual heads, held and occupied farms, granges, and grazing in every

county, so that the poor husbandmen could have nothing except from them, and yet they paid dearly for that.

4. The fourth cause was that abbots, priors, and spiritual men kept tan-houses, and bought and sold wool, cloth, and all manner of merchandise, as other temporal merchants did.

5. The fifth cause was because the spiritual persons who were promoted to great benefices, and had their livings from their flock, were lying in the court in lords' houses, and took every thing from their parishioners, and spent nothing on them. So that for lack of residence, the poor of the parish lacked refreshing, and all the parishioners universally lacked preaching and true instruction of God's word, to the great peril of their souls.

6. The sixth cause was because one priest, being little learned, had ten or twelve benefices, and was resident in none; and many well-learned scholars in the university, who were able to preach and teach, had neither benefice nor exhibition.

Before this time, these things might in no way be touched, nor yet talked of by any man, without being made a heretic, or losing all he had. For the bishops were chancellors, and had all the rule about the king, so that no man dared once presume to attempt anything contrary to their profit or commodity.

But now, when God had illuminated the eyes of the king, and the time so served, that men dared to more boldly express what they had long conceived in their heart against the clergy. The burgesses of the parliament appointed men learned in the law, to draw one bill of the probates of testaments, another for mortuaries, and the third for non-residence, pluralities, and the taking of farms by spiritual men.

Now to return to the cardinal again. During the time of the parliament, the book of articles which the lords had put up to the king against the cardinal, was brought down to the commons. The chief articles were these.

*Articles objected against Cardinal Wolsey.*

1. First, that without the king's consent he had procured himself to be appointed a legate, by which he took away the right of all bishops and spiritual persons.

2. In all his writings to Rome, or to any other prince, he wrote *Ego et Rex mens*, "I and my king," as if to say that the king was his servant.

3. That he slandered the church of England to the court of Rome; for his suggestion to be legate, was to reform the church of England.

4. Without the king's consent he carried the king's great seal with him into Flanders, when he was sent as ambassador to the emperor.

5. Without the king's consent he sent a commission to Sir Gregory de Cassali, knight, to conclude a league between the king and the duke of Ferrara.

6. That he caused the cardinal's hat to be put on the king's coin.

7. That he had sent innumerable substance to Rome to obtain his dignities, to the great impoverishment of the realm — with many other things that are touched more largely in various chronicles.

These articles, with many more, being read in the commons' house, were confessed by the cardinal, and signed with his hand. Also there was shown another writing sealed with his seal, by which he gave to the king all his possessions.

You have heard how the cardinal was attainted (condemned) in the praemunire, and how he was put out of the office of the chancellor, and lay at Esher: which was in 1530. The year after, during the Lenten season, the king by the advice of his council, licensed the cardinal to go into his diocese of York, and commanded him to keep within his diocese, and not to return southward without the king's special license in writing.

So he made great provision to go northward, and newly apparelled his servants, and bought many costly things for his household. But some of his servants at this time departed from him to the king's service, and especially Thomas Cromwell, one of his chief council, and principal agent for him in the suppression of abbeys. After all things necessary for his journey were prepared, he journeyed northward, till he came to Southwell, which was in his diocese, and there he continued that year. But the lands he had given to his colleges in Oxford and Ipswich had now come into the king's hands by his attainder in the praemunire. Yet, of his gentleness and for the favor he bore to good learning, the king erected the college in Oxford again. Previously named the Cardinal's College, he called it the King's College. He endowed it with fair possessions and ordained new statutes and ordinances; and because the college of Ipswich was thought not to be profitable, he left that dissolved.

Notwithstanding that the cardinal of York was thus attainted in the praemunire, the king being good to him, had granted him the bishoprics of York and Winchester, with great substance. And he had licensed him to abide in his diocese of York, where he so continued for a year. But the year following, which was A.D. 1531, he wrote to the court of Rome, and to other princes, letters in reproach of the king. And as much as it lay in him, he stirred them to revenge his cause against the king and his realm, so that opprobrious words against the king were spoken to Doctor Edward Karne, the king's ambassador at Rome. It was said to him, that on the cardinal's account the king should have the worse speed in the suit of his divorce and marriage. The cardinal also spoke fairly to the people to win their hearts, and ever declared that he was unjustly and untruly dealt with. This fair speaking made many men believe that he spoke truly. And he gave great gifts to gentlemen to allure them to himself. And to be held in higher reputation among the people, he determined to be installed (or rather enthroned) at York, with all the pomp possible. He had a throne erected in the cathedral church to such a height and fashion as was never seen. And he sent to all the lords, abbots, priors, knights, esquires, and gentlemen of his diocese, to be at his manor of Cawood, on the sixth of November, and so bring him to York with all manner of pomp and solemnity.

The king, who knew of his doings, dissembled the matter, to see what he would do at length. But finding the cardinal's proud heart so highly exalted that he would be triumphantly installed without making the king privy, yes, and in a manner in disdain of the king, he thought it not fitting nor convenient to allow the cardinal to continue any longer in his malicious and proud purposes. Therefore the king directed his letters to the earl of Northumberland, commanding him with all diligence to arrest the cardinal, and to deliver him to the earl of Shrewsbury, great steward of the king's household. When the earl had seen the letters, he came to the manor of Cawood with a convenient number, on the 4th of November. And when he was brought to the cardinal in his chamber, he said to him: "My lord, I pray you be patient, for here I arrest you." "Arrest me!" said the cardinal. "Yea, said the earl; "I have a commandment so to do." "You have no such power," said the cardinal; "for I am both a cardinal, and a legate De Latere (of Rome), and a peer of the college of Rome, and ought not to be arrested by any temporal power; for I am not subject to that power. Therefore, if you arrest me I will withstand it."

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“Well,” said the earl, “here is the king’s commission, and therefore I charge you to obey.” The cardinal somewhat remembered himself, and said: “Well, my lord, I am content to obey; but although by negligence I fell into the punishment of the praemunire, and by the law lost all my lands and goods, yet my person was in the king’s protection, and I was pardoned of that offense. Therefore I marvel why I should be arrested now, and especially considering that I am a member of the apostolic see, on whom no temporal man ought to lay violent hands. I see the king lacks good counsel.” “Well,” said the earl; “when I was sworn warden of the marshes, you yourself told me that I might with my staff arrest all men under the degree of a king. And now I am stronger, for I have a commission so to do, which you have seen.” The cardinal at length obeyed, and was kept in a privy chamber, his goods seized, and his officers discharged.

When the cardinal was thus arrested, the king sent Sir William Kingston, knight, captain of the guard, and constable of the Tower of London, with yeomen of the guard, to Sheffield to fetch the cardinal to the Tower. When the cardinal saw the captain of the guard, he was astonished, and shortly became sick; for he perceived some great trouble coming upon him. He took so much of a strong purgation, that his nature was not able to bear it. But Sir William Kingston comforted him; and on the 27th of November he brought him to the abbey of Leicester by easy journeys. There, for the feebleness of his nature caused by purgations and vomits, he died the second night following, and lies buried in the abbey.

By the ambitious pride and excessive worldly wealth of this one cardinal, all men may easily understand and judge what the state and condition of the rest of the same order was during those days in all other places of Christendom, as well as here in England, where the princely possessions and great pride of the clergy not only far exceeded the common measure and order of subjects, but also surpassed kings and princes, and all other estates.

Among other acts of the cardinal, this is not to be forgotten, that he founded a new college in Oxford. For its supply (faculty), he had gathered together the best learned men he could. Among their number were these: one Clark, William Tyndale, one Sommer, John Frith, and Richard Taverner, with others. Holding an assembly together in the college, these men were accounted heretics, and cast into a prison of the college where salt fish lay. Most of them were infected through the smell of these fish. Clark, being a tender young man, and the most singular in learning among them all, died in the prison.

Thus having detained the reader enough, or rather too much, with this vain-glorious cardinal, we will now bring our history back again to more fruitful material. As the order of time requires, we will first begin with Master Humphry Mummuth, a virtuous and good alderman of London. He was troubled during the time of the cardinal, as follows:

*The trouble of Humphry Mummuth, Alderman of London.*

Master Humphry Mummuth was a right godly and sincere alderman of London. In the days of Cardinal Wolsey, he was troubled and put in the Tower, for the gospel of Christ and for maintaining those who favored it.

Stokesley, then bishop of London, objected twenty-four articles against him, such as for adhering to Luther and his opinions; for having and reading heretical books and treatises; for giving exhibition to William Tyndale, Joy, and such others; for helping them over the sea to Luther; for ministering private help to translate the Testament as well as other books into English; for eating flesh during Lent; for affirming that faith alone justifies; for derogating

from men's constitutions; for not praying to saints; for not allowing pilgrimage, auricular confession, or the pope's pardons — briefly, for advancing all Martin Luther's opinions, etc.

Being examined and cast into the Tower, he was at last compelled to make his suit or purgation, writing to the cardinal, then lord chancellor, and the whole council, from the Tower. In his writings he answered to the accusation of those who charged him with certain books received from beyond the sea; also for his acquaintance with Master Tyndale. He said, that he did not deny that four years earlier he heard Tyndale preach two or three sermons at St. Dunstan's in the West, and that meeting with Tyndale afterwards, he had certain communication with him concerning his living, and was then told by him that he had none at all, but trusted to be in the bishop of London's service; for he then labored to be his chaplain. But being refused by the bishop, he came back to Mummuth and sought his help. At that time he took him into his house for half a year, where Tyndale lived like a good priest, studying both night and day. He would eat but sodden food by his good will, nor drink but a small single beer. He was never seen in that house to wear linen about him, all the time he was there. Whereupon Mummuth took a better liking to him, so that he promised him ten pounds, as he said then, for his father's and mother's souls, and all Christian souls. With this money Mummuth afterwards sent him to Hamburgh according to his promise. Yet he did not give an exhibition <sup>451</sup> to him alone, but to others who likewise were not heretics. He exhibited forty or fifty pounds to Doctor Royston, bishop of London's chaplain; to Doctor Wodiall, provincial of the Augustinian friars; as much or more to Doctor Watson, the king's chaplain; also to other scholars and priests; besides other charges bestowed on religious houses, as upon the nunnery of Denney, over fifty pounds sterling.

And regarding his books, some of which were left with him by William Tyndale, some he sent to him, and some were brought into his house, by whom he could not tell. These books, he said, lie open in his house for two years, he suspecting no harm to be in them. And moreover, the same books being desired by different persons, such as the abbess of Denney, a friar of Greenwich, the father confessor of Sion, and many others, he let them have them. Yet e never heard friar, priest, or laymen, find any fault with the books.

Thus excusing himself, and moreover complaining of the loss of his credit by his imprisonment in the Tower, and of the injury to his trade. For he formerly sent abroad five hundred pieces of cloths, and set many clothiers to work in Suffolk and other places, from whom he bought all their cloths; they were now almost all undone. At length he was set at liberty, being forced to abjure. After, he was made knight by the king, and sheriff of London.

*The History of Thomas Hitten.*

Regarding the memorial of Thomas Hitten, nothing remains in writing except his name, save that William Tyndale in his apology against More, and also in another book entitled "The Practice of Prelates," once or twice mentions him. He was, Tyndale says, a preacher at Maidstone, whom the bishop of Canterbury, William Warham, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, had long kept and tormented in prison with sundry torments. Notwithstanding, he continued constant. At last they burned him at Maidstone, for the constant and manifest testimony of Jesus Christ, and of His free grace and salvation, A.D. 1530.

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<sup>451</sup> *Exhibition*: A financial award or prize given to a student, usually on the basis of academic merit.



***The History of Thomas Bilney.***

*Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur, who abjured at Norwich, A.D. 1531.*

In the history of Cardinal Wolsey, mention was made of some whom the Cardinal caused to abjure, such as Bilney, Geoffery Loni, Garret, Barnes, and others whom we will now specially treat. This Thomas Bilney was brought up in the University of Cambridge, even from a child, profiting in all kinds of liberal sciences, even to the profession of both laws (civil and canon).

[509] A.D. 1527-1560.

But at last, having gotten a better school-master, even the Holy Spirit of Christ, who endued his heart with the knowledge of better and more wholesome things, he came at last to this point: that forsaking the knowledge of man's laws, he converted his study to those things which tended more to godliness than profit.

As he was greatly inflamed with the love of true religion and godliness, even so there was in his heart an incredible desire to allure many to the same, desiring nothing more than that he might stir up and encourage any to the love of Christ and sincere religion. Nore were his labors in vain. For he converted many of his followers to the knowledge of the gospel, among them was Thomas Arthur, and Master Hugh Latimer. Latimer at that time was cross-keeper at Cambridge, bringing it forth upon procession days. At last, Bilney, forsaking the University, went to many places, teaching and preaching, being associated with Arthur, who accompanied him from the University. The authority of Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, mentioned before, at that time was great in England, but his pomp and pride were much greater. Whereupon Bilney, with other good men, marvelling at the incredible insolence of the clergy, whom they could now no longer suffer or abide, began to shake and reprove this excessive pomp of the clergy, and also to question the authority of the bishop of Rome.

Then it was time for the cardinal to awaken, and to look speedily about his business. Nor did he lack in this point any craft or subtlety of a serpent. For he understood well enough upon what a slender foundation their ambitious dignity was grounded. Nor was he ignorant that their luciferous and proud kingdom could not long continue against the manifest word of God; especially if the light of the gospel were once to open the eyes of men. For otherwise he did not greatly fear the power and displeasure of kings and princes. The cardinal feared only this: the voice of Christ in his gospel, lest it disclose and detect their hypocrisy and deceits, and force them to come into godly discipline. Therefore he thought it good to speedily withstand these beginnings. So he had Bilney and Arthur apprehended and cast into prison.

After this, on November 27th, A.D. 1527, the cardinal accompanied with a great number of bishops — such as the archbishop of Canterbury, Cuthbert of London, John of Rochester, Nicholas of Ely, John of Exeter, John of Lincoln, John of Bath and Wells, Henry of St. Asaph, with many other divines and lawyers — came into the chapter-house of Westminster, where master Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur were brought before them. The cardinal inquired of Master Bilney, whether he had privately or publicly preached or taught to the people the opinions of Luther or any others condemned by the church, contrary to the determination of the church. Bilney answered that he had not knowingly preached or taught any of Luther's opinions, or any other, contrary to the catholic church. Then the cardinal asked him, whether he had made an oath before, that he would not preach, recite, or defend any of Luther's opinions, but would impugn the same everywhere? Bilney answered that he had made such an oath, but not lawfully. The cardinal then had him swear to answer plainly to the articles and errors preached and set forth by him, in the city and diocese of London,

as well as in the diocese of Norwich and other places, and that he would do it without any craft, qualifying or leaving out any part of the truth.

After he was thus sworn and examined, the cardinal proceeded to the examination of Master Thomas Arthur, having him take the like oath. This done, he asked him whether he had not once told Sir Thomas More, Knight, that in the sacrament of the altar, there was not the very body of Christ? He denied this interrogatory. Then the cardinal gave him time to deliberate till noon, and to deliver his answer in writing.

The second of December, the bishops assembled again, and swore witnesses against Master Bilney. That done, they called for Master Arthur; to whose charge they laid the following articles.

*Articles against Thomas Arthur.*

1. That he exhorted the people in his prayers, to pray specially for those who are now in prison. He denied this article.
2. That he said, "though men are restrained from preaching now-a-days, yet I may preach: First, By the authority of my lord cardinal; for I have his license. Secondly, By the authority of the University. Thirdly, By the pope. Fourthly, By the authority of God, where he says, 'Go preach the gospel to every creature.' By this authority every man may preach, and there is neither bishop nor ordinary, nor yet the pope, who may make any law to prevent any man preaching the gospel." This article he confessed.
3. He said that when there were but a few holy and devout laws in the church, then men were afraid to offend them. Afterwards they made many laws for their advantage; and those which were pecuniary, those they observed; and those which were not pecuniary, they did not regard: and so now-a-days there are so many laws, that whether a man does bad or good, he shall be taken in the law. He confessed that he spoke this.
4. He said. Good people, if I should suffer persecution for the preaching of the gospel of God, yet there are seven thousand more that would preach the gospel of God as I do now. Therefore, good people, do not think that if these tyrants and persecutors put a man to death, the preaching of the gospel is therefore to be forsaken. This article he confessed, except that he made no mention of tyrants.
5. That every man, yes, every layman, is a priest. He confessed that he spoke such words, declaring in his sermon, that every Christian man is a priest, offering up the sacrifice of prayer.
6. That men should not pray to saints in heaven, but only to God; and they should use no other mediator than Christ Jesus our only Redeemer. This article he denied.
7. He preached that they should not worship images of saints, which were nothing but stocks and stones. This he also denied.
8. He preached on Whitsunday last,<sup>452</sup> within the University of Cambridge, that a bachelor of divinity admitted from the University, or any other person having or knowing the gospel of God, should go forth and preach in every place: and if any bishop accursed them for so doing, their curses would turn to the condemnation of themselves. He confessed this.

These answers thus made and acknowledged, master Arthur revoked and condemned the articles objected against him, and submitted himself to the punishment and judgment of the church.

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<sup>452</sup> Whitsunday: seventh Sunday after Easter, commemorating the emanation of the Holy Spirit to the Apostles.

The third of December, the bishop of London with the other bishops assembling again, after Bilney had refused to return to the church of Rome, the bishop of London in discharge of his conscience (he said) lest he hide anything that had come to his hands, exhibited to the notaries, in the presence of Master Bilney, certain letters, to wit, five letters or epistles, with one schedule in one of the epistles, containing his articles and answers folded in it, and another epistle folded in the manner of a book, with six leaves; all of which he commanded to be written out and registered, and the originals to be delivered back to him.

*Here follows a summary of certain Depositions,  
on the inquiry of Master Bilney's Doctrine and Preaching.*

First, it was deposed, that in his sermon in Christ's church in Ipswich, he should preach and say, our Savior Christ is our Mediator between us and the Father: why then should we need to seek any saint for a remedy? Therefore, it is great injury to the blood of Christ, to make such petitions, and it blasphemous our Savior.

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That man is so imperfect of himself, that he can in no way merit by his own deeds.

Also, that the coming of Christ was long prophesied before, and desired by the prophets. But John Baptist, being more than a prophet, not only prophesied, but with his finger he showed him: "Behold the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world." Then, if this were the very Lamb that takes away the sins of the world, what an injury it is to our Savior Christ for anyone to say that to be buried in St. Francis' Cowl should remit four parts of penance! What is then left to our Savior Christ, who takes away the sins of the world? This I will justify to be a great blasphemy to the blood of Christ.

Also, that it was a great folly to go on pilgrimage, and that preachers in times past have been antichrists; and now it has pleased God to somewhat expose their falsehood and errors.

Also, that the miracles done at Walsingham, at Canterbury, and in Ipswich, were done by the devil, through the sufferance of God, to blind the poor people: and that the pope does not have the keys that Peter had, unless he follows Peter in his living.

Moreover, it was deposed against him, that he was notoriously suspected as a heretic, and twice pulled out of the pulpit in the diocese of Norwich.

Also, it was deposed against him, that in the parish-church of Willesden, he exhorted the people to put away their gods of silver and gold, and quit their offerings to them. Also, that Jews and Saracens would have become Christian men long ago, had it not been for the idolatry of Christian men in offering candles, wax, and money to stocks and stones.

Over and besides these matters deposed against him, here follow other articles gathered out of his sermon, which he preached in the parish church of St. Magnus, during Whitsun week (A.D. 1527).

He said, pray only to God, and not to saints, in rehearsing the Litany; and when he came to "Holy Mary, pray for us," he said, Stop there.

He said, that Christian men ought to worship God alone, and not saints.

He said, that Christian people should set up no lights before the images of saints; for saints in heaven need no light, and the images have no eyes to see.

He said, just as Hezekiah destroyed the bronze serpent that Moses made by the commandment of God; even so kings and princes now-a-days should destroy and burn the images of saints set up in churches.

These five hundred years there has been no good pope, nor in all the times past can we find but fifty; for they have neither preached, nor lived well, nor conformably to their dignity. Therefore, till now they have born the keys of simony. Against them, good people, we must preach to you, for we cannot come to them. It is a great pity, for they have sorely slandered the blood of Christ.

The people have foolishly of late gone upon pilgrimages; it would have been better had they been at home.

Many have made vows, which are not possible for them to fulfil.

The preachers before this have been antichrists, and now it has pleased our Savior Christ to show their false errors, and to teach another way and manner of the holy gospel of Christ, to the comfort of your souls.

I trust that there shall and will come others besides me, who will show and preach to you the same faith and manner of living that I show and preach to you, which is the very true gospel of our Savior Christ, and the mind of the holy fathers, by which you shall be brought from their errors in which you have been long seduced. For before this there have been many who have slandered you, and the gospel of our Savior Christ.

These and many other like charges were deposed against him by the deponents and witnesses. But now, before we return again to his examination, we insert here a dialogue between a friar named John Brusierd, and Master Thomas Bilney, as written down by the friar himself.

*A Dialogue between Friar John Brusierd and Master  
Thomas Bilney, in Ipswich, concerning worshipping of Images.*

Brusierd. — Although you have blasphemed most perniciously the immaculate flock of Christ with certain blasphemies, yet being moved partly with our gentle petitions, partly pitying your case, I have come here to talk with you secretly. When you began to shoot the dart of your pestiferous error more vehemently than you ought, against the breast of the ignorant multitude, you seem to pour upon the ground the precious blood of Christ, as with a certain vehement violence out of the miserable vessel of your heart. Where you said that none of the saints make intercession for us, nor obtain anything for us, you have blasphemed the efficacy of the whole church, consecrated with the precious blood of Christ. This you can not deny, especially as there is such incessant knocking at the gates of heaven, through the continual intercession of the saints, as appears in the sevenfold Litany.

Bilney. — I marvel at you, and cannot marvel enough, that the vain custom of superstitious men, thinking themselves not heard except in much talking, puts an end to my wonder. For our heavenly Father knows what we have need of before we ask. Also it is written, “There is one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.” <sup>1Tim 2.5</sup> If then there is but one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, where is our blessed lady? Where then are St. Peter and other saints?

Brusierd. — I suppose that no man is ignorant, that the divines of the primitive church have all affirmed that there is one Mediator between God and men. Neither could anyone at any time praise or pray to the saints while they were living in the calamities of this body and wrestling with the winds of this world, and had not yet come to the port of rest to which they were travelling. Paul (I grant) rightly affirmed that there was but one Mediator between God and men, for as yet there was no saint canonized or put into the Calendar. But now seeing the church knows, and certainly believes, through the undoubted revelations of God, that the blessed Virgin and other saints are placed in the bosom of Abraham, she therefore, like a

good mother, has taught her children most diligently to praise the Omnipotent Jesus in his saints; and also to offer up by the same saints our petitions to God. This is what the psalmist says, "Praise you the Lord in his saints." <sup>Psa 148.14</sup> Rightly also we say and affirm that saints may pray for us. One man may pray for another; therefore, much more may saints who enjoy the fruition of his High Majesty. For so it is written, "God is my witness, whom I serve in my spirit in the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I remember you in my prayers always for you," etc. Rom 1.9.

Bilney. — I marvel that you, a learned man, are not yet delivered out of the dungeon of heresy through the help of the holy gospel — especially seeing that in the same gospel it is written, "Truly, truly, I say to you, whatever you ask the Father in my name, he will give it to you," Joh 16.23. He does not say, whatever you ask the Father in the name of St. Peter, St. Paul, or other saints, but in *My* name. Let us therefore ask help in the name of Him who is able to obtain for us whatever we ask, lest, perhaps, hereafter in the end of the world, at the judgment, we hear, "Up to now you have asked for nothing in my name."

Brusierd. — Where you marvel that I, a learned man, as you say, am not yet delivered from the dungeon of heresy through the help of the gospel, much more do you, who are far better learned than I, cause me to marvel at your foolish wonder. Nor can I choose but to laugh at you, as one rapt to the third heaven of such high mysteries, and yet do not see those things which are done here in the lower parts of philosophy. For what a ridiculous thing is it for a man to look so long at the sun, that he can see nothing else but the sun? Moreover, what student is there in all Cambridge, however young, who does not know that the argument of authority, brought out negatively, has no force?

[511] A.D. 1527-1560.

Bilney. — As the Pharisees took Christ, so you take my words otherwise than I meant.

Brusierd. — Your words, which wander far from the scope of Scripture, I do not like. What is in your meaning, and lies inwardly in your mind, I cannot tell.

Bilney. — Those who invoke the help either of Christ, or of any other saint, for any corporal infirmity, may well resemble delicate patients who, being under the hand of physicians and having medicines ministered for their diseases, not abiding the pain of it, fling all away. Therefore, I say, no man ought to implore the help of God, or of any saint, for corporal infirmity.

Brusierd. — O most pernicious and perilous heresy of all that I have ever heard! Thus escaping from the smoke, you fall into the fire, and avoiding the danger of Scylla, you run upon Charybdis.<sup>453</sup> O heart of man wrapped in palpable darkness! I wish, Master Bilney, that you would but once search out the origin of these Rogation days.<sup>454</sup> For so we read in church history, that they were first ordained by Pope Gregory, with fasting, prayers, and holy processions, against the pestilence then reigning among the people. At that time, the people went in procession. A certain image like our blessed Lady, painted with the hands of St. Luke the evangelist, went before them. Around this image, in honor of the Virgin, angels sang this anthem: "O queen of heaven be glad," etc. To this anthem the pope also adjoined this, "Pray to the Lord for us." Therefore, seeing the angels worshipped the image of the glorious Virgin Mary, and seeing the holy father. Pope Gregory, with all the clergy, prayed

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<sup>453</sup> In Homer's *Odysseus*. Scylla and Charybdis are two monsters. Scylla has triple rows of sharklike teeth in her six heads; Charybdis personifies a maelstrom. To be caught between the two, is to have no easy way out.

<sup>454</sup> One of the three days before Ascension Day, observed by Roman Catholics as days of supplication.

for corporal infirmity, it manifestly appears that we ought to worship the saints, and also give honor in a manner to their images. Further also, pray to Almighty God and all saints for corporal infirmity, that we may be delivered from it, so that they may say the same for us which is said in the gospel, "Send them away, because they cry after us." <sup>Mat 14.15</sup> Although there are infinite places in the holy Scripture with which we might easily resist your error, yet stopping here with sufficient content, we will proceed to your second pestiferous error in which, like an ungrateful child, you go about to tear out the bowels of your mother. For you affirm blasphemously that the bishop of Rome is the very antichrist, and that his privileges have no force against the gates of hell. In so saying, what do you do, if not like a most unkind and unnatural child, spoil your loving mother of all her treasures, and wound her most miserably upon the earth? But as there is nothing so absurd, or so heretical, that it will not be received by some itching ears, I would therefore hear you declare now, how he sits in the temple of God, as God, being exalted and worshipped above all that is named God. Or how he shows himself as Lord in power and signs, and deceitful wonders.

Bilney. — Although incredulity does not allow you to understand these things, yet I will help your incredulity, through the aid of the Lord, beseeching you that setting all superstition apart, you will understand those things that are above. Do you know the table of the ten commandments?

Brusierd. — I know them as the catholic doctors expound them, but how you expound them I cannot tell.

Bilney. — And do you also know the constitutions of men, which are devised only by the dreams of men, to which men are so straitly bound, that they are compelled to observe them under pain of death?

Brusierd. — I know certain sanctions of the holy fathers, but those which you speak of as devised by men's dreams, I know of none.

Bilney. — Now then, let us set and compare these two together, and you will easily understand that the bishop of Rome, whom they call the pope, sits in the temple of God, as God, to be extolled above all that is named God. It is written, "The temple of the Lord is holy, which temple you are." <sup>1Cor 6.19</sup> Therefore the conscience of man is the temple of the Holy Spirit, in which temple I will prove the pope sits as God, and is to be exalted above all that is called God. Whoever condemns the decalogue, or the table of the commandments of God, there is but a small punishment for him, nor is that punishment unto death. But he who despises or violates the constitutions, which you call the sanctions of men, is counted by all men's judgment as guilty of death! What is this, if not that the bishop of Rome sits and reigns in the temple of God — that is, in man's conscience — as God?

Brusierd. — Although this exposition seems unworthy for Christian ears, yet I would hear you further as to how he shows himself in signs and deceitful wonders.

Bilney. — These wonders which they call miracles, are wrought daily in the church, not by the power of God, as many think, but by the illusion of Satan. As the Scripture witnesses, he has been loose five hundred years, as written in the book of Revelation, "After a thousand years Satan shall be loosed," etc. <sup>Rev 20.3</sup> Nor are they to be called miracles of true Christian men, but rather illusions whereby to delude men's minds, to make them put their faith in our Lady and other saints, and not in God alone, to whom be honor and glory forever.

Brusierd. — But I believe and know that God and all his saints will take everlasting revenge upon you. I would surely with these nails of mine be your death, for this horrible and

enormous injury against the precious blood of Christ. God says, "I do not wish the death of a sinner, but rather that he be converted and live." *Eze 18.23* And you blaspheme him, as though he would lay secret snares of death for us, that we should not know them. If it were true, we might well say with Hugh de Saint Victore in this manner: — "If it is an error, it is of you, O God, that we are deceived; for they are confirmed with such signs and wonders as cannot be done except by You." But I am assured it is untrue and heretical. And therefore I will leave this matter, and talk with you concerning the merits of saints. For I remember you once said in a certain sermon of yours, "That no saint, however great his suffering, and however pure his life, deserves anything from God, either by his death or his life." This is contrary to St. Augustine.

Bilney. — Christ says one thing, St. Augustine another. Which of these two shall we believe? For Christ, willing to deliver us out of this dark dungeon of ignorance, gave a certain parable about ten virgins, of which five were fools, and five were wise. By the five foolish virgins, lacking the oil of good works, he meant all us sinners. By the wise virgins he meant the company of all holy saints. Now let us hear what the five wise virgins answered to the five foolish who asked for oil from them; "No," they say, "lest, perhaps, we do not have sufficient for us, and for you. Go rather to those who sell, and buy for yourselves." Therefore, if they did not have oil sufficient for themselves and also for the others, where then are the merits of saints with which they can merit both for themselves and for us? I cannot see it.

Brusierd. — You twist the Scriptures from the right understanding to a reprobate sense, that I am scarcely able to keep my eyes from tears, hearing with my ears these words of yours. Fare you well.

*The Submission of Master Thomas Bilney.*

The fourth of December, the bishop of London, with the other bishops, his assistants, assembled again in the chapter-house of Westminster. Master Bilney was also brought there, and was exhorted and admonished to abjure and recant. He answered, "That he would stand to his conscience." Then the bishop, after deliberation, putting off his cap, said, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, Amen. Let God arise and let his enemies be scattered." Making a cross on his forehead and his breast, by the counsel of the other bishops, he gave sentence against Master Bilney in this manner:

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I, by the consent and counsel of my brethren here present, pronounce you, Thomas Bilney, who have been accused of diverse articles, to be convicted of heresy; and for the rest of the sentence we postpone deliberation till tomorrow.

The fifth of December the bishops assembled there again; before whom Bilney was brought. The bishop asked if he would yet return to the unity of the church, and revoke his heresies which he had preached. Whereupon, Bilney answered, "That he would not be a slander to the gospel, trusting that he was not separate from the church; and that, if the multitude of witnesses might be credited, he might have thirty men of honest life on his part, against one to the contrary brought against him. These witnesses, the bishop said came too late; for after publication they could not be received by law.

In the afternoon, the bishop of London again asked him whether he would return to the church and acknowledge his heresies. Bilney answered that he trusted he was not separate from the church, and he required time and place to bring in witnesses, which was refused. Then the bishop once again required of him, whether he would return to the Catholic church? He answered, that if they could teach and prove sufficiently that he was convicted,

he would yield and submit himself. And he desired again to have time and space to bring in his refused witnesses. He would give no other answer.

Being asked again whether he would return; or else the sentence must be read. He requested the bishop to give him license to deliberate until the morrow, whether he might abjure the heresies with which he was defamed, or not. The bishop granted that he should have a little time to deliberate. But when Bilney requested till the morrow, the bishop would not grant him his request, lest he appeal. But at last the bishop granted him two nights respite to deliberate — that is to say, till Saturday, at nine o'clock, forenoon, and then to give a plain and determinate answer.

The 7th day of December, the bishop of London, with the other bishops being assembled, Bilney personally appeared. The bishop of London asked whether he would now return to the unity of the church, and revoke the errors and heresies of which he stood accused, detected, and convicted. Bilney answered that now he was persuaded by his friends, that he should submit himself, trusting that they would deal gently with him, both in his abjuration and penance. Then he desired that he might read his abjuration, which the bishop granted. When he had read it to himself, and returned, it was demanded what he would do in these premises. He answered that he would abjure and submit himself. There he openly read his abjuration, subscribed it and delivered it to the bishop, who then absolved him. For his penance, the bishop enjoined him to abide in prison appointed by the cardinal, till he was released by him. Moreover, the next day he would go before the procession in the cathedral church of St. Paul's bare-headed, with a faggot on his shoulder, and stand before the preacher at St. Paul's Cross during the sermon.

After this abjuration, made about A.D. 1528, Bilney felt such repentance and sorrow, that he was near the point of utter despair, as credibly testified by Master Hugh Latimer, whose words I annex here, written in his seventh sermon, preached before king Edward:

“I knew a man myself, Bilney, little Bilney, that blessed martyr of God, who once he had borne his faggot, and came again to Cambridge, had such conflicts within himself (beholding this image of death), that his friends were afraid to let him be alone. They were willing to be with him day and night, and to comfort him as they could, but no comforts would serve. As for bringing comfortable places of Scripture to him, it was as though a man had run him through the heart with a sword. Yet, for all this, he was revived, and took his death patiently, and died well against the tyrannical See of Rome.”

Again, Master Latimer, speaking of Bilney in another of his sermons preached in Lincolnshire, has these words —

“That same Master Bilney, who was burned here in England for the sake of God's word, was induced and persuaded by his friends to bear a faggot at the time when the cardinal was aloft, and bore the blows. Now, when Bilney came to Cambridge again, a whole year after, he was in such anguish and agony, that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor any other communication of God's word, for he thought that the whole Scriptures were against him, and sounded to his condemnation. So that, many a time I communed with him (for I was familiarly acquainted with him). But all things whatever that any man could allege to his comfort seemed to him to make against him. Yet for all that, he afterwards came again. God endued him with such strength and perfectness of faith, that he not only confessed his faith in the gospel of our Savior Jesus Christ, but also suffered his body to be burned for that same gospel's sake which we now preach in England,” etc.

Furthermore, in the first sermon of Master Latimer, before the Duchess of Suffolk, he infers as follows:



“Here I have occasion to tell you a story which happened at Cambridge. Master Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge. For I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God. For I was as obstinate a papist as any in England, insomuch that when I was to be made bachelor of divinity, my whole oration went against Philip Melancthon, and against his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge. He came to me afterwards in my study, and desired me for God’s sake to hear his confession. I did so, and, to say the truth, by his confession I learned more than I had before in many years. So, from that time forward, I began to inhale the word of God, and to forsake the school-doctors and such fooleries,” etc.

By this it appears how vehemently this good man Bilney was pierced with sorrow and remorse for his abjuration, for nearly two years; that is, from the year 1529 to 1531. It followed then that by God’s grace and good counsel, he came at length to some quiet conscience, being fully resolved to give up his life for the confession of that truth which he had renounced. And thus being fully determined in his mind, in Trinity hall at ten o’clock at night, he took his leave of his friends, saying that he would go to Jerusalem — alluding to the words and example of Christ in the gospel, going up to Jerusalem when he was appointed to suffer his passion. And so Bilney, meaning to give up his life for the testimony of Christ’s gospel, told his friends that he would go up to Jerusalem, and would see them no more. He immediately departed to Norfolk, and there preached, first privately in households, to confirm the brethren and sisters; then he preached openly in the fields — confessing his sin, and preaching publicly the doctrine which he had abjured, to be the very truth. He desired all men to learn by him, and never to trust to their fleshly friends in causes of religion. And so setting forward in his journey toward the celestial Jerusalem, he departed from there to Norwich, upon which he was apprehended and carried to prison.

Thomas Bilney, after his examination and condemnation before Doctor Bellas, doctor of law and Chancellor, was first degraded by Suffragan Underwood, according to their popish manner, by the assistance of the friars and doctors. This done, he was immediately committed to the lay power, and to the two sheriffs of the city, one of whom was Thomas Necton. This Thomas Necton was Bilney’s especial friend, and sorry to receive him to such an execution as followed. But such was the tyranny of that time, and dread of the chancellor and friars, that he could not do otherwise, but must receive him. Notwithstanding, he could not bear in his conscience to be present at Bilney’s death himself. So, for the time that he was in his custody, Necton had him looked to in a more friendly manner, and more wholesomely kept concerning his diet, than Bilney was before.

After this, the Friday following, at night, which was the day before his execution, Bilney had his friends resorting to him in the Guildhall, where he was kept. Some put him in mind, that though the fire, which he would suffer the next day, would be of great heat to his body, yet the comfort of God’s Spirit would cool it to his everlasting refreshing.

[513] A.D. 1527-1560.

At this word, Thomas Bilney put his hand to the flame of the candle burning before them; and feeling the heat, he said,

“O, I feel by experience, and have known it long by philosophy, that fire by God’s ordinance is naturally hot. Yet I am persuaded by God’s holy word, and by the experience of some mentioned in that word, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the fire they felt no consumption. And I constantly believe, however the stubble of this my body shall be wasted by it, yet my soul and spirit shall be purged thereby, a pain for the time, whereon notwithstanding, follows joy unspeakable.”

And here he much treated this passage of Scripture:

“Fear not, For I have redeemed you, and called you by your name; you are Mine. When you go through the water I will be with you, and the strong floods shall not overflow you. When you walk in the fire, it shall not burn you, and the flame shall not kindle upon you, for I am the Lord your God, the holy One of Israel.” — Isa 43.1-3.

This he most comfortably treated in respect to himself, as well as applying it to the particular use of his friends. Some of them took such sweet fruit, that they caused the whole sentence to be fairly written on tablets, and some in their books. The comfort of this (on some of them) was never taken from them to their dying day.

The Saturday following, the officers of execution with their gloves and halberts were ready to receive him, and to lead him to the place of execution outside the city gate. It was called Bishop’s Gate located in a low valley commonly called The Lollards’ Pit, under Saint Leonard’s Hill, environed about with great hills. This place was chosen for the people’s ease, sitting to see the execution. At the coming forth of Thomas Bilney out of the prison door, one of his friends came to him; with few words, he spoke to him and prayed for him in God’s behalf to be constant, and to take his death as patiently as he could. Bilney answered with a quiet and mild countenance,

“You see when the mariner has entered his ship to sail on the troubled sea, how for a while he is tossed in the billows. Yet in hope that he shall once come to the quiet haven, he bears in better comfort the perils which he feels. So I am now, toward this sailing. Whatever storms I will feel, yet shortly after, my ship shall be in the haven, as I do not doubt by the grace of God — desiring you to help me with your prayers to the same effect.”

And so he went forth in the streets, giving much alms by the way by the hands of one of his friends. He was accompanied with one doctor Warner, doctor of divinity and parson of Winterton, whom he chose, as his old acquaintance, to be with him for his spiritual comfort. He came at last to the place of execution, and descended from the hill, apparelled in a layman’s gown with his sleeves hanging down, his arms out, his hair having been piteously mangled at his degradation, and drew near to the stake. He desired that he might speak some words to the people. And standing there, he said:

“Good people, I have come here to die. I was born to live under that condition, naturally to die again. And that you might testify that I depart out of this present life as a true Christian man, in a right belief towards Almighty God, I will recite to you the articles of my creed:”

And then he began to recite them in order, as they are in the common creed, often elevating his eyes and hands to Almighty God. At the article of Christ’s Incarnation, having a little meditation in himself, and coming to the word *crucified*, he humbly bowed himself and made great reverence, and then proceeding in the articles, he came to these words, “I believe the Catholic church.” There he paused, and spoke these words,

“Good people, I must here confess to have offended the church, in preaching once contrary to her prohibition, at a poor cure belonging to Trinity Hall in Cambridge, where I was a fellow. I was earnestly entreated to do so by the curate and other good people of the parish, showing that they had no sermon there for a long time before. And so moved in my conscience. I made a poor collation to them, and thereby ran into the disobedience of authority in the church. However, I trust at the general day, the charity that moved me to this act, shall bear me out at the judgment seat of God.”

And so he proceeded, without any words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him his death. Once this was done, he put off his gown, and went to the stake. Kneeling

upon a little ledge coming out of the stake, on which he was afterwards to stand to be better seen, he made his prayer with such earnest elevation of his eyes and hands to heaven, and in so good and quiet behavior, that he seemed not much to consider the terror of his death. He ended his private prayers at the last, with the 143rd Psalm, beginning, "Hear my prayer, O Lord, give ear to my supplications." The next verse he repeated three times in deep meditation: "And enter not into judgment with your servant, for in Your sight no man living shall be justified." And so finishing that Psalm, he ended his private prayers. After that he turned himself to the officers, asking them if they were ready, and they answered, Yes. He then put off his jacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went to the stake; the chain was cast about him. Doctor Warner came to him to bid him farewell, who spoke but few words, for weeping.

Thomas Bilney most gently smiled, and inclined his body to speak to him a few words of thanks, and the last were these, "Feed your flock, feed your flock, that when the Lord comes, he may find you so doing: and farewell good master doctor, and pray for me." And so the doctor departed without any answer, sobbing and weeping. While Bilney thus stood upon the ledge at the stake, certain friars, doctors, and priors of their houses being present (as they were uncharitably and maliciously present at his examination and degradation, etc.) came to him and said, "O Master Bilney, the people are persuaded that we are the causers of your death, and that we have procured it, and it is likely that they will withdraw their charitable alms from us all, unless you declare your charity towards us, and discharge us of the matter." Upon this Thomas Bilney spoke with a loud voice to the people, "I pray you, good people, never be the worse to these men for my sake, as though they were the authors of my death; it was not they." And so he ended.

Then the officers put reeds and faggots about his body, and set fire to them, which made a very great flame, and deformed his face. He held up his hands and knocking upon his breast, he sometimes cried out, "Jesus," sometimes "I believe." The flame was blown away from him by the violence of the wind, which was very great that day, and two or three days before. And so for a little pause he stood without flame. But soon the wood again took the flame, and then he gave up the ghost, his body being withered, bowed downward upon the chain. Then one of the officers with his halbert struck out the staple in the stake behind him, and allowed Bilney's body to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood on it; and so he was consumed (August 1531). Thus have you the true history, and martyrdom of this good man.

*Master Stafford of Cambridge.*

As the death of this godly Bilney did much good in Norfolk where he was burned, so his diligent travel in teaching and exhorting others; and his example of life corresponding to his doctrine, left no small fruit behind him in Cambridge. He was a great means of framing that University, and drawing many to Christ. Through him and partly also through another called Master Stafford, the word of God began to spread there. Among them was Master Hugh Latimer, Doctor Robert Barnes, Doctor Thistel of Pembroke Hall, Master Fooke of Bennet College, Master Soude of the same college, and Doctor Warner (mentioned above), with others.

This Master George Stafford was then the public reader of the divinity lecture in that University. Just as he was a professor of Christ's gospel, so he was a diligent follower of that which he professed.

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As the plague was then sore in Cambridge, a priest called Sir Henry Conjurer, among others, lay sick of the plague. Master Stafford hearing of it, and seeing the horrible danger that his soul was in, was so moved in conscience to help the dangerous case of the priest, that neglecting his own bodily health to recover the other from eternal damnation, he came to him, exhorted and so importuned him, that he would not leave the priest before he had converted him, and saw his conjuring hooks burned before his face. This done, Mr. Stafford went home, and immediately sickened; shortly after, he most Christianly died.

Concerning this Master Stafford, it is moreover to be noted that Master Latimer, still being a servant and a zealous papist, standing in the schools when Master Stafford read, persuaded the scholars not to hear him. He also preached against Stafford, and exhorted the people not to believe him. And yet Latimer himself confessed that he gave thanks to God, that he asked Stafford's forgiveness before he departed.<sup>455</sup>

And thus much, by the way, of good Master Stafford, who, for his constant and godly perseverance in such a cause, may seem not unworthy to go with blessed Bilney in the fellowship of holy and blessed martyrs.

### ***Simon Fish – The Supplication of Beggars.***

#### *Account of Master Simon Fish.*

Before the time of Bilney and the fall of the cardinal, I should have placed the story of Simon Fish, with his book called *The Supplication of Beggars*, declaring how and by what means it came to the king's hand, and what effect followed in the reformation of many things, especially of the clergy. But missing a few years in this matter breaks no great square in our history. The manner and circumstance of the matter is this.

After the light of the gospel, working mightily in Germany, also began to spread its beams in England, great stir and alteration followed in the hearts of many. So that, colored hypocrisy, and false doctrine, and painted holiness began to be revealed more and more by the reading of God's word. The authority of the bishop of Rome, and the glory of his cardinals was not so high, that those who had fresh wits, sparkled with God's grace, began to discern Christ from antichrist; that is, true sincerity from counterfeit religion. In the number of these was Master Simon Fish, a gentleman of Gray's Inn. It happened in the first year that this gentleman came to London, which was about A.D. 1525, there was a play or interlude made by one Master Roo, of the same Inn. In this play, there was matter against Cardinal Wolsey. When none dared take it upon themselves to play the part of the cardinal, Master Fish took upon himself to do it. Upon this, such great displeasure ensued against him on the cardinal's part, that being pursued by the cardinal the same night that this tragedy was played, Master Fish was compelled to leave his own house; he fled over the sea to Tyndale. The year following, this book *Supplication* was printed (about the year 1527). Not long after, it was sent over to the lady Anne Boleyn, who then lived at a place not far from the court. Her brother seeing this book in her hand, took it and read it, and gave it back to her, earnestly desiring her to give it to the king, which she did.

This was about A.D. 1528. The king, after he had received the book, demanded of her who wrote it. She answered, "A subject of his, one Fish, who had fled out of the realm for fear of the cardinal." After the king had kept the book in his bosom three or four days, information was given by the king's servants, to the wife of Simon Fish, that she might send for her

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<sup>455</sup> George Stafford and Hugh Latimer were part of a group of reform-minded theologians who met at "The White Horse" Inn, which was nicknamed "Little Germany" due to the Lutheran ideas discussed there.

husband without danger. Being encouraged, she first came and made suit to the king for the safe return of her husband. Understanding whose wife she was, the king showed a very gentle countenance towards her, asking where her husband was. She answered, "If it please your Grace, not far off." "Then," he said, "fetch him, and he will come and go safely without peril, and no man shall do him harm." He said, moreover, "that she had been much wronged, that he was absent from her for so long." He had now been absent two and a half years. In the meantime the cardinal was deposed, and More sat in the chancellorship.

Thus Fish's wife went immediately to her husband, who had recently come over and was lying secretly within a mile of the court. She brought him to the king, about the year 1530. When the king saw him, and understood he was the author of the book, he received him with loving countenance. After a long talk for three or four hours, as they were riding together a-hunting, the king at length dismissed him, and bade him take his wife home, for she had taken great pains for him. He answered the king and said he dare not do so, for fear of Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, and of Stokesley, the bishop of London.

The king, taking the signet off his finger, desired him to have him recommended to the lord chancellor, charging him not to be so hard as to do him any harm. Master Fish, receiving the king's signet, went and declared his message to the lord chancellor, who took it as sufficient for his own discharge, but he asked him if he had anything for the discharge of his wife. For a little earlier she had by chance displeased the friars, for not allowing them to say their gospels in her house in Latin as they did in others, unless they would say it in English. Upon which the lord chancellor, though he had discharged the man, yet not ceasing his dislike toward the wife, the next morning sent for her to appear before him. Had it not been for her young daughter, who then lay sick of the plague, she would probably have suffered much trouble. Her husband, Master Fish, died of this plague within half a year, and she afterwards married Master James Bainham, who was burned not long after.

Now comes another statement of Edmund Moddis, the king's footman, on the same matter.

This Moddis being with the king, talking of religion and of the new books that had come from beyond the seas, said, "If it might please his grace to pardon him, and such persons as he would bring to his grace, he should see such a book as was wonderful to hear of!" The king demanded to know who they were. He said, two of your merchants, George Elyot and George Robinson. The king appointed a time to speak with them. When they came before his presence in the privy chamber, he demanded what they had to say, or to show him. One of them said, "There was a book come into their hands, which they had there to show his grace." When he saw it, he demanded if any of them could read it. "Yes," said George Elyot, "if it please your grace to hear it." "I think so," said the king, "for if it were needed, you can say it without a book."

The whole book being read, the king made a long pause, and then said, "If a man were to pull down an old stone wall, and began at the lower part, the upper part might chance to fall upon his head." Then he took the book and put it into his desk, and commanded them upon their allegiance that they would not tell any man that he had seen the book," etc. The copy of the book here ensues.

*A certain look, entitled "The Supplication of Beggars"  
thrown and scattered at the Procession in Westminster,  
on Candlemas day, before King Henry the Eighth,  
for him to read, made by Master Fish.*

To the King our Sovereign Lord,

Your poor daily headmen, the wretched hideous monsters on whom scarcely any eye dare look for honor, the foul unhappy sort of lepers and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and sick, who live only by alms, most lamentably complain their woeful misery to your highness — how their number is daily so sorely increased, that all the alms of all the well disposed people of your realm is not half enough to sustain them; but for very constraint, they die of hunger. And this most pestilent mischief has come upon your poor headmen by the reason that in the times of your noble predecessors, now passed, there has craftily crept into this your realm, another sort, not of impotent, but of strong influence and counterfeit holy and idle beggars and vagabonds. Since the time of their first entry, by all the craft and wiliness of Satan, they have now increased under your sight, not only into a great number, but also into a [separate] kingdom.

[515] A.D. 1527-1560.

These are not the herds, but the ravenous wolves going about in herds' clothing, devouring the flock — bishops, abbots, priors, deacons, archdeacons, suffragans, priests, monks, canons, friars, pardoners, and somners. And who is able to number this ravenous idle sort who (setting all labor aside) have begged so importunately, that they have gotten into their hands, more than a third of all your realm? The finest lordships, manors, lands, and territories are theirs; besides this, they have a tenth of all the corn, meadow, pasture, grass, wood, colts, calves, lambs, pigs, geese and chickens. Over and besides this, a tenth of every servant's wages, a tenth of wool, milk, honey, wax, cheese and butter; yes, and they look so narrowly upon their profits, that the poor wives must be accountable to them for every tenth egg, or else she will not get her rights at Easter, and shall be taken as a heretic. To this they add their four-offering days. What money they pull in by probates of testaments, privy tithes, and by men's offerings to their pilgrimages, and at their first masses! Every man and child that is buried must pay something for masses and dirges to be sung for him, or else they will accuse their friends and executors of heresy. What money they get by mortuaries, by hearing confessions (and yet they keep no counsel of them) by hallowing churches, altars, superaltars, chapels, and bells, by cursing men, and absolving them again for money! What a multitude of money the pardoners gather in a year! How much money the somners get by extortion in a year, by citing the people to the commissaries' court, and afterwards releasing those who appear, for money! Finally, the infinite number of begging friars, what do they get in a year?

Here, if it please your grace to mark, you will see a thing that is far out of joint. There are within your realm of England 52,000 parish churches. And this being so, if there are but ten households in every parish, there are 520,000 households. And from every one of these households, each of the five orders of friars has a penny a quarter for every order; that is, for all five orders, they get five pence a quarter for every house; and for all five orders, that totals twenty pence a-year from every house; *i.e.*, 520,000 quarters of angels;<sup>456</sup> that is, 260,000 half angels, or 130,000 angels, totalling 430,333£. 6s. 8d. sterling! Not 400 years past, they had not one penny of this.

Oh grievous and painful exaction, to be thus paid yearly! from which the people of your noble predecessors, the kings of the ancient Britons, ever stood free. And will they have this, or else they will procure whoever will not give it to them, to be taken as a heretic. What tyrant ever oppressed the people like this cruel and vengeful generation? What subjects will be able to help their prince; that is, if they are polled yearly in this fashion? What good Christian people can be able to succor us poor lepers, blind, sore, and lame, who are thus yearly oppressed? Is it

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<sup>456</sup> *Angel*: a gold coin, impressed with an angel weighing four pennyweights, valued at 6s. 8d. in the reign of Henry VI, 1462, and 10s in the reign of Elizabeth I, 1562.

any marvel that your people so complain of poverty? Is it any marvel that the taxes, fifteenths and subsidies that your grace most tenderly, out of great compassion, has taken among your people to defend them from the threatened ruin of their commonwealth, have been so slothfully, even painfully levied, seeing almost the uttermost penny that might have been levied, has been gathered before, yearly, by this ravenous insatiable generation? Neither the Danes nor the Saxons, in the time of the ancient Britons, would ever have been able to bring their armies from so far, here into your land to conquer it, if they had at that time such idle gluttons to feed at home. The noble king Arthur would never have been able to carry his army to the foot of the mountains, to resist the coming down of Lucius, the emperor, if such yearly exactions had been taken from his people. The Greeks would never have been able to so long continue at the siege of Troy, if they had at home such an idle sort of cormorants to feed.<sup>457</sup> The ancient Romans would never have been able to put the whole world under their obedience, if their people had thus been oppressed yearly. The Turk now, in your time, would never have been able to get so much ground of Christendom, if he had in his empire such locusts to devour his substance. Lay then these sums to the foresaid third of the possessions of the realm, so that you may see whether it draws near to half of the whole substance of the realm or not; you shall find that it draws far above that.

Now let us then compare the number of this unkind idle sort, to the number of the lay people, and we will see whether it is indifferently shifted or not, that they should have half. Compare them to the number of men, and they not the hundredth person. Compare them to men, women, and children, they not the four hundredth person in number. One part therefore divided into four hundred parts, would not be too much for them, unless they labored. What an unequal burden is it, that they have half with the multitude, and are not four hundredth of their number? What tongue is able to tell, that there was ever any commonwealth so sorely oppressed since the world first began?

And what does all this greedy sort of sturdy, idle, holy thieves do with these yearly exactions that they take from the people? Truly nothing, but exempt themselves from the obedience of your grace. Nothing but transfer all rule, power, lordship, authority, obedience, and dignity, from your grace to them. Nothing but that all your subjects should fall into disobedience and rebellion against your grace, and be under them, as they did to your noble predecessor king John. Because he would have punished certain traitors who had conspired with the French king to depose him from his crown and dignity (among whom was a cleric called Stephen, a man that the pope afterwards made bishop of Canterbury against the king's will), interdicted his land. For this matter your most noble realm wrongfully (alas for shame!) has stood tributary not to any kind of temporal prince, but to a cruel devilish blood-sucker, drunken in the blood of the saints and martyrs of Christ ever since.

Here was a holy sort of prelates, who thus cruelly could punish such a righteous king, all his realm and succession, fordoing right! Here was a charitable sort of holy men, who could thus interdict a whole realm, and pluck away the obedience of the people from their natural liege lord and king, for no other cause than for his righteousness! Here was a blessed sort, not of meek herds, but of blood-suckers, that could set the French king upon such a righteous prince, to cause him to lose his crown and dignity, to make effusion of the blood of his people, unless this good and blessed king, out of great compassion — more fearing and lamenting the shedding of the blood of his people, than the loss of his crown and dignity, and against all right and conscience — submitted himself to them!

O most horrible case that ever so noble a king, realm and succession, should thus be made to stoop to such blood-suckers! What had his sword, power, crown and dignity become, whereby

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<sup>457</sup> *Cormorant*: a large voracious dark-colored long-necked seabird with a distensible pouch for holding fish.



he might have done justice in this matter? What had their obedience become, that should have been subject under his high power in this matter? Yes, what had the obedience of all his subjects become, that for maintenance of the commonwealth they should have held him manfully to resist these blood-suckers to the shedding of their blood? Was it not altogether by their policy transferred from this good king to them?

Yes, and what more did they do? Truly nothing but apply themselves by all the sleights they may, to deal with every man's wife, every man's daughter, and every man's maid, that the worst vices should reign over all among your subjects; that no man should know his own child, to put right-begotten children clean beside their inheritance, in subversion of all estates and godly order. These are the ones who, by abstaining from marriage, hinder the generation of the people — whereby all the realm at length, if it were continued, would be made a desert and uninhabitable.

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What has your sword, power, crown, and dignity become, that should punish by punishment of death, even as other men are punished, the felonies, rapes, murders, and treasons committed by this sinful generation? What has their obedience become, that should be under your high power in this matter? Is it not altogether transferred and exempt from your grace to them? Yes truly, what an infinite number of people might have been increased to people the realm, if this sort of folk had been married like other men? What breach of matrimony has been brought in by them? Truly, such as was never seen since the world began, among the whole multitude of the heathen. What sort are those who marry priests' sovereign ladies, if not to cloak the priests' incontinency, and to make a living from the priests themselves for their labor? <sup>458</sup> How many thousands does such lubricity <sup>459</sup> bring to beggary, theft and idleness, who should have kept their good name, and have set themselves to work, had there not been this excessive treasure of the spirituality? What honest man would dare to take any man or woman into his service, who has been at such a school with a spiritual man?

O the grievous shipwreck of the commonwealth which in ancient times, before the coming of these ravenous wolves, was so prosperous that then there were but few thieves. Indeed, theft at that time was so rare that Caesar was not compelled to impose the death penalty for felony, as your grace may well perceive in his institutes. There were also at that time but few poor people, and yet they did not beg; rather, enough was given to them unasked. For at that time there were none of these ravenous wolves to ask it from them, as it appears in the Acts of the Apostles. Is it any marvel then that there are now so many beggars, thieves, and idle people? No, truly. What is the remedy? Make laws against them? I doubt whether you are able. Are they not stronger in your own parliament-house than yourself? What number of bishops, abbots, and priors are lords in your parliament? Are not all the learned men of your realm in fee with them (paid by them), to speak in your parliament-house *for* them and *against* your crown, dignity, and commonwealth of your realm, with only a few of your own learned council excepted? What law can be made against them that may be available? Who is he — though he is sorely grieved for the murder of his ancestor, ravishment of his wife or daughter, robbery, trespass, maim, debt, or any other offense — that dare lay it to their charge by any way of action? And if he does, then by and by, by their wiliness, he is accused of heresy. Indeed, they will so handle him before he passes, that unless he will bear a faggot for their pleasure, he will be excommunicated, and then be dashed by all his actions.

So captive are your laws to them, that no man whom they list to excommunicate, may be admitted to sue for any action in any of your courts. If any man in your sessions dares be so

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<sup>458</sup> Perhaps referring to a priest taking an abbess as his concubine in lieu of marriage.

<sup>459</sup> *Lubricity*: feeling a morbid sexual desire or a propensity to lewdness.



hardy as to indict a priest of any such crime, he has before the year ends, such a yoke of heresy laid on his neck, that it makes him wish he had not done it. Your grace may see what a work there is in London — how the bishop rages for indicting certain curates of extortion and incontinency, the last year in the Wardmote quest.<sup>460</sup> Had not Richard Hunne commenced an action of *praemunire* against a priest, he would still have been alive, and not a heretic at all, but an honest man. Did not various ones of your noble progenitors, seeing their crown and dignity run into ruin, and to be thus craftily transferred into the hands of this mischievous generation, make diverse statutes for the reformation of this, among which the statute of Mortmain was one,<sup>461</sup> with the intent that after that time they would have no more given to them? But what did that avail? Have they not gotten into their hands more lands since then than any duke in England has, the statute notwithstanding? Indeed, for all that, have they not transferred into their hands, from your grace, half your kingdom, only the name remaining to you for your ancestors' sake? So *you* have the name, and *they* have the profit. Yes, I fear that if I weighed all things to the utmost, they would also take the name for themselves, and of one kingdom make two: the spiritual kingdom, as they call it (for they would be named first), and your temporal kingdom. And which of these two kingdoms do you suppose is likely to overgrow the other — indeed, to put the other clean out of memory? Truly the kingdom of the bloodsuckers. For to them is given daily out of your kingdom; and once that is given, it never comes back from them. They have such laws, that none of them may either give or sell anything. What law can be made so strong against them, that they will not break it or set it at naught, either with money, or else with other policy? What kingdom can endure, that ever gives this way from the king, and receives nothing back? O how all the substance of your realm, your sword, power, crown, dignity, and the obedience of your people, runs headlong into the insatiable whirlpool of these greedy gulfs, to be swallowed and devoured!

Nor do they have any other color to gather these yearly exactions into their hands, but that they say they pray for us to God, to deliver our souls out of the pains of purgatory. Without whose prayers, they say, or at least without the pope's pardon, we could never be delivered from there. If this is true, then it is good reason that we give them all these things, even if it were a hundred times as much. But there are many men of great literature and judgment, who for the love they have for the truth and for the commonwealth, have not feared to put themselves into the greatest infamy that may be, in abjection of all the world — yes in peril of death — to declare their opinion in this matter, which is that there is no purgatory. Rather, it is something invented by the covetousness of the spirituality, only to transfer all kingdoms from other princes to them; and there is not one word spoken of it in all the holy Scripture. They also say that if there were a purgatory, and also if that the pope with his pardons may deliver one soul from there for money, then he may just as well deliver him *without* money; and if he may deliver one, he may deliver a thousand; and if he may deliver a thousand, he may deliver them all, and so destroy purgatory. And if he keeps them there in prison and in pain till men give him money, then he is a cruel tyrant, without any charity.

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<sup>460</sup> *Wardmotes* were meetings held in each ward of the City of London, typically once a year, where adult males in the ward would gather to elect local officers, choose a jury, and address local concerns such as public order, sanitation, and moral issues. The *quest* was an inquest or inquiry into such matters.

<sup>461</sup> During the Middle Ages the Roman Catholic Church acquired a substantial amount of real estate. As the Church and religious orders were each recognized as a legal person separate from the office holder who administered the Church land (such as the abbot or the bishop), the land would not escheat upon the death of the holder, nor pass by inheritance. The land was thus held in perpetuity. In 1279 and again in 1290, *Statutes of Mortmain* were enacted under King Edward I to impose limits on the Church's holding of property. They were initially meant to prohibit donating land to the Church to avoid feudal services. However, those statutes proved ineffective due to *cestui que use*, which side-stepped the royal courts, coming under the law of trusts developed in the ecclesiastical courts. It separated legal ownership from the right of occupation or use of land. This issue was finally resolved in 1535, when Henry VIII dissolved the monasteries, and confiscated all monastic lands for the Crown.

Likewise, they say, of the whole of the spirituality, that if they will pray for no man unless he gives them money, they are tyrants, and lack charity, and allow those souls to be punished and uncharitably pained for lack of their prayers. This sort of folks they call heretics; these they burn; these they rage against, put to open shame, and make them bear faggots. But whether they are heretics or not, I well know that this purgatory and the pope's pardons are the entire cause of transferring your kingdom so fast into their hands. Therefore it is manifest that it cannot be of Christ — for he gave more to the temporal kingdom; he himself paid tribute to Caesar; he took nothing from him, but taught that the high powers should be always obeyed. Indeed, although he himself was most free lord of all, and innocent, he was obedient to the high powers unto death. This is the great sore, and why they will not let the New Testament go abroad in your mother tongue lest men spot that by their cloaked hypocrisy they thus transfer your kingdom fast into their hands; that they are not obedient to your high power; that they are cruel, unclean, unmerciful, and hypocrites; that they do not seek the honor of Christ, but their own; that remission of sins is not given by the pope's pardon, but by Christ, for the sure faith and trust that we have in Him.

Here may your grace well perceive, that unless you permit their hypocrisy to be disclosed, all is likely to run into their hands. And as long as it is covered up, so long it will seem to every man to be a great impiety not to give to them. For this I am sure: that your grace thinks, as the truth is, 'I am as good a man as my father. Why may I not give them as much and as well as my father did?' And I am sure all the lords, knights, squires, gentlemen, and yeomen in England are of this mind. Yes, and until this is disclosed, all your people will think that your statute of Mortmain was never made in good conscience, seeing that it takes away the liberty of your people, in that they may not as lawfully buy their souls out of purgatory by giving to the spirituality, as their predecessors did in times past.

[517] A.D. 1527-1560.

Therefore, if you would avoid the ruin of your crown and dignity, let their hypocrisy be uttered, and that will be speedier in this matter than all the laws that can be made, however strong they may be. For to make a law to punish any offender, unless it was more to give other men an example to beware of committing such a like offense, what would it avail? Did not Doctor Allen most presumptuously, now in your time, against his allegiance, do all that he ever could to pull from you the knowledge of those pleas which belong to your high courts, to another court, in derogation of your crown and dignity? Did not Doctor Horsey and his accomplices also,<sup>462</sup> most heinously, as all the world knows, murder in prison that honest merchant Richard Hunne, for suing your writ of *praemunire* against a priest who wrongfully held him in plea in a spiritual court, for a matter that he knew belonged to your high courts? And what punishment was done that any man may take example of, to beware of like offense? Truly none, except that the one contributed five hundred pounds, it is said, to the building of your chamber; and once that payment was made, the captains of his kingdom — because he fought so manfully against your crown and dignity — have heaped upon him benefice upon benefice, so that he is rewarded ten times as much. The other, it is said, paid six hundred pounds for himself and his accomplices; and because he likewise fought so manfully against your crown and dignity, he was immediately, upon obtaining your most gracious pardon, promoted by the captains of his kingdom, with benefice upon benefice, to the value of four times as much. Who then can take an example of punishment from this to beware of such like offense? Who of their kingdom would not rather take courage to commit the like offense, seeing the promotions that fell to those men for their so offending? So weak and blunt is your sword to strike at one of the offenders of this crooked and perverse generation.

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<sup>462</sup> See pp. 414-415.

And this is because the chief instrument of your law — indeed, the chief of your council, the one who has your sword in his hand, to whom all the other instruments also are obedient — is also a spiritual man (clergyman). He ever has such an inordinate love for his own kingdom, that he will maintain it, even if all the temporal kingdoms and commonwealths of the world were thereby utterly undone. Here we leave out the greatest matter of all, lest we declare such a horrible carrion of evil against these ministers of iniquity, that it seems to declare only the one fault (or rather the ignorance) of our best-beloved minister of righteousness, which is to be hidden till he learns it plainly for himself by these few enormities we have spoken of.

But what remedy is there to relieve us, your poor, sick, lame, and sore beadsmen? <sup>463</sup> To make many hospitals for the relief of the poor people? No, truly. The more the worse: for the fat of the whole foundation ever hangs on the priests' beards. Diverse of your noble predecessors, kings of this realm, have given lands to monasteries, to give a certain sum of money yearly to the poor people, from which (for the remoteness of the time) they never give one penny. They have likewise allowed them to have a certain number of masses said daily for them, of which they never say one. If the abbot of Westminster were to sing every day as many masses for his founders, as he is bound to do by his foundation, a thousand monks would be too few. Therefore, if your grace would build a sure hospital that shall never fail, to relieve us all your poor beadsmen, then take from them all these things. Send these sturdy loobies (fools) abroad in the world to get themselves wives of their own, to get their living with their labor in the sweat of their faces, according to the commandment of God (Gen 3.19) and to be an example to other idle people to go to work. Tie these holy idle thieves to the carts, to be whipped naked about every market-town, till they fall to working, so that by their importunate begging, they do not take away the alms that the good Christian people would give to us sore, impotent, miserable people, your beadsmen. Then the number of the aforesaid monstrous sort shall be reduced, as of whores, thieves, and idle people. Then these great yearly exactions shall cease. Then your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people shall not be transferred from you. Then you shall have the full obedience of your people. Then the idle people shall be set to work. Then matrimony shall be much better kept. Then the generation of your people shall be increased. Then your commons shall increase in riches. Then the gospel shall be preached. Then none shall beg our alms away from us. Then we shall have enough, and more than shall suffice us; this shall be the best hospital that was ever founded for us. Then we shall daily pray to God for your most noble estate to long endure."

Against this book of the beggars, Sir Thomas More shortly after wrote another book in answer to it, under the title of "The Poor Silly Souls Pewling (whining) out of Purgatory." In that book, after More had first divided the whole world into four parts — that is, into heaven, hell, earth, and purgatory — he then makes the dead men's souls, by a rhetorical *prosopopaeia* <sup>464</sup> to speak out of purgatory, sometimes lamentably complaining, sometimes pleasantly dallying and scoffing at the author of the beggars' book; sometimes scolding and railing at him, calling him a fool, witless, frantic, an ass, a goose, a mad dog, a heretic, and all that. And no wonder, if these silly souls of purgatory seem so fumish and testy; for heat is testy, and soon inflames anger. Yet these purgatory souls must take good heed (More says) how they call a man a fool and heretic so often; for if the sentence of the gospel pronounces them guilty of hellfire, who say, "You fool," it may be feared lest those poor, silly, melancholy souls of purgatory, calling this man a fool so often, bring themselves thereby out of purgatory fire into the fire of hell. So that neither the five wounds of St. Francis, nor all the merits of St. Dominic, nor yet of all the friars, can release these poor wretches.

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<sup>463</sup> *Beadsmen*: those who pray for another (here, for the king), alluding to their rosary beads.

<sup>464</sup> *Prosopopaeia*: a figure of speech in which an abstract thing or absent person is represented as speaking,

Yet, as I do not, and cannot think that those departed souls would either so far overshoot themselves if they were in purgatory, or else that there is any such fourth place of purgatory at all (unless it is in Master More's Utopia), I therefore cease to burden the souls departed, and lay all the wit on Master More, the author and contriver of this poetical book.

After the clergy of England (and especially the cardinal) understood that these books of the *Beggars' Supplication* were strewn abroad in the streets of London, the cardinal had his servants diligently gather them up so that they would not come into the king's hands. But when he understood that the king had received one or two of them, he came to the king's majesty, saying, "If it shall please your grace, here are diverse seditious persons who have scattered abroad books containing manifest errors and heresies, desiring his grace to beware of them." Whereupon the king, putting his hand in his bosom, took out one of the books, and delivered it to the cardinal. Then the cardinal, together with his bishops, consulted how they might provide a speedy remedy for this mischief. They determined to give out a commission to forbid the reading of all English books, and especially this book of "The Supplication of Beggars," and the New Testament of Tyndale's Translation. This commission was done out of hand by Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London, who sent his prohibition to his archdeacons with all speed, for the forbidding of that book and others. The tenor of that prohibition <sup>465</sup> is as follows:

*A prohibition sent out by Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London,  
to the Archdeacons of his Diocese, for the calling in of the New Testaments  
translated into English, with many other books.*

"Cuthbert, by the permission of God, bishop of London, to our well-beloved in Christ, the archdeacon of London, or to his official — health, grace, and benediction. By the duty of our pastoral office, we are bound diligently with all our power to foresee, provide for, root out, and put away all those things which seem to tend to the peril and danger of our subjects, and especially the destruction of their souls.

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"Therefore we, understanding by the report of several credible persons, and also by the evident appearance of the matter, that many children of iniquity, maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through extreme wickedness, wandering from the way of truth and the catholic faith, have craftily translated the New Testament into our English tongue, intermixing with it many heretical articles and erroneous opinions, pernicious and offensive, seducing the simple people, attempting by their wicked and perverse interpretations, to profane the majesty of the Scripture, which up to now has remained undefiled, and craftily to abuse the most holy word of God, and the true sense of it. There are many books printed of this translation, some with glosses, and some without, containing in the English tongue that pestiferous and most pernicious poison dispersed throughout all our diocese of London in great number, which truly, unless it is foreseen, it will without doubt contaminate and infect the flock committed to us, with most deadly poison and heresy, to the grievous peril and danger of the souls committed to our charge, and to the offense of God's Divine Majesty. Therefore we, Cuthbert, the bishop aforesaid, grievously sorrowing for the premises, willing to withstand the craft and subtlety of the ancient enemy and his ministers who seek the destruction of my flock, and with a diligent care to take heed to the flock committed to my charge, desiring to provide speedy remedies for the premises, do charge you jointly and severally, and by virtue of your obedience, straitly enjoin and command you, that by our authority, you warn or cause to be warned all and singular, exempt as well as not exempt, dwelling within your archdeaconries,

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<sup>465</sup> The same prohibition was published by every bishop in his diocese. — BURNET.

that within thirty days, of which ten days shall be for the first, ten for the second, and ten for the third and peremptory term, under pain of excommunication, and incurring the suspicion of heresy, they bring in and really deliver to our vicar general, all and singular such books that contain the translation of the New Testament in the English tongue; and that you certify to us, or our said commissary (delegate), within two months after the day of the date of these presents, duly, personally, or by your letters, together with these presents, under your seals, what you have done in the premises, under pain of contempt.

“Given under our seal, the 23rd of October, in the fifth year of our consecration, A.D. 1526.”

A like commission, in like manner and form, was sent to the other three archdeacons of Middlesex, Essex, and Colchester, for its execution under the bishop’s seal.

Many other books were forbidden at this time, together with the New Testament. And among them were *The Supplication of Beggars*; *The Revelation of Antichrist*, by Luther; *The Wicked Mammon*; *The Obedience of a Christian Man*; *An Introduction to St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans*; *A Dialogue between the Father and the Son* <sup>466</sup> — all by Tyndale; and nearly one hundred other books — written by the reformers.

### ***Tyndale Translates The New Testament Into English.***

The New Testament, above recited, first began to be translated by William Tyndale. It was printed at Antwerp, and sent into England in the year 1526. Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London, and Sir Thomas More, being aggrieved, devised how they could destroy that “false erroneous translation,” as they called it. It happened that there was one Augustine Packington, an English merchant at Antwerp at that time, when the bishop was there in 1529. This man favored Tyndale, but pretended otherwise to the bishop. The bishop was desirous to bring his purpose to pass. He said that he would gladly buy the New Testaments. Packington hearing him say so, said, “My Lord, I can do more in this matter than most merchants can do, if it is your pleasure, for I know the Dutchmen and strangers who have bought them from Tyndale, and have them here to sell. So, if it is your Lordship’s pleasure to obtain them, I must spend money to pay for them, or else I cannot have them. But if it is your pleasure to do so, I will secure for you every book that is printed and unsold.” The bishop said, “Do your diligence, gentle Master Packington; get them for me, and I will pay whatever is their cost, for I intend to burn and destroy them all at St. Paul’s cross.” This Augustine Packington went to William Tyndale, and declared the whole matter. And so, upon a compact made between them, the bishop of London had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tyndale had the money. <sup>467</sup> After this Tyndale corrected the New Testament, and had it newly reprinted, so that they came thick and threefold over into England. When the bishop perceived this, he sent for Packington, who by that time had returned to England. The bishop said to him, “How does this come about, that there are so many New Testaments abroad? You promised me that you would buy them all.” Then Packington answered, “Surely, I bought all that were to be had. But I perceive that they have reprinted more since. I see it will never be better so long as they have letters and stamps. Therefore, you had better buy the stamps too, and then you will be sure.” The bishop smiled at this answer, and so the matter ended.

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<sup>466</sup> This was part of Tyndales’s *Dialogue on the Lord’s Prayer*.

<sup>467</sup> Tyndale was very glad of it; for, being convinced of some faults in his work, he was designing a new and correct edition; but he was poor, and the former impression not being sold off, he could not go about it; so he gave Packington all the copies that lay in his hands, for which the bishop paid the price, and brought them over to be burned. — Burnet.

It happened, in the following year, that George Constantine was apprehended by Sir Thomas More, on suspicion of heresy. After several examinations, among other things, More asked him, "Constantine, I would have you be plain with me in one thing that I will ask. And I promise you, I will show you favor in all other things of which you are accused. Beyond the sea are Tyndale, Joy, and a great many others. I know they cannot live without help. There are some who help and succor them with money, and you being one of them, had your part of it. Therefore you know where this help came from. I pray you, tell me, who are those who thus help them?" "My Lord," said Constantine, "I will tell you truly. It is the bishop of London who has helped us. For he has bestowed among us a great deal of money to buy up the New Testaments to burn them. And that has been, and still is, our only succor and comfort." "Now, by my pledge," said More, "I think even the same, for I told the bishop that much before he went about it."

It is reported by Sir Thomas More, about George Constantine, that being taken, he seemed well contented to renounce his former doctrine, and not only to disclose his other fellows, but he also studied how these books — which he himself and others of his fellows had bought and shipped — might come into the bishop's hands to be burned. Afterwards Constantine, by the help of some of his friends, escaped from prison over the seas. After that, in the time of king Edward, he troubled the good bishop of St. David's in Wales (Robert Ferrar), who was burned in Queen Mary's time (see p. 745).

On the return of Tunstall from Antwerp, he caused all the New Testaments which he had bought, to be publicly burned in St. Paul's church-yard. This gave great offense to many of the people. To remove this feeling, the bishops let it be known that they intended to set out a true translation of it. The bishops made many complaints, under the pretense that the translations of Tyndale and Joy were not truly translated. Besides this, they claimed there were prologues and prefaces in them that smelled of heresy, and railed against the bishops. They obtained a proclamation from the king, prohibiting the teaching or preaching of anything against the dignity and ordinances of the church of Rome, and prohibiting the reading of any books contrary to the church of Rome. But the king commanded the bishops to summon the best learned men of the universities to make a new translation, so that the people might not be ignorant in the law of God.

[519] A.D. 1527-1560.

Notwithstanding this command, the bishops did nothing at all to prepare a new translation. On the contrary, on the 24th of May 1530, a paper was drawn up and agreed to by archbishop Warham, chancellor More, bishop Tunstall, and others, which every incumbent was called upon to read to his parish, as a warning to prevent the contagion of heresy. In this paper it was declared that it was not necessary to set forth the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. Many of the people were so disappointed at this, that they only became more eager to read Tyndale's translation, by which many things came to light. Soon after, great trouble and persecution was raised against the poor innocent flock of Christ.

### **Resulting Conversions and Martyrdoms**

*Richard Byfield, Martyr.*

This Richard Byfield, a monk of St. Edmundsbury, was converted by Dr. Robert Barnes, and by Master Maxwell and Master Stacey, two godly men of London, brickmakers and wardens of their company, who were ingrafted in the doctrine of Jesus Christ. Through their godly conversation of life, they had converted many men and women, both in London and in the country. Once a year, at their own cost, they went about to visit the brethren and sisters



scattered abroad. Doctor Barnes at that time much resorted to the abbey of Bury, where Byfield was, to one Doctor Ruffam. At this time it happened that this monk Byfield was chamberlain of the house to provide lodging for the strangers, and to see them well entertained. He delighted much in Doctor Barnes and in the other laymen's conversation. At last, Doctor Barnes gave him a New Testament in Latin, and the other two gave him Tyndale's Testament in English, with two books titled "The Wicked Mammon," and "The Obedience of a Christian Man." He had learned so much in two years, that he was cast into prison, sorely whipped, a gag put into his mouth, and put into the stocks. So he continued for three quarters of a year before Doctor Barnes could get him out. This he brought to pass by means of Doctor Ruffam, before-mentioned. And so Byfield committed to Doctor Barnes to go to Cambridge with him. By that time he had tasted so well of good letters, that he never returned to his abbey, but went to London, to Maxwell and Stacey. They kept him secretly a while, and then conveyed him beyond the sea. Doctor Barnes by this time was himself in the Fleet prison for God's word. Byfield mightily prospered in the knowledge of God, and was serviceable to Master Tyndale, and Master Frith. For he brought substance with him, and bought all their works, and the Germans' works, and sold them both in France and in England. At last coming to London, he was there betrayed, and carried to the Lollards' Tower, and from there to the Coalhouse.

Richard Byfield being in the Coalhouse, was worse handled than he was before in the Lollards' Tower; for there he was tied by the neck, middle, and legs, standing upright by the walls, and manacled, to make him accuse others who had bought his books. He accused none, but stood to his religion and confession of his faith, even to the very end. He was thrice put to trial in the consistory of St. Paul's, whether he would abjure or not? He said he would dispute for his faith, and so he did, to their great shame. Stokesley was his judge, with the assistance of Winchester, and other bishops. The articles laid to Richard Byfield by the aforesaid bishops, were these (November 10, 1531).

*Articles laid to Richard Byfield.*

1. First, that he had been a monk for many years, professed of the order of St. Benedict, of St. Edmundsbury, in the diocese of Norwich.
2. That he was a priest, and had ministered and continued in the same order for nine or ten years.
3. That since the feast of Easter last, being beyond the sea, he bought and procured diverse and many books and treatises of sundry sorts, of Martin Luther's own works, as well as others of his damnable sect, and of Oecolampadius the great heretic, and other heretics, both in Latin and English; the names of these books were contained in a little bill written with his own hand.
4. That in the year of our Lord 1528, he was detected and accused to Cuthbert, then bishop of London, for affirming and holding certain articles contrary to the holy church, and especially that all laud and praise should be given to God alone, and not to saints or creatures.
5. That every priest might preach the word of God by the authority of the gospel, and not to run to the pope or cardinals for license, as it appeared (they said) by his confession before the said bishop.
6. That he judicially abjured the said articles before the said bishop, and renounced and forswore them and all other articles contrary to the determination of holy church, promising that from then on he would not fall into any of them, nor any other errors.

7. That he made a solemn oath upon a book, and the holy evangelists, to fulfill whatever penance might be enjoined of him by the bishop.
8. After his abjuration it was enjoined of him for penance, that he should go before the cross in procession, in the parish church of St. Botolph's at Billingsgate, and bear a faggot of wood upon his shoulder.
9. It was enjoined him in penance, that he should provide a habit requisite and appropriate for his order and profession, as shortly as he might, and that he should come or go nowhere without such a habit; which he had not fulfilled.
10. That it was likewise enjoined of him in penance, that he should at some time before the feast of the Ascension next ensuing his abjuration, go home to the monastery of Bury and remain there according to the vow of his profession; which he had not fulfilled.
11. That he was appointed by the bishop of London to appear before the said bishop, on the 25th day of April next after his abjuration, to receive the remainder of his penance, and after his abjuration he fled beyond the sea, and did not appear.
12. That on the 20th of June next following his abjuration, he appeared before the said Bishop Tunstall, in the chapel of the bishop of Norwich's palace, and there it was newly enjoined him as part of his penance, that he should provide him a habit convenient for his order and profession, within the next eight days following; which he had not done.
13. That it was there again enjoined him, that he should depart from the city, diocese, and jurisdiction of London, and no more to come within it, without the special license of the bishop of London, or his successor for the time being; which he had not fulfilled.

*The sentence given against him.*

In the name of God, Amen! We, John, by the sufferance of God, bishop of London, in a case of inquisition of heresy, and relapse of the same, etc.

By the acts enacted, inquired, propounded, and alleged, and judicially confessed by you, we find that you have abjured certain errors and heresies, and damnable opinions confessed by you, particularly as well as generally, before our reverend fellow and brother, then your ordinary,<sup>468</sup> according to the form and order of the church. And that one Martin Luther, together with his adherents and accomplices, receivers and favorers, whatever they may be, was condemned as a heretic, by the authority of Pope Leo the Tenth, of most happy memory, and by the authority of the Apostolic See; and the books, and all writings, schedules and sermons of the said Martin Luther, his adherents and accomplices, whether they are found in Latin or in any other languages, printed or translated, for the manifold heresies and errors, and damnable opinions that are in them, are condemned, reprov'd, and utterly rejected, and inhibition made by the authority of the said See, to all faithful Christians, under the pain of excommunication, and other punishments in that behalf, to be incurred by the law, that no man, by any means, presume to read, teach, hear, print, or publish, or by any means defend, directly, or indirectly, secretly or openly, in their houses, or in any other public or private places, any such manner of writings, books, errors, or articles, that are contained more at large in the apostolic letters, drawn out in form of a public instrument.

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To these and to their contents we refer ourselves, as far as is expedient, and not otherwise. And because we perceive that you understood these premises; and yet these things —

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<sup>468</sup> *Ordinary*: a church officer who has power to execute the church's laws. This includes diocesan bishops. They have the authority to make, enforce, and judge laws within their jurisdiction.



notwithstanding after your abjuration was made, as aforesaid — you have brought in diverse and sundry times, many books of the said Martin Luther, and his adherents and accomplices, and of other heretics, the names, titles, and authors of which books here follow, and are these: — Martin Luther, Of the Abrogating of the Private Mass; The Declarations' of Martin Luther upon the Epistles of St. Peter; Luther upon the Epistles of St. Paul and Jude; Luther upon Monastical Vowers; Luther's Commentary upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians; John Oecolampadius upon the exposition of these words, "This is my body;" the Annotations of Oecolampadius upon the Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans, etc. etc.

All these kinds of books — both in Latin and English, translated, set forth, and printed, containing not only Lutheran heresies, but also the damnable heresies of other condemned heretics — you have brought a great number over from the parts beyond the sea, into this realm of England, and especially to our city and diocese of London, and have procured them to be brought and conveyed over. Also, you have kept and studied those books, and have published and read them to diverse Christian men; and many of those books you have also dispersed and given to diverse persons dwelling within our city and diocese of London, and have confessed and affirmed before our official, that those books of Martin Luther, and other heretics, his accomplices and adherents, and all the contents in them, are good and agreeable to the true faith, *saying* that they are good and of the true faith. And by this means and pretense, you have commended and praised Martin Luther, his adherents and accomplices, and have favored and believed their errors, heresies, and opinions.

Therefore, we, John, the bishop, aforesaid, first calling upon the name of Christ, and setting God only before our eyes, by the counsel and consent of the divines and lawyers, with whom in this behalf we have conferred, declare and decree you, the aforesaid Richard Byfield, otherwise called Somersam, for the contempt of your abjuration, as a favorer of the aforesaid Martin Luther, his adherents, accomplices, favorers, and other condemned heretics, and for commending and studying, reading, having, retaining, publishing, selling, giving, and dispersing the books and writings, of the said Martin Luther, his adherents and disciples, as well as other heretics beforenamed, and also for crediting and maintaining the errors, heresies, and damnable opinions contained in the said books and writings, worthily to be and have been a heretic; and that you, by the pretense of the premises, have fallen again most damnably into heresy; and we pronounce that you are, and have been, a relapsed heretic, and have incurred, and ought to incur, the pain and punishment of a relapse. And we so decree and declare, and also condemn you to this; and that by the pretense of the premises, you have even, by the law, incurred the sentence of the greater excommunication. And thereby we pronounce and declare you to have been and to be excommunicate, and clearly discharge, exonerate, and degrade you from all privilege and prerogative of the ecclesiastical orders, and also deprive you of all ecclesiastical office and benefice. Also, we pronounce and declare, by this our sentence or decree which we here promulgate and declare in these writings, that you are actually to be degraded, deposed, and deprived, as follows:

In the name of God, Amen. We, John, by the permission of God, bishop of London, rightfully and lawfully proceeding in this behalf, dismiss you, Richard Byfield, alias Somersam, being pronounced by us a relapsed heretic, and degraded by us from all ecclesiastical privilege out of the ecclesiastical court, pronouncing that the secular power here present should receive you under their jurisdiction; earnestly requesting and desiring in the compassion of Jesus Christ, that the execution of this worthy punishment to be done upon you, and against you in this behalf, may be so moderated, that there be neither excessive cruelty, nor too much favorable gentleness, but that it may be to the health and salvation of your soul, and to the extirpation, fear, terror, and conversion of all other heretics to the unity of the Catholic faith. This, our final decree, by this our sentence definitive, we have caused to be published in the form aforesaid.

On Monday, the 20th of November (A.D. 1531), in the Quire of the Cathedral church of St. Paul's, the bishop of London, called to him John, abbot of Westminster; Robert, abbot of Waltham; Nicholas, prior of Christ church of the city of London; Master J. Cox, auditor and vicar-general to the archbishop of Canterbury; Peter Ligham, official of the court of Canterbury; Thomas Bagh, chancellor of the church of St. Paul's; William Cliefe, archdeacon of London; John Inocent, canon residentiary of the same; William Briton, Robert Birch, and Hugh A-price, doctors of both laws, etc.. These religious persons, and other ecclesiastical men, thought it good that the bishop should pronounce and give the sentence against him.

And so Byfield was delivered to the sheriffs to be taken to Newgate. They were commanded to bring him back the following Monday, into St. Paul's upper quire, there to give attendance upon the bishop of London. By and by the sheriffs were commanded to bring him into the vestry, and then to bring him out in Antichrist's apparel, to be degraded before them. When the bishop had degraded him kneeling on the highest step of the altar, he took his crosier staff and struck Byfield on the breast, knocking him down backwards, and broke his head that sounded it. When Byfield came to himself again, he thanked God that he was delivered from the malignant church of Antichrist, and that he had come into the true sincere church of Jesus Christ militant here in earth. "And I trust shortly," he said, "to be in heaven with Jesus Christ, and the church triumphant forever." He was then led out through the quire to Newgate, and there he rested about an hour in prayer. Afterwards he went to the fire in his apparel, manfully and joyfully, and there, for lack of a speedy fire, was alive for half an hour. When his left arm was on fire and burned, he rubbed it with his right hand, and it fell from his body. He continued in prayer to the end without moving. He was burned in Smithfield.

*John Tewkesbury, Leather-seller of London, Martyr.*

John Tewkesbury was converted by reading Tyndale's Testament, and "The Wicked Mammon." He had the bible. In all points of religion he openly disputed about the bishop's chapel in his palace, and the doctrine of justification, and all other articles of his faith. He was very prompt in his answers, so that Tunstall and all his learned men were ashamed that a leather-seller should dispute with them, with such power of the Scriptures and heavenly wisdom, that they were not able to resist him. This disputation continued for a week. The process of examinations and his answers follow, as extracted out of the bishop's register.

On Wednesday, the 21st of April (A.D. 1529), John Tewkesbury was brought into the Consistory at London, before Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London, and his assistants, Henry, bishop of St. Asaph, and John, abbot of Westminster. The bishop of London then declared that he had often exhorted him to recant the errors and heresies which he held and defended, even as he then again exhorted him not to trust too much to his own wit and learning, but to the doctrine of the holy mother, the church. Tewkesbury answered that in his judgment, he did not err from the doctrine of the holy mother the church. At last, being examined upon his errors which, they said, were in the book called "The Wicked Mammon," he answered, — "Take the book and read it over; and I think, in my conscience, you will find no fault in it." Being asked by the bishop, whether he would rather give credit to this book or to the gospel, he answered that the gospel is, and ever has been true.

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The bishop said further to John Tewkesbury: — "I tell you, before God, and those here present, that the articles contained in the book are false, heretical, and condemned by the

holy church— what do you think?” He commanded Tewkesbury to answer determinately, under pain of the law, saying that if he refused to answer, he must declare him an open and obstinate heretic, according to the order of the law.

Tewkesbury answered, “That he thought, in his conscience, there was nothing in the book but that which is true. And to this article — that is, that faith alone justifies without works — he answered, “That is well said,” and added, “I pray to God, that the condemnation of the Gospel, and translation of the Testament will not be to your shame, and that you are not in peril for it; for the condemnation of it and of the other is all one.” He said that he had studied the holy Scriptures for these seventeen years; and just as he could see the spots of his face in the mirror, so in reading the New Testament, he knew the faults of his soul.

The bishop exhorted him to recant his errors. John Tewkesbury answered, “I pray you, reform yourself, and if there is any error in the book, let it be reformed; I think it is good enough.” The bishop appointed him to determine within himself against the morrow.

After some days, with the advice of his friends, he submitted himself, and abjured his opinions, and was enjoined penance, as follows.

- That he should keep well his abjuration, under pain of relapse.
- That the Sunday following, in St. Paul’s Church in the open procession, he should carry a faggot, and stand at St. Paul’s Cross with the same on his back.
- That on the Wednesday following he should carry the same faggot about Newgate Market and Cheapside.
- That on the Friday after, he should take the same faggot again at St. Peter’s Church in Cornhill, and carry it about the market of Leadenhall.
- That he should have two signs of faggots embroidered, the one on his left sleeve, and the other on his right sleeve, and that he should wear them all his lifetime, unless he were otherwise dispensed with.
- That on Whit-Sunday eve, he should enter into the monastery of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, and abide there, and not come out unless he were released by the bishop of London.
- That he should not depart out of the city or diocese of London, without the special license of the bishop or his successors.

This penance he commenced the 8th of May 1529. And thus much concerning his first examination, which was in the year 1529, when he was induced through infirmity, to retract and abjure his doctrine. Being afterwards confirmed by the grace of God, and moved by the example of Byfield, who was burned in Smithfield, he returned and remained constantly in the testimony of the truth, and suffered for it. Recovering more grace and better strength at the hand of the Lord, two years after being apprehended again, he was brought before Sir Thomas More, and the bishop of London; where certain articles were objected against him, the chief of which we briefly recite:

1. That he confessed that he was baptized, and intended to keep the catholic faith.
2. That he affirm, that the abjuration, oath, and subscription that he made before Cuthbert Tunstall, late bishop of London, was done by compulsion.
3. That he had Tyndale’s books, “*The Obedience of a Christian Man*” and “*The Wicked Mammon*,” in his custody, and had read them since his abjuration.
4. That he affirms that he allowed the two faggots that were embroidered on his sleeve, to be removed, for he did not deserve to wear them.

5. He says that faith alone justifies, which has charity.
6. He says that Christ is a sufficient mediator for us, and therefore no prayer is to be made to saints. Whereupon they laid to him this verse of the anthem, "Hail queen of heaven, our advocate." To which he answered, that he knew no other advocate but Christ alone.
7. He affirms that there is no purgatory after this life, but that Christ our Savior is a sufficient purgation for us.
8. He affirms that the souls of the faithful, departing this life, rest with Christ.
9. He affirms that a priest, by receiving orders, receives more grace *if* his faith is increased, but otherwise not.
10. And last of all, he believes that the sacrament of the flesh and blood of Christ, is not the very body of Christ in flesh and blood, as it was born of the Virgin Mary.

Then the chancellor caused the articles to be read openly, with his answers to them. After which, the bishop pronounced sentence against him and delivered him to the sheriffs of London, who burned him in Smithfield, the 20th of December 1531.

*The apprehension of one Edward Freese, a painter.*

Edward Freese was apprentice to a painter, and by working for his master in Bearsie Abbey, was known to the abbot, for he was a boy of talent and knowledge. The abbot favored him so much, that he would have made him a monk. The lad, not liking that kind of living and not knowing how to get out because he was a novice, ran away, and came to Colchester in Essex. He remained there according to his former vocation, was married, and lived like an honest man. After he had been there a good time, he was hired to paint certain cloths for the new inn in Colchester. In the upper border of the cloths he wrote certain sentences of Scripture [in English], and by that, he was plainly known to be one of those whom they call heretics.

He was taken and brought to London, and so to Fulham, to the bishop's house, where he was cruelly imprisoned, with others of Essex — one Johnson and his wife, Wylie and his wife and son, and father Bate of Rowshedge. They were so straitly kept, that their wives and their friends could not come to them. After the painter had been there a long time, he was removed to the Lollard's Tower. While he was at Fulham, his wife being desirous to see her husband, and pressing to come in at the gate (then being with child), the porter lifted up his foot and kicked her on the belly, so that at length she died, but the child was destroyed immediately.

After that, they were all put in the stocks for a long time, and then let loose in their prisons. Some had horselocks on their legs, and some had other irons. This painter would ever write on the walls with chalk or a coal. And because he would write many things, he was manacled by the wrists for so long, that the flesh of his arms had grown higher than his irons. By means of his manacles he could not comb his head, so that his hair was matted together.

After the death of his wife, his brother sued to the king for him, and he was brought out in the consistory at St. Paul's. As his brother reported, they kept him three days without food before he came to his answer. Then, what with the long imprisonment and cruel treatment, and for lack of sustenance, the man could not say anything, but looked and gazed upon the people like a wild man. If they asked him a question, he only answered, "My lord is a good man." And thus, when they had ruined his body, and destroyed his senses, they sent him back again to Bearsie Abbey. But he came back from there, and would not tarry among them. He was never restored to his right mind, to his dying day.

His brother, whose name was Valentine Freese, and his wife, gave their lives at one stake in York, for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

Also the wife of Father Bate, while he was at Fulham, made many supplications to the king without redress. At last she delivered one of these into his own hands, and he read it himself. Thereupon she was appointed to go into Chancery Lane, to one whose name (it is thought) was Master Selyard. At last she got a letter of Selyard to the bishop. When she had it, she thought her suit was well-bestowed, hoping that some good might come to her husband by it. But because the wicked officers in those days were crafty and desired his blood, some of her friends desired to see the contents of her letter, and did not allow her to deliver it to the bishop. As they thought, so they found indeed: for it was in this manner.

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After commendations were had, etc. “Look what you can gather against Father Bate, and send me word by your trusty friend, Sir William Saxie, so that I may certify it to the king’s majesty, etc.” Thus the poor woman, when she thought her suit had been done, was in less hope of her husband’s life than before. But it pleased God to deliver him soon. For he got out on a dark night, and was caught no more; but he died a short time later.

*James Bainham, Lawyer and Martyr.*

James Bainham, gentleman, was virtuously brought up by his parents, in the study of good letters; he knew both the Latin and the Greek tongues. He gave himself to the study of the law, and was esteemed a man of virtuous disposition and godly conversation, mightily addicted to prayer, an earnest reader of Scripture, a great maintainer of the godly, a visitor of prisoners, liberal to scholars, very merciful to his clients, using equity and justice to the poor, very diligent in giving counsel to all the needy, widows, fatherless, and afflicted, without money or rewards — indeed, he was a singular example to all lawyers.

This Master Bainham married the widow of Simon Fish, for which he was more suspect. At last he was accused to Sir Thomas More, arrested, and carried out of the Middle Temple to the chancellor’s house at Chelsea. There he continued in prison a while, till Sir Thomas More, finding that he could not prevail on him to recant, cast him into prison in his own house. He whipped him at the tree in his garden, called the “Tree of Troth” (of fidelity), and afterwards had him sent to the Tower to be racked; and so he was. Sir Thomas More was present himself, till he had lamed him, because Bainham would not accuse the gentlemen of the Temple of his acquaintance, nor show where his books lay. Because Bainham’s wife denied the books were at his house, she was seat to the Fleet, and their goods confiscated.

After they had thus practiced against him what they could by tortures and torments, he brought before John Stokesley, bishop of London, the fifteenth of December A.D. 1531, in Chelsea. There he was examined on the following articles and interrogatories:

1. Whether he believed there was any purgatory of departed souls?

He answered, “If we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanses us from all sin. If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.” 1Joh 1.7-9.

2. Whether saints departed from here are to be honored and prayed to, to pray for us?

He answered: “My little children, these things write I to you, that you do not sin. But if any man sins, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous. And he is the

propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.” 1Joh 2.1-2. And further, on the occasion of these words, “All you saints of God pray for us,” it was demanded what he meant by these words, “All you saints.”<sup>Eph 6.18</sup> He answered that he meant those who were alive, as St. Paul did by the Corinthians,<sup>2Cor 1.11</sup> and not by those who are dead. For he did not pray to them, Bainham said, because he thought that those who are dead cannot pray for him. And also, when the whole church is gathered together, they pray for one another, or desire one to pray for another, with one heart, that the will of the Lord may be fulfilled, and not ours. “And I pray,” he said, “as our Savior Christ prayed at his last hour: ‘O my Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless not as I will, but as you will.’” Mat 26.39.

3. It was demanded whether he thought that any souls departed were yet in heaven or not?

He answered, that he believed that they are where it pleased God to have them; that is to say, in the faith of Abraham, and that in this he would commit himself to the church.

4. He was demanded, whether he thought it necessary to salvation, for a man to confess his sins to a priest?

His answer was that it is lawful for one to confess and acknowledge his sins to another. As for any other confession he knew none. Further, he said, if he came to the sermon, or to any other place where the word of God is preached, and there repented of his sin, he believed his sins are immediately forgiven by God, and that he did not need to go to any confession.

5. That he would say and affirm that the truth of the holy Scriptures has been hidden, and has not appeared for these past eight hundred years, nor was it known before now.

To this he said that he did not mean otherwise than that the truth of holy Scripture was never, these past eight hundred years, so plainly and expressly declared to the people as it has been within these past six years.<sup>469</sup>

6. He was demanded further, for what cause the holy Scripture has been better declared within these past six years, than it has been the eight hundred years before?

He answered, to say plainly, that he knew no man to have preached the word of God sincerely and purely, and according to the true meaning of Scripture, except Master Crome<sup>470</sup> and Master Hugh Latimer; and that the New Testament, now translated into English, preaches and teaches the word of God; and that before that time, men only preached that folks should believe as the church believed; and then if the church erred, men should err too. “However,” he said, “the church of Christ *cannot* err; and that there are two churches; that is, the church of Christ militant, and the church of antichrist; and that this church of antichrist may and does err, but the church of Christ does not.”

7. Whether he knew any person who died in the true faith of Christ, since the apostles’ time?

He said, he knew Byfield, and thought that he died in the true faith of Christ.

8. He was asked what he thought of purgatory?

He answered that if any such thing had been mentioned to St. Paul about purgatory after this life, he thought St. Paul would have condemned it for a heresy. And when he heard Master Crome preach and say that he thought there was a purgatory after this life, he thought in his mind that Master Crome lied, and *spoke against his conscience*; and that there were a

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<sup>469</sup> Tyndale’s New Testament translation was first published in 1525.

<sup>470</sup> Edward Crome (d. 1562). parson of St Antholin’s Church in London. While at Cambridge, he encountered the ideas of religious reformers by attending the meetings of “gospellers” at the White Horse Inn, in St. Benet’s.

hundred more who thought the same as he did — saying that he had seen the confession of Master Crome in print, a very foolish thing as he judged it.

And concerning vows, he granted that there were lawful vows, as Ananias vowed (Acts 5); for it was in his own power whether he would have sold his possessions or not, and therefore he offended. But vows of chastity, and all godliness, are given by God of his abundant grace, which no man can keep of himself, but it must be given to him by God. Therefore a monk, friar, or nun, who has vowed the vows of religion, if they think after their vows are made, that they cannot keep their promises that they made at baptism, they may go and marry, so that they keep, after their marriage, the promise they made at baptism. And finally, he concluded that he thought there were no other vows, except the vow of baptism.

9. He was demanded, whether Luther being a friar, and taking a nun and marrying her, did well or not, and what he did he think about this?

He answered, that he thought nothing. When they asked him, whether it was immoral or not, he answered that he could not say so.

10. Concerning the sacrament of extreme unction, he said that it was but a ceremony; nor did he know that a man would be better for such oiling and anointing. The best part was that some good prayers were said at it.

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11. Likewise, touching the sacrament of baptism, his words were these:

“That as many as repent, and put on Christ, shall be saved: that is, as many as die concerning sin, shall live by faith in Christ. Therefore it is not we who live after that, but that Christ lives in us. <sup>Gal 2.20</sup> And so, whether we live or die, we are God’s by adoption, and not by the water only, but by water and faith; that is, by keeping the promise made. ‘For by grace you are saved through faith,’ says St. Paul; ‘and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God.’” Eph 2.8.

12. He was asked moreover about matrimony, whether it was a sacrament or not, and whether it confers grace, being commanded in the old law, and not yet taken away.’

His answer was that, “Matrimony is an order or law, that the church of Christ has made and ordained, by which men may take wives to themselves and not sin.”

Lastly, as for his books of Scripture, and for his judgment of Tyndale, because he was urged to confess the truth, he said that he had the New Testament translated into the English tongue by Tyndale within this month, and thought that he did not offend God in using and keeping it, notwithstanding that he knew the king’s proclamation to the contrary, and that it was prohibited in the name of the church at St. Paul’s Cross. But for all that, he thought the word of God had not forbidden it. He confessed, moreover, that he had in his keeping within this month these books: — “The Wicked Mammon,” “The Obedience of a Christian Man,” “The Practice of Prelates,” “The Answer of Tyndale to Thomas More’s Dialogues,” “The Book of Frith against Purgatory,” “The Epistle of George Gee, alias George Clerk;” adding that he never saw any errors in all these books. And if there were any such errors in them, then if they were corrected, it would be good that the people had the books. As concerning the New Testament in English, he thought it very good, and that the people should have it as it is. Nor did he ever know that Tyndale was a naughty (wicked) fellow. To these answers, he subscribed his name. This examination was the 15th of December.

He was demanded that now was the time either to save, or else to utterly cast himself away. Which of these ways he would take, the present case now required a present answer, for otherwise the sentence definitive was ready to be read there, etc.

To conclude a long matter in few words: Bainham wavering in doubtful perplexity, between life on the one hand, and death on the other, at length gave up to the adversaries, answering them that he was contented to submit himself in those things in which he had offended, excusing that he was deceived by ignorance. Then the bishop required him to state his mind plainly as to his answers declared above, and demanded what he thought of them, whether they were true or not.

To this, Bainham said that it was too high for him to judge. And then being asked by the bishop, whether there was any purgatory, Bainham answered that he could not believe that there was any purgatory after this life.

Upon other articles being examined and demanded, he was granted as follows: that he could not judge whether Byfield died in the true faith of Christ or not; that a man making a vow, cannot break it without deadly sin; that a priest promising to live chaste, may not marry a wife; that he thinks the apostles are in heaven; that Luther did nothing in marrying a nun; that a child is better for confirmation; that it is an offense to God, if any man keep books prohibited by the church, the pope, the bishop, or the king; and he said that he pondered those points more now than he did before, etc.

The chancellor offering him a bill of his abjuration, required him to read it. He did so. After reading it, he burst out saying that because there were many words in the abjuration, which he thought obscure, he protested that by his oath he did not intend to go from that defense which he might have had before his oath. The chancellor asked him why he made that protest. Bainham said, "For fear, lest any man, of ill will, accuse me hereafter." "Well, Master Bainham," said the chancellor, "take your oath, and kiss the book, or else I will do my office against you." And so he immediately took the book in his hand, kissed it, and subscribed.

This done, the chancellor having received the abjuration in his hand, put Bainham to his fine, first to pay twenty pounds to the king. After that, he enjoined him penance, to go before the cross in procession at St. Paul's, and to stand before the preacher during the sermon at St. Paul's Cross, with a faggot upon his shoulder, on the next Sunday, and to return to the prison again, there to abide the bishop's determination; and so, on the 17th of Feb. he was released. It was scarcely a month when he bewailed his abjuration, and was never quiet in his mind and conscience until he had acknowledged his fall to all his acquaintances. He asked God and all the world forgiveness before the congregation in a warehouse in Bowlane. The next Sunday after he came to St. Austin's, with the New Testament in his hand in English, and the "Obedience of a Christian Man" in his bosom, he stood up before the people in his pew, declaring openly with weeping tears, that he had denied God, and prayed all the people to forgive him, and to beware of his weakness, and not to do as he did. "For," he said, "if I should not return to the truth (having the New Testament in his hand) this word of God would damn me both body and soul at the day of judgment." And there he prayed everybody to die rather than do as he did; for he would not feel such a hell again as he felt, for all the world's goods. Besides this, he wrote letters to the bishop, to his brother, and to others. So that, shortly after, he was apprehended and committed to the Tower of London.

In due time he was tried as a relapsed heretic. And then the vicar-general, after he had taken deliberation and advice with his learned assistants, read the definitive sentence against him. Among other things, besides his abjuration, he pronounced and condemned Bainham as a relapsed heretic, damnably fallen into sundry heresies, and so he was to be left to the secular power; that is to say, to one of the sheriffs present there. After this sentence was given,



James Bainham was delivered into the hands of Sir Richard Gresham, sheriff, then present, who had him carried to Newgate by his officers. He was burned in Smithfield the last day of April A.D. 1532.

This Master Bainham, during his imprisonment, was very cruelly handled. For almost a fortnight he lay in the bishop's coal-house in the stocks, with irons on his legs. Then he was carried to the lord chancellor's, and there he was chained to a post for two nights. Then he was carried to Fulham, where he was cruelly handled for a fortnight. Then to the Tower, where he lay a fortnight, scourged with whips to make him revoke his opinions. From there he was carried to Barking, then to Chelsea, and was there condemned; and so from there to Newgate to be burned!

*John Bent*, a tailor, about this time or not long before, was burned in the town of Devizes, in the county of Wiltshire, for denying the "sacrament of the altar," as they term it.

*One Trapnel, Martyr*. Also about the same time was burned in a town called Bradford, within the same county.

*The History of three men hanged for burning  
the Rood (crucifix) of Dovercourt, collected out of a letter of  
Robert Gardiner, who was one of the doers of the same.*

In the same year, 1532, there was an idol named the rood of Dover-court, to which a great of number of people resorted. For at that time there was a rumor spread abroad among the ignorant sort, that the power of the idol of Dover-court was so great that no man had power to shut the church-door where he stood. And therefore they left the church-door continually stand open, both night and day, to give greater credit to their rumor. This seemed a great wonder to many ignorant men. But by others, whom God had blessed with his Spirit, it was greatly suspected, especially by those whose names follow: Robert King of Dedham, Robert Debnam of Eastbergholt, Nicholas Marsh of Dedham, and Robert Gardiner of Dedham.

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Their consciences were burdened to see the honor and power of the Almighty God so blasphemed by such an idol. Therefore they were resolved to travel out of Dedham on a goodly night, both hard frost and fair moonshine, although the night before and the night after were exceeding foul and rainy. It was ten miles from the town of Dedham, to the place where the rood stood. They went these ten miles, and found the church door open, which happened well for their purpose. For they found the idol which had as much power to keep the door shut as to keep it open. They took the idol from its shrine, and carried it a quarter of a mile from the place where it stood, without any resistance by the idol. Then they struck fire with a flint-stone, and suddenly set it on fire. It burned so brightly that it lighted them homeward one good mile out of the ten.

This done, great talk went abroad that they would have great riches in that place; but it was very untrue. For that was not their thought or enterprise, as they themselves confessed afterwards, for there was nothing taken away but the idol's coat, shoes, and tapers. The tapers helped to burn it; the shoes they gave back; and the coat was burned by one Sir Thomas Rose. But they had neither penny, half-penny, groat, gold, nor jewel from it.

Three of them, however, were afterwards indicted of felony, and hanged in chains half a year later, or thereabouts. These three persons, at their death, through the Spirit of God, more edified the people in godly learning, than all the sermons that had been preached there for a long time before.

The fourth man of this company, named Robert Gardiner, escaped their hands and fled. The Lord preserved him, to whom be all honor and glory, world without end.

The same year, and the year before, there were many images cast down and destroyed in many places — such as the image of the crucifix on the highway by Coggleshall, the image of St. Petronilla in the church of Great Horkesley, the image of St. Christopher by Sudbury, and another image of St. Petronilla in a chapel at Ipswich.

Also John Seward of Dedham turned over the cross in Stoke-park. He took two images out of a chapel in the park, and cast them into the water.

### ***The History of John Frith.***

Among all other evils, there has been none for a long time which seemed to me more grievous than the lamentable death and cruel usage of John Frith, so learned and excellent a young man. He had so profited in all kinds of learning and knowledge, that there was scarcely his equal among all his companions. And besides, he had such a godliness of life joined with his doctrine, that it was hard to judge in which of them he excelled, being greatly praiseworthy in them both. But by the grace of Christ, we will speak to his doctrine hereafter. Notwithstanding his other singular gifts and ornaments of the mind by which he might have opened an easy way to honor and dignity, he chose rather to consecrate himself wholly to the church of Christ. He showed forth and practiced the precept so highly commended by the philosophers regarding the life of man. This life, they say, is given to us in such a way, that by how much better the man is, he should live that much less to himself. We should think a great part of our birth is due to our parents, a greater part to our country, and the greatest part of all bestowed upon the church, if we would be counted good men. First of all, he began his study at Cambridge. Nature had planted in him, while a child, a great love of learning. He also had a wonderful promptness of wit, and a ready capacity to receive and understand anything. Nor was there any diligence lacking in him, by which it came to pass that he was not only a lover of learning, but he also became a very learned man. When he had diligently labored for a number of years, with great profit to himself in the study of Latin and Greek, he at last became acquainted with William Tyndale. Through his instructions, he first received into his heart the seed of the gospel and sincere godliness.

At that time Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, prepared to build a college in Oxford, which was then named Frideswide, but now named Christ's Church, not so much (as it is thought) for the love and zeal that Wolsey bore to learning, as for his ambitious desire for glory and renown, and to leave a perpetual name to posterity. This ambitious cardinal gathered together into that college whatever excellent things there were in the whole realm, either vestments, vessels, or other ornaments, besides provision of all kinds of precious things. He also appointed to it all; those men who were found to excel in any kind of learning and knowledge.

These men, conferring together upon the abuses of religion that had crept into the church, were therefore accused of heresy to the cardinal, and cast into a prison.

John Frith was dismissed from prison on condition that he would not go over ten miles out of Oxford. Frith, after hearing about the examination of Dalaber and Garret, who bore faggots, went over the sea. After two years he came back for the exhibition of the prior <sup>471</sup> of Reading (it was thought) and had the prior over with him.

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<sup>471</sup> *Prior*: the head of a religious order; in an abbey the prior is next below the abbot. An *exhibition* is a financial award or prize given to a student by a school or university, usually on the basis of academic merit.

Being at Reading, he was taken for a vagabond, and brought to examination. There this guileless man, who could not disguise himself craftily enough, was set in the stocks. After he had sat a long time, he was almost pined with hunger, yet he would not declare what he was. At last he desired that the schoolmaster of the town might be brought to him, who at that time was one Leonard Cox, a man very well learned. As soon as he came to him, Frith, by and by began in the Latin tongue to bewail his captivity.

The schoolmaster by and by, being overcome with his eloquence, not only took pity and compassion upon him, but also began to love and embrace such an excellent wit and disposition, especially in such misery. Afterwards, conferring more together upon many things, regarding the universities, schools, and tongues, they fell from Latin into Greek. Frith, inflamed the love of that schoolmaster towards him, especially when the schoolmaster heard him so promptly recite by heart Homer's verses out of his first book of the Iliad. Upon this, the schoolmaster went with all speed to the magistrates, grievously complaining of the injury which they shown to so excellent and innocent a young man.

Thus Frith, through the help of the schoolmaster, was freely let out of the stocks, and set at liberty without further punishment. Yet his safety did not continue long, owing to the great hatred and deadly pursuit of Sir Thomas More, who at that time was chancellor of England. He persecuted him both by land and sea, besetting all the ways and havens, yes, and promising great rewards if any man could bring him any news or tidings of him.

Thus Frith being beset with troubles on every side, and not knowing which way to turn, sought some place to hide himself. Fleeing from one place to another, and often changing both his garments and his place, still he could find safety in no place; not for long even among his friends. So that at last, being traitorously taken, he was sent to the Tower of London. There he had many conflicts with the bishops, but especially in writing with Sir Thomas More. The first occasion of his writing was this: he had a communication with a certain old familiar friend of his, about the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. The whole disputation consisted especially in these four points:

“1. That the matter of the sacrament is no necessary article of faith under pain of damnation.

“2. That because Christ's natural body, in like condition, has all the properties of our body except for sin, it cannot be, nor is it agreeable to reason, that he should be in two or more places at once, contrary to the nature of our body.

[525] A.D. 1527-1560.

“3. Moreover, it does not seem fitting or necessary to understand Christ's words in this place (1Cor 11.24-25), according to the literal sense, but rather according to the order and phrase of speech, comparing phrase with phrase, according to the analogy of the Scripture.<sup>472</sup>

“4. Last of all, it ought to be received according to the true and right institution of Christ, although the order which has crept into the church at this time, and is used now-a-days by the priests, ever so much differs from it.”

As the treatise seemed somewhat long, his friend desired him to briefly commit it to writing, and give it to him for the help of his memory. Frith, although he was unwilling, and not

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<sup>472</sup> The analogy of Scripture (or analogy of faith) is a hermeneutical principle that emphasizes the consistency and harmony of the Bible. It is based on the belief that the Scriptures have one primary author, the Holy Spirit, who inspired the human authors of the Bible. This principle suggests that all parts of the Bible should be interpreted in a way that is consistent with the overall message and teachings of the entire Scripture.

ignorant of how dangerous a thing it was to enter into such a matter, was at last overcome by the entreaty of his friend, and complied.

There was at that time in London, a tailor, named William Holt. Feigning great friendship toward this party, he urgently begged him to let him read over that writing of Frith's. When he did, he by and by carried it to chancellor More. This was the occasion of great trouble, and also of death to Frith.

This was the whole sum of the reason for Frith's book: first, to declare the pope's belief about the sacrament is not a necessary article of our faith. That is to say, it is not an article of our faith which is necessary to be believed, under pain of damnation, that the sacrament must be the natural body of Christ — which he thus proves. For many so believe, and yet in so believing the sacrament to be the natural body, they are not thereby saved, but they receive it to their own damnation.

Again, in believing the sacrament to be the natural body, that natural presence of his body in the bread is not what saves us, but His presence in our hearts by faith. And likewise, *not* believing his bodily presence in the sacrament, is not the thing that shall condemn us, but the absence of Him out of our hearts, through unbelief. And if it is objected that it is necessary to believe God's word under pain of damnation, he answers that, "The word taken in the right sense, as Christ meant, maintains no such *bodily* presence as the pope's church teaches, but rather a *sacramental* presence. And that," he says, "may be further confirmed thus:

"None of the old fathers, before Christ's incarnation, were bound under pain of damnation, to believe this point.

"Now, can we not be saved by the same faith that the old fathers had?"

"And therefore, none of us is bound to believe this point under pain of damnation.

"The first part is evident of itself. For how could they believe that which they never heard nor saw?"

"The second part appears plainly by St. Augustine, writing *ad Dardanum*, and also in a hundred places more. Nor is there anything that he more often inculcates than this, that the same faith that saved our fathers, saves us also; and therefore, upon the truth of these two parts thus proved, the conclusion must follow."

Again, he argues thus:

"None of the old fathers, before Christ's incarnation, ate Christ corporally in their signs, but only mystically, and spiritually, and were saved.

"Now, we all eat Christ even as they did, and are saved as they were.

"And, therefore, none of us eats Christ corporally, but mystically, and spiritually, in our signs as they did.

For the proof of the first part, Frith declares how the ancient fathers, before Christ's incarnation, never believed any such point of this gross and carnal eating of Christ's body. And yet, notwithstanding, they ate him spiritually and were saved: such as Adam, Abraham, Moses, Aaron, Phinehas, and other godly Israelites besides. All of these, he says, ate the body of Christ, and drank his blood as we do. But this eating and drinking of theirs was spiritual, pertaining only to faith, and not to the teeth: "For they were under the cloud, and drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them. and that Rock was Christ," <sup>1COR 10.1-4</sup> who was promised them to come into the world. And this promise was first made to Adam when, as it

was said to the serpent; “I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your seed and her seed,” etc. <sup>Gen 3.15</sup> And afterwards again, to Abraham: “In your seed all shall nations be blessed,” etc. <sup>Gen 22.18</sup> Adding also the sacrament of circumcision, which was called the *covenant*; not because it was so indeed, but because it was a sign and a token of the covenant made between God and Abraham. It thereby admonishes us, how we should judge and think regarding the sacrament of body and blood; to wit, that although it is called the body of Christ, yet we should properly understand thereby the fruit of our justification, which plentifully flows to all the faithful by his most blessed body and blood. Likewise the same promise was made to Moses, the most meek and gentle captain of the Israelites, who not only himself believed upon Christ, who was so often promised, but also prefigured Him both by the manna which came down from heaven, and also by the water which issued out of the rock, for the refreshing of the bodies of his people.

Nor is it to be doubted that both the manna and the water had a prophetic mystery in them, declaring the very self-same thing then, which the bread and the wine now declare to us in the sacrament. They all ate the same spiritual meat, and all drank the same spiritual drink: all one spiritual thing, but not all one *corporal* matter (for they ate manna, and we eat another thing); rather, the self-same *spiritual* thing that we do. And although they drank the same spiritual drink that we do, yet they drank one thing, and we drink another. which nevertheless signified all one thing in a spiritual sense. How did they drink all one thing? The apostle answers, “Of the spiritual Rock which followed them, for the Rock was Christ.” The manna which came down from heaven, was the same to them that our sacrament is to us, and that by either of them, it is signified that the body of Christ came down from heaven; and yet, notwithstanding, none of them ever said that the manna was the very body of the Messiah, as our sacramental bread is not indeed the body of Christ, but a mystical representation of the same. For, as the manna which came down from heaven, and the bread which is received in the supper, nourish the body, even so the body of Christ coming down from heaven, and being given for us, quickens the spirits of the believers unto life everlasting. So then, if the salvation of both people is alike, and their faith also is one, there is no reason why we should add transubstantiation to our sacrament, more than they believed their manna was altered and changed. Moreover, because they are named *sacraments*, even by the signification of the name, they must be signs of things, or else of necessity they can be no sacraments.

When More had gotten a copy of this treatise, he sharpened his pen to answer this young man (for so he calls him throughout his whole book). But once the book was set forth, Frith got a copy by means of his friends, and he answered him out of the prison, omitting nothing that any man could desire to perfectly handle the matter.

What knowledge, and genius, and excellency of doctrine was in him may appear not only by his books which he wrote on the sacrament, but also in those which he wrote on purgatory. In this controversy he withstood the violence of three opponents, viz., Rochester, More, and Rastal, one by the help of the doctors, the other by twisting the Scriptures, and the third by the help of natural philosophy, all of whom conspired against him. But like a Hercules, fighting not only against two, but even with all three at once, he so overthrew and confounded them, that he converted Rastal! <sup>473</sup>

Besides all these commendations of this young man, there was also in him a friendly and prudent moderation in uttering the truth, joined with a learned godliness. This has always

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<sup>473</sup> That is, John Rastell (1475-1536), an English printer, author, member of parliament, and barrister.

so much prevailed in the church of Christ, that without it, all other good gifts of knowledge, however great they may be, cannot greatly profit, but oftentimes very much hurt.

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And would to God that all things in all places were so free from all kinds of dissension, that no mention was made among Christians of Zuinglians and Lutherans, as neither Zuinglius nor Luther died for us, but that we might be all one in Christ. I do think that nothing could more grieve those worthy men, than that their names should be so abused to sects and factions, who so greatly withstood and strove against all factions.

But now, as we treat the history of John Frith, I cannot choose but to earnestly and heartily embrace the prudent and godly moderation which was in that man. He maintained his controversy over the sacrament of the Lord's supper no less godly than learnedly, yet he did it so moderately, that he never seemed to strive against the papists, unless he were driven to it. In all other matters where necessity did not force him to contend, he was ready to grant all things for the sake of quietness.

When More brought against him the authority of Doctor Barnes, for the presence of the body and blood in the sacrament, Frith answered that he would promise never speak more of it, under this condition — that the sentence of Luther and Barnes might be held as ratified. For they agreed with him, that the sacrament was not to be worshipped, and that idolatry being taken away, he was content to permit every man to judge the sacrament as God might put it into their hearts. For then there remained no more poison that any man should or might be afraid of.

After he had sufficiently contended in his writings with More, Rochester and Rastal, he was at last carried to Lambeth to plead his cause before the archbishop of Canterbury; and afterwards to Croydon, before the bishop of Winchester. Last of all, he was called before the bishops in a common assembly at London.

The order of his judgment, with the manner of his examination and articles which were objected against him, are comprised and set forth by himself in a letter written to his friends while he was a prisoner in the Tower.

*A Letter of John Frith to his Friends concerning his troubles,  
in which, after he had first greeted them with a brief preface,  
and then entering into the matter, he writes thus:*

“I do not doubt, dear brethren, that it greatly vexes you to see the one party has all the words, and to freely speak what they wish, and the other is put to silence, and not heard. But refer your matters to God, who shortly shall judge in another fashion. In the meantime I have written to you as briefly as I may, what articles were objected against me, and what were the principal points of my condemnation, so that you might understand the matter certainly.

“The whole matter of my examination was comprehended in two special articles, that is to say, of *purgatory*, and of the *substance of the sacrament*.

“And first of all, regarding *purgatory*, they inquired of me whether I believed there was any place to purge the spots and filth of the soul after this life. But I said that I thought there was no such place. For man, I said, consists and is made only of two parts, that is to say, of the body and the soul. The one is purged here in this world by the cross of Christ, which he lays upon every child that he receives, such as affliction, worldly oppression, persecution, imprisonment, etc. And last of all, the reward of sin, which is death, is laid upon us. But the soul is purged with the word of God, which we receive through faith, to the salvation both of

body and soul. Now if you can show me a third part of man besides the body and the soul, I will also grant to you the third place, which you call purgatory. But because you cannot do this, I must also of necessity deny to you the bishop of Rome's purgatory. Nevertheless, I count neither part as a necessary article of our faith, to be believed under pain of damnation, whether there is such a purgatory or not.

"Secondly, they examined me regarding the sacrament of the altar, whether it was the very body of Christ or not.

"I answered, that I thought it was both Christ's body and also our body, as St. Paul teaches us in the first epistle to the Corinthians, tenth chapter. For being one bread made of many grains of corn, it is called our body, which being diverse and many members, are associated and gathered together into one fellowship or body. Likewise the wine, which is gathered from many clusters of grapes, is made into one liquor. But the same bread, again, in that it is broken, is the body of Christ, declaring his body to be broken and delivered to death, to redeem us from our iniquities.

"Furthermore, in that the sacrament is distributed, it is Christ's body, signifying that, as truly as the sacrament is distributed to us, so truly is Christ's body and the fruit of his passion distributed to all faithful people.

"In that it is received, it is Christ's body, signifying that as truly as the outward man received the sacrament with his teeth and mouth, so truly the inward man, through faith, receives Christ's body and the fruit of his passion, and is as sure of it as of the bread which he eats.

"Well, they said, do you not think that his very natural body, flesh, blood, and bone, is really contained under the sacrament, and is present there without any figure or similitude? 'No,' I said, 'I do not think so. Notwithstanding, I do not wish that any should my saying, which is in the negative, as any article of faith. For even as I say that you should not make any article necessary to the faith on your part, which is in the affirmative, so I say again, that we make no necessary article of the faith on our part, but leave it indifferent for all men to judge in this, as God opens their hearts, and no side condemn or despise the other, but to nourish brotherly love in all things, and to bear one another's infirmity.'

"After this they alleged the place from of St. Augustine, where he says, 'He was carried in his own hands.'

"I answered, that St. Augustine was a plain interpreter of himself; for he says in another place, 'He was carried as it were in his own hands;' which is a figure of speech, not one that plainly affirms, but only one expressing a thing by a similitude. And even if St. Augustine had not thus expounded himself, yet in writing to Boniface he plainly admonishes all men, that the sacraments represent and signify those things of which they are sacraments, and many times even the similitudes of the things themselves from which they take their names. And therefore, according to this rule, it may be said that Christ was borne in his own hands, when he bore in his hands the sacrament of His body and blood.

"Then they alleged a place from Chrysostom, which at the first blush may seem to make much for them. In a certain homily on the supper he writes thus, 'Do you see bread and wine? Do they depart from you into the draught (sewer) as other foods do? No, God forbid; for as with wax, when it comes to the fire, nothing of the substance remains nor abides: so likewise think that the mysteries are consumed by the substance of the body,' etc.

"These words I expounded by the words of the same doctor, who in another homily says on this matter, 'The inward eyes,' he says, 'as soon as they see the bread, they flee over all creatures, and do not think of the bread that is baked by the baker, but of the bread of everlasting life, which is signified by the mystical bread.' Now compare these places together,

and you will perceive that the last expounds the first plainly. For he says, do you see the bread and wine? I answer by the second, No, for the inward eyes, as soon as they see the bread, pass over all creatures, and no longer think upon the bread, but upon Him who is signified by the bread. And in this manner he sees it, and again he does not see it: for as he sees it with his outward and carnal eyes, so with his inward eyes he does not see it; that is to say, he does not regard the bread, nor thinks upon it, but is otherwise occupied. Even as when we play or do anything else negligently, we commonly say that we do not see what we do; but indeed, we do not see what we are doing, because our mind is fixed on some other thing, and does not attend to that which the eyes do not see.

[527] A.D. 1527-1540.

“In like manner may it be answered to that which follows, ‘Do they depart from you,’ he says, ‘in the passing as other foods do?’ I will not so say, for other foods passing through the bowels, after they have of themselves given nourishment to the body, are voided into the draft. But this is a spiritual meat, which is received by faith, and nourishes both body and soul unto everlasting life, nor is it at any time voided as other foods are.”

“Here perhaps many would marvel that the matter regarding the substance of the sacrament, being separate from the articles of the faith, and binding no man of necessity either to salvation or damnation, whether he believes it or not, but rather may be left indifferently to all men to freely judge either on the one part or the other according to his own mind — so that neither party contemns or despises the other, but all love and charity are still held and kept in this dissension of opinions — what then is the reason why I would therefore so willingly suffer death? The reason why I die is this: I cannot agree with the divines and other head prelates, that it should be necessarily determined to be an article of faith, and that we should believe, under pain of damnation, that the substance of the bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ, only the form and shape not being changed. If this thing were most true (as they will never be able to prove by any authority of the Scriptures or doctors) will they not so bring it to pass, that that doctrine, however true it may be, should be held as a necessary article of faith. For there are many things both in the Scriptures and in other places, which we are not of necessity bound to believe as an article of faith.

“So it is true that I was a prisoner and in bonds when I wrote these things. And yet for all that, I will not hold it as an article of faith, but that you may without danger of damnation, either believe it, or think the contrary.

“But regarding the reason why I cannot affirm the doctrine of transubstantiation, various reasons lead me to this.

“First, I plainly see it to be false and vain, and not grounded upon any reason, either of the Scriptures or of approved doctors.

“Secondly, by my example I would not be an author to Christians to admit anything as a matter of faith, more than their necessary points of the creed, in which the whole sum of our salvation consists, especially the belief of such things which have no certain argument from reason.

“I added, moreover, that their church, as they call it, has no such power and authority, that it either should or may bind us under the peril of our souls, to believe any such articles.

“Thirdly, because I will not, for the favor of our divines or priests, be prejudicial in this point, to so many nations of Germans, Helvetians, and others who altogether reject the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. They are all of the same opinion that I am, as well those who take Luther’s part, such as those who hold with Oecolampadius. These things standing in this case, I suppose there is no man of any upright



conscience, who will not allow the reason of my death, which I am put to for this cause only, that I do not think transubstantiation, even if it were true indeed, should be established as an article of faith.”

But when no reason would prevail against the force and cruelty of these furious foes, on the 20th of June (A.D. 1533), he was brought before the bishops of London, Winchester, and Lincoln. When he could not be persuaded to recant, or be brought to believe that the sacrament is an article of faith, he was condemned by the bishop of London to be burned, and sentence was given against him.

The sentence being read, the bishop of London directed his letter to Sir Stephen Peacock, mayor of London, and the sheriffs of the city, for receiving John Frith into their charge. Being so delivered over to them, on the 4th of July 1533, he was carried to Smithfield to be burned. When he was tied to the stake, it sufficiently appeared with what constancy and courage he suffered death. For when the faggots and fire were put to him, he willingly embraced them, thereby declaring with what uprightness of mind he suffered his death for Christ’s sake and the true doctrine. That day he gave with his blood, a perfect and firm testimony. The wind made his death somewhat longer, as if it bore away the flame from him to his companion who was tied to his back. But he had established his mind with such patience, God giving him strength, that even as though he felt no pain in that long torment, he seemed rather to rejoice for his companion, Andrew Hewet, than be careful for himself.

Thus truly is the power and strength of Christ stirring and vanquishing in his saints, who sanctifies us together with them, and directs us in all things to the glory of His most holy name. Amen.

### ***The History of Andrew Hewet.***

Andrew Hewet, a young man twenty-four years of age, was apprentice with Master Warren, a tailor. As he went on a holiday into Fleet-street, towards St. Dunstan’s, he met with William Holt. And being suspected by Holt, who was a dissembling wretch, to be one who favored the gospel, after a little talk with him, he went into a bookseller’s house to avoid him. Then Holt sent for certain officers, and searched the house. Finding Andrew, they apprehended him and carried him to the bishop’s house, where he was cast into irons. Being there a good while, he had a file conveyed to him, with which he filed off his irons, and got out of the gate. But being a man unskillful in hiding himself, he met with one Withers, who was a hypocrite, as Holt was. Withers, pretending a fair countenance toward him, wished him to go with him, promising that he would be provided for. And so he kept him in the country till Whitsuntide, and then brought him to London, to the house of one John Chapman, and there he left him for of two days.

Then he came back to Chapman’s house, and brought Holt with him. When they met Andrew, they seemed as if they meant to do him much good, so they would need to sup there that night, and prepared food at their own expense. They came at night and brought guests with them. When they had supped, they went their way. Holt took out of his purse two groats, gave them to Andrew, and embraced him in his arms. Within an hour, the bishop’s chancellor, and sergeant Weaver came, and brought with them the watch. They searched the house, where they found John Chapman, and Andrew, and John Tibauld, whom they bound with ropes, and so they carried them to the bishop’s house. But Andrew Hewet they sent to the Lollard’s Tower, and kept Chapman and Tibauld apart. The next day bishop Stokesley came from Fulham. After they were examined with a few threatening words, Chapman was committed to the stocks, with this threat — that he would tell another

tale, or else he would sit there till his heels dropped from his body. Tibauld was shut up in a close chamber. But Andrew Hewet, after a long and cruel imprisonment, was condemned to death, and burned with John Frith.

It was objected against Andrew Hewet, that he believed the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, to be but a signification of the body of Christ, and that the consecrated host was not the very body of Christ. So, being demanded what he thought of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, Hewet answered, "Even as John Frith thinks." Then one of the bishops asked, "Do you not believe that it is really the body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary." "So," he said, "I do not believe." "Why not?" said the bishop, "Because," he said, "Christ commanded me not to rashly give credit to all men who say, 'Behold here is Christ, and there is Christ, for many false prophets shall arise.'" Mat 24.23-24

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Then the bishops smiled at him. And Stokesley, the bishop of London, said, "Why, Frith is a heretic, and already judged to be burned, and unless you revoke your opinion, you too shall be burned with him." He said, "I am content." Then the bishop asked him if he would forsake his opinions. He answered, "He would do as Frith did." He was sent to the prison, to Frith, and afterwards they were carried together to the fire. The bishops used many persuasions to allure this good man from the truth, but manfully persisting in the truth, he would not recant. Therefore, on the 4th of July, in the afternoon, he was carried to Smithfield with Frith, and there burned.

When they were at the stake, one Dr. Cook, a parson in London, openly admonished all the people that they should in no way pray for them, no more than they would for a dog. At these words, Frith smiling, desired the Lord to forgive them. These words not a little moved the people to anger. Thus, these two blessed martyrs committed their souls into the hands of God.

### ***The History of Thomas Benet.***

*Thomas Benet, burned at Exeter.*

This Thomas Benet was born in Cambridge, and was made master of arts, a man very well learned and of a godly disposition. The more he grew and increased in the knowledge of God and his holy word, the more this man disliked and abhorred the then corrupt state of religion. And therefore, desiring to live in more freedom of conscience, he forsook the university and went into Devonshire (A.D. 1524). He came to the city of Exeter. Hiring a house, he commenced teaching children, and by that means sustained his wife and family. He was of a quiet behavior, a godly conversation, and a very courteous nature, humble to all men and offensive to nobody. His greatest delight was to be at all sermons and preachings, of which he was a diligent and attentive hearer. The time which he had to spare from teaching, he gave wholly to his private study in the Scriptures, having no dealings nor conferences with anybody, except with those he could learn and understand to be favorers of the gospel, and zealous of God's true religion.

But as every tree and herb has its due time to bring forth its fruit, so it appeared by this man. For daily seeing the glory of God blasphemed, idolatrous religion embraced and maintained, and that most false usurped power of the bishop of Rome extolled, he was so grieved in his conscience, and troubled in spirit, that he could not be quiet till he uttered his mind in this. He plainly opened and disclosed how blasphemously and abominably God was dishonored, his word despised, and his people, whom he so dearly bought, were carried

headlong to everlasting destruction by blind guides. And therefore he could no longer endure, but must testify against their abominations. For his own part, for the testimony of his conscience, and for the defense of God's true religion, he would yield himself most patiently, as God gave him grace, to die and to shed his blood in this, alleging that his death would be more profitable to the church of God, and for the edifying of his people, than his life would be. When his friends had yielded to whose persuasions, they promised to pray to God for him, that he might be strong in the cause, and continue a faithful soldier to the end. This done, he ordered the bestowing of such books as he had, and very shortly after, in the month of October, he wrote his mind on certain scrolls of paper, which he set upon the doors of the cathedral church. It them it was written, "The pope is Antichrist, and we ought to worship God alone, and no saints."

These bills being found, there was no small ado, and no little search was made for the heretic who had posted these bills. The mayor and his officers were not busy discovering this heretic. But to keep the people in their former blindness, an order was given that the doctors of the church should resort to their pulpits every day, and confute this heresy. Thomas Benet kept his own doings secret. He went the following Sunday to the cathedral church to the sermon. By chance, two men sat down by him, who were the busiest in all the city seeking and searching for heretics. Beholding Benet, the one said to the other, "Surely this fellow in all likelihood is the heretic who posted the bills, and it would be good to examine him." Nevertheless, when they had well beheld him, and saw the quiet and sober behavior of the man, his attentiveness to the preacher, his godliness in the church, always occupied in his book, which was a testament in the Latin tongue, they were astonished, and had no power to speak to him, but departed and left him reading his book.

In the meantime, the canons and priests, the officers and commons of the city, were very earnestly busied as to how, or by what means such an enormous heretic, who had posted those bills might be espied and known; but it was long at first. At last, the priests found a way to curse him, whoever he was, with bell, book, and candle. This curse at that time seemed most fearful and terrible. The manner of the curse was of this sort:

One of the priests apparelled all in white ascended the pulpit. The other priests, with certain of the two orders of friars, and certain superstitious monks of St. Nicholas' house standing round about, and the cross (as the custom was) being held up with holy candles of wax fixed to the same, he began his sermon, which was not so long, as tedious and superstitious. And he concluded that, "That foul and abominable heretic who had put up such blasphemous bills, was damnably cursed for his blasphemy, and he besought God, our Lady, St. Peter, patron of that church, with all the holy company of martyrs, confessors, and virgins, that it might be known what heretic had put up such blasphemous bills, that God's people might escape the vengeance."

The manner of the cursing of Benet was extraordinary. The prelate said,

"By the authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of the holy saints, we excommunicate, we utterly curse and ban, commit and deliver to the devil of hell, him or her, whoever he or she is, that has in spite of God and of St. Peter, whose church this is, in spite of all holy saints, and in spite of our most holy father the pope, God's vicar here on earth, and in spite of the reverend father in God, John our diocesan, and the worshipful canons, masters, and priests, and clerics, who serve God daily in this cathedral church, fixed up with wax such cursed and heretical bills full of blasphemy, upon the doors of this and other holy churches within this city. He or she, or they are excommunicated plainly, and delivered over to the devil as perpetual malefactors and schismatics. Accursed

may they be, and given body and soul to the devil. Cursed be they, he or she, in cities and towns, in fields, in ways, in paths, in houses, out of houses, and in all other places, standing, lying, or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatever thing they do besides. We separate them, him or her, from the threshold, and from all the good prayers of the church, from the participation of the holy mass, from all sacraments, chapels, and altars, from holy bread, and holy water, from all the merits of God's priests, and religious men, and from all their cloisters, from all their pardons, privileges, grants, and immunities, which all the holy fathers, popes of Rome, have granted to them. And we give them over utterly to the power of the fiend. And let us this night quench their souls, if they are dead, in the pains of hell fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out (and with that he put out one of the candles:) and let us pray to God (if they are alive) that their eyes may be put out, as this candle light is (so he put out the other candle). And let us pray to God and to our Lady, and to St. Peter and St. Paul, and all holy saints, that all the senses of their bodies may fail them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this candle is gone (and so he put out the third candle) unless they, he or she, come openly now and confess their blasphemy, and by repentance (as it shall lie in them) make satisfaction to God, our Lady, St. Peter, and the worshipful company of this cathedral church. And as this holy cross staff now falls down, so might they, unless they repent, and show themselves."

Then one first taking away the cross, the staff fell down. But oh, what a shout and noise there was, what terrible fear, what holding up of hands to heaven, that curse was so terrible!

[529] A.D. 1527-1540.

Now this silly and foolish mockery being done and played off, Benet could no longer forbear, but fell into great laughter. Though it was within himself, he could not cease for a long time, by which the poor man was observed. For those who were next to him, wondering at that great curse, and believing that it could not but light upon one or another, asked good Benet, for what cause he so laughed. "My friend," he said, "who can forbear, seeing such merry conceits and interludes played by the priests?" Straightway a noise was made, "Here is the heretic! Here is the heretic! Hold him fast, hold him fast!" With that, there was a great confusion of voices, and much clapping of hands, and yet they were uncertain whether he was the heretic or not. Some say that upon that outburst, he was taken and apprehended. Others report that his enemies, being uncertain about him, departed; and so he went home to his house.

He was soon after apprehended, and on the morrow the canons and heads of the city examined him. When he confessed and said, "It was even I that put up those bills, and if it were still to do, I would do it again. For I have written nothing in them but what is very truth." "Could you not," they asked, "as well have declared your mind by mouth, as by putting up bills of blasphemy?"

"No." he said. "I put up the bills, so that many might read and hear what abominable blasphemers you are, and that they might better know your antichrist, the pope, to be that boar out of the wood, who destroys and throws down the hedges of God's church. For if I had been heard to speak but one word, I would have been clapped fast in prison, and the matter of God hidden. But now I trust that more of your blasphemous doings will thereby be opened and come to light. For God will so have it, and He will no longer suffer you."

The next day he was sent to the bishop, who first committed him to the bishop's prison, where he was kept in stocks and strong irons, with as much favor as if he were a dog. Then the bishop and others of his clergy, and friars, began to examine and charge him that contrary to the catholic faith, he denied praying to saints, and also denied the supremacy of

the pope. He answered in such a sober manner, and so learnedly proved and defended his assertions, that he not only confounded and put to silence his adversaries, but also brought them into great admiration of him, most of them having pity and compassion on him. Among other priests and friars, Gregory Basset was busier with him.

The principal point between Basset and Benet concerned the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom he named antichrist, the thief, the mercenary, the murderer of Christ's flock. These deliberations lasted about eight days, where both the Black and Grey Friars, with priests and monks of that city, repaired to him. Those who had some learning persuaded him to believe the church, and showed by what tokens she is known. The unlearned railed and said that the devil tempted him, and spit upon him, calling him a heretic. But he only prayed God to give them a better mind, and to forgive them. "For," he said, "I would rather die, than worship such a beast, the very whore of Babylon, and a false usurper, as manifestly appears by his doings." They asked, "What did the pope do, that he did not have power and authority to do, being God's vicar?" Benet said, "He sells the sacraments of the church for money, he sells remission of sins daily for money, and you do likewise. For there is no day that you do not say masses for souls in feigned purgatory. Indeed, and you do not spare to speak lying sermons to the people, to maintain your false traditions and foul gains. The whole world now begins to note your doings, to your utter confusion and shame."

"The shame," they say, "shall be to you, and such as you are, you foul heretic. Will you allow nothing done in holy church? What a perverse heretic you are!" "I am," he said, "no heretic, but a Christian man. I thank Christ, and with all my heart I will allow all things done and used in the church to the glory of God, and the edifying of my soul. But I see nothing in your church but what maintains the devil." "What is *our* church?" they asked. "It is not *my* church," said Benet, "God give me grace to be of a better church, for truly your church is the plain church of antichrist, the malignant church, the second church, a den of thieves, and as far wide from the true universal and apostolic church, as heaven is distant from the earth." "Do you not think," they asked, "that we pertain to the universal church?" "Yes," he said, "but as dead members, to whom the church is not beneficial: for your works are the devices of man, and your church is a weak foundation. For you say and preach, that the pope's word is equal with God's word in every degree." "Why," they said, "did Christ not say to Peter, 'I will give to you the keys of the kingdom of heaven?'"

"He said that," he replied, "to *all* the apostles as well as to Peter, and Peter had no more authority given to him than they had, or else the churches planted in every kingdom by their preaching are not churches. Does not St. Paul say, 'Upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets?' Therefore I say plainly, that the church that is built upon a man, is the devil's church or congregation, and not God's. And as every church this day is appointed to be ruled by a bishop or pastor, ordained by the word of God in preaching and administration of the sacraments under the prince the supreme governor under God, it is so to say, that all the churches with their princes and governors are subject to one bishop. This is detestable heresy. The pope your God, claiming this power to himself, is the greatest schismatic that was ever in the church, and the foulest whore, of whom John speaks in the Revelation."

"O you blind and unlearned fool," they said, "is not the confession and consent of all the world as we confess and consent; That the pope's holiness is the supreme head and vicar of Christ?" "That is because," Benet said, "they are blinded and do not know the Scriptures: but if God would of His mercy open the eyes of princes to know their office, his false supremacy would soon decay." "We think," they said, "You are so malicious that you will confess *no* church."

“Look,” he said, “it is where those are who confess the true name of Jesus Christ, and where only Christ is the head, and under him the prince of the realm, to order all bishops, ministers and preachers, and to see them do their duties in setting forth the only glory of God by preaching the word of God. And where it is preached that Christ is our only advocate, mediator, and patron before God his Father, making intercession for us, and where the true faith and confidence in Christ’s death and passion, and only his merits and deservings are extolled, and our own are depressed; it is where the sacrament is duly administered without superstition or idolatry, in remembrance of his blessed passion, and his only sacrifice upon the cross once for all; and where no superstition reigns — I will be of *that church*.” “Does not the pope,” they said, “confess the true gospel? Do we not all do the same?” “Yes,” he said, “but you deny the fruits of it in every point. You build upon the sands, not upon the rock.” “And will you not believe, indeed,” they said, “that the pope is God’s vicar?” “No,” he said, “indeed.” “And why?” they asked. “Because,” he answered, “he usurps a power not given to him by Christ, no more than to other apostles. And also because by force of that usurped supremacy, he blinds the whole world, and does contrary to all that Christ ever ordained or commanded.” “What,” they said, “if he does all things according to God’s ordinance and commandment, would he then be His vicar?” “Then,” Benet said, “I would believe him to be a good bishop at Rome over his own diocese, and to have no further power. And if it pleased God, I would that every bishop did this in their diocese. Then we would live a peaceable life in the church of Christ, and there would be no such seditions in it. If every bishop would seek no further power than over his own diocese, it would be a goodly thing. Now, because all are subject to one, all must do and consent to all wickedness as he does, or be none of his. This is the cause of great superstition in every kingdom.

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“But whichever bishop preaches the gospel, and maintains the truth, is a *true* bishop of the church.” “And does our holy father the pope,” they asked, “not maintain the gospel?” “Yes,” he said, “I think he does read it, and perhaps believe it, and so do you also; but neither he nor you fix the anchor of your salvation upon it. Besides that, you bear such good will toward it, that you keep it close, so that no man may read it but yourselves. And when you preach, God knows how you handle it — insomuch that the people of Christ know no gospel but the pope’s gospel. And so the blind lead the blind, and both fall into the pit. There is no confidence in the true gospel of Christ, but only in your popish traditions, and fantastical inventions.” Then a Black friar asked him, “Do we not preach the gospel daily?” “Yes,” Benet said, “but what preaching of the gospel is that, when with it, you extol superstitious things, and make us believe that we have redemption through pardons and bulls from Rome, *a poena et culpa* (from punishment and guilt), as you term it. And by the merits of your orders, you make many brethren and sisters. You take money from them yearly; you bury them in your coats; and you beguile them in confession — yes, and you do a thousand other superstitious things. A man may be weary to speak of them.” “I see,” said the friar, “that you are a vile heretic. I will have no more talk with you.”

Then a Grey friar, a doctor, stepped up to him and laid before him great and many dangers. “I take God to record,” said Benet, “that my life is not dear to me. I am content to depart from it, for I am weary of it, seeing your detestable doings, to the utter destruction of God’s flock. And for my part, I can no longer forbear; I would rather by death (which I know is not far off) depart this life, so that I may no longer be partaker of your detestable idolatries and superstitions, or be subject to antichrist your pope.” “Our pope,” said the friar, “is the vicar of God, and our ways are the ways of God.” “I pray you,” said Benet, “depart from me, and do not tell me of your ways. He is my only way, who says, ‘I am the way, the truth, and the

life.' In this way I will walk; His doings shall be my example, not yours, nor your false popes. His truth I will embrace, not the lies and falsehood of you and your pope. His everlasting life I will seek, the true reward of all faithful people. Away from me, I pray you. Vex my soul no longer; you shall not prevail. There is no good example in you, no truth in you, no life to be hoped for at your hands. You are all more vain than vanity itself. If I were to hear and follow you thus, everlasting death would hang over me — a just reward for all those who love the life of this world. Away from me; I do not like your company."

When these canons and priests with the monks and friars, had done what they could, and had perceived that he would by no means recant, they proceeded to judgment. They drew out their sentence against him, condemning him to be burned. This Christian martyr, rejoicing that his end approached so near, yielded himself 'as a sheep before the shearer,' with all humbleness to abide and suffer the cross of persecution. Being brought to his execution, he made his most humble confession and prayer to Almighty God, and requested all the people to do the same for him. He exhorted them with such gravity and sobriety, and with such a pithy oration, to seek the true honoring of God, and the true knowledge of Him, as to set aside the devises, fantasies, and imaginations of men's inventions, so that all those who beheld him were astonished and in great admiration. It went so far that most of the people, and also the scribe who wrote the sentence of condemnation against him, pronounced and confessed that he was God's servant, and a good man.

Two esquires, namely, Thomas Carew, and John Barnehouse, standing at the stake by him, first with fair promises and good words, but at length, through threatcnings, desired him to revoke his errors, and to call upon our Lady and the saints. With all meekness he answered them, "No, no, it is God alone upon whose name we must call; and we have no other advocate with him, but Jesus Christ alone, who died for us, and now sits at the right hand of the Father to be an advocate for us; and by Him we must offer our prayers to God, if we would have them take place and be heard." Barnehouse was so enraged with this answer, that he took a furze-bush (bramble) upon a pike, and setting it on fire, thrust it into his face, saying, "Ah, heretic, pray to our Lady, or I will make you do it."

Thomas Benet, with a humble and a meek spirit, most patiently answered him, "Alas, sir, do not trouble me." Holding up his hands, he said, "Father, forgive them." After which the gentlemen had the wood and furzes set on fire. This godly man lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, saying, "O Lord receive my spirit." And so continuing in prayer, he never stirred, but most patiently abode the torments of the fire, until his life was ended. For this let the Lord God be praised, and send us His grace and blessing, so that at the latter day we may with him enjoy the bliss and joy provided and prepared for the elect children of God.

### ***The Divorce of King Henry VIII.***

#### *The Marriage between King Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn; and Queen Catharine divorced*

After the death of prince Arthur, the lady Catharine, widow of prince Arthur, by the consent of both her father and his, and also by the advice of the nobles of this realm, so that her dowry might remain within the realm, was espoused after the decease of her husband, to his next brother, who was King Henry VIII.

This marriage seemed very strange, for one brother to marry the wife of another. But what on this earth can be so hard or difficult, with which the pope, "the omnipotent vicar of Christ," cannot dispense if it pleases him? The pope who then ruled at Rome was Julius II, by whose dispensation this marriage — which neither nature would admit, nor God's law

sanction — was concluded, approved, and ratified. And so it continued as lawful, without any doubt or scruple, for nearly twenty years, till a doubt first began to be moved by the Spaniards, A.D. 1523, when Emperor Charles promised to marry the lady Mary, daughter to the king of England. The Spaniards were not content with this promise, objecting among other things, that the lady Mary was begotten of the king of England by his brother's wife.

Upon this, the emperor married the lady Isabel, a daughter to Emanuel, the late king of Portugal, and the sister of John III, AD. 1526. King Henry, being thus disappointed by the emperor, endeavored through the French ambassadors, that lady Mary should be married to the French king's son, the duke of Orleans. After long debating, the matter was at length put off by the president of Paris raising a doubt whether the marriage between the king and the mother of this lady Mary, who had been his brother's wife before, was good or not.

The king, upon this, began to consider the case more deeply, first with himself, and afterwards with his nearest council. There were two things which chiefly troubled his mind. The one touched his conscience, the other concerned the state of his realm. For if that marriage with his brother's wife stood unlawful by the law of God, then neither was his conscience clear in retaining the mother, nor yet the state of the realm, safe by succession of the daughter. It happened at the time that cardinal Wolsey, who was then nearest the king, had fallen out with the emperor for not assisting him to the papacy. For this cause he helped to set the matter forward. Thus the king, perplexed in his conscience, and careful for the commonwealth, and incited by the cardinal, could not rest, but inquired further to know what the word of God and learning would say to it. Nor was the case so hard, once it began to become a public question, that by the word of God, and the judgments of the best learned clerics, and also by the censure of the chief universities of all Christendom, numbering ten and more, it was soon declared to be unlawful.

[531] A.D. 1527-1540.

All these censures, books and writings of so many doctors, clerics, and universities, sent from all quarters of Christendom to the king, although they might suffice to have resolved, and did indeed, resolve the king's conscience regarding this scruple of his marriage — yet he would not straightway use that advantage which learning gave him, unless he had the assent of the pope and the emperor. In this he perceived no little difficulty. For the pope, he thought, seeing the marriage was previously authorized by the dispensation of the pope's predecessor, would hardly turn his keys about to undo that which the pope before him had locked. And much less would he suffer those keys to be foiled, or come into any doubt which was likely to come, if that marriage were proved incapable of dispensation by God's word, which his predecessor had licensed through his plenary power. Again, the assent of the emperor he thought would be no less difficult, as the lady Catharine was the emperor's aunt, and a Spaniard. Nevertheless, his purpose was to ascertain what they would say to it. And therefore he sent Stephen Gardiner to Rome to deal with pope Clement. To the emperor he sent Sir Nicholas Harvey, knight, ambassador to the court of Ghent. First, pope Clement (not weighing the full importance of the matter) sent cardinal Campeggio into England (as said before, p. 506), joined with the cardinal of York.

At the coming of the legates, the king first opened to them the grief of his conscience. With great reasons and persuasions, he seemed to have sufficiently drawn the good will of those two legates to his side. They too, of their own accord, pretended to show a willing inclination to further the king's object. Yet the mouths of the common people, and especially of the women and others who favored the queen, were not stopped. Therefore, willing that all men should know his proceedings, the king had all his nobility, judges, and counsellors, with



diverse other persons, resort to his palace on the 8th of November 1529, where he openly spoke in his council chamber as follows:

*The King's Oration to his Subjects.*

“Our trusty and well-beloved subjects, both you of the nobility, and you of the meaner sort, it is not unknown to you, how both by God’s provision, and true and lawful inheritance, we have reigned over this realm of England for almost twenty years. During this time we have so ordered us (thanks be to God) that no outward enemy has oppressed you, nor taken anything from us, nor have we invaded any realm, but we have had victory and honor, so that we think that neither you nor any of your predecessors ever lived more quietly, more wealthy, nor in more estimation under any of our noble progenitors. But when we remember our mortality, and that we must die, then we think that all our doings in our lifetime are clearly defaced, and worthy of no memory, if we leave you in trouble at the time of our death. For if our true heir is not known at the time of our death, see what mischief and trouble will succeed to you and to your children. The experience of this some of you have seen after the death of our noble grandfather, king Edward IV, and some have heard what mischief and manslaughter continued in this realm between the houses of York and Lancaster, by which dissension this realm was nearly destroyed.

“And although it has pleased Almighty God to send us a fair daughter of a noble woman, and begotten of me, to our great comfort and joy. Yet it has been told to us by diverse great clerics, that she is neither our lawful daughter, nor is her mother our lawful wife, but that we live together abominably and detestably in open adultery. It is such that when our ambassador was last in France, and motion was made that the duke of Orleans should marry our said daughter, one of the chief councilors to the French king said, ‘It would be well done to know whether she is the king of England’s lawful daughter or not. For it is well known that he begot her on his brother’s wife, which is directly against God’s law and his precepts.’ Do you think, my lords, that these words do not touch my body and soul? Do you think that these things do not daily and hourly trouble my conscience, and vex my spirits? Yes, we do not doubt that if it were your cause, every man would seek remedy, when the peril of your soul, and the loss of your inheritance is openly laid to you. For this cause alone I protest before God, and on the word of a prince, I have asked counsel of the greatest clerics in Christendom. And for this cause I have sent for this legate, as a man who is indifferent (unbiased), except to know the truth, and so to settle my conscience, and for no other cause, as God can judge.

“And regarding the queen, if it is adjudged by the law of God that she is my lawful wife, there was never anything more pleasant nor more acceptable to me in my life, both for the discharge and clearing of my conscience, and also for the good qualities and conditions which I know to be in her. For I assure you all, that beside her noble parentage of which she is descended (as you well know) she is a woman of most gentleness, of most humility and obedience. Yes, and of all good qualities pertaining to nobility, she is without comparison, as I for these almost twenty years have had the true experience. So that, if I were to marry again, if the marriage might be good, I would surely choose her above all other women. But if it is determined by judgment, that our marriage was against God’s law, and clearly void, then I will not only sorrow the departing from so good a lady and loving companion, but much more lament and bewail my unfortunate chance, that I have so long lived in adultery to God’s great displeasure, and have no true heir of my body to inherit this realm. These are the sores that vex my mind; these are the pangs that trouble my conscience; and for these griefs I seek remedy. Therefore I require you all, as our trust and confidence is in you, to declare to our subjects our mind and intent, according to our true meaning, and desire them to pray with us that the very truth may be known, to the discharge of our conscience and saving of our soul, and for the declaration of which I have assembled you together; and now you may depart.”

Shortly after this oration of the king, with which he stirred the hearts of a number, the two legates, being requested by the king, for the discharge of his conscience, to judge and determine upon the cause, went to the queen and declared to her how they were deputed as impartial judges between the king and her, to hear and determine whether the marriage between them stood with God's law or not. When she understood the cause of their coming, being somewhat astonished at first, after a little pausing with herself, she thus began:

“Alas, my lords, is it now a question whether I am the king's lawful wife or not, when I have been married to him almost twenty years, and question was never made before? Many prelates still alive, and lords also, and privy counsellors with the king at that time, then adjudged our marriage lawful and honest. And now to say it is detestable and abominable, I think very strange; especially when I consider what a wise prince the king's father was, and also the love and natural affection that king Ferdinand, my father, bore to me. I think that neither of our fathers were so uncircumspect, so unwise, and of so small imagination, that they did not foresee what might follow our marriage. And the king, my father, sent to the court of Rome, and there, after long suit, with great cost and charge, obtained a license and dispensation, that I being the one brother's wife, might, without scruple of conscience, marry with the other brother lawfully. This license I have in my possession still to show. These things make me say and believe that our marriage was lawful, good, and godly. But for all this trouble I have only to thank you, my lord cardinal of York, because I have wondered at your high pride and vain glory, and abhorred your voluptuous life and abominable immorality, and little regarded your presumptuous power and tyranny. Therefore you have kindled this fire from malice, and set this matter abroad, and especially for the great malice you bear to my nephew the emperor, whom I perfectly know you hate worse than a scorpion, because he would not satisfy your ambition and make you pope. And therefore you have said more than once, that you would trouble him and his friends, and you have kept your promise. For all his wars and vexations he may thank you alone. As for me, his poor aunt and kinswoman, what trouble you have put me to by this new-found doubt, God knows, to whom I commit my cause according to the truth.”

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The cardinal of York excused himself, saying that he was not the initiator nor the mover of the doubt, and that it was much against his will that the marriage should ever come into question, but he said that he was deputed by his superior, the bishop of Rome, as a judge to hear the cause. This he swore on his profession to hear impartially; but whatever was said she did not believe him; and so the legates took their leave of her and departed. These words were spoken in French, and written by cardinal Campeggio's secretary, who was present.

In the next year, 1530, at the Blackfriars of London, a solemn place was prepared for the two legates. Coming with their crosses, and all the other Romish ceremonies, they were set in two chairs covered with cloth of gold, and cushions of the same. When all things were ready, then the king and the queen were cited by Dr. Sampson to appear before the legates on the 31st of May. The commission of the cardinals was first read, in which it was appointed by the court of Rome, that they should be the hearers and judges in the cause between them both. The king was called by name. He appeared by two proctors; then the queen was called. Being accompanied with four bishops, and others of her council, and a great company of ladies, she came personally before the legates. There, after her obeisance, with a sad gravity of countenance, she did not utter many words, but appealed from the legates to the court of Rome, that the legates were not competent as judges; and so she departed. Notwithstanding this appeal, the cardinals sat weekly, and every-day arguments on both sides were brought, but nothing definitive was determined.

As the time passed on, in the month of June, the king desiring to see an end, came to the court, and the queen also, where standing under his cloth of estate, he uttered these or like words in effect, as follows:

“My lords, legates of the apostolic see, who are deputed judges in this great and weighty matter, I most heartily beseech you to ponder my mind and intent, which is only to have a final end for the discharge of my conscience. For every good Christian man knows what pain and what unquietness he suffers who has his conscience grieved. For I assure you on my honor, that this matter has so vexed my mind, and troubled my spirits, that I can scarcely study anything which might be profitable for my realm and people. It is my desire and request to have a quietness in body and soul, and not for any grudge that I bear toward her that I have married; for I dare say, that for her womanhood, wisdom, nobility, and gentleness, no prince ever had such another. And therefore, if I would willingly change, I would not be wise. Therefore my suit is to you, my lords, at this time, to have a speedy end, according to right, for the quietness of my mind and conscience only, and for no other cause, as God knows.”

When the king had spoken, the queen departed without saying anything. Then she was called to know whether she would abide by her appeal, or answer there before the legates. Her proctor answered that she would abide by her appeal. Notwithstanding, the councilors on both sides met almost every day and debated this matter, so that at last the divines were all of the opinion that the marriage was against the law of God, if she were carnally known by the first brother; which she clearly denied. But to that it was answered, that prince Arthur, her husband, confessed the act. And at the time of the death of prince Arthur, she thought and judged that she was with child, and for that cause the king was deferred from the title and creation of the Prince of Wales for almost half a year.

Thus when the divines on her side were beaten from the ground, then they fell to persuasions of natural reasons, how this should not be undone for three reasons: one was because if it were broken, the only child of the king would be illegitimized, which would be a great mischief to the realm. Secondly, the separation would be a cause of great enmity between her kindred and this realm. And the third reason was that the continuance for so long a time had made the marriage good. These persuasions, with many others, were set forth by the queen's counsel, and especially by the bishop of Rochester, who stood firm in her cause. Yet God's precept was not answered; so they left that ground, and fell to pleading that the court of Rome had dispensed with this marriage. Some lawyers said to this, that no earthly person is able to dispense with the positive law of God.

When the legates heard the opinions of the divines, and saw where the end of this question would tend, as men began to dispute the authority of the court of Rome, and especially because the cardinal of York perceived the king cast favor on the lady Anne (whom he knew to be a Lutheran), they thought it best to rid themselves of that difficulty in time. And so cardinal Campeggio, dissembling the matter, conveyed himself home to Rome. The king seeing himself thus deluded by the cardinals, took no little grief. The fall of the cardinal of York (Wolsey) followed not long after.

That was in the year 1530. Shortly after, it happened that the king by his ambassadors was advised that the emperor and the pope were both together at Bononia. So he directed Sir Thomas Bullen (created earl of Wiltshire), and doctor Stokesley (afterward bishop of London) and doctor Lee (afterwards archbishop of York) with his message to the pope's court, where the emperor was. Pope Clement avoided the matter, fearing what might follow if learning and Scripture were to take place against the authority of their dispensations. And suspecting the emperor's displeasure, he answered the ambassadors, that he would not

hastily decide in this case, but would hear the full matter disputed when he came to Rome, and would do justice according to right. Although the king owed no such service to the pope, to stand to his arbitration in this case, or in any other, having both the Scripture to lead him, and his law in his own hands to warrant him, yet for quietness' sake, and that he might not rashly break order, he bore it so long as he conveniently might. At length, after long delays and much dissembling, when he saw no hope of redress, the king began somewhat to quicken and to look about him, as to what was best both for his own conscience, and the establishment of his realm.

No man here doubts that all this was wrought not by man's device, but by the secret purpose of the Lord himself, to bring to pass further things, which his Divine Providence was disposed to work. For as to the king's intent and purpose, he never meant nor minded any such thing as to seek the ruin of the pope. Rather, he sought all contrary means to establish the See of Rome, and also to obtain the good will of that same see and court of Rome. And therefore, intending to seek his divorce from Rome at the beginning, his device was to exalt the cardinal of York, by means of Stephen Gardiner, his ambassador at Rome, as we showed before, to be made pope and universal bishop. This was to the end that by ruling that apostolic see, the matter of his unlawful marriage, which so troubled his conscience, might come to a quiet conclusion without any further rumor of the world. This purpose of his, if it had taken effect as he devised it, and once the English cardinal had been made pope, no doubt but the authority of that see would never have been exterminated out of England. But God being more merciful to us, took a better way. For both without, and contrary to the king's expectation, God so brought things to pass, that the cardinal of York was not made pope; and yet the king nevertheless succeeded in his purpose. For he was rid, by lawful divorce, not only from that unlawful marriage which troubled his conscience, but also from the miserable yoke of the pope's usurped dominion, which clogged the whole realm.

Thus God's holy Providence ruling the matter, as I said, when the king could get no favorable grant of the pope regarding his cause, being so good and honest, he was forced to take the redress of his right into his own hands. And seeing this Gordian knot would not be loosed at Rome, he was driven against his will, to play the noble Alexander himself, and with the sword of his princely authority, he cut the knot.

[533] A.D. 1527-1540.

For where the doctors and canonists had long disputed, and yet could never thoroughly discuss the largeness and fulness of the pope's two swords, both temporal and spiritual, the king with one sword so cut off both the pope's swords, that he dispatched them both clean out of England. But first the king, like a prudent prince, following his own proverb, as one going about to cast down an old rotten wall, would not begin with the foundation first, but with the stones that lie on top. So to prepare his way better to the pope, he first began with the cardinal, casting him out of his goods and possessions by the law of praemunire. Shortly after this, about the year 1532, the king gave this proclamation:

“The king's highness straitly charges and commands, that no manner of person, of whatever estate, degree, or condition he or they are of, purchase or attempt to purchase from the court of Rome, or elsewhere, nor use and put into execution, divulge, or publish anything purchased within this past year, or to be purchased hereafter, containing matter prejudicial to the high authority, jurisdiction, and royal prerogative of his said realm, or to the let, hindrance, or impeachment of his grace's noble and virtuous intended purposes in the premises, upon pain of incurring his highness' indignation, and imprisonment, and further punishment of their bodies for their so doing, at his grace's pleasure, to the dreadful example of all others.”

After this, the king proceeded further, causing the rest of the spiritual lords to be called by process into the King's Bench, as the whole clergy of England, in supporting and maintaining the legatine power of the cardinal, were all entangled in the *praemunire*, and therefore were called into the King's Bench to answer. But the prelates in convocation at Canterbury concluded among themselves a humble submission in writing, and offered the king a subsidy or contribution, that he would be their good lord, and release them from the *praemunire* by act of parliament, first to be gathered in the province of Canterbury 100,000 pounds. And in the province of York 18,840 pounds and 10 pence. This offer was accepted, and their pardon promised. In this submission, the clergy called the king supreme head of the church of England, which they had never confessed before.

Mention was made a little earlier, of a parliament begun the 10th of January, A.D. 1533, in which the commons had put up a supplication, complaining of the strait dealing of the clergy in their proceeding *ex officio*. This complaint, although at first it did not seem to be greatly tendered from the king, yet in prorogation of the parliament, the time so wrought with it, that the king having a clearer understanding of the abuses and enormities of the clergy, and especially of the corrupt authority of the See of Rome, provided certain acts against the clergy. First, concerning the laws, decrees, ordinances, and constitutions made and established by the pretended authority of the bishops of Rome to the advancement of their worldly glory, that whoever did or spoke anything either against their usurped power, or against their said laws, decrees, or constitutions, not approved nor grounded upon holy Scripture, or else being repugnant to the king's royal prerogative, would therefore stand in no danger, nor be impeachable of heresy. And likewise regarding such constitutions, ordinances, and canons provincial or synodal, which were made in this realm in the convocation of bishops being either prejudicial to the king's prerogative, or not ratified before by the king's assent, or being otherwise onerous to the king and his subjects, or in any way repugnant to the laws and statutes of this realm, they were committed to the judgment of thirty-two persons chosen by the king out of the higher and lower house, to be determined either to stand in strength, or to be abrogated at their discretion. Further, that all the clergy of this realm submitting themselves to the king, should and did promise *in verba Sacerdotii* (in the language of the Priesthood), never to presume hereafter to assemble in their convocations without the king's writ, or to enact or execute such constitutions without his royal assent, etc.

Further, in the same parliament it was enacted and decreed that in causes and matters happening in contention, no person should appeal, provoke, or sue outside of the king's dominions to the court of Rome, under pain of provisors, provision, or *praemunire*.

In the same parliament, it was defined and concluded that all exportation of annates and first fruits of archbishoprics and bishoprics out of this realm to the See of Rome for any bulls, breves,<sup>474</sup> or palls, or expedition of any such thing, should utterly cease.

Also for the investiture of archbishops, bishops, or others of any ecclesiastical dignity, such order in the said parliament was taken that the king should send a license under the great seal, with a letter missive to the prior and convent, or to the dean and chapter of those cathedral churches where the see was vacant. By virtue of this license, or letters missive, they should within twelve days choose the person nominated by the king, and none other, and that election was to stand effectual. This election being done, then the party elect made first his oath and fealty to the king. If it were a bishop that was elect, the king by his letters

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<sup>474</sup> *Breve*: Any writ or precept under seal, issued out of any court.

patent would signify the election to the archbishop of that province, and two other bishops, or else to four bishops within this realm to be assigned to that office, without any other suing, procuring, or obtaining of any bulls, breves, or other things from the See of Rome.

Moreover, against all other exactions and great sums of money which used to be paid out of this realm to the bishop of Rome — in pensions, censures, Peter-pence, procurations, fruits, suits for provisions, and expeditions of bulls for archbishops and bishops, for delegacies and rescripts in causes of contentious and appeals, legative jurisdictions; also for dispensations, licenses, faculties, grants, relaxations, writs called *Perinde valere*, rehabilitations, abolitions, canonizations, and other infinite sorts of bulls, breves, and instruments of sundry natures, the number of which would be tedious to recite — in the parliament it was ordained that all such uncharitable usurpations, exactions, pensions, censures, portions, and Peter-pence which used to be paid to the See of Rome, should utterly cease, and never more be levied. Thus the king with his honorable council would have power and authority from time to time, for the ordering, redress, and reformation of all manner of indulgences, privileges, etc., within this realm.

All these things being thus defined and determined in this parliament, and also being concluded in the same parliament, that no man of whatever estate, degree, or condition, has any power to dispense with God's laws, it was therefore by the authority aforesaid, agreeing with the authority of God's word, assented that the marriage previously solemnized between the king and the lady Catharine, being beforehand wife to prince Arthur the king's brother, should be absolutely deemed and adjudged to be unlawful and against the law of God, and also reputed and taken to be of no value nor effect; and that the separation of it by Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, should stand good and effectual to all intents; and also that the lawful matrimony between the king and the lady Anne his wife, should be established, approved, and ratified for good, and consonant to the laws of Almighty God. And further also, for the establishing of the king's lawful succession, it was fully adjudged by the parliament, that the inheritance of the crown should remain to the heirs of their two bodies, that is, of the king, and queen Anne his wife.

Not long after that, the king, perceiving that the minds of the clergy did not much favor his cause, sent for the Speaker, and twelve of the commons-house, having with them eight lords. He said to them, "Well-beloved subjects, we had thought that the clergy of our realm had been our subjects wholly, but now we have well perceived that they are but half our subjects, yes, and *scarcely* our subjects. For all the prelates at their consecration make an oath to the pope, contrary to the oath that they make to us, so that they seem to be *his* subjects, and not *ours*."

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And so the king, delivering to them a copy of both the oaths, required them to invent some order that he might not thus be disappointed by his spiritual subjects. The Speaker thus departed, and caused the following oaths to be read in the commons-house.

*The Oaths of the Clergy to the Pope.*

"I, John, bishop or abbot of A\_\_\_\_\_, from this hour forward, shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, and to the holy church of Rome, and to my lord the pope, and his successors canonically elected. I shall not be of counsel nor consent that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken, or suffer any violence or any wrong by any means. Their counsel confided to me by them, their messengers, or letters, I shall not willingly reveal to any person. The popedom of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and regalities of St. Peter, I shall help and

maintain and defend against all men. The legate of the apostolic see going and coming, I shall treat honorably. The rights, honors, privileges, authorities of the church of Rome, and of the pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted. I shall not be in counsel, treaty, or any act in which anything shall be imagined against him or the church of Rome, their rights, seats, honors, or powers; and if I know anyone to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power; and as soon as I can, I shall notify him, or those who may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions and commandments apostolic, I shall keep to my power, and cause to be kept by others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power. I shall come to the synod when I am called, unless I am letted (obligated) by a canonical impediment. The thresholds of the apostles I shall visit yearly personally, or by my deputy. I shall not alienate or sell my possessions without the pope's council. So God me help, and the holy evangelists."

This oath of the clergymen, which they usually made to the bishop of Rome, was abolished by statute, and a new oath was administered, in which they acknowledged the king to be the supreme head under Christ in this church of England.

*The Oath of the Clergy to the King.*

"I, John, Bishop of A\_\_\_\_\_ utterly renounce and clearly forsake all such clauses, words, sentences, and grants which I have or shall hereafter have from the pope's holiness, of and for the bishopric of A\_\_\_\_\_ that in any way has been, is, or hereafter may be hurtful or prejudicial to your highness, your heirs, successors, dignity, privilege, or estate royal. And I also swear that I shall be faithful and true, and I shall bear faith and truth to you my sovereign lord, and to your heirs, kings of the same, of life and limb, and earthly worship above all creatures, to live and die with you and yours against all people; and I shall be diligently attendant to all your needs and business, after my wit and power; and your counsel I shall keep and hold, acknowledging myself to hold my bishopric from you alone; beseeching you for restitution of the temporalities of the same; promising (as before) that I shall be a faithful, true, and obedient subject to your said highness, heirs, and successors during my life; and the services and other things due to your highness, for the restitution of the temporalities of the same bishopric, I shall truly do, and obediently perform. So God help me and all saints."

These oaths being thus recited and opened to the people, were the cause that the pope lost all his jurisdiction here in England. The matter fell out more and more against the pope. Sir Thomas More, a great maintainer of the pope, and a heavy troubler of Christ's people, and now not well liking this oath, was forced to realign his chancellorship, and to deliver up the great seal of England into the king's hands. After him succeeded Sir Thomas Audley, keeper of the great seal, a man incomparable in eloquence and gifts of tongue, also with a godly-disposed mind, and a favorable inclination toward Christ's religion.

These things being done in the parliament, the king within a short time (November 1532), privately married the lady Anne Boleyn, mother to our most noble queen (Elizabeth), who without all controversy was a special comforter and aider of all the professors of Christ's gospel, of the learned as well as the unlearned.

Queen Anne, shortly after her marriage had been publicly recognized, was crowned with high solemnity at Westminster. Not long after her coronation, on the 7th of September 1533, she was delivered of a fair lady (Elizabeth). For her good deliverance, *Te Deum* was sung in all places, and great preparation was made for the christening.

The mayor and his brethren, with forty of the chief citizens. were commanded to be present, with all the nobles and gentlemen. The king's palace, all the walls between there and the

Friars, and the Friars' church, were hung with tapestry. Also the font was of silver, and stood in the midst of the church, three steps high. It was covered with a fine cloth, and several gentlemen, with aprons and towels about their necks, attended about it. Over the font hung a fair canopy of crimson satin fringed with gold. About it was a rail covered with say.<sup>475</sup> Between the choir and the body of the church was a close place with a pan of fire to make the child ready in. These things thus ordered, the child was brought into the hall, and then every man set forward, first the citizens, two by two; then the gentlemen esquires, and the chaplains. Next followed the aldermen, and the mayor alone. Next after the mayor, followed the king's council. Then the king's chaplains. Then barons, bishops, and earls. Then came the earl of Essex, bearing the covered gilt basons.<sup>476</sup> After him the Marquis of Exeter, with the taper of virgin-wax. Next after him was the marquis of Dorset, bearing the salt. Behind him the lady Mary of Norfolk, bearing the chrisom, which was very rich of pearl and stone. The old duchess of Norfolk bore the child in a mantle of purple velvet, with a long train furred with ermine. The duke of Norfolk with his marshal's-rod, went on the right hand of the duchess, and the duke of Suffolk on the left hand. Before them went the officers of arms. The countess of Kent bore the long train of the child's mantle. Between the countess and the child, went the earl of Wiltshire on the right hand, and the earl of Derby on the left hand, supporting the train. In the midst over the child, was borne a canopy by the lord Rochford, the lord Hussey, the lord William Howard, and the lord Thomas Howard the elder. In this order they came to the church door, where the bishop of London met it with diverse abbots and bishops, and began the observances of the sacrament. The archbishop of Canterbury was godfather; the old duchess of Norfolk, and the old marchioness of Dorset, widows, were godmothers; and the child's name was Elizabeth.

After all things were done at the church door, the child was brought to the font and christened. This done, garter, the chief king-at-arms,<sup>477</sup> cried aloud, "God of his infinite goodness, send prosperous life and long, to the high and mighty princess of England, Elizabeth." Then the trumpets blew. The child was brought up to the altar, and immediately confirmed by the archbishop, the marchioness of Exeter being godmother. Then the archbishop of Canterbury gave the princess a standing cup of gold. The duchess of Norfolk gave her a standing cup of gold, fretted with pearl. The marchioness of Dorset, three gilt bowls pounced (stamped), with a cover. The marchioness of Exeter three standing bowls gilt and graven, with a cover. And so after a solemn banquet ended with hypocras, waters, and such in great plenty, they returned in like order back to the court with the princess, and so they departed.

At the birth of this noble lady, just as there was no small joy to all good and godly men, and no less hope of prosperous success to God's true religion, so on the other hand, the papists were not lacking in their malicious and secret attempts, and in their devilish devices. This may sufficiently appear by the false hypocrisy and feigned holiness of a false hypocrite, who was found out in this year.

[535] A.D. 1527-1540.

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<sup>475</sup> *Say*: a type of fine cloth similar to serge (worsted wool).

<sup>476</sup> Basons: ornamental drinking vessels or bowls (basins) used in ceremonial contexts.

<sup>477</sup> Garter Chief King of Arms (or simply, Garter), is the senior king of arms and officer of arms of the College of Arms. He is responsible to the Earl Marshal for running the college. He also serves as the king of arms of the Order of the Garter; his seal and signature appear on all grants of arms made by the college. On the death of the British monarch, it is Garter's duty to proclaim the new monarch.



For certain monks, friars, and other evil-disposed persons, from a devilish intent, had put it into the heads of many of the king's subjects, that they had a revelation of God and his saints, that he was highly displeased with king Henry for the divorce of the lady Catharine. And they surmised among other things, that God had revealed to a nun named Elizabeth Barton, whom they called the holy maid of Kent, that if the king proceeded in the divorce, he would not be king of this realm one month after, and not held in the repute by God one day nor hour. This Elizabeth Barton, by false dissimulation, practiced and showed to the people strange alterations of her visage, and other parts of her body, as if she had been rapt or in a trance, and in these feigned trances (as though she had been inspired by God), she spoke many words in rebuking sin, and reproving the gospel, which she called heresy. And she uttered many things to the great reproach of the king and queen, and to establishing idolatry, pilgrimage, and the derogation of God's glory. Her naughtiness being espied out by the great labor and diligence of the archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Cromwell, and Master Hugh Latimer, she was condemned and put to death in April 1533.

About the same time William Warham also died, archbishop of Canterbury, in whose place succeeded Thomas Cranmer, who was the king's chaplain, and a great disputer against the marriage of lady Catharine.

You heard before, how the parliament had enacted that no person after a certain day should appeal to Rome for any cause. Notwithstanding this act, the queen, now called "princess dowager," had appealed to the court of Rome before that act was made; so that it was doubted whether that appeal was still good or not. This question was well handled in parliament, but much better in the convocation. And yet, in both houses it was alleged, indeed, showed by books, that in the councils of Chalcedon, Africa, Toledo, and other famous councils in the primitive church — even in the time of St. Augustine, it was affirmed, declared, and determined — that a cause arising in one province, should be determined in the same province; and that the patriarch of Constantinople should not meddle in causes moved in the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Antioch, nor should any bishop intermeddle within another's province or country. These things were so learnedly opened, and so ably set forth, that every man who had sense and was determined to follow the truth and not willfully wedded to his own opinions, might plainly see that all appeals made to Rome were clearly void and of no effect. These doctrines and councils were shown to the lady Catharine, who ever continued trusting more to the pope's partiality, than to the determination of Christ's truth.

Whereupon the archbishop of Canterbury (now Cranmer), accompanied by the bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, Lincoln, and other dignitaries, in a great number, rode to Dunstable. This is six miles from Ampthill, where the princess dowager lay; and there she was cited to appear before the archbishop, in the cause of matrimony, in the town of Dunstable. At the day appointed, she would not appear, but made default, and so was called peremptorily every day, fifteen days in a row. At last, on the 23d of May 1533, for lack of her appearance, and for rebelliousness, by the assent of all learned men there present, she was divorced from the king, and their marriage declared to be void and of no effect. This sentence being given, the archbishop, and all the others returned.

### ***The Power of the Pope abolished in England.***

These things thus finished and dispatched concerning the marriage of queen Anne, and the divorce of lady Catharine, next follows the year 1534. In that year, the high court of parliament was assembled after many prorogations, on the 3d of February. An act of succession was made for the greater security of the crown, to which every person, being of

lawful age, was to be sworn. Every Sunday, during the sitting of parliament, a bishop preached at St. Paul's cross, who declared that the pope was not head of the church.

After this, commissions were sent over all England, to take the oath of all men and women to the act of succession; to which few objected, except Dr. John Fisher bishop of Rochester; Sir Thomas More, late lord chancellor; and Dr. Nicholas Wilson, parson of St. Thomas the Apostle in London. Therefore, these three persons refused to be sworn, despite the long exhortation made to them by the bishop of Canterbury at Lambeth. They were sent to the Tower, where they remained, and were often asked to be sworn. But the bishop and Sir Thomas More excused themselves by their writings, in which they said that they had written before, that lady Catharine was queen, and therefore they could not well depart from what they had written.

From the month of March, this parliament was further prorogued to the 3d of November. At that time, among other statutes, most graciously and by the blessed will of God, it was enacted that the pope and all his college of cardinals, with his pardons and indulgences which so long had clogged this realm of England, to the miserable slaughter of so many good men, and which could never be removed before, was now abolished, eradicated, and expelled out of this land. They were sent back home to their own country of Rome, from which they came. God be everlastingly praised! Amen!

*Act concerning the King's Highness to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and to have authority to reform and redress all errors, heresies, and abuses in the same. Cap. 1.*

“Even though the king's majesty justly and rightly is, and ought to be supreme head of the church of England, and so is recognized by the clergy of this realm in their convocations, yet, nevertheless, for corroboration and confirmation of this, and for the increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirpate all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses in the same, it is enacted by authority of this present parliament, that the king, our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the church of England, called *Anglicana Ecclesia*, and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, the title and style of that, as well as all honors, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities to the said dignity of supreme head of the same church, belonging and pertaining. And that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority, from time to time, to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, abuses, offenses, contempts, and enormities, whatever they are, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction, ought, or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquility of this realm — any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or any thing or things to the contrary of this notwithstanding.”

That no man may cavil or surmise that this fatal fall and ruin of the pope came rashly upon the king's own partial affection, or by any temerity of a few; and not by the grave and advised judgment, approval, and consent, generally and publicly, as well of the nobles and commons temporal, as also upon substantial grounds, and the very strength of truth, by the discussion and consultation of the spiritual and most learned persons in this realm, it shall be requisite to add that the archbishops and bishops solemnly and openly swore to the king, as supreme head of the church of England, to the exclusion of the usurped pretensions of the bishop of Rome, giving to the king alone the style of supreme head, next under Christ, of

the church of England, renouncing and abjuring, utterly and voluntarily, the pope's too long usurped jurisdiction in this realm, moreover testifying the same both with their own hand, and also with their seal.

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Besides these confirmations and oaths of the bishops, you will hear the decree and public sentence of the university of Cambridge, written and subscribed, and signed with the public seal of their university. The tenor of their letter follows here:

*A Letter of the University of Cambridge  
against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome.*

“To all and singular the children of the holy mother church, into whose hands these presents shall come, the whole society of regents and not regents of the university of Cambridge, sends greeting in our Savior Jesus Christ.

“Whereas of late a question having arisen among us, as to the power which the bishop of Rome claims for himself by the holy Scriptures, over all provinces and nations in Christendom, and which he has now exercised for a long time in England: and as our opinion concerning this question has been required — to wit, whether the bishop of Rome has any power or authority in this kingdom of England, allotted to him by God in the Scriptures, more than any other foreign bishop, or not — we thought it therefore good reason and our duty, for searching out the truth of the said question, that we should employ our whole endeavor and study in this, whereby we might render and publish to the world, what our reason and opinion is, regarding the premises. For therefore we suppose that universities were first provided and instituted by princes, to the end that both the people of Christ might be instructed in the law of God, and also that false errors, if any arose, might through the vigilant care and industry of learned divines be discussed, extinguished, and utterly rooted out. For this cause we in our assemblies and convocations (in our accustomed manner) resorting and conferring together upon the question aforesaid, and studiously debating and deliberating with ourselves how and by what order we might best proceed to find out the truth of the matter; and at length choosing out certain of the best learned doctors and bachelors of divinity, and other masters, and having committed to those in charge, to studiously search and peruse the places of holy scripture; by viewing and considering these places together, they might certify to us what is to be said to the question propounded.

“Therefore, having heard, and well advised, and thoroughly discussed in open disputations, what may be said on both sides of the question, those reasons and arguments appear to us more probable, stronger, truer, and more certain, and agreeing much nearer to the pure and native sense of Scriptures, which deny that the bishop of Rome has any such power given him by God in the Scripture. By reason and force of these arguments being persuaded, and joining together in one opinion, we have with ourselves thus decreed to answer the question aforesaid, and in these writings we thus resolutely answer in the name of the whole University, and for an undoubted conclusion we affirm, approve, and pronounce, that the bishop of Rome has no more state, authority, and jurisdiction given to him by God in the Scriptures, over this realm of England, than has any other foreign bishop. And in testimony and credence of this our answer and affirmation, we have caused our common seal to be put to these our aforesaid letters accordingly. At Cambridge in our regent house: A.D. 1534.”

Now, for a further declaration of their judgments and opinions, you will hear what the bishops in their own books, prologues, and sermons, have written and published, regarding the pope's supremacy. We will begin with Stephen Gardiner's book “on True Obedience,” and briefly note a few of his own words, in which he not only confutes the pope's usurped

authority, but he also proves the marriage between the king and queen Catharine, his brother's wife, was not lawful, in these words.<sup>478</sup>

“And among these, if there is a commandment that a man shall not marry his brother's wife, what could the king's excellent majesty do otherwise, than that which he did by the whole consent of the people, and the judgment of his church — that is, to be divorced from unlawful marriage, and to use lawful and permitted marriage, and obeying (as it was fitting) conformably to the commandment, to cast her off, whom neither law nor right permitted him to retain, and take himself to chaste and lawful marriage? In this, although the sentence of God's word (to which all things ought to stoop) might have sufficed; his majesty was content to have the assisting consent of the most notable and grave men, and the censures of the most famous universities of the whole world — and all to the intent that men should see that he did both what he might do, and ought to do uprightly, seeing that the best learned and most worthy men have subscribed to it, and showing in this such obedience as God's word requires of every good and godly man; so as it may be said both that he obeyed God, and obeyed Him truly.”

In his book, he also alleges the old distinction of the papists, in which they give to the prince the government of things temporal, and to the church of things spiritual, comparing the one to the greater light, the other to the lesser light. He confutes and derides the distinction, declaring that the sword of the church extends no further than to teaching and excommunication, and refers all pre-eminence to the sword of the prince. He alleges for this the second psalm; “Be wise now therefore, O you kings: be instructed you judges of the earth.” Also the example of Solomon, who being a king, “appointed, according to the order of David his father, the course of the priests to their service, and the Levites to their charges (to praise and minister before the priests), as the duty of every day required; the gatekeepers also by their courses at every gate; for so David the man of God commanded.” — 2Chr 8.14.

Besides this, he also alleges the example of king Hezekiah, 2Chr 29. He alleges moreover the example of Justinian, who made laws regarding the faith, bishops, clerics, heretics and others. Aaron obeyed Moses. Solomon gave sentence upon Abiathar the high priest. Alexander the king, in first Maccabees writes to Jonathan; “Now we have made you this day the high priest of your people, etc.” So did Demetrius to Simon.

And where he reasons from the king's style and title — being called king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and supreme head in earth of the church of England, immediately under Christ, etc. — he thus adds his mind and censure, saying that he sees no cause in this title, why any man should be offended that the king is called head of the church of England, rather than of the realm of England. And he adds his reason for this, saying that if the prince and king of England is the head of his kingdom, that is, of all Englishmen as his subjects, is there any reason why the same English subjects should not be subject to the same head likewise in this respect: because they are Christians. That is to say, for the title of godliness, as though God, who is the cause of all obedience, should now be the cause of rebellion? At length he concludes with this exclamation:

“To say that a king is the head of the kingdom, and not of the church, what an absurd and a foolish saying this is! ... The light of the gospel, so spreads its beams in all men's eyes, that the

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<sup>478</sup> Recall from the Life of Foxe (p. xiv) that *Stephen Gardiner was John Foxe's greatest enemy*. Though a defender of royal supremacy over the Church, he was the chief opponent of Reformation doctrine. He was secretary to Cardinal Wolsey in 1525. King Henry bypassed him to appoint Thomas Cranmer as archbishop of Canterbury in 1532. He was committed to the Tower by Edward VI in 1548, and deprived of his bishopric in 1550. Queen Mary reinstated him in 1553, and appointed him lord Chancellor. Therefore, this section is not a glowing endorsement of Gardiner, but a scathing indictment of his hypocrisy and duplicity — his willingness to say anything to gain political advantage.

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works of the gospel may be known, and the mysteries of Christ's doctrine be opened; both learned and unlearned, men and women, being in England, see and perceive that they have nothing to do with Rome, nor with the bishop of Rome, but that every prince in his own dominions is to be taken and accepted as a vicar of God, and vicegerent of Christ in his own bounds."

[537] A.D. 1527-1540.

To these extracts from the books of Gardiner we will add a part of the preface to that book, which was written by Bonner, to show how the judgments of men are changed by the vain glory and pomp of this world.

*The Preface of Edmund Bonner, Archdeacon of Leicester,  
prefixed before Stephen Gardiner's Book, "On True Obedience."*

"Forasmuch as there may be some who think that the controversy between the king's royal majesty and the bishop of Rome consists in this point, that his majesty has taken the most excellent and most virtuous Lady Anne to be his wife, but which is far otherwise: we, with the intent, therefore, that all true hearty favorers of the gospel of Christ, who do not hate, but love the truth, may more fully understand the chief point of the controversy, and because they will then not be ignorant of what is the unanimous opinion and resolute determination of the best and most learned bishops, with all the nobles and commons of England, not only in that case of matrimony, but also in defending the doctrine of the gospel: here will be published the oration of the bishop of Winchester (a man excellently learned in all kinds of learning) entitled 'On True Obedience.'

"But, as to this bishop's worthy praises, nothing will be spoken by me at this time, not only because they are infinite, but because they are far better known to all Christendom, than it becomes me to recite here. And as for the oration itself (which, as it is most learned, so it is most elegant) to what purpose should I make any statements about it, seeing that it praises itself enough, and requires no recommendation? Yet, in this oration, whoever you are most gentle reader, you will, besides other matters, see it notably and learnedly handled, of what importance it is, and how invincible the power and excellency of God's truth is. Just as it may now and then be pressed by the enemies, so it cannot possibly be oppressed and darkened in such a way that it will not at length show itself again more glorious and welcome. You will also see, regarding obedience, that it is subject to truth, and what is to be judged true obedience; and besides this, of men's traditions, which are for the most part repugnant to the truth of God's law. And there, by the way, he speaks of the king's highness' marriage which, by the ripe judgment, authority, and privilege of the most and principal universities of the world, and then, with the consent of the whole church of England, he contracted with the most excellent, and most noble lady, Queen Anne. After that, regarding the king's majesty's title, as pertaining to the supreme head of the church of England. Last of all, of the false and pretended supremacy of the bishop of Rome in the realm of England most justly abrogated — and how all other bishops being fellow-like to him in their function, indeed, and in some points above him within their own provinces, were prior bound to the king by their oath.

"But be most surely persuaded of this, good reader, that the bishop of Rome, if there were no other case except this marriage, would easily content himself, and especially on his having some good morsel or other given to him to chew upon. But when he sees so mighty a king being a right virtuous and learned prince, so sincerely and so heartily favor the gospel of Christ, and perceiving the yearly and great prey snapped out of his hands (indeed, so large a prey, that it was nearly as much as all the king's revenues), and that he can no longer exercise his tyranny in the king's majesty's realm (alas! up to now, too cruel and bitter) nor make many laws, as he has done, to the insult and reproach of the Majesty of God, which it is evident he

has done in times past, under the title of *the catholic church*, and *the authority of Peter and Paul* (when notwithstanding, he was truly a ravening wolf, dressed in sheep's clothing, calling himself the servant of servants) to the great damage of the Christian commonwealth."

In adding to these the judgment and arguments of Bishop Tunstall, we see how he agrees with them, or rather exceeds them. In his sermon preached before King Henry VIII on Palm Sunday, he disputes against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and proves by manifest grounds, out of the Scripture, ancient doctors, and councils, that the bishop of Rome has no such authority by the word of God. He also reproves and condemns him with great zeal and ardent spirit, to be a proud Lucifer, disobedient to the ordinary powers of God set over him, contrary to Christ and Peter. And finally, in raising up a war against us for this, he rebukes and defies God, as a most detestable sower of discord, and a murderer of Christian men.

First, by the Scripture he reasons that all good men ought to obey the powers and governors of the world, such as emperors, kings, and princes of all sorts. For so St. Peter plainly teaches us in 1Pet 2.14, saying, "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it is to the king as supreme, or to governors," etc. So that St. Peter, in his epistle, commands all princes in their office to be obeyed as the ministers of God, by all Christian men: and St. Paul in Rom 13.1-2 says, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; for the powers that be are ordained by God, and whoever resists the powers, resists the ordinance of God, and will receive to himself damnation."

Also, we have another express commandment of Christ, Luk 22.25 who on the occasion of his disciples striving for superiority, discusses the matter, saying, "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and those who exercise authority over them are called 'benefactors.' But you shall not be so. Rather, he who is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he who serves," etc.

And again, Christ speaking to Pilate of his kingdom, declares that his kingdom is not of this world, <sup>Joh 18.36</sup> and therefore, says Tunstall, those who go about to make a worldly kingdom of Christ's spiritual kingdom, fall into the error of some heretics who expect that Christ, after the day of judgment, shall reign with all his saints here on the earth, carnally in Jerusalem. The Jews believe that Messiah is yet to come, and that when he comes, he will reign worldly in Jerusalem. <sup>479</sup>

By these and such other places it may well appear, that Christ, neither before nor after his incarnation, (as Tunstall says) ever altered the authority of worldly kings and princes, but by his own word, he commanded them still to be obeyed by their subjects, as they had been in ancient times, etc. For an example, he alleges first, the example of Christ himself, who being asked by the Jews, whether they should give tribute to Caesar or not, he told them to give to Caesar the things which are his, and to God the things that are his, Mat 22.21, signifying that tribute was due to Caesar, and that their souls were due to God, etc.

Also, it appears that Christ bid Peter pay tribute for him and his disciples when it was demanded of him (Mat 17.24-27). And why? Because he would not change the order of obedience which was due by subjects to their princes.

He cites another example of Christ out of the sixth chapter of John, where, after Christ had fed five thousand and more with a few loaves and fewer fishes, and saw that the Jews would have taken him and made him their king, he fled from them, and would not consent to it. For he says, the kingdom that he came to establish here on earth, was not a worldly and a

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<sup>479</sup> Foxe refers to Chiliasm, or the Jewish Golden Age, newly popularized in John Darby's dispensationalism.

temporal kingdom, but a heavenly and spiritual kingdom — that is, to reign spiritually by grace and faith in the hearts of all Christian and faithful people, of whatever degree or nature they may be, and to turn all people and nations, who at his coming, were carnal and lived after the lusts of the flesh, to be spiritual, and to live after the Spirit, so that Christ, with his Father in heaven, might reign in the hearts of all men, etc.

And here, in these examples of Christ's humility, it is further to be noted, how Christ the Son of God submitted himself not only to the rulers and powers of this world, but he also humbled himself, and in a manner became a servant to his own apostles — so far off was he from all ambitious and pompous seeking of worldly honor.

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For so it appears in him, not only by washing the feet of his apostles, but also, when the apostles a little before his passion, fell out and contended among themselves as to who among them could be superior, Christ sets before them the example of his own subjection, and asks this question: "Who is greater, he who sits at the meal, or he that serves? Is not he who sits at the meal? But I am among you as he who serves," etc. Luk 22.24-27

Again, in Peter (Acts 10), what an example of reverent humility is seen in this, that notwithstanding having a commission with the other apostles to go all over the world, nevertheless at Joppa, being sent for by Cornelius, he dared not go to him without the vision of a sheet let down from heaven. By this vision he was admonished not to refuse the Gentiles; for in himself he had no such primacy over all people and places, nor any such commission above the others, etc.,

And Peter being rebuked by Paul, his fellow brother, took no offense, but was content, submitting himself to due correction, Gal 2.11.

But here, says Tunstall, the bishop of Rome steps in and says that,

"Peter had authority given to him above all the apostles, and alleges the words of Christ spoken to him, Mat 16.18-19, 'You are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and to you will I give the Keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatever you shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven,' etc. Christ said this, and St. Peter is buried at Rome, whose successor I am. And therefore I ought to rule the church, as Peter did, and be the gatekeeper of the gates of heaven, as Peter was, etc. And Christ also said to Peter, after his resurrection, 'Feed my sheep;' which he spoke to him only. So that thereby he had authority over all Christ's flock; and I, as his successor, have the same. And therefore, whoever will not obey me, king or prince, I will curse him, and deprive him of his kingdom. For all power is given to me that Christ has, and I am his vicar-general, as Peter was here on earth over all, and none but I, as Christ is in heaven."

To open, therefore, the true sense of the Scripture in the places mentioned, and to begin first with the sixteenth chapter of Matthew, it is to be observed that the question being put in general by Christ to all his apostles, what they thought or judged about him, Peter answered for them all (as he was always ready to answer). He said, "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said to him. Blessed are you, Simon Barjona; for flesh and blood has not revealed it to you, but my Father which is in heaven. And I also say to you. That you are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Mat 16.16-18. That is to say, upon this rock of your confession of me to be the Son of God I will build my church. For this faith contains the whole summary of our faith and salvation, as it is written, "The word is near you, even in your mouth, and in your heart: that is, the word of faith, which we preach; that if you

confess with your mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe in your heart that God has raised him from the dead, you shall be saved," etc. Rom 10.8-9. And this confession being uttered by the mouth of St. Peter, upon this *confession* of his, and not upon the *person* of St. Peter, Christ builds his church, as St. Chrysostom expounds that place in the twenty-sixth sermon of the Feast of Pentecost, saying, "Not upon the person of St. Peter, but upon his faith Christ has his church been built. And what is this faith? This, 'You are the Christ, the Son of the living God.' What does it mean to say, 'Upon this rock?' That is, upon this confession of St. Peter," etc. And ancient expositors agree with this saying of Chrysostom treating that place (says Tunstall). For if we were to expound that place, that the church is built upon the person of St. Peter, we would put another foundation of the church than Christ, which is directly against St. Paul, saying, "For no other foundation can any man lay than what is laid, which is Jesus Christ," 1Cor 3.11.

And as St. Peter was the first of those who confessed Christ to be the Son of God, so he was most ardent in his faith, and bold, and hardy in Christ. This appears by his coming out of the ship in the great tempest, <sup>Mat 14.22-33</sup> and also in his being most vehement in his Master's cause, as it appeared by his drawing out his sword; <sup>Joh 18.10</sup> and after the Lord's resurrection, declared in the second, third, and fourth chapters of the Acts, where the Jews withstood the apostles' preaching the faith of Christ, St. Peter, as most ardent in faith, was ever most ready to defend the faith against the impugnors of it, and to speaking to the people for all the disciples, etc. And therefore these honorable names have been given to him by the ancient interpreters — that sometimes he is called the mouth of the apostles; the chief of the apostles; the prince of the apostles; the president of the whole church; and sometimes the name of primacy or priority has been attributed to him. And yet notwithstanding these honorable names given to him, St. Peter never had a rule or a judicial power given to him above all the other apostles, as is plain by St. Paul, and many others.

First, St. Paul, in writing to the Galatians, plainly declares, "But contrariwise, when they saw that the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed to me, just as the gospel of the circumcision was to Peter; for He who wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, was mighty in me towards the Gentiles." Gal 2.7-8. Hereby it appears that St. Paul knew no primacy of St. Peter concerning people and places, except among the Jews. And St. Ambrose, expounding that place, says this: "The primacy of the Jews was given chiefly to St. Peter, although St. James and St. John were joined with him; just as the primacy of the Gentiles was given to St. Paul, even though St. Barnabas was joined with him, so that St. Peter had no rule over all."

That all the apostles had like dignity and authority, appears by St. Paul, where he says, "Now therefore you are no longer strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God, and built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone." Eph 2.19-20. Here he says that they are built not upon the foundation of St. Peter only, but upon the foundation of the *apostles*, so that all of them are in the foundation set upon Christ, the very rock upon which the whole church stands.

In Rev 21.14, the new city, and the heavenly Jerusalem of Almighty God, is described by the Holy Spirit not with one foundation only of St. Peter, but with twelve foundations, according to the number of the apostles.

St. Cyprian gives testimony likewise to the same effect, that the apostles had equal power and dignity given to them by Christ. And therefore because all should preach one thing, the beginning first came by one, who was St. Peter, who confessed for them all, that Christ was



the Son of the living God. Cyprian said further, that in the church there is one office of all the bishops, of which every man has a part allowed wholly to himself. Now, if the bishop of Rome may meddle over all, wherever he will, then every man does not wholly have his part, for the bishop of Rome may also meddle in his part jointly with him — so that now he does not have it wholly, which is against Cyprian.

St. Augustine likewise, expounding the gospel of John, in his fiftieth treatise, speaks of the keys of St. Peter, which he says were given by Christ to St. Peter, not for himself alone, but for the whole church.

St. Cyril expounding the last chapter of St. John, and there speaking of the words of Christ spoken to St. Peter, “Feed my sheep,” etc., thus understands them: that because St. Peter had three times denied Christ, he thought that he had lost his apostleship. But Christ, to comfort him again, and to restore him to his office that he had lost, asked him three times whether he loved him. And so He restored Peter again to his office, which otherwise he dared not have presumed, saying to him, “Feed my sheep,” etc. With this exposition the ancient holy expositors of that place agree. So that by these words about feeding Christ’s sheep, the bishop of Rome can take no advantage to maintain his universal pastorality over all Christian dominions.

[539] A.D. 1527-1540.

Again, whereas the bishop of Rome says that Peter, by these words of Christ spoken to him, has a preeminence above the others, St. Paul, Acts 20.28, proves the contrary; where, speaking to the bishops assembled at Miletus, he says to them, “Take heed therefore to yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he has purchased with his own blood.”

And Peter himself, likewise (1Pet 5.2) says, “feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight of it,” etc.

So that by these Scriptures conferred together, it may appear that neither Matthew 16, nor John 21, proves that Peter had power, authority, or dignity given to him by Christ over all the others, nor that they should be under him. And yet, notwithstanding, his primacy still continues, in that Peter, first of all the apostles, confessed Christ to be the Son of the living God. In this confession, all the other apostles joined and preached with him. And thus the power of the bishops of Rome over all, which they would prove by those places wrongfully alleged for this purpose, utterly fails, and is not proved. And thus much for the Scriptures and doctors.

Now, further proceeding in this matter, Tunstall comes to councils and examples of the primitive church, as follows:

Faustinus, legate to the bishop of Rome, in the sixth Council of Carthage (A.D. 425), alleged that the bishop of Rome ought to have the ordering of all great matters in all places by his supreme authority, bringing no Scripture for him (for at that time no Scripture was thought to support it) but alleged for him, untruly so, the first Council of Nice, to support his purpose. After this, when the book was brought forth, and no such article was found in it, but on the contrary, the council at that time sent to Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, where the patriarchal sees were, to have the true copy of the Council of Nice, which was sent to them. And another copy was also sent from Rome, to which they also sent for the same purpose.

After the copy was brought to them, and no such article being found in it, but on the contrary, in the fifth chapter, that all ecclesiastical causes should either be determined within the diocese, or else, if any were still aggrieved, then to appeal to the provincial council, and there the matter was to take full end; so that for no such causes should men go out of their provinces. The whole Council of Carthage wrote to Celestine, at that time bishop of Rome, that since the Council of Nice had no such article in it, as was untruly alleged by Faustinus, but the contrary, they therefore desired him to abstain hereafter from making any such demand, denouncing to him that they would not allow any cause, great or small, to be brought by appeal out of their country; and thereupon they made a law that no man should appeal outside of the country of Africa, upon pain of being accursed. With this the bishop of Rome ever after held himself content, and made no more business with them, seeing that he had nothing to say for himself to the contrary. And St. Augustine was present at this council, and subscribed his hand.

It was also determined in the sixth article of the said Council of Nice, that in the East the bishop of Antioch should be chief; in Egypt the bishop of Alexandria; around Rome the bishop of Rome; and likewise in other countries the metropolitans should have their pre-eminence. So that the bishop of Rome never meddled in those countries.

And, in the next article following, the bishop of Jerusalem (which city had been destroyed and lay desolate) was restored to his old prerogative, to be the chief in Palestine and in the country of Judea.

By this you see how the patriarch of Rome, during all this time of the primitive church, had no such primacy above other patriarchs, much less over kings and emperors. This may appear by Agatho, bishop of Rome, in whose time the sixth general council was held. After his election, he sent to the emperor at Constantinople, to have his election allowed, before he could be consecrated, as was the custom used at that time (A.D. 479).

St. Ambrose, St. Gregory, and other popes before him, did the same. During all of that time the bishops of Rome followed well the doctrine left to them by St. Peter and St. Paul, to be subjects, and to obey their princes.

After that, Bishop Tunstall, both by Scriptures and ancient doctors, and also by sufficient examples from the primitive church, proved and declared how the bishops of Rome ought to submit themselves to the higher powers whom God has appointed over every creature in this world, to be obeyed.

Now for confirming this matter, and satisfying the reader, it will not be much out of purpose to also adduce the public and general agreement of the whole clergy of England, confirmed and ratified in their own public book, made and set forth by them about the same time, called "The Bishop's Book." In that book, though many things were imperfect, yet regarding the bishop of Rome's regality, we will hear what their whole opinion and provincial determination was, as seen by their own words, and subscribed by their own names:

"We think it convenient that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed to their spiritual charge; that whereas certain men imagine and affirm that Christ should give the bishop of Rome power and authority, not only to be head and governor of all priests and bishops in Christ's church, but also to have and occupy the whole monarchy of the world in his hands; and that he may thereby lawfully depose kings and princes from their realms, dominions, and seignories, and so transfer and give the same to such persons as he pleases — all of which is utterly false and untrue; for Christ never gave to St. Peter, or to any of the apostles or their successors, any such authority. And the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul,

teach and command that all Christian people, priests and bishops as well as others, should be obedient and subject to the princes and potentates of the world, even if they are infidels.

“As for the bishop of Rome, it was many hundreds of years after Christ, before he could acquire or get any primacy or governance above any other bishops, out of his province in Italy; and since that time he has ever usurped more and more. Although some part of his power was given to him by the consent of the emperors, kings, and princes, and by the consent also of the clergy in general councils assembled, yet surely he attained most of it by marvellous subtlety and craft, and especially by conspiracy with great kings and princes — sometimes by training them into his devotion by pretense and color of holiness and sanctity, and sometimes constraining them by force and tyranny. Whereby the said bishops of Rome aspired and rose at length to such greatness in strength and authority, that they presumed and took it upon themselves to be heads, and to enact laws by their own authority, not only for all other bishops within Christendom; but also for the emperors, kings, and other princes and lords of the world; and did that under the pretense of the authority committed to them by the gospel. In this, the said bishops of Rome not only abuse and pervert the true sense and meaning of Christ’s word, but they also do clean contrary to the use and custom of the primitive church. And so they manifestly violate the holy canons made in the church immediately after the time of the apostles, as well as the decrees and constitutions made in that behalf by the holy fathers of the catholic church, assembled in the first general councils. And finally, they transgress their own profession, made in their creation. For the bishops of Rome always, when they are consecrated and made bishops of that see, make a solemn profession and vow, that they shall inviolably observe and keep all the ordinances made in the eight first general councils; among which it is specially provided and enacted, that all causes shall be finished and determined within the province where the same began; and that is by the bishops of the same province; and that no bishop shall exercise any jurisdiction outside of his own diocese or province; and diverse such other canons were then made and confirmed by the said councils to repress and take away from the church all such primacy and jurisdiction over kings and bishops, as the bishops of Rome now pretend to have over the same.

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“And we find that diverse good fathers, bishops of Rome, greatly reprov’d, yes, and abhorred, as a thing clean contrary to the gospel and the decrees of the church, that any bishop of Rome, or elsewhere, should presume, usurp, or take upon himself the title and name of the *universal* bishop, or of the *head* of all priests, or of the *highest* priest, or any such title. For confirmation of this, it is beyond all doubt that there is no mention made either in the Scriptures, or in the writings of any authentic doctor or author of the church, during the time of the apostles, that Christ ever made or instituted any distinction or difference in the pre-eminence of power, order, or jurisdiction between the apostles themselves, or between the bishops themselves; but that they were all equal in power, order, authority, and jurisdiction. Whatever difference there is now among the bishops, since the time of the apostles, it was devised by the ancient fathers of the primitive church, not because it was according to Scripture, but for the conservation of good order and unity of the catholic church, and that was either by the consent and authority, or else at the least by the permission and sufferance of the princes and civil powers ruling at the time,” etc.

Judge now for yourself, loving reader, if either Martin Luther himself, or any other Lutheran, could or did ever say more against the usurpation of the bishop of Rome, than these men have done. If they dissembled otherwise than they meant, who could ever dissemble so deeply? If they meant as they spoke, then who could ever turn head to tail so suddenly and so shortly as these men did? But as we write these things for edification, let us mark their *reasons*, and let the *persons* go.

Although the proofs and arguments alleged up to here might suffice to fully discuss this matter against the pope's usurped primacy, for a more ample confutation of the usurped power we will cite a certain epistle sent by bishop Tunstall and John Stokesley, bishop of London, to Cardinal Pole. About this time Cardinal Pole, brother to the Lord Montague, was attainted (condemned by attainder) of high treason, and fled to Rome. There, a short time after, he was made cardinal (more is to be spoken of him hereafter, the Lord so permitting, when we come to the time of Queen Mary). While remaining at Rome, a certain epistle by Stokesley, bishop of London, and Tunstall, bishop of Durham, was directed to him, persuading him to relinquish and abandon the supremacy of the pope, and to conform himself to the religion of his king. That epistle is as follows:

“For the good will that we have borne to you in times past, as long as you continued the king's true subject, we cannot a little lament and mourn that neither regarding the inestimable kindness of the king's highness previously shown to you in your upbringing, nor the honor of the house that you come from, nor the wealth of the country that you were born in, you should so decline from your duty to your prince, that you would be seduced by fair words and vain promises of the bishop of Rome to join with him, going about by all means possible to pull down and put underfoot your natural prince and master — to the destruction of the country that has brought you up, and for the vain-glory of a red hat to make yourself an instrument to set forth his malice, who has stirred up, by all means that he could, all such Christian princes as would give ear to him, to depose the king's highness from his kingdom, and to offer it as a prey for those who would execute his malice, and to stir, if he could, his subjects against him, in stirring and nourishing rebellions in his realm, where the office and duty of all good Christian men, and namely of us that are priests, should be to bring all commotion to tranquility, all trouble to quietness, all discord to concord; and in doing the contrary, we would show ourselves to be but the ministers of Satan and not of Christ, who ordained all us who are priests, to use in all places the legation of peace, and not of discord.

“But since what is done cannot be undone, it is secondly to make amends, and follow the doing of the prodigal son spoken of in the gospel, who returned home to his father, and was well accepted; as no doubt you might be, if you will say as he said in acknowledging your folly, and do as he did in returning home again from your wandering abroad in service of those who little care what comes if you, so that their purpose is served by you. And if you are moved by your conscience, so that you cannot allow the king your master to be supreme head of the church of England, because the bishop of Rome has for many years usurped that name universally over all the church, under the pretense of the gospel of St. Matthew, saying, ‘You are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church;’ surely many of the most holy and ancient expositors of that text take it to mean the faith then first confessed by the mouth of Peter; the church is built upon that faith, confessing Christ to be the Son of God, Christ being the very lowest foundation stone upon which both the apostles themselves, and also the whole faith of the church of Christ, preached by them throughout the world, is founded and built: and there can be no other foundation, but that alone, as St. Paul says, ‘For no other foundation can any man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ,’ 1Cor 3.11.

“And where you think that Luke 22.32 proves the authority of the bishop of Rome, when Christ says, Peter, ‘I have prayed for you, that your faith not fail: and when you are converted, strengthen your brethren;’ surely that speaks only of the fall of Peter, known to Christ by his godly prescience, of which he gave an inkling, so that after his fall Peter would not despair, but return again and confirm his brethren, as he, being ever most fervent, was prone to do. The place plainly opens itself that it cannot be otherwise taken but with this meaning, and not to be spoken except to Peter. For otherwise his successors must first fail in the faith, and then convert and so confirm their brethren. And whereas you think that this place in the gospel of

John, 'Feed my sheep,' was spoken only to Peter, and that those words make him shepherd over all, and above all, St. Peter himself testifies the contrary in his canonical epistle. There he says to all priests, 'Feed the flock of Christ which is among you,' which he bid them to do by the authority that Christ had put them in as follows: 'And when the chief shepherd appears, you shall receive the incorruptible crown of eternal glory.' St. Paul in the Acts testifies the same, saying, 'Take heed therefore to yourselves and to all the flock over which the Holy Spirit has made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he has purchased with his own blood,' Act 20.28. Where, in the original text, the word signifying to *govern*, or *oversee*, is the same word that is spoken to Peter — *feed*; for it signifies both in the Scripture. That these words did not mean he was constituted a shepherd over all, is made very plain by the fact that St. Peter dared not commence such intercourse among the Gentiles. He eschewed it as unlawful, and prohibited much rather than commanded by God's law — until he was admonished by the revelation of the sheet mentioned in Acts 11.5-7. Whereas, if by these words, 'Feed my sheep,' Christ had given such a universal government to Peter, then Peter, being more fervent than any of the other apostles to execute Christ's commandment, would have gone of his own accord without any such new admonition, or having been sent for by Cornelius. Unless perhaps you would say that Peter did not understand the words of Christ, for lack of the light which later men have obtained, who thereby understand the words of Christ to Peter, better than Peter did himself. It would also be strange to condemn Peter as a high traitor to his Master after his ascension, as if he indeed were worthy of it, if his Master had signified to him that the bishops of Rome, by Peter's dying there, should be heads of the whole church — and him knowing it by these words 'Feed my sheep;' yet notwithstanding his Master's high legacy and commandment, he would flee from Rome, as he did, until his Master encountered him on the way, with terrible words, and caused him to return."<sup>480</sup>

[541] A.D. 1527-1540.

After many references and arguments connected with the ancient history of the church, the letter thus concludes:

"Christian kings are sovereigns over the priests, as they are over all their subjects, and may command the priests to do their offices, as well as they command others; and should by their supreme office see that all men of all degrees do their duties to which they are called either by God or by the king; and those kings that do so chiefly, execute their office well. So that the king's highness, taking upon himself, as supreme head of the church of England, to see that spiritual as well as temporal men do their duties, neither makes innovation in the church, nor yet trouble the order of it. Rather, he does as the chief and best of the kings of Israel did, and as all good Christian kings ought to do. Good Christian emperors always took this office upon themselves, in calling the universal councils of all countries to assemble together in one place and at one time, to the intent that all heresies troubling the church might there be extirpated, calling and commanding the bishop of Rome as well as other patriarchs and all primates, of the East as well as of the West, of the South as well as the North, to come to the said councils. Marcian the emperor did this in calling the great Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, one of the four chief and first general councils, and in commanding Leo, the bishop of Rome, to come to the same. Although Leo neither liked the time, and would have wished it deferred for a season, nor yet the place, for he would have had it in Italy, yet the emperor by his own command summoned the council to meet at Chalcis, in Asia. Yet Leo answered the emperor, that he would gladly obey his command, and sent his agents there to appear for him, as appears in the forty-first, forty-seventh, and forty-eighth epistles of Leo to Marcian, and in the forty-ninth

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<sup>480</sup> Roman Catholics claim Peter founded the church at Rome, based on the writings of Irenaeus, Clement of Rome, and Tertullian, but without Scriptural support. As for Peter being confronted by Christ and caused to return, that is taken from the non-canonical *Acts of Peter*.

epistle to Pulcheria the empress. Marcian likewise desired Theodosius, the emperor of the West, to summon a council of bishops to be called in Italy, for removing the contentions and troubles which at that time troubled the quietness of the churches. And in many epistles of Leo it manifestly appears that the emperors always assembled general councils by their command. In the sixth general council it appears very plainly that at that time the bishops of Rome made no claim, nor did they use any title to call themselves *heads universal* over all the catholic church, as appears in the superscription or salutation of the aforesaid synodical preamble, which is in these words:

“To the most godly lords and most noble victors and conquerors, the well-beloved children of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, Constantine the great, emperor, and Heraclius and Tiberius, Caesars: bishop Agatho, the servant of the servants of God, with all the convocations subject to the council of the apostolic see, sends greeting.’

And he expresses what countries he reckoned and comprehended in that superscription or salutation; for it follows, that those were under his assembly, who were in the Northern and Eastern parts, so that at that time the bishop of Rome made no such pretense to be over and above all, as he now does by usurpation. He vindicates to himself the spiritual kingdom of Christ, by which he remains in the hearts of all faithful people; and then he changes it to a temporal kingdom over and above all kings, to depose them for his pleasure, preaching thereby the flesh for the spirit, and an earthly kingdom for a heavenly, to his own damnation if he does not repent. Whereas he ought to obey his prince by the doctrine of St. Peter in his first epistle, saying, ‘Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake, whether it be to the king as supreme, or to governors, as to those who are sent by Him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of those who do well,’ 1Pet 2.13-14. Again, St. Paul, ‘Let every soul be subject to the higher powers,’ Rom 13.1; with other things alleged before. So that his pretended usurpation, as being above all kings, is directly against the Scriptures given to the church by the apostles. Whoever overturns this doctrine, can neither be the head, nor even the least member of the church.

“Therefore, although you have up to now adhered to the wrongfully usurped power, moved by your conscience as you write, yet since you now see further, if you wish to regard the pure truth, and such ancient authors as have been written to you about in times past, we would exhort you, for the health of your soul, to surrender into the hands of the bishop of Rome your red hat by which he seduced you, trusting to make you, coming from noble blood, an instrument to advance his own vain glory; of which he made you a participant by the hat, to allure you thereby more to his purpose.

“In doing this, you shall return to the truth from which you have erred. Do your duty to your sovereign lord from whom you have declined, and thereby please Almighty God, whose laws you have transgressed. And in not doing so, you shall remain in error, offending both Almighty God and your natural sovereign lord, whom chiefly you ought to seek to please. We pray Almighty God, of his infinite mercy, that you not do this thing, for the good that we have borne you up to now. Amen!”

### **Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More Executed.**

When all the king’s subjects and the learned of the realm had taken the oath of the king’s supremacy, only Fisher, the bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, refused to be sworn. Therefore they were committed to the Tower, and executed, A.D. 1535.

Among other acts of Fisher, he had been a great enemy and persecutor of John Frith, the godly and learned martyr of Jesus Christ, whom he and Sir Thomas More caused to be burned a year and a half before. For his learning and other virtues, this bishop was well reputed and reported of by many, and also much lamented by some. But whatever his

learning was, it was a pity that being endued with that knowledge, he should be so far drowned in such superstition; and the more pity that he was so obstinate in his ignorance; but most pity of all, that he so abused the learning he had to such cruelty. But this we commonly see come to pass, as the Lord says, "That whoever strikes with the sword, shall perish with the sword," <sup>Mat 26.52</sup> and those who stain their hands with blood seldom bring their bodies unbloody to the grave. This commonly appears by the end of bloody tyrants, and especially those who were persecutors of Christ's poor members. Among their number was this bishop, and Sir Thomas More, by whom good John Frith, Tewkesbury, Thomas Hitton, Byfield, with other saints of God were brought to their death. It was said that the pope, to recompense bishop Fisher for his faithful service, had elected him cardinal, and sent him a cardinal's hat as far as Calais; but the head that it should stand upon was cut off before the pope's hat could come to it.

Something was said earlier about Sir Thomas More. He was accounted a man both witty and learned; but whatever he was besides, he was a bitter persecutor of good men, and a wretched enemy to the truth of the gospel, as may appear by his books in which he most slanderously and disdainfully writes against Luther, Zuinglius, Tyndale, Frith, Barnes, Byfield, Bainham, Tewkesbury, and the articles and doctrines which they professed.

Briefly, just as he was a sore persecutor of those who stood in the defense of the gospel, so on the other side he had such a blind devotion for the See of Rome, and so willfully stood in the pope's quarrel against his own prince, that he would not give up until he brought himself to the scaffold.

The same is also to be said of the three monks of the charter-house, Ermew, Middlemore, and Nudigate, who the same year in the month of June were arraigned at Westminster for speaking traitorous words against the king's crown and dignity. For this they were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn.

In the same year and for the same treason, with the same punishment, were executed John Houghton, prior of the Charter-house in London, Robert Laurence, prior of the charter-house of Belvail, Austen Webster, prior of the charter-house of Hexham.

Besides and with these priors, two other priests likewise suffered, one called Reignold, brother of Sion, and the other named John Haile, vicar of Thistleworth.

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Shortly after the pope's supremacy was rejected, the ruin of abbeys and religious houses in England began to follow in a right order and method, by God's divine providence. For the fall of the monasteries could not have followed, unless the suppression of the pope's supremacy had gone before; neither could any true reformation of the church have been attempted, unless the subversion of those superstitious houses had taken place.

Upon which, in the same year, in the month of October, the king then having Thomas Cromwell in his council, sent Dr. Lee to visit the abbeys, priories, and nunneries in all of England, and to set at liberty all those religious persons who desired to be free, and all others who were under the age of twenty-four — providing that those monks, canons, and friars who were dismissed, would have given to them a secular priest's gown by the abbot or prior, instead of their habit, and forty shillings of money. And likewise, the nuns were to have given to them such apparel as secular women then commonly used, and also allowed to go where they would. At that time their chief jewels and relics were taken from the abbeys and monasteries.

When the king had thus established his supremacy, and all things were quieted within the realm, like a wise prince, and having wise counsel about him, he forecast with himself what foreign dangers might fall by other countries. They were all as yet in subjection to the bishop of Rome, except for a few German princes. Not doubting the malice of the pope, he thought it good to remain allied by all possible means with other princes. Accordingly he sent ambassadors to the king of Scotland, the king of France, and to the emperor, to justify his proceedings respecting his marriage, and the suppression of the pope's supremacy.

***The History of William Tyndale.***

But, so that we may go forward with our history, we will now relate the history of the good martyr of God, William Tyndale, who was betrayed and put to death (A.D. 1536). This William Tyndale, as he was appointed a special organ of the Lord to shake the inward roots and foundation of the pope's proud prelacy, so the great prince of darkness, with his impious imps, having a special malice against him, left no way unsought to craftily entrap him, and to falsely to betray him, and to maliciously take his life, as may appear by the following process of his history.

*The Life and History of the true Servant and Martyr of God,  
William Tyndale, who for his notable pains and travail,  
may well be called the Apostle of England in our age.*

William Tyndale, the faithful minister and constant martyr of Christ, was born about the borders of Wales, and brought up from a child in the university of Oxford, where he grew up, and increased in the knowledge of tongues and other liberal arts, but more especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures, to which his mind was singularly addicted. So that, in Magdalen-hall he read some divinity privately to certain students and fellows of Magdalen college, instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scripture. His life and conversation were such that all those who knew him, reputed and esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition, and unspotted life.

Thus, increasing more and more in learning in the university of Oxford, he removed from there to the university of Cambridge, where after he had likewise made his abode for some time, and now being further ripened in the knowledge of God's word, he left that university also, and resorted to one Master Welch, a knight of Gloucestershire. There he was schoolmaster to his children. To Master Tyndale resorted abbots, deans, archdeacons, with other doctors and great beneficed men, who there, together with him, sitting at the same table, often used to enter into dialogue, and talk of learned men, such as Luther and Erasmus; also of other controversies and questions upon the Scripture.

Then Master Tyndale, just as he was learned and well-practiced in God's matters, so he did not spare to show his judgment simply and plainly; and when those gentlemen at any time varied from Tyndale in opinion and judgment, he would show them in the book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. Thus they continued for some time reasoning and contending together, until at length they entertained a secret dislike in their hearts against him.

Not long after this, it happened that some of these great doctors had invited Mr. Welch and his wife to a banquet, where they talked at will and pleasure, uttering their blindness and ignorance without any resistance. Then Master Welch and his wife coming home, and calling for Mr. Tyndale, began to reason with him about those matters, which the priests had talked about at their banquet. Master Tyndale, answering by Scripture, maintained the truth, and reproved their false opinions. Then the Lady Welch, a stout and a wise woman,



said, "Well, there was such a doctor who could expend a hundred pounds, and another two hundred pounds, and another three hundred pounds; and what, do you think it reasonable, that we should believe you before them?" Master Tyndale gave her no answer at that time; and after that, he talked but little on those matters. At that time he was busy about the translation of a book written by Erasmus, called "The Manual of a Christian Soldier," which he delivered to his master and lady. After they had well perused it, the doctors and prelates were not so often invited to the house; nor when they came, did they have the same cheer and countenance as they had before.

As this went on, the priests of the country clustering together, began to storm against Tyndale, and railed against him in alehouses and other places. They raged and railed against him, affirming that his sayings were heresy; adding to his sayings more than ever he spoke. And so they accused him secretly to the chancellor, and others of the bishop's officers.

It followed not long after this, that there was a sitting of the bishop's chancellor, and warning was given to the priests to appear before him, among whom Master Tyndale was also warned to be there. It is uncertain whether he had any misdoubt by their threatenings, or knowledge given to him that they would lay some things to his charge; but he prayed heartily to God, to give him strength to stand fast in the truth of his word.

Then when the time of his appearance came, the chancellor threatened him grievously, reviling and berating him as though he had been a dog, and laid to his charge many things, though no accuser could be produced. After this examination, Master Tyndale escaped out of their hands and departed home.

There dwelt not far off a doctor who had been chancellor to a bishop. He had been a familiar acquaintance with Master Tyndale, and favored him well. Tyndale went to him and opened his mind upon some questions of the Scripture, for he dared to boldly disclose his heart to him. The doctor said to him, "Do you not know that the pope is the very antichrist whom the Scripture speaks of? But beware what you say, for if you are perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life." He said moreover, "I have been an officer of his, but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works."

It was not long after, that Master Tyndale happened to be in the company of a certain divine, and in disputing with him, the doctor burst out into these blasphemous words: — "We would do better to be without God's laws than the pope's." Tyndale hearing this, full of godly zeal, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied, "I defy the pope and all his laws," and added that, "If God spared him life, before many years he would cause a boy who drives the plough to know more of the Scripture than he did."

After this, the dislike of the priests increased still more and more against Tyndale. They never ceased barking at and berating at him, and laid many things to his charge, saying that he was a heretic in sophistry, a heretic in logic, and a heretic in divinity.

To be short, Tyndale being so molested and vexed by the priests, he was constrained to seek another place. And so, coming to Master Welch, he requested that of his good will he would permit him to depart from him, saying, "Sir, I perceive that I will not be allowed to tarry long in this country, nor will you be able, even if you would, to keep me out of the hands of the spirituality; and also, what displeasure might thereby grow towards you by keeping me, God knows, for which I would be right sorry."

[543] A.D. 1527-1550.

So that, in fine, Tyndale, with the good will of his master, departed, and soon after came up to London. There he preached a while, as he had done in the country before, and especially about the city of Bristol. At length, thinking to himself about Cuthbert Tunstall, then bishop of London, especially for the great commendations of Erasmus. In his annotations, Erasmus so extolled Tunstall for his learning, that Tyndale thought that if he could attain to his service, he would be a happy man. And so, coming to Sir Henry Guilford, the king's comptroller, and brought with him an oration of Socrates, which he had translated out of Greek into English. He desired him to speak to the bishop of London for him, which he did. And he desired him to write an epistle to the bishop, and to go with it himself. But God, who secretly disposes the course of things, saw that this was not the best for Tyndale's purpose, nor for the profit of his church; therefore God gave him little favor in the bishop's sight. And so he remained in London almost a year, marking the course of the world, and especially the demeanor of the preachers — how they boasted in themselves, and set up their authority and kingdom. He also beheld the pomp of the prelates, with other things which greatly displeased him. It went so far, that he understood not only that there would not be room in the bishop's house for him to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all of England. And therefore, finding no place for his purpose within the realm, and having some aid and provision, by God's providence, given to him by Humphrey Mummuth (recited above), and other good men, he took his leave of the realm, and departed into Germany. There the good man, being inflamed with a tender care and zeal for his country, refused no travail nor diligence, so that by any possible means he could convey to his brethren and countrymen of England, the same understanding of God's holy word as the Lord had endued him with.

Whereupon considering in his mind, and partly also by conferring with John Frith, he thought no way was more likely to conduce to this, than by translating the Scriptures into the vernacular tongue, so that the poor people might also read and see the plain simple word of God. He perceived, by experience, how it was not possible to establish the lay people in any truth, unless the Scriptures were so plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the meaning of the text. For otherwise, whatever truth might be taught them, these enemies of the truth would quench it again, either with apparent reasons of sophistry and traditions of their own making, founded without Scripture; or else by juggling with the text, and expounding it in such a sense that it would never be received, which it would be if the right order and meaning were seen.

Again, he perceived and considered that this was the only or chief cause of all the mischief in the church: that the Scriptures of God were hidden from the people's eyes. For then the abominable doings and idolatries maintained by the pharisaical clergy could not be seen. And therefore all their labor was with might and main to keep the Scriptures suppressed, so that it would not be read at all; or if it were, that they would darken the sense with the mist of their sophistry, and so entangle those who rebuked or despised their abominations, with arguments of philosophy and worldly similitudes, and apparent reasons of natural wisdom.

For these, and other such considerations, this good man was moved (and no doubt stirred up by God), to translate the Scriptures into his mother tongue, for the public utility and profit of the simple common people of the country. He first set in hand the New Testament, which he translated (A.D. 1526). After that he took in hand to translate the Old Testament, finishing the five books of Moses, to which he added most learned and godly prologues prefixed before each book, worthy to be read again and again by all good Christians, as he did also with the New Testament.

He also wrote other works under various titles, among which is that most worthy monument of his, entitled, "The Obedience of a Christian Man," by which, with singular dexterity, he instructs all men in the office and duty of Christian obedience; also other treatises, such as "The Wicked Mammon," "The Practice of Prelates," with expositions on certain parts of the Scriptures, and other books, answering Sir Thomas More and other adversaries.

The books of William Tyndale having been published and sent over into England, it cannot be described what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole English nation.

At his first departing out of the realm, Tyndale took his journey into the farther parts of Germany, and also into Saxony, where he had a conference with Luther and other learned men. After he had continued a certain season there, he came into the Netherlands, and mostly lived in Antwerp till the time of his apprehension.

When these godly books of Tyndale, especially his translation of the New Testament, began to come into men's hands, they wrought great profit to the godly. So the ungodly stirred themselves, envying and disdaining that the poor people should be any wiser than they; and again, fearing lest by the shining beams of truth, their false hypocrisy and works of darkness might be discerned. But especially Satan the prince of darkness, maligning the happy course and success of the gospel, set his might also to impeach and hinder the blessed labors of that man. For when Tyndale had translated the fifth book of Moses, intending to print it at Hamburg, he sailed for that place. But on the way, on the coast of Holland, he suffered shipwreck, by which he lost all his books, writings and copies, and was compelled to begin it all again. Thus having lost by that ship, his money, his copies, and his time, he came in another ship to Hamburg. There Master Coverdale waited for him, and helped him in the translating of the whole five books of Moses, from Easter to December 1529.

When God's will was that the New Testament in the common tongue should come abroad, Tyndale the translator added to the end a certain epistle, in which he desired the learned to amend it, if anything was found amiss. Therefore if any such default had been in it, deserving correction, it would have been the part of courtesy and gentleness for men of knowledge and judgment to have shown their learning in this, and to have corrected it. But the spiritual fathers then, not willing to have that book prosper, cried out against it, that there were a thousand heresies in it, and that it was not to be corrected but utterly suppressed! Some said it was not possible to translate the Scriptures into English; some that it was not lawful for the lay people to have it in their mother-tongue; some that it would make them all heretics. And also to induce the temporal rulers to their purpose, they said that it would make the people rebel and rise against the king. All this Tyndale himself declares in his prologue to the first book of Moses, showing what great pains were taken by his critics in examining that translation, comparing it with their own imaginations and terms, so that with less labor they might have translated a great part of the bible themselves. He showed that they examined every tittle and point in the said translation so narrowly, that there was not one (i) in it, that if it lacked a point over its head, they noted it, and counted it to the ignorant people as a heresy! So great were the devices of the clergy (who should have been the guides of light to the people) to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the Scripture, which they would neither translate themselves, nor allow it to be translated by others. This was to the intent (Tyndale says) that by keeping the world in darkness, they might live in the consciences of the people through vain superstition and false doctrine, to satisfy their wishes, their ambition, and insatiable covetousness, and to exalt their own honor above king and emperor, yes and above God himself.

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The bishops and prelates of the realm, thus incensed and inflamed in their minds, against the Old and New Testament of the Lord as translated by Tyndale, and conspiring together with all their heads and counsels how to suppress it, never rested till they had brought the king to consent. In all haste, a proclamation was devised and set forth that the Testament of Tyndale's translation, with other works of his and of other writers, were prohibited. This was about the year 1527. And yet not contented with this, they proceeded to entangle him in their nets, and to deprive him of his life.

William Tyndale, when at Antwerp, lodged in the house of Thomas Pointz, an Englishman. One whose name was Henry Phillips came out of England, having the appearance of a gentleman, and accompanied by a servant. But why he came, or for what purpose he was sent, no man could tell.

Tyndale was often invited to dinner and supper among the merchants, by means of which this Henry Phillips became acquainted with him. And in a short time Tyndale had great confidence in him, and brought him to his lodging, to the house of Thomas Pointz. He also had him once or twice to dinner and supper. Through means of this Henry Phillips, William Tyndale was betrayed. After dining together at the house of Thomas Pointz, as they were leaving it, Tyndale was seized by two officers whom Phillips had brought there for that purpose. Then this traitor delivered him up to the emperor's partisans; his books were all seized, and he was himself cast into prison. Tyndale being brought to answer the charges, was offered an advocate and a proctor. But he refused, saying that he would answer for himself; and so he did.

At last, after much reasoning, although he did not deserve death, he was condemned by virtue of the emperor's decree made in the assembly at Augsburg, and brought forth to the place of execution. There he was tied to the stake, strangled by the hangman, and afterward consumed with fire in the town of Vilvorde, A.D. 1536, crying out at the stake with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice, "Lord! open the king of England's eyes."

Such was the power of his doctrine and sincerity of his life, that during the time of his imprisonment (which endured a year and a half) it is said that he converted his keeper, with his daughter and others of his household. Also the rest who were conversant with him in the castle, reported that if *he* were not a good Christian, they could not tell whom to trust.

The procurator general, the emperor's attorney, being there, left this testimony of him, that he was "a learned, a good and a godly man."

As to his translation of the New Testament, at which his enemies carped so much, and pretended that it was full of heresies, you will hear what faithful dealing and sincere conscience he used in the work, by the testimony and allegation of his own words written in his epistle to John Frith.

*The Testimony of John Frith in his Book of the Sacrament,  
concerning William Tyndale.*

"And Tyndale I trust, lives well content with such a poor apostle's life as God gave his Son Christ and his faithful ministers in this world, who is not sure of so many mites, as you are of yearly pounds; although I am sure that for his learning and judgment in Scripture, he was more worthy to be promoted than all the bishops in England. I received a letter from him, which was written since Christmas, in which among other matters he writes this:

"I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would

do this day, if all that is in earth might be given to me, whether it be honor, pleasure, or riches. Moreover, I take God to witness to my conscience, that I desire from God for myself in this world, no more than that without which I cannot keep His laws,' etc.

“Judge, Christian reader, whether these words are not spoken of a faithful clear innocent heart. And as for his behavior, it is such that I am sure no man can reprove him of any sin; although no man is innocent before God, who beholds the heart.”

And thus being about to conclude the life and history of William Tyndale, it remains for us to present to the reader certain of his private letters, which he wrote to John Frith; one is under his own name, and the other under the name of *Jacob*, written and delivered to John Frith, then a prisoner in the Tower.

*A Letter sent from Tyndale to Master Frith,  
then being in the Tower.*

“The grace and peace of God the Father, and of Jesus Christ our Lord be with you. Amen. Dearly beloved brother John, I have heard say, how the hypocrites — now that they have overcome that great matter which prevented them, or at least have stopped it — they return to their old nature again. The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he has ordained to be, before the world was made, may that come, and his glory reign over all.

“Dearly beloved, however the matter may be, commit yourself wholly and only to your most loving Father, and most kind Lord: fear not men who threaten, nor trust men who speak fair; but trust him that is true of promise, and able to make good his word. Your cause is Christ’s gospel, a light that must be fed with the blood of faith. The lamp must be dressed and snuffed daily, and oil poured in every evening and morning, so that the light will not go out. Though we are sinners, yet the cause is right. If when we are buffeted for well-doing, we suffer patiently and endure, that is acceptable to God; for to that end we are called. For Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps, who did no sin. Hereby have we perceived love, that he laid down his life for us. Therefore we also ought to lay down our lives for the brethren. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. For we suffer with him, that we may also be glorified with him: who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subject all things to himself.

“Dearly beloved, be of good courage, and comfort your soul with the hope of this high reward, and bear the image of Christ in your mortal body, that at his coming it may be made like to his immortal one; and follow the example of all your other dear brethren, who choose to suffer in hope of a better resurrection. Keep your conscience pure and undefiled, and speak nothing against that. Stick to necessary things, and remember the blasphemies of the enemies of Christ, saying they find none who will not abjure rather than suffer the extremity. Moreover, the death of those who come back again after they have abjured, though it is accepted with God, yet it is not glorious. For the hypocrites say he must die, and abjuring will not help. But if it might have helped, they would have abjured five hundred times. But seeing it would not help them, therefore out of pure pride, and mere malice together, they spoke with their mouths what their conscience knows to be false. If you give yourself, cast yourself, yield yourself, commit yourself wholly and only to your loving Father, then his power shall be in you and make you strong, and so strong that you shall feel no pain in that which should be instant death to another; and his Spirit shall speak in you, and teach you what to answer, according to his promise. He shall set out his truth by you wonderfully, and work for you above all that your heart can imagine; yes, and you are not yet dead, even though all the hypocrites, with all that they can do, have sworn your death. To look for no man’s help, brings the help of God to those who seem to be overcome in the eyes of the hypocrites. Yes, it will make God carry you

through thick and thin for His truth's sake, in spite of all the enemies of his truth. Not a hair falls till his hour has come; and when his hour has come, necessity carries us from here, even though we are not willing. But if we are willing, then have we a reward and thanks.

“Therefore, do not fear the threatening, nor be overcome by sweet words with which the hypocrites will assail you.

[545] A.D. 1527—1560.

“Neither let the persuasions of worldly wisdom bear rule in your heart, no, even if they are your friends that counsel you. Let Bilney be a warning to you. Let not your body faint. He that endures to the end shall be saved. If the pain is beyond your strength, remember, ‘Whatever you ask in my name, I will give it you.’ And pray to your Father in that name, and He shall cease your pain, or shorten it. The Lord of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you, Amen.

“William Tyndale.”

*Another notable and worthy Letter of Master William Tyndale,  
sent to the said John Frith, under the name of Jacob.*

“The grace of our SAVIOR JESUS, his patience, meekness, humbleness, circumspection, and wisdom, be with your heart, Amen.

“Dearly beloved brother Jacob, my heart's desire in our Savior, Jesus, is that you arm yourself with patience, and be bold, sober, wise, and circumspect, and that you bow yourself to the ground, avoiding hard questions that pass the common capacity. But expound the law truly, and open the veil of Moses to condemn all flesh, and prove all men sinners, and all deeds to be sin and damnable under the law, before mercy has taken away the condemnation of it. And then, as a faithful minister, set abroad the mercy of our Lord Jesus, and let the wounded consciences drink of the water of Him. And then your preaching shall be with power, and not as the doctrine of the hypocrites; and the Spirit of God shall work with you, and all consciences shall bear record to you, and feel that it is so. All doctrine that casts a mist on those two, to shadow and hide them — I mean the law of God, and the mercy of Christ — resist with all your power. Refuse sacraments without signification. If they put significations to them, receive them if you see that it may help, though it is not necessary.

“Of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, meddle as little as you can, so that there appears no division among us. Barnes will be hot against you. The Saxons are sorely on the affirmative; whether constant or obstinate I remit it to God. Philip Melancthon is said to be with the French king. There are some in Antwerp who say that they saw him come into Paris with a hundred and fifty horses, and that they spoke with him. If the Frenchmen receive the word of God, he will plant the affirmative in them. George Joy would have put forth a treatise on that matter, but I have stopped him as yet. What he will do if he gets money, I do not know. I believe he would make many reasons that little serve that purpose: My mind is that nothing be put forth till we hear how you have progressed. I would have the right *use* preached, and the *presence* to be an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reasoned in peace at the leisure of both parties. If you are required, show the phrases of the Scripture, and let them talk what they will. For to believe that God is everywhere, hurts no man who worships Him nowhere but within the heart, in spirit and verity. Even so, to believe that the body of Christ is everywhere (though it cannot be proved) hurts no man who worships him nowhere save in the faith of his gospel. You perceive my mind; however, if God shows you otherwise, it is free for you to do as He moves you.

“I guessed long ago, that God would send a madness into the head of the spirituality, to catch themselves in their own subtlety, and I trust it has come to pass. And now I think I smell a counsel to be taken, little for their profits in time to come. But you must understand that it is

not of a pure heart and for love of the truth, but to avenge themselves, and to eat the whore's flesh, and to suck the marrow of her bones. Therefore cling fast to the Rock of the help of God, and commit the end of all things to Him. And if God calls you, that you may then use the wisdom of the worldly as far as you perceive the glory of God may come of it, do not refuse it. Ever thrust in, so that the Scripture may be in the mother tongue, and learning set up in the universities. But if anything is required contrary to the glory of God and his Christ, then stand fast and commit yourself to God, and do not be overcome by men's persuasions, which perhaps will say, 'We see no other way to bring in the truth.'

"Brother Jacob, beloved in my heart, there lives none in whom I have such good hope and trust, and in whom my heart rejoices, and my soul comforts herself, as in you. This is not the thousandth part so much for your learning, and whatever other gifts you have, as because you will creep slowly by the ground, and walk in those things that the conscience may feel, and not in the imaginations of the brain — in fear, and not in boldness; in open, necessary things, and not to pronounce or define hidden secrets, or things that neither help nor hinder whether something is so or not; in unity, and not in seditious opinions. Do this insomuch that if you are sure you know, yet in things that may abide leisure, you will defer, or will say (till others agree with you) 'I think the text requires this sense or understanding.' Yes, and if you are sure that your part is good, and another holds the contrary, yet if it is a thing that makes no matter, you will laugh and let it pass, and refer the thing to other men; but you stick stiffly and stubbornly in earnest and necessary things. And I trust you will be persuaded even so of me. For I call God to record against the day that we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would I do so this day, if all that is in the earth might be given to me, whether it be pleasure, honor, or riches. Moreover, I take God to witness to my conscience, that I desire from God for myself in this world, no more than that without which I cannot keep his laws.

"Finally, if there were in me any gift at hand, that could help and aid you if need required it, I promise you that I would not be far off, and commit the end to God. My soul is not faint, though my body is weary. But God has made me evil-favored in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude, dull and slow-witted. Your part shall be to supply what is lacking in me — remembering that just as lowliness of heart will make you high with God, even so meekness of words will make you sink into the hearts of men. Nature gives age authority, but meekness is the glory of youth, and gives them honor. Abundance of love makes me exceed in babbling.

"Sir, as concerning purgatory and many other things, if you are demanded, you may say that if you err, the spirituality has so led you, and that they have taught you to believe as you do. For they preached to you all such things out of God's word, and alleged a thousand texts, by reason of which texts you believed as they taught you. But now you find them liars, and that the texts mean no such things. And therefore you can believe them no longer, but are as you were before they taught you, and believe no such thing. However, you are ready to believe, if they have any other way to prove it. For without proof you cannot believe them when you have found them with so many lies, etc. If you perceive in what we may help, either in being still or by doing something, let us have words, and I will do my uttermost.

"My lord of London has a servant called John Tisen, with a red beard, and a black reddish head. He was once my scholar; he was seen in Antwerp, but did not come among the Englishmen. Where he has gone as a secret ambassador, I do not know.

"The mighty God of Jacob be with you, to supplant his enemies, and give you the favor of Joseph; and the wisdom and the spirit of Stephen be with your heart, and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they should say, and how to answer to all things. He is our God, if we despair in ourselves, and trust in Him; and His is the glory. Amen.

“William Tyndale.  
“I hope our redemption is near.”

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***The Deaths of Lady Catharine and Queen Anne.***

In the same year in which William Tyndale was burned, the lady Catharine died, princess dowager, in the month of January 1536. <sup>481</sup>

After her, in the same year, in the month of May, the death of Queen Anne (Boleyn) also followed, who had been married to the king about three years. In certain records we find that the king being in his jousts at Greenwich, suddenly departed to Westminster with a few persons. The next day after, Queen Anne his wife was conveyed to the Tower, with the lord Rochford, her brother, and others. And on the nineteenth day after, she was beheaded. The words of this worthy and Christian lady at her death were these:

“Good Christian people, I have come here to die, for according to the law, and by the law, I am judged to death; and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I have come here to accuse no man, nor to speak anything about that of which I am accused and condemned to die. But I pray God to save the king, and send him long to reign over you. For a gentler or more merciful prince there never was; and to me he was a very good, a gentle, and a sovereign lord. And if any person would meddle with my cause, I request them to judge for the best. And thus I take my leave of the world, and of you all, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me. O Lord have mercy on me! To God I commend my soul.”

And so she kneeled down, saying, “To Christ I commend my soul; Jesus, receive my soul.” Repeating the same several times, till at length the stroke was given, and her head was struck off.

And this was the end of that godly lady and queen. Godly I call her, whatever the cause was, or the charge objected against her. Her last words spoken at her death declared no less her sincere faith and trust in Christ, than did her quiet modesty utter the goodness of the cause and matter, whatever it was. This was certain: that for the rare and singular gifts of her mind so well instructed, and given toward God, with such a fervent desire for the truth and setting forth sincere religion, joined with like gentleness, modesty, and pity toward all men, not many such queens before her have borne the crown of England. Principally she left this one commendation behind her — that during her life, the religion of Christ most happily flourished, and had a right prosperous course.

Many more things might be written of the manifold virtues, and the quiet moderation of her mild nature — how lowly she would bear, not only to be admonished, but also of her own accord, she would require her chaplains to plainly and freely tell whatever they saw amiss in her. Also how bountiful she was to the poor, passing not only the common example of other queens, but also nearly the revenues of her estate. She went so far, that the sum of the alms which she gave in three quarters of a year in distribution, is said to have amounted to fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds. Besides this, there was a great sum of money which her grace intended to send into four sundry quarters of the realm, to be employed as a stock for the benefit of poor artificers and occupiers. Again, what a zealous defender she was of Christ’s gospel, all the world knows, and her acts do and will declare to the end of the world.

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<sup>481</sup> Lady Catherine (of Aragon), was Henry VIII’s first wife, whom he divorced, making her a princess dowager.



This I cannot help but marvel at: why the parliament held this year, that is, in the 28th year of the king (which parliament three years earlier had established and confirmed this marriage as most lawful) should now so suddenly, and contrary to their own doings, repeal and annul the marriage again as unlawful. But in this act of parliament lay (no doubt) some great mystery which I will not pause to discuss, but only say that it may be suspected that some secret practicing of the papists was in it, considering what a mighty check she was to their purposes, and what a strong bulwark she was for maintaining Christ's gospel. All this seems to be the drift of the wily papists, who seeing the pope repulsed out of England chiefly by means of this queen, and always fearing the succession of this marriage, thought to prevent that peril by whispering in the king's ears.

Again, Stephen Gardiner (who was a secret worker against that marriage, and a perpetual enemy to lady Elizabeth) being then abroad with the French king and great master of France, did not cease in his letters to put the king in fear that the foreign princes and powers of the world, with the pope, would never be reconciled to the king, nor would he ever be in security unless he repealed the acts passed before, for the ratification of that succession. When they had now brought it to pass according to their own desire, and had now gotten both the queen beheaded, and Elizabeth the king's daughter disinherited, they thought all things were forever sure. Yet God's providence still went beyond them, and deceived them. For after the suffering of queen Anne, the king married within three days, lady Jane Seymour, from whom would come king Edward VI — as great an enemy to God's enemy the pope, as ever his father was, and greater too.

In the meantime, when these things were going on in England, Paul III, bishop of Rome, was not slow to help forward his own advantage. Seeing his kingdom and seat darkened in Germany and in England, he thought it high time to stir himself. And therefore, to provide some remedy against further dangers, he appointed a general council at Mantua in Italy, requiring all kings and princes either to be there personally, or else to send their ambassadors under fair pretenses, so as to suppress heresies, to restore the church, and to war against the Turk, etc. This bull was subscribed with the hands of twenty-six cardinals, and set up in the great cities, so that it might be known and published to the whole world. The protestants of Germany answered to this bull, that as the council was to be convened at Mantua, in the pope's own country, that alone would be a sufficient cause why they should refuse to resort to it. Our king Henry also entered his protest against this council, and declined to attend it. This protest was as follows:—

*A Protestation in the name of the King, and the whole Council  
and Clergy of England, why they refuse to come  
to the Pope's Council at his call.*

“Seeing that the bishop of Rome is convening learned men from all parts, inducing them by great rewards, making as many of them cardinals as he thinks fit, and ready to defend frauds and untruths, we could not without much anxiety cast within ourselves, what so great a preparation might mean. As chance was, we guessed even as it followed. We have been so long acquainted with Romish subtleties and popish deceits, that we well and easily judged the bishop of Rome to intend an assembly of his adherents, and men sworn to think all his wishes to be laws — we were not deceived. Paul, the bishop of Rome, has called a council, to which he knew well that either few or none of the Christian princes could come. Both the time that he convened it, and also the place where he appointed it, might assure him of this. But where do these popish bulls not wander? Where do they not go astray? What king is not cited and summoned by a proud minister and servant of kings, to come to bolster up his errors, frauds, deceits, and untruths, and to set forth this feigned general council? For who will not perceive

that Paul, the bishop of Rome, sooner goes about to make men believe that he pretends a general council, than that he desires one indeed? No, who can less desire it, than those who despair of their cause, unless they are judges, and give sentence themselves against their adversaries? We who greatly against our will at any time, leave off procuring to the realm any advantage, need neither come ourselves, nor yet send our proctors there, nor yet make our excuse for either. For who can accuse us, that we do not come at the call of one who has no authority to call us?

“But for a moment let us grant that he may summon us, and that he has authority to do so, yet (we pray you) may not all men see what it avails to come to this council, where you will have no place, unless you are known both to willingly oppress truth, and also ready to confirm and establish errors?

[547] A.D. 1527-1540.

“Do not all men perceive as well as we do, with what integrity, fidelity, and religion these men go about to discuss matters in controversy, who take these in hand in so troublesome a time as this? Is it not plain what fruit Christendom may look for, when Mantua is chosen as the place to hold his council? Is there any prince that is *not* from Italy, or indeed, is there any *from* Italy — prince or others differing from the pope — who dares come to this assembly and this place? If none come who dare to speak for truth, none who would risk his life, is it strange if the bishop of Rome being judge, and no man discontent or challenging, then the defenders of the papacy obtain that popish authority being setup again, which is now recoiling and almost fallen?

“Is this the way to help afflicted things, to redress troubled religion, and to lift up oppressed truth? Will men know in this way, whether the Roman bishops (who indeed are far under other bishops if you look at either their doctrine or their life) ought to be made like their fellows — that is, to be pastors in their own diocese, and thus to use no other power — or else whether they may make laws not only for other bishops, but also for kings and emperors? O boldness, fit to be beaten down with force and not to be convinced with arguments! Can either Paul, who now lords it, or any of his partisans, go about in earnest to heal the sicknesses, to take away the errors, to pluck down the abuses that have now crept into the church and are bolstered up in it, by such councils as now is likely to be at Mantua?

“Is it very likely that those who prowl for nothing but profit, will gladly pull down all those things which their forefathers made only for the increase of money? Whereas their forefathers, when their honor, power, and primacy were called into question, would maintain their dignity despite God’s law, or better said, their intolerable pride. Is it likely that these will not tread in their steps, and make naughty new canons, whereby they may defend the old evil decrees? However, why need we care either about what they have done, or what they intend to do hereafter, since England has taken her leave of popish crafts forever, never to be deluded with them hereafter? Roman bishops have nothing to do with English people. The one does not traffic with the other; at the least, even if they will have to do with us, we will have none of their merchandise, none of their stuff. We will receive them into our council no longer. We have sought our hurt, and bought our loss a great while too long. Surely their decrees, either touching things set up or put down, will have no other place with us than all bishops’ decrees have — that is, if we like them, we admit them; if we do not, we refuse them. But lest men think that we follow our own senses too much, and that moved by small or no just causes, we forsake the authority, censures, decrees, and popish councils, we thought it best here to show our mind to the whole world.

“Therefore we protest before God and all men, that we embrace, profess, and will ever do so, the right and holy doctrine of Christ. All the articles of his faith, no jot omitted, are all so dear

to us, that we would much sooner stand in jeopardy of our realm, than see any point of Christ's religion in jeopardy with us. We protest that we never went from the unity of His faith, nor will we depart an inch from it. No, we would much sooner lose our lives, than any article of our belief should decay in England. We who, in all this cause, seek nothing but the glory of God, the profit and quietness of the world, protest that we can suffer deceivers no longer. We never refused to come to a general council. No, we promise all our labor, study, and fidelity to setting up trampled truth, and troubled religion, in their place again; and to do all that lies in us to finish such controversies as have too long vexed Christendom. Only we wish all Christian men to be admonished that we can suffer no longer that they should be esteemed willing to take away errors, who by all the ways their wits will serve them, go about seeing that no man, under pain of death, may speak against any error or abuse.

“We would have a council; we desire it; indeed, we crave nothing so often from God, as that we may have one. Yet we wish that it be such as Christian men ought to have; that is, frank and free, where every man may say his mind without fear. We desire that it be a *holy* council, where every man may go about setting up godliness, and not apply all their study to oppressing the truth. We wish it to be *general*, that is to say, kept at such a time, and in such a place, that every man who seeks the glory of God may be present, and there frankly open his mind. For how can it seem *general* when either every man who dissents from the bishop of Rome is compelled to be kept from it; or when those who are present are hindered by terror, from boldly saying what they truly think. For who would not gladly come to such a council, unless it is the pope, his cardinals, and popish bishops? On the other side, who is so foolish, where the chief point that is to be handled in this council is the pope's own cause, power, and primacy, as to grant that the pope should reign, should be judge, should be president of this council? If he, who indeed can never think himself able to defend his cause before any other judge, is evermore made his own judge — and so controversies are not decided, but errors are set up — then what can be devised in the commonwealth of Christendom more hurtful to the truth than general councils?

“And here to touch somewhat their impudent arrogancy, by what law, power, or honest title do they take it upon themselves to call kings, to summon princes to appear, where their bulls command them? In times past all councils were appointed by the authority, consent, and commandment of the emperor, kings and princes. Why does the bishop of Rome now take this upon himself? Some will say that it is more likely that bishops will more attend to the cause of religion, and be more glad to have errors taken away, than emperors, kings, and princes. The world has good experience of them; and every man sees how faithfully they have handled religious matters! Is there any man who does not see how virtuously Paul now goes about by this occasion to set up his tyranny again? Is it likely that he who chooses such a time as this to keep a council, much intends the redress of things that are amiss? Is it likely that he seeks the restoring of religion, who now calls a council while the emperor and the French king, two princes of great power, are so bent on wars that neither they, nor any other Christian prince can, in a way, do anything but look for the end of this long war? Go to, go to, bishop of Rome; the occasion long-wished-for offers herself to you. Take her; she opens a window for your frauds to creep in at. Call your cardinals, your own creatures, show them that this is a jolly time in which to deceive princes.”

And so the king, proceeding in his protestation, declared how the pope, after he had summoned his council first at Mantua, shortly after published another bull postponing the same council to the month of November, pretending for his excuse that the Duke of Mantua would not allow him to keep any council there unless he maintained a number of warriors for defense of the town. And the king thus concludes:

“No, we will have the pope and his adherents understand what we have often said, and now say, and ever will say, that he and his have neither authority nor jurisdiction in England. We give him no more than he has; that is, none at all. That which he has usurped against God’s law, and extorted by violence, we by good right take back from him. But he and his will say that we gave them a primacy. We hear them well: we gave it to you indeed! If you have authority upon us as long as our consent gives it you, and you would make your plea upon our consent, then let it have even an end where it began. We consent no longer; your authority must be gone. If we being deceived by false pretense of evil-alleged Scriptures, gave to you what we should have refused, why may we not, our error now being perceived, and your deceit espied, take it back? We princes wrote ourselves to be inferior to popes. As long as we thought so, we obeyed them as our superiors. Now we do not write as we did, and therefore they have no great cause to marvel if hereafter we do not do as we did. Both the civil laws and the laws of God are on our side. For a freeman born does not lose his liberty, nor does he hurt the plea of his liberty, though he writes himself a bondman.

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“Again, if they lean on custom, we send them to Saint Cyprian, who says that custom, if truth is not joined with it, it is nothing but ‘an old error.’ Christ said, ‘I am the way, the truth, and the life.’ He never said, ‘I am the custom.’ Therefore, seeing that custom serves you on one side, and Scripture serves us on the other; are you able to match us? In how many places does Christ admonish you not to seek primacy? No, but to be obedient to all creatures? Your old title, ‘Servant of servants,’ agrees badly with your new forged dignity. But we will not tarry in matters that are so plain. We only desire of God, that Caesar and other Christian princes would agree upon some holy council where truth may be tried and religion set up, which has been hurt by nothing so sore as by general councils; errors and abuses grow too fast. Get learning, you who judge the earth, and invent some remedy for these many diseases of the sick church. Those who are wisest, despair of a general council. Therefore we think it now best that every prince call a *provincial* council, and every prince redress his own realm. We make all men privy to what we think best to be done for the redress of religion. If they like it, we have no doubt but that they will follow it, or some other that is better. Our trust is that all princes will so handle themselves in this behalf, that princes may enjoy their own, and priests of Rome content themselves with what they ought to have. Princes, we trust, will no longer nourish wolves’ whelps; they will no longer subscribe to popish pride, to the papacy, etc.

“Favor our doings, O Christian princes. Your honor and ancient majesty is restored. Remember there is nothing pertaining so much to a prince’s honor, as to set forth truth, and to help religion. Take heed that their deceits do not work more mischief than your virtue can do good; and we wish all princes had everlasting war with this papacy. As for their decrees, so hearken to them, that if in this Mantuan assembly things are well done, you take them, but not as authorized by them; only that truth and things that maintain religion are to be taken at all men’s hands. And even as we will admit things that are well made, so if there is anything determined to be in prejudice of truth, for the maintenance of their evil-grounded primacy, or that may hurt the authority of kings, we protest to the whole world that we shall neither allow it, nor will at any time allow it.

“You have, Christian readers, our mind concerning the general council. We think you all see that Paul and his cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, friars, with the rest of the rabblement, intend nothing less than they do the knowledge and search of truth. You see that this is not a proper time to meet, and that Mantua is no place for a general council. And even if they were both fitting, unless some other authority were to call this council, we do not need to come, nor to send. You have now heard how every prince in his own realm may quiet those things which are amiss. If there are any of you who can show us a better way, we promise with all hearty

desire, to do that which is thought best for the settling of religion, and we will leave our own advices if any man shows us better. This mind of ours, we most heartily pray God who gave it to us, not only to increase it in us, but also to send it to all Christian princes, all Christian prelates, and all Christian people.”

A little before the death of Queen Anne, there was a parliament at Westminster, in which all houses of religion that were under three hundred marks were given to the king by consent of the abbots. This was a shrewd omen of the ruin of greater houses, which followed shortly after, as was and might easily be perceived by many who then said that the low bushes and brambles were cut down before, but great oaks would follow after.

***The King Marries Lady Jane Seymour.***

Although the proceeding of these things did not well please the pope’s friends in England, they began to take some comfort when they saw Queen Anne dispatched. Nevertheless they were frustrated of their purpose. For the Lord raised up another queen, not greatly for their purpose, with her son King Edward. And also the Lord Thomas Cromwell at the same time began to grow in authority. Like a mighty pillar set up in the church of Christ, he was enough alone to confound and overthrow all the malignant devices of the adversaries, so long as God gave him life.

Shortly after this marriage of the king with Queen Jane Seymour, in the month of June, during the continuation of the parliament, and by the consent of the clergy then holding a solemn convocation in the church of St. Paul’s, a book was set forth containing certain articles of religion necessary to be taught to the people. In it they specially treated three sacraments: baptism, penance, and the Lord’s supper. Other things were published concerning the alteration of certain points of religion, such as that certain holy days were forbidden, and many abbeys suppressed. For this cause the rude multitude of Lincolnshire, fearing the utter subversion of their old religion in which they had been so long fostered, rose up in great commotion, numbering 20,000. They had for their captain a monk called Doctor Mackerel, then calling himself Captain Cobler; but those rebels being repressed by the king’s power, and desiring pardon, soon dispersed.

After this, a new insurrection followed in Yorkshire for the same causes, through the instigation of seditious persons, especially monks and priests, making them believe that their silver chalices, crosses, jewels and other ornaments would be taken out of their churches; and that no man should be allowed to be married, or to eat any good food in his house, but should first give tribute to the king. But their especial malice was against Cromwell and certain other councilors.

The number of these rebels was nearly 40,000, having for their badges the five wounds, with the sign of the sacrament, and Jesus written in the midst.

They called their devilish rebellion a holy pilgrimage, but they served a wrong and naughty saint. They had also in the field their streamers and banners, upon which was painted Christ hanging upon the cross on the one side, and a chalice with a painted cake in it on the other side, with other such ensigns of like hypocrisy, pretending thereby to fight for the faith and holy church.

As soon as the king was notified of this new seditious insurrection, he sent with all speed the duke of Norfolk, duke of Suffolk, marquis of Exeter, earl of Shrewsbury, and others, with a great army to immediately encounter the rebels. These noble captains and councilors being well-furnished with munitions of war, approached the rebels. And understanding both their number, and their intention to give battle, they first with policy went about to appease all

without bloodshed. Then by the great wisdom and policy of the captains, a communication was had, and a pardon of the king's majesty obtained for all the captains and chief doers of this insurrection. And they promised that in such things as they found themselves aggrieved, they would gently be heard, and their reasonable petitions granted; and also that their articles would be presented to the king, so that by his highness' authority and the wisdom of his council, all things might be brought into good order and conclusion. With this order, every man quietly departed.

In the time of this commotion in Yorkshire, and while the king was at Windsor, there was a butcher dwelling within five miles of Windsor, who caused a priest to preach that all those that took part with the Yorkshiremen (whom he called God's people), fought in God's cause. for this both he and the priest were apprehended and executed. Other priests also, with other persons, about the same time committing like treason against the king, suffered execution. Such a business the king then had to rid the realm of the servitude of the Romish yoke. But God's hand still worked in upholding His gospel and truth, against all seditious stirs, commotions, and rebellions.

[549] A.D. 1527-1540

The great execution had been done upon certain rebellious priests, and a few other laymen, with certain noble persons also, and gentlemen. Among them was the lord Darcy, the lord Hussy, Sir Robert Constable, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Francis Bygot, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Sir John Bulmer and his wife, William Lomeley, Nicholas Tempest, with the Abbots of Gerney, and of Rivers, etc. The following year, in the month of October 1537, prince Edward was born. His mother, queen Jane, died a few days after his birth, and left the king a widower again, in which estate he continued for two years.

Here, by the way, it is to be understood that during this entire season since the time the king of England had rejected the pope out of the realm, both the emperors, the French king, and the king of Scots, with other foreign potentates (who were still in subjection under the pope) bore King Henry no great good favor inwardly, whatever they pretended outwardly.

Yet notwithstanding all this, the Lord defended his cause against them all. For although the French king was for a long time set upon by the pope, hearing now of the birth of Prince Edward, the king's son by queen Jane, and understanding also by the death of queen Jane that the king was a widower, and perceiving that the king might join in marriage with the Germans, the French king began to give much gentler words, and to demean himself more courteously, laboring to marry the queen of Navarre, his sister, to the king.

The ambassadors for the king, then resident in France, were Stephen Gardiner, with doctor Thirleby, etc. What Stephen Gardiner wrought secretly for the pope, I do not have it to expressly charge him. Whether he did so, or what he did, the Lord knows all. But this is certain: that when doctor Bonner, then archdeacon of Leicester, was sent into France by the king to succeed Stephen Gardiner in the embassy, which was about the year of our Lord 1538, he found such dealing in the bishop of Winchester, as was not greatly to be trusted.

It would be long to recite from the beginning, and few men perhaps would believe the brawling matters, the privy complaints, the contentious quarrels, and bitter dissensions between these two, especially what despiteful insults doctor Bonner received at the hands of Winchester. For understand, good reader, that this doctor Bonner yet remained a good man all this while, as he seemed, and was a great furtherer of the king's proceedings, and a favorer of Luther's doctrine. He was advanced only by lord Cromwell. He was archdeacon of Leicester, parson of Bladon, of Dereham, Cheswick, and Cheriburton. Then he was made

bishop of Hereford, and at last preferred to be bishop of London. The chief of these preferments and dignities were conferred upon him only by means of lord Cromwell, who was then his chief and only patron, as Bonner himself protests and declares in all his letters.

This doctor Bonner, in the time of his first springing up, showed himself a good man, and a steadfast friend to the gospel of Christ and to the king's proceedings. On the other hand, Stephen Gardiner wavered then, both with God and with the king. When the king sent Bonner to be his ambassador in France instead of Gardiner, the contention between these two was very great.

This being so, we wonder greatly what might be the reason that Bonner — seeing that all his advancement was by the gospel, and by those of the gospel's side, and being then so hated by Stephen Gardiner, and also being at that time such a furtherer and defender of the gospel — could ever be so ungrateful and unkind as afterwards to join with Gardiner against the gospel, and now to persecute so vehemently that which he defended so openly before.

But referring this to the book of His accounts, who shall judge one day all things uprightly, let us proceed in Bonner's legation. Now being ambassador at the court of France, Bonner received a commission from the king to deal with the French king for printing the New Testament in English, and the Bible at Paris; also for slanderous preachers, and malicious speakers against the king; for goods of merchants taken and spoiled; and for the king's pension to be paid, etc. Bonner employed his diligence to the satisfaction of the king, and in discharge of his duty — except that the French king one time took some displeasure with him for bearing himself somewhat more seriously and boldly before the king, in the cause of Grancetor the traitor.

So that the French king sent a special messenger with his letters to the king of England, willing him to revoke and call this ambassador home, and to send him another.

The king of England replied by other letters, in which he revoked and called home bishop Bonner, giving him the bishopric of London at about the same time. He sent in Bonner's place Sir Jolin Wallop, a great friend to Stephen Gardiner. This was in February, about the beginning of the year 1540. Here follows the oath of Bonner to the king, when he was made bishop of London.

*The Oath of Doctor Edmund Bonner, when he was made  
Bishop of London, against the Pope of Rome.*

“You shall never consent nor agree that the bishop of Rome shall practice, exercise, or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or power within this realm, or any other of the king's dominion, but you shall resist the same at all times, to the uttermost of your power. And from henceforth you shall accept, repute, and take the king's majesty to be the only supreme head on earth of the church of England, and to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue means, you shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend the whole effects and contents of all and singular acts and statutes made, and to be made, within this realm, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguishment of the bishop of Rome, and his authority, and other acts and statutes made, and to be made, in reformation and corroboration of the king's power of supreme head on earth of the church of England. And this you shall do against all manner of persons, of whatever estate, dignity, degree, or condition they are, and in nowise do nor attempt, nor to your power allow to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privately or openly, to the let, hindrance, damage, or derogation of it, or of any part of it, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretense. And in case any oath is made, or has been made, by you to any person or persons, in maintenance or favor of the

bishop of Rome, or his authority, jurisdiction, or power, you repute the same as vain and annihilated — so help you God,” etc.

***Ecclesiastical Matters, A.D. 1538.***

It will be judged that I have lingered perhaps too much in these affairs of princes and ambassadors. Therefore I purpose to put my history in order again, showing such injunctions and articles as were devised and set forth by the king, for the benefit of his subjects. The king, when he had taken the title of supremacy from the bishop of Rome and transferred it to himself, was then a full prince in his own realm (although he perceived by the wisdom and advice of lord Cromwell and his council, that the corrupt state of the church needed reformation in many things). Yet because he saw how stubborn and untoward the hearts of many papists were to be brought from their old persuasions and customs, he dared not reform everything at once, but proceeded little by little to bring greater purposes to perfection (which he no doubt would have done, if Lord Cromwell had lived). And therefore he began with a book of articles bearing this title: “Articles devised by the King’s Highness to establish Christian quietness and unity among the People,” etc.

*Articles devised by the King.*

In the contents of this book, he first set forth the articles of our Christian creed, which are necessarily and expressly to be believed by all men. Then, with the king’s preface, follows the declaration of the three sacraments of baptism, penance, and the sacrament of the altar. In drawing this up, he altered nothing from the old trade and system received from the church of Rome.

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Then, proceeding to the cause of our justification, he declares, “That the mercy and grace of the Father promised freely to us for his Son Jesus Christ’s sake, and for the merits of his passion and blood, are the only sufficient and meritorious causes of our justification. Yet good works, with contrition, hope, and charity, and all other spiritual graces and motions, are necessarily required, and must also concur in remission of our sins; that is, our justification. And afterwards, being justified, we must also have good works of charity, and obedience towards God, in observing and outwardly fulfilling his laws and commandments, etc.

As to images, he desires all bishops and preachers to teach the people how they may be safely used in churches, and not abuse them to idolatry, such as thus: That they represent virtue and good example, and also may stir up men’s minds and make them remember themselves, and lament their sins; so far he permits them in churches. But otherwise, to avoid idolatry, he charges all bishops and preachers to diligently instruct the people, so that they commit no idolatry to them, in burning incense to them, in kneeling and offering to them, with other similar worshippings, which should not be done except to God.

And likewise, for honoring saints, the bishops and preachers are commanded to inform the people how departed saints should not be revered or honored. That is, they are to be praised and honored as the elect servants of Christ, or rather Christ is to be praised in them for their excellent virtues, and for their good example left to us, in teaching us to live in virtue and in goodness, and not to fear to die for Christ. And also as assisting our prayers, yet no confidence or any such honor was to be given to them, as is due to God alone. And so he charges the spiritual persons to teach their flock that all grace and remission of sins and



salvation cannot otherwise be obtained but from God alone, by the mediation of our Savior Christ, who is a sufficient Mediator for our sins — that all grace and remission of sin must proceed only by the mediation of Christ, and no other.

From that he comes to speak of rites and ceremonies in Christ's church, such as in having vestments used in God's service, the sprinkling of holy water, giving of holy bread, bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, taking of ashes, bearing of palms, creeping to the cross, setting up the sepulcher, hallowing of the font, with other like customs, rites, and ceremonies. The book does not repeal all of these old rites and customs, but admits them as good and laudable, so far as they put men in remembrance of spiritual things.

And so concluding with purgatory, he makes an end of those articles, thus saying:

“Because the book of Maccabees allows praying for departed souls, he therefore does not disprove so laudable a custom, which has so long continued in the church. But because there is no certain place expressed in Scripture, he therefore thinks it necessary that such abuses should be put away, which have been advanced under the name of purgatory, so as to make men believe that by the pardons of the bishop of Rome, or by masses in any place, or before any image, souls might be delivered out of purgatory, and from the pains of it, to be sent straight to heaven, and such other abuses,” etc.

These were the contents of that book of articles devised and passed by the king's authority a little before the stir of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. In this book, though there were many and great imperfections and untruths not to be permitted in any truly reformed church, yet the king and his council, to bear with the weaklings who were newly weaned from their mother's milk of Rome, thought it might serve somewhat for the time, till better should come.

### **The King's Injunctions for the Reformation of the Clergy.**

And so, not long after these articles, some other injunctions were given out about the year 1536, by which the number of holy-days were abrogated, especially those which fell during harvest time. Keeping them greatly hindered the gathering in of corn, hay, fruit, and other such necessary commodities.

#### *The King's Injunctions.*

“Because the number of holy-days has grown so excessively, and yet daily more and more by men's devotion, or rather superstition, it was likely to increase further, the same was and would be prejudicial to the commonweal. This is not only because it is an occasion of much sloth and idleness, the very nurse of thieves, vagabonds, and diverse other unthriftiness and inconveniences, as well as the decay of good trades and arts that are profitable and necessary for the commonweal — and the loss of man's food being frequently destroyed through the superstitious observance of the holy-days, in not taking the opportunity of good and serene weather in time of harvest; but it is also pernicious to the souls of many men who (being enticed by the licentious vacation and liberty of those holy-days) commonly use and practice more excess, riot, and superfluity then, than upon any other days. And since the Sabbath-day was used and ordained but for man's use, and therefore ought to give way to the necessity of the same whenever the occasion occurs, much rather should any other holy-day instituted by man. It is therefore decreed, ordained, and established, among other things, by the king's highness authority, as supreme head on earth of the church of England, with the common assent and consent of the prelates and clergy of this his realm, in convocation lawfully assembled and congregated:

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“First, that in all places throughout this realm, the feast of dedication of churches shall be celebrated and kept on the first Sunday of the month of October forever, and on no other day.

“Also, that the feast of the patron of every church within this realm, commonly called the *church holy-day*, shall not from henceforth be kept and observed as a holy-day, as it has been used previously; but that it shall be lawful to all and singular persons resident or dwelling within this realm, to go to their work, occupation, or mystery, and truly to exercise and occupy the same upon the said feast, as upon any other work-day, except that the said feast of church-holyday is such as must, for other causes, be universally observed and kept as a holyday by this ordinance following.

“Also, that all those feasts or holy-days which happen to fall or occur either in the harvest time, which is to be accounted from the 1st of July to the 29th of September, or else in the term time at Westminster, shall not be kept or observed from now on as holy-days, but that it may be lawful for every man to go to his work or occupation the same as upon any other work-day, except always the feasts of the Apostles, or of the blessed Virgin, and of St. George, and also such feasts as those in which the king’s judges at Westminster do not use to sit in judgment. All of these shall be kept holy and solemn by every man, as they have been accustomed in times past. Provided always, that it may be lawful for all priests and clerics, secular as well as regular, in the aforesaid holydays now abrogated, to sing or say their accustomed service for those holy-days in their churches; so long as they do not do it solemnly, nor ring their bells in the manner used in high holy-days, nor command or indict the same to be kept or observed as holy-days.

“Finally, that the feasts of the nativity of our Lord, of Easter day, of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, and of St. Michael the archangel, shall be from now on be counted, accepted, and taken for the four general offering days.

“And for further declaration of the premises, let it be known that Easter Term begins always the 18th day after Easter, reckoning Easter day for one, and ends the Monday next following the Ascension-day.

“Trinity Term begins always the Wednesday next after the octaves of Trinity Sunday, and ends the 11th or 12th of July.

“Michaelmas Term begins the 9th or 10th of October, and ends the 28th or 29th of November.

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“Hilary Term begins the 23rd or 24th of January, and ends the 12th or 13th of February.

“In Easter Term, on Ascension-day; in Trinity Term, on the nativity of St. John Baptist; in Michaelmas Term, on All-hallow-day; in Hilary Term, on Candlemas-day — on these days the king’s judges at Westminster do not use them to sit in judgment, nor upon any Sunday.”

After these articles and injunctions were thus given out by the king and his council, then as time served, other injunctions followed concerning images, relics, and miracles; and for abrogating pilgrimages devised by superstition and maintained for lucre’s sake; also for the Lord’s Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Bible to be translated into English, with other points necessary for religion: The words of these injunctions ensue:

*Other Injunctions given by the authority of the King’s Highness,  
to the Clergy of this Realm.*

“In the name of God, Amen. In the year 1536, and of the most noble reign of our sovereign Lord Henry VIII, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and on the earth supreme head of the church of England, the 28th, etc. I, Thomas Cromwell, knight,

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lord Cromwell, keeper of the privy seal of our said sovereign lord the king, and vicegerent to the same, for and concerning all his jurisdiction ecclesiastical within this realm, to the glory of Almighty God, to the king's highness' honor, the public weal of this realm, and increase of virtue in the same, have appointed and assigned these injunctions ensuing to be kept and observed by the dean, parsons, vicars, curates, and stipendiaries, resident or having cure of souls, <sup>482</sup> or any other spiritual administration within this deanery, under the pains hereafter limited and appointed.

“The first is that the dean, parsons, vicars, and others, having cure of souls anywhere within this deanery, shall faithfully keep and observe, and as far as it lies in them, shall cause to be kept and observed by all others, all and singular the laws and statutes of this realm, made for the abolishing and extirpation of the bishop of Rome's pretended and usurped power and jurisdiction within this realm. And for the establishment and confirmation of the king's authority and jurisdiction within the same, as of the supreme head of the church of England; and shall to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely, sincerely, and without any color or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open in their sermons and other collations, for the next quarter of a year ensuing, once every Sunday, and after that at the least twice every quarter of a year, that the bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction having no establishment nor ground by the law of God, was taken away and abolished for most just causes; and that therefore they owe him no manner of obedience or subjection; and that the king's power is, within his dominion, the highest potentate and power under God, to whom all men within the same dominion, by God's commandment, owe most loyalty and obedience before and above all other potentates on earth.

“Also, whereas certain articles were lately devised and set forth by the king's authority, and agreed to by the prelates and clergy of this his realm in convocation assembled, of which part were necessary to be held and believed for our salvation, and the other part concerns and touches certain laudable ceremonies, rights, and usages of the church, which are fitting and convenient to be kept and used for a decent and politic (prudent) order in the same. It is ordered that the said dean, parsons, vicars, and other curates shall so open and declare in their sermons and other collations, the said articles to those who are under their cure, that they may plainly know and discern which of them are necessary to be believed and observed for their salvation; and what are not necessary, but only concern the decent and politic order of the said church — according to such commandment and admonition as has been previously given to them by the authority of the king in that behalf.

“Moreover, that they shall declare to all those who are under their cure, the articles likewise devised, set forth and authorized of late, for and concerning the abrogating of certain superfluous holydays, according to the effect and purport of the said articles, and persuade their parishioners to keep and observe the same inviolably, as things honestly provided, decreed, and established by the common consent and public authority, for the benefit of this realm.

“Besides this, to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy which have crept into diverse men's hearts may vanish away, it is decreed that they shall not set forth or extol any images, relics, or miracles, for any superstition or lucre, nor allure the people by any encouragement to make pilgrimages to any saint other than is permitted in the articles lately put forth by the authority of the king, and agreed to by the prelates and clergy of this realm in convocation assembled — as though it were proper or peculiar to that saint to give this or that commodity, seeing that all goodness, health, and grace ought to be both looked for and asked for only from God, as the very author of the same, and from no other; for without Him it cannot be given.

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<sup>482</sup> *Cure*: having spiritual charge over someone; the care of their soul; or the office of a parish priest or of a curate.

But they shall exhort their parishioners, as well as other pilgrims, that they rather apply themselves to the keeping of God's commandments, and the fulfilling of his works of charity; persuading them that they will please God more by the true exercise of their bodily labor, travel, or occupation, and providing for their families, than if they went about to these said pilgrimages. And it will profit more their souls' health if they bestow that on the poor and needy, which they would have bestowed upon the said images or relics.

“Also in their sermons and other collations, the parsons, vicars, and other curates, shall diligently admonish the fathers and mothers, masters, and governors of youth, being within their cure, to teach or cause to be taught to their children and servants, even from their infancy, the Lord's Prayer, the articles of our faith, and the ten commandments in their mother tongue. And the same being taught, that they will cause the said youth to often repeat and understand them. And to the intent that this may be more easily done, the said curates shall, in their sermons, deliberately and plainly recite the Lord's Prayer, articles, or commandments, one clause or article one day, and another on another day, till the whole is taught and learned little by little. And they shall deliver the same in writing, or show where printed books containing the same are to be sold to those who can read, or will desire the same; and that the fathers and mothers, masters and governors, bestow their children and servants, even from their childhood, either to learning, or to some honest exercise, occupation, or husbandry; exhorting, counselling, and by all the ways and means they may, in their sermons and collations, as well as otherwise, the said fathers, mothers, masters, and other governors being under their cure and charge, diligently to provide and foresee that the youth are in no way kept or brought up in idleness, lest at any time afterward they be driven, for lack of some mystery or occupation to live by, to fall to begging, stealing, or some other unthriftiness. We may see daily what diverse able-bodied men fall into through sloth and idleness — some to begging, some to theft and murder; who after being brought to calamity and misery, impute a great part of it to their friends and governors, who allowed them to be brought up so idly in their youth. When, if they had been brought up and educated in some good literature, occupation, or mystery, they might, besides being rulers of their own families, have profited themselves as well as diverse other persons, to the great benefit of the country.

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“Also, that the said parsons, vicars, and other curates shall diligently provide that the sacraments and sacramentals be duly and reverently ministered in their parishes. And if at any time it happens either in any of the cases expressed in the statutes of this realm, or from special license given by the king's majesty, that they are absent from their benefices, they shall leave their cure not to a rude or unlearned person, but to an honest well-learned and expert curate, who may teach the rude and unlearned of their cure wholesome doctrine, and reduce them to the right way, so that they do not err; and always let them see that neither they nor their vicars seek more their *own* profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the souls that they have under their cure, or the glory of God.

“Also, that every parson or proprietary of any parish church within this realm shall on this side of the feast of St. Peter next coming, provide a book of the whole bible, both in Latin and also in English, and lay the same in the quire,<sup>483</sup> for every man who chooses to look and read in it, and shall discourage no man from reading any part of the bible, either in Latin or English; but rather comfort, exhort, and admonish every man to read the same, as the very word of God, and the spiritual food of man's soul, whereby they may better know their duties to God, to their sovereign lord the king, and their neighbor; ever gently and charitably exhorting them,

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<sup>483</sup> A quire in the church refers to a specific area, often called the chancel, which is located between the nave and the sanctuary. It is the part of the church where the choir and clergy have seats during services.

that by using a sober and a modest behavior in reading and inquiring about the true sense of the same, they in no way stiffly or eagerly contend or strive with one another about the same; but refer the declaration of those places that are in controversy to the judgment of those who are better learned.

“Also the said dean, parsons, vicars, curates, and other priests shall in no way, at any unlawful time, nor for any other cause than for their honest necessity, haunt or resort to any taverns or ale-houses. And after their dinner and supper, they shall not give themselves to drinking or riot, spending their time idly by day or by night, at tables or card playing, or any other unlawful game. But at such times as they have leisure, they shall read or hear something from holy Scripture, or shall occupy themselves with some other honest exercise. And that they always do those things which pertain to good behavior and honesty, with profit of the commonweal, always having in mind, that they ought to excel all others in purity of life, and should be examples to all others to live well and Christianly.

“Furthermore, because the goods of the church are called the goods of the poor, and in these days nothing is less seen than the poor to be sustained with the same, all parsons, vicars, prebendaries, and other beneficed men within this deanery, not being resident upon their benefices, who may yearly expend twenty pounds or above, either within this deanery or elsewhere, shall distribute hereafter yearly among their poor parishioners or other inhabitants there, in the presence of the churchwardens or some other honest men of the parish, the fortieth part of the fruits and revenues of their said benefices, lest they be worthily noted of ingratitude, who reserving so many parts to themselves, cannot grant to impart the fortieth portion among the poor people of that parish which is so fruitful and profitable to them.

“And to the intent that learned men may hereafter increase the more, for executing these said premises:

“Every parson, vicar, cleric, or beneficed man within this deanery, having a hundred pounds to expend yearly in benefices or other promotions of the church, shall give competent exhibition (a scholarship or internship) to one scholar; and for as many hundred pounds more as he may have to expend, to so many scholars more. He shall give like exhibition in the university of Oxford or Cambridge, or some grammar-school; which after they have profited in good learning, may be partners of their patron’s cure and charge, in preaching as well as otherwise; in the execution of their offices, or may when the need is otherwise, profit the commonwealth with their council and wisdom.

“Also that all parsons, vicars, and clerics, having churches, chapels, or mansions within this deanery, shall bestow yearly hereafter, upon the same mansions or chancels of their churches being in decay, the fifth part of their benefices, till they are fully repaired; and the same being so repaired, they shall always keep and maintain in good state.

“All of these and singular injunctions shall be inviolably observed by the said deans, parsons, vicars, curates, stipendiaries, and other clerics and beneficed men, under pain of suspension, and sequestration of the fruits of their benefices, until they have done their duties according to these injunctions.”

These injunctions and articles were given in the years 1536 and 1537. And in the following year, other injunctions were also published for the further instruction of the people in the proceedings of religion by which both the parsons of churches, and the parishes together, were enjoined to provide in every church a Bible in English: also for every parishioner to be taught by the minister, to understand and to say the Lord’s prayer and creed in their own vulgar tongue, with other necessary and most fruitful injunctions, as follows:

*Injunctions exhibited, A.D. 1538.*

“In the name of God, Amen. By the authority and commission of the most excellent Prince Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith; lord of Ireland; and on earth supreme head, under Christ, of the church of England, I, Thomas Lord Cromwell, lord privy seal, vicegerent to the king, for all his jurisdiction ecclesiastical within this realm, for the advancement of the true honor of Almighty God, increase of virtue, and discharge of the king’s majesty, give and exhibit to you N\_\_\_\_. the following injunctions to be kept, observed and fulfilled upon the pains hereafter declared.

“First, that you shall truly observe and keep all and singular the king’s injunctions, previously given to you in my name, by his grace’s authority; not only upon the pains expressed in them, but also in your default after this second monition continued, upon further punishment to be straitly extended towards you by the king’s arbitrament, or his vicegerent aforesaid.

“Also, that you shall provide on this side the feast of N\_\_\_\_, next coming, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the church that you have cure of, where your parishioners may most conveniently resort to the same and read it. The cost of this book shall be rateably borne between you the parson and parishioners aforesaid, that is to say, one half by you, and the other half by them.

“Also, that you shall discourage no man privately, nor openly from the reading or hearing of the said Bible, but shall expressly provoke, stir, and exhort every person to read the same, as that which is the very lively word of God, that every Christian person is bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if he looks to be saved, admonishing them nevertheless to avoid all contention and altercation in this, and to use an honest sobriety in the inquiry into the true sense of the same, and to refer the explanation of the obscure places, to men of higher judgment in Scripture.

“Also, that you shall every Sunday and holy-day through the year openly and plainly recite to your parishioners, twice or thrice together, or oftener if need requires it, one article or sentence of the Lord’s prayer or creed in English, to the intent that they may learn the same by heart; and so from day to day, give them one like lesson or sentence of the same, till they have learned the whole Lord’s prayer and creed in English by rote; and as they are taught every sentence of the same by rote, you shall expound and declare the understanding of the same to them, exhorting all parents and householders to teach their children and servants the same, as they are bound in conscience to do; and that done, you shall declare to them, the ten commandments, one by one, every Sunday and holy-day, till they are likewise perfect in it.

“Also, that you shall in confessions, every Lent, examine every who that comes to confession to you, whether they can recite the articles of our faith and the Lord’s prayer in English, and hear them say the same particularly; if they are not perfect in this, you shall declare to them, that every Christian person ought to know the same before they receive the blessed sacrament of the altar.

[553] A.D. 1527-1540.

“And admonish them to learn the same more perfectly by the following year, or else they should not to presume to come to God’s Board (the Lord’s table) without perfect knowledge of the same (and if they do, it is to the great peril of their souls) — so you shall declare to them that you look for other injunctions from the king, by that time, to stay and repel all those from God’s Board, who are found ignorant;. Therefore, thus admonish them, to the intent that they should avoid the peril of their souls, and also the worldly rebuke that they might incur hereafter by the same.

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“Also, that you shall make, or cause to be made, in the church, and every other cure you have, one sermon every quarter of a year at least, in which you purely and sincerely declare the very gospel of Christ, and in the same, exhort your hearers to the works of charity, mercy, and faith, especially prescribed and commanded in Scripture, and not to repose their trust or affiance in other works devised by men’s fancies besides the Scriptures; such as wandering to pilgrimages, offering money, candles, or tapers to feigned relics, or images, or kissing or licking the same, saying over a number of beads, or such like superstition — for the doing of which you not only have no promise of reward in Scripture, but contrariwise, you have great threats and maledictions of God, as things tending to idolatry and superstition, which of all other offenses, God Almighty most detests and abhors, for these diminish most His honor and glory.

“Also, that such feigned images as you know in any of your cures to be so abused with pilgrimages or offerings of anything made for them, you shall, to avoid that most detestable offense of idolatry, immediately take down, without delay; and from now on, you shall suffer no candles, tapers, or images of wax, to be set before any image or picture, but only the light that commonly goes across the church by the rood loft, the light before the sacrament of the altar, and the light about the sepulcher. For adorning the church and divine service, you shall allow these to remain, admonishing your parishioners, that images serve no other purpose, but are like the books of unlearned men who can read no letters, whereby they might be admonished about the lives and conversation of whose whom the images represent. If they abuse these images, for any other intent than for such remembrances, they commit idolatry in do so, to the great danger of their souls. And therefore the king’s highness, graciously tending to the good of his subjects’ souls, has in part already, and will travel more hereafter for the abolishing of such images, as might be the occasion of so great an offense to God, and such great danger to the souls of his loving subjects.

“Also, that in all such benefices or cures as you have, in which you are not yourself resident, you shall appoint such curates in your stead, as can both by ability and will, also promptly execute these injunctions, and otherwise do their duty that you are bound to do in every behalf accordingly, and profit their cure no less with a good example of living, than with a declaration of the word of God; or else their lack and defaults shall be imputed to you, who shall straitly answer for the same if they do otherwise.

“Also, that you shall admit no man to preach within any of your benefices or cures, except those who appear to you to be sufficiently licensed for it by the king’s highness, or his grace’s authority, or the bishop of the diocese; and those who are so licensed, you shall gladly receive, to declare the word of God without any resistance or contradiction.

“Also, if you have up to now declared to your parishioners anything to extol or set forth pilgrimages to feigned relics or images, or any such superstition, you shall now openly before them, recant and reprove the same, showing them, as the truth is, that you did it upon no ground of Scripture, but as being led and seduced by a common error and abuse which had crept into the church through the sufferance and avarice of those who profited by the same.

“Also, if you know or come to know any man within your parish or elsewhere, who is an opposer of the word of God being read in English, or has sincerely preached against, or is an opposer of the execution of these injunctions; or a favorer of the pretended power of the bishop of Rome — now justly rejected and extirpated by the laws of this realm — you shall detect (identify) the same to the king, or to his honorable council, or to his vicegerent aforesaid, or to the justice of peace next adjoining.

“Also, that you and every parson, vicar, or curate within this diocese, shall for every church, keep one book of register, in which you shall write the day and year of every wedding,

christening, and burying, made within your parish for your time; and so too for every man succeeding you likewise, and also set down in it every person's name that is so wedded, christened, or buried. And for the safe-keeping of the same book, the parish shall be bound to provide out of their common charges, one sure coffer with two locks and keys, of which the one is to remain with you, and the other with the wardens of every such parish in which the said book shall be laid up. This book you shall every Sunday take out, and in the presence of the said wardens, or one of them, write and record in the same, all the weddings, christenings, and buryings made during the previous week; and that being done, lay up the said book in the said coffer as before. For each time the same is omitted, the party who defaults shall forfeit to the said church three shillings and four pence, to be employed for the repair of the church.

“Also, that you shall once every quarter of a year, read these and the other former injunctions given to you by authority of the king, openly and deliberately before all your parishioners, to the intent that both of you may be better admonished of your duty, and your said parishioners more incited to ensue the same on their part.

“Also, because by established law every man is bound to pay the tithes, no man shall by color of duty omitted by their curates, detain their tithes, and so redouble one wrong with another, and be his own judge. But they shall truly pay the same, as accustomed, to their parsons and curates without any restraint or diminution; and whatever lack and default as they can justly find in their parsons and curates, they are to call for the reformation of it, at their ordinaries' and other superiors' hands, who upon complaint and due proof of this, shall reform the same accordingly.

“Also, that no parson shall from now on alter or change the order and manner of any fasting-day that is commanded and indicted by the church, nor of any prayer, nor of divine service, other than is specified in the said injunctions, until such time as the same is so ordered and transported by the king's authority, except the evenings of those saints whose holy-days are abrogated, which shall be declared from now on not to be fasting days — except for the commemoration of Thomas à Becket, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, which shall be entirely omitted; and instead of it, the Ferial (weekday) service is to be used.

“Also, that the knolling (tolling of the bell) of the Aves after service and certain other times, which has been brought in and begun by the pretense of the bishop of Rome's pardon, is to be left and omitted from now on, lest the people hereafter trust to have pardon for the saying of their aves between the said knolling, as they have done in times past.

“Also, where in times past men in diverse places in their processions, used to sing *Ora pro nobis* (“Pray for us”) to so many saints, that they had no time to sing the good suffrages following, such as *Parce nobis Domine* (“Spare us, Lord”), and *Libera nos Domine* (“Save us, Lord”), it must be taught and preached that it would be better to omit it, and to sing the other suffrages, as more necessary and effectual. All these singular injunctions I minister to you and to your parishioners, by the king's authority, to be committed in this part which I charge and command you by the same authority to observe and keep, upon pain of deprivation, sequestration of your fruits, or such other coercion as seems convenient for the time, to the king or his vicegerent.”

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By these articles and injunctions thus coming forth one after another for the necessary instruction of the people, it may appear how well the king then deserved the title of his supreme government given to him over the church of England. By this title and authority, he did more good for the redressing and advancing of Christ's church and religion in England in these three years, than the pope, the great vicar of Christ, with all his bishops and prelates had done in the previous three hundred years. Such vigilant care was then in the king and



his council, that they were desirous by all ways and means to redress religion, to reform errors, to correct corrupt customs, to help ignorance, and to reduce the misleading of Christ's flock drowned in blind popery, superstition, customs, and idolatry, to some better form of a more perfect reformation. He not only provided these articles, precepts, and injunctions above specified, to inform the rude people, but he also procured the bishops to help forward the cause of decayed doctrine, with their diligent preaching and teaching of the people, as you have heard. So that in the year 1534, during the whole time of parliament, a bishop was appointed every Sunday to preach at St. Paul's Cross, against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

By the king's injunctions, A.D. 1538, all such images and pictures that were abused with pilgrimage, or offerings of any idolatry, were abolished. And by virtue of these injunctions, several idols, and especially the most notable stocks of idolatry, were taken down in the same year — such as the images of Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester, the lady of Willesdon, Thomas à Becket, with many others, which had machinery to make their eyes open and roll about, and to stir other parts of their body, and many other false jugglings with which the simple people had long been deceived. All of these were detected, and destroyed.

Among these foul idols, there was also a certain old idolatrous image in Wales, named "Darvel Gatheren." In the month of May 1538, it was brought up to London and burned in Smithfield. At the same time with the idol, Friar Forrest was also burnt, and hanged for treason. He was partly mentioned before in the history of Cardinal Wolsey (p. 501).

*Friar Forrest.*

This Forrest was a friar, who had secretly in confessions declared to many of the king's subjects that the king was not the supreme head of the church. Being apprehended, he was examined how he could say that the king was not the supreme head of the church, when he himself had sworn to the contrary? He answered, "That he took his oath with his outward man, but his inward man never consented to it." And being accused of many damnable articles, and convicted, he submitted himself to the punishment of the church. Upon his submission, having more liberty than before to talk with whomever he chose, he departed as far as ever from his submission. And when his abjuration was read to him, he refused it, and persevered in his errors. Therefore he was condemned, and fastened up in Smithfield upon a gallows, by the middle and arms. Fire was put under him, and so he was consumed.

In the place of execution, there was a scaffold prepared for the king's most honorable council and the nobles of the realm to sit upon, to grant him pardon if he had any spark of repentance in him. A pulpit was also prepared, where the right reverend father, Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, declared the man's errors, and manifestly confuted them by Scripture, with many godly exhortations to move him to repentance. But Forrest would neither listen, nor speak. A little earlier, the image called Darvel Gatheren, was brought to the gallows, and there also with the friar, was set on fire. The Welchmen much worshipped the image, and had a prophecy among them, that this image would set a whole forest on fire. This prophecy took effect; for he set this Friar Forrest on fire, and consumed him to nothing. The friar, when he saw the fire coming, and that present death was at hand, caught hold of the ladder, and would not let it go. He so impatiently took his death, as never any man who put his trust in God had done at any time. So in that manner he ungodly and unquietly ended his life.

In the month of October and November in the same year, shortly after the overthrow of these images and pilgrimages, the ruin of the abbeys and religious houses also followed. By the special motion of lord Cromwell (or rather and principally, by the singular blessing of Almighty God) these were suppressed. This had been granted a little earlier by an act of parliament unto the king's hand. Whereupon not only the houses were razed, but their possessions were also distributed among the nobility. So that all friars, monks, canons, nuns, and other sects of religion were then so rooted out of this realm from their very foundation, that there seemed, by God's grace, no possibility left for the generation of those strange weeds to grow any more, according to the true verdict of our Lord and Savior Christ in his gospel, "Every plant which my Father has not planted, shall be rooted out." <sup>Mat 15:13</sup>

***The History of John Lambert***

*The History of the worthy Martyr of God, John Lambert, otherwise named Nicolson, with his Troubles, Examinations and Answers, before the archbishop of Canterbury, Warham, and other bishops, as well as before King Henry VIII, by whom at length he was condemned to death, and burned in Smithfield, in A.D. 1538.*

Immediately upon the ruin and destruction of the monasteries, followed the condemnation of John Lambert, the faithful servant of Jesus Christ, and martyr of blessed memory. This Lambert was first converted by Bilney, and studied in the university of Cambridge. When he had sufficiently profited by the study of Latin and Greek, and had translated sundry things out of both tongues into English, he was at last forced by the violence of the time, to depart beyond the seas to Tyndale and Frith. There he remained for a year and more. He was preacher and chaplain to the English House at Antwerp, till he was disturbed by Sir Thomas More, and by the accusation of one Barlow. He was carried from Antwerp to London, and brought to examination first at Lambeth, and then at the bishop's house at Oxford, before Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and other adversaries. He had forty-five articles exhibited against him, to which he answered in writing. Because his answers contain great learning, and give some light to better understand the common questions of religion now in controversy, we will provide them all here.

*The Answer of John Lambert.*

1. To your first article, in which you ask whether I was suspected of heresy? I answer that I am not certain what all persons at all seasons have deemed or suspected of me, perhaps some better, some worse — as the opinions of the people were never united, but they thought variously of all the famous prophets, and of the apostles, yes, and of Christ himself, as it appears in St. John. When Christ came into Jerusalem, a great noise arose, some saying, "That he was a very good man," others said, "no," and called him a deceiver, because he led the people away from the law of Moses. <sup>Joh 7.12</sup> Seeing therefore that all men could not speak well of Christ, who is the author of verity and truth, indeed the very truth itself, and likewise of his best servants, why should I regard it, if at some time, some person for a like cause were to suspect me of being amiss, and report evil of me? It is said in the gospel, "Woe to you, when all men speak well of you; for so did their fathers to the false prophets." <sup>Luk 6.26</sup> If therefore at any season such infamy was put upon me, I am glad that I have so little regarded it, that I have forgotten it. And even if I did remember any such charge, I would be

more than twice a fool to tell you of it. For it is written in your own law, “No man is bound to betray himself.”<sup>484</sup>

[555] A.D. 1527-1540.

2. To your second article, where you inquire whether I had any of Luther’s books, since they were condemned; and how long I kept them, and whether I have spent any study in them? I say that I have indeed had them, and that was both before they were condemned and also since. But I never will, nor can I tell you, how long I have kept them. The truth is, I have studied them, and I thank God that I did so; for by them has God shown me, and also to a multitude of others, such light, as the darkness of those who call themselves the holy church, cannot abide. He covets above all things, as all his adversaries well know, that all his writings, and the writings of all his adversaries, might be translated into all languages. Thus all people might see and know what is said on every side, and by which men might better judge what is the truth. And in this, I think, he requires nothing but equity. For the law would have no man condemned, or justified, until his cause is heard and known.<sup>485</sup>

3. To your third article, in which you ask whether I was constituted a priest, and in what diocese, and by what bishop — I say that I was made a priest in Norwich, and by the bishop’s suffragan of the same diocese.

4. To the fourth, in which you demand whether it is lawful for a priest to marry a wife, and whether a priest in some case is bound by the law of God to marry a wife? I say that it is lawful, yes, and necessary for all men who do not have given to them by God the gift of chastity, to marry a wife, which both Christ and St. Paul show. In Matthew 19, Christ speaking to the Pharisees who came to tempt him, says, “Whoever puts away his wife, except it be for fornication, and marries another, commits adultery. A whoever marries her who is put away, commits adultery.” Mat 19.9. His disciples then ask him, if this is the case of a man with his wife, would it not be hurtful and not expedient to contract matrimony? Christ answers, verse 11, “All men cannot receive this saying, except those to whom it is given” — meaning that every man could not abide being single or unmarried, except those to whom it was given by God, by a special grace, to so continue.

St. Paul assents to this when he had persuaded the Corinthians to a single life. He concludes thus: “This I say for your own profit; not that I may cast a snare upon you.” 1Cor 7.35. And a little before, “I would,” he says, “that all men were even as I myself. But every man has his proper gift from God, one in this manner, and another in that,” 1Cor 7.7. He shows thereby, that to some it is given by God to live continent, and to others to engender and procreate children. He proceeds further, and would have all men marry, none excepted, who want the gift of continency. “I say, therefore, to the unmarried and widows, it is good for them if they abide even as I. But if they cannot contain themselves, let them marry. For it is better to marry than to burn.” 1Cor 7.8-9. And again, “To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband.” 1Cor 7.2. He says here, “every man and every woman,” and not “some man or some woman.” He excepts neither priest nor nun, but everyone is bound, both man and woman, for avoiding fornication, to marry, not having the gift of chastity.

5. To the fifth, where you ask whether I believe that whatever is done by man, whether it is good or bad, comes of necessity; that is, whether man has free will, so that he may deserve

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<sup>484</sup> A maxim of English Common Law; in Latin it is, “*nemo tenetur seipsum accusare.*”

<sup>485</sup> In the Common Law, this is the Latin maxim “*audi alteram partem,*” meaning “hear the other side.”

joy or pain? I say to the first part of your riddle, that I neither can, nor will I give any definitive answer; as it surmounts my capacity, trusting that God shall send, hereafter, others who will be of better learning and wit than I, to answer it. Concerning the second part, where you interpret whether man has free will or not, so that he may deserve joy or pain — as for our deserving specially of joy, I think it very little or none at all, even when we do the very commandments and law of God. And I am taught that by our Savior in St. Luke, where he says: “But which of you, having a servant ploughing or feeding cattle, will say to him by and by, when he has come from the field, Go and sit down to eat? Will he not rather say to him, Make ready something for my supper, and gird yourself, and serve me till I have eaten and drunk; and afterwards you will eat and drink? Does he thank that servant because he did the things that were commanded of him? I think not. So likewise, when you have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants. We have done that which was our duty to do,” Luk 17.7-10.

In these words you may clearly see that he would not have us greatly esteem our merits, even when we have done what is commanded by God; but rather, reckoning ourselves to be but servants unprofitable to God, for He has no need of our well-doing for his own advancement, but only that he loves to see us do well *for our own sake*. And moreover, that when we have done His bidding, we should not so magnify either our self, or our own free will, but praise him with a meek heart, through whose benefit we have done (if at any time we do it) His will and pleasure; not regarding *our* merit, but *His* grace and benefit, by which alone is done all that is in any way acceptable to him. And thus, if we should not see merit in doing the commandments of God, much less should we look for merit from observing our own inventions or traditions of men, to which there is no benefit promised in all Scripture, which Paul calls the word of truth and of faith.

But here it may be objected against me, that the reward is promised in many places to those who observe the precepts of God. Still, such reward will never be attained by us, except by the grace and benefit of Him who works all things in all creatures.

6. Whereas in your sixth article, you inquire whether the sacrament of the altar is a sacrament necessary to salvation; and whether after the consecration of the bread and wine by the priest, as by the minister of God, there is the very body and blood of Christ in likeness of bread and wine. I neither can nor will answer one word, other than I have said since I was delivered into your bands. Nor would I have answered one whit then to this point, knowing so much as I do now, till you had produced some person who would have accused me of erring in the question; which I am certain you cannot do, that is, bringing anyone who is honest and credible.

Concerning the other six sacraments, I give you the same answer that I have given to the sacrament of the altar, and no other. That is, I will say nothing until some men appear to accuse me in them; unless I know a more reasonable cause than I have yet heard, why should I do so. But as to the form and fashion, I will answer willingly so far as my ignorance will serve. I hold that those who are duly elected ministers in the church ought to baptize, unless necessity requires otherwise: and that the form used in the church is in my opinion not uncommendable. Nevertheless, it would edify much more if it were uttered in the English instead of the Latin language; and it would cause people in the baptism of children to more effectually thank God for his institution of it, and the high benefit represented in it.

7. In like manner, I also deem the same about the ministration in all the others: that it would be expedient to have them ministered openly in the English language, to edify the people.

8. As touching private auricular confession, I say that the common fashion now used was never ordained by Christ's law that is written in the Bible. Nor can you prove by any authority from it, that we ought to confess all our offenses particularly, with all the circumstances, to any man. I never said, nor will I say anything but that men seeing themselves aggrieved in conscience with some great temptation, may go to those whom they know and trust to be of steadfast credit, and to have good skill in the law of God, opening their grief to them, so that they may have thorough advice, some ease, and remedy.

But in this, I do not mean that they ought to go to their curate, or to any other priest, whose credit they deem not at all trustworthy, or their counsel sage, but to any person whom they know to be wise and discreet.

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As to the other part of your question, where you ask whether a priest may loose a sinner confessed and contrite for his sin, enjoining him wholesome penance? I say that Christ alone looses a sinner who is contrite, by his word and promise; and the priest does nothing but show and declare the word. Nor does the declaration or ministry of the priest avail to loose any person, unless he that would be loosed gives credence to the word ministered and shown by the priest. This word or promise of Christ is called "The word of reconciliation," or atonement between God and man. And St. Paul testified to this where he says, "God has reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ." 2Cor 5.18-19. See how it is God who looses us from sin, who is to make reconciliation or atonement between us and him, and that is through Christ, whom he caused to die for that purpose. "And he has given to us the ministry of reconciliation." See how Christ's apostles did not call themselves the *authors* of binding and loosing, but *ministers*; "For he (that is, God) reconciled the world to himself, not imputing their trespasses to them." There you may know what reconciling is. "And he has committed to us the word of reconciliation," or tidings of atonement or reconciling.

9. Also you may know that the power by which men are loosed from sin, is not the priest's power, by the common saying which is right and true; yes, and with leisure, I have no doubt that I can show the same in the decrees, which is this: "Only God forgives and pardons us of our sins."

10. Concerning the enjoining of penance, I know of none that men need to admit, nor you to put or enjoin, unless it is renovation of living in casting away old vice, and taking them to new virtue. This is what every true penitent intends or ought to intend to show and perform, truly by the grace and assistance of our Savior Christ.

11. To the eleventh article I say that grace is given to those who duly receive the sacraments of Christ and his church, but I cannot define whether this is by the sacraments or not; for God sends his grace wherever he pleases, either with them, or without them, and whenever he pleases; so that it is at his will, and how and when. Moreover, many a person receives the sacrament that is destitute of grace to his confusion. So that I cannot affirm that the sacraments *give* grace; yet, in duly receiving the sacraments, I suppose and think that God gives grace to those who so take them, as He does to all good persons, even without them.

12. Whereas, in your twelfth article you ask whether all things necessary to salvation are in holy Scripture; and whether only things there are sufficient; and whether some things are to be believed and observed as necessary to salvation which are *not* expressed in Scripture. This is the question which is the head of all others objected against me. Indeed, this is both the helm and stern of all together, and that which they contended to impugn.

But touching an answer to this question, I suppose truly, that if I had Saint Cyril's works near by me [Cyril of Alexandria, 376-444], I would not need to show any other answer than what he has shown in prior times, writing upon this saying of St. John, "There are many things more which Jesus did." Notwithstanding, since every man cannot have what he would at all seasons, and therefore must make other provision, I hold that the first part of your question is very true, and therefore it is to be affirmed; to wit, that all things needful for man's salvation, are mentioned in holy Scripture; and that those things alone which are there, are sufficient for the soul's health.

But why should I treat this, without reciting all of Scripture, which in every part is full of admonitions, exhorting and warning us to cling fast to this way, which is the doctrine of the gospel? I beseech God, grant us all both to know and love this, taking heed that we are in no way seduced from this by the laws and doctrines of men. Look also to Colossians, chap. 2, and in the epistles to Timothy and Titus. So that I conclude, in holy Scripture is contained sufficiently enough doctrine for the salvation of our souls; and because learned men call it the head article laid against me, I would have all men well note and record my saying this, whatever happens to me. For the truth is such that the sum of all hangs on this. Therefore, I will recite it once again. I say that, "In holy Scripture, and in that alone, is contained the doctrine which is sufficient for the salvation of Christian men's souls." God give us grace that we may know it, to build our faith steadfastly upon it.

As to the latter part of your question, I say that there are many things both to be observed and to be believed, that are not expressed in Scripture — such as the civil laws of princes and commonalties, ordained for civil government of the body, and all others. So long as they are not hurtful to faith or charity, I reckon that we ought to keep them, not only for fear of punishment, but also for conscience' sake, although such ordinances are not expressly and particularly required in Scripture.

13. To the thirteenth article, where you ask whether I believe that there is a purgatory, and whether souls departed are tormented and purged there? I say that there is a purgatory in this world, which the Scripture, and also the holy doctors call the fire of tribulation, through which all Christians shall pass, as St. Paul testifies in the second chapter of his second epistle to Timothy. His testimony is notable and true, although few know it, and fewer perhaps will believe it. Mark the words, good people, and know that the words are his and not mine: "All who would live godly in Jesus Christ will suffer persecution." <sup>2Tim 3.12</sup> In this purgatory I now reckon myself to stand. God enable me to persevere to his honor! Of this St. Peter also speaks in these words which pertain to the instruction of all Christian people — "You," he says, "who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, ready to be revealed in the last time; in which you greatly rejoice, though now for a season, if need be, you are grieved through manifold temptations: so that the trial of your faith, being much more precious than gold that perishes, though it is tested by fire, might be found to praise and honor and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ," <sup>1Pet 1.5-7</sup>.

14. To the fourteenth article, where you ask whether holy martyrs, apostles and confessors departed from this world ought to be honored, called upon, and prayed to? I answer with the words of St. Augustine, in his book "On True Religion," in his last leaf, where he says that, "We should worship no departed men, however good and holy, for they seek no such honor, but would have us worship God alone; no, nor even an angel, nor honor them, but only in the imitation of them — following their good acts in our living, as they followed our most merciful God while they were alive; not building churches in the name or to the honor of them, for they would have no such honor done to them. It is no pleasure to them, but

contrariwise. No, the angels do not wish us to build any churches in reverence of them; but wish that we would honor the original Maker and Performer of all.” Thus says St. Augustine, “We shall follow their good acts, by helping the poor or helpless with alms and mercy, and dealing truly in word and deed, according to our state and calling, both towards God and man. This is no light matter to those who consider the thing well. But whoever would truly and duly follow it, will feel it as the burden of Christ’s cross was to Him, right weighty and grievous when he bore it to Calvary — except that we need not fear, for He has promised to be with us in tribulation.”

As to invocation, that is, calling upon them, we learn in Scripture how we should call upon Almighty God in all necessities and tribulations. It is everywhere in the Psalms, as in this, “Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I shall deliver you.” <sup>Psa 50.15</sup> Mark, how he says here, “Call upon me,” appointing neither one saint nor another. And also in another place, “The Lord is near to those who call upon him, who call upon him in truth.” <sup>Psa 145.18</sup>

And thus the holy prophets, patriarchs, apostles, and other good faithful people in olden times, in all tribulation and anguish, used to resort to the head Fountain, who is of infinite grace, as shown in many places in this way:

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“In my trouble I called upon the Lord,” says David, “and he heard me graciously.” <sup>Psa 118.5</sup> When I was troubled, I cried to the Lord, and he mercifully heard me.” <sup>Psa 120.1</sup> Also, I lift my eyes to the mountains, but from where shall help come to me? My help,” he said, “shall come from the Lord who made both heaven and earth.” <sup>Psa 121.1-2</sup> Also, it is reported in the New Testament, by authority deduced out of the Old, where it is written, “Everyone who calls upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.” <sup>Act 2.21</sup> And mark, it is said, “upon the name of the Lord,” without sending us either to St. Christopher, or to St. Patrick’s purgatory in Ireland, or to St. James in Galicia, or yet to any other saint. But He would have us call upon Almighty God, and upon His name, for the love that he bears to Christ, who is always our advocate before our Father, to purchase mercy for our sins.

You argue that when one might desire to come to our sovereign to obtain some boon from him, he must first purchase the favor of his chamberlains or officers to bring him to the king’s presence; and that it is in like manner between God and us. If we would purchase any benefit, you say, we must first go to the saints, making them our friends to go between God and us as mediators and intercessors. But I answer that I think such reasoners are deceived, in that they compare God and the king together. For even if the king is a fully gracious prince, yet he is not to be compared with God in graciousness. And even if he were as gracious as possible, yet he does not have the knowledge that is in God; for God knew of all things before the beginning of the world, and He is everywhere, to see not only our outward dealing, but also all secret thoughts of all men’s hearts; so that he needs no mediators to inform him of our desires, as the king needs. And God is full of infinite mercy, that I may as lightly, or as soon, obtain from him that which is for my good, as I might win by praying to holy saints, to be intercessors to Him for me.

Therefore I point to the example of antiquity — I mean of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, and the authority of Scripture — which teach that we need not fear, but may boldly resort to Christ himself, and His holy father, because He bids us to do so, saying, “Come to me all you who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest,” <sup>Mat 11.28</sup>. Mark how he bids us resort to himself without fear. For he and his Father, who are all one, gives abundantly of all goodness to all men, and upbraids no man for his unworthiness. But if we

intend to obtain from Him, we must lay all doubtfulness apart, and with a sure confidence in his mercy, ask from him that which we would have. So that I leave to others what they choose to do, praying Jesus that we all may wish for that which is most pleasing to Him.

15. To the fifteenth article, you demand whether the saints in heaven, as mediators, pray for us? I say that I believe saints in heaven do pray for us; for I suppose they know, generally, that all men living upon earth are wrapped in manifold miseries, as they themselves also were. But I think they do not know what particular miseries men upon earth are entangled with; therefore I believe that they pray for us as *petitioners*, but not as *mediators*, so far as I can see. For Scripture speaks of but one Mediator, which I think signifies a maker of peace or atonement between God the Father and man. “There is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.” <sup>1Tim 2.5</sup>

16. In the sixteenth article, you demand whether I believe that oblations and pilgrimages may be devoutly and meritoriously done to the sepulchers and relics of saints? I say that I cannot tell what they may be; for God can so work that to those whom he has chosen to be inheritors with Him, all things will turn to a good conclusion. As St. Paul says, “All things shall work together for good to those who love God.” Rom 8.28. Therefore, whether they may be done meritoriously or not, I will not define, God knows. But this I say: that God never instituted any such thing as pilgrimages in the New Testament, which is the truth and rule for all Christian people to follow and believe.

Concerning the relics and tombs of saints, I have said before what I think of the milk of our Lady, the blood which they say is at Norwich and other places, with other such things — things with which I trust you to do what ought to be done. And I beseech God, that you may do with this as your office requires, setting an example for other prelates to follow your lordship in good doing, as it is fitting for a primate to do — remembering always, as St. Paul says, “the time is short;” and therefore, it would be good to set to hand in time.

Finally, when holy Moses died, he would be so buried that no man might know which was his grave, as it is witnessed in Deuteronomy 34.6, and as the expositors testify — so that the Jews, who were prone to new-fangled worshipping, would not fall into idolatry, worshipping him as God, on account of the great and manifold miracles that were wrought by him while he was alive.

To conclude, I say, it is no point of my belief, to think that oblations and pilgrimages at saints’ graves and relics are meritorious works, or that there is any devotion in so doing. That is godly which is instituted by Scripture. If you think otherwise, I would desire to know for my instruction, what part of Scripture would go against me?

17. In the seventeenth article you ask whether the fast in Lent, and others appointed by the common law and received in common usage, are to be observed? I say that those are the ones to be observed, and fasting discreetly is commendable. <sup>Mat 6.16-18</sup>

Yet breaking these fasts does not make a man a deadly sinner, unless in his mind there is some other malicious affection. Because no law of man, made without the foundation of Scripture, may bind any person such that in breaking it he thereby commits a deadly sin. And the fast of Lent is of this sort made by man. Other days ordained in your laws without authority of Scripture, which wills us to fast perpetually, eating and drinking only when need requires (and not for any voluptuousness, as I fear many have done, who count themselves great fasters) yes, and to do that sparingly, always being mindful that our stomachs are never cloyed “with drunkenness or surfeiting,” as commanded by our Savior.



And (to tell the truth) I suppose the prelates might better have persuaded the people to pure fasting by instant preaching of the word of God, and by fatherly exhortations, than by ordaining so great a multitude of laws and constitutions.

18. To the eighteenth article you ask whether it is laudable and profitable to have worshipful images set up in churches for the remembrance of Christ and his saints? I say that I know of no images that ought to be worshipped, which are made by the hand of men. For, "Let all be put to shame who serve graven images, who boast of idols." Psalm 97.7.

And concerning the exciting of men's memory, I suppose that if Christ's doctrine were so shown and opened by preaching and teaching that people might clearly understand it (and that is the principal office of prelates and curates) I think we would have little need of any other images than that which might, by wholesome doctrine, be shown to us by word of mouth and writing. Nothing is so effectual to exercise the remembrance of disciples, as the lively voice of good teachers.

So that I suppose if this lively doctrine of God had previously been diligently opened to the people, as curates ought to have done, we would not have needed to contend for setting up or taking down dumb stocks and lifeless stones, carved or made by men. And if prelates would begin to set up Christ's word — I say, if this doctrine were still set up in churches, and truly opened, so that all men might have their judgment reformed and made clear by it, then I think we would not greatly need the profit that comes by images made by men, to excite our remembrances to live to Christianity. Alas, for pity's sake, His word is not looked upon, but rather is so trodden down and despised that many are not ashamed to say, 'I will have no more learning in Christ's law than my predecessors did; for those who magnify it must be sorely punished, and taken for heretics,' with other such grievous words.

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For that word which came from the breast of Christ himself, and was written down by those who wrote and spoke by the suggestion of his Spirit, the Holy Spirit, perfectly shows His will, which is the true and certain image of his mind and device. If this were therefore diligently inculcated, I think we would be transformed anew, according to the mind of St. Paul, who writing to the Colossians says, "Do not lie to one another, seeing that you have put off the old man with his deeds; and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge according to the image of Him who created him," Col 3.9-10.

19. To the nineteenth article you ask whether I believe that the prayers of living men profit souls that are departed and in purgatory? I answered this in the thirteenth article.

20. To the twentieth article you ask, whether men merit and are deserving by their fasting, and also by other deeds of devotion? I have shown what I think of this in the fifth article.

21. In the twenty-first article you ask whether I believe that men prohibited by bishops to preach, being suspected of heresy, ought to cease from preaching and teaching until they have purged themselves of suspicion? I say that men may be wrongfully suspected of heresy, either because they never believed such errors as men by false suspicion deem them to believe; or else when men, by sinister judgment, think that which is the very truth to be an error,. Isaiah speaks of this: "Woe to those who call evil good, and good evil; who put darkness for light, and light for darkness," Isa 5.20 — as the bishops and the priests, with their orator Tertullus, called St. Paul, saying this before Felix:

"We pray you would hear by your clemency, a few words from us. For we have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a

ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes. He has also gone about to profane the temple. We took him, and would have judged according to our law. But the chief captain Lysias came upon us, and with great violence took him out of our hands, commanding his accusers to come to you. By examining him yourself, you may gain knowledge of all these things of which we accuse him.” Act 24.4-8.

This is to call truth falsehood, by perverse judgment. And thus their predecessors spoke of the prophets; yes, and of Christ himself, calling him a seducer and preacher of heresy. Men being thus suspected should in no way therefore cease either from preaching or teaching.

We have another example of this in Acts, when Peter and John had done a miracle upon a man who had been lame from his birth (whom they healed by the power of Christ, and caused to go wherever he pleased). The people hearing of this, came running around Peter and John. Peter seeing this, exhorted the people in a sermon, that they should not think that he or his companion St. John, had done this wonderful thing by their own power or holiness, but by the virtue of Christ, whom they and their head rulers had slain.

While they were thus speaking with the people, the priests and officers of the temple came upon them, accompanied with the Sadducees. Being sorely displeased that they should teach the people, and preach that men might arise from the dead by the name of Christ, whom they had caused to be crucified. Therewith, they laid hands on them, and put them in prison until the next day. On the following day they sent for the apostles, and demanded by what power, and in whose name they did this miracle?

“Then Peter, filled with the Holy Spirit, said to them. You rulers of the people, and elders of Israel, if we this day are examined for the good deed done to the impotent man, by what means he was made whole; let it be known to you all, and to all the people of Israel, that by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom you crucified, whom God raised from the dead, even by Him this man stands here before you whole. This is the stone which was rejected you builders, which has become the head of the corner,” Act 4.5-12.

These great men wondered that Peter should speak so freely, seeing that he and his fellow John were simple men, without any pompous apparel, or a great guard of servants, and being unlearned men. At last they commanded them to depart out of their council house, until they might commune more freely about the matter. Afterwards they called the apostles before them again, commanding them that they should no longer preach or teach in the name of Jesus. “But Peter and John answered and said to them, Whether it is right in the sight of God to listen to you more than to God, you judge. For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard,” Act 4.19-20. Then the head priests threatening them sorely, strictly charged them not to break their precept; so they let them go, not knowing any cause why they might punish them. For they feared lest the people take part with the apostles; for the people gave glory to God for the miracle shown by them.

Notwithstanding all these great threats, Peter wrought still miracles among the people; doing them to show that glory ought to be given to Jesus, by whose power and name they were done. With this, the hearts of the people melted for joy; so that they followed after the apostles wherever they went.

The primate of the priests, and all who were about him, on hearing of this, were filled with indignation, and laid hands upon the apostles, putting them into the common prison. But the angel of God in the night opened the prison doors, and brought them out, saying, “Go, stand and speak in the temple to the people all the words of this life” Act 5.20 — that is to say, Christ’s doctrine; and so they did, early in the morning. Then the chief priest came forth,

and those they used to have around him, called a council, in which were all the priests of Israel, or elders of Israel. So they sent to the prison-house to have the apostles brought out before them. When their servants came to the prison-house and found the apostles gone from there, they returned to their masters saying, 'We found the prison fast shut round about in every part, and the keepers diligently watching at the doors without fail. But when we had the prison opened, we could find nobody within.' <sup>Act 5.21-23</sup>

When the high priests and officers of the temple heard this, they were in a great perplexity, doubting what would come of it. Then one came to them and showed them, saying. 'Behold the men you put in prison are standing in the temple, preaching to the people. Then they went there, and brought the apostles back with them without any violence; but they were afraid lest the people might have beaten them down with stones.

Then they had the apostles brought into their council house, the high priest beginning his proposition against the apostles in this form: Have we not strictly commanded you (he said) that you should not preach in the name of Christ? And see, you have filled all Jerusalem with your doctrine. Will you bring this man's blood upon us? "Then Peter, and the other apostles answered and said. We ought to obey God rather than men. The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom you slew and hanged on a tree. God has exalted Him with his right hand to be a prince and a Savior, to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins." Acts 5.29-32.

These great rulers hearing this, were cut to the heart, and consulted together to slay the apostles. But one good man among their number advised them otherwise, whose advice they approved. Then they called the apostles again before them, and had them scourged, they commanded them not to preach and teach in the name of Jesus; and so they allowed them to depart.

Then they went away out of the council, rejoicing that God had made them worthy to suffer such rebukes for His name's sake. Yet they never ceased to teach and preach of Jesus Christ every day in the temple, and in all houses that they came into. This is written in the fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, and for our instruction, do not doubt; for such practice is shown in all ages. So that hereby you may see, when men are wrongfully suspected or accused of heresy, and so prohibited by bishops to preach the word of God, that they should not for man's commandment to leave or stop, even if they never purge themselves before them, for many times such men will not allow any just purgation, but judge in their own causes, and do as they please.

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22. In the twenty-second article you demand whether I believe it is lawful for all priests to freely preach the word of God or not; and to do that in all places, and to all persons to whom they please, even if they are not sent? I say that priests are called in Scripture by two distinct words, that is to wit, *presbyteri* and *sacerdotes*. The first refers to old men, seniors, elders, or presbyters — secular judges and similar head-officers are also sometimes called by that word. As we read in Daniel, they were so called who defamed and wrongfully accused Susanna. This is seldom, and not so customary as those who are called *presbyteri*, but it is generally applied to those who are set in the church to guide it by the word of God and his blessed doctrine.

The others called *priests* in the New Testament, are called by this word *sacerdotes*; that is to say, I think, *sacrificers*. And thus, as Christ was called king and priest, so all Christian men in the New Testament are called kings and priests. The words in Rev 1.5-6 are, "Unto Jesus

Christ who loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and has made us kings and priests to God and his Father, to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.” Thus says St. John, speaking of all Christian people. In like manner it is said (1Pet 2.9), where he writes to all Christian men, “You are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people.”

But this may seem a strange thing, that all persons should be called priests, and yet that is in Scripture, which cannot lie. It is truth indeed. It may seem strange to some, as it did to me and many others when we first read it, because we never read or heard of it before; and so Christ’s doctrine seemed new to his apostles and to his audience, when he himself first preached it.

23. In the twenty-third article you ask whether I believe that it is lawful for laymen of both kinds, that is to wit, both men and women, to sacrifice and preach the word of God? I say, that it is fitting for none to preach openly the word of God, unless they are chosen and elected to the same, either by God, or solemnly by men, or else by both. And therefore St. Paul calls himself in all his epistles, *an apostle of God*, that is to wit, a *messenger* of God. And to the Galatians (Gal 1.1) he writes thus, “Paul, an apostle, not of men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father who raised him from the dead.” Also to the Romans, “How shall men preach, unless they are sent?” Rom 10.15

Notwithstanding, I say this, both by support of God’s law, and also by laws written in the decrees, that in time of great necessity lay people may preach, both men and women.

As concerning sacrificing, I say that it is lawful for all men and women to sacrifice; but by *sacrifice* I do not mean to say *mass*, as priests do; but as Christian people who are *sacerdotes*, that is to say, *sacrificers*. So they should offer spiritual sacrifices, as St. Paul writes to the Romans, saying, “I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is your reasonable service. And do not be conformed to this world; but be transformed by the renewing of your mind, so that you may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God,” Rom 12.1-2.

Another manner of sacrifice which he requires is that we should always offer to God the sacrifice of praise, that is, the “fruit of our lips giving thanks to his name;” Heb 13.15 or as Hosea calls it, the sacrifice of “the calves of our lips,” Hos 14.2 giving praise to His name; and that we should not forget to do good, and to be serviceable to our neighbors; for in such sacrifices, he says, God is well pleased. Heb 13.16

24. In the twenty-fourth article you ask whether excommunication, denounced by the pope against all heretics, obliges and binds them before God? I say, that it binds them before God if it is lawfully denounced — that is, if they are in very deed, as they are named; and if he denounces them with the consent of others, gathered with him in Christ’s name, on behalf of Christ’s church. The gospel declares the same, (Mat 18.15-20):

“Moreover, if your brother trespasses against you, go and tell him his fault between you and him alone: if he will hear you, you have gained your brother. But if he will not hear you, then take one or two more with you, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he neglects to hear them, tell it to the church. But if he neglects to hear the church, let him be to you like a heathen man and a publican. Truly I say to you, whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Again, I say to you, that if two of you agree on earth regarding anything they ask, it

shall be done for them by my Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them.”

So that such excommunication ought to be done, I think, by the congregation assembled together with their pastor, whose advice they should principally esteem and follow, if it is virtuous and godly.

Thus it is to be done conveniently, for the pope is made of flesh, like other men. Therefore he may sometimes judge wrongly — cursing the blessed, and blessing the cursed. Other prelates may do likewise, judging Christians to be heretics, and heretics to be Christians.

25. In the twenty-fifth article you ask whether every priest is bound to daily say his matins and evening-song, as it is ordained by the church; or whether he may leave them unsaid, without offense or deadly sin? I say that prayer in Scripture is much commended, and many great and unmeasurable benefits are shown to ensue from it, so that men should give themselves more to it. In diverse places, St. Paul bids us to fight with prayer, continuing in it against our spiritual enemies. In Exodus we read a figure of this, when the Israelites fought in battle against a nation of infidels; I believe their captain was called Amalek. Moses stood upon a mountain to behold what would be the conclusion. Lifting up his hands, he prayed that it might well succeed with the Israelites. But in holding them up a long time, at last his fervor began to grow cold and faint, and his hands lagged downward. As his hands grew heavy, which signifies that his affection in praying abated and grew cold, the infidels prevailed. But as he kept them upward (by which was meant the intent prayer of a devout mind) he purchased victory for the Israelites. Aaron and Hur, who indited the law to the people, and were the interpreters, stood with Moses. As they saw his arms faint, they always held them up, so that finally the victory came to Israel.

But no promise is made by God to those who daily say matins. Nor are we certain by the word of God, that we will be blessed by Him for saying matins — no more than we are certain that for repeating the fifteen O's <sup>486</sup> once every day during the whole year, we will see our Lady aid us before our death — as testified in the Scripture of the primer, but not by the Scripture of the Bible; or that we will have a like benefit for saying her psalter upon the ten beads, that comes from the crossed friars; or upon the five beads, hallowed at the charter-house; or fasting the ladies' fast, as men call it; or for fasting on the Wednesday; as is showed by a book that is allowed to be printed and read, for it is neither the New Testament nor the Old.

26. In the twenty-sixth article you ask whether I believe that the heads or rulers, by necessity of salvation, are bound to give to the people the holy Scriptures in their mother language? I say that I think they are bound to see that the people may truly know holy Scripture, and I do not know how that can be done so well as by giving it to them truly translated into their mother tongue. Thus they may have it by them at all times to pass the time in a godly way, whenever they have leisure.

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I think it would be profitable and expedient that the holy Scriptures were delivered by authority of the head rulers to the people, truly translated into the vernacular tongue. And whereas you add, 'whether they are bound by necessity of salvation to give them to the people,' I will not so narrowly touch that point now. But I say that they are bound by right

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<sup>486</sup> [The fifteen O's refers to reciting the fifteen Rosary promises, instituted by the Dominicans.](#)

and equity, to cause it to be delivered to the people in the vulgar tongue, for their edifying and consolation.

27. In the twenty-seventh article you demand whether it is lawful for the rulers, for some cause, upon their reasonable advice, to ordain that the Scripture should not be delivered to the people in the vulgar language? All men may see here that whoever devised these questions, thought that it is good for the people to have the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, and that my so saying could not be well reprov'd. Therefore they have laid out all these additions to entrap me, as it were: "Whether the heads be bound, and that by necessity of salvation, to deliver it to the people?" and "Whether they may restrain it for some cause, and by some reasonable advice?"

The Scripture is the spiritual food and sustenance of man's soul. This is shown to be true in many places of Scripture, just as other meat is food for the body. Then if he is an unkind father who keeps bodily meat away from his children for a week or a month, it would seem that our bishops are not gentle pastors or fathers if they would keep away the food of men's souls from them — especially when others offer it for months, years, and ages. Nor do I see any circumstance of time or reasonable advice that would cause it to be withdrawn and taken away, but the contrary. For it is reasonable, convenient, and needful for men to eat their food when they are hungry, and they are blessed who hunger and thirst after the word of God, which teaches us to know him and do his pleasure at all times.

28. In the twenty-eighth article you ask whether I believe the consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the church are to be praised? I say that I do not know all of them, and therefore I will not dispraise them. Nor can I speak very much *for* them, seeing that I do not know them, such as the hallowing of bells, the hallowing of pilgrims when they go to Rome, the hallowing of beads, and such like practices. But those which I am advised of, and remember, are good in my opinion, such as this — when the priest having consecrated the holy bread, he says, "Lord bless this creature of bread, as you blessed the five loaves in the desert, that all persons tasting of it may receive health," etc. I wish every man in England might say this when he goes to meal, I like it so well.

Also this is a right good one, that is said over the one who reads the gospel: "The Lord be in your heart, and in your mind and mouth, to pronounce and show forth his blessed gospel." This is also spoken over a preacher taking benediction when he goes into a pulpit. And such good things I like very well, and think them commendable, wishing that all people might know what they mean, so that they with joy of heart might pray joyfully with us, and delight in all goodness — which would occur if they were uttered in English, according to the mind of St. Paul, in 1Cor. 14.19, where in the church he wishes to speak five words with understanding so that by his voice he might teach others, rather than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue.

29. In the twenty-ninth article you ask whether I believe that the pope may make laws and statutes to bind all Christian men, to the observance of the same, under the pain of deadly sin — so that such laws and statutes are not contrary to the law of God? I say, if it is true that is written in the decrees, that laws are never confirmed until they are approved by common consent of those who will use them, then the pope's laws *cannot* bind all Christian men; for the Greeks and the Bohemians never admitted them, but refuse them utterly. So that I do not find that his laws may bind all Christian men.

Finally, I cannot see that he has authority to make laws which will bind men to the observance of them under pain of deadly sin, any more than the king or the emperor have.

On the contrary, I think truly that the church was more full of virtue *before* the decrees or decretals were made, than it has been since. May God repair it, and restore it again to its ancient purity and perfection.

30. In the thirtieth article you ask whether I believe that the pope and other prelates, and their deputies in spiritual things, have power to excommunicate priests, and lay-people, who are disobedient, from entering the church; and to suspend them from the ministration of the sacraments? I think that the pope and other prelates have power to excommunicate both priests and laymen, who are rebellious against the ordinance of God, and disobedient to His law; for such are separated from God. And the prelates should pronounce of sinners as they find them; that is, to pronounce those who will not amend, to be excommunicated by God, and unworthy to administer any sacraments, or to be in communion with Christian folk.

I am not certain that prelates generally have any such power. And even if they had, I doubt whether charity would permit them to show it and execute it without singular discretion. For in churches, the word of God ought to be declared and preached, so that the sturdy who come there and hear it, may soon be struck with compunction and repentance, and thereupon come to amendment.

Moreover, when you speak of prelates' deputies, I think that such prelates are of little use to Christ's flock. It is necessary and right that as the prelates themselves will have the revenues, tithes, and oblations of their benefices, that they themselves should labor and teach diligently the word of God, and not shift the labor from one to another till all is left undone.

31. In the thirty-first article you ask whether faith alone, without good works, may suffice for a man who has fallen into sin after his baptism, for his salvation and justifying? I say, that it is the usage of Scripture to say, faith alone justifies and works salvation, before a man can do any other good works. And truly I think in this matter, that a man fallen into sin after baptism shall be saved through faith, and have forgiveness by Christ's passion, even if he does no more good deeds — just as when a man having a short life, lacks leisure to exercise other deeds of mercy. Notwithstanding, true faith is of such virtue and nature, that when opportunity comes, it cannot help but work plenteously deeds of charity; which are a testimony and witness-bearer of man's true faith. St. Augustine declares this: "Good works do not make a just or a righteous man, but a man once justified does good works."

32. In the thirty-second article you ask whether a priest marrying a wife, without the dispensation of the pope, commits a deadly sin? I say that he does not offend as much as those who give dispensations for money to priests, to take concubines. Nor does he offend so much as the purchasers of such dispensations; for they clearly commit fornication and adultery, which is utterly forbidden by God's law; and the priest of whom your demand speaks, offends only man's law.

33. In the thirty-third article you ask whether a priest, being sorely and often troubled with incontinence, and therefore marrying a wife for a remedy, commits a deadly sin? I see only that a priest may marry. Therefore, following the law of God, I give the same answer that I made before of all priests: that a priest, not having the gift of chastity, is bound to marry.

34. In the thirty-fourth article you ask whether I ever prayed for John Wycliffe, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, who were condemned of heresy at the Council of Constance, or any one of them, since they have been dead; and whether I have openly or secretly done any such deeds of charity for them; and affirmed that they are in bliss and saved? I say that I never prayed for any of them, so far as I can remember. And even if I had, it does not follow

that in so doing I would be a heretic. For you know well, that there is a great country called Bohemia, where the people follow that same doctrine which their ancestors were taught by John Huss and Jerome of Prague, whom (as I know) neither the pope nor you consider as heretics and infidels.

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35. In the thirty-fifth article you ask whether I have accounted these men or any of them to be saints, and worshipped them as saints? I say that in secret things, which I do not perfectly know, I follow the counsel of St. Paul, who desires that we should not judge too soon, but wait till the coming of the Lord, who will illuminate and show clearly things that now lie hidden in darkness. <sup>1Cor 4-5</sup> Therefore I have neither judged for them, nor against them, but have resigned such sentence to the knowledge and determination of God, whose judgment is infallible.

And whereas you say they were condemned of heresy, at the Council of Constance; if the council did right, then God will allow it. So there is no need to ask me whether their acts are commendable or not. Nor can I give any direct answer; for I do not know them. And even if I did, I am not persuaded that because the council has condemned them, I must therefore believe them to be damned. For a council, I believe, may sometimes decide erroneously.

36. In the thirty-sixth article you ask whether I believe that every general council, and the Council of Constance, represent the universal congregation or church? I say that what such councils represent, I cannot certainly tell; and therefore I believe neither yes nor no. I know of no Scripture to certify me about the same, nor yet any sufficient reason. The church I take to be all those whom God has chosen or predestinated to be inheritors of eternal bliss and salvation — whether they are temporal or spiritual, king or subject, bishop or deacon, father or child, Grecian or Roman. And this church spreads throughout the universal world, wherever anyone calls upon the name of Christ. And there they most grow and assemble, where His blessed word is purely and openly preached and declared.

37. In the thirty-seventh article you ask whether I believe that the same thing which the Council of Constance, representing the universal church, has approved and does approve for the maintenance of faith and souls' health, is to be approved and held by all Christian people; and that what the same council has condemned and does condemn as contrary to faith and good manners, should be believed and affirmed by the same Christian people as a thing condemned? I say that whatever the same council or any other has approved, being worthy of approval, is likewise to be approved by all Christian people. And again, whatever the same council or any other has condemned, being worthy of condemnation, ought to be condemned by all Christian people.

38. In the thirty-eighth article you demand whether the condemnations of John Wycliffe, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, done upon their persons, books, and documents, by the holy general Council of Constance, were duly and rightfully done? I answer that it surpasses my knowledge, and I cannot tell. I and all Christian men may well suspend our sentence, being ignorant of it, affirming neither the one nor the other, neither yes nor no.

39. In the thirty-ninth article you ask whether I believe that John Wycliffe of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, were heretics; and their books and doctrines are perverse, for which they were condemned by the holy Council of Constance as heretics? I say, that I do not know whether they were heretics or not; nor whether their books are erroneous or not; nor whether they ought to be called heretics or not.



40. In the fortieth article you ask whether I believe and affirm that it is not lawful in any case to swear? I say, that I neither so believe, nor affirm, nor ever did.

41. In the forty-first article you ask whether I believe that it is lawful at the command of a judge, to make an oath to say the truth; or any other oath, for purgation of infamy? I answer that I never said to the contrary; but that I think and have thought it lawful to give an oath before a judge; to say the truth, if the judge so requires it; and it is by lawful and convenient request. Such as, when a thing is in controversy between two persons, upon which they sue to a judge for sentence. When the judge cannot otherwise arrive at the truth, he may require an oath. Such as when the two women who contended before Solomon, to avoid the crime of murder, which the one had committed in pressing her child to death, and would have done the same upon the other, if Solomon had not otherwise discovered the truth by his wisdom. Solomon might, I suppose, in order to gain more certain information about the thing, have had one or both of them swear, seeing that it was expedient for him. In this case the women would have been bound to obey him. But judges need to be careful in requiring oaths.

42. In the forty-second article you ask, whether a Christian person despising the receiving of the sacraments of confirmation, extreme unction, or solemnizing matrimony, commit a deadly sin? I say the same about receiving the sacraments themselves, as I have said before about the third article, and not otherwise.

43. In the forty-third article you ask whether I believe that St. Peter was Christ's vicar, and had power on earth to bind and loose? I say that I do not perceive clearly what you mean by this term "vicar." For Christ never called St. Peter, nor any other so in Scripture. If you mean that, after the departing of Christ from here, when he arose from the dead in his immortal body, and so went into heaven, that him being away, St. Peter occupied his place, then I say it is not true that St. Peter was his vicar, in any other manner than was St. Paul or the other apostles. The one was no less a vicar than the other.

I think that St. Peter and all the rest of the apostles were Christ's vicars — if you mean by this word *vicar*, a deputy or such to preach his gospel, to minister sacraments, and to do divine service in God's church. And thus they were worthy to be called, as the Scripture names them, Christ's true apostles, bishops, priests, etc.

44. In the forty-fourth article you ask whether I believe that the pope is the successor of St. Peter? I say that it seems to me a thing of no great value, whether a man believes so or not. I cannot see that it ought to be numbered among the articles of our faith. However, I will show my rude thought on it, which is this:

The pope may succeed in St. Peter's stead or office, and do the same duly in diligently feeding Christ's flock, and showing a virtuous example of living. And in so doing, he may and ought to be thought and named, a true successor of St. Peter. And thus is your lordship St. Peter's successor, performing the conditions, with other properties requisite to your order and duty; yes, and as many others who truly do their duty, and duly execute the office of a bishop. But otherwise, the pope cannot be called the successor of St. Peter merely because he has entered into St. Peter's office, not regarding what is requisite, nor following the track of virtue, but the contrary. Why should men call St. Peter's successors those who play the pagans, and follow Caiaphas, Simon Magus, or Judas? Such, truly, cannot rightly claim to be Peter's successors, any more than the night can claim to be the successor to the day. Indeed, they should rather be called Peter's adversaries, because they do not do his will, which is shown by his own acts and writings, but rather work against the same.

So, the pope is the successor of St. Peter, if he follows St. Peter's godly living.

45. In the forty-fifth article you ask whether I have promised at any time by my oath, or made any confederacy or league with any person or persons, that I would always hold and defend certain conclusions or articles which seemed to you right and consonant to the faith? I say that I do not remember that I ever made a pact or confederacy with any person or persons, nor made any promise by oath, that I would always hold and defend any conclusions or articles which seemed to me and others right and consonant to the faith; unless it has chanced to me to say in this form: that I would never, with the aid of God, forsake or decline from the truth, neither for fear, nor yet for love of man or men.

And concerning such opinions or conclusions, I can tell you of none other than I have shown, the sum of which I reckon to be concluded in two propositions which are both written in the New Testament.

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The first in the Acts of the Apostles:— “This is the stone which was rejected by you builders, which has become the head of the corner; nor is there salvation in any other, for there is no other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved,” Act 4.11-12. This is one of the propositions in which is comprehended my saying which St. Paul thus expresses, “But of Him you are in Christ Jesus, who by God is made for us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption,” 1Cor 1.30. And in another place, “For no other foundation can be laid by man than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ,” 1Cor 3.11.

The other proposition is written by the prophet Isaiah, and recited by our Savior in the gospel of Mark, in these words: “For in vain they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. For laying aside the commandment of God, you hold the tradition of men, such as the washing of pots and cups, and many other such things you do. And he said to them, Full well you reject the commandment of God, that you may keep your own tradition,” Mar 7.7-9. St. Paul writes of this very largely in diverse places — among others in the second chapter of Colossians (2.8), where he warns the Colossians to take heed that no man cheats them; to steal them away by philosophy or vain deception, according to the traditions of men, and ordinances of this world.

Thus I certify to all of you the opinions and conclusions which I intend, or have intended to sustain, being contained in the above two propositions. I hold no others than such as are mentioned in the creed; both that which is sung at mass, and also in the other creed, that all people say every day. Finally, you require to know the names and surnames of those who were adherents to me. I say that I know of none particularly that I remember, without noting a great multitude, which you may know and hear of through all the regions and realms of Christendom. And even if I did, I would not detect nor betray anyone of them; for I am bound to obey God rather than man. May God be with us, and grant the truth to be known! Amen!

These answers of John Lambert to the forty-five articles, had been directed and delivered to Dr. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, as it appeared, about A.D. 1532, when Lambert was in custody in the archbishop’s house at Oxford. But the providence of God so wrought for Lambert, that a short time later (Aug. 1532), archbishop Warham died; whereby it seems that Lambert was delivered for that time. In the meantime, Cranmer was sent over on an embassy with the earl of Wiltshire, Dr. Stokesley, Dr. Karne, Dr. Benett, and other learned men, to the bishop of Rome, to dispute the matter of the king’s marriage openly — first in the court of Rome, and then in the court of the emperor. There, sundry promises and appointments were made. Yet when the time came, no man appeared to dispute with them

on these two propositions — first, that no man could or ought to marry his brother's wife; secondly, that the bishop of Rome by no means ought to dispense to the contrary.

After the death of William Warham, Cranmer succeeded to that see. Lambert was delivered in the meantime, partly by the death of this archbishop, and partly by the coming in of Queen Anne. He returned to London, and there he exercised himself in teaching children in both the Greek and Latin tongues.

After John Lambert had continued in this vocation of teaching, with great commendation, it happened (A.D. 1538), that he was present at a sermon which was preached in St. Peter's church, in London, by Dr. Tailor — a man in those days who was not far from the gospel. Afterwards, in the time of King Edward, Tailor was made bishop of Lincoln; and at last, in the time of Queen Mary, he was deprived of it. And so he ended his life among the confessors of Jesus Christ.

When the sermon was done, Lambert having gotten an opportunity, went gently to the preacher to talk with him, and uttered various arguments in which he desired to be satisfied. All the matter or controversy concerned the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Tailor excusing himself at that time for other business, desired Lambert to write his mind; and to come again when he had more leisure.

Lambert was content, and so he departed. A short time later, when he had written down his mind, he came again to Tailor. His arguments were ten in number, which he comprehended in writing — partly by the Scriptures, and partly by good reason and by the doctors. Men reported the arguments were of great force and authority.

He said, if these words, "This cup is the New Testament," do not change either the cup or the wine corporally into the New Testament, then it is not agreeable that the words spoken of the bread, should turn the bread corporally into the body of Christ.

Another reason was this — that it is not agreeable to a natural body to be in two places or more at one time. Therefore, it must follow of necessity that either Christ did not have a natural body; or else truly, according to the common nature of a body, it cannot be present in two places at once, much less in many — that is to say in heaven and on earth, at the right hand of his Father, and in the sacrament.

Moreover, a natural body cannot be without its form and shape, conditions and accidents (incidentals), just as the accidents and conditions also cannot exist without their subject or substance. Then, since in the sacrament there is no quality, quantity, or condition of the body of Christ, and finally, no appearance at all of flesh, who does not very plainly perceive that there is no substantiated body of His in the sacrament? And by reasoning the contrary, all the proper conditions, signs, and accidents pertaining to bread, whatever they are, we see to be present in the sacrament — things which cannot be there without the subject. Therefore, we must of necessity confess the bread to be there.

Lambert also added many other allegations from the doctors.<sup>487</sup> But to be short, this Tailor, the preacher, who was willing and desiring, we suppose, to satisfy Lambert in this matter, conferred with Dr. Barnes. Barnes, although he otherwise favored the gospel, and was an earnest preacher, notwithstanding, he did not seem to greatly favor this cause — fearing it would breed some hindrance among the people to the preaching of the gospel, which was now well advancing. He persuaded Tailor to put the matter to archbishop Cranmer.

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<sup>487</sup> "The doctors" refers to the early Church Fathers, such as Augustine.

Lambert's affair began in this manner, and was brought to the point that it moved from a private talk, to being a public and common matter. For he was sent for by the archbishop, brought into the open court, and forced to defend his cause openly. For the archbishop had not yet favored the doctrine regarding the sacrament, of which afterwards he was an earnest professor. In that disputation, it is said that Lambert appealed from the bishops to the king. But however the matter was, the rumor of that disputation spread throughout the court.

I told you before, how king Henry, for two years past, showing the part of a hard husband, had beheaded queen Anne, his wife (A.D. 1536). This not only greatly displeased the German princes, who for that cause alone had broken off the league with him, but also many good men in England.

Moreover, I told you how, after abbeys began to be subverted, and all their goods were being confiscated, the commoners conceived a very evil opinion of the king; so that the seditious sort rebelled against him.

At that time, Stephen Gardiner, then bishop of Winchester, was in authority among the king's counsellors. Just as he was of a cruel nature, so he was no less of a subtle and crafty wit, ever gaping for some occasion to hinder the gospel. He went to the king privately, admonishing him, and with fair and flattering words he gave him most pernicious counsel, declaring how great hatred and suspicion was raised against him in all places.

This was first, for abolishing the bishop of Rome's authority; then for subversion of the monasteries; and also for the divorce of queen Catharine. Now the time served the king, if he would take it, said Gardiner, to easily remedy all these matters, and pacify the minds of those who were displeased and offended with him — if only in this matter of John Lambert he would manifest to the people how stoutly he would resist heretics. By this new rumor, the king would extinguish all other former rumors, and also discharge himself from all suspicion of now being a favorer of new sects and opinions.

[563] A.D. 1527-1540.

The king, giving ear more willingly, than prudently or godly to this, immediately received the wicked counsel of the bishop, and sent out a general commission, commanding all the nobles and bishops of his realm, to come with all speed to London, to assist the king against heretics and heresies, upon which the king himself would sit in judgment.

### ***Lambert's Disputation before the King***

These preparations being made, a day was set for Lambert to appear. A great assembly of the nobles was gathered from all parts of the realm, not without much wonder and expectation in so strange a case. All the seats and places were full of men round about the scaffold (stage).

By and by the godly servant of Christ, John Lambert, was brought from the prison with a guard of armed men, even as a lamb to fight with many lions. He was placed right over against where the king's royal seat was; so that now they tarried but for the king's coming.

At last the king himself came as judge of that great controversy, with a great guard, clothed all in white, and covering by that color all bloody judgment.

On his right hand sat the bishops, and behind them the famous lawyers, clothed all in purple, according to the custom. On the left hand sat the peers of the realm, justices, and other nobles in their order, behind whom sat the gentlemen of the king's privy chamber. And this was the manner and form of the judgment, which although it was terrible enough

to abash any innocent man, yet the king's look, his cruel countenance, and his brows bent to severity, not a little augmented this terror — plainly declaring a mind full of indignation, far unworthy such a prince; especially in such a matter, and against so humble and obedient a subject.

When the king was seated on his throne, he looked at Lambert with a stern countenance. And then turning himself to his counsellors, he called Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, commanding him to declare to the people the causes of this assembly and judgment.

The whole effect of his oration tended to this purpose: that the king would have all estates, degrees, bishops, and all others to be admonished of his will and pleasure; that no man should conceive such an opinion of him, as that the authority and name of the bishop of Rome now being utterly abolished, the king would also extinguish all religion, or give liberty to heretics to trouble the churches of England without punishment; and that they should not think that they were assembled to make any disputation upon the heretical doctrine; but only for this purpose — that the heresies of Lambert, and the heresies of all such men, should be refuted, or openly condemned in the presence of them all.

When he had made an end of his oration, the king stood up. Leaning on a cushion of white tissue cloth, and turning himself towards Lambert, with his brows bent — as it were, threatening some grievous thing to him — said these words; “Ho, good fellow, what is your name?” Then the humble lamb of Christ, humbly kneeling down upon his knee, said, “My name is John Nicholson, although I am called Lambert by many.” “What,” said the king, “have you two names? I would not trust you, having two names, even if you were my brother.” “O, most noble prince!” replied Lambert, “your bishops forced me to change my name.” And after much talk in this manner, the king commanded him to get to the matter, and to declare his mind and opinion, what he thought regarding the sacrament of the altar.

Then Lambert, beginning to speak for himself, gave God thanks who had so inclined the heart of the king, that he would not disdain to hear the controversies of religion, because it often happened through the cruelty of the bishops, that many good and innocent men were secretly murdered and put to death, without the king's knowledge.

But now, because that high and eternal King of kings, in whose hands are the hearts of all princes, has inspired and stirred up the king's mind, so that he would himself be present to understand the causes of his subjects, especially whom God, of his divine goodness, has so abundantly endued with such great gifts of judgment and knowledge, he does not mistrust that God will bring some great thing to pass through him, to the setting forth of the glory of His name.

Then the king, with an angry voice, interrupted Lambert's oration. “I did not come here,” he said, “to hear my own praises thus painted out in my presence, but briefly to get to the matter without any more circumstance.” This he spoke in Latin.

Lambert, abashed at the king's angry words, contrary to all men's expectation, paused a while, considering.

But the king being hasty said with anger and vehemency, “Why do you stand still? Answer regarding the sacrament of the altar, whether you say that it is the body of Christ, or will deny it?” And with that word, the king lifted up his cap.

Lambert. “I answer with St. Augustine, that it is the body of Christ, in a certain manner.”

The King. “Answer me neither out of St. Augustine, nor by the authority of any other, but tell me plainly, whether you say it is the body of Christ or not?” The king again spoke these words in Latin.

Lambert. “Then I do not deny it to be the body of Christ.”

The King. “Mark well, for now you shall be condemned even by Christ’s own words, ‘This is my body.’”

Then he commanded Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury to refute his assertion. First making a short preface to the hearers, he began his disputation with Lambert, very modestly, saying, “Brother Lambert, let this matter be handled between us impartially, that if I show your argument to be false by the scriptures, you will willingly refuse it; but if you prove it true by the manifest testimonies of the Scripture, I promise that I will willingly embrace it.”

His argument was taken out of the Acts of the Apostles, where Christ appeared to St. Paul, thus disputing that it is not disagreeable to the word of God, that the body of Christ may be in two places at once; who being in heaven was seen by St. Paul at the same time on earth; and if his body may be in two places, why may it not be in more places?

Lambert answered, saying that it was not proved that Christ’s body was in two places or more, but rather remained in one place. For the Scripture does not say that Christ, being on the earth, spoke to St. Paul; but that suddenly a light from heaven shone round about Paul, and falling to the ground, he heard a voice saying to him, “Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me? I am Jesus whom you persecute,” etc. Here this place proves nothing but that Christ, sitting in heaven, might speak to St. Paul, and be heard upon earth.

The archbishop said that St. Paul himself witnesses, Acts 26, that Christ appeared to him in the vision. Act 26.12-19

But Lambert again said that Christ witnessed, in the same place, that he would again appear to Paul, and deliver him out of the hands of the gentiles. Yet we read in no place that Christ corporally appeared to him.

Thus, when they had contended about the conversion of St. Paul, and Lambert so answering for himself, that the king seemed greatly moved; and the bishop himself who disputed with him, seemed to be entangled, and the whole audience was amazed. Then the bishop of Winchester alleged the twelfth chapter of Corinthians, where St. Paul says, “Have I not seen Jesus?” <sup>488</sup> And again, in the fifteenth chapter, “he appeared to Cephas: and afterwards to James, then to all the apostles, but last of all he appeared to me as one born out of due time.” 1Cor 15.5-8

Lambert answered, he did not doubt that Christ was seen, and appeared, but he denied that he was in two or in diverse places, in bodily form.

Then Winchester again repeated the passage from 2Cor 5.16. “Therefore from now on we know no man after the flesh: yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now know we him *thus* no more.’

Lambert answered that this knowledge is not to be understood as a bodily knowledge, and this so appeared sufficiently by St. Paul, who speaking of his own revelation says, “I knew a

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<sup>488</sup> It was in fact the *ninth* chapter of 1Corinthians, verse 1; the bishop misspoke.

man (whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell; God knows) who was caught up into the third heaven; and whether in the body or out of the body, God knows.” <sup>2Cor 12.2-3</sup>

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By this a man will easily gather that in this revelation he was taken up in spirit into the heavens, and saw those things, rather than that Christ came down corporally from heaven to show them to him — especially because it was said by the angel, that even as he ascended into heaven, so he would come again. <sup>Act 1.11</sup> St. Peter says, “whom the heavens must receive,” it behooved to dwell in the heavens. And moreover, appointing the measure of time, he adds, “until the times of the restitution of all things,” etc. <sup>Act 3.20-21</sup>

After the bishop of Winchester was done, Tunstall, bishop of Durham, spoke much of God’s omnipotency, and said that if Christ could perform what he spoke, regarding converting the body into bread, without doubt he would speak nothing but what he would perform.

Lambert answered that there was no evident place of Scripture, in which Christ at any time says that he would change the bread into his body. Rather, this is a figurative speech, used everywhere in the Scripture when the name of the thing signified is attributed to the sign. By such a figure of speech, circumcision is called the *covenant*, the lamb the *Passover*, besides six hundred other such instances. Now it remains to be settled, whether we will judge all these in the words pronounced, “to be directly changed into another nature.” Then they began to rage against Lambert, so that if he could not be overcome with arguments, he might be vanquished with rebukes and taunts.

Then again the king and the bishops raged against Lambert. So that he was not only forced into silence, but might also have been driven into a rage, if his ears had not been acquainted with such taunts before. After this the other bishops, each in his order as they were appointed, supplied their passages of disputation.

Ten were appointed to perform this tragedy, one for each of Lambert’s ten arguments which were delivered to Tailor the preacher. It would take too long in this place to repeat the reasons and arguments of every bishop; and no less superfluous if I were to do so, especially as they were all but common reasons.

Lambert, compassed with so many and great perplexities, chose to hold his peace. He was vexed on one side with checks and taunts, and pressed on the other side with the authority and threats of the personages. He was partly amazed with the majesty of the place and the presence of the king, but he was especially wearied with standing no less than five hours, from twelve o’clock until five at night.

Whereby it came to pass that those bishops who last disputed with him, spoke what they chose without interruption, except that Lambert would now and then allege something out of St. Augustine for the defense of his cause— in which author he seemed to be very prompt and ready. But for the most part, being overcome with weariness and other griefs, he remained silent.

At last, when the day had passed, and torches began to be lit, the king said to Lambert, “What do you say now after all these great labors which you have taken upon you, and all the reasons and instructions of these learned men. Are you not yet satisfied? Will you live or die? What do you say? You still have free choice.”

Lambert answered; “I yield and submit myself wholly to the will of your majesty.” “Then,” said the king, “commit yourself to the hands of God, and not to mine.”

Lambert. "I commend my soul to the hands of God, but my body I wholly yield and submit to your clemency." Then the king said, "If you commit yourself to my judgment, you must die; for I will not be a patron to heretics." By and by turning himself to Cromwell, the king said, "Cromwell, read the sentence of condemnation against him." Cromwell was at that time the chief friend of the gossellers. Here it is much to be marvelled at, to see how unfortunately it came to pass in this matter, that through the pestiferous and crafty counsel of this one bishop of Winchester (Gardiner), Satan attained the condemnation of this Lambert by no other ministers than gossellers themselves — Taylor, Barnes, Cranmer, and Cromwell — who afterwards, in a way, all suffered the same fate for the gospel's sake.

This undoubtedly was the malicious and crafty subtlety of the bishop of Winchester, who desired that the sentence might be read by Cromwell, rather than by any other; so that if he refused to do it, he would have incurred the same danger. But to be short, Cromwell, at the king's command, took up the schedule of condemnation, and read it.

Thus John Lambert, in this bloody session, was judged and condemned to death by the king, whose judgment now remains with the Lord against that day when, before the tribunal seat of that great Judge, both princes and subjects shall stand and appear, not to judge, but to be judged, according to what they have done and deserved. *Ex testimonia ejusdam ατυτηρον*, A.G.

Upon the day that was appointed for this holy martyr of God to suffer, he was brought out of the prison at eight o'clock in the morning to the house of Lord Cromwell, and so carried into his chamber. It is reported by many, that Cromwell desired forgiveness for what he had done. There Lambert, being admonished that the hour of his death was at hand, he was greatly comforted and cheered. And being brought out of the chamber into the hall, he saluted the gentlemen, and sat down to breakfast with them, showing no manner of sadness or fear. When the breakfast ended, he was carried straightway to the place of execution. There he would offer himself to the Lord, a sacrifice of sweet savor, who is blessed in His saints for ever and ever. Amen.

As to the terrible manner of the burning of this blessed martyr, it is to be noted that of all who have been burned and offered up at Smithfield, there was none yet so cruelly and piteously handled as he was. For after his legs were consumed and burned up to the stumps, and the wretched tormentors and enemies of God had withdrawn the fire from him, so that only a small fire was left under him, two who stood on each side of him with their halberts pitched him upon their pikes, as far as the chain would reach. Then, lifting up such hands as he had, and his finger's ends flaming with fire, he cried out to the people in these words, "None but Christ, none but Christ!" And so being set down again from their halberts, he fell into the fire, and there ended his life.

During the time that he was in the archbishop's ward at Lambeth, which was a little before the disputation before the king, he wrote an excellent confession or defense of his cause to king Henry.

In that treatise he confirmed his doctrine regarding the sacrament, by testimonies of the Scriptures. By these he proves that the body of Christ, whether it rises, ascends, sits, or is conversant here, is always in one place.

Then gathering the opinions of the ancient doctors, Lambert proved and declared the sacrament to be a mystical matter. Yet he did not deny that the holy sacrament was the very natural body of our Savior, and the wine his natural blood; and that moreover his natural



body and blood were in those mysteries, but in a certain manner, as all the ancient doctors interpret it. His argument is as follows:

“Christ is ascended bodily into heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father; that is to say, he is with the Father in glory; that by the infallible promise of God, he shall not return before the general doom, which shall be at the end of the world. And as he is no longer in the world corporally, so I cannot see how he can be in the sacrament corporally. And yet I acknowledge and confess that the holy sacrament of Christ’s body and blood is the very body and blood, in a certain manner, which will be shown hereafter with your grace’s favor and permission, according to the words of our Savior, who when instituting the same holy sacrament, who says,

[566] A.D, 1527-1540.

“‘Take, eat; this is my body.’ And again, ‘This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.’ Mat 26.26-28.

“The Scriptures for the continuation of my opinion, are these: ‘He was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight. And while they looked steadfastly toward heaven as he went up, behold, two men stood by them,’ etc. Here it is evident that Christ departed and ascended in a visible and circumscribed body. That this departing was visible and in a visible body, these words testify: ‘You men of Galilee, why do you stand gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, who is taken up from you into heaven, will so come in like manner as you have seen him go into heaven,’ Act 1.9-11. Here we see that Jesus is taken away into heaven. And then it must be from out of the world, according to what we read in Joh 16.28. ‘I came forth from the Father, and have come into the world. Again, I leave the world, and go to the Father.’

“It is further shown in what manner he will come again, by these words, ‘He will so come in like manner as you have seen him go into heaven.’ Which is, as you visibly saw him ascend to heaven, a cloud embracing him and taking him from among you. Even so you will visibly see him come again in the clouds, as we read in Mat 26.64. ‘Hereafter you will see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven.’ And again, Mat 24.30. ‘And they will see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory.’

“My statement is this: that Christ ascended into heaven, and so has forsaken the world, and there he shall abide, sitting at the right hand of his Father, without returning here again until the general doom. At that time he will come from there to judge the dead and the living. All this I believe is done in the natural body which he took of the blessed Virgin Mary his mother, in which he also suffered passion for our safety and redemption upon a cross; this body died for us, and was buried: in this body he also rose again to life immortal. We may quickly prove that Christ is thus ascended in his manhood and natural body, and so taken up into heaven, because his godhead is never out of heaven, but ever replenishing both heaven and earth. And besides that, it is infinite and interminable or uncircumscribable; so that, it can neither properly ascend nor descend, being without all alteration, and immutable or immovable.

“So that now his natural body being taken up from among us, and departed out of the world, the same can no longer return from there till the end of the world. For as Peter witnesses, Act 3.21, ‘Whom heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things, which God has spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.’ The article of our creed teaches us the same, which is, ‘from there (*i.e.* from heaven) he shall come, to judge the quick and the dead.’ St. Paul calls this time, ‘the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ’ (1Tim 6.14).

“Seeing then that this natural body of our Savior, which was born of his mother the Virgin Mary, is wholly taken up into heaven and departed out of this world, St. Peter says that He must remain in heaven until the end of the world, which he calls *the times when all things*

*must be restored.* This I say, seen and believed according to our creed and the Scriptures, I cannot perceive how his natural body can be in the world, and in the sacrament. And yet notwithstanding, this is true: that the holy sacrament is Christ's body and blood, as it shall be declared later."

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*The Death of Robert Packington.*

Among other matters done that year (A.D. 1538), was the lamentable death of Robert Packington, mercer of London (a dealer in textiles), caused by the enemies of God's word. The story is this: Robert Packington, being a man of substance, and dwelling in Cheapside, every day at five o'clock, winter and summer, used to go to pray at a church then called St. Thomas of Acres, but now named Mercers' Chapel. One very misty morning, such as seldom seen, as he was crossing the street from his house to the church, he was suddenly shot with a gun; but the murderer was unknown for a great while. Although many were suspected in the meantime, none could be found at fault in it. At length, Doctor Incent, dean of St. Paul's, on his death-bed, made it known and confessed that he himself was the author, by hiring an Italian for forty crowns, to do the deed.

The reason why Packington was so little favored with the clergy, was that he was known to be a man of great courage, and one who could both speak, and would also be heard. For at the time he was one of the burgesses of the parliament for the city of London, and had talked somewhat against the covetousness and cruelty of the clergy. Therefore he was held in contempt by them. And it was thought that he had also talked with the king, for which he was held more in disdain by them, and murdered by Doctor Incent, as declared.

And thus much about Robert Packington, who was the brother of Augustine Packington, who had deceived Bishop Tunstall in buying the new translated Testament of Tyndale. This piteous murder, although it was secret and sudden, yet has it pleased the Lord not to keep it in darkness, but to bring it at length to light.

*The burning of one Collins at London.*

Neither is there here to be omitted the burning of one Collins, sometime lawyer and a gentleman, who also suffered this year in Smithfield (A.D. 1538). Although I do not recite him here as one of God's professed martyrs, yet neither do I think him entirely sequestered from the company of the Lord's saved flock and family, notwithstanding that the church of Rome condemned and burned him as a heretic. Rather I recount him as one belonging to the holy company of saints. At least his case and his end may well reprove and condemn their cruelty and madness in burning this man without any discretion, being mad and deprived of his perfect wits, as the following will show.

This gentleman had a wife of exceeding beauty and loveliness; but notwithstanding, she was of such light behavior and unchaste conduct (nothing corresponding to the grace of her beauty) that she forsook her husband, who loved her entirely, and took to herself another. When he understood this, he took it very grievously and heavily to heart. At last, being overcome with exceeding grief and heaviness, he became mad. He was at that time a student of the law in London. When he was thus deprived of his wits, by chance he came into a church where the priest was saying mass. When he came to the place where they hold up and show the sacrament, Collins seeing the priest holding up the host over his head, and showing it to the people, he in like manner, imitating the priest, took up a little dog by the legs and held him over his head, showing him to the people. And for this he was by and by

brought to examination, and condemned to the fire. He was burned, and the dog with him, in the same year in which John Lambert was burned.

*The burning of Cowbridge at Oxford, A.D. 1538.*

With this Collins may also be associated the burning of Cowbridge, who likewise being mad and beside his right senses, was either in the same or the next year following condemned by Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and committed to the fire at Oxford. What the opinions and articles were with which he was charged, are not necessary to recite here. For as he was then a madman, and destitute of sense and reason, so his words and sayings could not be sound. Rather indeed, what wise man would ever collect articles against this man who said he could not tell what. And if his articles were so horrible and mad as Alan Cope in his dialogues declares them to have been, then he was in my judgment a man more fit to be sent to Bedlam than to have been sent to the fire in Smithfield, to be burned. For what reason is it to require reason of a creature who is mad or unreasonable, or to make heresy of the words of a senseless man, not knowing what he affirmed?

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*William Leiton, Puttedew, and Peke, Martyrs.*

About the same time, one Puttedew was also condemned to the fire for having gone into a church, and there drunkenly told the priest that after he had drunk all the wine, he blessed the hungry people with the empty chalice. He was immediately apprehended and burned.

William Leiton, was a monk of Eye, in Suffolk, and was burned at Norwich for speaking against a certain idol which was customarily carried about in processions at Eye; and also for holding that the sacramental supper ought to be administered in both kinds.

In the burning of another man, named Peke, at Ipswich, I find it recorded that when he was bound to a stake, and the furze (shrubs) were set on fire about him, that one Doctor Reading who was standing there, with Doctor Hevre and Doctor Springwell, having a long white wand in his hand, knocked him on the shoulder and said, "Peke, recant, and believe that the sacrament of the altar is the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, after the priest has spoken the words of consecration over it. And here have I authority in my hand to absolve you of your unbelief" — holding up a scroll of paper in his hand. When he had spoken these words, Peke answered and said, "I reject it, and you also;" and he spit blood, for his veins broke in his body from extreme anguish. When Peke had so spoken, Doctor Reading said, "To as many as will cast a stick to the burning of this heretic, is granted forty days of pardon by my lord bishop of Norwich."

Then Baron Curson, Sir John Audley, knight, with many others there present, rose from their seats, and with their swords cut down boughs, and threw them into the fire, and so did all the multitude of the people.

***The King's Letter to the Emperor and other Christian Kings.***

The year before this, which was 1537, it was stated how Pope Paul III called a general council to be held at Mantua. The king of England, among other princes, refused either to go himself or to send someone at the pope's call. And to defend himself, he put out a public protestation, rendering just and sufficient reasons why he would not, nor was he bound to obey the pope's command. This protestation was to be read prior to the council, which was appointed to begin the 23d of May. It was stopped by the duke of Mantua, pretending that he would allow no council there unless the pope would protect the city with a sufficient army, etc. For this reason, the pope postponed the council to the following November,

appointing no certain place at first. At length he named the city of Trivirence, in the Venetian territory. When the king was requested by the emperor and other states, to resort there, either himself or to send someone, he again refused (as he had done before), and sent the following protestation to the emperor and other Christian princes.

*Henry VIII, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, etc.  
salutes the Emperor, Christian Princes, and all true Christian men,  
desiring Peace and Concord among them.*

“Whereas, not long ago, a book came out in our and all our council’s names, which contained many reasons why he refused the council, then, by the bishop of Rome’s usurped power, first indicted at Mantua, to be kept the 23rd of May, afterward postponed to November, no place appointed where it should be kept. And whereas the same book sufficiently proves that our cause could take no hurt either with anything done or decreed in such a company of men addicted to one sect, nor in any other council called by his usurped power, we think it unnecessary to so often make new protestations, as the bishop of Rome and his courts, by subtlety and craft, invent ways to mock the world by new pretended general councils. Yet, notwithstanding, because some things now occurred, either upon occasion given us by the change of the place, or else through other considerations, which now being known to the world, may do much good, we thought we should do even as that love enforces us, which we owe to Christ’s faith and religion, to add this epistle. And yet we protest that we neither put forth that book, nor yet would we set this epistle before it, so that thereby we might seem less to desire a general council than any other prince or potentate. But rather it is to be more desirous of it, if it were free for all parts, and universal. And further, we desire all good princes, potentates, and people, to esteem and think that no prince would more willingly be present at such a council than we would — such a council we mean, as we spoke of in our protestation made concerning the Council of Mantua.

“Truly, just as our forefathers invented nothing more holy than general councils, if used as they ought to be, so there is almost nothing that may do more hurt to the Christian commonwealth, to the faith, and to our religion, than general councils, if they are abused to lucre, to gain, and to the establishment of errors. They are called *general*, and even by their name they admonish us that all Christian men who dissent in any opinion, may say their mind in them openly, frankly, and without fear of punishment or displeasure. For seeing such things as are decreed in general councils touch equally all men who give assent to them, it is fitting that every man may boldly say there what he thinks. And truly we suppose that it should not be called a general council, where only those men are heard who are determined forever, in all points, to defend the popish part, and to arm themselves to fight in the quarrel of the bishop of Rome, even if it were against God and his Scripture. It is no general council, nor should it be called general, where the same men are both advocates and adversaries, accusers and judges. No, it is against the law of nature, that we should either condescend to so unreasonable a law against ourselves, or that we should allow ourselves to be left without any defense — and being oppressed with greatest injuries, to have no refuge to succor ourselves at. The bishop of Rome and his are our great enemies, as we and all the world may well perceive by his doings.

“He desires nothing more than our hurt, and the destruction of our realm. Do we not then violate the judgment of nature, if we give him power and authority to be our judge? His pretended honor, first gotten by superstition, and afterward increased by violence and other ways as evil as that. His power set up by pretense of religion, indeed both against religion, and also contrary to the word of God. His primacy, born by the ignorance of the world, nourished by the ambition of the bishops of Rome, defended by places of Scripture falsely understood — these three things, we say, which have fallen with us, and are like to fall in other realms shortly, shall they not be established again if he may decide our cause as it pleases him? If he

may at his pleasure oppress a cause most righteous? Certainly he is very blind who does not see what end we may look for of our controversies, if our enemy may give the sentence.

“We desire, if it were in any way possible, a council where there would be some hope that those things shall be restored which now, being depraved, are likely (if not amended) to be the utter ruin of the Christian religion. And as we desire such a council, and think it fitting that all men in all their prayers should desire and crave it of God, even so we think it pertains to our office, to provide that these popish subtleties hurt none of our subjects. And also to admonish other Christian princes, that the bishop of Rome may not by their consent abuse the authority of kings, either by extinguishing the true preaching of Scripture (that now begins to spring, to grow, and to spread abroad) or to the troubling of princes’ liberties, to the diminishing of kings’ authorities, and to the great blemish of their princely majesty. We do not doubt that an impartial reader will soon approve such things as we write here, not so much for our excuse, as that the world may perceive both the sundry deceits, crafts, and subtleties of the papists, and also how much we desire that controversies in matters of religion may once be taken away.

[567] A.D. 1527-1540.

“What other princes will do, we cannot tell; but we will never leave our realm at this time; nor will we trust any proctor with our cause, in which the whole stay and wealth of our realm stands; but rather we will handle it ourselves. For unless another judge is agreed upon for those matters, and a more commodious place is provided for debating our causes, even if all other things were as we would have them, yet we may lawfully refuse to come or send any to this pretended council. We will in no case make him our arbiter who, not many years past (our cause not heard), gave sentence against us. We require that such doctrine as we profess, following the Scripture, is rightly examined, discussed, and brought to the Scripture, as to the only touchstone of true learning.

“We will not allow them to be abolished before they are discussed, or oppressed before they are known; much less will we allow them to be trodden down, being so clearly true. No, as there is no jot in Scripture that we will not defend, even if it were with jeopardy of our life, and the peril of our realm; so there is nothing that oppresses this doctrine, or obscures it, that we will not be at continual war with it. As we have abrogated all old popish traditions in our realm, which either helped his tyranny, or increased his pride; so if the grace of God does not forsake us, we will foresee that no new naughty traditions are made with our consent, to bind us or our health.

“If men will not be willingly blind, they will easily see even by a due and evident proof in reason, even if grace does not yet enter into them by the word of Christ, how small the authority of the bishop of Rome is, by the lawful denial of the duke of Mantua for the place. For if the bishop of Rome earnestly intended to keep a council at Mantua, and has power of the law by God to call princes to what place he likes, why does he not also have authority to choose what place he wishes? The bishop chose Mantua: the duke kept him out of it. If Paul the bishop of Rome’s authority is so great as he pretends, why could he not compel Frederick the duke of Mantua, that the council might be kept there? The duke would not allow it. No, he forbade him his town.

“How does it happen that excommunications here do not flee abroad? Why does he not punish this duke? Why is his power empty here, that is usually more than full? Why is it prone to be more than all, but here nothing? Does he not call men in vain to a council, if those who come at his calling are excluded from the place to which he calls them? May not kings justly refuse to come at his call, when the duke of Mantua may deny him the place that he chooses? If other princes order him, as the duke of Mantua had done, what place will be left to him, where he may keep his general council?

“Again, if princes have given him this authority to call a council, is it not necessary that they also give him all those things without which he cannot exercise his power? Shall he call men, and will you hinder him from finding a place to call them to? Truly he is not prone to appoint one of his own cities as a place to keep the council in. No, the good man is so faithful and friendly towards others, that he seldom desires princes to be his guests.”

The protestation then concludes as follows:

“Whether these writings of ours please all men or not, we think we ought not to notice much. No, if that which is indifferently written about us may please indifferent readers, our desire is accomplished. The false censure and mistaking of things by partial men shall not move us, or else very little. If we have said anything against the deceits of the bishop of Rome, that may seem spoken too sharply, we pray you to impute it to the hatred we bear toward his vices, and not to any evil will that we bear toward him. No, that he and all his may perceive that we are rather at strife with his vices than with him and his, our prayer is that it may please God at last to open their eyes, to make soft their hard hearts, and that for once they may with us (their own glory set apart) study to set forth the everlasting glory of the ever-living God.

“Thus, mighty emperor, fare you most heartily well, and you Christian princes, the pillars and state of Christendom, fare you heartily well. Also all you, whatever people you are, who desire that the gospel and glory of Christ may flourish, fare you heartily well.”

As the Lord of his goodness had raised up Thomas Cromwell to be a friend and patron to the gospel, so, on the contrary side, Satan had his organ also, which was Stephen Gardiner, by all wiles and subtle means to put back the same. After Gardiner had brought his purpose to pass in burning good John Lambert, he proceeded still in his crafts and wiles. He thought under the name of heresies, sects, anabaptists, and sacramentaries, to exterminate all good books, and faithful professors of God’s word out of England. He so wrought upon the king, that the next year, which was A.D. 1539, he gave the following injunctions.

*Certain other Injunctions set forth by the Authority of the King,  
against English Books, Sects, and Sacramentaries also,  
with putting down the Day of Thomas à Becket.*

“First, that none, without special license of the king, transport or bring from outward parts into England any manner of English books; neither yet sell, give, utter, or publish any such, upon pain of forfeiting all their goods and chattels, and their bodies to be imprisoned, so long as it shall please the king’s majesty.

“Also, that none shall print, or bring over any English books with annotations or prologues, unless such books are examined before by the king’s privy-council, or others appointed by his highness; and not without these words being put there them: *Cum Privilegio Regali* (with Royal Privilege, *i.e.*, with the King’s permission), and also, *Ad imprimendum solum* (“with the exclusive right to print”). Nor yet to imprint it without the king’s privilege being printed with it in the English tongue, so that all men may read it. Nor shall they print any translated book without the plain name of the translator upon it, unless the printer is to be the translator, and to suffer the fine and punishment for it at the king’s pleasure.

“Also, that none having the occupation of printing shall within the realm print, utter, sell, or cause to be published any English book of Scripture, unless the same is first viewed, examined, and admitted by the king’s highness, or one of his privy-council, or one bishop within the realm, whose name shall be expressed in it; upon pain of the king’s most high displeasure, the loss of their goods and chattels, and imprisonment so long as it shall please the king.

“Also, those who are in any error, such as sacramentaries, anabaptists, or others, shall not sell any books having such opinions in them; otherwise, once they are known, both the books and

such persons shall be detected and disclosed immediately to the king's majesty, or one of his privy council; to the intent of having them punished without favor, even with the extremity of the law.

“Also, that none of the king's subjects shall reason, dispute, or argue upon the sacrament of the altar, upon pain of losing their lives, goods, and chattels, without any favor: only those excepted who are learned in divinity, and they are to have such liberty only in their schools and other places appointed for such matters.

“Also, that the holy bread and holy water, procession, kneeling and creeping on Good Friday to the cross, and Easter day, setting up lights before the Corpus Christi, the bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, purification of women delivered of child, offering of chrismos, the keeping of the four offering-days, paying their tithes, and such-like ceremonies, must be observed and kept till it pleases the king to change or abrogate any of them.

(This article was made because many of the people were not satisfied or contented with the ceremonies then used.)

“Finally, that all those priests who are married, and those of them who are openly known to have wives, or who hereafter intend to marry, shall be deprived of all spiritual promotion, and from doing any of the duties of a priest, and shall have no manner of office, dignity, cure, privilege, profit, or commodity, in anything pertaining to the clergy; but from then on shall be taken, had, and reputed to be lay-persons for all purposes and intents; and those who after this proclamation shall marry, shall expose themselves to his grace's indignation, and suffer punishment and imprisonment at his grace's will and pleasure.

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“Also, he charges all archbishops, bishops, archdeacons; deacons, provosts, parsons, vicars, curates, and other ministers, and every one of them in their own persons, within their cures diligently to preach, teach, open, and set forth to the people, the glory of God, and the truth of his word; and also considering the abuses and superstitions that have crept into the hearts and minds of many, by reason of their fond ceremonies, he charges them upon pain of imprisonment, at his grace's pleasure, not only to preach and teach the word of God accordingly; but also do it sincerely and purely, declaring the difference between the things commanded by God, and the rites and ceremonies in their church then used, lest the people might thereby grow into further suspicion.

“Also, because it now appears clearly that Thomas à Becket, formerly archbishop of Canterbury, stubbornly withstanding the wholesome laws established against the enormities of the clergy, by the king's noble progenitor King Henry II, for the well-being, rest, and tranquility of this realm, did, of his froward mind, flee into France, and from there to the bishop of Rome, who was a maintainer of those enormities, to procure the abrogation of the said laws, whereby much trouble arose in this said realm. They untruly call his death a martyrdom; but that happened upon a rescue having been attempted, and on which occasion (as it is written) he gave opprobrious words to the gentlemen, who then counselled him to give up his stubbornness and to avoid the commotion of the people, who had risen up to attempt a rescue. He not only called one of them by a bad name, but also took Tracey by the chest, and violently shook him, and plucked him in such a manner that he almost threw him down on the pavement of the church. So that in this fray, one of their company perceiving it, struck him, and so in the throng Becket was slain. And further, that this canonization was made only by the bishop of Rome, because Becket had been a champion to maintain his usurped authority, and an encourager of the iniquity of the clergy.

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“For these, and for other great and urgent causes, which it would be too tedious to recite, the king’s majesty, by the advice of his council, thought it expedient to declare to his loving subjects, that notwithstanding the said canonization, there appears nothing in his life and exterior conversation by which he should be called a saint, but rather esteemed to have been a rebel and traitor to his prince.

“Therefore his grace straitly charges and commands, that from now on the said Thomas à Becket shall not be esteemed, named, reputed, and called a saint, but instead *Bishop* Becket; and that his images and pictures throughout the realm shall be pulled down and thrown out of all churches, chapels, and other places; and that from now on the days which used to be a festival in his name, shall not be observed; nor shall the service, office, antiphons, collects, and prayers, be read in his name, but razed and put out of all their books; and that all the festival days, already abrogated, shall in no way be solemnized, but his grace’s ordinances and injunctions thereupon observed. This is to the intent that his grace’s loving subjects shall no longer blindly be led and abused to commit idolatry, as they have done in times past; upon pain of his majesty’s indignation, and imprisonment at his grace’s pleasure.

“Finally, his grace straitly charges and commands that his subjects keep and observe all and singular these injunctions made by his majesty, upon the pain therein contained.”

*Here follows a summary of how  
Religion began to go backward.*

To many who are still alive, and who can testify to these things, it is not unknown how variable the state of religion stood in these days — how hardly and with what difficulty it came forth, and what chances and changes it suffered. Even as the king was ruled and gave ear sometimes to one, sometimes to another; so it went forward with one, and at another time as much backward again. Sometimes it altered and changed for a season, according to which of those who were about the king could prevail. So long as Queen Anne lived, the gospel had success.

Afterward, by the sinister instigation of some of those around the king, she was done away with. Then the course of the gospel began to decline again. But the Lord then stirred up the lord Thomas Cromwell to help it, who no doubt would have done much for the increase of God’s true religion, and would have brought much more to perfection, if the pestilent adversaries had not craftily undermined him and supplanted his virtuous proceedings. By means of these adversaries, it came to pass that lord Cromwell was accused of high treason by the duke of Norfolk, in the king’s name, and arrested and sent to the Tower. He was hated by the popish party, for it was through him that many of the most important reforms were made. A bill of attainder was passed against him in June, and he was beheaded on Tower-hill, the 28th of July 1540.

Among these adversaries, the chief was Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. With his confederates and adherents, being dissatisfied with the state of lord Cromwell, and at the late marriage of the lady Anne of Cleves (who was married to the king at the beginning of 1540); and also grieved at the dissolution of the monasteries; and fearing the growing of the gospel; these men sought all occasions to interrupt these happy beginnings, and to train the king to their own purpose.

It happened that lord Cromwell, to better establish sincere religion, had devised a marriage for the king, to be concluded between him and the lady Anne of Cleves, whose other sister was already married to the duke of Saxony. By this marriage it was supposed that a perpetual league, amity, and alliance would be nourished between this realm and the princes of Germany. And thus godly religion might be made stronger on both parts against



the bishop of Rome, and his tyrannical religion. But the devil, ever envying the prosperity of the gospel, laid a stumbling-block in the way of the king. For when the parents of the noble lady were conferred with for the furtherance of the marriage, the duke of Saxony, her brother-in-law, disliked the marriage. The crafty bishop of Winchester, taking advantage of this, so alienated the king's mind from the duke, that at length he brought the king out of credit with that religion and doctrine which the duke had maintained for many years.

This wily bishop of Winchester (Gardiner), with his crafty assistants, and also by other pestilent persuasions, did not cease to seek all means to overthrow religion. First, bringing the king into hatred with the German princes, then putting him in fear of the emperor, of the French king, of the pope, of the king of Scotland, and other foreign powers — but especially of civil tumults and commotions within his own kingdom. These he most dreaded above all things. Because of these innovations of religion, and the dissolving of abbeys, and the abolishing of rites, and other customs of the church, which had so fast a hold on the minds of the people, it was to be feared that their hearts were or would be shortly stirred up against him, unless some speedy remedy were provided. The bishop exhorted the king, for his own safeguard and the tranquility of his realm, to see how and by what policy such manifold mischiefs might be prevented. He suggested that no other way or shift could be better devised, than to show himself to be sharp and severe against the new sectaries, the anabaptists, and sacramentarians (as they called them). And also that he should set forth such articles, confirming the ancient catholic faith, as might recover his credit with Christian princes, and that all the world might see and judge him to be a right and perfect catholic. The king was too much led away by these and similar suggestions. He then began to withdraw his defense from the reformation of true religion, supposing he would procure for himself more safety in his own realm, and also avoid such dangers as might happen by other princes. Therefore, though he had rejected the pope out of this realm, yet because he would declare himself nevertheless to be a good catholic son of the mother church, and a withstander of new innovations and heresies (as the blind opinion of the world then esteemed them) he stretched out his hand to the condemning and burning of Lambert.

[569] A.D. 1527-1540.

Then he published those injunctions prefixed above. And now, to increase this opinion with all men, on the 28th of April 1540, he summoned a parliament at Westminster, of all the states and burgesses of the realm; and also a synod or convocation of all the archbishops, bishops, and other learned of the clergy of this realm, to be assembled in like manner.

### ***The Act of the Six Articles.***

In this parliament, synod, or convocation, Six Articles regarding matters and questions of religion were decreed by certain prelates, commonly called *The Six Articles*, to be received among the king's subjects for the purpose of unity. But what unity followed, the groaning hearts of a great number, and also the cruel death of many, can well declare — both in the days of King Henry, and of Queen Mary. I pray God the like may never be felt hereafter.

The doctor of these wicked articles is worthy of no memory among Christian men, but rather deserves to be buried in perpetual oblivion. Yet the office of history compels us to faithfully and truly comprise things done in the church at one time as well as another, for the light of posterity. We will briefly summarize the Six Articles as they were given out.

**The First Article.** The first article agreed upon in this present parliament was this, that in the most blessed sacrament of the altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word (spoken by the priest), the natural body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ, as conceived

of the Virgin Mary, is really present under the form of bread and wine; and after the consecration there remains no substance of bread or wine, nor any other substance but the substance of Christ, God and man.

**The Second Article.** Secondly, that the communion in both kinds is not necessary for salvation to all persons by the law of God; and that it is to be believed, and not doubted, but that in the flesh, under the form of bread, is the very blood, and with the blood, under the form of wine, is the very flesh, separate as well as they were both together.

**The Third Article.** Thirdly, that priests, after the order of priesthood, may not marry by the law of God.

**The Fourth Article.** Fourthly, that the vow of chastity or widowhood, by man or woman, made to God advisedly, ought to be observed by the law of God; and that it exempts them from other liberties of Christian people, which otherwise they might enjoy.

**The Fifth Article.** Fifthly, that it is appropriate and necessary that private masses be continued and admitted in this English church and congregation; and in them good Christian people, ordering themselves accordingly, receive both godly and goodly consolations and benefits; and it is agreeable also to God's law.

**The Sixth Article.** Sixthly, that auricular confession is expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained and continued in the church of God.

After these articles were concluded, the prelates perceiving that such a foul and violent act could not prevail, unless straight and bloody penalties were set upon them, caused the following to be ordained and enacted by the king and the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the said parliament;

“That if any person or persons within this realm of England, or any other of the king's dominions, after the twelfth day of July next coming, by word, writing, imprinting, cyphering, or any in other way, should publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue or hold any opinion that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under form of bread and wine (after the consecration of it), there is not present really the natural body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ, as conceived of the Virgin Mary; or that after the said consecration there remains any substance of the bread or wine, or any other substance of Christ, God and man; or after the time abovesaid, publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue, or hold the opinion that in the flesh, under the form of bread is not the very blood of Christ, or that with the blood of Christ, under the form of wine, is not the very flesh of Christ, apart as well as though they were both together; or by any of the means abovesaid, or otherwise, preach, teach, declare, or affirm the said sacrament to be any other substance than is abovesaid, or by any means disdain, deprave, or despise the said blessed sacrament; that then every such person so offending, their aiders, comforters, counsellors, consenters, and abettors in this (being convicted of this in the form underwritten, by the authority abovesaid) should be deemed and adjudged heretics, and every such offense should be adjudged as manifest heresy; and that every such offender and offenders should therefore have and suffer judgment, execution, pain and pains of death by way of burning, without any abjuration, benefit of the clergy, or sanctuary, to be therefore permitted, had, allowed, or suffered; and also should forfeit and lose to the king's highness, his heirs and successors, all his or their honors, manors, castles, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, possessions, and all other of his or their hereditary lands, goods and chattels, farms and freeholds, whatever they were, through any such offense or offenses committed or done, or at any time after, as in any case of high treason.”

And as to the other five articles, the penalty devised for them was this:

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“That every such person or persons who preach, teach, obstinately affirm, uphold, maintain, or defend, after the twelfth of July of the said year, anything contrary to the same; or if any being in orders, or after a vow advisedly made, married, or makes marriage or a contract matrimony, in so doing they should be adjudged as felons, and lose both life, and forfeit goods, as in the case of felony, without any benefit of the clergy, or privilege of the church or of the sanctuary,” etc.

Also,

“That every such person or persons, who after the day aforesaid, by word, writing, printing, cyphering, or otherwise, publish, declare or hold an opinion contrary to the five articles above expressed, being convicted or attainted for any such offense duly, for the first time, besides the forfeit of all his goods, and chattels, and possessions whatever, should suffer imprisonment of his body at the king’s pleasure; and for the second time, being accused, presented, and convicted or it, should suffer as in the case aforesaid of felony.”

Also,

“If any within the order of priesthood, before the time of the said parliament, had married or contracted matrimony, or vowed widowhood, the said matrimony should stand utterly void and be dissolved.”

Also,

“That the same danger that belonged to priests marrying wives, should also redound to women who are married to the priests.”

Furthermore, for the more effectual execution of the premises, it was enacted by the said parliament,

“That full authority of inquisition of all such heresies, felonies, and contempts, should be committed and directed down into every shire, to certain persons specially appointed; that such persons, three at least (provided always the archbishop, or bishop, or his chancellor, or his commissary are one of them) should sit four times at least in the year, having full power to take information and accusation by the depositions of any two lawful persons at least, as well as by the oaths of twelve men, to examine and inquire of all and singular the heresies, felonies, and contempts above remembered; having also as ample power, to make process against every person or persons indicted, presented, or accused before them; also to hear and determine the aforesaid heresies, felonies, contempts, and other offenses, as well as if the matter had been presented before the justices of peace in their sessions.

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“And also that the said justices in their sessions, and every steward or under-steward, or his deputy, in their law-days, should have power by the oaths of twelve lawful men, to inquire likewise about all and singular the heresies, felonies, contempts, and other offenses, and to hear and determine the same, to all effects of this present act,” etc.

“Provided that no person or persons thereupon accused, indited or presented, should be admitted to challenge any who should be empanelled for the trial of any matter or cause, other than for malice or envy; this challenge should immediately be tried in like manner as in cases of felony, etc.

“Provided moreover, that every person who should be named commissioner in this inquisition, should first take an oath, the tenor of which oath here ensues.

*The Oath of the Commissioners.*

“You shall swear, that you to your cunning, wit and power, shall truly and indifferently execute the authority given to you by the king’s commission, made for the correction of heretics and other offenders mentioned in the same commission, without any favor, affection, corruption, dread, or malice, to be borne to any person or persons, as God you help and all saints.”

And thus much is briefly collected out of the act and originals, which are to be seen in the *Stat. Anno 31. Reg. Hen. 8.* concerning the Six Articles, which otherwise for the bloody cruelty of them, are called “The Whip with Six Strings,” set forth after the death of queen Anne and of good John Lambert, devised by the cruelty of the bishops, but especially of the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner), and at length also subscribed by king Henry.

These six articles specified above, although they contained manifest errors, heresies, and absurdities against all Scripture and learning, yet such was the miserable and unhappy state of that time, and the power of darkness, that the simple cause of truth and of religion was left utterly desolate, and forsaken of all friends. For every man seeing that the king wished to have these articles passed, few in all that parliament would either appear to perceive what was to be defended, or dared defend what they understood to be true — except Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who then being married (as is supposed), like a constant patron of God’s cause, took upon himself the defense of that truth which was so oppressed in the parliament, and for three days continued disputing against these six wicked articles.

Cranmer behaved himself with such humble modesty, and with such obedience towards his prince, and protesting that the cause was not his, but the cause of Almighty God, that his courage was not disliked by the king, and his reasons and allegations were so strong that they could not well be refuted. The king (who ever bore special favor to him) admired his zealous defense, and only desired him to depart from the parliament house into the council chamber for a time (for the safety of his conscience) till the act would pass. Cranmer, notwithstanding, with humble protestation refused to do this.

After the parliament was finished, and that matter concluded, the king considering the constant zeal of the archbishop in defense of his cause, and partly also weighing the many authorities and reasons by which he had confirmed the same sent lord Cromwell, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and all the lords of the parliament, to dine with him at Lambeth. There they signified to him that it was the king’s pleasure that they all should, in his highness’ behalf, cherish, comfort, and animate him as one who had declared himself in that parliament, as both greatly learned, and also a man who is discreetly wise. Therefore they wished him not to be discouraged in anything that was passed in that parliament contrary to his allegations.

Cranmer most humbly thanked, first the king’s highness for his singular good affection towards him, and then all of them for their pains; adding moreover that he hoped in God, that hereafter his allegations and authorities would be employed for the glory of God, and the advantage of the kingdom. These allegations and authorities of his, I wish were extant to be seen and read. No doubt they would stand, in time to come, in great good stead for the overthrow of the wicked and pernicious articles mentioned above.

**ALLEGATIONS AGAINST THE SIX ARTICLES.**

In the meantime, these heretical articles are not to be lightly passed over, so that the rude and ignorant multitude may not hereafter be deceived in their false and erroneous doctrine any more, as they have been in times past, for lack of right instruction, and the experience of the ancient state and course of times in our forefathers’ days. I thought, therefore (the Lord

assisting in this) — to the extent that the antiquity of histories may help to restore the truth and doctrine which has now decayed — to annex some allegations out of ancient records, which may throw some light for understanding these new-fangled articles and heresies.

**First Article.**

And first, as to the article of *transubstantiation*, in which this parliament enacts that the sacrament of the altar is the very natural body of Christ, the self same body which was born of the Virgin Mary; and that there remains no substance of bread and wine after the priest's consecration, but only the body and blood of Christ, under the outward forms of bread and wine. Here it is to be noted that this monstrous article of theirs was never imposed, received, or held, either in the Greek church, or in the Latin church, as a catholic article of doctrine, until the time of the Lateran council at Rome, under Pope Innocent III (A.D. 1215).

And because it has been mistakenly understood by most people, that this article has ever been, since the time of Christ, a true catholic and general doctrine, commonly received and taught in the church, being approved by the Scriptures and doctors, with the consent of all ages to this present time — and that the *contrary* may therefore appear, so that the people may see how far they have been beguiled, we will here take a little pause in our history, to examine this article.

This monstrous paradox of transubstantiation was never received publicly in the church before the time of the Lateran council, under Pope Innocent III, A.D. 1215, or at most before the time of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, 1070.

In the time of Lanfranc, I do not deny that this question of transubstantiation began to come into controversy, and was reasoned upon, among certain learned of the clergy. But it may be proved to be false, that this article of transubstantiation was publicly determined or authorized in the church as a general law or catholic doctrine of all men, and necessarily to be believed, before the time of Innocent III.

Our adversaries allege out of the old doctors certain speeches and phrases which they twist and wring to their purposes, as if this doctrine of transubstantiation stood upon the consent of the whole universal church, of all ages and times, of nations and people, and that the judgment of the church was never other than this. Yet if the old doctors' sayings are well weighed and examined, it will be found that this prodigious opinion of transubstantiation had no such ground of consent and antiquity as they imagine. Nor that it was any heresy or treason to deny transubstantiation, before the time of Innocent III, or at the furthest, of Lanfranc.

But in our church of England it is most certain that transubstantiation was unknown till a very late period, as is most evident from the epistles and homilies of Elfric. This Elfric was made archbishop of Canterbury about the year of our Lord 906, in the time of king Ethelred II, and of Wulfsine, bishop of Sherborne. Elfric was so esteemed in those days, among the most learned, for his learning, authority, and eloquence, that his writings were accepted and authorized among the canons and constitutions of the church in that time. This may appear by the following history.

[571] A.D. 1527-1540.

The bishops and priests, before the coming of William the Conqueror, had collected a certain book of canons and ordinances to govern the clergy, gathered out of general and particular councils, out of the book of Gildas, out of the penitential books of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, out of the writings of Egbert, archbishop of York, out of the

epistles of Alcuin, as also out of the writings of the old fathers of the primitive church, etc. Among the canons and constitutions are placed two epistles of Elfric.

Besides this, he translated two books containing eighty sermons out of the Latin into the Saxon language, which then used to be generally read in churches on Sundays and other festival days of the year.

*An Epistle of Elfric to Wulfstane,  
regarding the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.*

“Christ himself blessed the eucharist before his suffering; he blessed the bread and broke it, thus speaking to his apostles, ‘Take eat; this is my body.’ And again, he blessed one chalice with wine, and also said to them, ‘Drink you all of it, for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.’ The Lord who hallowed the eucharist before his suffering, and said that the bread was his own body, and that the wine was truly his blood, hallows daily by the hands of the priests, bread to be his body, and wine to be his blood, in spiritual mystery, as we read in books. Yet notwithstanding, that lively bread is not bodily so, nor the self-same body that Christ suffered in; nor is that holy wine the Savior’s blood which was shed for us in bodily things; but only in spiritual understanding. Both are truly — that bread is his body; and that wine also is his blood — just as was the heavenly bread which we call manna, that fed for forty years God’s people in the wilderness. And the clear water which then ran from the Rock in the wilderness was truly his blood, as St. Paul wrote in one of his epistles: ‘All our fathers ate in the wilderness the same spiritual food, and drank the same spiritual drink; they drank of that spiritual Rock, and that Rock was Christ.’ The apostle has said, as you have heard, that they all ate the same spiritual food; that they all drank the same spiritual drink. He does not say bodily, but spiritually; as Christ was not yet born, nor his blood shed, when the people of Israel ate that food, and drink of that Rock. The Rock was not bodily Christ, though he said so. It was the same mystery in the old law, and they spiritually signified that spiritual eucharist of our Savior’s body, which we consecrate now.”

Besides the epistles of Elfric, which fight directly against transubstantiation, mention was also made of certain sermons, numbering eighty, translated by Elfric out of the Latin into the Saxon, that is, into our English tongue. Of these eighty sermons, twenty-four were chiefly selected to be read to the people as homilies or treatises.

There was one appointed to be read on Easter day. This sermon, translated by Elfric, we have exhibited here in English, so that the Christian reader may judge how the fantastical doctrine of transubstantiation in those days of Elfric, and before his time, was not yet received nor known in the church of England:

“He blessed bread before his suffering, and divided it to his disciples, thus saying, ‘Take eat; this is my body: do this in remembrance of me.’ Also he blessed the wine in a cup, and said, ‘Drink you all of it:’ ‘For this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.’ The apostles did as Christ commanded; that is, they blessed bread and wine for the eucharist, and gave it to be received in remembrance of Him. Even so, their successors and all priests by Christ’s commandment, also bless bread and wine for the eucharist in His name with the apostolic blessing. Now men have often searched, and still often search, how bread that is gathered from corn, and baked through the heat of fire, may be turned to Christ’s body; or how wine that is pressed out of many grapes is turned through one blessing into the Lord’s blood. Now, we say to such men, some things are spoken by Christ as significations, and some things are certain. This is true and certain, that Christ was born of a Virgin, and suffered of his own accord, and was buried, and on the third day arose from death. He is said to be bread, and a lamb, and a lion, and a mountain by signification. He is called bread because he is our life, and angel’s life. He is said to be a lamb for his innocency; and a lion for strength, with

which he overcame the strong devil. But notwithstanding, Christ is not so in his true nature; neither bread, nor a lamb, nor a lion. Why then is the holy eucharist called Christ's body, or his blood, if it is not truly what it is called? Truly the bread and wine which is hallowed in the supper by the priest, show one thing without to human understanding, and another thing within to believing minds. Without, bread and wine are seen both in figure and in taste; and after their hallowing, they are truly Christ's body and blood through spiritual mystery. A heathen child is christened, yet he does not alter his shape without, even though he is changed within. He is brought to the font sinful through Adam's disobedience; however, he is washed from all sin within, even though he has not changed his shape without.

“Even so, the holy font water, that is called the well-spring of life, is like other waters in shape, and it is subject to corruption; but the Holy Spirit's might comes to the corruptible water through the priest's blessing, and afterward it may wash the body and soul from all sin, through spiritual might. Behold now, we see two things in this one creature: in its true nature, that water is corruptible moisture; and in a spiritual mystery, it has wholesome virtue. So too, if we behold the holy eucharist in bodily understanding, then we see that it is a corruptible and mutable creature. If we acknowledge there is spiritual might in it, then we understand that there is life in it, and that it gives immortality to those who eat with belief. Much is between the invisible might of the holy eucharist, and the visible shape of its proper nature. It is naturally corruptible bread, and corruptible wine, and by the might of God's word, it is truly Christ's body and blood. Notwithstanding, it is not so bodily, but spiritually. Much is between the body of Christ which he suffered in, and the body which is hallowed for the eucharist. The body that Christ suffered in truly, was born of the flesh of Mary; with blood and with bone; with skin and with sinews in human limbs; with a reasoning living soul. And his spiritual body, which we call the eucharist, is gathered from many corns, without blood and bone, without limb, without soul; and therefore nothing is to be understood in it bodily, but all is to be understood spiritually. Whatever is in that eucharist, which gives substance of life, that is of the spiritual might, and invisible doing.

“Therefore that holy eucharist is called a *mystery*, because one thing in it is seen, and another thing is understood. That which is seen there, has bodily shape; and that which we understand there has spiritual might. Certainly Christ's body, which suffered death and rose from death, never dies from then on, but is eternal and incorruptible. That eucharist is temporal, not eternal, corruptible and divided into sundry parts, chewed between the teeth, and sent into the belly; nevertheless, it is all in every part after spiritual might. Many receive that holy body, and yet notwithstanding, it is whole in every part after spiritual mystery. Though some chew less, notwithstanding, there is no more might in the most part than in the least, because it is whole in all men, after the invisible might. This mystery is a pledge and a figure: Christ's body is truth itself. This pledge we keep mystically, until we come to the truth itself; and then this pledge is ended. It is truly, as we said before, Christ's body and his blood; not bodily, but spiritually. But now hear the apostle's word about this mystery. St. Paul the apostle speaks of the old Israelites, thus writing in his epistle to faithful men, ‘Moreover, brethren, I would not have you ignorant, how all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and all ate eat the same spiritual food: and all drank the same spiritual drink: (For they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them; and that Rock was Christ.)’ <sup>1Cor 10.1-4</sup>

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“Neither was that rock, then, from which the water ran, bodily Christ, but it signified Christ, who called thus to all believing and faithful men: “If any man thirsts, let him come to me and drink;” and “out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.” He said this of the Holy Spirit, which those who believed in him received. The apostle Paul says that the Israelites ate the

same spiritual food, and drank the same spiritual drink, because that heavenly food that fed them for forty years, and that water which flowed from the rock, signified Christ's body, and his blood that is now offered daily in God's church. It was the same then, which we offer now — not bodily, but spiritually."

After the time of Elfric, transubstantiation first began to be talked about among a few superstitious monks. So that as blindness and superstition began to increase, this gross opinion more and more prevailed. And about the year 1060, denying transubstantiation began to be accounted heresy.

**Berenger**, a Frenchman and archdeacon of Anjou, was the first of all Christian men called and accounted a heretic for denying transubstantiation. This Berenger lived about the year 1060. The substance of his history is that when he had professed the truth of the sacrament, and had stood in open confession of it, according to the ancient doctrine received before in the church, he was so handled by superstitious monks, that by evil entreaty, and for fear of death, he began to shrink and recant the truth. Of these malicious enemies against him, the chief troubler was Lanfranc, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; and Hildebrand, afterwards bishop of Rome.

By these and other monks, the error and heresy of transubstantiation first began to be defended. The first who began to set up that faction in writing seems to be Paschasius, who lived a little before Berenger, about the time of Bertram; and Lanfranc was the first who brought it into England.

On the other hand, the first who was openly troubled for denying transubstantiation, was Berenger. Lanfranc was at first supposed to hold and take part with him. But afterwards, to clear himself, he stood openly against Berenger in the council, and wrote against him.

It follows in the act of the council, when the synod of archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other prelates were assembled together, that the greater number held that the bread and wine were turned substantially into the body and blood of Christ. There were others who held the contrary with Berenger, but at last were driven to give up. Berenger, among the rest, after he had long stood in the constant defense of the truth, at last submitted to their wills, and desired pardon from the council. And this was (it seems to historian William of Malmesbury) his first recanting. Afterwards, returning to himself again after the death of Pope Leo, and pricked with the sting of conscience, he was driven again to recognize the truth which he had denied.

The pope, perceiving this, would not leave him in that belief. He sent his cardinal chaplain, Hildebrand, into France. He so handled Berenger that he recanted again.

Pope Nicholas II, congregating a council at Rome, (A.D. 1059), again sent for Berenger. Being present, he argued what he could for the justness of his cause; but nothing would serve. Berenger — being borne down on every side, when no remedy would serve but to recant again — desired to know what other confession of the sacrament the pope would have of him, besides that which he had confessed. Then Pope Nicholas committed that charge to Humbert, a monk of Lotharing and afterwards a cardinal, that he should draw out in formal words the order of his recantation, which he should read and publicly profess before the people. The form of his words is registered in the decrees to the following effect:

"That he pretends with heart and mouth to profess that he, acknowledging the true, catholic, and apostolical faith, execrates all heresy; namely, that with which he has lately been defamed, as holding that the bread and wine upon the altar, after the consecration of the priest, remains only a sacrament, and are not the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; neither can



these be handled or broken with the priest's hands, or chewed with the teeth of the faithful, other than by way of a sacrament. Consenting now to the holy and apostolical church of Rome, he professed with mouth and heart to hold the same faith regarding the sacrament of the Lord's mass, which the lord Pope Nicholas, with his synod here present holds, and commands to be held by his evangelical and apostolical authority; that is, that the bread and wine upon the altar, after consecration, are not only a sacrament, but are also the very true and self-same body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and are sensibly felt and broken with hands, and chewed with teeth — swearing by the holy evangelists, that whoever holds or says the contrary, he shall hold them perpetually accursed, and if he himself hereafter presumes to preach or teach against the same, he shall be content to abide the severity and rigor of the canons," etc.

This cowardly recantation of Berenger, as it offended a great number of the godly sort, so it gave no little triumph to the other party.

Some time after this, Pope Hildebrand summoned a new council at Rome in the church of Lateran, to revive again the affair of Berenger, about the year 1079, as some hold.

Thus Berenger, being tossed by these monks and Pharisees, was so confounded and baited on every side, that partly for worldly fear, restraining him on the one side; and partly for shame and grief of conscience on the other, that he had now twice denied the truth, he is reported to have forsaken his goods, studies, learning, and former state of life, to become a laborer. He worked with his hands for his living, the remainder of his life.

The opinion which Berenger maintained regarding the sacrament (as it may appear by his own words in Lanfranc's book) was this:

"The sacrifice of the church consists of two things: the one visible, that is, of the sacrament, and the other invisible, of the thing or matter of the sacrament. This thing (meaning the body of Christ) if it were here present before our eyes, it would be a thing visible and to be seen. But being lifted up into heaven, and sitting at the right hand of his Father until the time of the restitution of all things (as St. Peter says) it cannot be called down from there. For the person of Christ consists of God and man. The sacrament of the Lord's table consists of bread and wine, which being consecrated, are not changed, but remain in their substances, having a certain resemblance or similitude to those things of which they are sacraments," etc.

By these words of Berenger's doctrine, all indifferent readers may see and judge that he affirmed nothing but what was agreeable to the holy Scriptures, believing with St. Augustine, and all other ancient elders of the church, that in the holy supper all faithful believers are refreshed spiritually with the body and blood of the Lord, unto everlasting life.

We have heard when and by whom the rude and misshapen doctrine of these monks concerning transubstantiation first began to be broached. So if we would now know by what learning and Scripture they confirmed and established it, we must understand that their chief ground to persuade the people was, at this time, certain miracles forged by them, and published both in their writings and preachings.

Many fabulous miracles are to be found in popish histories, counterfeited and forged under diverse and sundry names. Some referred to Gregory; some to Paschasius and others. To recite them would fill a whole volume full of lies and fables. Among many, one is thus invented by Paschasius. He said there was a priest named Plegildus, who saw and handled with his hands visibly, the shape of a child upon the altar. And after he had embraced and kissed him, it returned back to the likeness of bread.

[573] A.D. 1527-1540.

When this miracle was objected against Berenger, he merrily derided the fable, answering, "A godly piece from a scoundrel, that the one whom he kissed before with his mouth, he by and by went about to tear with his teeth."

Another miracle is reported of a Jew-boy who, upon entering the church with another lad who was his playfellow, saw upon the altar a little child broken and torn in pieces, and afterwards distributed among the people in portions. When the young Jew coming home told this to his father, he was condemned to be burned. Being enclosed in a house, and the door fast where he was to be burned, he was found and taken out from there by the Christians, not only alive, but also not having one hair of his head hurt by the flames. When asked by the Christians how he was so preserved from the burning fire, he said, "A beautiful woman sitting in a chair appeared to me, whose son the child was which was divided and distributed in the church among the people. She reached out her hand to me in the burning flame, and kept the flame from me with her gown; so that I was preserved from perishing."

Such as these, then, were commonly the arguments of the monks, with which they persuaded the people to believe their transubstantiation. But to leave these monks' fictions, and to return to Berenger, Malmesbury reports of him, that after he had once or twice recanted, this doctrine of the sacrament remained in the minds of his hearers.

Although in the time of Berenger, which was about A.D. 1060, this error of transubstantiation began to grow in strength by the support of certain monks, such as Lanfranc, Guimund, Hugh bishop of Lincoln, Fulbert (of whom it is said in histories, that, when he was sick, our Lady suckled him with her own breasts), and others. Yet all the while transubstantiation was not decreed for public law, nor as doctrine to be held by any general consent either by the church of Rome, or any other council, before the Council of Lateran, under Pope Innocent III. In A.D. 1215, he made the decree as follows:

"There is one universal church of the faithful, without which none can be saved. In this church the self-same Jesus Christ is both priest and also the sacrifice; whose body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine — the bread being transubstantiated into the body, and the wine into the blood, by the power and working of God. So that to accomplish this mystery of unity, we might take of his, the same which he has taken of ours. And none can make or consecrate this sacrament except a lawfully ordained priest, according to the keys of the church, which Jesus Christ has left to his apostles, and to their successors," etc.

And thus the foundation was laid for the building of transubstantiation, and the doctrine then intruded as an article of faith into the church, to be necessarily believed by all men under pain of heresy!

Yet all the while, notwithstanding that the substance of bread and wine was now banished out of the sacrament, and utterly transcorporated into the substance of Christ's very body and blood, this body was not elevated over the priest's head nor adored by the people till the days of Pope Honorius III. By his council, he commanded adoration and elevation to be joined with transubstantiation, as one idolatry commonly brings forth another.

Again, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was now consecrated, transubstantiated, elevated, and adored. Yet it was not offered up for a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and the dead; nor for a remedy of the souls in purgatory; nor for a merit *operis operati, sive bono motu utentis*, etc. (a work operated or made good by the movement of the user, meaning the priest), before other popes, coming afterwards, added still new additions to the former inventions of their predecessors.

And thus we have the whole order and origin of these idolatrous parts of the mass, which first began with consecration. Then came transubstantiation by Innocent; and afterwards elevation and adoration by Honorius; and last of all came the oblation meritorious and propitiatory for the quick and the dead in remission of sins, *ex opere operato* (from the work worked, i.e. effectual in and of itself, without regard to the work of the priest)!

Which things being thus constituted by the usurped authority of the church of Rome, shortly after followed persecution, tyranny, and burning among the Christians. It first began with the Albigenses, and the faithful congregation of Toulouse, about the time of Pope Innocent.

### **The second Article**

The second article debarbs laypeople from one-half of the sacrament, understanding that both parts are fully contained under one kind (the world well knows that this article is but young, being invented, decreed, and concluded no longer ago than the Council of Constance, A.D. 1414. I will not need to dwell long upon the matter, especially as sufficient was said earlier in our discourse on the Bohemian history (p. 289 ff.).

First, let us see the reasons of the adversaries in keeping the laity from the cup of this sacrament.

When they allege the place in St. Luke, where Christ was known in the breaking of the bread, etc. <sup>Luk 24.30-31</sup> and citing many other places of Scripture in which mention is made of the breaking of bread. We answer that although we do not utterly deny that some of these places may be understood about the sacrament, yet that being granted, it does not follow that only one part of the sacrament was ministered to the people without the other, when by the common use of speech, by naming one part the whole action is meant. Nor does it follow that because that *bread* was broken among the brethren, the *cup* was therefore not distributed to them. For we find by the words of St. Paul (1Cor 11.26), that the practice of the Corinthians was to communicate not only in the breaking of bread, but also by participating in the cup.

It can be proved and demonstrated that this new-found custom differs from all antiquity and prescription of use and time. And even though the custom was ancient, no custom may countermand the open and express commandment of God, which says to all men, “Drink you *all* of this,” etc.

Again, seeing that the cup is called the blood of the New Testament, who dares or can alter the testament of the Lord, when none may be so hardy to alter the testament of a man, once approved or ratified?

Further, concerning those places of Scripture alleged before about the breaking of bread, and upon which they think themselves so sure that the sacrament was then administered in but one kind, we say in reply, *First*, it may be doubted whether all those places in Scripture refer to the sacrament. *Secondly*, even admitting the same, they cannot infer, just because one part is mentioned, that the full sacrament was not ministered. The common manner of the Hebrew phrase is that the breaking of bread generally signifies the whole feast or supper — as in these words of the prophet Isaiah, “Share your bread with the hungry,” <sup>Isa 58.7</sup> signify giving drink as well as bread, etc. And *Thirdly*, however these places may be taken, it does little in their favor, but rather works against them. For if the sacrament were administered “in the breaking of *bread*,” then they must grant that if bread was broken, there was *bread*; because just as the accidents of bread cannot be broken without bread, neither can the

natural body of Christ be subject to any breaking by the Scripture, which says, “a bone of him shall not be broken.” etc. <sup>489</sup>

They object further and say that the church, upon due consideration, may alter as they see cause, in rites, ceremonies, and sacraments.

Answer. The institution of this sacrament stands upon the order, example, and commandment of Christ. He divided the bread severally from the cup, and afterwards the cup severally from the bread. This he did to give us the example of how to do the same after him, in remembrance of his death to the end of the world.

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And besides this example, he added an express commandment, “Do this,” and “Drink you all of this,” etc. Against this order, example, and commandment of the gospel, no church nor council of men, nor angel in heaven has any power or authority to change or alter — as we are accordingly warned, “If anyone preaches to you any other gospel besides what you have received, let him be accursed,” etc. <sup>Gal 1.9</sup>

Among other objections, they allege certain perils such as spilling, shedding, or shaking the blood out of the cup, or souring, or else sticking on men’s beards, etc. For which they say it is well provided that the half communion will suffice.

To this it is soon answered that as these causes were no hindrance to Christ, to the apostles, to the Corinthians, and to the brethren of the primitive church, and that in the public assemblies they received the whole communion, one part as well as the other; so neither are these causes so important now, to annul and make void the necessary commandment of the gospel. If only we were as careful to obey the Lord, as we are curious to magnify our own devices (to strain at gnats; to stumble over straws; and to seek knots in rushes, which are growing in our own fantasies), rather than seek them there.

### **The Third Article.**

Private masses, trental masses, and dirge masses, <sup>490</sup> just as they were never used before the time of Gregory, 600 years after Christ, so they are against our Christian doctrine. The mass is a work or action of the priest, applied to men for meriting grace *ex opere operato*. In this action the sacrament is first worshipped, and then offered up as a sacrifice for remission of sins (*apoena et culpa*), for the quick and the dead. This definition does not agree with the rules of Christian doctrine.

1. The first rule is that sacraments are instituted for some end and use, apart from which they are not sacraments. The sacrament of baptism is a sacrament of regeneration and forgiveness of sins for the person baptized. But if it is carried about to be worshipped and shown to others as *meritorious* for their remission and regeneration, then it is no sacrament to them.

2. A sacrament or ceremony profits only those who take and use them.

3. Only the death of Christ and the work of His sacrifice on the cross, is to be applied to every man by faith for the salvation of his soul. Besides this, to apply any action or work of the priest or any other person, as meritorious of itself, and conducive to salvation or to the

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<sup>489</sup> Joh 19.36 re Exo 12.46.

<sup>490</sup> A trental mass refers to a series of thirty masses said for a deceased person in the Roman Catholic Church, typically over thirty consecutive days, to assist the soul in Purgatory. A dirge mass is said at the funeral.

remission of sins, is derogatory to the covenant of God, and prejudicial to the blood of Christ.

4. To make idols of sacraments, and to worship dumb things for the living God, is idolatry.
5. Every good work that a man does, profits only himself, and cannot be applied to other men.
6. No man can apply to another the sacrifice of Christ's death; but every man must apply it to himself by his own believing.
7. The passion of Christ, once done, is a full and a perfect oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; by virtue of this passion, the wrath of God is pacified towards mankind forever. Amen.
8. The passion of Christ, once done, is the only object of that faith of ours which justifies us. And therefore whoever sets up any other object beside that passion once done, for our faith to apprehend and behold the same, teaches damnable doctrine, and leads to idolatry.

Private mass is directly opposed to all these rules. For, besides transgressing the order, example, and commandment of Christ (who divided the bread and cup to them all) they also bring the sacrament out of the right use for which it was ordained. For whereas that sacrament is instituted for a testimonial and remembrance of Christ's death, the private mass transfers it to another purpose, which is either to make a gazing idol of it; or a work of meritorious application; or a propitiatory sacrifice for remission of sins; or a commemoration for souls departed in purgatory.

Furthermore, the institution of Christ is broken in these things:

1. Whereas the communion was given in common, the private mass allows the priest alone to eat and drink it all up, and when he is done, to bless the people with the empty cup.
2. Whereas sacraments properly profit none but those who use them; in the private mass the sacrament is received in behalf not only of the one who receives it, but of also those who are far off, or the dead in purgatory.
3. When nothing is to be applied for remission of sins except the death of Christ, the private mass comes in as a meritorious work done by the priest; which being applied to others, is available *ex opere operato*, both to the one who does it, and to those for whom it is done.
4. Private masses and all other masses now used for the sacrament, make an idol of it. Of commemoration, they make adoration; instead of a receiving, they make a deceiving; in place of showing forth Christ's death, they make new oblations of his death; and of a communion, they make a single supping, etc.
5. Whereas in this general frailty of man's nature, no man can merit by any worthiness of working for himself, the priest in his private mass takes it upon himself to merit both for himself and for many others.
6. It stands against Scripture, that the sacrifice and death of Christ can be applied in any other way to our benefit and justification, than by faith. Therefore it is false that the action of the mass can apply the benefit of Christ's death to us, by the mere act of its being offered.
7. Whereas the benefit of our salvation and justifying stands by the free gift and grace of God, through our faith in Christ; the application of these popish masses stops the freeness of God's grace, and makes out that this benefit first comes through the priest's hands to us.

8. The eighth contrariety between private mass and God's word is in this: that where the Scripture says, *Unica oblatione consummavit eos, qui sanctificantur in perpetuum*, "With one offering he has perfected forever those who are sanctified," the private mass proceeds in a contrary doctrine. It makes of *one* oblation a *daily* oblation; and that which is perfectly done and finished, is now to be done again; and finally, that which was instituted only for eating and for a remembrance of that oblation of Christ once offered, the popish mass makes an oblation and a new satisfaction to be offered daily for the quick and the dead.

To conclude, both the private and public masses of priests turn away the object of our faith from the body of Christ crucified, to the body of Christ in their masses. And where God annexes the promise of justification to our faith alone in the body of Christ crucified, they annex the promise of remission from both the guilt and punishment of sin, to their masses and by their application — besides diverse other horrible and intolerable corruptions which spring from their private and public masses.

#### **The Fourth and Fifth Articles.**

Of Vows, and Priests' Marriage. As we discoursed earlier about the antiquity of transubstantiation, of the half-communion, and of private masses; so now coming to the article of vows, and of priests' marriage, the reader will wish to be likewise satisfied in this, and convinced from what time these vows and unmarried life of priests have continued. To better establish the reader's mind against this wicked article of priests' marriage, it will be no great labor lost here to briefly recapitulate this matter, either reciting what has been said before, or whatever more is to be added. And so that the world may see that the law and decree of priests' single life is not a doctrine of ancient standing in this realm, but only since the time of Anselm, I will first allege the words of Henry Huntington, which follow here:

[575] A.D. 1527-1540.

"The same year, at the feast of St. Michael, Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, held a synod at London. In this synod he prohibited priests here in England to have wives, which before they were not prohibited to have. This constitution seemed to some persons very pure and chaste. To others it seemed very dangerous, lest, while men should seem to take upon themselves a celibacy that was more than they could bear, by that occasion they might fall into horrible filthiness, which would redound to the exceeding slander of the Christian profession."

I do not deny that before the time of Anselm, both Odo, and after him Dunstan, archbishops of Canterbury, and Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, and Oswald bishop of Worcester, in the days of king Edgar (A.D. 963), as they were all monks themselves, so they were great opposers of the marriage of priests. Yet the priests who were then married, were not constrained to leave their wives, or their preferments, except at their own choice. Yet this restraint of priests' lawful marriages was never publicly established as a law here in the church of England, before the coming of Anselm (in the days of William Rufus, and king Henry I) who wrote: "Boldly I command by the authority which I have by my archbishopric, not only within my archbishopric, but also throughout England, that all priests who keep women, shall be deprived of their churches, and all ecclesiastical benefices," etc., as you may have read more at large earlier (p. 112f). This was about the same time when Hildebrand, at Rome, began the same matter, and also others, up till Calistus II, by whom the act against priests' marriage was brought to its fullest extent, and so it has continued ever since.

It would be tedious to number the names of all those bishops and priests who have been married since that time; but as to the time of this devilish prohibition for priests to have their wives, it is to be noted that in the year of our Savior 1076, when pope Hildebrand

occupied the papal chair, this oath first began to be taken by archbishops and bishops, that they would allow no one having a wife to enter into the ministry, or into any ecclesiastical function; and likewise the clergy was bound to promise the same. This was, as I said, about the year 1076. Thus the prophecy of St. Paul appears truly to be verified, speaking of these latter times (1Tim 4.1-3) where he writes these words:

“Now the Spirit speaks expressly, that in the latter times some will depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from foods, which God has created to be received with thanksgiving by those who believe and know the truth.”

In this prophecy of St. Paul, two things are to be observed; First, the matter which he prophesies about; that is, the forbidding of marriage, and of foods, which God generally has left free to all men. The second thing in this prophecy, is the time when this prophecy will fall, that is, in the latter times of the world. So that this concurs very well with these years of pope Hildebrand, a thousand years complete after the ascension of our Savior — so that they may well be called *the latter times*.

This prophecy of St. Paul standing firm and certain, as it does — that is, the forbidding of marriage must happen in the latter times of the world — it must follow that the married life of priests is more ancient in the church than the single life; more ancient than the law, I mean, commanding the single life of priests. This may quickly be proven true.

1. For, at the Council of Nice, it is notorious that this devilish law for restraining marriage was stopped by Paphnutius.
2. Before this Council of Nice, in the year 197, we read of Polycrates bishop of Ephesus, who dissented from pope Victor about a certain controversy of Easterday, alleging for himself that seven of his progenitors before him, one after another, succeeded in that seat; and he, now the eighth after them, was placed in the game. He uses his descent from his married parents not only as a defense of his cause, but also as a glory to himself.
3. Pope Sericius, about the year of our Lord 390, wrote to the priests of Spain about the matter of putting their wives away from them (if his epistle is not counterfeit). These Spanish priests then had with them a bishop of Tarragona, who answering Sericius, alleged the testimonies of St. Paul, that priests might lawfully retain their wives, etc. To this Sericius responded (if his writing is not forged) most arrogantly, and no less ignorantly, reproving the priests who were married. And for the defense of his cause, he alleged this statement of St. Paul, “If you live after the flesh, you shall die,” etc. By this it may appear not only how those in Spain then had wives, but also how blind these men were in the Scriptures, who showed themselves such great adversaries against priests’ marriages.
4. To be short, the further we go, and the nearer we come to the ancient and primitive times of the church, the less ancient we find the deprivation of lawful matrimony among Christian ministers. This begins even with the apostles, who, although they were not all married, yet many of them were, and the rest had power and liberty to have and keep their wives. Witness St. Paul, where he writes about himself; “Do we not have power to lead about a sister, a wife, as also the other apostles have?” <sup>1Cor 9.5</sup> By this it is to be seen, both what he might do, and what the other apostles did.

It can be sufficiently proved, and indeed it is admitted, that the deprivation of priests’ lawful marriage did not enter into the church, whether Greek or Latin (or at least it did not take full possession), before pope Hildebrand’s time, 1075; and especially pope Calistus’ time,

1120. These were the first open objectors to priests' marriages. Aventinus, a faithful writer of his time, concerning the council of Hildebrand, has these words:

“In those days, priests commonly had wives, as other Christian men had, and also had children; as may appear by ancient instruments and deeds of gift, which were then given to churches, to the clergy, and to religious houses. In these instruments both the priests, and also their wives with them (who were called *Presbyterissae*), I find alleged as witnesses.”

“Moreover, it happened at the same time, that the emperor had the investing of diverse archbishops, bishops, abbays, and nunneries within his dominions. Pope Hildebrand disdaining both these sorts — that is, both those who were invested by the emperor, and also all those priests who had wives — so provided in his council at Rome, that those who were promoted by the emperor to livings of the church, were accounted to come in by simony; the others, who were married priests, were accounted Nicolaitans (fornicators). Whereupon pope Hildebrand wrote to the emperor, to dukes, princes, and other great prelates and potentates, namely, to Berthold Zaringer, to Rudolph of Swabia, to Welfon of Bavaria, to Adalberon, and to their ladies, and to diverse others to whom he thought it good; also to bishops, namely, to Otto, bishop of Constance, with other priests and lay people. He willed them in his letters to refuse to keep company with those simoniacs, and those Nicolaitan priests (for so they were termed then), who either had any ecclesiastical living by the emperor, or who had wives — to avoid their masses; neither to talk; nor to eat or drink with them; nor once to speak to them; nor to salute (greet) them; but to utterly shun them as execrable and wicked men, even as they would eschew the plague or pestilence.

“By this there ensued a mighty schism and affliction among the flock of Christ. For the priests went against their bishops, the people against the priests, the laity against the clergy. Briefly, all fell into confusion. Men and women, as everyone was set upon mischief, wickedness, contention, and avarice, thereby took occasion, upon every light suspicion, to resist their minister and to spoil the goods of the church. The vulgar people despised the priests who had married wives, despised their religion, and all the things that they did; yes, and in many places they would purge the place where they had been, with holy water.

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“Also, such was the mischief that they would take the holy mysteries which those married priests had consecrated, and cast them in the dirt, and tread them under their feet. For so Hildebrand had taught them, that those were no priests, neither were they sacraments which they consecrated. So that by this occasion, many false prophets arose, seducing the people from the truth of Christ by forged fables, and false miracles, and feigned glosses, twisting the Scriptures as best served their own purposes.”

To this testimony of Aventinus, above mentioned, we will also add the record of Gebuilerus, a writer of our latter time, and one also of their own crew, who testifies that in the time of emperor Henry IV (A.D. 1057), twenty-four bishops, both in Germany, Spain, and in France, were married, as well as the clergy of their dioceses.

We also read of these Spanish bishops in Isidore (who died about A.D. 636), in his book, *De Clericorum Vita*, that they should either lead an honest, chaste life; or else keep themselves within the bands of matrimony, etc. By this it is evident that the single life of priests was either voluntary then, or else their marriage was not then restrained by any law.

Thus, if either the voice of Scripture might have weight with these men, or if the examples of the apostles might move them (whom St. Ambrose testifies were all married, except St. Paul and St. John); or else if the multitude of married bishops and priests might prevail with them; it may be stated here:



That Tertullian was a married priest, as Jerome witnesses. Spiridion, bishop of Cyprus, had a wife and children. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, was also married. Gregory, bishop of Nyssa; Gregory, bishop of Nazianz; Prosper, bishop of Rhegium; Cheremon, bishop of Nilus. All these were married bishops; and also Polycrates, and his seven ancestors, bishops. Epiphanius, bishop of Constantinople in the time of Justinian, was commended more because his father and ancestors had been married priests and bishops.

Jerome says, that in his time many priests were married men. Pope Damasus recites a great number of bishops, or popes of Rome, who were priests' sons, during the first ten centuries after Christ, such as Felix III; Gelasius I; Boniface; Agapetus; Silverius; and Theodorus, whose father was bishop of Jerusalem; Adrian II; John X, and John XV.

And besides these bishops of Rome, many other bishops and priests in other countries might be annexed to this catalogue, if our leisure would allow making a roll of them all.

Again, the law forbidding priests to marry was never generally received in the church of Rome until the time of Gregory VII (Hildebrand), that is, since A.D. 1073. This pope was, of all others, the chief and principal enemy against the marriage of priests. For whereas all other approved canons and councils only enacted that any clergyman having a wife before entering into his ministry, might enjoy the liberty of his marriage, so long as he did not marry a widow, or a known harlot, or kept a concubine, or those who were twice married. Now in comes pope Hildebrand, making the marriage of priests a heresy, and further enacting that, "Whatever cleric, deacon, or minister had a wife, either before his orders, or after, should utterly put her away from him, or else forsake his ministry," etc.

And thus much for the antiquity and the bringing in of the celibacy of the priests. It first began, about the time of pope Nicholas 1058, and Alexander II, 1061, to be a *custom*; and afterwards it was made into a *law* by pope Hildebrand, and so it spread from Italy into other countries, and at length also into England.

While pope Nicholas and Hildebrand were busy at Rome in introducing that practice, so Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, was likewise engaged in bringing about the same matter in England, though he did not begin altogether so roughly as pope Hildebrand did;. This appears by his council held at Winchester where, though he prohibited those who were prebendaries of cathedral churches to have wives, yet he permitted in his decree, that those priests who dwelled in towns and villages, and had wives, should retain them, and not be compelled to be separated from them. And he decreed that those who had none, should be prohibited from marrying. Moreover, he enjoined the bishops to take care thereafter, that they not presume to admit into their order any priests or deacons, unless they first made a solemn profession not to marry.

Then after Lanfranc succeeded Anselm in the see of Canterbury. He fiercely and eagerly labored in this matter, utterly abrogating the marriage of priests, deacons, sub-deacons, and of the clergy generally. He did not permit (as Lanfranc did) priests who had wives in villages and towns to keep them, but he utterly commanded, under great penalties, that not only priests and deacons, but sub-deacons also (which is against the Council of Lateran) who were already married, to be separated; and that none should be received into orders thereafter without a profession of perpetual celibacy.

Yet notwithstanding all this, the priests did not give much heed to these unlawful injunctions, but kept their wives for almost two hundred years after, refusing and resisting for a long time the yoke of that servile bondage, to keep their freedom from such vowing,

professing, and promising. This may well appear by those priests of York, of whom Gerard, archbishop of York, speaks, in writing the following to Anselm:

“I much desire the purity of my clergymen. Yet, unless it is in a very few, I find in them the deafness of the adder, and the inconstancy of Proteus. With their stinging tongues they sometimes toss out threats, sometimes taunts and rebukes. But this grieves me less in those who are further off. This grieves me most of all, that those who are of my own church, in my own bosom, and prebendaries of my own see, despise our canons, and argue like sophistical disputers, against the statutes of our council. The prebendaries, who have been irregularly taken into orders up to now, without making a vow or profession, utterly refuse to make a profession to me. And those who are priests or deacons, having openly married wives or concubines before, will not be removed from them by any admonition from the altar. And when I call upon any to receive orders, they obstinately deny to profess celibacy in their ordering,” etc.

Thus, for all this rigorous austerity, Anselm was unable to enforce his decree, made at London, against the marriage of priests; nor did the same monk have greater success, either in his lifetime or after his death. For although sundry priests during his life-time were compelled by his extremity to renounce their wives, yet many refused to obey him.

Many were content to leave their benefices rather than their wives. A great number were permitted by king Henry I, for money, to enjoy their wives (see p. 123). But this became so chargeable to them (says Edmer, in his fourth book <sup>491</sup>), that at length two hundred priests, in their albes and priestly vestments, came barefoot to the king’s palace, crying to him for mercy. And they especially made their suit to the queen. Though moved with compassion towards them, she dared not intercede for them.

It is therefore evident that this violent restraint of the lawful marriage of priests within this realm of England, is of no such antiquity as thought by many who are ignorant of the course of history. A brief summary will enable the reader to comprehend the whole matter.

First, about the year 946, the profession of single life, and the displacing of marriage, began to come into practice in England because of St. Benet’s monks, who then began to increase very much about the time of king Edgar; and especially by means of Oswald, bishop of York, Odo and Dunstan, archbishops of Canterbury, and Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester.

[577] A.D. 1527-1540.

So that in diverse cathedral churches and bishops’ sees, monks with their professed singleness of life crept in, and married ministers (who were then called secular priests), were dispossessed not only of their wives, but of their church positions also. And yet this did not occur in all churches, but only in those which have been mentioned.

°Not long after that, about the time of pope Nicholas, A.D. 1060, of Alexander II and Hildebrand, there came into the see of Canterbury another monk named Lanfranc. He too, being a promoter of this professed celibacy, made the decree more general, so that all prebendaries of any churches who were married should be displaced. Yet the priests in towns and villages would not be compelled to leave their married wives, unless they wished to do so. And last of all followed the monk Anselm, A.D. 1106, who made the laws which we have stated before.

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<sup>491</sup> Eadmer, or Edmer (c. 1060-1126), was an English historian, theologian, and ecclesiastic best known for his works “Vita Anselmi” and “Historia novorum in Anglia,” from which Foxe quotes here.

### **Sixth Article**

I will now conclude my observations on these articles with some remarks on the sixth article, regarding *auricular confession*. Of confession, we find three things expressed and approved in the Scriptures.

The *first* is our confession made privately and publicly to God alone; and this confession is necessary for all men at all times. Therefore St. John says, “If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive,” etc. <sup>1Joh 1.9</sup>

The *second* is the confession which is made openly in the face of the congregation. And this confession also has a place when anything is committed which gives public offense and slander to the church of God.

The *third* kind of confession is that which we make privately to our brother. And this confession is requisite when we have injured our brother. The gospel speaks of this, saying, “Go and reconcile yourself first to your brother,” etc. <sup>Mat 5.24</sup> Also St. James says, “Confess your faults one to another,” etc. <sup>Jas 5.16</sup> This confession may also have a place when anything lies on our conscience, in which we need the counsel and comfort of some faithful brother. But we must use discretion in avoiding the following points of blind superstition. *First*, that we put no necessity in this for remission of our sins, but we use our voluntary discretion, as we see it is expedient to satisfy our troubled mind. The *second* is that we are not bound to any enumeration of our sins. The *third* is that we do not bind ourselves to any one person more than to another, but that we use our free choice as to whom we think can give us the best spiritual counsel in the Lord.

But because there is nothing in the church so good that it may not be perverted through superstition, so too this confession has not lacked abuses. *First*, the secret confession to God alone, even as it has been counted insufficient; so it has been but lightly esteemed by many. *Second*, the public confession to the congregation has been turned into standing in a sheet, or else has been bought off for money. *Third*, the secret opening of a man’s mind to some faithful or spiritual brother, disclosing his infirmity or temptations for counsel and godly comfort, has been turned into auricular confession in a priest’s ear, for absolving his sins.

### ***The History of Thomas Cromwell***

Now, after having discussed these matters which refer to the six wicked articles, it next follows, in returning to the order of our history, to declare those events which ensued after the publication of these articles. This brings us to the time and history of lord Cromwell, a man whose great fame and deeds are worthy to live renowned in perpetual memory. <sup>492</sup>

#### *The History concerning the Life, Acts, and Death of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex.*

Thomas Cromwell, although born of a simple parentage, and of an obscure house, through the singular excellency of wisdom, united with industry of mind and deserts of life, rose to high preferment and authority. By steps of office and honor, he ascended at length, not only to earl of Essex, but also secret counsellor to King Henry VIII, and vicegerent to his person.

In the simple estate and beginnings of this man, we may learn that the excellency of noble virtues and heroic prowess which advance to fame and honor, stand not merely upon birth and blood, but proceed from the gift of God, who “raises up the poor out of the dust, and

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<sup>492</sup> Thomas Cromwell (c. 1485-1540) served as chief minister to Henry VIII from 1534-1540. He was beheaded by the king, upon false charges. He was the great-great-grand uncle of Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658).

lifts the needy out of the dunghill; that he may set him with princes, even with the princes of his people.” <sup>Psa 113.7-8</sup>

Although the humble condition and poverty of this man was, at the beginning, a great hindrance for virtue to show herself, yet such was the activity and ripeness of nature in him — so full and ready in wit; in judgment, discreet; in tongue, eloquent; in service, faithful; in spirit, courageous; in his pen, active — that being conversant in the sight of men, he could not long be neglected; nor yet be unprovided of the favor and help of friends to set him forward in place and office. Neither was there any place or office for which he was not qualified. Nothing was so hard which he could not compass with wit and industry; neither was his capacity so good, that his memory could not greatly retain whatever he had attained. This well appears in his repeating the whole text of the New Testament, as translated by Erasmus, without any book, on his journey in going and coming from Rome.

Thus in his growing years, as he increased in age and ripeness, he derived a delight in visiting foreign countries so that he might see the world, and to learn experience. In this manner he learned whatever tongues and languages might better serve his use afterward.

He spent his youth at Antwerp (in Belgium), in the situation of secretary (or some such capacity) to the English merchants there.

It happened that the town of Boston (in Lincolnshire, England) thought it good to send to Rome, to renew their two pardons — one was called the greater pardon, the other the lesser pardon. Although this cost them great expenses of money (for the pope’s merchandise is always dear ware), yet they felt such sweetness from it, that like good catholic merchants, and the pope’s good customers, they thought to spare no cost to have their pardons renewed. All this was good religion then; such was the lamentable blindness of that time!

It being thus determined and decreed among my countrymen of Boston,<sup>493</sup> to have their pardons renewed from Rome, one Geoffrey Chambers, along with another, was sent well-supplied with writings and money, and with all other things considered necessary for so chargeable and costly an exploit. Coming in his journey to Antwerp, he conferred with and persuaded Thomas Cromwell to associate himself in that legation, and to assist in contriving of it. Cromwell, having some skill of the Italian language, and not as yet grounded in religion in those youthful days of his, was content to undertake the adventure; and so he took his journey to Rome. Cromwell was loth to spend much of his time, and more loth to spend his money. Perceiving that the pope must be served with some present or other (for without rewards there is no doing business at Rome), he began to think with himself, what to devise that he might best serve the pope’s devotion.

At length learning how the pope greatly delighted in new-fangled delicacies and dainty dishes, it came into his mind to prepare certain fine dishes of jelly, in the best English fashion, which was not known nor seen before by those of Rome.

This done, Cromwell observed his time, as the pope had returned to his pavilion from hunting. He approached with his English presents, brought in with a song in the English tongue, and all according to the English fashion. The pope suddenly marvelling at the strangeness of the song, and understanding that they were Englishmen, and that they did not come empty-handed, desired them to be called in. Cromwell, showing his obedience there, and offering his junkets — such as kings and princes alone, he said, in the realm of England, used to feed upon — desired them to be accepted in benevolent part, which he and

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<sup>493</sup> [John Foxe was born in Boston, Lincolnshire, England, in 1516.](#)

his companions, as poor suitors to his holiness, had brought and presented there, as novelties fit for his recreation, etc.

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Pope Julius II, seeing the strangeness of the dishes, by and by commanded his cardinal to try them. In tasting, he liked it so well, and likewise the pope after him, that knowing what their suits were, and requesting to know how to make that food, he sealed both their pardons without any more ado, the greater as well as the lesser.

And thus the pardons of the town of Boston were obtained. The copy of these pardons (which I have in my hands) comes to this effect:

That all the brethren and sisters of the guild of our Lady in St. Botolph's church at Boston, would have free license to choose for their confessor or spiritual father whomever they would, either secular priest or religious person, to fully acquit them from all their sins,<sup>494</sup> except in cases reserved to the pope.

Also that they would have license to carry about with them an altar-stone, by which they might have a priest say mass or other divine service, wherever they would, without prejudice of any other church or chapel, even if it was before daylight; yes, even at three past midnight in the summer time.

Furthermore, that all such brethren and sisters of the said guild, who would resort to the chapel of our Lady in St. Botolph's church at the feast of Easter, Whitsuntide, Corpus Christi, the Nativity or Assumption of our Lady, or in their octaves (feast days) — the feast of St. Michael; and the first Sunday in Lent — would have pardon no less than if they themselves had personally visited the stations of Rome.

This was provided that every such person, man or woman, entering into the same guild, upon his first entrance, would give to the support of seven priests, twelve choristers, and thirteen beadsmen, and to the lights of the same brotherhood, and a grammar school, six shillings and eight-pence; and twelve-pence for every year after.

These premises being previously granted by pope Innocent, and pope Julius II, pope Clement also confirmed; granting moreover, that whatever brother or sister of the same guild, through poverty, sickness, or any other hindrance, could not resort personally to the chapel, he would yet be dispensed with for that as well as for all other vows, irregularities, and canonical censures whatever; except for the vow of going to the stations of Rome, and to St. James of Compostella, etc.

He also granted to them power to receive full remission *a pana et culpa* (from penalty and guilt) once in their life; or in their hour of death.

Also, that having their altar-stone, they might have mass said in any place, even if it were unhallowed. And in the time of interdict, to have mass or any sacrament ministered: and also being departed, that they might be buried with a Christian burial, notwithstanding the interdict.

Extending moreover his grant to all such brethren and sisters, in resorting to the chapel of our Lady upon the Nativity, or Assumption of our Lady, and giving support to the chapel, to have full remission of their sins at every such school festival day. Or, if they could not be present at the chapel, yet if they came to their own parish church, and there said one Paternoster, and an Ave Maria, they would enjoy the same remission; or whoever came every Friday to the same

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<sup>494</sup> Originally, "to assoil them plenary from all their sins..."

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chapel, would have as much remission as if he went to the chapel of our Lady, called “the Ladder of Heaven.”

Furthermore, that whatever Christian people, of whatever estate or condition, either spiritual or temporal, would aid and support the chamberlains or substitutes of the guild, would have five hundred years of pardon.

Also, free liberty was granted to all brothers and sisters of the guild to eat in time of Lent, or other fasting days, eggs, milk, butter, cheese, and also flesh, by the counsel of their spiritual father and physician, without any scruple of conscience.

Also, that all partakers of the guild, who once a quarter, or every Friday or Saturday, either in the chapel in St. Botolph’s church, or in any other chapel, says a Paternoster, Ave Maria, and Creed, or says or causes to be said, masses for souls departed in purgatory, shall not only have the full remission due to those who visit the chapel of “The Ladder of Heaven,” or of St. John Lateran, but also souls in purgatory, shall enjoy full remission, and be released from all their pains.

Also, that all the departed souls of the brothers and sisters of the guild, also the souls of their fathers and mothers, shall be partakers of all the prayers, suffrages, alms, fastings, masses, and matins, pilgrimages, and all other good deeds of all the holy church militant forever, etc.

These indulgences, pardons, grants, and relaxations were given and granted by Nicholas V. Pius II, Sixtus IV, and Julius II. It seems that Cromwell obtained this pardon from Julius II about the year 1510. In 1526 this pardon, through the request of king Henry VIII, was confirmed by pope Clement VII. And thus much concerning the pardon of Boston, renewed by means of Thomas Cromwell.

All this while it appears that Cromwell had yet no sound taste for nor judgment of religion, but was wild and youthful, without sense or regard of God and his word. He was himself prone to often declare to Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury (showing what he was in his younger days), how he was in the wars of the Duke of Bourbon at the siege of Rome; also what a great doer he was with Geoffrey Chambers in publishing and setting forth the pardon of Boston everywhere in churches as he went. And so he continued, till at length by learning the text of the New Testament translated by Erasmus in his going and returning from Rome, he began to be touched and called to a better understanding.

In the meantime, cardinal Thomas Wolsey began to bear a great name in England, and to rule almost all under the king, or rather with the king. In his establishment, Thomas Cromwell was advanced. And there was at about the same time in the household of the cardinal, Thomas More, afterwards knight and chancellor of England; and also Stephen Gardiner, afterwards bishop of Winchester. These three were brought up in one household, and all were of the same standing. Their ages were also not greatly discrepant; nor their wits much unequal; so neither was their fortune and advancement greatly different. And though there was more skill of learning in More and in Gardiner, there was in Cromwell a more heavenly light of the mind, and a prompter and more perfect judgment, equal eloquence, and a more heroic and princely disposition.

It happened that Cromwell was solicitor (lawyer) to the cardinal, who then had in hand the building of certain colleges in Oxford, now called Christ’s church. Because of this, certain small monasteries and priories were suppressed, and the lands seized into the cardinal’s hands. The execution of this was committed to Cromwell, who showed himself so very forward and industrious, that he procured for himself much grudge with the superstitious



sort, and also with some of noble calling around the king. Thus Cromwell was first set to work by the cardinal to suppress religious houses; this was about the year 1525.

After the fall of Wolsey, Cromwell was for a time in disgrace with the king. But finding that none could so well serve him against the pope, he sent for Cromwell, willing to talk with him, to hear and know what he could say.

Cromwell being informed that the king wished to talk with him, and thereupon preparing for the interview beforehand, he had in readiness a copy of the oath which the bishops used to make to the pope at their consecration. And so being called for, he was brought to the king in his garden at Westminster; this was about A.D. 1530.

Cromwell, after most loyal obeisance to the king, made his declaration in all points. He especially made it manifest to his highness, that his authority was abused in his own kingdom by the pope and his clergy. Though sworn to him, they were afterwards dispensed from their oath, and sworn anew to the pope; so that Henry was but half a king, and they were but half his subjects in his own land. This, Cromwell said, was derogatory to his crown, and utterly prejudicial to the common laws of his realm. Thereupon he declared in what manner his majesty might accumulate great riches for himself — as much as all the clergy in his realm was worth, if it so pleased him to take the occasion now offered.

[579] A.D. 1527-1540.

The king giving good ear to this, and right well liking Cromwell's advice, he requested if he could give any evidence for what he spoke. All this, Cromwell said, he could establish. He said that he had the copy of the oath to the pope present there to show the king, and no less also prove what he had said, if his highness would give him leave. He then showed the bishops' oath to the king, and also their oath to the pope.

The king, following the spirit of Cromwell's counsel, took his ring off his finger, and first admitting him to his service, he sent him to the convocation house among the bishops. Cromwell, having the authority of the king, boldly went into the clergy house. And there placing himself among the bishops (William Warham then being archbishop) he began to make his oration. He declared to them the authority of a king, and the office of subjects, and especially the obedience of bishops and churchmen to the public laws, which were necessary to provide for the profit and quiet of the commonwealth. These laws, notwithstanding they had all transgressed, and highly offended in derogation of the king's royal estate, and falling under the law of *praemunire*, in that they had not only consented to the power legatine of the cardinal, but also in that they had all sworn to the pope, contrary to the fealty of their sovereign lord the king. And therefore they had forfeited to the king all their goods, chattels, lands, possessions, and whatever livings they had. The bishops hearing this were not a little amazed, and first began to excuse and deny the fact. But after Cromwell showed them the very copy of the oath which they had made to the pope at their consecration, the matter was so plain that they could not deny it. They then began to shrink and fall to entreaty, and desired time to pause upon the matter. The end of it was that, to be quit of that *praemunire* by act of parliament, they had to pay to the king no less a sum than 118,840 pounds (A.D. 1531). After this, A.D. 1532, Sir Thomas Cromwell growing in great favor with the king, was made knight and master of the king's jewel-house. Shortly after he was also admitted into the king's council, which was about the coming in of queen Anne Boleyn. Within two years after that (A.D. 1534), he was made Master of the Rolls,<sup>495</sup> Dr. Tailor being discharged.

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<sup>495</sup> At the time, the Master of the Rolls was the keeper of the public records.

Cromwell increased in favor and honor. In the year 1537, a little before the birth of king Edward, he was made knight of the garter,<sup>496</sup> and not long after was advanced to the earldom of Essex, and made Great Chamberlain of England (1540).<sup>497</sup> Besides all these honors, in 1535 he had also been constituted vicegerent to the king, representing the king's person. This office, though well established in law, has seldom seen anyone besides Cromwell in it.

Now something should be said of the noble acts, the memorable examples and worthy virtues that were in him. Among his worthy acts and manifold virtues, this one thing above all others rises his commendation for his singular zeal and labor in restoring the church of Christ, and subverting the synagogue of antichrist — I mean the abbeys, and religious houses of the friars and monks. For it so pleased Almighty God, by means of Lord Cromwell, to induce the king to suppress first the chantries, then the friars' houses and small monasteries, till at length all the abbeys in England, both great and small, were utterly overthrown and plucked up by the roots. These acts of his, as they may give a precedent of singular zeal to all Christian realms (which no prince yet to this day dare follow), so to this realm of England, it has wrought such benefit that the fruit still remains, and will remain in the realm of England, though we seem little to feel it.

But here I must answer the complaint of certain of our countrymen. For so I hear from many who speak of the subversion of these monasteries, as evil and wicked. The buildings, they say, might have been converted into schools and houses of learning; the goods and possessions might have been bestowed to much better and more godly use by the poor, and for maintaining hospitality.

Neither do I deny that these things are well spoken, and could willingly embrace their opinion with my whole heart — if I did not consider a more secret meaning of God's holy providence, than appears to all men at first blush.

And first, let us not omit the wicked and execrable life of these religious orders, full of all kinds of vice which were found out by the king's visitors, and recorded in their registers. They were so horrible to be heard, so incredible to be believed, so stinking before the face of God and man, that it is no marvel if God's vengeance from heaven would not allow any stone or monument of these abominable houses to be left.

Whoever finds himself aggrieved with Cromwell's suppressing of these monasteries of monks and friars, let him wisely consider *First*, the doctrine, laws, and traditions of these men whom we find in rebellion against the religion of Christ; pernicious to our salvation; derogatory to Christ's glory; and full of much blasphemy and damnable idolatry. *Secondly*, let him well consider the horrible and execrable lives of the cloisterers, as appears in the rolls and registers of matters found out by inquisition in the time of king Henry VIII. These cannot be spoken of here, unless we speak as Matthew Paris speaks of the court of Rome, "Whose filthy stink," he says, "breathed up a most pestiferous fume, even to the clouds of heaven," etc.

Then all things being considered, what marvel is it, if God in his just judgment set up lord Cromwell to destroy these sinful houses, whom their own corruptions could suffer no longer to stand? And as to the dispersing of their lands and possessions, if it was agreeable to the

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<sup>496</sup> The Order of the Garter is an English order of knighthood founded by King Edward III in 1348, ranked as the highest British civil and military honor obtainable.

<sup>497</sup> The duties of the Lord Great Chamberlain were originally financial. He was ranked below the Lord Privy Seal, and above the Lord High Constable. In brief, he had charge over the king's Palace.



king to bestow these abbey lands upon his nobles and gentlemen, or to restore them back to those from whom they came, or otherwise to gratify his nobility; what was that to Cromwell? But, you say, they might have been much better employed to other more useful purposes. To this I answer that in such a kingdom as this, where laws and parliaments are very much subject to the disposition of the prince; and where it is not always certain what princes may come; the surest way to get rid of monkery and popery was to pack it out of the realm, or at once to do with their houses and possessions as king Henry then did. For otherwise, who cannot see that in queen Mary's time, if either the houses of monks had stood, or their lands had not otherwise been disposed of into the hands of others, that many of them would then have been restored and replenished again with monks and friars? And if dukes, barons, and the nobility were scarcely able to retain the lands and possessions of abbeys which had been distributed to them by king Henry, from the devotion of queen Mary — who sought again to build the walls of Jericho — then let other men conjecture what the meaner sort would have done. Therefore it is not unlikely, but that God's heavenly providence foresaw and disposed these things beforehand, in the destruction of these abbeys. Otherwise we might have had such numerous swarms of friars and monks in their nests again before this day in England, that ten Cromwells afterwards could not have unhoused them.

After the power and authority of the bishop of Rome was banished out of England, the bishops of his sect never ceased to seek all occasion either to restore it again, or at least to keep upright the things which remained. It happened that after the abolishing of the authority of the pope, that certain tumults began about religion. Then it seemed good to king Henry that an assembly of learned men and bishops should be appointed, who should soberly and modestly consider and determine those things which pertained to religion. All the learned men, but especially the bishops (to whom this matter seemed chiefly to belong) having assembled, Cromwell also purposed to be present himself at this convocation. Meeting by chance with Alexander Alesse, a Scotchman, Cromwell brought him with him to the convocation house where all the bishops were assembled together (A.D. 1537). The bishops and prelates, who were waiting for the coming of Cromwell, as he came in, rose up and did obeisance to him as to their vicar-general.<sup>498</sup>

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And in return he honored everyone in their degree, and sat down in the highest place at the table, according to his degree and office; and after him, every bishop in his order, and the doctors. First over against him sat the archbishop of Canterbury; then the archbishop of York; the bishops of London, Lincoln, Salisbury, Bath, Ely, Hereford, Chichester, Norwich, Rochester, Worcester, etc. Cromwell, in the name of the king (whose secret councilor he was, and Lord Privy Seal, and vicar-general of the realm), spoke these words:

“Right reverend fathers in Christ: The king's majesty gives you high thanks that you have so diligently, without any excuse, assembled here according to his commandment. And you are not ignorant that you are called here to determine certain controversies which at this time are moved concerning the Christian religion and faith, not only in this realm, but also in all nations throughout the world. For the king studies day and night to promote quietness in the church; and he cannot rest until all such controversies are fully debated and ended through the determination of you and his whole parliament. For although his special desire is to set a stay for the unlearned people whose consciences are in doubt about what they may believe, and he himself by his excellent learning knows these controversies well enough. Yet he will suffer no common alteration except by the consent of you and his whole parliament. By this

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<sup>498</sup> *To do obeisance, is to bow the head or bend the knee as a sign of submission or honor of another.*

you may perceive his high wisdom, and also his great love towards you. And he desires you, for Christ's sake, that all malice, obstinacy, and carnal respect set apart, you will friendly and lovingly dispute among yourselves about the controversies moved in the church, and that you will conclude all things by the word of God, without any brawling or scolding. Nor will his majesty suffer the Scriptures to be twisted and defaced by any glosses, any papistical laws, or by any authority of doctors or councils. And much less will he admit any articles or doctrine not contained in the Scriptures, but approved only by continuance of time and old custom, and by unwritten verities, as you were prone to do. You know well enough that you are bound to show this service to Christ and to his church; and yet his majesty will give you high thanks if you will establish and conclude a godly and perfect unity. This is the only way and means to this: if you will determine all things by the Scriptures, as God commands you in Deuteronomy; which his majesty exhorts and desires you to do."

When Cromwell had finished his speech, the bishops rose up altogether, giving thanks to the king's majesty, not only for his great zeal towards the church of Christ, but also for his most godly exhortation, so worthy of a Christian prince.

Then they immediately commenced the disputation. When Stokesley, bishop of London, the first of all, being the most earnest champion and maintainer of the Romish decrees (whom Cromwell a little earlier had checked by name for defending unwritten verities), endeavored out of the old school glosses, to maintain the seven sacraments of the church, the archbishop of York, the bishops of Lincoln, Bath, Chichester, and Norwich, also favored his part. On the contrary part, was the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Salisbury, Ely, Hereford, Worcester, with many others.

After much communication on both sides, and after a long controversy about the testimony of the doctors who, it seemed to them, dissented and disagreed among themselves, the archbishop of Canterbury at last spoke as follows:

"It does not become men of learning and gravity to make much babbling and brawling about bare words, so that we agree in the very substance and effect of the matter. For to brawl about words is the property of sophisters, and those who mean deceit and subtlety, who delight in debate and dissension of the world, and in the miserable state of the church; and not of those who should seek the glory of Christa, and should study for the unity and quietness of the church. There are weighty controversies now moved and put forth, not about ceremonies and light things, but of the true understanding and of the right difference between the law and the gospel — of the manner and way by which sins are forgiven; of comforting doubtful and wavering consciences; by what means they may be certified that they please God, seeing that they feel the strength of the law accusing them of sin; of the true use of the sacraments, whether the outward work of them justifies man, or whether we receive our justification by faith; also, which are the good works, and the true service and honor which please God; and whether the choice of foods, the difference in garments, the vows of monks and priests, and other traditions which do not have the word of God to confirm them — whether these, I say, are right good works, and such as make a perfect Christian man, or not? Also, whether vain service and false honoring of God, and man's traditions, bind men's consciences or not? Finally, whether the ceremony of confirmation, of orders, and of annealing, and such others (which cannot be proved to be instituted of Christ, nor have any word in them to certify us of remission of sins) ought to be called sacraments, and to be compared with baptism and the supper of the Lord, or not?

"These are no light matters, but are even the principal points of our Christian religion. Therefore we are not contending about words and terms, but about high and earnest matters. Christ says, 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.' <sup>Mat 5.9</sup>

## Bk. VIII. The Ecclesiastical and Civil Affairs of England

And St. Paul, writing to Timothy, commands bishops to avoid brawling and contention about words, which are profitable to nothing but the subversion and destruction of the hearers; and he admonishes him especially that he should resist with the Scriptures when any man disputes with him about the faith; and he adds a cause where he says, 'Doing this you will save both yourself, and those who hear you.' <sup>1Tim 4.16</sup> Now, if you will follow these counsellors, Christ and St. Paul, all contention and brawling about words must be set apart, and you must establish a godly and a perfect unity and concord out of the Scriptures. Therefore, in this disputation we must first agree on the number of the sacraments, and what a sacrament signifies by the holy Scriptures; and when we call baptism and the supper of the Lord, sacraments of the gospel, we must decide what we mean by that. I know right well that St. Ambrose and other authors call the washing of the disciples' feet and other things sacraments, which I am sure you yourselves would not allow to be numbered among the other sacraments."

When he had ended his speech, Cromwell commanded Alesse, who stood by, to give his mind and opinion, declaring first to the bishops that he was the king's scholar, and therefore he desired them to hear him.

Alesse, after he had first done his obeisance to lord Cromwell, and to the other prelates of the church, he spoke as follows:

"Right honorable and noble lord; and you most reverend fathers and prelates of the church; although I come unprepared to this disputation, yet trusting in the aid of Christ, who promises to give both mouth and wisdom to us when we are questioned about our faith, I will utter my judgment of this disputation. And I think that my lord archbishop has given you a profitable exhortation that you should first agree on the signification of a sacrament, and whether you will call a sacrament a ceremony instituted by Christ in the gospel, or merely to signify a special or a singular virtue of the gospel and of godliness (as St. Paul names remission of sins to be). Or whether you mean every ceremony generally, which may be merely a token or signification of a holy thing, to be a sacrament? For according to this latter signification, I will not object to grant to you that there are seven sacraments, and more too, if you will. Yet St. Paul seems to describe a sacrament according to the just signification, where he says that, "circumcision is a seal of the righteousness of faith." <sup>Rom 4.11</sup>

[581] A.D. 1527-1540.

"This definition of one particular sacrament must be understood to pertain to all sacraments generally; for the Jews had only one sacrament. And he describes baptism in the same manner, in Eph 5.26, 'That Christ might sanctify the church, and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word.' For here he also adds the word and promise of God to the ceremony. And Christ also requires faith where he says, 'Whoever believes and is baptized shall be saved.'

"And St. Augustine describes a sacrament thus: — 'The word of God coming into the element makes the sacrament.' And in another place he says, 'A sacrament is a thing in which the power of God, under the form of visible things, works salvation secretly.' And the 'Master of the Sentences' describes a sacrament not otherwise: 'A sacrament,' he says, 'is an invisible grace, and has a visible form; and by this invisible grace I mean remission of sins.' Finally, St. Thomas denies that any man has authority to institute a sacrament. Now if you agree to this definition of a sacrament, then it is an easy thing to judge the number of those sacraments which are manifest in the word of God, and are instituted by Christ, to signify to us the remission of our sins."

When Alesse had concluded, after a learned account of the judgment of St. Augustine, the bishop of London, who could scarcely refrain himself all the while, broke out in this manner: "First of all," he said, "where you allege that all the sacraments which are in the church were instituted by Christ himself, and either have some manifest ground in the

Scriptures, or ought to show some signification of remission of sin, it is false, and not to be allowed.”

Then said Alesse, that he would prove it, not only by manifest authorities of Scripture, but also by evident testimonies of ancient doctors and school-writers.

But the bishop of Hereford (who had recently returned from Germany, where he had been ambassador from the king to the protestants), being provoked with the bishop of London’s frowardness, turning himself first to Alesse, desiring him not to contend with the bishop in such a manner, by the testimonies of doctors and schoolmen, because they do not all agree. Nor are they steadfast among themselves in all points, but vary; and in many points they are utterly repugnant. Therefore, if this disputation is to be decided by their minds and verdicts, nothing will be established. Furthermore, we are commanded by the king, that these controversies should be determined only by the rule and judgment of the Scriptures. This he spoke to Alesse. Then turning to the bishops, he likewise admonished them in a grave speech, as follows:

“Do you think that we can by any sophistical subtleties steal out of the world again the light which every man sees? Christ has so enlightened the world at this time, that the light of the gospel has put to flight all misty darkness, and it will shortly have the higher hand of all clouds, however much we resist in vain. The lay-people now know the holy Scriptures much better than many of us. And the Germans have made the text of the Bible so plain and easy by the Hebrew and Greek tongues, that now many things may be better understood without any glosses at all, than by all the commentaries of the doctors. And they have so opened these controversies by their writings, that women and children may wonder at the blindness and falsehood that has been up to now. Therefore you must consider earnestly what you will determine in these controversies, so that you do not make yourselves mocked and laughed to scorn by the whole world; and so that you do not bring them to have this opinion of you: to think that you have neither one spark of learning, nor yet of godliness in you. And thus you will lose all your esteem and authority with them, who before took you to be learned men and profitable members to the commonwealth of Christendom. For what you hope for — that there was never a heresy in the church so great that the process of time, with the power and authority of the pope, has not quenched it — is nothing to the purpose. But you must change your opinion, and now think that there is nothing so feeble and weak, that if it is true, it will find its place, and be able to stand against all falsehood. Truth is the daughter of Time, and Time is the mother of Truth. Whoever is besieged by truth cannot long continue; and upon whose side truth stands, that should not be thought transitory, or that it will ever fall. All things do not consist in painted eloquence, strength, or authority. For the truth is of such great power, strength, and efficacy, that it can neither be defeated with words, nor be overcome by any strength. But after she has hidden herself for a long time, at length she puts up her head and appears, as it is written in Esdras, ‘A king is strong; wine is strong; women are even stronger; but truth excels all.’” 1Esd 4.14.

The Bishop of Hereford spoke to this effect, and uttered and much more in that convocation, both copiously and discreetly. Being encouraged by his speech, Alesse proceeded further to urge the bishop of London with arguments. When he had spoken, the bishop of London interrupted him, and said,

“Let us grant that the sacraments may be gathered out of the word of God. Yet you are deceived if you think that there is no other word of God. And if you think that nothing pertains to the Christian faith, except that which is written in the Bible, then you err plainly with the Lutherans; for St. John says, ‘Jesus did many things which are not written.’ Joh 21.25. And St. Paul commands the Thessalonians to observe and keep certain unwritten traditions and

ceremonies. Moreover, he himself did not preach the Scriptures only, but also the traditions of the elders. Finally, we have received many things from the doctors and councils, which, although they are not written in the Bible, yet we ought to grant that we received them from the apostles, and that they are of like authority with the Scriptures. And finally, that they may worthily be called the unwritten word of God.”

Now, when lord Cromwell and the archbishop, along with the other bishops who defended the pure doctrine of the gospel, heard this, they smiled a little one to another. They saw him fly off, even in the very beginning of the disputation, to his old rusty sophistry and unwritten verities. Alesse would have proceeded further to confute these sophistries, but lord Cromwell bade him to be content. And so he made an end with this protestation.

“Right reverend bishop, you deny that our Christian faith and religion leans only upon the word of God, which is written in the Bible. If I can prove and declare this, then you will grant me that there are no sacraments but those that have the word of God to confirm them.”

To this the bishop consented, and then immediately the assembly was dissolved for that day. The next day, when the bishops met, the archbishop of Canterbury sent his archdeacon, and commanded Alesse to abstain from any further disputation. Whereupon he wrote his mind, and delivered it to Cromwell, who afterwards showed it to the bishops. Thus, through the industry of Cromwell, the discussions were brought to this end: that although religion could not then be wholly reformed, yet at that time there was some reformation throughout England.

Examples need not be brought to show how desirous and studious this Cromwell was in the cause of Christ’s religion. His whole life was nothing but a continual care for how to advance the right knowledge of the gospel, and to reform the house of God. He caused the people to be instructed in the Lord’s prayer and in the apostles’ creed in English. He also procured the Scriptures to be translated and set forth in the English language, so that they might be read and understood by every Englishman. After that, to rescue the vulgar people from damnable idolatry, he caused certain of the major places of pilgrimage to be destroyed. And further, for the benefit of the poorer sort, who get their living by their daily labor and the work of their hands, he provided that various idle holydays should be abolished. He procured for them liberty to eat eggs and white meat during Lent.

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It was also provided by him, for the better instruction of the people, that beneficed men should be resident in their cures and parishes, to teach and to keep hospitality — as well as many other regulations for the reformation of religion, as may more abundantly appear by the proclamations, injunctions, and necessary articles of Christian doctrine, which were set forth by his means, in the king’s name.

It would require a long discourse to add his private benefits in helping good men and women out of troubles and great distresses. His whole life was full of such examples, being a man ordained by God to do many men good; and especially those who were in danger of persecution for religion’s sake.

It would also take a long time to recite what innumerable benefits this worthy counsellor wrought and brought to pass in the realm, and especially in the church of England; what good orders he established; what wickedness he suppressed; what corruptions he reformed; what abuses he brought to light; what crafty jugglings; what idolatrous deceptions, and superstitious delusions he detected and abolished out of the church.

What will posterity think of the church of the pope, which for so many years abused the people's eyes with an old rotten stock (called the Rood of Grace) in which there were one hundred wires to make the image goggle with the eyes; to nod with the head; to hang the lip; to move and shake his jaws, according to the value of the gift which was offered? If it was a small piece of silver, he would hang a frowning lip; if it was a piece of gold, then his jaws would go merrily! Thus miserably were the people of Christ abused; their souls seduced; their senses beguiled; and their purses spoiled; until this idolatrous forgery was disclosed by Cromwell's means. The image, with all its machinery, was openly exhibited at St. Paul's cross, and there torn in pieces by the people. The same was done with the blood of Hales, which, in the same way, was brought by Cromwell to St. Paul's cross, and there proved to be the blood of a duck!

What shall I say about the idols of Darvel Gartheren; of the Rood of Chester; of Thomas Becket; our Lady of Walsingham; with an infinite multitude of the same kind? All of these stocks and blocks of cursed idolatry, Cromwell removed out of the way of the people, so that they might walk more safely in the sincere service of Almighty God.

While Lord Cromwell was thus occupied in profiting the commonwealth and purging the church of Christ, it happened to him, as it commonly does to good men, that where any virtue appears, envy creeps in; and where true piety seeks most after Christ, persecution follows.

I say that, as he was laboring in the commonwealth and doing good to the poor afflicted saints, and helping them out of trouble, the malice of his enemies was continually employed in hunting for matter against him. They never ceased in this till, in the end, by false trains and crafty surmises, they brought him out of the king's favor.

The chief and principal enemy against him was Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester. Ever envying the state and felicity of Lord Cromwell, and taking his occasion by the marriage of Lady Anne of Cleves being a stranger and foreigner, he whispered in the king's ears what a perfect thing it would be for the quiet of the realm and the establishment of the king's succession, to have an English queen, and a purely English prince. So that the king's affection, the more it was diminished from Anne of Cleves, the less favor he bore toward Cromwell.

After this, in April 1540, a parliament was held. After diverse delays, it was postponed till the month of July. In that month, lord Cromwell being in the council-chamber, was suddenly apprehended and committed to the Tower. Many good men lamented and prayed heartily for him; but there were others, on the contrary, who rejoiced, especially those of the religious sort and of the clergy, who held some dignity before in the church, and now by his means, they were put from it. For such was his nature, that in all his doings he could not abide any kind of popery or false religion under the garb of hypocrisy. And he could even less abide the ambitious pride of popish prelacy which, while professing deep humility, was so elated with pride, that kings could not rule in their own realms because of them. These prelates he could never abide. And so on the other hand, they hated him just as much, which was the cause of the shortening of his days; for he was afterwards attainted by parliament.

In the attainder, many crimes, surmises, and accusations were brought against him. But chiefly and above all others he was charged and accused of heresy, as a supporter of those whom they accounted heretics — such as Barnes, Clark, and others. By his authority and letters written to sheriffs and justices, Cromwell had them discharged from prison; also that he dispersed abroad among the king's subjects a great number of books containing, as they

said, manifest heresy; that he caused to be translated into our English tongue, books comprising matter that was expressly against the sacrament of the altar; and that after the translation, he commended and maintained them as good Christian doctrine. Over and besides all this, they brought in certain witnesses who especially charged him with having spoken words against the king in the church of St. Peter the Poor, in the month of March, in the thirtieth year of the king's reign (1539). There are three things I have much to marvel at, if true. *First*, if his adversaries had such sure matter against him, then what would move them to make such haste to have him dispatched out of the way, and not allow him to come to his purgation? *Secondly*, if the words had been so heinous against the king as his enemies pretend, why then did those witnesses who heard the words conceal such treason for almost two years? *Thirdly*, if the king had known and believed these words to be true, and that Cromwell had indeed been such a traitor to his person, why then did the king so shortly afterwards lament his death, wishing to have Cromwell alive again? What prince wishes the life of one whom he undoubtedly suspects to have been a traitor to his life and person?

It was declared before, that so long as Cromwell went with full sail of fortune, how moderately and how temperately he always bore himself. So now lord Cromwell, being overthrown by the contrary wind of adversity, received the same with no less constancy and patience of a Christian heart; nor was he so unprovided with counsel, that he did not foresee this tempest long before it fell, and prepared for it. For two years before, suspecting the conspiracy of his adversaries, and fearing what might happen, he called his servants, and showed them in what a slippery state he stood. And also perceiving some stormy weather to gather already, he required them to look diligently to their order and doings, lest through their fault, any occasion might arise against him. And before the time of his apprehension, he introduced such order among his servants, that many of them, especially the younger, who had little else to take to, had left in their friends' hands the means to relieve them, whatever should befall him. Cromwell was such a loving and kind master to his servants, that he provided beforehand for almost all of them — so far that he gave to twelve children who were his musicians, twenty pounds apiece, and so committed them to their friends.

When he was a prisoner in the Tower, it is worth noting how quietly he bore it; how valiantly he behaved himself; how gravely and discreetly he answered the commissioners sent to him. Whatever articles and interrogatories they propounded, they could put nothing to him, either concerning matters ecclesiastical or temporal, in which he was not more ripened and more furnished in every condition than they were themselves.

Among the rest of those commissioners who came to him, there was one whom lord Cromwell desired to carry for him a letter to the king. When he refused, saying that he would carry no *letter* to the king from a traitor, Lord Cromwell desired him to at least convey from him a *message* to the king. The other was content with this, so that it would not be against his allegiance.

[583] A.D. 1540-1547.

Then Lord Cromwell, taking witness of the other lords of what he had promised, "You will commend me to the king," he said, "and tell him that when he has so well tried, and thoroughly proved you, as I have done, he will find you as false a man as ever came about him."

Besides this, he wrote a letter from the Tower to the king; and when none dared to carry it, Sir R. Sadler, whom he had preferred to the king before, being ever trusty and faithful to him, went to the king to understand his pleasure, whether he would permit him to bring the

letter or not. When the king granted this, Sadler presented the letter. Three times the king commanded that it be read to him, so much did he seem to be moved by it.

Notwithstanding, because of the act of parliament passed before, the worthy and noble lord Cromwell, oppressed by his enemies and condemned in the Tower, and the king not coming to his aid, he was brought to the scaffold on Tower Hill, on the 28th of July 1540. There he said these words:

“I have come here to die, and not to clear myself, as some think perhaps that I will. For if I were to do so, I would be a very wretch. I am by law condemned to die, and thank my Lord God who appointed me this death for my offense. For since the time that I have had years of discretion, I have lived a sinner, and offended my Lord God, for which I heartily ask him forgiveness. And it is not unknown to many of you, that I have been a great traveller in this world. Being of but a base degree, I was called to high estate. And since the time I came to it, I have offended my prince, for which I heartily ask him forgiveness, and beseech you all to pray to God with me, that He will forgive me. And now I pray you who are here to bear me record, that I die in the catholic faith, not doubting in any article of my faith; no, nor doubting in any sacrament of the church. Many have slandered me, and reported that I have been a bearer of those who have maintained evil opinions, which is untrue. But I confess that, just as God by his Holy Spirit instructs us in the truth, so the devil is ready to seduce us, and I have been seduced. But bear me witness that I die in the catholic faith of the holy church: and I heartily desire you to pray for the king’s grace, that he may long live with you in health and prosperity; and that after him, his son, prince Edward, that goodly child, may long reign over you. And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remains in this flesh, I may no waver at all in my faith.”

And so making his prayer, kneeling down, he spoke these words:

“O Lord Jesus, who is the only health of all men living, and the everlasting life of those who die in you; I, a wretched sinner, submit myself wholly to your most blessed will, and being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed to your mercy, I now willingly leave this frail and wicked flesh, in sure hope that you will in a better way restore it to me again at the last day in the resurrection of the just. I beseech you most merciful Lord Jesus Christ, that you will by your grace make strong my soul against all temptation, and defend me with the buckler of your mercy against all the assaults of the devil. I see and acknowledge that there is in myself no hope of salvation; but all my confidence, hope, and trust is in your most merciful goodness. I have no merits nor good works which I may allege before you. Of sins and evil works, alas! I see a great heap. Yet, through your mercy, I trust to be in the number of those to whom you will not impute their sins; but will take and accept me as righteous and just, and to be the inheritor of everlasting life. You, merciful Lord, were born for my sake; you suffered both hunger and thirst for my sake; you taught, prayed, and fasted for my sake; all your holy actions and works you wrought for my sake; you suffered most grievous pains and torments for my sake; finally, you gave your most precious body and your blood to be shed on the cross for my sake. Now, most merciful Savior, let all these things profit me, which you have yourself given for me. Let your blood cleanse and wash away the spots and fulness of my sins. Let your righteousness hide and cover my unrighteousness. Let the merits of your passion and blood-shedding be satisfaction for my sins. Give me, Lord, your grace, that the faith of my salvation in your blood not waver in me, but may ever be firm and constant. That the hope of your mercy and life everlasting may never decay in me; that love not grow cold in me. Finally, that the weakness of my flesh not be overcome with the fear of death. Grant me, merciful Savior, that when death has shut up the eyes of my body, the eyes of my soul may still behold and look upon you; and when death has taken away the use of my tongue, may my heart yet cry and say to you. Lord, into your hands I commend my soul; Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.” Amen.



And thus, his prayer made, after he had godly and lovingly exhorted those who were about him on the scaffold, he quietly committed his soul into the hands of God; and so he patiently suffered the stroke of the executioner.

*Of the Bible in English, printed in the large volume; by  
Edmund Bonner, preferred to the bishopric of London,  
by means of Lord Cromwell.*

About the time when Edmund Bonner, bishop of Hereford and ambassador to France, was first nominated and preferred by means of lord Cromwell to the bishopric of London, it happened in November 1531, that Cromwell procured from the king his gracious letters to the French king, to permit and license a subject of his to print the bible in English at the university of Paris, because paper there was better quality and more apt to be had than in the realm of England, and also there were more good workmen for its dispatch. The king wrote to his ambassador in Paris, who then was Edmund Bonner, that he should aid and assist in the work. The bishop outwardly showed great friendship to the printers; and he was so fervent, that he caused the Englishmen to put in print a New Testament in English and Latin, and he himself took a great many of them, and paid for them, and gave them to his friends. And it chanced in the meantime, while the bible was printing, that king Henry VIII preferred Bonner from the bishopric of Hereford to be bishop of London. At that time Bonner, according to the statute law of England, took his oath to the king, acknowledging his supremacy, and called one of the Englishmen who printed the Bible, a man whom he then loved, named Richard Grafton — though afterwards, upon the change of the world, he hated him as much. Bonner said to him when he took his oath, “Master Grafton, so it is, that the king’s most excellent majesty has by his gracious gift presented me to the bishopric of London, for which I am sorry. For if it would have pleased his grace, I could have been well content to have kept my old bishopric of Hereford.” Then Grafton said, “I am right glad to hear of it, and so I am sure will be a great number of the city of London. For though they do not know you, yet they have heard so much goodness of you, that they will be glad.” Then Bonner said,

“I pray God I may content them. And to tell you, Master Grafton, before God, (for that was commonly his oath), the greatest fault that ever I found in Stokesley was that he vexed and troubled poor men, such as Lobeley the bookbinder and others, for having the Scriptures in English. And, God willing, he did not so much hinder it as I will further it. I will have set up in the church of St. Paul’s at least six of the bibles, and I will pay you honestly for them, and give hearty thanks. But now I have especially called you to witness that upon this translation of the bishops’ sees I must, according to the statute, take an oath to the king’s majesty, acknowledging his supremacy, which before God, I take with my heart, and so I think him to be. And I beseech Almighty God to save him, and to long prosper his grace.”

“Hold the book. Sir, and read the oath,” (he said to one of his chaplains). He laid his hand on the book, and so he took his oath. And after this he showed great friendship to Grafton, and to his partner Edward Whitchurch, but especially to Miles Coverdale, who was the corrector of the great Bible.

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After the king’s letters were delivered, the French king gave very good words, and was well contented to permit the work. And so the printer went forward and printed the book even to the last part, Then a quarrel was picked against the printer; he was sent to the inquisitors, and there charged with articles of heresy. The Englishmen were then sent for who were at the cost and charge, and also the one who had the correction of the same, which was Miles

Coverdale. But having some warning of what would follow, the Englishmen posted away as fast as they could to save themselves, leaving behind all 2500 of their Bibles, called the Bibles of the great volume. They never recovered any of them, except that the lieutenant-criminal, having them delivered to him to burn in Paris, sold some of them to a haberdasher to fold caps in, and those were bought back; but the rest were burned, to the great loss of those who bore the charge. But notwithstanding the loss, after they had recovered some of the books, and were comforted and encouraged by lord Cromwell, the Englishmen went again to Paris, and there got the presses, letters, and servants of the printer, and brought them to London. There they became printers themselves (which they never intended before), and printed out the Bible in London. After that, they printed several impressions of them. Yet this was not without great trouble and loss because of the hatred of the bishops, namely, Gardiner and his fellows.

Here by the way, let me request the reader to note and understand that in those days there were two Bibles in English, bearing different titles, and printed in different places. The first was called Thomas Mathews' bible, printed at Hamburgh about A.D. 1532, the corrector of which was then John Rogers. The printers were Richard Grafton and Whitchurch. In the translation of this bible, the greatest helper was William Tyndale who, with the help of Miles Coverdale had translated all the books except the Apocrypha, and certain notes in the margin, which were added afterward. But as William Tyndale was apprehended before this Bible was fully perfected, it was thought good to change the name of William Tyndale, because that name was then odious, and to further it by the strange name of Thomas Mathews. John Rogers at the same time was corrector to the press; he then translated the rest of the Apocrypha, and also added certain notes in the margin. Therefore it came to be called Thomas Mathews' Bible. This Bible of Thomas Mathews, after it was printed and presented to lord Cromwell, and lord Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who both liked it very well. Cromwell presented it to the king; and obtained that it might be read freely by his majesty's subjects. So that, there was printed upon the book one line in red letters, with these words: "Set forth with the King's most gracious License."

After the restraint of this Bible of Mathews, another Bible began to be printed at Paris (A..D. 1540), which was called "The Bible of the large Volume." The printers were Richard Grafton and Whitchurch, who bore the charges. Lord Cromwell was a great helper. The chief overseer was Miles Coverdale, who taking the translation of Tyndale, compared it with the Hebrew, and amended many things.

After this, the bishops bringing their purpose to pass, brought lord Cromwell out of favor, and then shortly to his death. Not long after, great complaint was made to the king against the translation of the Bible and the preface. And then the sale of the Bible was commanded to be stayed, with the bishops promising to amend and correct it. But they never performed their promise. Then Grafton was called, and charged with the printing of Mathews' Bible. But being fearful of trouble, he made excuses for himself in all things. Then he was examined concerning the great Bible, and what notes he was to make. He answered that he knew none, for his purpose was to retain learned men to make the notes. But when he perceived that the king's majesty and his clergy were not willing to have any, he proceeded no further. Despite all these excuses, Grafton was sent to the Fleet prison, and there he remained six weeks. Before he came out, he posted a bond of three hundred pounds pledging that he would neither sell, print, nor cause to be printed, any more Bibles, until the king and the clergy agreed upon a translation. And thus the Bible was stayed from that time, during the remainder of the reign of King Henry VIII.

But one more thing is yet to be noted, that after the printers lost their Bibles, they continued as suitors to Bonner, to be a means to obtain their books again from the French king. Bonner ever fed them with fair words, promising them much, but doing nothing for them, till at last Bonner was discharged from his embassy, and returned home. There he was welcomed by lord Cromwell, who loved him dearly, and had a marvellous good opinion of him. So long as Cromwell remained in authority, Bonner was at his beck — a friend to his friends, and enemy to his enemies. Cromwell was at that time an enemy to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who never favored Cromwell; and therefore Bonner could not favor the bishop; so he and Gardiner were the greatest enemies that could be.

But as soon as Cromwell fell, Bonner and Winchester immediately pretended to be the greatest friends that ever lived; and Bonner could not speak a good word of Cromwell, but used the vilest and bitterest words that he could speak, calling him the rankest heretic that ever lived; and then Bonner could never abide the sight of those he knew to have been in good favor with Cromwell. It went so far, that the very next day after Cromwell was apprehended, Grafton, who before had been very familiar with Bonner, met him suddenly, and said to him that he was sorry to hear of the news that was abroad. “What is that?” he asked. “Of the apprehension of lord Cromwell,” replied Grafton. “Are you sorry for that?” he asked. “It would have been good that he was dispatched long ago.” With that, Grafton did not know what to say; but he came no more to Bonner. However, afterwards, Grafton being charged for printing a ballad made in favor of Cromwell, was called before the council where Bonner was present. And there Bonner charged him with the words that he spoke to him about Cromwell, and gave a long account of the matter. But lord Audley, who was then lord chancellor, discreetly and honorably cut off the matter, and entered into other talk.

***The History of Dr. Robert Barnes, et al.***

*The History of Doctor Robert Barnes, Thomas Gerrard,  
and William Jerome, Divines.*

As in battles, the chief point of victory consists in the safety of the general or captain; even so, when the valiant standard-bearer and stay of the church of England, Thomas Cromwell, was taken out of the way, the miserable slaughter of good men and good women ensued. For Winchester, having now gotten his full purpose and free course to exercise his cruelty, it was shocking to see what troubles he raised in the Lord’s vineyard. And lest by delay he might lose the occasion offered, he straightway made his first assaults upon Robert Barnes, Thomas Gerrard, and William Jerome, whom he caused to be executed within two days after Cromwell’s death. First of all we will speak of Dr. Barnes, whose particular history follows:

**Robert Barnes.** After he came from the University of Louvain, he went to Cambridge where he was made prior and master of the house of the Augustines. At that time the knowledge of good letters had scarcely entered into the University. Barnes having a taste for good learning and authors, began to read Terence, Plautus, and Cicero; so that shortly, with his industry, pains, and labor, he caused the university to flourish with good letters, and he made a great part of the students learned. After those foundations had been laid, then he openly read St. Paul’s epistles, because he would have Christ and his holy word taught there; and thereby in a short time he made some good divines. The same order of disputation which he kept in his house, he observed likewise in the university abroad, where he disputed with any man in the common schools. The first man that answered Dr. Barnes in the Scriptures, was Master Stafford, upon being examined for his form to be a bachelor of divinity. This disputation was marvellous in the sight of the doctors, and joyful to the godly in spirit.

[585] A.D. 1540-1547.

Thus Barnes, with his reading, disputation, and preaching, became famous and mighty in the Scriptures, always preaching against bishops and hypocrites. And yet he did not see his own inward and outward idolatry, which he both taught and maintained till that good Master Bilney with others (as related in the life of Master Bilney, p. 509), converted him wholly to Christ.

The first sermon that he ever preached about this truth was on the Sunday before Christmas day, at St. Edward's church, belonging to Trinity Hall in Cambridge. For that sermon he was immediately accused of heresy by two fellows of the King's Hall. Then the godly and learned in Christ, both of Pembroke Hall, St. John's, Peter's House, Queen's College, the King's College, Gunwel Hall, and Benet College, showed themselves, and flocked together openly, both in the schools and at sermons in St. Mary's, at the Austins; and at other disputations. And then they conferred together continually.

At this time much trouble began to ensue. The adversaries of Barnes accused him in the Regent-house before the vice-chancellor; and presented articles against him. He promised to answer these at the next convocation. Then Nottoris, a violent enemy to Christ, moved Barnes to recant; but he refused to do so, until within six days of Shrovetide. Then suddenly a serjeant-at-arms was sent down to Cambridge, who arrested Dr. Barnes openly in the convocation-house, to make all others afraid.

But good Dr. Farman, of Queen's College, sent word to the chambers of those thirty persons who were suspected of possessing Luther's books. And God be praised, they were conveyed away by the time the serjeant-at-arms, the vice-chancellor, and the proctors were at every man's chamber. In the morning Dr. Barnes was carried by the serjeant-at-arms to cardinal Wolsey, at Westminster. There, after waiting all day, he could not speak with him till night. Then, because of Doctor Gardiner, secretary to the cardinal, and Master Fox, master of the Wards, he spoke with the cardinal in his chamber of estate, on his knees. The cardinal said to them, "Is this Dr. Barnes, your man who is accused of heresy?" "Yes, and please your grace, and we trust you will find him reformable, for he is both well learned and wise." "What, Master Doctor," asked the cardinal, "did you not have a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, but my golden shoes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my crosses so offended you, that you must make us look ridiculous among the people? We were that day laughed to scorn. Truly it was a sermon more fit to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit." Barnes answered, "I spoke nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to my conscience, and according to the old doctors." And then he delivered to the cardinal six sheets of paper written to confirm and corroborate his statements.

He received them smiling, saying, "We perceive, then, that you intend to stand to your articles, and to show your learning."

"Yea," said Barnes, "that I do intend, by God's grace, with your lordship's favor." Wolsey replied, "I will ask you a question: Do you think it more necessary that I should have all this royalty, because I represent the king's majesty's person in all the high courts of this realm, to the terror and keeping down of all rebellious treasons, traitors, all the wicked and corrupt members of this commonwealth; or instead to be as simple as you would have us; to sell all these things, and to give it to the poor; and to throw away this majesty of a princely dignity, which is a terror to all the wicked?" Barnes answered; "I think it necessary that it be sold and given to the poor. For this is not seemly for your calling; nor is the king's majesty maintained by your pomp and poll-axes, but by God."

Then the cardinal answered, "Look, master doctors, here is the learned wise man that you told me of." Then kneeling down, they said, "We desire your grace to be good to him, for he will be reformable."

The cardinal said; "Stand up; for your sakes and the university we will be good to him. What do you say, master doctor? Do you not know that I am a legate, and that I am able to dispense in all matters concerning religion within this realm, as much as the pope may?" Barnes said, "I know it to be so." "Will you then be ruled by us, and we will do all things for your welfare, and for the welfare of the university?" Barnes answered; "I thank your grace for your good will. I will abide by the holy Scriptures, according to the simple talent that God has lent me." "Well," said the cardinal, "You shall have your learning tried to the utmost, and you shall have the law."

Then Barnes requested that he might have justice with equity. He would have been sent immediately to the Tower, but Gardiner and Fox became his sureties that night. And so he returned to Mr. Parnel's house, where he commenced writing again, and did not sleep — Master Coverdale, Master Goodwin, and Master Field, being his writers.<sup>499</sup> In the morning he came to Gardiner and Fox, and was committed to the sergeant-at-arms to bring him into the chapter-house at Westminster, before the bishops and the abbot of Westminster.

At the same time when Doctor Barnes was to appear before the cardinal, there were five men to be examined for Luther's book and Lollardy. But after they saw Barnes, they set the other aside, and asked the sergeant-at-arms what was his errand? He said he had brought one Doctor Barnes to be examined for heresy, and presented both his articles and his accusers. Then immediately after a little talk, they swore him, and laid his articles to him. Then they called the master of the Fleet, and Barnes with five others were committed to the Fleet. They called Doctor Barnes back, and asked him whether he would subscribe to his articles or not? He subscribed willingly. Then they committed him and young Master Parnel to the Fleet with the others. There they remained till Saturday morning. The warden of the Fleet was commanded that no man should speak with Barnes.

On Saturday he came back into the chapterhouse, and there he remained. After long disputations, threatenings, and scornings, about five o'clock at night they called him, to know whether he would abjure or be burned? He was then in a great agony, and thought rather to burn than to abjure. But afterwards he was persuaded to abjure rather than to burn. Upon that, falling upon his knees, he consented to abjure. The abjuration being put into his hand, he abjured as it was written, and subscribed it with his own hand. Yet they would scarcely receive him into the bosom of the church, as they termed it. They put him to his oath, and charged him to execute, do, and fulfill all that they commanded him; and he promised so to do.

They then commanded the warden of the Fleet to carry him and his fellows to the place from where he came, to be kept close in prison, and in the morning to provide five faggots for Dr. Barnes, and the other men. The fifth man was commanded to have a taper of five pounds weight provided for him to offer to the rood of Northen in St. Paul's. All these things were to be ready by eight o'clock in the morning; and the warden, with all that he could muster with bills and glaves,<sup>500</sup> and the knight marshal, with all his tipstuffs that he could gather, would

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<sup>499</sup> A poetic way of saying that Dr. Barnes was guided by their writings, perhaps citing them extensively.

<sup>500</sup> *Bills glaves, and tipstuffs*: medieval infantry weapons consisting of a broad, heavy, double-edged, hook-shaped blade, with a short pike at the back and another at the top, attached to the end of a long staff. The tipstaff was a staff with a metal tip, carried as a sign of office by a bailiff or constable

bring them to St. Paul's and conduct them home again. In the morning they were all ready by the hour appointed, in St. Paul's church. The church was so full that no man could get in. The cardinal had a scaffold made on the top of the stairs for himself, with thirty-six abbots, and mitered priors, and bishops. He in his pomp sat there enthroned, with his chaplains and spiritual doctors in gowns of damask and satin, and he himself in purple, even like a bloody antichrist. And there a new pulpit was also erected on the top of the stairs, for the bishop of Rochester to preach against Luther and Dr. Barnes.

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Great baskets full of books were standing before them within the rails. These were commanded to be burned there, after the great fire was made before the rood of Northen. And these heretics, after the sermon, were to go three times around the fire, and to cast in their faggots.

Now, during the sermon. Dr. Barnes and the others were commanded to kneel down and ask forgiveness of God, the catholic church, and the cardinal. After that, he was commanded at the end of the sermon to declare that he was more charitably handled than he deserved, his heresies being so horrible and detestable; and he once again kneeled down, desiring the people to pray for him; and so the cardinal departed under a canopy, with all his mitered men with him, till he came to the second gate of St. Paul's; there he took his mule, and the mitered men came back. These poor men being ordered to come down, the bishops commanded the knight marshal and the warden of the Fleet to carry them around the fire; and after this they were brought to the bishops, and there kneeled down for absolution. Rochester stood up and declared to the people how many days of pardon and forgiveness of sins they had for being at that sermon, and there he absolved Dr. Barnes with the others.

This done, the warden of the Fleet and the knight marshal were commanded to convey them back to the Fleet.

Barnes continued in the Fleet for half a year. At length he was committed as a free prisoner to the Austin friars, in London, who complained of him to the lord cardinal. Upon which he was removed to the Austin friars of Northampton, and there was to be burned. At last, one Master Horne, who had brought him up, and who was his especial friend, having intelligence that a writ would shortly be sent down to burn him, gave him counsel to feign being insane, and that he should write a letter to the cardinal and leave it on his table, to declare that he had gone to drown himself in a certain place; and then to leave his clothes in the place; and another letter to the mayor to search for him in the water, because he had a letter written in parchment hung around his neck, closed in wax for the cardinal. Having done this, seven days were spent searching for him; but in the meantime he was conveyed to London in a poor man's apparel. He took shipping and went to Antwerp, and so to Luther. There he fell to study till he had made an answer to all the bishops of the realm, and had written a book entitled, "*Acta Romanorum Puntificum*," and another book with a supplication to king Henry.

Dr. Barnes was made strong in Christ, and got favor with both the learned in Christ and with the foreign princes in Germany, and he was intimate with Luther, Melancthon, and others; also with the duke of Saxony, and the king of Denmark, who in the time of More and Stokesley, sent him with the Lubecks as an ambassador to Henry VIII.

Sir Thomas More, then chancellor, would gladly have entrapped him, but the king would not let him, for Cromwell was his great friend. And before he went, the Lubecks and he disputed with the bishops of this realm in defense of the truth; and so he departed again with the

Lubecks. After going back to Wittenberg to the duke of Saxony, and to Luther, he remained there to forward his works in print which he had begun. From there he returned at the beginning of the reign of queen Anne Boleyn, and continued a faithful preacher in the city, being well entertained and promoted all her time. After that, he was sent as an ambassador by king Henry VIII. to the duke of Cleves, to negotiate a marriage between himself and the lady Anne of Cleves. He was well accepted in the embassy, and in all his doings, until the time that Stephen Gardiner came out of France. And after Gardiner came, neither religion, nor the queen's majesty, nor Cromwell, nor the preachers prospered. For after the marriage of the lady Anne of Cleves, Gardiner never ceased until he had grafted the marriage on another stock.

Not long after, Dr. Barnes, with his brethren, were apprehended and carried before the king at Hampton Court, and there examined. Gardiner sought by all subtle means how to entangle and entrap them into further danger, which not long after was brought to pass. They were enjoined to preach three sermons, at which Stephen Gardiner was present, with the mayor — either to bear record of their recantation, or else, like the Pharisees came to Christ, to entrap them in their words. When these three had thus preached their sermons, Barnes, preaching the first sermon, and seeing Stephen Gardiner present there, humbly desired him in the face of all the audience, if he forgave him, to hold up his hand. Gardiner held up his finger. Yet shortly after, they were sent for to Hampton Court; and from there were carried to the Tower, from which they never came out till they came to their death.

And thus up to here concerning the history of Barnes. Now let us, likewise, consider the history and doings of Thomas Gerrard.

*The History of Thomas Gerrard or Garret,  
as written by Anthony Dalaber.*

“About A.D. 1526, Master Gerrard, curate in Honey Lane, in London, came to Oxford, and brought with him sundry books in Latin, addressing the Scriptures, with the first part of ‘*Unio dissidentium*,’ and Tyndale’s first translation of the New Testament in English. He sold these books to the scholars in Oxford.

“After he had been there a while, it was not unknown to cardinal Wolsey, and to the bishop of London, and to others, that Master Gerrard had a great number of those books, and that he had gone to Oxford to sell them there, to those whom he knew to be lovers of the gospel. Therefore they determined immediately to make a search throughout Oxford, to apprehend and imprison him, and to burn all and every one of his books, and himself too if they could. But at that time one of the proctors. Master Cole, of Magdalen College, was well acquainted with him. And therefore he gave secret warning to a friend of Master Gerrard, and advised that he should, as secretly as he could, depart from Oxford. For if he were taken, he would be immediately be sent up to the cardinal, and be committed to the Tower.

“I, Anthony Dalaber, having books of Master Gerrard, had been in my county in Dorsetshire, where I had a brother, parson of the parish, who was very desirous to have a curate from Oxford. It seemed good that Master Gerrard, changing his name, might be sent with my letters into Dorsetshire, to my brother, to serve him there for a time, until he might secretly convey himself from there to somewhere over the sea. Accordingly, I wrote letters to my brother, for Master Gerrard to be his curate, but not declaring what he was. For my brother was a rank papist, and afterwards was the most mortal enemy that I ever had for the gospel’s sake.

“Accordingly, on the Wednesday, Mr. Gerrard departed from Oxford toward Dorsetshire, with his letters. How far he went, and by what occasion he returned, I do not know. But the next Friday, he came back at night-time. And so, after mid-night, in the search which was then

made for him, he was apprehended and taken in his bed by the two proctors. In the morning he was delivered to one Dr. Cottisford, master of Lincoln college, then a commissary of the university, who kept him as a prisoner in his own chamber. There was great joy and rejoicing among all the papists at his apprehension. I was utterly ignorant of Mr. Gerrard's sudden return, and that he was taken, until he came into my chamber and said he was undone, for he was taken. Thus he spoke unadvisedly in the presence of a young man who came with him. When the young man had departed, I asked Gerrard what he was, and what acquaintance he had with him. He said he did not know him, but that he had been to seek a monk of his acquaintance in that college, who was not in his chamber; and he desired his servant to bring him to me. So he declared how he had returned and was taken that night, and that now, when the commissary and all his company had gone to even-song, and had locked him alone in his chamber, hearing nobody stirring in the college, he pulled back the bar of the lock with his finger, and so he came away.

[587] A.D. 1540-1547.

"Then said I to him, 'Alas, Mr. Gerrard, by your uncircumspect coming to me, and speaking in front of this young man, you have disclosed yourself, and utterly undone me.' I asked him why he had not gone to my brother with my letters accordingly. He said that, after he had gone a day's journey and a half, he was so fearful, that he returned to Oxford. But now with deep sighs and plenty of tears, he prayed me to help convey him away. And so he cast off his hood and gown in which he came to me, and desired me to give him a coat with sleeves, if I had any. He told me that he would go into Wales, and from there convey himself into Germany, if he might. Then I put a sleeved coat of mine on him. He would also have had another manner of cap from me, but I had none but a priest-like cap, as his own was.

"Then we both kneeled down together upon our knees, and lifting up our hearts and hands to God our heavenly Father, we entreated him with plenty of tears so to conduct and prosper him in his journey, that he might well escape the danger of all his enemies, to the glory of his holy name, if it was His good pleasure and will so to do. Then we embraced and kissed each other, and the tears so abundantly flowed from both our eyes, that our faces were all wet with them, and we could scarcely speak one to another for sorrow. So he departed from me, apparelled in my coat, being committed to the guidance of our Almighty and Merciful Father.

"When he had gone down the stairs from my chamber, I straightway shut my chamber-door, and went into my study. I took the New Testament in my hands, kneeled down on my knees, and with many a deep sigh and salty tear, I read over the tenth chapter of St. Matthew's gospel with much deliberation. When I had done so, with prayer I committed to God our dearly beloved brother Gerrard, earnestly beseeching Him, in and for Jesus Christ's sake, His only begotten Son, our Lord, that he would grant not only to safely conduct and keep our said dear brother from the hands of all his enemies; but also that he would endue his tender and recently born little flock in Oxford with heavenly strength by his Holy Spirit, that they might be well able thereby to valiantly withstand to His glory all their fierce enemies, and also might quietly, to their own salvation, with all godly patience, bear Christ's heavy cross, which I now saw was presently to be laid upon their young and weak backs, unable to bear so great a burden, without the help of his Holy Spirit.

"This done, I laid aside my book, folded up Master Gerrard's gown and hood, and laid them in my press among my apparel. And so, having put on my short gown, I shut up my study and chamber-doors, and went toward Frideswides, to speak with that worthy martyr of God, Master Clark, and others, and to declare to them what had happened. But I purposely went by St. Mary's church, to go first to Corpus Christi college, to speak with Diet and Udal, my faithful brethren and fellows in the Lord there. By chance I met by the way with a brother of ours, one Master Eden, fellow of Magdalene College, who, as soon as he saw me, came with a pitiful



countenance, saying that we were all undone, for Master Gerrard had returned to Oxford, and was taken the previous night, and was in prison with the commissary. I said it was not so. He replied it was so. I told him it could not be so; for I was sure he was gone. He answered, "I know he went with your letters, but he came back yesterday evening, and was taken in his bed at Radleis this night. But I told him again, that I was well assured he was gone, for I spoke with him later than either the proctor or the commissary did. And then I declared the whole matter to him, how and when he came to me; and how he went his way, desiring him to declare the same to our brethren whom he might meet with; and to give God hearty thanks for his wonderful deliverance, and to beseech Him also that he would grant him safely to pass away from all his enemies. And I told him that I was going to Master Clark of Frideswides, to declare to him this matter; for I knew and thought truly that he and others there were in great sorrow about this matter.

"Then I went straight to Frideswides. Even-song had begun, and the dean and the other canons were there. As I stood there, in comes Dr. Cottisford the commissary, as fast as he could, bareheaded, and as pale as ashes, and he goes to the dean where he was sitting in his stall, and talked with him very sorrowfully. I went aside from the choir-door, to hear and see more. The commissary and dean came out of the choir greatly troubled. About the middle of the church Dr. London met them, puffing, blustering, and blowing, like a hungry and greedy lion seeking his prey. They talked together awhile, but the commissary was much blamed for keeping his prisoner so negligently, so that he wept for sorrow. And it was known abroad that Master Gerrard had escaped; but to where, no man could tell. The doctors departed, and sent their servants and spies every where. Master Clark, about the middle of *Compline*,<sup>501</sup> came out of the choir. I followed him to his chamber, and declared what had happened. He was glad, and sent for one Master Sumner, and Master Belts, fellows and canons there. Meanwhile, he gave me a very good exhortation, praying God to give me, and all the rest of our brethren, 'the prudence of the serpent, and harmlessness of the dove,' for he thought we would shortly have much need of it.

"When we ended our supper, and committed our whole cause with fervent sighs and hearty prayers to God our heavenly Father, I went to Alborn Hall, and there lay that night. In the morning I was up very early. As soon as I could get out the door I went straight towards Gloucester College, to my chamber. It had rained that morning, and my hose and shoes were sprinkled with mire. When I had come to Gloucester College, which was about six o'clock, I found the gates fast shut, at which I much marvelled; for they were usually opened daily long before that time. Then I walked up and down for a whole hour before the gates were opened. In the meanwhile my musing head being full of forecasting cares, and my sorrowful heart flowing with doleful sighs, I fully determined in my conscience before God, that if I were by chance taken and examined, I would accuse no man, nor declare anything further than I perceived was manifestly known already. And so when the gate was opened, thinking to change myself, and to put on a longer gown, I went in towards my chamber. Going up the stairs, I would have opened my door, but I could not do it; by this I perceived that my lock had been meddled with; and yet at last, with much ado, I opened the lock. But when I came in, I saw my bed all tossed and tumbled, my clothes in my press thrown down, and my study-door open. I was much amazed, and thought truly that some search had been made there that night for Master Gerrard, and that it was known of his being with me, by the monk's man who brought him to my chamber.

"Now, a monk was lying in the chamber next to me, who as soon as he had heard me in the chamber, came to me, and told me how Master Gerrard was sought in my chamber that night, and what ado was made by the commissary and the two proctors, with bills and swords thrust

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<sup>501</sup> *Compline*: last of the seven canonical hours just before retiring.

through my straw bed, and how every corner of my chamber was searched for Master Gerrard. And although his gown and his hood lay there in my press with my clothes, they did not perceive them. Then he told me he was commanded to bring me, as soon as I came in, to the prior of the students, named Anthony Dunstan, a monk of Westminster. This so troubled me, that I forgot to clean my hose and shoes, and to put on another gown. Therefore, all dirty as I was, and in my short gown, I went with him to the prior's chamber, where I found the prior standing and looking for my coming. He asked me where I had been that night: I told him I lay at Alborn Hall with my old fellow Fitzjames, but he would not believe me.

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“He asked me if Master Gerrard was with me yesterday? I told him, ‘Yes.’ Then he would know where he was, and why he came to me. I told him ‘I did not know where he was, unless he was at Woodstock. For so,’ I continued, ‘he had shown me that he would go there, because one of the keepers there was his friend, and had promised him a piece of venison to make merry with at the Shrovetide; and that he would have borrowed a hat and a pair of high shoes from me, but I had none to lend him.’ Then he observed on my finger a big ring of silver very well double gilt, with two letters A.D. engraved in it for my name; I suppose he thought it to be gold. He required to see it. I took it to him. When he had it in his hand, he said it was his ring, for in it was his name: an A. for Anthony, and a D. for Dunstan. When I heard him say that, I wished in my heart to be as well delivered from his company, as I was assured to be delivered from my ring forever.

“Then he called for pen, ink, and paper, and commanded me to write when and how Gerrard came to me, and where he had gone. I had scarcely written three words, when the chief beadle, with two or three of the commissary's men came to the prior, requiring him to bring me away to Lincoln College to the commissary, and to Dr. London. When I was brought into the chapel, there I found Dr. Cottisford, commissary, Dr. Higdon, then dean of the Cardinal's College, and Dr. London, warden of the New College, standing together at the altar in the chapel. When I was brought to them, after greetings given and taken between them, they called for chairs and sat down, and then called for me to come to them. First they asked what my name was. I told them that my name was Anthony Dalaber. Then they also asked me how long I had been a student in the university? I told them almost three years. They asked me what I studied. I told them I had read sophistry and logic in Alborn Hall, and now was removed to Gloucester College to study the civil law. Then they asked me whether I knew Master Gerrard, and how long I had known him? I told them I knew him well, and had known him almost twelve months. They asked me when he was with me? I told them yesterday afternoon.

“Now by this time, while they had me in this talk, one came to them, with pen, ink, and paper; I think it was the clerk of the University. As soon as he had come, there was a board with a form for him to sit on, set between the doctors and me, and a great mass-book laid before me. I was commanded to lay my right hand on it, and to swear that I would truly answer whatever interrogatories I might be examined upon by them. I hesitated at first; but afterwards, being persuaded by them, partly by fair words, and partly by great threats, I promised to do as they would have me do. But in my heart I meant not to do so. So I laid my hand on the book, and one of them gave me my oath; and that done, commanded me to kiss the book. Then they made great courtesy between those who would examine me, and put interrogatories to me. At last, the greatest papistical Pharisee of them all, Doctor London, took it upon himself to do it.

“He asked me by my oath, where Master Gerrard was, and to where I had conveyed him. I told him I had not conveyed him, nor yet knew where he was; nor where he had gone, unless he had gone to Woodstock, as I had said before, as he told me he would. Then he asked me again when he came to me, how he came to me; what and how long he talked with me; and to where he went from me. I told him he came to me about the time of even-song, and that someone

brought him to my chamber-door, whom I did not know; and that he told me he would go to Woodstock for some venison to make merry with this Shrovetide; and that he would have borrowed a hat, and a pair of high shoes from me; but I had none to lend him; and then he straight went his way from me, but to where I did not know. All these statements of mine, the scribe wrote in a book.

“Then they earnestly required me to tell them to where I had conveyed him. For surely, they said, I brought him somewhere this morning, as they might perceive by my foul shoes and hose, that I had travelled with him for most of this night. I answered plainly that I lay at Alborn Hall, and that I had a good witness of it there. They asked me where I was at even-song. I told them at Frideswides, and that I saw first Master Commissary; and then Dr. London come there at that time to the dean of Frideswides; and that I saw them talking together in the church there. Dr. London and the dean threatened me, that if I would not tell the truth where I had taken him, or to where he had gone, I would surely be sent to the Tower of London, and there be put to the torture. But Master Commissary entreated me with gentle words, to tell him where he was, that he might secure him again, and that he would be my very great friend, and deliver me out of trouble. I told him I could not tell where he was. Thus they occupied and tossed me for almost two hours in the chapel — sometimes with threatenings and foul words; and then with fair words and fair promises. Then the one who brought Mr. Gerrard to my chamber was brought before me, and made to declare what Mr. Gerrard said to me at his coming to my chamber. But I said plainly that I heard him say no such thing; for I thought my *no* to be as good as his *yes*, seeing it was to rid and deliver my godly brother of trouble and peril of his life.

“At last, when they could get nothing from me to hurt or accuse any man, or know anything about what they sought, all three together brought me up into a great chamber over the commissary’s chamber, in which stood a great pair of very high stocks. Then Master Commissary asked me for my purse and girdle; took away my money and my knives, and then put both my legs into the stocks, and locked me fast in them. I sat in them, with my feet being almost as high as my head; and so, leaving me alone, after locking the chamber-door, they departed (I think to their abominable mass). When they had all gone, it came to my remembrance the worthy forewarning and godly declaration of that most constant martyr of God, Master John Clark, my father in Christ, who nearly two years before that, when I earnestly desired him to permit me to be his scholar, and that I might go with him continually when and wherever he might teach or preach, said to me much of this sort:

‘Dalaber, you desire you know not what, and which, I fear, you are unable to take upon yourself. For though now my preaching is sweet and pleasant to you, because there is yet no persecution laid upon you for it, yet the time will come, and that perhaps shortly, if we continue to live godly in this, that God will lay upon you the cross of persecution to test you, whether you can abide the fire as pure gold, or be consumed as stubble and dross. For the Holy Spirit plainly affirms by St. Paul, ‘If any man would live godly, he shall suffer persecution.’ 2Tim 3.12. Indeed, you will be called and judged a heretic; you will be abhorred by the world; your own friends and kinsfolk will forsake you and also hate you; and you will be cast into prison; and no man will dare to help or comfort you; and you will be accused and brought before the bishops to your reproach and shame, to the great sorrow of all your faithful friends and kinsfolk. Then you will wish that you had never known this doctrine; then you will curse Clark, and wish that you had never known him; because he had brought you into all these troubles.’

“I was so grieved at these words, that I fell down on my knees at his feet, and with an abundance of tears and sighs, even from the very bottom of my heart I earnestly besought him, that for the tender mercy of God shown to us in our Lord Jesus Christ, he would not refuse me,

but receive me into his company, as I desired, saying that I trusted truly that He who had begun this in me would not forsake me, but give me grace to continue in it to the end. When he heard me say this, he came to me and took me up in his arms and kissed me — the tears trickling down from his eyes. And he said to me, ‘The Lord Almighty grant you to do so; and from then on forever take me for your father, and I will take you for my son in Christ.’

“Now at this time in Oxford there were several graduates and scholars at the colleges and halls, whom God had called to the knowledge of his holy word, who all resorted to Mr. Clark’s disputations and lectures in divinity.

[589] A.D. 1540-1547.

“And when they might not come conveniently, I was appointed by Mr. Clark to resort to every one of them weekly, and to know what doubts they had in any place of the Scripture, that by me from him they might have the true understanding of them. This exercise did me much good and profit, to the understanding of the holy Scriptures, which I most desired.

“This forewarning and godly declaration (I say) of this most godly martyr of God, Mr. Clark, coming to my remembrance, caused me with deep sighs to cry to God from my heart, to assist me with his Holy Spirit, that I might be able to patiently and quietly bear and suffer whatever it might please him of his Fatherly love to lay upon me, to His glory, and the comfort of my dearly beloved brethren, whom I thought now to be in great fear and anguish, lest I be an accuser of them all. For they were all well known to me, and all their doings in that matter. But, God be praised, I was fully bent never to accuse any of them, whatever should happen to me. Before dinner Master Cottisford came up to me, and earnestly requested me to tell him where Master Gerrard was, and if I would do so, he promised me straightway to deliver me out of prison. But I told him I could not tell where he was; for indeed I could not. Then he departed to dinner, asking me if I could eat any food; I told him, yes, right gladly. He said he would send me some. When he had gone, his servants asked me many questions, which I do not remember now; and some of them spoke fair words to me, and some threatened me, calling me heretic; and so they departed, locking the door securely upon me.”

Thus far Anthony Dalaber has prosecuted this history. He died in 1562, in the diocese of Salisbury, before finishing it.

After this, Gerrard was apprehended and taken by Master Cole, the proctor, as his men were going westward, at a place called Hinksey, a little beyond Oxford. And so being brought back, he was committed to a ward of the prison. He was brought before the commissary. Dr. London, and Dr. Higdon, dean of Frideswides (now called Christ’s College), in St. Mary’s church. There, sitting in judgment, they convicted him according to their law as a heretic, and afterwards compelled him to carry a faggot in open procession from St. Mary’s church to Frideswides, and Dalaber likewise with him — Gerrard having his red hood on his shoulders like a master of arts. After that, they were sent to Osney, there to be kept in prison till further orders were received.

Besides these, there were a great number also suspected to be infected with heresy (as they called it), for having such books of God’s truth as Master Gerrard had sold to them. Many were forced to forsake their colleges and return to their friends. Against the procession time, they made a great fire, into which all those who were in the procession, who had been convicted or suspected of heresy, were each commanded to cast a book as they passed by, in token of repentance and renouncing their errors.

After this, Master Gerrard, fled from place to place to escape their tyranny, till this present time, when he was again apprehended and burned in Smithfield, with Doctor Barnes and

William Jerome, vicar of Stepney.<sup>502</sup> Thus, these three godly men endured martyrdom in the fire with great constancy. More about this William Jerome now follows.

*The Life and History of William Jerome,  
Vicar of Stepney, and Martyr of Christ.*

The third who suffered with Barnes and Gerrard, was William Jerome, vicar of Stepney. This Jerome being a diligent preacher of God's word, for the comfort and edification of the people, had preached many sermons in which he labored to weed out the roots of men's traditions, doctrines, dreams, and fantasies. In so doing he could not otherwise but provoke much hatred against him among the adversaries of Christ's gospel.

It so happened, that on preaching one Sunday at St. Paul's, he gave a sermon in which he recited and mentioned Hagar and Sarah, declaring what these two signified. He showed how Sarah and her child Isaac and all those who were Isaac's, and born of the free woman Sarah, were freely justified: and those who were born of Hagar, the bondwoman, were bound and under the law, and could not be freely justified. In these words, what was there said, but what St. Paul himself expounds in his epistle to the Galatians (fourth chapter), or what could be gathered there, but what was consonant to sound doctrine? The point was this: he was accused of preaching erroneously at St. Paul's cross, teaching the people that all who were born of Sarah were freely justified; speaking there absolutely without any condition, either of baptism or of penance, etc. Who doubts that if St. Paul himself had been at St. Paul's cross, and had preached the same words to Englishmen, which he wrote to the Galatians, he would have been apprehended as a heretic for preaching against the sacrament of baptism and repentance?

And thus much concerning the several histories of these three good men. Now let us see the order of their martyrdom, joining them together; what was the cause of their condemnation; and what were their protestations and words at their suffering.

Barnes, Jerome, and Gerrard, being committed to the Tower after Easter, remained there till the 30th of July, which was two days after the death of Lord Cromwell. Then process was issued against them by the king's council in parliament. Gardiner confessed that he was privy to this process. Thereupon these three good saints of God, on the 30th of July, not coming to any answer, nor yet knowing any cause of their condemnation, without any public hearing, were brought together from the Tower to Smithfield. There at the stake, while preparing themselves for the fire, they gave many and various exhortations. Among them, Dr. Barnes first began with the following protestation:

"I have come here to be burned as a heretic, and you will hear my belief, whereby you will perceive what erroneous opinions I hold. I take God to record that I never, to my knowledge, taught any erroneous doctrine, but only those things which Scripture led me to; and in my sermons I never maintained any error, nor moved, nor gave any occasion for insurrection. Although I have been slandered for preaching that our Lady was but a saffron-bag — which I utterly protest before God that I never meant it, nor preached it — but all my study and diligence has been to utterly confound and confute all men of that doctrine, such as the anabaptists, who deny that our Savior Christ took any flesh of the blessed Virgin Mary; I detest and abhor that sect. And in this place some of them have been burned, whom I never favored nor maintained. But always with all diligence I studied to set forth the glory of God; the

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<sup>502</sup> Stepney (including Stepney Green) is an area in London's East End. Jeremiah Burroughs, William Bridge, Charles Spurgeon, and A.W. Brown would later preach there.

obedience to our sovereign lord the king; and the true and sincere religion of Christ. And now hearken to my faith:

“I believe in the holy and blessed Trinity, three Persons in one Godhead, that created and made all the world; and that this blessed Trinity sent down this second Person, Jesus Christ, into the womb of the most blessed and purest Virgin Mary. And here bear me record, that I utterly condemn that abominable and detestable opinion of the anabaptists, who say that Christ took no flesh of the Virgin. For I believe that without man’s will or power he was conceived by the Holy Spirit, and took her flesh, and that he suffered hunger, thirst, cold, and other passions of our body, sin excepted, according to the saying of St. Paul, ‘He was made in all things like his brethren,’ except sin. And I believe that his death and passion was the sufficient ransom for the sin of all the world. And I believe that through his death he overcame sin, death, and hell, and that there is no other satisfaction to the Father, except his death and passion alone; and that no work of man deserved anything from God, except his passion, as regards our justification. For I know the best work that I ever did is impure and imperfect.”

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And with this he cast abroad his hands, and desired God to forgive him his trespasses.

“For though perhaps you know nothing by me, yet I confess that my thoughts and cogitations are innumerable. Therefore I beseech you, O Lord, not to enter into judgment with me, according to the saying of the prophet David, ‘Enter not into judgment with your servant, O Lord.’ And in another place, ‘If You, Lord, were to mark iniquity, O Lord, who shall stand?’ Therefore I trust in no good work that ever I did, but only in the death of Christ. I do not doubt to inherit the kingdom of heaven through Him. Do not take me here that I speak against good works, for they are to be done; and truly those who do not do them shall never come into the kingdom of God. We must do them, because they are commanded of us by God, to show and set forth our profession, not to deserve or merit; for that is the death of Christ alone.

“I believe that there is a holy church; and a company of all those who profess Christ; and that all who have suffered and confessed his name are saints, and that they all praise and bless God in heaven, more than I or any man’s tongue can express; and that I have always spoken reverently, and praised them as much as Scripture willed me to do. And that our Lady, I say, was a virgin immaculate and undefiled; and that she is the purest virgin that God ever created, and a vessel elect of God, of whom Christ should be born.”

Then Mr. Sheriff said, “You have said well of her before.” And being afraid that Mr. Sheriff had been or would be aggrieved with anything that he might say, he said, ‘Mr. Sheriff, if I speak anything that you will me not to speak, do no more than beckon me with your hand, and I will straightway hold my peace. For I will not be disobedient in anything, but will obey.’ Then there was one who asked him his opinion about praying to saints. Dr. Barnes said,

“Now you shall hear my opinion about saints. I have said something about them before, I think, how I believe they are in heaven with God; and that they are worthy of all the honor that Scripture wills them to have. But I say, throughout Scripture we are not commanded to pray to any saints. Therefore I neither can nor will preach to you that saints ought to be prayed to; for then I would preach to you a doctrine of my own head. Notwithstanding, whether they pray for us or not, I refer that to God. And if saints do pray for us, then I trust to pray for you within this half hour, Mr. Sheriff, and for every Christian man living in the faith of Christ, and dying in that faith as a saint. Therefore if the dead may pray for the quick, I will surely pray for you.”

“Well have you anything more to say?” Then he spoke to Mr. Sheriff, and said, “Have you any articles against me for which I am condemned?” And the sheriff answered “No.” “Then,” he said, “is there anyone else here who knows why I must die, or that has been led into error

by my preaching? Let them speak now, and I will give them an answer." No man answered. Then he said,

"Well, I am condemned by the law to die, and I understand it is by an act of Parliament. I cannot tell why, but probably heresy, for which we are likely to burn. But those who have been the occasion of it, I pray God to forgive them, as I would be forgiven myself. And Stephen, who is now bishop of Winchester. if he has sought or worked my death either by word or deed, I pray God to forgive him, as heartily, as freely, as charitably, and without feigning, as ever Christ forgave those who put him to death. And if any of the council, or any others have sought or worked it through malice or ignorance, I pray God to forgive their ignorance, and illuminate their eyes, so that they may see and ask mercy for it. I beseech you all to pray for the king, as I have done ever since I was in prison; and now pray that God may give him prosperity, and that he may long reign among you; and after him that godly Prince Edward may so reign, that he may finish those things that his father has begun. I have been reported to be a preacher of sedition and disobedience to the king's majesty. But here I say to you that you are all bound by the commandment of God to obey your prince with all humility, and with all your heart; indeed, not so much as in a look to show yourselves disobedient to him, and that is not only for fear of the sword, but also for conscience' sake before God."

Then he spoke to the sheriff, and said, "Mr. Sheriff, I require you on God's behalf to have me commended to the king, and to show him that I request from his grace these five requests: *First*, that where his grace has received into his hands all the goods and substance of the abbeyes..." When the sheriff desired him to stop there, he answered,

"Mr. Sheriff, I warrant to you that I will speak no harm. For I know it is well done that all such superstition has been clean taken away; and the king has done well in taking it away. But his grace is made a whole king, and is obeyed in his whole realm as a king (which neither his father nor grandfather, nor his ancestors who reigned before him, ever had), and that through our preaching, and that of other wretches like us, who have always applied our whole studies, and given ourselves to proclaim the same, this is now our reward. Well, it makes no matter. Now he reigns among you. I pray God that he may long live and reign among you. Would to God it may please his grace to bestow the said goods, or some of them, to the comfort of his poor subjects, who surely have great need of them. The second thing that I desire of his grace, is that he will see that matrimony is held in more reverence than it is; and that men do not cast off their wives for every light cause invented, and live in adultery and fornication. The *Third*, that abominable swearers may be punished; for the vengeance of God will come upon them for their mischievous oaths. The *Fourth*, that his grace would proclaim Christ's true religion. And seeing that he has begun, go forward and make an end. For many things have been done, but there is much more to do; and that it would please his grace to look at God's word himself, for it has been obscured with many traditions invented out of our own brains."

"Now," he asked, "how many petitions have I spoken of?" And the people said, "Four."

"Well," he said, "even these four are sufficient which I desire of you, so that the king's grace may be certified, and say that I most humbly desire him to look earnestly upon them; and that his grace take heed that he not be deceived by false preachers and teachers and evil counsel. For Christ says that such false prophets will come in sheep's clothing."

Then he desired all men to forgive him, and if he had said any evil at any time unadvisedly, whereby he had offended any man; or given any occasion for evil, that they would forgive him of it, and amend that evil they took from him; and to bear him witness that he detested and abhorred all evil opinions and doctrines against the word of God; and that he died in the faith of Jesus Christ, by whom he did not doubt to be saved. And with these words he

desired them all to pray for him. And then he turned around and put off his clothes, making ready for the fire, there patiently to take his death.

Jerome and Gerrard also made a similar confession, professing in like manner their belief, reciting all the articles of the Christian faith, briefly declaring their minds upon every article, whereby the people might understand that there was no cause nor error in their faith. They protested that they denied nothing that was either in the Old or New Testament, set forth by their sovereign lord the king, whom they prayed the Lord long to continue among them, with his most dear son, Prince Edward. This done, Jerome added this exhortation in the few words which follow:

“I say to you, good brethren, that God has bought us all with no small price, neither with gold nor silver or other such things of small value, but with his most precious blood. Therefore, do not be unthankful to him; but do as much as belongs to Christian men, to fulfill his commandments, that is, ‘Love your brethren.’ Love hurts no man, love fulfills all things. If God has sent you plenty, help your neighbor that has need. Give him good counsel. If he lacks, consider that if you were in necessity, you would gladly be refreshed. And again, bear your cross with Christ. Consider what reproof, slander, and reproach he suffered from his enemies, and how patiently he suffered all things.

[591] A.D. 1540-1547.

“Consider that all that Christ did was of his own goodness, and not of our deserving. For if we could merit our own salvation, Christ would not have died for us. But for Adam’s breaking of God’s precepts, we would all have been lost, if Christ had not redeemed us again. And as Adam broke the precepts, and was driven out of Paradise, so if we break God’s commandments, we shall have damnation if we do not repent and ask mercy. Now, therefore, let all Christians put no trust or confidence in their works, but in the blood of Christ, to whom I commit my soul, beseeching you all to pray to God for me, and for my brethren here present with me, that our souls, leaving these wretched carcasses, may depart in the true faith of Christ.”

In a similar manner Gerrard protested, and exhorted the people; and ended his protestation as follows:

“I also detest, abhor, and refuse all heresies and errors; and if, either by negligence or ignorance, I have taught or maintained any, I am sorry for it, and ask mercy of God. Or if I have been so vehement or rash in preaching, by which any person has taken any offense, error, or evil opinion, I desire his forgiveness, and all other persons whom I have in any way offended,. Notwithstanding, to my remembrance I never wittingly or willingly preached anything against God’s holy word, or contrary to the true faith, nor to the maintenance of errors, heresies, or vicious living. But I have always, for my little learning, set forth the honor of God, and the right obedience to his laws; and also the king’s. And if I could have done better, I would. Therefore, Lord, if I have taken in hand to do that thing which I could not perfectly perform, I desire your pardon for my bold presumption. And I pray God to send the king’s grace good and godly counsel, to his glory, to the king’s honor, and the increase of virtue in this his realm. And thus I now yield up my soul to Almighty God, trusting and believing that of his infinite mercy, for his promise made in the blood of his Son, our most merciful Savior, Jesus Christ, he will take it and pardon me of all my sins by which I have from my youth most grievously offended his majesty. Therefore I ask him mercy, desiring you all to pray with me and for me, that I may patiently suffer this pain, and die steadfastly in true faith, perfect hope, and charity.”

And so, after they had engaged in prayer, in which they desired the Lord Jesus to be their comfort and consolation in this their affliction, and to establish them with perfect faith,



constancy, and patience through the Holy Spirit, taking each other by the hands, and kissing one another, they quietly and humbly offered themselves to the hands of the tormentors. And so they took their death both Christianly and constantly, with such patience as might well testify the goodness of their cause, and the quiet of their conscience.

In this it is to be noted how mightily the Lord works with his grace and fortitude in the hearts of his servants, especially in those who suffer with a guiltless conscience for religion's sake, above others who suffer for their deserts. For whereas those who suffer as malefactors, are commonly heavy and pensive in their death, so the others with heavenly alacrity and cheerfulness, abide whatever it pleases the Lord to lay upon them.

*A note of three Papists executed at the same time  
with Barnes, Jerome, and Gerrard.*

At the same time, and in the same place, three others were also executed, though not for the same cause, but rather the contrary: namely, for denying the king's supremacy. Their names were Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel. This spectacle happening on the same day, brought the people into a marvellous doubt about their religion, which part to follow, as might well happen among ignorant people, seeing two contrary parties suffering — the one for popery, the other against popery — both at one time. This circumstance happened because of a certain division among the king's council, who were so equally divided among themselves, that the one half seemed to hold with the one religion, and the other half with the contrary.

We have thought it good to annex here their names, even though it is not necessary to express them, yet for setting forth the truth:

PROTESTANTS.	PAPISTS
Canterbury.	Winchester.
Suffolk.	Durham.
Beauchamp.	Norfolk.
Lisle.	Southampton.
Russel, treasurer.	Anthony Brown.
Paget.	William Paulet.
Sadler.	John Baker.
Audley.	Richard, chancellor of the Augmentation.
	Wingfield, vice-chancellor.

This division and separation of the council among themselves, caused both these parties above mentioned to suffer, the one for one religion, and the other for another. For as the one part of the council called for the execution of Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome, so the other part likewise called for the execution of the law upon Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel.

***Persecution in London for the Six Articles***

Thus, having discussed the Six Articles, with other matters in the parliament concerning the condemnation of Lord Cromwell, and of Dr. Barnes and his companions, let us now consider what great vexations ensued after the proclamation of these articles through the whole realm of England. First to be mentioned is the severe commissions sent out by the king's authority, to the bishops, chancellors, officials, justices, mayors, and bailiffs, in every shire, and other commissioners; and especially to Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, and

to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, to inquire diligently for all heretical books, and to burn them. Also to inquire for all such persons whatever, who were culpable or suspected of such felonies, heresies, contempts, or transgressions, or speaking any words contrary to the act of the Six Articles.

Upon this commission being given to Edmund Bonner, he came to the Guildhall with other commissioners, to sit upon the statute of the Six Articles. He began soon to put his authority in execution. First he charged certain juries to take their oath upon the statute. Being sworn, they had a day appointed to give their verdict. On that day they indicted sundry persons who were shortly apprehended. And after remaining there a while, they were discharged at the Star Chamber by the king and his council, without any further punishment.

Not long after this, Sir William Roch being mayor, Bonner, with other commissioners, sat at the Guildhall. When the juries were sworn, Bonner took it upon himself to give the charge. He began with a tale of Anacharsis, by which he admonished the juries to spare no persons, of whatever degree they were. At the end of his charge, he brought to the bar a boy whose name was Mekins, declaring how grievously he had offended by speaking certain words against the state, and of the death of Dr. Barnes. He produced to the court two witnesses who were there sworn in the face of the court. So a day was assigned upon which the juries would give their verdict. At that day both the commissioners and the juries met at Guildhall. Then the clerk of the peace called on the juries by their names, and when their appearance was taken, Bonner bade them put in their presentments. Then the foreman of the jury, whose name was William Robins, said, "My lord, we have found nothing." At these words Bonner raged as someone in agony, and said, "Nothing! have you found nothing? What, *nothing*? By the faith I owe to God, I would trust you on your obligation; but by your oath, I will not trust you at all." Then some of the commissioners said, "My lord, give them a longer time." "No," he said, "in London they ever find nothing; I pray you, what do you say to Mekins?" (the accused boy)

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"My lord," replied the foreman, "we can say nothing to him, for we find the witnesses to disagree. One affirms that he said the sacrament was nothing but a ceremony; and the other, nothing but a signification." "Why," said Bonner, "did he not say that Barnes died holy?" Then pausing a while, he bade them call the other jury. "Put in your verdict," he said. "My lord," said one, "we have found nothing." "Jesus!" he said, "is this not a strange case?"

Then one of the jury, whose name was Ralph Foxley, said, "My lord, when you gave us charge, we desired to have the parsons and curates of every parish give us instructions, and it was denied us." Then the recorder stood up and said, "It was true, indeed, what he had spoken." And with that he said, "This last year two juries were charged, who did many things naughtily and foolishly, and did as much as it lay in them to make an uproar among the king's people. And therefore it was thought not fit that they should give information to you." "No, no," said Bonner, "*this* was the cause: if the parson or curate were to give information according to his knowledge, then what will they say? I must tell my confession to a knave-priest, and he will by and by go and reveal it." "What," said my lord mayor, "there is no man, I know, who will say so." "Yes, by my vow," answered Bonner, "knave priest, knave priest." Then my lord mayor said, somewhat smiling, "There are some of them slippery fellows; and as men find them, so will they oft-times report." Bonner, not well contented with those words, said to the jury, "My masters, what do you say to Mekins?" They answered, "The witnesses do not agree, therefore we do not allow them." "Why," said Bonner, "this court has allowed them." Then one of the jury said to the recorder, "Is it

sufficient for our discharge, if this court allows them?" "Yes," said the recorder, "it is sufficient;" and he said, "Go aside together awhile, and bring in your verdict." After the jury had talked together a little while, they returned to the bar again with their indictment, which was friendly received at Bonner's hand. So both they and the other jury were discharged. Thus ended the court for that day. Shortly after, they sat for life and death. Mekins being brought to the bar, and the indictment read, Bonner said to him; "Mekins, confess the truth, and submit yourself to the king's law, that your death maybe an example to all others."

This Richard Mekins being but a child, who had not passed the age of fifteen years, as he had heard some other folks talk, so he chanced to speak against the sacrament of the altar. This coming to Bonner's ears, he never left Mekins before he had brought him to the fire. During the time of his imprisonment, neither his poor father nor mother dared aid him with any relief, by which he endured great misery. When he was brought to the stake, he was taught to speak much good about the bishop of London, and of the great charity he showed to him, and to defy and detest all heretics and heresies, but especially Doctor Barnes, to whom he imputed the learning of that heresy which was the cause of his death. The poor lad would for his life have gladly said that the twelve apostles had taught it to him; such was his childish innocency and fear. But many spoke and said, "It was a great shame for the bishop, whose part and duty it was to labor to save the boy's life, rather than procure that terrible execution — seeing the boy was such an ignorant soul, that he did not know what affirming the heresy was."

*Richard Spencer, Ramsey, and Hewet,  
who suffered at Salisbury.*

About the same time also, a certain priest was burned at Salisbury. Leaving his papistry, he had married a wife, and became a player (actor), with one Ramsey and Hewet. These three were all condemned and burned. Against them, and especially against Spencer, matter was laid concerning the sacrament of the altar. He suffered at Salisbury.

Although this inquisition was meant especially concerning the Six Articles, yet it so fell out that doubts began to arise, and to be moved, whether they might as well inquire about all other opinions, articles, and causes; or for speaking against the holy bread, and holy water; or for favoring the causes of Barnes, Friar, Ward, Sir Thomas Rose, etc. Whereupon great perturbation followed in almost all parishes throughout London, in the year 1541.

*A brief account of the Troubles at London  
in the time of the Six Articles; and a list of the Names  
of some of the Persons who were persecuted for speaking against them.*

John Dixe, was never observed to confess in Lent, nor to receive at Easter, and to be a sacramentary (Zwinglian).

Richard Chepeman, for eating flesh in Lent, and for working on holy-days, and not coming to the church.

Mistress Cicely Marshall, for not bearing her palm, and despising holy bread and holy water.

Michael Haunkes, for not coming to the church, and for receiving young men of the new learning.

John Browne, for bearing with Barnes.

Mistress Annes Bedikes, for despising our Lady, and not praying to saints.

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Andrew Kempe, William Pahen, Richard Manerd, for disturbing the service of the church with babbling out of the New Testament.

William Wyders, , two years before, denied that the sacrament is Christ's body, and said that it was only a sign.

William Stokesley, for rebuking his wife at the church for taking holy water.

Roger Davy, for speaking against the worshipping of saints.

Master Blage, for not coming to his parish church, nor confessing, or receiving.

William Clinch, for saying, when he saw a priest preparing for the mass, "You will see a priest now go to masking." Also, for calling the bishop of Winchester, "a false flattering knave." Also, for burying his wife without a dirge.

William Plaine, seeing a priest going to mass, said, "Now you will see one in masking (*i.e.*, masquerading)." Also, when he came to the church, he disturbed the divine service by reading aloud the English Bible.

Herman Johnson, Jerome Akon, Giles Hosterman. Richard Bonfeld, Thomas Couper, Humphrey Skinner, John Sneudnam, Richard Phillips, and John Celos. — These nine persons were presented, because they had not confessed in Lent, nor received at Easter.

John Jones, William Wright, Peter Butcher, and Roger Butcher. — These four were presented for not keeping the divine service in the holy-days.

Mistress Brisley, for reasoning on the new learning, and not attending the church.

Mistress Castle, for being a meddler and a reader of the Scriptures in the church.

Master Galias of Bernard's Inn, for withstanding the curate in censuring the altars on *Corpus Christi Even*, and saying openly that the curate did wrong.

Master Pates, of David's Inn, and Master Galias, for vexing the curate in the body of the church, in declaring the king's injunctions, and reading the bishop's book; so that he had much ado to make an end of it.

William Beckes and his wife, were suspected to be sacramentaries, and for not kneeling to the cross on Good Friday.

Thomas Langham, William Thomas, Richard Beckes, and William Beckes. — These four were presented for interrupting the divine service.

Ralph Symonds, for not keeping our Lady's mass, which he was bound to keep.

John Smith, an apprentice, for saying that, "he would rather hear the crying of dogs, than priests singing matins or even-song.

Thomas Bele, John Sturgeon, John Wilshire, Thomas Simon, Ralph Clervis, and his wife, James Banaster, Nicholas Barker, John Sterky, Christopher Smith, and Thomas Net. — These eleven persons of St. Magnus parish, were presented and accused for maintaining certain preachers (as it was called) of the new learning.

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Nicholas Philips, for maintaining heresies and Scripture books, and for neither using fasting nor prayer.

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Richard Bigges, for despising holy bread, putting it in the throat of a dog, and for not adoring at the elevation.

Mistress Elizabeth Statham, for maintaining in her house Latimer, Barnes, Gerrard, Jerome, and others.

John Duffet, for marrying a woman who was thought to be a nun.

Milliard and Duffet, for maintaining Barnes, Jerome, and Gerrard, with others.

Grafton and Whitchurch, suspected of not being confessed.

John Greene, Mother Palmer, Christopher Coots, William Selly, Alexander Frere, William Bredi, John Bush, William Somerton, George Durant, and Davids, an apprentice. — All of these being of the parish of St. Martin's, were presented for despising the ceremonies of the church. Also some for walking during the time of consecrating the mass, with their caps on. Some for turning their heads away; some for sitting at their doors when sermons were in the church, etc.

Robert Andrew, for receiving heretics into his house, and holding a disputation about heresy there.

John Williamson, Thomas Buge, Thomas Gilbert, William Hickson, Robert Daniel, and Robert Smitton. — These six were suspected of being sacramentaries and rank heretics, and procurers of heretics to preach, and to be followers of their doctrine.

John Mayler, for being a sacramentary, and a railer against the mass.

Richard Bilby, draper, was presented for saying these words: "That Christ is not present in the blessed sacrament!"

Henry Patinson, and Anthony Barber. — These two were detected for permitting their boys to sing a song against the sacrament of the altar. Also Patinson did not come to confession.

Robert Norman also refused to come to confession, saying that, "none of his servants should be absolved by a knave priest."

John Humfrey, for speaking against the sacraments and ceremonies of the church.

William Smith and his wife, and John Cooke and his wife. — These two couples were presented for not coming to service in their parish church; and for saying it was lawful for priests to have wives.

William Gate or Cote, William Aston, John Humfrey, and John Cooke. — These four were presented, for saying that, "the mass was made of pieces and patches." Also for despising matins, mass, and even-song.

John Miles and his wife, John Millen, John Robinson, Richard Millar, John Green and his wife, and Arnold Chest. — All these were put up for railing against the sacraments and ceremonies.

John Crosdall, John Gierke, and John Owel. — These three laboring men were presented for not coming to divine service on holy-days, and for laboring on those days.

Thomas Grangier, and John Dietier; noted as common singers against the sacraments and ceremonies.

John Sutton and his wife, and John Segar. — These three were noted to be despisers of auricular confession.

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John Rawlins, John Shiler, William Chalinger, John Edmonds, and John Richmond and his wife, for despising holy bread and holy water, and not attending divine service.

Margaret Smith, for dressing flesh meat in Lent.

Thomas Trentham, for reasoning against the sacrament of the altar, and saying that the sacrament was a good thing, but it was not very God.

Robert Granger, William Petingale, William May and his wife, John Harrison and his wife, Robert Welch, John Benglosse, John Pitley, Henry Foster, Robert Cansy, and William Pinchbeck and his wife. — All these thirteen were put up by the inquisition, for not observing proper reverence at the celebration of the mass.

The wife of Martyn Bishop was presented by her curate, for not going to confession in Lent, or receiving at Easter. Also, she slighted the curate when he told her of it.

Robert Plat and his wife. — These were great reasoners in Scripture, saying that confession avails nothing; and that he, though not able to read, would not use beads to say his prayers.

Thomas Aduet, John Palmer, and Robert Cooke. The charge laid to these three persons, was for reasoning about the Scriptures and the sacraments. The register says that they denied all the sacraments. But this popish hyperbole will find little credit, where experience that is acquainted with popish practices, sits as the judge.

John Cockes. — This man was noted for a great searcher for new preachers, and a maintainer of Barnes's opinions.

John Boultes, for forbidding his wife to use beads in saying her prayers.

Thomas Kelde. — He refused to take penance and absolution; and ate flesh on a Friday before Lent.

Nicholas Newell, a Frenchman, presented as a man far gone in the new sect; and that he was a great jester at the saints and at our Lady.

John Hawkins and his servant, Thomas Chamberlaine and his wife, John Curteys, Mr. Dissel, his wife, and his servant. — These eight were great reasoners, and despisers of ceremonies.

The curate of St. Katherine Coleman. — He was noted for calling suspected persons to his sermons by a beadle, without ringing any bell; and when he preached he left his matters doubtful; also, for preaching without the commandment of his parson; also, because he was a Scottish friar, driven out of his country for heresy.

Tulle Bustre, his wife, and his son-in-law. — These were noted for seldom attending the church, and many times were seen to labor on the holy-days.

William Ettis and his wife. — Ettis and his wife were noted for maintaining certain preachers; and for causing one Taverner, a priest, to preach against the king's injunctions.

Merifield and his son-in-law; Nicholas Russel, of the Saracen's Head in Friday-street, William Callaway, and Thomas Gardiner, with three apprentices. — Against this company presentation was made for assembling together in the evening; and for bringing evil preachers, that is to say, good preachers, among the people.

Thomas Plummer was presented for saying that "the sacrament was blessed to the one who takes it; and not blessed to the one who does not."

Shermons, of the Carpenter's-hall in Christ's parish, was presented for procuring an interlude to be openly played, in which priests were railed at, and called knaves.

Lewis Morall, a servant, and James Ogule and his wife. — Noted not to have confessed in certain years before.

Thomas Babam was accused of not having confessed in his parish church.

The parson and curate of St. Antholin's, for not using the ceremonies in making holy water; nor keeping their processions on Saturdays.

Lewis Bromfield, for not taking the sacrament; and for absenting himself from the church on holy-days.

John Sempe, and John Goffe, for dispraising a certain anthem of our Lady, beginning *Te matrem*, etc., saying that there is heresy in the same.

Gilbert Godfrey, for absenting himself from the church on holy-days.

Thomas Cappes, for saying these words, "The sacrament of the altar is but a memory and a remembrance of the Lord's death."

John Mailer, grocer, for calling the sacrament of the altar the baked God; and for saying that the mass was called beyond the sea, *missa*, for all is amiss in it.

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John Hardyman, a parson of St. Martin's in Ironmonger-lane, presented for preaching openly that confession is confusion and deformation; and that the ceremonies of the church were to be abhorred. Also for saying that it was a mischief to esteem the sacraments to be of such virtue, for in so doing they take the glory of God from Him; and for saying that faith in Christ is sufficient to justify, without any other sacraments.

Christopher Dray, plumber, for saying about the sacrament of the altar, that it was not offered for remission of sins; and that the body of Christ was not there, except by representation and signification.

Robert Ward, shoemaker, presented by three witnesses for speaking against the sacrament of the altar: he died in prison in Bread-street.

Nicholas Otes, for not coming to the sacrament at Easter; he was sent to Newgate.

Herman Peterson, and James Gosson, for not coming to absolution and the sacrament at the time of Easter. These were committed to prison in Bread-street.

Richard White, haberdasher, for saying that he did not think that Christ was in the sacrament of the altar within the sepulcher, but in heaven above.

Giles Harrison being in a place outside Aldgate, and merrily jesting in a certain company of neighbors, where some of them said, "Let us go to mass." He replied, "I say, tarry." and so taking a piece of bread in his hands, he lifted it up over his head; and likewise taking a cup of wine, and bowing his head, he made a cross over the cup, and so taking the cup in both his hands, lifted it over his head; saying these words, "Have you not heard mass now?" For which he was presented to Bonner, then bishop of London.

Richard Bostock, priest, for saying that auricular confession killed more souls than all the bills, clubs, and halters had done since King Henry was king of England, etc. Also for saying that the water in the Thames has as much virtue as the water that the priests hallow.

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Margaret Ambsworth, for having no reverence for the sacrament; and for instructing maids; and being a great doctress.

John Leicester, William Raynold, Christopher Townesend, Thomas David Skinner, Thomas Mabs, Thomas Starkey, Christopher Holybread, Martyn Donam, and William Derby. — All these were noted and presented for supporting Barnes and such other preachers; and many of their wives for not taking holy bread; nor going in procession on Sundays.

Lawrence Maxwel, bricklayer, for speaking and reasoning against auricular confession.

John Coygues, or Livelonde, for holding against the sacrament of the altar, and not receiving at Easter.

Gerard Frise was presented by two witnesses, for affirming that a sermon preached is better than the sacrament of the altar; and that he would rather go to hear a sermon than to hear a mass.

Dominic Williams, a Frenchman, for not receiving the sacrament of the altar at Easter.

Thomas Lancaster, priest. — He lay in the Compter in the Poultry,<sup>503</sup> for compiling and bringing over prohibited books. Also, Gough, a stationer, was troubled for resorting to him.

Friar Ward was put in the Compter in Bread-street, for marrying after his vow of celibacy.

Friar Wilcock, a Scotch friar, was imprisoned in the Fleet, for preaching against confession and holy water; against praying to saints, and for souls departed; against purgatory; and for holding that priests might have wives, etc.

John Taylor, doctor in divinity, was presented for preaching at St. Bride's in Fleet-street, that it is as profitable for a man to hear mass and see the sacrament, as to kiss Judas's mouth, which kissed Christ our Savior, etc.

W. Tolwine, parson of St. Antholin's, was presented and examined before Edmund Bonner, for permitting Alexander Seton to preach in his church, having no license; and also for allowing the said Alexander Seton, in his sermons, to preach against Dr. Smith. It was also objected that he used to make holy water, leaving out the general exorcism. Against this objection Tolwine defended himself, saying that, "he took occasion to do so by the king's injunctions which say that, 'ceremonies should be used, all ignorance and superstition set apart.'" In the end, Tolwine was forced to stand at St. Paul's Cross to recant.

At the same time, Robert Wisdom, parish priest of St. Margaret's in Lothbury, and also Thomas Becon, were brought to St. Paul's Cross, to recant and to revoke their doctrine, and to burn their books.

Sir George Parker, parson of St. Pancras, and curate of Little Allhallows, was noted, suspected, and brought before the Ordinary, for having certain books.

Sir John Byrch, priest of St. Botolph's-lane, was complained about for being a busy reasoner in certain opinions which did not agree with the pope's church.

Alexander Seton, a Scotchman, was denounced, detected, and presented by three priests, of whom one was fellow of Whittington College, called Richard Taylor; another was John Smith; the third was John Huntingdon, who afterwards was converted to the same doctrine himself. This Seton was chaplain to the duke of Suffolk; and his adversaries raised fifteen objections (or rather cavils) against him from his sermons, which I will exhibit here to the

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<sup>503</sup> *Compter*: a small prison or detention room within a larger building; here it was the Poultry house.



reader, so that men may see how consonant the doctrine Seton then preached was with the Scriptures.

*Certain Places or Articles gathered out of  
Seton's Sermons by his Adversaries.*

- “There is nothing in heaven or earth, creature or other, that can be any means towards our justification; nor can any man satisfy God the Father for our sins, but only Christ and the shedding of his blood.
- “Whoever preaches that works have merit, or are any means to our salvation; or are any part of our justification, preaches a doctrine of the devil.
- “If anything else, except Christ, is a means towards our justification, then Christ alone does not justify us.
- “I say that neither your good works, nor anything that you can do, can be one jot or tittle towards your justification. For if they are, then Christ is not a full justifier; and I will prove that by a familiar example:  
“Those who preach that works have merit, make works the tree; works are only the fruits of justification wrought by the one who is justified. I would ask a question, whether he that works is a good man, or bad? For he must be one or the other. If he is a good man, then he cannot help but bring forth good fruits; if he is a bad man, he can bring forth only bad fruit; for a good tree cannot bring forth bad fruit.
- “Whoever says that works merit anything towards our salvation, makes works a helpmate with Christ, and plucks from Christ what is his, and gives it to works. Some will ask, why then should I do good works? I answer, good works are to be done for no other cause but the glory of God, and not to merit anything at all. And whoever that says that good works are to be done for any other cause than for the glory of God alone; and would have them merit or be any means towards our justification, I say he lies, and I do not believe him.
- “Whoever can show me from any part of Scripture, that works merit, or are any means to our justification, for the first Scripture I will lose both my ears; for the second, my tongue; and for the third, my neck.
- “Men say that we deny good works, and fasting and prayer. They lie about us. We deny nothing but popish works, and popish fasting, and popish prayer. And whoever preaches that works merit, or that fasting merits, or that prayer merits, preaches a popish doctrine.
- “If you ask, if good works will be rewarded, I say yes, and with no less than eternal glory; but it is for no merit that they deserve, for they deserve nothing; but it is only because God has promised, not for the merit of the work, but for His promise alone, and He will not break his promise.”

[595] A.D. 1540-1547.

To these and other objections he answered in writing. First he denied many things that were presented, taking it upon his conscience, that he never spoke some of those words; and again, he never meant many of the things for such an end or purpose. But notwithstanding all this, the Ordinary proceeded in his judgment, ministering to him certain interrogatories (following the Popish course) numbering ten articles. The greatest matter laid against him was for preaching free justification by faith in Christ Jesus, against false confidence in good works, and man's free will. Also for affirming that private masses, dirges, and other prayers did not profit the souls departed. So that in the end, he was caused to recant at St. Paul's cross, 1541.

Add to these people, Doctor Tailor, parson of St. Peter's, Cornhill; South, parish priest of Allhallows, Lombard street; Some, a priest; Giles, the king's brewer; Thomas Lancaster, priest. All of them were likewise imprisoned for the Six Articles.

To be short, such a number in London and Calais, and other quarters, were then apprehended through the inquisition, that all the prisons in London were too small to hold them; so that they were obliged to lay them in the halls. At last, by means of the good lord Audley, such pardons were obtained of the king, that they were all discharged, being bound only to appear in the star-chamber the next day after All-souls, there to answer if they were called upon.

*An Account of John Porter,  
cruelly martyred for reading the Bible.*

John Porter, in the year 1541, was cruelly handled for reading the Bible in St. Paul's church. It was stated already that Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, being the ambassador at Paris, was a great actor in setting forward the printing of the Bible (pp. 583-584). He promised that he would have six of those Bibles set up in the church of St. Paul in London; which he performed at his coming home.

The Bibles thus standing in St. Paul's church by the command of the king, and the appointment of Bonner, many well-disposed people used to resort there, especially when they could get anyone who had an audible voice to read to them. After Cromwell was dead, it happened, among several godly persons who frequented the reading of the Bible there, that John Porter sometimes used to be occupied in that godly exercise, to the edifying of himself as well as others. This Porter was a handsome young man, and of high stature. By diligently reading the Scriptures, and hearing such sermons as were then preached by those who set forth God's truth, he became very expert. The Bible then being set up by Bonner's command upon several pillars in St. Paul's church, fixed to them with chains for all men who wished to read them, great multitudes would resort to hear this Porter, because he could read well, and he had an audible voice. Bonner and his chaplains were grieved (and the world then began to frown upon the gospellers). He sent for Porter, and rebuked him very sharply for his reading. But Porter answered him that he trusted he had done nothing contrary to the law; nor contrary to the notices which he had ordered to be fixed in print over every Bible.

Bonner then laid to his charge that he had made expositions upon the text, and had gathered great multitudes about him to make tumults. He answered that he trusted this could not be proved. But Bonner sent him to Newgate, where he was cruelly fettered with irons about his legs and arms; and with a collar of iron about his neck, fastened to the wall in the dungeon. He was so inhumanly handled there, that he was compelled to send for a kinsman of his, whose name was also Porter. Seeing his kinsman in this miserable case, he entreated Jewet, then keeper of Newgate, that he might be released out of those cruel irons. And so through friendship, and money, he had him moved up among other prisoners who lay there for felony and murder. Being among them there, and hearing and seeing their wickedness and blasphemy, Porter exhorted them to amendment of life. He gave them such instructions as he had learned from the Scriptures. For this, he was complained against. And so he was carried down and laid in the lowest dungeon of all, oppressed with bolts and irons, where within six or eight days after, he was found dead.

*Thomas Sommers, imprisoned for the Gospel.*

Among these Londoners thus troubled by the clergy, we will add also a note about a merchant called Thomas Sommers, who died in the Tower of London for the gospel. Being a

very honest and wealthy merchant, he was sent for by the lord cardinal, and committed to the Tower because he had Luther's books. And the cardinal's judgment was that he should ride from the Tower to Cheapside, carrying a new book in his hand, and with books hung round about him, with three or four other merchants. And when Master Sommers was to be set on a collier's nag, as the rest of his fellow-prisoners were, a friend of his brought him a very good horse, with bridle and saddle. When the bishop's officers came to dress him with books, as they had trimmed the others, and would have made holes in his garment to thrust the strings of the books in, "No," said Sommers, "I have always loved to go handsomely in my apparel," and taking the books and opening them, he bound them together by the strings, and cast them about his neck (the leaves being all open) like a collar. And being on horseback, he rode foremost through the streets, till they came around the standard in Cheapside, where a great fire was made to burn their books in, and a pillory set up there for four persons.

When they came to the fire, every one of them having a book in his hand, they were commanded to cast their books into the fire. But when Master Sommers saw that his New Testament would be burned, he threw it over the fire. This was seen by some of God's enemies. And so it was brought back to him, commanding him to cast it into the fire. This he would not do, but he cast it through the fire. This was done three times. At last a bystander took it up, and saved it from burning. But not long after, Master Sommers was again cast into the Tower by the cardinal, through the cruelty of the bishops and their adherents, and soon after he died in the prison for the testimony of his faith.

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We have thus concisely detailed what trouble and vexation happened among the godly brethren in London for the Six Articles. But this rigorous inquisition was not confined to this city only, but extended to Salisbury, Norfolk, Lincoln, and through all the shires and quarters of the realm.

About the same time, John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, burned two men in one day; the one was named Thomas Bernard, and the other James Morton — one for teaching the Lord's prayer in English, and the other for possessing the epistle of St. James in English.

In Oxford also, at about the same time, one Master Barber recanted. He was a master of arts of that university, a man excellently learned. Being called up to Lambeth before archbishop Thomas Cranmer, he was so firm in the cause of the sacrament, and so learnedly defended himself, that neither Cranmer himself, nor any other could answer his objections taken out of Augustine. He was so prompt in these, that the archbishop with the rest of his company greatly admired him. However, at last he relented; and returning to Oxford, he was there caused to recant.

*A merry and pleasant Narration, regarding a false report of Fire raised among the Doctors and Masters of Oxford in St. Mary's Church, at the Recantation of Master Malarj, Master of Arts of Cambridge.*

This recantation of Master Barber in the University of Oxford, brings to remembrance another recantation happening not long before, which I thought I should not pass over. It was a merry and ridiculous spectacle, not unworthy to be remembered. It is inserted here to recreate and refresh by the way, the weary mind of the reader, after so many bloody and lamentable stories, executions, recantations, and tragedies. The story is this:

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There was one Master Malary, a Master of Arts of Cambridge, and scholar of Christ's College. For holding opinions contrary to the determination of the holy mother church of Rome (that is, for the right truth of Christ's Gospel), he was brought before the bishops, and in the end was sent to Oxford. There he was to openly recant and bear his faggot, to the terror of the students of that University. The time and place was appointed when he should be brought solemnly into St. Mary's church on a Sunday, where a great number of the head doctors and divines, and others of the university, were assembled, besides a great multitude of citizens, who came to behold the sight. In order that such solemnity might not pass without some effectual sermon for the mother church of Rome, doctor Smith, then reader of the divinity lecture, was appointed to preach the sermon at this recantation. A mighty audience was assembled of all sorts of degrees, of students as well as others. Few were absent who loved to hear or see any news; so that there was no place in the whole church which was not filled with the concourse of people.

All things being thus prepared and set in readiness, Malary came forth with his faggot on his shoulder. Not long after, the doctor proceeded into the pulpit to deliver his sermon, the argument of which was wholly upon the sacrament. The doctor, to further confirm his words, had provided that the holy wafer and the sacrament of the altar should hang by a string before him in the pulpit. Thus the doctor commenced his sermon. He had scarcely proceeded into it, with the people giving great reverence to his doctrine, when suddenly in the church the voice of someone in the street was heard crying "Fire! fire!" The occasion was this: a man coming from Allhallows parish, saw a chimney on fire; and so, passing by in the street outside St. Mary's church, he cried "Fire! fire!"

This sound of "fire!" being heard in the church, it went from one to another, until it came to the ears of the doctors, and at last to the preacher himself. As soon as they heard it, being startled with sudden fear and marvelling what the matter meant, they began to look up to the top of the church, and to the walls. The others seeing them look up, looked up also. Then they began to cry out with a loud voice, "Fire! fire." "Where?!" asks one. "Where?!" says another. "In the church!" says a third. The mention of the church was scarcely pronounced, when in a moment there was a common cry among them, "The church is on fire! The church is on fire by heretics!" etc. And although no man saw any fire at all, yet because all the men cried out, every man thought it true. Then there was such fear and tumult throughout the church, that it cannot be described in words.

Thus this strong imagination of fire being fixed in their heads, and nothing moving them to think the church was not on fire, everything they saw or heard increased this suspicion in them. The first and chief occasion that augmented this suspicion, was the heretic bearing his faggot there. This led them to imagine that all the other heretics had conspired with him to set the church on fire.

After this, through the rage of the people, and running to and fro, the dust was so raised, that it seemed like smoke. This, together with the outcry of the people, made them so afraid, that leaving the sermon, they all began to run away. But such was the press of the multitude, running together, that the more they labored, the less they could get out. For while they all ran headlong to the doors, every man striving to get out first, they shoved one another, and stuck so fast, that those who were outside, could not get into the church, and those who were within could not get out. The one door being stopped, they ran to another on the north side. But there again was a like or greater throng. So the people clustering and thronging together, it put many in danger, and brought many to their end, by bruising of their bones

or sides. There was still another door to the west, which could not be opened for the press of people.

At last, when they were past all hope of getting out, they were exceedingly amazed, and ran up and down, crying out at the heretics who had conspired their death. The more they ran about and cried out, the more smoke and dust rose in the church. I think some were howling and weeping, some were running up and down, and playing the madman, now here, now there, being tossed to and fro with waves and tempests, trembling and quaking, raging and fearing, without any manifest cause. The doctors — laden with so many badges of wisdom — were seeking holes and corners to hide themselves in, gasping, breathing, and sweating, and almost beside themselves for horror. One said that he plainly heard the noise of the fire; another affirmed that he saw it with his eyes; and another swore that he felt the molten lead dropping down upon his head and shoulders. Such is the force of imagination once it is grafted in men's hearts through fear. In the whole company, there was none who behaved more modestly than the heretic who was there to do penance. Casting his faggot from his shoulders, he kept himself quiet.

All the others never made an end of their running up and down and crying out. None cried out more earnestly than the doctor who preached, and who first of all cried out in the pulpit, "These are the trains and subtleties of the heretics against me! Lord have mercy upon me! Lord have mercy upon me!" In all this there was nothing more feared than the melting of the lead, which many affirmed they felt dropping upon their bodies. Now, in this sudden terror and fear, which took from them all reason, none acted more ridiculously than those who seemed the greatest and wisest men, except that in one or two, a somewhat quieter mind appeared. Among them was one Claymund, president of Corpus Christi College (whom I name here for reverence and learning's sake) and a few other aged persons with him, who for their age and weakness dared not thrust themselves into the throng among the rest, but kneeled down quietly before the high altar, committing themselves and their lives to the sacrament. The others who were younger and stronger, ran up and down through the press of people, marvelling at the incivility of men, and angry with the unmannerly multitude who would not give way to the doctors, bachelors, masters, and other graduates and regent masters. But as the terror and fear was common to all, so there was no difference made between persons or degrees, every man scrambling for himself. The violet cap, or purple gown, did not avail the doctor; nor was the master's hood or monk's cowl respected.

Indeed, if the king or queen had been present there and in that perplexity, they would have been no better than a common person. After they had long strived and assayed all manner of ways and saw no remedy, to prevail either by force or authority, they fell to entreating and offering rewards, one offering twenty pounds, another his scarlet gown, if any man would pull him out.

Some stood close to the pillars, thinking themselves safe under the vaults of stone from the dropping of the lead. Others, being without money, did not know which way to turn. One, a president of a college pulling a board from the pews, covered his head and shoulders with it against the scalding lead, which they feared much more than the fall of the church. Another, who had a grand paunch, a monk, seeing the doors stopped and every way closed up, thought to get out through a glass window, but the iron grates prevented him. However, he would make the attempt. When he had broken the glass, and had come to the space between the grates, he thrust in his head with one shoulder, and it went through easy enough. Then he labored to get the other shoulder after it. But there was a great labor about that, for he was stuck long by the shoulders; at last he succeeded. For what does labor not overcome?

Thus far he had now gotten. I am not going to say by what part of his body he stuck fast afterwards, but this is most certain: that he stuck fast between the grates, and could neither get out nor back in.

[597] A.D. 1540-1547.

After some time, a way was at last found for the crowd, so that some going over the heads of others got out. Here also another incident happened to one of the monks. There was a young lad who, seeing that the doors were fast stopped with the press or multitude, and that he had no way to get out, climbed up on the door, and staying there, he was forced to remain quiet. For he dared not come down into the church again for fear of the fire, and he could not leap down cowardly into the street without danger. By chance, among those who got out over men's heads, he saw a monk who had a great wide cowl hanging at his back. The boy thought this was a good occasion for him to escape. When the monk came near him, the boy who was on top of the door, slipped down into the monk's cowl, thinking that if the monk escaped, he might also get out with him. At last the monk got out, and feeling his cowl heavier than it was accustomed to be, and hearing the voice of one speaking behind him, he was more afraid than before, thinking that the evil spirit which had set the church on fire had gotten into his cowl, so he began to play the exorcist; "In the name of God," he said, "and all saints, I command you to declare what you are, that are behind me at my back." The boy answered, "I am Bertram's boy." "But I," said the monk, "adjure you in the name of the inseparable Trinity, that you wicked spirit tell me who you are, and that you get away from here." With that his cowl began to crack upon his shoulders, and the boy took to his legs and ran away as fast as he could.

At length, after much delay, all had gotten out of the church, and discovered the folly of their false alarm.

#### ***The 4th and 5th Marriages of King Henry VIII.***

In the same year, and immediately after the apprehension of Lord Cromwell, the king was divorced from Lady Anne of Cleves (July 1540). The cause of this separation being wholly committed to the clergy of the convocation, it was defined, concluded, and granted by them, that the king being freed from that pretended matrimony (as they called it) he might marry whom he would, and so might she likewise. She, consenting to the divorce herself, by her letters, was no longer called queen, but only Anne of Cleves. The king, in the same month, was married to his fifth wife, who was the lady Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, and daughter to Lord Edmund Howard, the duke's brother. But this marriage, likewise, did not continue long.

In the month of August, and in the same year, I find in some records, six others who were also brought to Tyburn and there executed on the like charge of rebellion. These were besides the chapter-house monks recounted above, whom Cope sanctifies as holy martyrs for suffering in the denial of the king's supremacy. The first of the six was the prior of Doncaster; the second, a monk of the Charterhouse of London, called Giles Horn (some call him William Horn); the third, one Thomas Ipsam, a monk of Westminster who had his monk's garment plucked from his back, being the last monk in King Henry's days that wore the monkish dress; the fourth, one Philpot; the fifth, one Carew; and the sixth was a friar.

Now, as to the marriage between the king and the Lady Howard, it did not endure long. For the following year the Lady Howard was accused to the king for violating her marriage vows, and was beheaded on Tower-hill on the 12th of February 1542.

After the death of this lady, the king calling to remembrance the words of Lord Cromwell (now missing his old councillor more and more), and also somewhat suspecting the ways of Winchester, he began a little to set his foot again in the cause of religion. He ever bore a special favor to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. Yet now, the more he missed Lord Cromwell, the more he inclined toward the archbishop, and also to the right cause of religion. Therefore, in the month of October, after the execution of this queen, the king understood that some abuses still remained unreformed — namely, pilgrimages, idolatry, and other things. He directed his letters to the archbishop of Canterbury, for the speedy reformation of these things.

*The King's Letters to the Archbishop,  
for abolishing Idolatry.*

“Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, letting you know that whereas, up to now, upon the zeal and remembrance which we had to our bound duty towards Almighty God, perceiving sundry superstitions and abuses to be used and embraced by our people, whereby they grievously offended him and his word, we not only caused the images and bones of those who resorted and offered to them, with the ornaments of the same, and all such writings and monuments of feigned miracles with which they were deceived, to be taken away in all places of the realm; but also by our injunctions, we commanded that no offering or setting up of lights or candles should be allowed in any church, except to the blessed sacraments of the altar. It has lately come to our knowledge that, notwithstanding our good intent and purpose, the shrines, coverings of shrines, and monuments of those things, yet remain in sundry places of this realm, much to the slander of our doings, and to the great displeasure of Almighty God. They are means to allure our subjects to their former hypocrisy and superstition, and also our injunctions are not being kept. For the due and speedy reformation of this, we thought it fitting, by these our letters, to expressly will and command you, that immediately upon the receipt of them, you shall not only cause due search to be made in the cathedral church for those things — and if any shrine, covering of shrine, table, monument of miracles, or other pilgrimages, continue there, to cause it to be so taken away, that there may remain no memory of it — but also that you shall take order with all the curates, and others having charge within your diocese, to do the same, and to see that our injunctions are duly kept without failing, as we trust you, and as you will answer to the contrary.

“Given under our signet, at our town of Hull, the 4th of October, in the 34th year of our reign (1542).”

Another proclamation was given out, the following year, by the king's authority, in which the pope's law forbidding white meats to be eaten in Lent, was repealed.

*A Proclamation concerning the eating of White Meats,  
made the 9th of February, in the 34th year of the  
Reign of the King's most Royal Majesty.*

“By diverse and sundry occasions, herrings, lings, saltfish, salmon, stockfish, as well as other kinds of fish have been scant this year, and also raised in price above the old rate and common estimation of their value. So that, if the king's loving subjects were forced only to buy and provide herring and other salt store of fish for the necessary and sufficient sustenance and maintenance of their household and families all this holy time of Lent, according to what they have usually done in times past, and were not by some other convenient means relieved in this, the same might and should undoubtedly redound to their insupportable charge and detriment. And his highness considers how this kind and manner of fasting — that is to say, to abstain from milk, butter, eggs, cheese, and other white meats — is but a mere positive law of

the church, and is used by custom within this realm, and has no other force or necessity. Thus the same may upon considerations and grounds, be altered and dispensed with from time to time, by the public authority of kings and princes, whenever they perceive the same to tend to the hurt and damage of their people.

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“The king's highness therefore, most graciously considering and tendering the wealth and commodity of his people, has thought it good for the considerations above recited, to release and dispense with the said law and custom of abstaining from white meats in this holy time of Lent. And of his special grace and mere motion, he gives and grants to all and singular of his subjects within this realm of his, and in all his grace's dominions, free liberty, faculty, and license, to eat all manner of white meats, such as milk, eggs, butter, cheese, and such like foods, during the time of this Lent, without any scruple or grudge of conscience, any law, constitution, use, or custom to the contrary, notwithstanding.

“In this, nevertheless, his highness exhorts, and in the name of God requires, all those of his faithful subjects, who may, will, or shall enjoy his grant or faculty, that they in no way be suspicious or doubtful of it, nor abuse or turn it into a fleshly or carnal liberty; but rather endeavor to their possible powers, with this liberty of eating white meats, to also observe that fast which God most especially requires of them, that is to say, to renounce the world and the devil, with all their pomps and works; and also to subdue and repress their carnal affections and the corrupt works of the flesh, according to their vow and profession made at the font-stone. For in these points especially consists the very true and perfect abstinence or fasting of a Christian man. This is to endure and continue from year to year, till the king's highness' pleasure shall, by his majesty's proclamation, be published to the contrary.”

***Persecution in Windsor for the Six Articles.***

*The Trouble and Persecution of four Windsor-men,  
Robert Testwood, Henry Filmer, Anthony Pearson, and John Marbeck,  
persecuted for Righteousness' sake, and for the Gospel.*

We come now to the history of the four Windsormen, persecuted for the true testimony of God's word. Three were martyred and sacrificed in the fire; the fourth (named Marbeck) had his pardon. First. I have to show the origin of their troubles; secondly, the manner and order of their death as they suffered together, which was in A.D. 1543.

*The Origin of Testwood's Trouble.*

In A.D. 1533 there was one Robert Testwood, in the city of London, who for his knowledge in music had so great a name that the musicians in Windsor college thought him a worthy man to have a place among them. Whereupon they informed their dean, Dr. Sampson. But as some of the canons had at that time heard of Testwood, that he “smelled of the new learning,” as they called it, it would not be consented to at first. Notwithstanding, on some entreaty on the part of the musicians, Testwood was sent for to be heard. Being there four or five days among the choirmen, he was so well liked both for his voice and skill, that he was admitted, and settled in Windsor, and was held in good esteem with the dean and canons a great while. But when they perceived (for he could not well dissemble his religion) that he leaned toward Luther's sect, they began to dislike him. It was his chance one day to be at dinner with one of the canons named Dr. Rawson. At this dinner, among others, was one of King Edward's four chantry priests, named Ely. This Ely began to rail against laymen who took it upon themselves to meddle with the Scriptures, and to be better learned than those who had been students in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge all the days of their



lives. Then Testwood, perceiving that he meant him, said, "Master Ely, I think it no hurt for a layman, as I am, to read and to know the scriptures."

"Which of you," said Ely, "who are unlearned knows them or understands them? St. Paul says, 'If your enemy hungers, feed him; if he thirsts, give him drink, for in so doing you will heap coals of fire on his head.' Now, Sir, what does St. Paul mean by those coals of fire?" "Goodness,<sup>504</sup> Sir," said Testwood, "he means nothing, as I have learned, but burning love and kindness; that by doing good to our enemies we should thereby win them." "Ah, sir," he said, "you are an old scholar, indeed."

After this they fell into further communication about the pope, whose supremacy was much spoken of at that time, but not known to be so far in question in the Parliament house as it was. And in their talk Ely demanded of Testwood, whether the pope ought to be head of their church, or not? Against this, Testwood dared not say his full mind, but reasoned within bounds for a great while. But when Testwood, forgetting himself, chanced to say that every king, in his own realm and dominion, ought to be the head of the church under Christ, Ely was so chafed, that he rose from the table in great fume, calling him "heretic," and all that was bad. He went away brawling and scolding, to the great disquieting of the company.

Testwood was very sorry to see the old man take it so grievously. Whereupon after dinner he went and sought Master Ely, and found him walking in the body of the church, thinking to talk with him charitably, and so to be friends again. But as Testwood pressed towards him, the other shunned him, and would not come near him, but spit at him, saying to others who walked by, "Beware of this fellow, for he is the greatest heretic and schismatic who ever came into Windsor."

After Ely had made his complaint to the dean's deputy, and others of the canons, they were all against Testwood, purposing at the dean's coming home to punish Testwood. But it was not ten days later that the king's supremacy passed in the parliament-house, upon which the dean (Dr. Sampson) came home suddenly in the night, and sent his verger<sup>505</sup> to all the canons and ministers of the college, from the highest to the lowest, commanding them to be in the charter-house by eight o'clock in the morning. Then Ely consulted with the canons overnight, and thought the next day to put Testwood to a great plunge. "But he who lays a snare for another man," says Solomon, "will be taken in it himself." And so was Ely. For when the dean and every man had come and placed themselves in the chapterhouse, and the dean had commended the ministers of the church for their diligence in attending the choir, he began, contrary to every man's expectation, to inveigh against the bishop of Rome's supremacy and usurped authority, confuting it by manifest Scriptures and probable reasons, so earnestly, that it was a wonder to hear. At length he declared openly that by the consent of the whole parliament-house, the pope's supremacy was utterly abolished out of this realm of England forever. And so he commanded every man there, upon his allegiance, to call him pope no longer, but the bishop of Rome. And whatever he was, who would not do so, or from that day forward maintained or favored the pope's cause by any means, he would not only lose the benefit of that house, but be reputed as an utter enemy to God, and to the king. The canons hearing this, were all struck dumb. Yet Ely's heart was so full, that he uttered his spite against Testwood. The dean called him old fool, and took him up so sharply, that he was glad to hold his peace. Then the dean commanded all the pope's pardons which hung

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<sup>504</sup> Orig. "Marry, Sir." An archaic exclamation of surprise, akin to "Goodness!" "My Word!" or "Wow!"

<sup>505</sup> *Verger*: a church officer who takes care of the interior of the building and acts as an attendant (carries the verge, which is an emblematic staff) during ceremonies.

about the church to be brought into the chapterhouse, and cast into the fire, and burnt before their faces; and so he departed.

Testwood was one day walking in the church, and beheld the pilgrims, especially from Devonshire and Cornwall, how they came in with candles and images of wax in their hands, to offer to good King Henry of Windsor, as they called him. It grieved him to see such great idolatry committed, and how vainly the people had spent their goods in coming so far to kiss a spur, and to have an old hat set upon their heads, so that he could not refrain. But seeing a company who had made their offerings stand gazing about the church, he went to them, and with all gentleness he began to exhort them to leave such false worshipping of dumb creatures, and to learn to worship the true living God aright, putting them in remembrance of what those things were which they worshipped, and how God many times had plagued his people for running to worship such stocks and stones, and would plague them and their posterity if they would not leave it.

[599] A.D. 1540-1547.

In this way he admonished them till at last his words took such place in some of them, that they said they would never go on a pilgrimage any more. Then he went further, and found another set licking and kissing a white lady made of alabaster. This image was carved in a wall behind the high altar, and enclosed with a pretty border made like branches, with hanging apples and flowers. When he saw them use the image so superstitiously as to wipe their hands on it, and then to stroke themselves over their head and faces as though there had been great virtue in touching the picture, he raised his hand, in which he had a key. He struck a piece of the border around the image, and with the glance of the stroke he chanced to break off the image's nose. "Lo, good people," he cried, "you see that it is nothing but earth and dust, and cannot help itself; and how then will you have it help you? For God's sake, brethren, be no longer deceived." And so he got himself home to his house, for the uproar was so great, that many came to see how the image was defaced. And among others was one William Simons, a lawyer. Seeing the image without a nose, he took the matter grievously, and looking down upon the pavement, he spied the nose where it lay, which he took up and put into his purse, saying it would be a dear nose to Testwood.

Many were offended with Testwood — the canons for speaking against their profit, the wax sellers for hindering their market, and Simons for the image's nose. Some of the canons threatened to kill him. So Testwood kept to his house, and dared not come out, but sent the whole matter in writing by his wife, to Cromwell, the king's secretary, who was his special friend. The canons hearing that Testwood was about to send to Cromwell, sent the verger to him to come to the church. He sent word back to them that he was in fear of his life, and therefore would not come. Then they sent two of the eldest minor canons to entreat him, and to assure him that no man would do him harm. He gave them a plain answer, that he had no trust in their promises, but would complain to his friends. Then they did not know what to do, for of all men they feared Cromwell. But they sent in post-haste for old Master Ward, a justice of peace, dwelling three or four miles off. Having come, and hearing the matter, he was very loth to meddle in it. Notwithstanding, through their entreaty, he went to Testwood, and after much persuasion and faithfully promising him, by the oath he had made to God and the king, to defend him from all danger and harm, Testwood was content to go with him. When Master Ward and Testwood had come to the church, and were going toward the chapter-house, one of the canons drew his dagger at Testwood, and would have been upon him, but Master Ward with his man resisted him, and got Testwood into the chapter-house. Now Testwood, being alone in the chapter-house, with the canons and

Master Ward, was gently treated. And the matter was so pacified, that Testwood was allowed quietly to come and go to the church, and to do his duty as he had done before.

On a relic Sunday, as they called it, when every minister, in their old custom, would have borne a relic in his hand in a procession, one was brought to Testwood. This relic, they said, was a rochet of Bishop Becket's. And as the sexton would have put the rochet in Testwood's hands, he pushed it away from him, and so the rochet was given to another.

In the days of Master Franklen, who succeeded Doctor Sampson in the deanery of Windsor, a foolish printed paper was set up at the choir door, all to the praise and commendation of our Lady, ascribing to her our justification, our salvation, our redemption, the forgiveness of sins, etc., to the great derogation of Christ. This paper was set up by one of the canons named Magnus, to spite Testwood and his sect. When Testwood saw this paper, he plucked it down secretly. The next day another was set up in the same place. Then Testwood came into the church. Seeing another paper set up, and also the dean coming a little way off, he made haste to be at the choir door, while the dean stayed to take holy water. Reaching up his hand as he went, he plucked away the paper with him. The dean having come to his stall, called Testwood to him and said that he marvelled greatly how he dared be so bold as to take down the paper in his presence.' Testwood replied that he marvelled much more, that his mastership would allow such a blasphemous paper to be set up, beseeching him not to be offended by what he had done, for he would stand to it. So the dean being a timorous man, made no more ado with him. After this no more papers were set up, but poor Testwood was abused among them at every meal, and denounced as a heretic, and told he would carry a faggot one day, etc.

A story is told of a prank by one Robert Philips, a gentleman of the king's chapel, played upon Testwood. Though it was but a merry prank of a singing man, it grieved his adversary remarkably. The matter was this: Robert Philips was so notable a singing man, that wherever he went, the best and longest song, with the most counter-verses in it, was set up at his coming. And so, chancing to be at Windsor, a long song was set up, called *Lauda Vivi*. In this song there was one counterverse toward the end that began with "*redemptrix et salvatrix*." Robert Philips would sing this verse, above all others, because he knew that Testwood could not abide it. Now, Testwood knowing his mind well enough, joined with him on the other part; and when he heard Robert Philips begin to fetch his flourish with, "*redemptrix et salvatrix*," Testwood was as quick to answer with "*Non redemptrix, nee salvatrix*;" and so striving with "*o*" and "*Non*," as to who would have the mastery, they made an end of the verse. For some, there was good laughing in the sleeves at this. But Robert Philips, with others of Testwood's enemies, were much offended.

Within fourteen days after this, the lords of the garter (as their yearly custom is), came to Windsor to keep St. George's feast, at which the duke of Norfolk was president. The dean and canons made a grievous complaint to him. Testwood being called before the duke, he took him up, and reviled him, as though he would have him sent to be hanged. Yet Testwood so behaved himself toward the duke, that in the end he let him go, to the great discomfort of the dean and canons.

These are the causes which moved Testwood's enemies to seek his destruction.

*The Origin of Henry Filmer's Troubles.*

About A.D. 1540, after all the orders of superstitious and begging friars were suppressed, it happened that one Sir Thomas Melster, who had been a friar, and changed his friar's coat but not his friar's heart, was appointed vicar of Windsor. This priest gave a sermon to his

parishioners, in which he declared many old friars' tales, such as that our Lady held out her breasts to St. Bernard, and spouted her milk into his eyes, with other like tales. Many honest men were offended, and especially this Henry Filmer, who was one of the churchwardens. He was so zealous for God's word, that he could not abide to hear the glory of Christ so defaced with superstitious fables. So he took an honest man or two with him, and went to the priest, with whom he talked so honestly and so charitably, that in the end the priest gave him hearty thanks, and was content to reform himself without any more ado, and they parted friends.

Now, there was one in the town called William Simons, a lawyer. Hearing that Filmer had been with the priest, and reprov'd him for his sermon, he got himself to the vicar, and so excited him, that he slipped away from the promise he had made to Filmer. Then Simons meeting with Filmer, reviled him, saying that he would bring him before the bishop. Filmer hearing the matter renewed, which he thought had been suppressed, stood against Simons, and said that the vicar had preached false and unsound doctrine, and he would say as much to the bishop whenever he came before him.

Then Simons went to the mayor, and procured a letter in the priest's favor, and departed to go to the bishop (whose name was Doctor Capon), and took the priest with them.

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Filmer consulted with his friends as to what was best to do. He drew out certain notes of the vicar's sermon, and prepared themselves to be at Salisbury as soon as Simons, or before him. Thus, both parties being in readiness, it chanced that they set out from Windsor all in one day. But as the priest, being an infirm man, could not ride very fast, Filmer and his company got to the town before Simons, and went to the bishop, and delivered up their bill to him. When the bishop had seen and perused this bill well, he gave them great thanks for their pains, saying that the priest had preached heresy, and should be punished.

Then Filmer declared to the bishop the form of the talk he had with the priest, and the end of it, and how the matter, being renewed again by Simons, forced him and his company to trouble his lordship with it. "Well," said the bishop, "you have done like honest men. Come to me soon again, and you will know more;" and so they departed from the bishop to their inn. While they were there reposing themselves, Simons, with his company, came to the town, and (not knowing the other had come), got themselves up to the bishop in all haste, taking the priest with them.

The bishop, hearing from more Windsor men, demanded to know who they were, and being informed that it was the vicar of the town, with others, he had the vicar brought in. He said to him, "Are you the vicar of Windsor?" "Yes, my lord," he said. "How does it happen," asked the bishop, "that you are complained about? For certain honest men of your town have been with me, who have delivered up a bill of erroneous doctrine against you. If it is so, I must punish you;" and opening the bill, he read it to him. "What do you say?" asked the bishop. "Is this true or not?" The vicar could not deny it; but humbly submitted himself to the bishop's correction. Then his company was called in, and when the bishop saw Simons, he knew him well. He said, "Why do you come, Master Simons?" "Please your lordship," he said, "we have come to speak in our vicar's cause, who is a man of good conversation and honesty, and does his duty so well in every point, that no man can find fault with him, except a fellow we have in our town, called Filmer. He is so corrupt with heresy, that he is able to poison a whole country. And truly, my lord, there is no man who can preach or teach anything that is good and godly, that he is not ready to control it. Therefore we beseech your

lordship that he may be punished as an example to others, so that our vicar may do his duty quietly, as he has done before this busy fellow troubled him. And that your lordship may the better credit my words, I have brought with me these honest men of the town; and a testimonial from the mayor and his brethren, to confirm the same." And so he held the writing out in his hand.

Then the bishop said, "So God help me. Master Simons, you are greatly to blame, and most worthy to be punished of all men, who would so impudently go about to maintain your priest in his error, who has preached heresy, and has confessed it. Therefore I may not, and will not, let it go unpunished. As for that honest man, Filmer, of whom you have complained, I tell you plainly that he has in this point shown himself to be a great deal more honest than you. But in hope that you will no longer bear out your vicar in his evil doings, I will remit all things this time, except that next Sunday he will recant his sermon openly before all his parishioners in Windsor church." And so the bishop called in Filmer and his company, who waited outside, and delivered the priest's recantation to them, with a great charge to see it truly observed in all points. Then Simons took his leave of the bishop, and departed, disappointed of his purpose, and sorely ashamed. For this reason, Simons could never brook Filmer; but when he met him any time afterward, he would hold up his finger and say, "I will get even with you one day; trust me!"

*The Origin of Anthony Pearson's Troubles.*

There was a priest, named Anthony Pearson, who much frequented Windsor, about the year 1540. Using the talent that God had given him in preaching, he was greatly esteemed among the people, who flocked so much to his sermons, that the great priests of the castle, with other papists in the town, especially Simons, were greatly offended. So that Simons, at last, began to gather his sermons, and to mark his auditors. From this followed the death of several, and the troubles of many honest men. For about a year later, a minister of Satan, named Doctor London, warden of the New College in Oxford, was admitted as one of the prebendaries of Windsor. At his first residence dinner which he gave to the clerics, his whole talk to two gentlemen strangers at his board, was nothing else but of heretics, and what a desolation they would bring the realm to, if they were allowed. "And by St. Mary, masters," he said at last, "I cannot tell, but there a strange report goes abroad of this house." Some answered, "It was undeserved." "I pray God it is so," he said. "I am but a stranger, and have little experience among you; but I have heard it said before I came here, that there are some in this house, who will neither have prayer nor fasting."

Then Testwood spoke. "By my truth, sir," he said, "I think that was spoken out of malice. For prayer, as your mastership knows better than I, is one of the first lessons that Christ taught us." "Yes indeed, sir," he replied. "But the heretics will have no invocation to saints, which all the old fathers allow." "What the old fathers allow," said Testwood, "I cannot tell; but Christ appoints us to go to his Father, and to ask our petitions of him in Christ's name." "Then you will have no mediator between you and God," said Doctor London. "Yes, sir," replied Testwood; "our mediator is Christ. As St. Paul says, 'There is one mediator between God and man, even Jesus Christ.' <sup>1Tim 2.5</sup> Upon this Doctor London said grace, and turned the conversation.

When Doctor London had been at Windsor a while, and learned what Testwood was, and also what heretics were in the town, and how they increased daily because of a priest named Anthony Pearson, he was so bent against them, that he gave himself wholly to the devil to do mischief. And to bring his wicked purpose about, he conspired with Simons and others, how they might compass the matter — first, to have all the arch-heretics, as they termed them, in

Windsor, indicted for heresy. They had a good ground to work upon, they thought, which was the Six Articles. So they began to build and practice this way: First, they drew out certain notes from Anthony Pearson's sermons which he had preached against the sacrament of the altar and their popish mass. That done, they put in Sir William Hobby, with the good lady his wife; Sir Thomas Cardine; Mr. Edmund Harman; Mr. Thomas Weldon; with Snowbal and his wife, as chief aiders, helpers, and maintainers of Anthony Pearson. They also notified Doctor Haynes, dean of Exeter, and a prebendary of Windsor, to be a receiver of all suspected persons. They also wrote the names of all those who commonly attended Anthony Pearson's sermons, and all those who had the Testament, and favored the gospel.

Then they had spies walk up and down the church, to hearken and hear what men said, and to mark who did not worship the sacrament at the elevation. Some of these spies were chantry priests. When they had gathered as much as they could. Doctor London, with two of his brethren, gave them up to the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, with a great complaint against the heretics who were in Windsor, declaring how the town was disquieted through their doctrine and evil example. Therefore they sought his lordship's help in purging the town and castle of such wicked persons. The bishop, hearing their complaint, praised their doings, and bade them go forward, and they would not lack his help. Then they plied the matter, sparing neither money nor pains.

Bishop Gardiner, seizing a convenient time, went to the king, complaining what heretics his grace had in his realm, and how they had not only crept into every corner of his court, but even into his privy chamber, therefore beseeching his majesty that his laws might be prosecuted.

[601] A.D. 1540-1547.

The king, giving credit to these words, was content that his laws should be executed on those who were offenders. Then the bishop immediately procured a commission for a private search to be had in Windsor for books and letters. The king granted this commission to take place in the town of Windsor, but not in the castle.

At this time, the canons of Exeter had accused Doctor Haynes, their dean, to the council, for preaching against holy bread, and holy water; and for saying in one of his sermons, that marriage and hanging were destiny. Upon which they gathered treason against him, because of the king's marriage. The bishop of Winchester had also informed the council of Master Hobby, how he was a great maintainer of heretics. Whereupon both he and Doctor Haynes were apprehended and sent to the Fleet. But it was not very long after, that by the mediation of friends, they were both delivered.

Now, as to the commission searching for books, Mr. Ward and one Fachel of Reading, were appointed commissioners. They came to Windsor the Sunday before Palm Sunday, 1543, and began their search at night. In this search were apprehended Robert Benet, Henry Filmer, John Marbeck, and Robert Testwood, for certain books and writings found in their houses, against the Six Articles. They were kept in ward till the Monday after, and then brought up to the council — all except Testwood, with whom the bailiffs of the town were charged, because he lay ill of the gout. The other three, being examined before the council, were committed to prison; Filmer and Benet to the bishop of London's jail; and Marbeck to

the Marshalsea.<sup>506</sup> His examination is set out below, to declare the great goodness of the council, and the cruelty of the bishop.

*Examination of John Marbeck.*

This Marbeck had begun a great work in English, called the Concordance of the Bible. This book, not half finished, was among his other books taken to the council. And when he came before them to be examined, the work lay before the bishop of Winchester. Beholding the poor man a while, he asked, "Marbeck, do you know why you were sent for?" "No, my lord," he said. "No?" asked the bishop. "That is a marvellous thing." Truly, my lord," he said, "unless it is for a certain search made recently in Windsor, I cannot tell why it should be." "Then you know the matter well enough," said the bishop. Taking up a quire (a handful of pages) from the Concordance in his hand, he asked, "Do you understand the Latin tongue?" "No, my lord," he said, "but simply." "No!" said the bishop. And with that, Master Wrisley spoke (then secretary to the king). "He says, but simply." "I cannot tell," said the bishop, "but the book is translated word for word out of the Latin Concordance," and so he began to declare to the rest of the council, the nature of a Concordance, and how it was first compiled in Latin by the great diligence of learned men for the ease of preachers. He concluded with this reasoning: that if such a book were published in English, it would destroy the Latin tongue. And so casting down the quire again, he reached another book, which was the book of Isaiah the prophet, and turning to the last chapter, he gave the book to Marbeck, and asked him who had written the note in the margin. The other looking at it, said, "Truly, my lord, I wrote it." "Read it," said the bishop. Then he read it thus, "Heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool." "No," said the bishop, "read it as you have written it." "Then I will read it wrong," he said, "for I had written it incorrectly." "How had you written it?" asked the bishop. "I had written it thus," he said, "Heaven is my throne, and the earth is not my footstool." "Yes," said the bishop, "that was your meaning." "No, my lord, it was but an oversight in writing; for, as your lordship sees, this word 'not' is blotted out." At this time other matters came into the council, so that Marbeck was led out to the next chamber.

On the next day, one of the bishop of Winchester's gentlemen brought two great books under his arm, and finding Marbeck walking up and down in the chapel, demanded of the keeper why he was not in irons. "I had no such commandment," he said, "for the messenger who brought him from the council said, "It was their pleasure he should be gently treated." And so he called for a room, to which he carried the prisoner, and said, "Marbeck, my lord favors you well for certain good qualities that you have, and he has sent me to admonish you to beware, lest you willfully cast yourself away. If you will be plain, you will do yourself much good; if not, you will do yourself much harm. I assure you, my lord laments your case, for he has always heard good reports of you. Now, see to yourself, and play the wise man. You are acquainted with a great many heretics, such as Hobby and Haines, with others, and you know much about their secrets. If you will now tell about them, he will procure your deliverance out of hand, and prefer you to a better living."

"Alas, sir," he said, "what secrets do I know? I am but a poor man, and was never worthy to be conversant either with Master Hobby or Master Haines, to know their minds." "Well," said the gentleman, "make it not so strange, for my lord knows well enough in what estimation they held both you and Anthony Pearson." "For Anthony Pearson," Marbeck said, "I can say nothing, for I never saw him with them. And as for myself, I cannot deny

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<sup>506</sup> *The Marshalsea: a notorious debtors' prison on the south bank of the River Thames.*

that they have always taken me for an honest poor man, and shown me much kindness. But as for their secrets, they were too wise to commit them to anyone such as I am.”

“Perhaps,” said the gentleman, “You fear to utter anything about them, because they were your friends, lest hearing of it, they might hereafter withdraw their friendship from you. You need not fear this, I warrant you, for they are sure enough, and never likely to pleasure you any more, nor anyone else.”

With that the water stood in Marbeck’s eyes. “Why do you weep?” asked the gentleman. “Oh, sir,” he said, “I pray you pardon me. These men have done me good; therefore I beseech the living God, to comfort them as I would be comforted myself.”

“Well,” said the gentleman, “I perceive you will play the fool.” And then he opened one of the books, and asked him if he understood any Latin. “A little, sir,” he said. “How is it then,” asked the gentleman, “that you have translated your book out of the Latin Concordance, and yet do not understand the tongue?” “I will tell you,” he said. “In my youth I learned the principles of my grammar, by which I have some understanding, though it is very small.” Then the gentleman began to test him in the Latin Concordance and English Bible which he had brought. And when he was satisfied, he departed, leaving Marbeck alone in the chamber.

About two hours later, the gentleman came back with a sheet of paper folded in his hand, and set himself down on the bed’s side, as before. He said. “By my pledge, Marbeck, my lord sees so much willfulness in you, that he says it is pity to do you good.” “Sir,” he said, “there is nothing that I can do and say with a safe conscience, but I am ready to do it at his lordship’s pleasure.” “What, are you telling me,” asked the gentleman, “of your conscience? You may with a safe conscience, reveal those who are heretics, and you can do God and the king no greater service.” “If I knew, sir,” Marbeck said, “who was a heretic indeed, it would be well. But if I were to accuse someone of being a heretic who is none, what a worm that would be in my conscience so long as I lived. Yes, it would be a great deal better for me to be out of this life, than to live in such torment.” “In faith,” said the gentleman, “You know as well who are heretics of your fellows at home, and who are not, as I know this to be paper in my hand. Perhaps your wits are troubled, so that you cannot call things to remembrance. I have brought you ink and paper, so that you may write such things as come to your mind.” And so he laid down the ink and paper, and went his way.

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Now Marbeck was so full of heaviness and woe, that he did not know what to do, nor how to set a pen to the book to satisfy the bishop’s mind, unless he accused men to the wounding of his own soul. And thus being compassed about with nothing but sorrow and care, he cried out to God in his heart, and fell down on his knees, with tears, and said, —

“O most merciful Father of heaven, you who know the secret doings of all men, have mercy upon your poor prisoner, who is destitute of all help and comfort. Assist me, O Lord, with your special grace, that to save this frail and vile body, which will turn to corruption in its time, I may have no power to say or to write anything that may be casting away my Christian brother. But rather, O Lord, let this vile flesh suffer at Your will and pleasure. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for your dear Son Jesus Christ’s sake.”

Then he rose up and began to search his conscience what he might write, and at last framed these words:



“Whereas your lordship would have me write such things as I know about my fellows at home; please it your lordship to understand, that I cannot call to remembrance any manner of thing by which I might justly accuse any one of them, unless it is that the reading of the New Testament, which is common to all men, is an offense. More than this I do not know.”

Now the gentleman, about the hour appointed, came again, and found Marbeck walking up and down the chamber. “How now,” he said, “have you written nothing?” “Yes, sir,” he said, “as much as I know.” “Well said,” observed the gentleman; and took up the paper. When he had read it, he cast it away from him in a great rage, swearing by our Lord’s body, that he would not for twenty pounds carry it to his lord and master. “Therefore,” he said, “go to it again, and advise yourself better, or else you will set my lord against you, and then you are utterly undone.” “By my pledge, sir,” said Marbeck, “if his lordship keeps me here these next seven years, I can say no more than I have said.” “Then you will regret it,” said the gentleman; and so he departed.

The next day, the bishop sent for Marbeck to come to his house. As he was entering into the bishop’s hall, he saw the bishop himself coming out at a door at the upper end, with a roll in his hand. Going towards the great window, he called the poor man to him, and said, “Marbeck, will you cast yourself away?” “No, my lord,” he said, “I trust not.” “Yes,” said the bishop, “You go about it, for you will utter nothing. What tempted you to meddle with the Scriptures?” And with that he went away from the window, out of the hall, with the poor man following him from place to place, till he had brought him into a long gallery. When there, the bishop began: “Ah, sir, your nest is broken.” And unfolding his roll, he said, “Behold, here are your captains, both Hobby and Haynes, with the whole pack of your sect around Windsor! And yet you will tell about none of them.” “Alas, my lord, how should I accuse those of whom I know nothing?” “Well,” said the bishop, “if you will cast yourself away, who can prevent you?”

And in speaking these words, one of his chaplains came up (called Master Medow), to whom the bishop said, “Here is a marvellous thing; this fellow has taken it upon himself to set out the Concordance in English. This book, when it was set out in Latin, was not done without the help and diligence of a dozen learned men, at least; and yet he asserts that he has done it alone. But say what you will,” said the bishop, “unless God himself would come down from heaven and tell me so, I will not believe it.” And so going forth to a window where two great bibles lay on a cushion, the one in Latin and the other in English, he called Marbeck to him, and pointing his finger to a place in the Latin Bible, said, “Can you English this sentence?” “No, my lord,” he said, “but I can fetch out the English in an English Bible.” Then Marbeck turning over the English Bible, found the place, and read it to the bishop. So he tried him three or four times, till one of his men came up and told him the priest was ready to go to mass.

When the bishop returned from mass, he said, “This is a marvellous sect, for nothing can make one of them betray another.” Then there was nothing said among the bishop’s gentlemen, as they were making him ready to go to the court, except “Crucify him,” upon the poor man. When the bishop’s white rochet was on him, he said, “Well Marbeck, I am now going to the court, and I had purposed, if I found you tractable, to have spoken to the king’s majesty for you, and to have given you your food, drink, and lodging here in my house. But seeing that you are so willful and so stubborn, you shall go to the devil.”

It was not half an hour later, when the bishop sent one of his gentlemen to the under-keeper, commanding him to put irons on Marbeck, and to keep him fast shut up in a

chamber alone. And when he should bring him down to dinner or supper, he was to see that he spoke to no man, and no man spoke to him.

About three weeks before Whitsunday,<sup>507</sup> Marbeck was sent for to come to the bishop of London's house, where Dr. Capon, bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Skip, bishop of Hereford, Dr. Goodrick, bishop of Ely, Dr. Oking, Dr. May, and the bishop of London's scribe, sat in commission, having before them all of Marbeck's books. Then the bishop of Salisbury said, "Marbeck, we are here in commission, sent from the king's majesty to examine you about certain things, of which you must be sworn to answer us faithfully and truly." Then the bishop of Salisbury laid out before him his three books of notes, demanding whose hand they were. Marbeck answered, they were his own hand, and notes which he had gathered out of other men's works, six years ago. "For what cause," asked the bishop of Salisbury, "did you gather them?" — "For no other cause, my lord, than to come by knowledge. For being unlearned, and desirous to understand some parts of Scripture, I thought by reading from learned men's works to come by it sooner. And where I found any place of Scripture opened and expounded by them, I noted that, as you see, with a letter of his name in the margin, who was the author of the work." Then the bishop of Salisbury drew out a quire of the Concordance, and laid it before the bishop of Hereford, and asked, "Whose help did you have in setting forth this book?" — "My lord," he said, "no help at all." — "How could you," asked the bishop, "invent such a book, or know what a Concordance meant, without an instructor?" — He answered, "When Thomas Mathews' Bible came out in print, I was desirous to have one of them. And being a poor man, and not able to buy one, I determined to borrow one, and to write it out. And when I had written out the five books of Moses on fair great paper, and had entered into the book of Joshua, my friend Master Turner chanced to see me writing out the Bible, and asked me what I meant to do? And when I told him the reason, he said, 'Tush, you go about a vain and tedious labor. But this would be a profitable work for you, to set out a Concordance in English.' — 'A Concordance,' I said, 'what is that?' Then he told me it was a book to find out any word in the whole Bible by the letter, and that there was such a one in Latin already. And this, my lord, is all the instruction that I ever had before or after." — "A good wit with diligence," said the bishop of Hereford, "may bring hard things to pass." — "It is a great pity," said the bishop of Ely, "he did not have the Latin tongue." — "I cannot believe," said the bishop of Salisbury, "that he has done any more in this work, than written it out after some other person who is learned."

"My lords," said Marbeck, "I beseech you all to pardon me for what I will say, and to grant my request if it seems good to you. I marvel greatly why I should be so examined for this book, and in what I have committed offense in doing it? If I have offended, then I would be sorry that any other should be molested or punished for my fault. Therefore to clear all men in this matter, this is my request; that you will try me in the rest of the book that is undone, You see that I am yet but at the letter L, beginning now at M, and take out whatever word you will of that letter, and so in every letter following.

[603] A.D. 1540-1547.

Give me the words on a piece of paper, and set me in a place alone wherever it pleases you, with ink and paper, the English Bible, and the Latin Concordance: and if I do not bring you these words written in the same order and form that the rest is before, then it was not I who did it, but some other."

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<sup>507</sup> *Whitsunday: the seventh Sunday after Easter (Pentecost).*

“By my truth, Marbeck,” replied the bishop of Ely, “that is honestly spoken; and then you shall bring many men out of suspicion.”

When dinner was done, the bishop of Salisbury came down into the hall, commanding ink and paper to be given to Marbeck. And now being in his prison-chamber, Marbeck fell to his business so expertly, that by the next day when the bishop sent for him, he had written so much, in the same order and form as he had done the rest before, as to fill three sheets of paper and more. When he had delivered this to the bishop of Salisbury, he marvelled, and said, “Well, Marbeck, you have now put me out of all doubt.”

On Whitsunday Marbeck was sent for once again, where he found Dr. Oking with another gentleman, with a chain of gold about his neck, sitting together in one of the stalls, looking at an epistle of John Calvin’s, which Marbeck had written out. When they saw the prisoner, they rose and had him up to a side altar, leaving his keeper in the body of the church. Now, as soon as Marbeck saw the face of the gentleman, he saw it was the same person who first examined him in the Marshalsea, but never knew his name till he now heard Dr. Oking call him Master Knight. This Master Knight held the paper to Marbeck, and said, “Look at this, and tell me whose hand it is.” When Marbeck had taken the paper, and seen what it was, he confessed it to be all his hand, except the first leaf and the notes in the margin.

Here they wanted him to prove that it was the handwriting of Meines, and they threatened him with the torture to compel him. “By my truth, sir,” said Marbeck, “if you tear my whole body in pieces, I trust in God you will never make me accuse any man wrongfully.” — “If you are so stubborn,” said Dr. Oking, “You will die for it.” — “Die, Master Oking?” he said; “Why should I die? You told me the last day I was before the bishops, that as soon as I had made an end of the piece of the Concordance, I would be delivered; and will I now die? But whenever you put me to death, I do not doubt that I will die God’s true man and the king’s.” — “How so?” said Knight. “How can you die a true man to the king, when you have offended his laws? Is not this epistle, and most of the notes you have written, directly against the Six Articles?” — “No, sir,” said Marbeck, “I have not offended the laws of the king. For since the first time I began with the Concordance, which is almost six years ago, I have been occupied in nothing else. So that both this epistle, and also the notes I have gathered, were written a great while before the Six Articles came out; and are clearly remitted by the king’s general pardon.” — “Do not trust to that,” said Knight, “for it will not help you.” And so they committed him to his keeper, who conveyed him back to prison.

*The Manner of their Condemnations, and how they died.*

Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had so compassed his matters, that no man bore such great sway around the king as he did. The saying went abroad, that the bishop had bent his bow to shoot at some of the head deer. But in the meantime three or four of the poor were caught: namely, Anthony Pearson, Henry Filmer, and John Marbeck, who were sent to Windsor, and imprisoned in the town jail. Testwood (who had kept his bed) was brought out of his house on crutches, and placed with them. But as for Benet (who should have been the fifth man) he happened to be sick of the pestilence, and was left behind, whereby he escaped the fire.

Now these men being brought to Windsor, a sessions<sup>508</sup> was specially procured to be held. Against these sessions all the farmers belonging to the college of Windsor were warned to

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<sup>508</sup> Session: an official meeting of a council or court.

appear, because they could not select enough papists in the town to be on the jury when the trial came up.

The prisoners were separately indicted and convicted. Now being condemned, they prepared to die on the morrow, comforting one another in the death and passion of their Master, Christ, who had led the way before them. They trusted that the same Lord who had made them worthy to suffer so far for his sake, would not now withdraw his strength, but give them steadfast faith and power to overcome those fiery torments; and would receive their souls of His free mercy and goodness (without their deserts) for his promise's sake. Thus they lay all the night, till sleep overpowered them, calling upon God for his aid and strength, and praying for their persecutors — that God of his merciful goodness would forgive them, and turn their hearts to the love and knowledge of his blessed and holy word. Indeed, there was such heavenly talk was among them that night, that the hearers who were watching the prison outside, of which the sheriff himself was one, with other gentlemen, were constrained to shed tears, as they themselves confessed.

On the morrow, which was Friday, as the prisoners were all preparing themselves to go to suffer, word was brought to them that they would not die that day. The cause was this: the bishop of Salisbury, and others among the commissioners, had sent a letter by one of the sheriff's gentlemen, called Mr. Frost, to the bishop of Winchester (the Court then being at Oking) in favor of Marbeck. At the sight of this letter, the bishop straightway went to the king, and obtained Marbeck's pardon. This being granted, he had a warrant made out of hand for the sheriff's discharge, delivering it to the messenger, who returned with speed and great joy (for the love he bore for the party), bringing good news to the town, of Marbeck's pardon.

On the Saturday morning, when the prisoners were to go to execution, they took their leave of Marbeck (their fellow-prisoner), and praised God for his deliverance; wishing him the increase of godliness and virtue. And last of all, they besought him to help them heartily with his prayer to God, to make them strong in their afflictions. And so kissing him one after another, they departed.

Now as the prisoners passed through the throng in the streets, they desired all the faithful people to pray for them, and to stand fast in the truth of the gospel, and not to be moved at their afflictions, for it was the happiest thing that ever came to them. And whenever Doctor Blithe and Arch (who rode on each side the prisoners) endeavored to persuade them to turn to their mother church, "Away," Pearson would cry out, "away with your Romish doctrine and all your trumpery, for we will have no more of it." When Filmer came to his brother's door, he stayed and called for his brother; but he could not be seen, for Dr. London had kept him out of sight. When he had called three or four times, and saw that he did not come, he said, "Will he not come? then God forgive him, and make him a good man." And so going forward, they came to the place of execution, where Anthony Pearson, with a cheerful countenance, embraced the post in his arms, and kissing it, said, "Now, welcome my own sweet wife; for this day you and I shall be married together in the love and peace of God."

When these three godly martyrs were bound to the post, a certain young man of Filmer's acquaintance brought him some drink, asking him if he would drink; "Ysa," said Filmer, "I thank you. And now, my brother," he said, "I desire you in the name of the living Lord to stand fast in the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ, which you have received." Then he asked his brother Anthony, if he would drink. "Yes, brother Filmer," he said, "I pledge you in the Lord." And when he had drunk, he gave it to Anthony, and he likewise gave it to Testwood. their adversaries made a jesting-stock of this drinking, and reported abroad that they were

all drunk, and did not know what they said — when they were no more drunk than the apostles were when the people said they were full of new wine, as their deeds declared.

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For when Anthony and Testwood had both drunk, Filmer rejoicing in the Lord, said, “Be merry, my brethren, and lift up your hands to God; for after this sharp breakfast, I trust we will have a good dinner in the kingdom of Christ our Lord and Redeemer.” At these words, Testwood, lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, desired the Lord above to receive his spirit. And Anthony Pearson, pulling the straw to himself, laid a good deal of it on the top of his head, saying, “Now am I dressed like a true soldier of Christ, by whose merits alone I trust this day to enter into his joy.” And so they yielded up their souls to the Father of heaven, in the faith of his dear Son Jesus Christ, with such humility and steadfastness, that many who saw their patient suffering, confessed that they could have found it in their hearts to have died with them.

Soon after these martyrdoms, the whole conspiracy between Dr. London and Simons, for putting these good men to death, was found out and exposed, for they also conspired to indict some of the council.

After this, the king withdrew his favor from the bishop of Winchester, and being more and more informed about the conspiracy of Dr. London and Simons, he commanded certain of his council to search out the basis of it. Whereupon, Dr. London and Simons were apprehended and brought before the council, and examined upon their oath of allegiance. For denying their mischievous and traitorous purpose, which was manifestly proved to their faces, they were both perjured, and in brief, they were adjudged as perjured persons, to wear papers in Windsor; and one named Ockham was to stand upon the pillory in Newbury where he was born.

The judgment of all these three was to ride about Windsor, Reading, and Newbury, with papers on their heads, and their faces turned to the horses’ tails, and to stand upon the pillory in each of these towns, for their false accusation of the forenamed martyrs, and for perjury.

And thus much touching the persecution of these good saints of Windsor, according to the copy of their own acts, received and written by John Marbeck, who is yet alive.

### ***Persecution in Calais for the Six Articles***

#### *The Martyrdom of Adam Damlip and others.*

In the year 1539, one George Bucker came to Calais, alias Adam Damlip. In times past he had been a great papist, and chaplain to Fisher, bishop of Rochester. After the death of the bishop, he travelled through France and Italy; and as he went, he conferred with learned men concerning matters of controversy in religion. And so proceeding in his journey to Rome, where he thought to have found all godliness and sincere religion, he found there in the end (as he confessed) such blasphemy of God, contempt of Christ’s true religion, looseness of life, and abundance of all abominations and filthiness, that his heart and conscience abhorred to remain there any longer. Though he was greatly requested by Cardinal Pole to continue, and to read three lectures a week in his house, for which he offered Adam great entertainment, he refused. And so returning homeward, having a piece of money given him by the cardinal at his departure, he came to Calais. As he was waiting there for passage to England, he was perceived by William Stevens and Thomas Lancaster, to be a learned man, and having recently been a zealous papist, he had now turned to a more

perfect knowledge of true religion. They heartily entreated him to stay at Calais for some time, and to read there a day or two, with the intent that he might do some good to the people after his painful travel. Adam gladly consented to this request. Stevens brought him to lord Lisle, the king's deputy of the town and marches of Calais,<sup>509</sup> and thoroughly declared what conference and talk he had with Adam Damlip. The lord deputy desired Damlip to stay there, and to preach three or four days or more at his pleasure, saying that he would have both his license and the commissary's also.

After he had preached three or four times, he was so well liked, both for his learning, his utterance, and the truth of his doctrine, that not only the soldiers and commoners, but also the lord deputy and a great part of the council, gave him great praise and thanks for it. And the lord deputy offered him a chamber in his own house; to dine and sup every meal at his own mess; to have a man or two of his servants wait upon him; and to have whatever he wanted, if it might be had for money. Yes, and whatever he might desire in his purse to buy books or otherwise; so long as he would tarry there among them, and preach only so long as it might seem good to himself. Refusing his lordship's great offer, Adam most heartily thanked him, and entreated him to be only so good to him, as to appoint him some quiet and honest place in the town, where he might not be disturbed or molested, but have opportunity to give himself to his book. In return, he would daily, once in the forenoon, and again by one o'clock in the afternoon, by the grace of God, preach among them according to that talent which God had given him. The lord deputy greatly rejoiced at this answer, and thereupon sent for William Stevens, whom he earnestly requested to receive and lodge Damlip in his house, promising to see him fully paid, whatever he would demand.

This godly man, for twenty days or more, once every day, at seven o'clock, preached very godly, learnedly, and plainly, the truth of the blessed sacrament of Christ's body and blood, mightily inveighing against all popery, and confuting it — but especially those two most pernicious errors or heresies, transubstantiation and the propitiatory sacrifice of the Romish mass. He did so by the true conference of the Scriptures, and applying the ancient doctors. He earnestly exhorted the people to turn from popery, declaring how popish he himself had been; and how, by the detestable wickedness that he saw universally in Rome, he had returned so far homewards, and now had become an enemy, through God's grace, to all popery. He showed that if gain or ambition could have moved him to the contrary, he might have been entertained by Cardinal Pole. But for conscience' sake, he joined with true knowledge, grounded on God's most holy word. He now utterly abhorred all popery, and wished them most earnestly to do the same.

And thus he continued for some time to read in the chapter-house of the White friars. But the place not being large enough, he was asked to read in the pulpit. And so, proceeding in his lectures (in which he declared how the world was deceived by the Roman bishops, who had set forth the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation), he came at length to speak against the pageant or picture of the resurrection, which was in St. Nicholas church, declaring it to be mere idolatry.

Upon this sermon, or lecture, a commission came from the king to the lord deputy — Master Greenfield; Sir John Butler, commissary; the king's mason and smith; with others. They would search whether there were three hosts lying on a marble stone sprinkled with blood, as was set forth in the papal bull of indulgences to that altar; and if they did not find it so, that it should be plucked down immediately. In searching, as they broke up a stone in a

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<sup>509</sup> The “marches” of Calais was a strategic part of Calais when it was under English rule from 1347 to 1558.

corner of the tomb, instead of three hosts, they found soldered on the cross of marble lying under the sepulcher, three plain white counters, which they had painted like hosts, and a bone that is in the tip of a sheep's tail! Damlip chewed on all of this trumpery to the people the next day, which was Sunday, out of the pulpit; afterwards the commission was sent by the lord deputy to the king.

Envy soon stirred up the prior of the White friars, to bark against Adam. Yet, after he had confuted the friar's erroneous doctrines of transubstantiation, and of the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass, the friar outwardly seemed to give way, ceasing to openly inveigh against him; but he secretly acted to impeach Adam by letters sent to the clergy in England. So that, within eight or ten days, Damlip was sent for to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury. With the archbishop was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, Sampson, bishop of Chichester, and others; before whom Damlip most constantly affirmed and defended the doctrine which he had taught, answering, confuting, and solving the objections of his adversaries.

[605] A.D. 1540-1547.

Then the bishops began to threaten to confute him with their accustomed arguments — fire and faggot — if he would still stand to the defense of what he had spoken. Damlip answered that on the next day he would deliver fully in writing what he had said. On the morrow they intended to apprehend him, but he had a secret intimation from the archbishop of Canterbury, that if he personally appeared, he would be committed, and not likely then to escape death. He therefore sent four sheets of paper learnedly written in the Latin tongue, containing his faith and his arguments; proofs from the Scriptures; and allegations from the doctors. This done, he went into the west country, and kept there all the time, while great trouble kindled against God's people in Calais.

In the meantime, William Smith, a curate at Calais, continued to preach the gospel against popery, as did Champion and Garret, whom the king sent there to instruct the people. But at the last, God's enemies wrote to some in England, making grievous complaints to the lords of the privy council, against some in the town of Calais, affirming that they were horribly infected with heresies and pernicious opinions.

A great persecution against many persons followed this. And so that this may better appear, we will give a brief account of Ralph Hare, a man so unlearned that he could scarcely read. Yet through God's grace, he was very zealous; and with this he led so godly and temperate a life, that not one of his enemies could accuse or blame his sober life and conversation. He was charged as one who had spoken against auricular confession, against holy bread and holy water; and that he was one who would not lightly swear an oath; nor engage in any manner of pastime; but was always in a corner by himself, looking at his book. This poor simple man being charged by the commissioners, that he was a naughty and erroneous man, was told to take good heed to himself, lest through obstinacy he turned his erroneous opinions into plain heresy; for an error defended is heresy.

“My good lords,” said the poor man, “I take God to record, I would not willingly maintain any error or heresy. Therefore I beseech you, let my accusers come face to face before me. For if they charge me with that which I have spoken, I will not deny it. Moreover, if it is truth, I will stand to it; and otherwise, if it is an error, I will with all my heart utterly forsake it — I mean if it is against God's holy word. For the Lord is my witness; I seek and daily pray to God, that I may know the truth, and flee from all errors. And I trust the Lord will save me and preserve me from them.”



“Aha!” said the bishop of Winchester, “Do you not hear what he says, my lord? I perceive now that you are a naughty fellow.” “Alas, my lord,” said Ralph Hare, “what evil have I said?” “Goodness sir, you said ‘the Lord, the Lord,’ and that is a sign of a heretic,” replied Winchester. “What is that, my lord? For God’s sake tell me,” said Hare. “You are naught, you are naught,” said the bishop.<sup>510</sup> At these words the simple man began to tremble, and seemed much dismayed and driven into a great agony and fear. Winchester perceiving this, said to him,

“Ralph Hare, Ralph Hare, by my pledge, I pity you much. For in good faith, I think you to be a good simple man, but you have had shrewd and subtle schoolmasters, who have seduced you, good poor simple soul; and therefore I pity you. And it would indeed be a pity if you were burnt; for you are a good fellow, a tall man, and have served the king right well in his wars. I have heard you well commended, and you are still able to do the king as good service as you ever were. And we all will be a means to his grace to be a good gracious lord to you, if you will take pity on yourself, and leave your errors. For I dare say for us all who are commissioners, that we would be loath that you should be cast away. For, alas poor simple man, we perceive you have been seduced by others.”

“What do you say, therefore? You know my lord of Canterbury is a good gentle lord, and would be loath that you should be cast away? Tell me, can you be content to submit yourself to him, and to stand to such order as he and we shall take in this matter? What do you say, man? speak.”

The poor man falling upon his knees, and shedding tears, answered, speaking to the archbishop of Canterbury in this way, “My good lord, for Christ’s sake be good to me; and I refer myself to your grace’s order, to do with me what you please.”

The archbishop of Canterbury, considering what danger he was ready to fall into, and pitying the man (though his simplicity was so great that he did not perceive it) said, “No, Ralph Hares, stand up and advise yourself, and do not commit yourself to me, for I am but one man, and in commission just as the others are; so that it lies in me to do nothing. But if you commit yourself to all, then you commit yourself to the laws; and the law is ordained to do every man right.” “Go to, Ralph Hare,” said Winchester, “submit yourself to my lord and us: it is best for you to do so.” Whereupon Hare fell upon his knees again, and said, “My lords and masters all, I submit myself wholly to you.” And with that, a book was held up to him, and an oath given to him to be obedient to them and to all ecclesiastical laws. And straightway he was enjoined to abjure, and to bear a faggot on three separate days. Moreover, the poor man lost his whole living that he had at Calais.

This simple man, upon hearing his penance, at the first earnestly refused to stand to it, and with piteous exclamation, said, “O my lord of Winchester! my lord of Winchester! Have you made me a log ready to be laid upon the fire, whenever any wicked man of malice, by provocation of the devil, falsely lays any small trifle to my charge? Or shall I thus be handled, with nothing proved to my face against me? Alas, I have always hated errors and heresies.” “Content yourself, Hare: there is now no remedy. You must either do your penance, or be burnt,” said the commissioners.

*The History of William Smith.*

William Smith, curate of Our Lady parish, in Calais, was called before them and charged with the same errors and opinions that were objected against Ralph Hare. It was added that

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<sup>510</sup> Either being nothing, he has no right to call on the Lord himself, or else he is “naughty” (wicked) to do it.



he had spoken and preached against our blessed Lady; against praying to saints; against doing good works; and many other such things. One Richard Long, a man-at-arms at Calais, proved against Smith, and Brooke, by an oath taken upon a book, that Smith and Brooke ate flesh together during Lent in Brooke's house. "For a miller's boy," he said, "came into Brooke's kitchen and saw half a lamb lying roasting at the fire." Whereas the truth was that William Smith, during all the time of Lent, never came once into Brooke's house.

After all these things had taken place, the minds of the adversaries were not yet satisfied, but still suggested new complaints to the king's ears against the town of Calais. They made the king believe that through new opinions, the town was so divided that it was in great danger. Whereupon, shortly after, commissioners were sent over by the king to Calais, with special instructions signed by the king's majesty's own hand. Upon their arrival, Doctor Curain preached a notable sermon, exhorting all men to charity, having nothing in his mouth but charity, charity. But as it seemed afterwards, such a burning charity was in him and the rest of the commissioners, that if God had not pitied his innocent servants, there would have been a hundred burnt or hanged shortly after.

On the morrow, after the sermon, all the commissioners solemnly received the sacrament. At afternoon, the council assembled with the commissioners; and after their consultation, tipstuffs summoned over eighty persons to appear on the morrow at eight o'clock before the council. At their appearance, the council were commanded upon their allegiance to present all such heretics, schismatics, and seditious persons as they knew of, and in no way to doubt or dread to do so — for they would have great advantage thereby; indeed. They would either have these people's livings or their goods; and besides that, they would have great thanks at the king's majesty's hand, and his honorable council.

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These things were not so secretly done that they were not betrayed, and came to honest men's knowledge. Whereupon such fear and distrust overtook all men, that neighbor distrusted neighbor, the master the servant, the servant the master, the husband the wife, the wife the husband, and almost every one the other. It was lamentable to see how mournful men and women went about in the streets, hanging down their heads, showing evident tokens of the anguish of their hearts.

On the Wednesday, in Easter week, sundry inquests were charged on their oaths to make inquisition for all manner of heretics, erroneous opinions, and seditions — such as, an inquest of aldermen; another of men-at-arms, and another of constables and vintners; another of common soldiers, and another of commoners. Shortly after their presentments, on Good Friday, the following were brought before the commissioners, and sent straight to close prison: Anthony Pickering, gent., Henry Turner, gent., Sir George Darby, priest, John Sheppard, William Pellam, William Keeverdale, John Whitwood, John Boote, Robert Clodder, Coppen de Hane, and Matthew de Hound. There were sundry reports concerning them. Some said they would be hanged; some said burnt; some said hanged, drawn and quartered; some said nailed to the pillory. It was pitiful to see the lamentation that their wives, children, servants, and friends, made secretly where they dared. For everywhere they found words of discomfort, and nowhere words of comfort.

William Stevens. after his return from London, besides forty other articles laid to him for religion, was charged by the lord deputy, that he had supported Adam Damlip, hired him to preach, and had given him food, drink, and lodging; and then Brooke was brought before the commissioners, and committed to close prison in the mayor's jail.

This kind of handling of Brooke made all his friends, but especially his wife, greatly afraid of the malice of his enemies. Moreover, all his goods and lands were seized, and his wife thrust into the meanest place in his house, with her children and family; also the keys to all the doors and chests were taken from her. She was rigorously treated at Sir Edward Kingley's hand, controller of the town. He said to her that if she did not like the room, he would throw her quite out of doors. "Well, sir," she said, "well, the king's slaughter-house was wronged when you were made a gentleman." With all speed she wrote a letter to lord Cromwell, discoursing about how harshly those poor men were handled, who were committed to ward and close prison. And that all men feared (through the malice of their papistic enemies, and the great rigor and ignorant zeal of those who were in authority) that they would shortly be put to death for their faith and consciences — but chiefly her husband, who was more extremely handled than any other: So that unless his honor granted to be a means to the king's majesty, asking that they with their causes might be sent over to England, they were but dead men.

Lord Cromwell immediately wrote to the commissioners, declaring that the king's majesty's pleasure and commandment was that the traitor and heretic Brooke, with a dozen or twenty accomplices, should with their accusers be immediately sent over, so that here in England they might receive their judgment, and there at Calais, to the great terror of like offenders hereafter, suffer according to their demerits.

Now by the time that the said commissioners received these letters, they had made out precepts for 160-180 more honest men to be cast into prison. But these letters so appalled them, that they stayed and afterwards sent no more to prison; making, however, as diligent inquisition as was possible, to find some matter against them. They sent the thirteen prisoners through the market, Brooke going before them with irons on his legs, as the chief captain; the rest following him two by two without irons, till on shipboard, and then they were all coupled in rows two by two together.

When in the ship, because they were loath to go under the hatches. Sir John Gage with a staff struck some of them cruelly; whereupon Anthony Pickering said to him, "Sir, I beseech you, be as good to us as you would be to your horses or dogs; let us have a little air that we may not be smothered." Yet that request could not be obtained, but the hatches were put down close, and they were guarded and kept with a great company of men. And so, sailing forward, by God's merciful providence, within twenty-four hours they were at anchor before the Tower of London.

When the lord Cromwell understood that they had come, he commanded their irons be struck off at the Tower wharf, and the prisoners be brought to him. When he saw them, he smiled upon them, steadfastly beholding each of them, and then said, "Sirs, you must take pains for a time, and go your way to the Fleet, and submit yourselves as prisoners there, and shortly you will know more." So indeed they did. That evening he sent them word to be of good cheer, for if God continued him life, they would shortly go home with as much honor as they came with shame.

While these thirteen persecuted men lay in the Fleet, and William Stevens in the Tower, namely, on the 19th of July A.D. 1541, the lord Cromwell, for the charge of treason laid against him, was beheaded at Tower-hill, as specified earlier. Then the poor Calais men had great cause to fear, if they had not altogether depended on the merciful providence of their heavenly Father, whose blessed will they knew directed all things. But in the midst of these troubles and miseries, God so comforted them, that even as their dangers and troubles increased, so likewise their consolation and joy abounded. Matthew de Hound, one of these

thirteen, was in trouble only because he heard Copen de Hall read a chapter of the New Testament, and was as deep in punishment, and in banishment from his wife, children, and country, as the rest. He got such instruction in a short time, that having his mind fraught with godly zeal for God's glory, and the true doctrine of Christ, within a few months after his deliverance from the Fleet, he was cruelly burned in Flanders, in most constant faith and patience, for inveighing constantly against the wicked honoring of images, and praying to departed saints.

Now when all hope in man was past, the right honorable Lord Audley, lord chancellor of England, without further examination, discharged the thirteen who were in the Fleet, and at length, two years later, he released William Stevens also, by the king's own motion, out of the Tower, saying the following at the discharging of those thirteen:

“Sirs, pray for the king's majesty; his pleasure is that you shall all be presently discharged. And though your livings are taken from you, do not despair, God will not see you lack. But for God's sake, sirs, beware how you deal with popish priests; for, God save my soul, some of them are knaves. Sirs, I am commanded by the council to tell you that you are discharged by virtue of the king's general pardon; but that pardon excepts and forbids all sacramentaries, and most or all of you are called sacramentaries. Therefore I cannot see how that pardon does you any good. But pray for the king's highness, for his grace's pleasure is that I should dismiss you, and so I do, and pity you all. Farewell, Sirs.”

So giving God most hearty thanks for his mighty and merciful delivering of them, they departed.

*The Second Apprehension and Martyrdom of Adam Damlip.*

Concerning Adam Damlip, otherwise called George Bucker, you heard before how he was called before the bishops, and being secretly warned not to appear again before the bishops, he departed into the west country. There he continued teaching a school for about a year or two. After that, the good man was again apprehended by the inquisition of the Six Articles, and brought up to London, where he was sent to the Marshalsea by Stephen Gardiner. And there he lay for two years or thereabouts.

[607] A.D. 1540-1547.

During the imprisonment of this Adam in the Marshalsea, John Marbeck also was committed to the same prison. The custom of that time required that at Easter every person must come to confession. Whereupon Marbeck, with the rest of the prisoners there, was forced to come on Easter day to Adam Damlip, who was then confessor to the whole house, to be confessed. By this occasion, Marbeck (who had never seen Damlip before), upon entering into conference with him, perceived who he was, what he had been, what troubles he sustained, and how long he had lain there in prison. This Damlip, for his honest and godly behavior, was beloved by the whole house; but especially by the keeper. And being allowed to go at liberty within the house, he did much good among the common sort of prisoners, in rebuking vice and sin. He kept them in such good order that the keeper thought himself to have a great treasure of him.

Now when he had drawn out an epistle to the bishop, earnestly desiring to be brought to his examination, he delivered it to the keeper, asking him to deliver it at the court to the bishop of Winchester; and he did so.

The keeper came home at night very late, and when the prisoners, who had waited supper for his coming, saw him so sad and heavy, they deemed something to be amiss. At last the

keeper, casting up his eyes upon George (that is, Adam Damlip), said, "O George! I can tell you tidings." "What is that, Master?" he asked. "On Monday next you and I must go to Calais." "To Calais, master! To do what?" "I do not know," replied the keeper, and pulled out of his pocket a piece of wax with a little parchment hanging at it, which seemed to be a precept. When George saw it, he said, "Well, well, now I know what the matter is." "What?" said the keeper. "Truly I shall die in Calais." "No," said the keeper, "I trust it is not so." "Yes, yes, it is most true, and I praise God for his goodness in this." And so the keeper and they went together to supper, with heavy cheer for George, as they called him, who notwithstanding, was merry himself, and ate his food as well as he ever did in all his life. So that some said to him, that they marvelled how he could eat his food so well, knowing he was so near his death. "Ah, masters," he said, "do you think that I have been God's prisoner so long in the Marshalsea, and have not yet learned to die? Yes, yes, and I have no doubt that God will strengthen me in this."

And so on Monday, early in the morning, before daylight, the keeper, with three of the knight marshal's servants, conveyed Adam Damlip to Calais, and there they committed him to the mayor's prison. Upon that day John Butler, the commissary, and Daniel the curate of St. Peter's, were also committed to the same prison. The command was given for no man to speak with Butler.

Saturday next was the day of execution for Damlip. The crime which they first laid to his charge was heresy. But because by an act of parliament all such offenses done before a certain day were pardoned, yet for receiving the money from Cardinal Pole, as you heard before, he was condemned for treason, and cruelly put to death in Calais, being drawn, hanged, and quartered.

The day before his execution, Master Mote came to him, then parson of Our Lady church in Calais, saying, "Your four quarters will be hung at four parts of the town." "And where will my head be?" asked Damlip. "Upon the lantern gate," said Mote. Damlip answered, "Then I will not need to provide for my burial." At his death, Sir R. Ellerker, knight, then knight-marshal, would not allow the innocent and godly man to declare either his faith, or the cause he died for, but said to the executioner, "Dispatch the knave; have done."

*Dod, a Scotchman, burned in Calais.*

About this time there was a Scotchman, named Dod, who, coming out of Germany, was taken with certain German books about him, and being examined, and standing constantly to the truth that he had learned, was condemned to death, and burned in Calais, within a year, or thereabouts, after the other godly martyr mentioned above.

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During the time of these Six Articles, which brought many good men to their death, it happened by another act for the king's supremacy, that the contrary sect of the papists was not undisturbed. For besides the death of More, and the bishop of Rochester, and the Charterhouse monks, friars, and priests specified above, about this year there were also condemned and executed two others. One of them was a priest of Chelsea, named Lark, who was put to death at London for defending the bishop of Rome's supremacy above the king's authority. The other was Germaine Gardiner (near kinsman to Stephen Gardiner, and yet nearer to his secret counsel, it is supposed), who likewise was taken and brought to the gallows for intriguing for the pope against the king's jurisdiction.

Upon the detection of Germaine Gardiner, secretary to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, his kinsman, it seemed to some, and it was so insinuated to the king, that Germaine neither

would nor dared attempt any such matter of popery, without some instigation or consent by the bishop, he being so near to him and all his secrets. The king began to somewhat doubt the bishop. Yet Gardiner so managed matters, that he kept in favor with the king, to the great troubling of the realm, and especially of Christ's church.

In the dreadful law of the Six Articles, a penalty of treason and felony was appointed for the breach of it, so that no recantation would serve. This severity was mitigated a little by another parliament, A.D. 1544, by which it was decreed that those offenders who were convicted for the first time might recant and renounce their opinions; and if the party refused to recant in such form as should be laid down by his ordinary, or after his recantation if he soon offended again, then for the second time he might abjure and bear a faggot. If he refused to do this, or else, being abjured, if he offended a third time, then he was to sustain punishment according to the law, etc. Although the straitness and rigor of the former act was somewhat tempered, yet the venom and poison of the errors of those articles remained. Moreover, by the last-mentioned parliament, many things were provided for the advancement of popery, under the color of religion; so that all manner of books of the Old and New Testament, bearing the name of William Tyndale, or any others having prologues, or containing any matters, annotations, preambles, words or sentences, contrary to the Six Articles, were prohibited. In like manner all songs, plays and interludes, with all other books in English containing matters of religion, tending in any way against the Six Articles, were prohibited.

It was moreover provided that the text of the New Testament, or of the Bible, being prohibited to all women, artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servingmen, yeomen, husbandmen, and laborers, was yet permitted to noblemen, and gentlemen, and gentlewomen, to read and peruse, to their edifying, provided they did it quietly without arguing, discussing, or expounding upon the Scripture.

Besides this, where before, the offender or defendant might not be allowed to bring in any witnesses to clear himself; in this parliament it was permitted to the party detected, or complained of, to try his cause by witnesses, as many or more in number as the others who deposed against him, etc.

By these and other qualifications of the Six Articles, it may appear that the king began to disfavor Gardiner, and to discountenance his doings by which he was more forward to further the desolate cause of religion. This may appear by other provisions of the parliament, A.D. 1545, in which it was decreed by an act, that the king should have full power and authority to appoint thirty-two persons, namely, sixteen of the clergy and sixteen of the temporality, to peruse, oversee, and examine the canons, constitutions, and ordinances of the canon law, provincial as well as synodal.

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And so, according to their discretions, they might set and establish an order of the ecclesiastical laws, such that it would be thought by the king and them, convenient to be received and used within this realm. This statute, as it is most needful for the government of the church of England, so would to God it had been brought to perfection!

*Kerby, and Roger Clarke, of Suffolk, Martyrs.*

Coming now to the year 1546, we first notice the priest whose name was Saxy. He was hanged in the porter's lodge of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and that, as it is supposed, was not without the consent of the bishop and the secret conspiracy of that

bloody generation; also one Henry with his servant, burned at Colchester. I will proceed to the history of Kerby, and Roger Clarke of Mendelsham, who were apprehended at Ipswich, A.D. 1546, and brought before lord Wentworth, with other commissioners appointed to sit upon their examinations there.

In the meantime, Kerby and Clarke being in the jailer's house, Master Robert Wingfield came in with Master Bruess of Wenneham. Having conference with Kerby, Master Wingfield said to Kerby, "Remember, the fire is hot; take heed of your enterprise, that you take no more upon you than you will be able to perform. The terror is great, the pain will be extreme, and life is sweet. It would be better to stick to mercy while there is hope of life, than to rashly begin, and then to shrink back," with similar words of persuasion. Kerby replied, "Ah, Master Wingfield, be at my burning and you will say, there stands a Christian soldier in the fire. For I know that fire and water, sword, and all other things, are in the hands of God. And he will allow no more to be laid upon us than He will give strength to bear." — "Ah, Kerby." said Master Wingfield, "if you are at that point, I will bid you farewell. For I promise you that I am not so strong that I am able to burn." And so both gentlemen saying that they would pray for them, shook hands with them, and departed.

When Kerby and Clarke came to the judgment-seat, lord Wentworth with the rest of the justices were already there; the commissary also, by virtue of the statute, *ex-officio*, sitting next to lord Wentworth. Kerby and Clarke lifted up their eyes and hands to heaven with great devotion, making their prayers secretly to God.

That done, their articles were declared to them with all circumstances of the law. And then it was demanded and required of them, whether they believed that after the words spoken by a priest (as Christ spoke them to his apostles) there were not the very body and blood of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, as he was born of the Virgin Mary, and no bread afterward.

To these words they answered and said, No, they did not so believe; but they did believe the sacrament which Christ Jesus instituted at his last supper, was to put all men in remembrance of his precious death and blood-shedding for the remission of sins, and that there was neither flesh nor blood to be eaten with the teeth, but bread and wine — and yet more than bread and wine, for it is consecrated to a holy use. Then with many persuasions, both with fair means and threats beside, these two poor men were harshly treated. But they continued both faithful and constant, choosing to die rather than live, and so they continued to the end.

Then sentence was given upon them both, Kerby to be burned in the town on the next Saturday, and Clarke to be burned at Bury the Monday after. Kerby, when his judgment was given by the lord Wentworth, with most humble reverence, holding up his hands and bowing himself devoutly, said, "Praised be Almighty God!" and so he stood still without any more words.

The next day, about ten o'clock, Kerby was brought to the marketplace, where a stake was ready, with wood, broom, and straw. He put off his clothes to his shirt, having a night-cap on his head. And so he was fastened to the stake with irons. In the gallery were the lord Wentworth. with most of the justices of those parts, where they might see his execution, how everything should be done, and might hear what Kerby would say. There were also a great number of people, about two thousand. There was also standing in the gallery by lord Wentworth, Doctor Rugham, who was once a monk of Bury, and sexton of the house, wearing a surplice and a stole about his neck.

All this while that Kerby was being compassed with irons and faggots, broom and straw, nothing changed in his countenance, but with a most meek spirit he was glorifying God. Then Doctor Rugham preached on the sixth chapter of St. John. In handling his text, as often as he alleged the Scriptures, and applied them rightly, Kerby told the people that he said true, and he bade the people to believe him. But when he did otherwise, Kerby said, "What you say is not true; do not believe him, good people." Upon which the voice of the people judged Doctor Rugham to be a false prophet. So when he ended, he said to Kerby, "You good man, do you not believe that the blessed sacrament of the altar is the very flesh and blood of Christ, and not bread, even as he was born of the Virgin Mary?" Kerby answered boldly, saying, "I do not so believe." "How do you believe?" asked the Doctor. Kerby said, "I believe that in the sacrament that Jesus Christ instituted at his last supper, is his death, and passion, and blood-shedding for the redemption of the world, so to be remembered, and (as I said before) is yet bread, and more than bread, for it is consecrated to a holy use."

Then the undersheriff said to Kerby, "Do you have anything more to say?" "Yes, Sir," he said, "if you will give me leave." "Say on," said the sheriff.

Then Kerby, taking his night-cap from his head, put it under his arm, as though it would have done him service again. But remembering himself, he cast it from him, and lifting up his hands, he said the hymn, "We praise you, O God," etc., and the creed, with other prayers in the English tongue. The lord Wentworth, while Kerby was doing this, concealed himself behind one of the posts of the gallery, and wept, and so did many others. Then Kerby said, "I am done: you may execute your office, good Mr. Sheriff." Then fire was set to the wood, and with a loud voice he called unto God, knocking on his breast, and holding up his hands so long as his remembrance would serve. And so ended his life, the people giving shouts, and praising God with great admiration of his constancy.

On Monday, about ten o'clock, Roger Clarke was brought out of prison, and went on foot to the gate in Bury, called Southgate. Along the way, the procession of the host met them. But he went on, and would not bow cap or knee, but with most vehement words, he rebuked that idolatry and superstition, the officers being much offended. Outside the gate, where the place of execution was, the stake was ready, and the wood was lying by. Clarke came and kneeled down, and said, "My soul does magnify the Lord," etc., in English, making a paraphrase of it, as it were, in which he declared how the blessed Virgin Mary, who might rejoice in pureness as well as any other, yet humbled herself to our Savior. "And what do you say, John Baptist," he said, "the greatest of all men's children? Behold the Lamb of God which takes away the sin of the world." And thus with a loud voice he cried to the people, while he was being fastened to the stake. Then the fire was set to him, where he suffered pains unmercifully; for the wood was green, and would not burn, so that he was choked with smoke. And moreover, being set in a pitch barrel, he was sorely pained, till he had got his feet out of the barrel. At length, someone standing by, took a faggot-stick, and striking at the ring of iron about his neck, happened to hit him upon the head, so that he sunk down into the fire, and so he was dispatched.

This year also it was ordained and decreed, and solemnly given out in proclamation by the king's name and authority, and his council, that the English procession should be used

throughout England, as it was set forth by his council, and none other, to be used throughout the whole realm.<sup>511</sup>

[609] A.D. 1540-1547.

About the latter end of this year, November 1545, after the king had subdued the Scots, and joining together with the emperor, had invaded France, and got from them the town of Boulogne, he summoned his high court of parliament. There it was granted to him, besides other subsidies of money, all colleges, chantries, free chapels, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds and perpetuities of stipendiary priests, to be disposed of at his will and pleasure. Whereupon in December, the king, in his usual manner, came into the parliament-house to give his royal assent to such acts as were passed. After an eloquent oration made to him by the speaker, he did not reply by the lord chancellor (as the custom was) but by himself. In his oration, he first eloquently and lovingly declared his grateful heart to his loving subjects for their grants and supplies offered to him. In the second part, with no less vehemency, he exhorted them to concord, peace, and unity. If he had also joined a third part to it, so that just as in words he exhorted them to unity, if he had first begun to take away the occasion of division, disobedience, and disturbance from his subjects — that is, if he had removed the stumbling-block of the Six Articles out of the people's way, which set brother against brother, neighbor against neighbor, the superior against the subject, and the wolves to devour the poor flock of Christ — then he would not only have spoken, but he would also have acted like a worthy prince.

These chantries and colleges were thus given into the king's hands by act of parliament in December 1545. The following Lent, Doctor Crome, preaching in the Mercer's chapel, to rouse the people from the vain opinion of purgatory, among other reasons and persuasions, argued thus: that if trentals and chantry masses could avail souls in purgatory, then the parliament did not act well in giving away monasteries, colleges, and chantries, which principally served that purpose. But if the parliament did well (as no man could deny) in dissolving them, and bestowing the same upon the king, then it is plain that such chantries and private masses do nothing to relieve those in purgatory. This dilemma of Doctor Crome, no doubt, was unanswerable. But still the "charitable" prelates, notwithstanding the king's exhortation to charity, were so charitable to him, that on Easter they so handled him that they made him recant. If he had not, they would have dissolved him and his argument in burning fire, so burning hot was their charity — just as they did to Anne Askew and her companions in July 1546.<sup>512</sup> You shall now hear her tragic history and cruel handling, the Lord willing.

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<sup>511</sup> *The English procession: Cranmer's Exhortation and Litany*, the first official vernacular service, was published in June 1544; the King's Primer became the only authorised English prayer book in May 1545. These were compulsory for all services from 1545. The new litany required a procession *inside* the church. In the parish of Milton in Kent, the new litany was met with resistance. The sexton, churchwardens, and most of the choir refused to say it in the church, preferring to form a procession around the *outside* of the church, as they had done since before the Reformation.

<sup>512</sup> Anne Askew (c. 1521-1546) had been relatively well educated, and so she read the Bible. What she read turned her mind to the teachings of the reformers. She shared her views with her neighbors and her husband, Master Kyme. Her ideas and rebellious spirit were too much for him; he threw her out. Anne responded by demanding a divorce. She went to the Court of Chancery in London, where she caught the attention of the Bishop of London, Edmund Bonner. He interrogated her. She claimed the proper catholic church was that of the reformers. Anne was a well-connected noblewoman. Her father, William Askew, was a knight; her brother Edward was cup-bearer to the king and served Archbishop Cranmer; her half-brother Christopher had been a gentleman of the privy chamber; Anne's sister Jane was married to George St Poll, a lawyer in the service of the duke and of the duchess of Suffolk, a member of the Queen's household. She was released from Bonner through her family connections. In June 1545 Anne was arraigned again before a jury for denying the mass; but no witness came forward, and so the jury released her. However, the Catholics on the king's Council were determined to bring down Queen Catherine (Parr), who supported religious



***Inquisition of Anne Askew.***

*The first examination of Mrs. Anne Askew,  
before the Inquisitors, A.D. 1545.*

“To satisfy your expectation, good people,” she said, “this was my first examination in the year of our Lord, 1545, and in the month of March.

“1. Christopher Dare examined me at Sadler’s Hall, and asked if I did not believe that the sacrament hanging over the altar was the very body of Christ really. Then I asked this question of him in return: ‘Why was St. Stephen stoned to death?’ and he said, ‘He could not tell.’ Then I answered, ‘That no more; would I answer his question.’

“2. He said that there was a woman who testified that I read how God was not in temples made with hands. Then I showed him the seventh and seventeenth (chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, what St. Stephen and St. Paul had said there. Upon which he asked me how I understood those sentences? I answered; ‘I would not throw pearls among swine, for acorns were good enough.’

“3. He asked me why I said I would rather read five lines in the Bible, than hear five masses in the temple? I confessed that I said so; not for the dispraise of either the epistle or the gospel, but because the one greatly edified me, and the other nothing at all. As St. Paul says in the fourteenth chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians: ‘If the trumpet gives an uncertain sound, who will prepare himself for the battle?’

“4. He laid to my charge, that I said, ‘If a bad priest ministered, it was the devil, and not God.’ My answer was that I never spoke any such thing. But this was my saying; ‘That whoever he was that ministered to me, his ill conditions could not hurt my faith, but in spirit I nevertheless received the body and blood of Christ.’

“5. He asked me what I said concerning confession. I answered him that my meaning was as St. James says, ‘That every man ought to acknowledge his faults to others, and pray one for the other.’

“6. He asked me what I said about the king’s book? And I answered him that I could say nothing about it, because I never saw it.

“7. He asked me if I had the Spirit of God in me? I answered, I did not. I was but a reprobate or castaway. Then he said he had sent for a priest to examine me, who was here at hand.

“The priest asked me what I said to the sacrament of the altar, and required much to know my meaning. But I desired him again to hold me excused concerning that matter: I would make him no other answer, because I perceived him to be a papist.

“8. He asked me, if I did not think that private masses helped the souls departed? I said, ‘It was great idolatry to believe more in them, than in the death that Christ died for us.’

“Then they brought me to my lord mayor, and he examined me, as they had before, and I answered him directly in all things as I answered before. Besides this, my lord mayor laid one thing to my charge, which was never spoken by me, but by them; and that was, whether a mouse, eating the host, received God or not? This question I never asked, but they asked it of me; and I made them no answer, but smiled.

“Then the bishop’s chancellor rebuked me, and said that I was much to blame for uttering the Scriptures. ‘For St. Paul,’ he said, ‘forbade women to speak or to talk of the word of God.’ I

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reform at court. With Anne’s connections to the Queen’s household, she might be used to incriminate the Queen. Perhaps this was a motive for her capture and inquisition. — adapted from [David Crowther, \*History of England\*](#).

answered him that I knew Paul's meaning as well as he, which is in 1Corinthians 14., that a woman should not speak in the congregation in the way of teaching. And then I asked him how many women he had seen go into the pulpit and preach? He said he never saw any. Then I said, he ought to find no fault in poor women, unless they had offended the law.

"Then the lord mayor commanded me to prison. I asked him if sureties would not serve me; and he gave me a short answer, that he would take none. Then I was taken to the Compter, and remained there eleven days, no friend being admitted to speak with me. But in the meantime there was a priest sent to me, who said that he was commanded by the bishop to examine me, and to give me good counsel.

"1. He first asked me for what cause I was put in the Compter, and I told him I could not tell. Then he said, it was a great pity that I should be there without cause, and concluded that he was very sorry for me.

"2. He said it was told him that I denied the sacrament of the altar. And I replied, 'That which I have said, I have said'

"3. He asked me if I were content to be confessed and absolved. I told him, that if I might have one of these three — Doctor Crome, William Whitehead, or Huntington — I was content, because I knew them to be men of wisdom.

"4. He asked, if the host should fall, and a beast ate it, whether the beast received God or not? I answered; 'Seeing that you have taken the pains to ask the question, I desire you to answer it yourself; for I will not do it, because I perceive you come to tempt me.' And he said it was against the order of schools, that the one who asked the question should answer it. I told him I was but a woman, and knew nothing of the order of schools.

"5. He asked me if I intended to receive the sacrament at Easter, or not? I answered that otherwise I would not be a Christian woman; and I rejoiced that the time was so near at hand. And then he departed with many fair words.

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"The 23rd of March, my cousin Britain came to me in the Compter, and asked me whether I might be put to bail, or not? Then he went immediately to my lord mayor, desiring; of him that I might be bailed. My lord answered him, and said that he would be glad to do the best that lay in him. However he could not bail me without the consent of a spiritual officer, requiring him to go and speak with the chancellor of London. For he said that, as he could not commit me to prison without the consent of a spiritual officer, no more could he bail me without the consent of the same.

"So he went to the chancellor, who answered him that the matter was so heinous, that he dared not do it of himself unless my lord of London were made privy to it. But he said he would speak to my lord in it, and bade him repair to him on the morrow, and he would then know my lord's pleasure. Upon the morrow he came there, and spoke with both the chancellor, and with the bishop of London. The bishop declared to him that he was very well contented that I should come out to communication, and appointed me to appear before him the next day at three o'clock in the afternoon. Moreover, he said to him that he wished there would be at the examination such learned men as I was partial to, so that they might see, and report that I was handled with no rigor. He answered him, that he knew no man that I had more affection to than to another. Then the bishop said, 'Yes, as I understand it, she is partial to Crome, Whitehead, and Huntington, that they might hear the matter, for she knew them to be learned, and of a godly judgment.' Also, he requested of my Cousin Britain, that he should persuade me to utter even the very bottom of my heart. And he swore by his fidelity, that no

man would take any advantage of my words, nor would he lay anything to my charge for anything that I might speak there.

“On the morrow, the bishop of London sent for me at one o’clock, his hour being appointed at three. And as I came before him, he said he was very sorry for my trouble, and desired to know my opinions in such matters as were laid against me. He required me also to utter the secrets of my heart, bidding me not to fear in any point, for whatever I said in his house, no man would hurt me for it. I answered, ‘As your lordship appointed three o’clock, and my friends will not come till that hour, I desire you to pardon me from giving an answer till they come.’ Then he said that he thought it fit to send for those men. I desired him not to put them to trouble, because the two gentlemen who were my friends, were able enough to testify as to what I should say. He commanded his archdeacon to commune with me, who said to me, ‘Mistress, why are you accused and thus troubled here before the bishop?’ I answered: ‘Sir, ask, I pray you, my accusers, for I do not know as yet.’ Then he took my book out of my hand, and said, ‘Such books as this have brought you to the trouble that you are in. ‘Beware,’ he said; ‘beware, for the one who wrote this book was a heretic, I warrant you, and burned in Smithfield.’ And then I asked him if he were certain and sure that what he had spoken was true. And he said he knew well the book was by John Frith. Then I asked him if he were not ashamed to judge the book before he saw it. I also said, that such unadvised hasty judgment is a token of a very slender knowledge. Then I opened the book and showed it to him. He said he thought it had been another, for he could find no fault in it. Then I desired him to no longer be so unadvisedly rash and swift in judgment, till he thoroughly knew the truth; and so he departed from me. Immediately after, my Cousin Britain came with others, such as Master Hall of Gray’s Inn, and others. Then my lord bishop of London said to me, that he wished I would take the counsel of those who were my friends and well-wishers, which was that I should utter all things that burdened my conscience. For he assured me that I need not fear to say anything. For, as he had promised then, he promised me now, and would perform it — which was that neither he, nor any man for him would take advantage of me for any word that I should speak; and therefore he bade me say my mind without fear. I answered him that I had nothing to say, for my conscience, I thanked God, was burdened with nothing.

“Then he brought forth this unsavory similitude: that if a man had a wound, no surgeon would cure it before he had seen it. ‘In like manner,’ he says, ‘I can give you no good counsel, unless I know with what your conscience is burdened.’ I answered that my conscience was clear in all things, and to lay a plaster to the whole skin appeared to be much folly.

“‘Then you drive me,’ he says, ‘to lay to your charge your own report, which is this: you said that whoever receives the sacrament by the hands of a wicked priest, or a sinner, receives the devil, and not God.’ To that I answered that, ‘I never spoke such words. But as I said before, both to the inquest and to my lord mayor, so I now say again, that the wickedness of the priest should not hurt me, but in spirit and faith I received no less than the body and blood of Christ.’ Then the bishop said to me, ‘What is this *in spirit*? I will not take advantage of you.’ Then I answered: ‘My lord, without faith and spirit, I cannot receive Him worthily.’

“Then he told me, that I had said that the sacrament remaining in the pix (plate), was but bread. I answered, that I never said so, but that indeed the inquest asked me such a question, and I would not answer it, I said, till such a time as they had answered me this question of mine: why was Stephen stoned to death? They said they did not know. Then I replied, no more would I tell them what it was.

“Then said my lord to me, that I alleged a certain text of the Scriptures, and I answered that I alleged none other than St. Paul’s own saying to the Athenians, in the eighteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, ‘That God does not dwell in temples made with hands.’ Then he asked

me what my faith and belief was in that matter.” I answered him, ‘I believe as the Scripture teaches me.’

“Then he inquired of me, ‘What if the Scripture says that it is the body of Christ? ‘I believe,’ I said, ‘as the Scripture teaches me.’ Then he asked again, ‘What if the Scripture says that it is not the body of Christ?’ My answer was still, ‘I believe as the Scripture informs me.’ And upon this he tarried a great while, to drive me to give him an answer to his own mind. However, I would not, but concluded with him, that I believed in this and in all other things, as Christ and his apostles left them.

“Then he asked me why I had so few words? And I answered, ‘God has given me the gift of knowledge, but not of utterance: and Solomon says, a woman of few words is the gift of God.’

“Fifthly, my lord laid to my charge, that I said that the mass was superstitious, wicked, and no better than idolatry. I answered him, ‘No, I did not say so. However, I said the inquest asked me whether private mass relieved departed souls or not? To whom I answered, ‘O Lord, what idolatry this is, that we should believe in private masses rather than in the healthsome death of the dear Son of God!’ Then my lord said again, ‘What an answer that is!’” “Though it is but mean,’ I said, ‘it is good enough for the question.’

“Then I told my lord, that there was a priest who heard what I said there before my lord mayor and them. With that the chancellor asked, ‘Who was this priest?’ ‘So she spoke it in very deed,’ said the priest, ‘before my lord mayor and me.’

“Then there were certain priests, such as Dr. Standish and others, who tempted me much to know my mind. And I always answered them thus; ‘What I said to my lord of London, I have said.’ Then Dr. Standish desired my lord to bid me say my mind concerning the text of St. Paul, that I, being a woman, should interpret the Scriptures, especially where there were so many wise and learned men.

“Then my lord of London said he was informed that someone asked of me, if I would receive the sacrament at Easter, and that I made a mock of it.

[611] A.D. 1540-1547.

“Then I desired that my accuser might come forth, which my lord would not. But he said again to me, ‘I sent someone to give you good counsel, and at the first word you called him papist.’ That I did not deny, for I perceived he was no less.

“Then he rebuked me, and said that I reported that there were sixty priests against me at Lincoln. ‘Indeed,’ I replied, ‘I said so. For my friends told me, if I came to Lincoln, the priests would assault me and put me to great trouble. And when I heard it, I went there indeed, not being afraid, because I knew my cause to be good. Moreover I remained there nine days, to see what would be said to me. And as I was in the minster reading the Bible, they resorted to me two by two, by five by six, to have spoken to me; yet they went their ways again without speaking.’

“Then my lord asked if there were not one who spoke to me. I told him ‘Yes, that there was one of them at last who did speak to me.’ And my lord then asked me what he said. I told him his words were of small effect, so that I did not now remember them. Then my lord said, ‘There are many who read and know the Scripture, and yet do not follow it.’ I replied, ‘My lord, I would wish that all men knew my conversation and living in all points; for I am sure, myself, this hour, that there are none able to prove any dishonesty by me. If you know that any can do it, I pray you bring them forth.’ Then my lord went away, and said he would write something of my meaning, and so he wrote a great deal. But what it was I do not have in my memory: for he would not allow me to have the copy. Only I remember this small portion of it:

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“Be it known by all men, that I, Anne Askew, confess this to be my faith and belief, notwithstanding many reports made to the contrary. I believe that those who receive the sacrament at the hands of a priest, whether his conduct is good or not, do receive the body and blood of Christ in substance really. Also, I believe that after the consecration, whether it is received or reserved, it is no less than the very body and blood of Christ in substance. Finally, I believe in this and in all other sacraments of holy church in all points, according to the old catholic faith of the same. In witness of this, I the said Anne have subscribed my name.’

“There was something more in it which, because I did not have the copy, I cannot now remember. Then he read it to me, and asked me if I agreed to it. And I said again, ‘I believe so much of it, as the holy Scripture agrees to. Therefore I desire you, that you will add that to it.’ Then he answered that I should not teach him what he should write. With that he went into his great chamber and read it before the audience, who wished me to set my hand to it, saying that I had favor shown to me. Then the bishop said, ‘I might thank others, and not myself, for the favor that I found at his hand. For he considered, that I had good friends, and also that I came from a worshipful stock.’

“Then one Christopher, a servant to Master Denny answered, ‘My lord, you should have done it for God’s sake rather than for man’s.’ Then my lord sat down, and I wrote in this manner: ‘I Anne Askew, do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the catholic church.’

“Then, because I added to it ‘the catholic church,’ he ran into his chamber in a great fury. With that, my cousin Britain followed, desiring him for God’s sake to be a good lord to me. He answered that I was a woman, and that he was not at all deceived by me. Then my cousin Britain desired him to take me as a woman, and not to set my weak woman’s wit against his lordship’s great wisdom.

“Then Dr. Weston went in to him and said that the reason why I wrote there ‘the catholic church,’ was that I did not understand ‘the church’ written before. So with much ado they persuaded my lord to come back out, and to take my name, with the names of my sureties, which were my cousin Britain and Master Spilman of Gray’s Inn.

“This being done, we thought that I should have been put to bail immediately, according to the order of the law. However, he would not allow it, but committed me from there to prison again until the morrow. And then he desired me to appear in the guild hall; and so I did. Notwithstanding, they would not put me to bail there either, but read the bishop’s writing to me, as before, and so commanded me back to prison. Then my sureties were appointed to come before them on the morrow, in St. Paul’s church, who did so. Notwithstanding, they would once again have broken off with them, because they would not also be bound for another woman at their pleasure, whom they did not know, nor what matter was laid to her charge. Notwithstanding, at last, after much ado and reasoning to and fro, they took a bond from them, recognizing my cooperation. And thus I was at last delivered.

“Written by me, Anne Askew.”

*The second Apprehension and Examination of  
the worthy Martyr of God, Mistress Anne Askew, A.D. 1546.*

“I perceive (dear friend in the Lord) that you are not yet persuaded thoroughly in the truth concerning the Lord’s supper, because Christ said to his apostles; ‘Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you.’

“In giving the bread as an outward sign or token received with the mouth, he wishes them in perfect belief to receive that body which would die for the people, and to think the death of it to be the only health and salvation of their souls. The bread and wine were left us for a

sacramental communion, or a mutual participation of the inestimable benefits of his most precious death and blood-shedding, and so that we would be thankful together for that most necessary grace of our redemption. For he said, 'This is my body, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me,' Luk 22.19. Again, 'As often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you show the Lord's death till he comes.' 1Cor 11.26. Otherwise we might have been forgetful of what we should keep in daily remembrance, and also have been altogether unthankful for it. Therefore it is fitting that in our prayers we call unto God to graft in our hearts the true meaning of the Holy Spirit concerning this communion. For St. Paul says, 'The letter kills; but the spirit gives life.' 2Cor 3.6. Mark well the sixth chapter of John, where all is applied to faith. Note also the fourth chapter of St. Paul's second Epistle to the Corinthians, and in the end you shall find that the things which are seen are temporal, but those that are not seen are eternal. Indeed, look in the third chapter to the Hebrews, and you will find that Christ as a Son (and not as a servant) rules over his house, whose house we are, and not the dead temple, if we hold fast the confidence and rejoicing of our hope to the end. Therefore, as the Holy Spirit said, 'Today, if you will hear his voice, do not harden your hearts,' etc., Psa 95.

"Your request concerning my fellow-prisoners, I am not able to satisfy, because I did not hear their examinations. But the effect of mine was this: being asked before the council concerning [my husband] Master Kyme, I answered that my lord chancellor knew already my mind in that matter. They were not content with that answer, but said it was the king's pleasure that I should reveal the matter to them. I answered them plainly, I would not do so; but if it were the king's pleasure to hear me, I would show him the truth. Then they said it was not appropriate for the king to be troubled with me. I answered that Solomon was reckoned the wisest king who ever lived, yet he did not refuse to hear two poor common women; much more his grace should hear a simple woman and his faithful subject. So in conclusion, I made them no other answer in that matter. Then my lord chancellor asked me my opinion of the sacrament. My answer was this: 'I believe that as often as I, in a Christian congregation, receive the bread in remembrance of Christ's death, and with thanksgiving, according to his holy institution, I received with it the fruits also of his most glorious passion.' The bishop of Winchester bade me give a direct answer.

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"I said I would not sing a new song of the Lord in a strange land. Then the bishop said I spoke in parables. I answered, 'It is best for you, for if I show you the open truth, you will not accept it.' Then he said I was a parrot. I told him again, I was ready to suffer all things at his hands, not only his rebukes, but all that might follow besides, yes, and all things gladly.

"Then I had rebukes from the council, because I would not express my mind in all things as they would have me do it. But they were not, in the meantime, unanswered for all that, which it would be too much to recite now, for I was there with them about five hours.

"The next day I was brought again before the council. Then they would know from me what I said to the sacrament. I answered that I had already said what I could say. Then after many words they bade me go aside. Then my lord Lisle, my lord of Essex, and the bishop of Winchester came, earnestly requiring that I should confess the sacrament to be flesh, blood, and bone. Then I said to my lord Parr, and my lord Lisle, that it was a great shame for them to give counsel contrary to their knowledge.

"Then the bishop said he would speak with me familiarly. I said, so did Judas when he betrayed Christ. The bishop desired to speak with me alone; but I refused that. He asked me why? I said, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter should be established, according to Christ's and Paul's doctrine, Mat 18.16, 2Cor 13.1.

“Then my lord chancellor began to examine me again about the sacrament. I asked him how long he would stay on both sides. Then he went his way. The bishop said I would be burnt. I answered that I had searched all the Scriptures, and yet I never found that either Christ or his apostles put any creature to death. ‘Well, well,’ I said, ‘God will laugh your threatenings to scorn.’ Then was I commanded to stand aside. Dr. Cox and Dr. Robinson came to me. In conclusion, we could not agree.

“Then they made me a bill about the sacrament, desiring me to set my hand to it; but I would not. Then on the Sunday I was sick, thinking no less than to die. Then I desired to speak with Master Latimer, but it was not allowed. I was sent to Newgate in the extremity of sickness; for in all my life before I was never in such pain. Thus may the Lord strengthen us in the truth. Pray, pray, pray!

*The Confession of me, Anne Askew,  
for the time I was in Newgate, concerning my Belief.*

“I find in Scripture that Christ took the bread and gave it to his disciples, saying, ‘Take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you,’ meaning in substance, his own very body, the bread being the sign or sacrament of it. For in like manner of speaking he said he would break down the temple, and in three days build it up again, signifying by the temple his own body, as St. John declares, Joh 2.21, and not the stony temple itself. So that the bread is but a remembrance of his death, or a sacrament of thanksgiving for it. Thereby we are knit to him by a communion of Christian love, although there are many who cannot perceive the true meaning of it, for the veil that Moses put over his face before the children of Israel, so that they would not see the clearness of it (Exo 34.33, and 2Cor 3.13); I perceive the same veil remains to this day. But when God takes it away, then these blind men shall see. For it is plainly expressed in the history of Bel in the bible, that God dwells in nothing material. ‘O king,’ says Daniel, ‘do not be deceived, for God will be in nothing that is made with hands of men.’<sup>Dan 14.4 DRA</sup> ‘You stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, you always resist the Holy Spirit; as your fathers did, so do you.’ Act 7.51.

“Written by me, Anne Askew, who neither wishes death, nor fears his might, and as joyful as one who is bound towards heaven.”

“Truth is laid in prison, Luk 21.12. <sup>513</sup> The law is turned to wormwood, Amo 6.12. And from there no right judgment can go forth, Isa. 59.

“‘Take away all iniquity, and receive us graciously: so will we render the calves (sacrifices) of our lips. Neither will we say any more to the work of our hands, You are our gods: for in you the fatherless finds mercy. Oh if they will do this, says the Lord, I will heal their backsliding; I will love them freely.’ Hos 14.2-4.

“And ‘Ephraim will say, What have I to do any more with idols? I have heard him and observed him: I am like a green fir-tree; from me your fruit found is. Who is wise, and will understand these things? prudent, and he will know them? For the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them: but the transgressors shall fall in them.’” Hos 14.8-9.

“‘Solomon,’ says St. Stephen, ‘built a house for the God of Jacob. However, the Most High does not dwell in temples made with hands; as the prophet says, Heaven is my throne, and earth is my footstool: what house will you build me? says the Lord: or what is the place of my rest? Has not my hand made all these things?’” Act 7.48-50.

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<sup>513</sup> The apostles, truth-tellers, would be imprisoned, and by a synecdoche, truth would be imprisoned.

“Woman believe me,’ says Christ to the Samaritan, “the hour comes, when you will neither on this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. You worship what you do not know: we know what we worship: for salvation is from the Jews. But the hour comes, and now is, when the true worshippers will worship the Father in spirit and in truth, for the Father seeks such to worship him. God is a Spirit: and those who worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.’ Joh 4.21-24. “Do not labor,’ says Christ, ‘for the food that perishes, but for that food which endures unto everlasting life, which the Son of Man will give to you: for God the Father has sealed him.’ Joh 6.27.”

*The sum of the Condemnation of me,  
Anne Askew, at the Guildhall.*

“They said that I was a heretic, and condemned by the law, and demanded if I would stand in my opinion? I answered, ‘That I was not a heretic; nor yet did I deserve any death by the law of God. But concerning the faith which I uttered and wrote to the council, I would not deny it,’ I said, ‘because I knew it to be true.’ Then they would know if I denied the sacrament to be Christ’s body and blood. I said ‘Yes. For the same Son of God who was born of the Virgin Mary is now glorious in heaven, and will come again from there at the latter day in the same manner as he ascended, (Act 1.11.) And as for what you call your God, it is a piece of bread. For a proof of it, mark it when you choose, let it lie in the box three months, and it will be moldy and so turn to nothing that is good; so that I am persuaded it cannot be God.’

“After that, they wished me to have a priest. And then I smiled. Then they asked me if it was not good? I said I would confess my faults to God, for I was sure that he would hear me with favor. And so we were condemned.

“My belief which I wrote to the council was this: That the sacramental bread was left us to be received with thanksgiving, in remembrance of Christ’s death, the only remedy of our souls’ recovery; and that thereby we also receive the whole benefits and fruits of his most glorious passion. Then they would know whether the bread in the box was God or not. I said, ‘God is a Spirit, and those who worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth,’ (Joh 4.24) Then they demanded, ‘Will you plainly deny that Christ is in the sacrament?’ I answered that, ‘I believe faithfully that the eternal Son of God does not dwell there;’ in proof of which I recited again the history of Bel, and the 19th chapter of Daniel, the 7th and 17th of the Acts, and the 24th of Matthew: concluding thus: ‘I neither wish death, nor fear His might; God have the praise with thanksgiving.’”

*My Letter sent to the Lord Chancellor.*

“The Lord God, by whom all creatures have their beginning, bless you with the light of his knowledge. Amen.

[613] A.D. 1540—1547.

“My duty to your lordship remembered, etc. It might please’ you to accept this, my bold suit, as the suit of one who upon due consideration is moved to the same, and hopes to obtain it. My request to your lordship is only that it may please you to be a mediator for me to the king’s majesty, that his grace may be certified of these few lines which I have written concerning my belief which, when it is truly compared with the hard judgment given against me for the same, I think his grace will well perceive me to be weighed in an uneven pair of balances. But I remit my matter and cause to Almighty God, who rightly judges all secrets. And thus I commend your lordship to the governance of Him, and the fellowship of all saints. Amen.

“By your handmaid, Anne Askew.”

*My Faith briefly written to the King’s grace.*



“I Anne Askew, of good memory, although God has given me the bread of adversity, and the water of affliction, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, desire this to be known to your grace, that because I am condemned by the law as an evil doer, here I take heaven and earth to record that I will die in my innocency. And according to what I have said first and will say last, I utterly abhor and detest all heresies. And concerning the supper of the Lord, I believe so much as Christ has said, which he confirmed with his most blessed blood. I believe so much as he willed me to follow, and believe so much as his catholic church teaches. For I will not forsake the commandment of his holy lips. But look, what God has charged me with by his mouth, that have I shut up in my heart. And thus briefly, for lack of learning.

“Anne Askew.”

*The effect of my Examination and handling  
since my Departure from Newgate.*

“Then Nicholas Shaxton came to me, and counselled me to recant as he had done. I said to him that it would have been good for him never to have been born.

“Then Master Rich sent me to the Tower, where I remained till three o’clock.

“Then came Master Rich as one of the council, charging me upon my obedience to show if I knew any man or woman of my sect. My answer was that I knew none. Then they asked me about my lady of Suffolk, my lady of Sussex, my lady of Hertford, my lady Denny, and my lady Fitzwilliams. I answered, ‘If I pronounce anything against them, I am not able to prove it.’

“Then they said that there were gentlewomen who gave me money. I said I did not know their names.

“Then they put me on the rack, because I confessed no ladies or gentlewomen were of my opinion. There they kept me a long time, and because I lay still and did not cry, my lord chancellor and Master Rich took pains to rack me with their own hands till I was nearly dead.

“Then the lieutenant had me loosed from the rack. Immediately I swooned away, and then they recovered me again. After that I sat two long hours reasoning with my lord chancellor on the bare floor. But my Lord God, I thank his everlasting goodness, gave me grace to persevere, and will do, I hope, to the very end.

“Then was I brought to a house, and laid in a bed, with weary and painful bones, I thank my Lord God for it. Then my lord chancellor sent me word if I would leave my opinion, I should lack nothing; but if I would not, I would immediately be sent to Newgate, and so be burnt. I sent him word again, that I would rather die than break my faith.

“Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blind hearts, that the truth may take place. Farewell, dear friend, and pray, pray, pray!”

The manner of her racking in the Tower was thus: first, she was led down into a dungeon, where the lieutenant commanded the jailor to pinch her with the rack. This being done so much as he thought sufficient, he went to take her down, supposing that he had done enough. But Wriothesley the chancellor, not content that she was loosed so soon and had confessed nothing, commanded the lieutenant to strain her on the rack again. Because he refused to do this, pitying the weakness of the woman, he was threatened by Wriothesley, saying that he would signify his disobedience to the king. And so he and Master Rich, throwing off their gowns, played the tormentors themselves; first asking her if she were with child. She answered, “You will not need to spare me for that, but do your will upon me;” and so quietly and patiently praying to the Lord, she bore their tyranny, till her bones and joints

were almost pulled asunder, so that she was carried away in a chair. When the racking was over, Wriothsesley and his fellow took to their horses, and rode towards the court.

In the meantime, while they were making their way by land, the lieutenant taking a boat, went to the court in all haste to speak with the king before the others, and did so. There making his humble suit to the king, he desired his pardon, and showed him the whole matter, and of the racking of Mrs. Askew, and that he was threatened by the lord chancellor because, at his commandment, not knowing his highness's pleasure, he refused to rack her. This, for compassion, he could not find it in his heart to do, and therefore he humbly desired his highness's pardon. When the king had understood this, he did not seem to like very well their extreme handling of the woman. And so he granted his pardon to the lieutenant, desiring him to return and see to his charge.

In the mean time there was great expectation among the warders and officers of the Tower, waiting for his return. When they saw him come so cheerfully, declaring how he had succeeded with the king, they were not a little joyous, and gave thanks to God.

*Anne Askew's Answer to John Lacel's Letter.*

“O friend, most dearly beloved in God, I marvel not a little what would move you to judge in me so slender a faith as to fear death, which is the end of all misery. In the Lord I desire you not to believe such weakness of me. For I do not doubt that God will perform his work in me as he has begun. I understand the council is not a little displeased that it should be reported abroad that I was racked in the Tower. They say now that what they did there was but to frighten me. Thereby I perceive they are ashamed of their unseemly doings, and greatly fear lest the king's majesty should have information about it, which is why they would have no man publish it. Well, for their cruelty, God forgive them!

“Your heart in Christ Jesus. Farewell, and pray.”

*The Purgation or Answer of Anne Askew,  
against the false surmises of her Recantation.*

“I have read the process which is reported by those who do not know the truth, to be my Recantation. But as the Lord lives, I never meant to recant. Notwithstanding this, I confess that in my first troubles I was examined by the bishop of London about the sacrament. Yet they had no confession from my mouth but this: That I believed in this as the word of God bound me to believe. They never had more from me. Then he made a copy, which is now in print, and required me to set my hand to it; but I refused it. Then my two sureties wished me not to hesitate, for they said it was no great matter.

“Then, with much ado, at last I wrote this: ‘I, Anne Askew, do believe this, if God's word agrees to the same, and the true catholic church.’ Then the bishop being in great displeasure with me, because I made doubts in my writing, commanded me to prison; but afterwards, by means of friends, I came out again. Here is the truth of that matter. And concerning the thing that you covet most to know, resort to the sixth chapter of John, and always be ruled by it. Thus fare you well.

“Anne Askew.”

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*The Confession of the Faith which Anne Askew  
made in Newgate before she suffered.*

“I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although my merciful Father has given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved — do confess

myself here a sinner before the throne of his heavenly majesty, desiring his forgiveness and mercy. And since I am unrighteously condemned by the law as an evil-doer concerning my opinions, I take the same most merciful God of mine, who has made both heaven and earth, to record, that I hold no opinions contrary to His most holy word. And I trust in my merciful Lord, who is the giver of all grace, that he will graciously assist me against all evil opinions which are contrary to his blessed truth. For I take him to witness that I have, and will to my life's end, utterly abhor them to the uttermost of my power.

“But this is the heresy which they report me to hold, that after the priest has spoken the words of consecration, there still remains bread. They both say, and also teach it as a necessary article of faith, that once these words are spoken, there remains no bread after, but even the self-same body that hung upon the cross on Good Friday, both flesh, blood, and bone. To this belief of theirs I say *no*. For then our common creed would be false, which says that he sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and from there he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. Behold! this is the heresy that I hold, and for it I must suffer death. But regarding the holy and blessed supper of the Lord, I believe it to be a most necessary remembrance of His glorious sufferings and death. Moreover, I believe as much in this as my eternal and only Redeemer Jesus Christ wills I should believe.

“Finally, I believe all those Scriptures to be true, which he has confirmed with his most precious blood. Yes, and as St. Paul says, Those Scriptures that Christ has left here with us are sufficient for our learning and salvation; so that I believe we need no unwritten verities to rule his church with. Therefore, look at what he has said to me with his own mouth, in his holy gospel, that I have with God's grace closed up in my heart; and my full trust is, as David says, “That it shall be a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path.”

“There are some who say that I deny the eucharist or sacrament of thanksgiving; but those people untruly report of me. For I both say and believe it, that if it were administered as Christ instituted it and left it, it would be a most singular comfort to us all. But concerning your mass, as it is now used in our days, I say and believe it to be the most abominable idol is in the world. For my God will not be eaten with teeth, nor yet does he die again. And upon these words that I have now spoken, I will suffer death.

“O Lord, I have more enemies now than there are hairs on my head. Yet Lord, let them never overcome me with vain words, but you fight in my stead, Lord; for on you I cast my care. With all the spite they can imagine, they fall upon me, who am your poor creature. Yet sweet Lord, let me not sit by those who are against me; for in you is my whole delight. And Lord, I heartily desire of you, that you will of your most merciful goodness forgive them of that violence which they do and have done to me. Also, open their blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in your sight, which alone is acceptable before you, and to set forth your truth aright, without any vain fantasy of sinful men. So be it, O Lord, so be it.

“By me, Anne Askew.”

A few words remain to be said concerning her end and martyrdom. Born as she was of such kindred, she might have lived in great wealth and prosperity if she would rather have followed the world than Christ. But she had now been so tormented, that she could neither live very long in such great distress, nor be allowed to die in secret. The day of her execution being appointed, she was brought into Smithfield in a chair, because she could not walk on her feet, on account of her great torments. When she was brought to the stake, she was tied by the middle with a chain that held up her body. When all things were thus prepared, Doctor Shaxton, who was appointed to preach, began his sermon. Anne Askew hearing him, she answered him. Where he spoke rightly, she confirmed it; where he said amiss she said, “There he misses, and speaks outside the book.”

The sermon being finished, the martyrs, standing there, tied at three separate stakes, began their prayers. The concourse of the people was very great, and so the place where they stood was railed about to keep out the press of them. On the bench, under St. Bartholomew's church, sat Wriothesley, chancellor of England, the old duke of Norfolk, the old earl of Bedford, and the lord mayor, with others.

Wriothesley, lord chancellor, sent to Anne Askew, offering her the king's pardon if she would recant. Refusing even once to look upon them, she answered that she did not come there to deny her Lord and Master. Then the letters were likewise offered to the others, who in like manner, following the constancy of the woman, refused not only to receive them, but even to look upon them. Whereupon the lord mayor, commanding fire to be put to the faggots, cried with a loud voice, "Let justice be done!"

Thus the good Anne Askew, with these blessed martyrs, having passed through so many torments, now ended the long course of her agonies, being encompassed with flames of fire, as a blessed sacrifice to God. She slept in the Lord, A.D. 1546, leaving behind her a singular example of Christian constancy for all men to follow.

John Lassels, John Adams, and Nicholas Belenian, were the names of those burnt along with her. Belenian was a priest of Shropshire, Adams a tailor, and Lassels, a gentleman of the court and household of king Henry.

It happened well for them, that they died together with Anne Askew. For though they were strong and stout men, through her example and exhortation, they received great comfort in that painful kind of death. And beholding her invincible constancy, and also stirred up through her persuasions, they showed no kind of fear.

Thus confirming one another with mutual exhortations, their bodies were consumed in the fire, about the month of June 1546.

As Winchester and other bishops set king Henry against Anne Askew and her fellow-martyrs, so Doctor Repse, bishop of Norwich, incited no less the old duke of Norfolk against one Rogers, who at about the same time was condemned and suffered martyrdom in Smithfield, for the Six Articles.

### ***The History of Queen Catharine Parr.***

After these stormy histories, we must now address the afflictions of the virtuous and excellent lady, queen Catharine Parr, the last wife of king Henry.

About a year after the king returned from Boulogne, he was informed that queen Catharine Parr was very much given to the reading of the holy Scriptures, and that learned and godly persons instructed her in them. She used to have private conference with them regarding spiritual matters; but especially in Lent, every day in the afternoon for an hour, one of her chaplains delivered a sermon in her privy chamber, to her and to the ladies of her privy chamber, or others who were disposed to hear. These things, just as they were not done secretly, so neither were the preachings unknown to the king, who seemed to like it very well. This made her bolder (being indeed very zealous towards the gospel) to debate with the king regarding religion. She often desired, and even persuaded the king, that having begun a good and a godly work in banishing that monstrous idol of Rome (the pope), which was to the glory of God and his eternal fame, so he should thoroughly perfect and finish it — cleansing and purging his church of England, of what yet remained great superstition.

[615] A.D. 1540-1547.

Although the king, towards his latter end, grew very stern and obstinate, so that it was only from a few that he could be content to be taught, but least of all to be contended with by argument. Still, he refrained himself toward her, and treated her with great respect, either through reverence for the cause, or else for the singular affection which, till a very short time before his death, he always bore toward her. For besides the virtues of her mind, she was endued with very rare gifts of nature, such as singular beauty, favor, and an attractive personage. These were things in which the king was greatly delighted. And so she enjoyed the king's favor, and would have done great good if the malicious practice of certain professed enemies against the truth had not prevented her. This would have gone even to the utter alienating of the king's mind from religion, and almost to the extreme ruin of the queen and others with her, if God had not succored her in her distress. The conspirers and practicers of her death were Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; Wriothesley, then lord chancellor, and others. These men, for the furtherance of their ungodly purpose, sought to revive, stir up, and kindle evil and pernicious humors in their prince and sovereign lord, with the intent to deprive the queen of the great favor which she then stood in with the king. This they did not a little fear would turn to the utter ruin of their anti-Christian sect, if it continued. They made their wicked entry upon their mischievous enterprise, in this manner: They knew the king disliked being contended with in *any* argument. Although the queen would not cross this mood of his in smaller matters, yet in cases of religion, as occasion served, she would not confine herself to reverent terms and humble talk, entering into discourse with him, with sound reasons from Scripture. The king was so well accustomed to this, that he it took all in a good way, which greatly appalled her adversaries. Perceiving she so thoroughly grounded in the king's favor, they dared not for their lives once open their lips to the king in any respect regarding her, either in her presence, or behind her back.

It happened, however, during the time of the king's sickness,<sup>514</sup> that he had left off his accustomed manner of visiting the queen; and therefore she sometimes was sent for, and sometimes she would come to visit him of her own account. At such times she would not fail to use all occasions to move him to zealously proceed in the reformation of the church. The sharpness of the disease had increased the king's accustomed impatience, so that he began to show some tokens of dislike. One day, contrary to his usual manner, he broke off the conversation with her, and began to speak of other things, which somewhat amazed the queen. Notwithstanding, in her presence he gave neither evil word nor countenance, but knit up all arguments with gentle words and loving countenance. After other pleasant talk, she took her leave of his majesty for that time. And as was his manner, he bid her farewell "Sweet heart," for that was his usual term for the queen.

At this visit the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner) chanced to be present, and also at the queen's taking her leave. He did not fail to observe the king's sudden interrupting of the queen in her talk, and falling into other matters. He thought that if the iron were struck while it was hot, and the king's humor was helped, such a dislike might pass to the queen herself, that it might overthrow both her and all her endeavors. He only awaited some occasion to renew in the king's memory the former disliked argument. His expectation in

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<sup>514</sup> Henry VIII suffered from a variety of health issues after a jousting accident in 1536, which left him with severe leg ulcers that never fully healed. These were prone to infection and caused him constant pain, leading to a sedentary lifestyle and weight gain. He suffered from other ailments, including headaches, swollen ankles, and mood swings. He was terrified of various infectious diseases, including smallpox, malaria, and the Sweating Sickness, which led to his self-isolation during outbreaks.

that respect did not fail him. For the king, even at that time, showed himself no less prompt and ready to receive information, than the bishop was maliciously bent to stir up the king's indignation against her. The king, immediately upon her departure from him, used these or similar words, "It is a good hearing when women become such clerics, and a thing that is much to my comfort, to come in my old days to be taught by my wife."

The bishop hearing this, seemed to dislike that the queen should so much forget herself, as to take it upon herself to stand in any argument with his majesty. He extolled the king to his face for his rare virtues, and especially for his learned judgment in matters of religion, above not only princes of that and other ages, but also above professed doctors in divinity. And he said that it was an unseemly thing for any of his majesty's subjects to reason and argue with him so impudently; and grievous to him on his part, to hear of it, as well as others of his majesty's counsellors and servants. The bishop inferred, moreover, how dangerous and perilous a matter it is, and ever has been, for a prince to allow such insolent words at his subject's hands. Just as they are bold to oppose their sovereign in words, so they lack no will, but only power and strength, to overthrow his words in their deeds.

Besides this, he said that the religion so stiffly maintained by the queen not only disallowed and dissolved the policy and government of princes, but also taught the people that all things ought to be in common; so that whatever color they pretended, their opinions were indeed so odious, and so perilous for the prince's estate, that (except for the reverence they bore to her for his majesty's sake) he dared be bold to affirm that the greatest subject in this land, speaking those words that she spoke, and likewise those arguments that she defended, had with justice by law deserved death.

However for his part, the bishop would not, and dared not, without good warrant from his majesty, speak his knowledge in the queen's case, even though very apparent reasons urged him to so. And such was his dutiful affection towards his majesty, and his zeal for the preservation of his state, that it would scarcely give him leave to conceal this, even if uttering it might, through her and her faction, be the utter destruction of him, and of those who chiefly tended to the prince's safety, unless his majesty would take it upon himself to be their protector. If he would do this, then the bishop, with other faithful counsellors, could disclose such treason, cloaked with this heresy, that his majesty might easily perceive how perilous a matter it is to cherish a serpent in his own bosom.

These and such other phrases whetted the king to anger and displeasure towards the queen. Thus Winchester with his flattering words so far insinuated himself with the king at that time, and so filled the king's distrustful mind, that before they separated, the king had given command, with warrant to certain of them, to consult together about drawing up certain articles against the queen, in which her life might be touched, which the king pretended he fully resolved not to spare. They departed with this commission, resolved to put their pernicious practice into as mischievous an execution.

During the time of deliberation about this matter, they did not fail to use all kinds of mischievous practices, as well as to suborn accusers, and to otherwise betray her, in seeking to ascertain what books forbidden by law she had in her closet. And the better to bring their purpose to pass — because they would not suddenly but only gradually deal with her — they thought it best, at first, to begin with some of those ladies whom they knew to be intimate with her. and of her blood. The chief, most esteemed, and privy to all her doings, were these: the lady Herbert, afterwards countess of Pembroke, and sister to the queen, and chief of her privy chamber; the lady Lane, being of her privy chamber, and also her first cousin; the lady

Tyrwhitt, of her privy chamber, and for her virtuous disposition held in very great favor and credit with her.

It was devised that these three should first of all have been accused and brought to answer to the Six Articles. And then, upon their apprehension in the court, their closets and coffers would have been searched, that something might be found by which the queen might be charged. This being found, the queen herself would presently have been taken, and likewise carried at night by barge to the Tower.

The king at that time lay at Whitehall, and being unwell he very seldom stirred out of his chamber or private gallery. Few of his council, except by especial command, resorted to him.

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This purpose was handled so secretly, that it now grew within a few days of the time for the execution of the matter, and the poor queen neither knew nor suspected anything at all. Therefore, in her accustomed manner, when she came to visit the king, she still dealt with him regarding religion, as before. The king all this while gave her leave to utter her mind at the full, without contradiction. Thus after her accustomed conference with the king, when she had taken her leave of him, it chanced that the king broke the whole matter to one of his physicians, pretending as though he no longer intended to be troubled with such a doctress as she was; and also declaring what trouble was working against her by her enemies. Yet the king charged the physician, upon peril of his life, not to utter it to any creature living. And thereupon he revealed to him the parties above-named, with all the circumstances, and when and what the final resolution of the matter would be.

The Queen all this while, compassed about with enemies and persecutors, perceived nothing of all this, nor what was working against her, and what traps were laid for her by Winchester and his fellows. But see what the Lord God did for his poor handmaiden, in rescuing her from the pit of ruin, into which she was ready to fall unawares. For as the Lord would, so it came to pass, that the bill of articles drawn up against the queen, and subscribed with the king's own hand (although dissemblingly you must understand), falling from the bosom of one of the councilors, was found by some godly person, and brought immediately to the queen. Reading there the articles against her, and seeing the king's own hand set to it, fell immediately into a great agony, bemoaning and talking on in such a way, as was lamentable to hear and see. Of this, certain of her ladies and gentlewomen, still being alive, who were then present around her, can testify.

The king hearing what perplexity she was in, almost to the peril and danger of her life, sent his physicians to her. Seeing what extremity she was in, they did what they could for her recovery. Then Wendy, the physician to whom the king had spoken, perceiving by her words what the matter was, to comfort her mind, began to break with her in secret, regarding the articles against her, which he himself, he said, knew right well to be true — even though he stood in danger of his life, if he were ever known to utter it to any living creature.

Nevertheless, partly for the safety of her life, and partly for the discharge of his own conscience, having remorse to consent to the shedding of innocent blood, he could not but give her warning of the mischief that hung over her head. He beseeched her to use all secrecy, and he exhorted her to frame and comport herself to the king's mind, saying he did not doubt that if she would do so, and show her humble submission to him, she would find him gracious and favorable to her.

It was not long after this, that the king hearing of the dangerous state in which she still remained, came to her himself. After she had uttered her grief to him, fearing lest his

majesty, she said, had taken displeasure with her, and had utterly forsaken her, then he, like a loving husband, with sweet and comfortable words, so refreshed and appeased her mind, that she began to recover somewhat. And so the king, after he had tarried there about an hour, departed.

After this the queen, remembering the words that Mr. Wendy had said to her, devised how by some good opportunity she might repair to the king's presence. And so first commanding her ladies to convey away their books which were against the law, the next night after supper, waited upon only by the lady Herbert her sister, and the lady Lane, who carried the candle before her, she went to the king's bedchamber. She found him sitting and talking with several gentlemen of his chamber. When the king beheld her, he very courteously welcomed her, and breaking off the talk which he had with the gentlemen, of himself, contrary to his manner, he began to enter into talk of religion, seeming, as it were, desirous to be resolved, by the queen, of certain doubts which he propounded.

The queen perceived to what purpose this talk tended. And not being unprovided in what way to behave herself towards the king, she resolved his questions as time and opportunity required, mildly, and with reverent countenance, answering in this manner:

"Your majesty," she said, "right well knows, and I myself am not ignorant, what great imperfection and weakness by our first creation is allotted to us women, to be ordained and appointed as inferior and subject to man as our head, from which head all our direction ought to proceed, And that as God made man in his own shape and likeness, whereby being indued with more special gifts of perfection, he might rather be stirred to the contemplation of heavenly things, and to the earnest endeavor to obey his commandments, even so He also made the woman from man, of whom and by whom she is to be governed, commanded, and directed. Thus womanly weaknesses and natural imperfection ought to be tolerated, aided, and borne with, so that such things that are lacking in her ought to be supplied by wisdom.

"Since, therefore, God has appointed such a natural difference between man and woman, and your majesty being so excellent in gifts and ornaments of wisdom, and I a silly poor woman, so much inferior in all respects of nature to you, how then does it now come to pass that your majesty, in such causes of religion, would seem to require my judgment? Which, when I have uttered and said what I can, yet I must, and I will, refer my judgment in this, and in all other cases, to your majesty's wisdom, as my only anchor, supreme head and governor here on earth, next under God, to lean to."

"Not so, by St. Mary," replied the king, "you have become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, as we take it, and not to be instructed or directed by us."

"If your majesty takes it so," said the queen, "then your majesty is very much mistaken. For you have ever been of the opinion and thought it very unseemly and preposterous for the woman to take upon herself the office of an instructor or teacher to her lord and husband, but rather she is to learn from her husband, and to be taught by him. And where I have, with your majesty's leave, up to now been bold to have talks with your majesty, in which sometimes there has seemed some difference in opinions, I have not done it so much to maintain an opinion, as I did it rather to minister talk, not only to the end that your majesty might with less grief pass over this painful time of your infirmity, being attentive to our talk, and hoping that your majesty might reap some ease by it; but also that hearing your majesty's learned discourse, I might receive some profit to myself. In this, I assure your majesty, I have not missed any part of my desire in that behalf, always referring myself in all such matters to your majesty, as by ordinance of nature it is convenient for me to do."



“And is it even so, sweetheart?” answered the king, “and did your arguments tend to no worse end? Then we are now perfect friends again, as ever at any time up to now.”

And as he sat in his chair, embracing her in his arms, and kissing her, he added that it did him more good at that time to hear those words out of her own mouth, than if he had been informed that a 100,000 pounds in money had fallen to him. And with great signs and tokens of marvellous joy and affection, with promises and assurances to never again in any way to mistake her, he entered into another very pleasant discourse with the queen and the lords, and the gentlemen standing by. And then in the end he gave her leave to depart.

Now then, God be thanked, the king’s mind was quite altered, and he detested in his heart (as afterwards he plainly showed) this tragic practice of those cruel Caiaphases; who not understanding the king’s mind and good disposition towards the queen, were busily occupied about thinking and providing for their next day’s labor; which was the day on which they had determined to have the queen carried to the Tower.

[617] A.D. 1540-1547.

The day having come, almost at the appointed hour, the king was disposed in the afternoon to take the air. He went into the garden, waited on only by two gentlemen of his bedchamber. The queen also came there, having been sent for by the king himself. She was accompanied by the three ladies above named to wait upon her. The king at that time disposed himself to be as pleasant to them as he ever was in all his life before. When suddenly, in the midst of their mirth, the hour determined having come, the lord chancellor came into the garden, with forty of the king’s guards at his heels, intending to have taken the queen, together with the three ladies whom they had before purposed to apprehend alone. The king sternly beholding them, broke off his mirth with the queen, and stepping a little aside, called the chancellor to him. Upon his knees, he spoke certain words to the king, but what they were is not well known (for they were softly spoken, and the king was a good distance from the queen). But it is most certain that the king’s reply to him was, “Knave!” indeed, “Arrant knave, beast, and fool!” And with that, the king commanded him to quickly be gone out of his presence. These words, although they were uttered somewhat low, yet they were so vehemently whispered out by the king, that the queen with her ladies overheard them. This would have been not a little to her comfort, had she known at that time the whole cause of his coming, so perfectly as she knew it afterwards. Thus the lord chancellor departed out of the king’s presence as he came, with all his train, the whole device being utterly broken.

The king, after the chancellor’s departure, immediately returned to the queen. She perceived him to be very much chafed (though coming towards her, he forced himself to put on a cheerful countenance). With as sweet words as she could utter, she endeavored to qualify the king’s displeasure, with a request to his majesty, in behalf of the lord chancellor, whom he seemed to be offended with. She said for his excuse, that although she did not know what just cause his majesty had at that time to be offended with him, yet she thought that ignorance, not will, was the cause of his error. And so she besought his majesty (if the cause were not very heinous) at her humble suit, to take it so.

“Ah, poor soul,” he said, “You little know how badly he deserves this grace at your hands. Of my word, sweetheart, he has been an arrant knave towards you, and so let him go.” To this the queen in a charitable manner, replying in few words, ended that talk. She had also, by God’s blessing, for that time and ever, happily escaped the dangerous snares of her bloody and cruel enemies for the gospel’s sake.

The pestiferous purpose of this bishop, and like bloody adversaries, thus practicing against the queen, puts me in remembrance of another such story of his wicked working, in like manner, that took place a little before. That was much more pernicious and pestilent to the public church of Jesus Christ, than this was dangerous to the private estate of the queen. I thought this would be a convenient place to notify all posterity of this story, as faithfully recorded to me by someone who heard it from Archbishop Cranmer's own mouth.

*A Discourse, regarding a certain Policy used by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, in staying King Henry VIII from redressing certain Abuses of Ceremonies in the Church, being Ambassador beyond the Seas.*

*Also the Communication of King Henry VIII with the Ambassador of France, at Hampton-court, concerning the Reformation of Religion, in France as well as in England, August A.D. 1546.*

It chanced in the time of King Henry VIII, not long before his highness' death in 1547, that a league was concluded between the emperor, the French king, and himself, that the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner by name, was sent as ambassador beyond the seas for that purpose. In his absence Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, attending upon the king's court, sought occasion to further the reformation of religion. For as the archbishop was always diligent and forward to prefer and advance the sincere doctrine of the gospel, so bishop Gardiner was a contrary instrument, continually spurning against it, in whatever part of the world he remained. For even now, being beyond the seas in the temporal affairs of the realm, he did not forget but found the means, as a most valiant champion of the bishop of Rome, to stop and hinder the good diligence of archbishop Cranmer, as well as the godly disposition of the king's majesty, which happened as follows.

While the bishop of Winchester was beyond the seas, the king's majesty and archbishop Cranmer conferenced together for the reformation of some superstitious enormities in the church. Among other things, the king determined to immediately pull down the roods (crosses) in every church, and to suppress the accustomed ringing on Allhallows-night, with a few similar vain ceremonies. And therefore, when the archbishop took his leave of the king, to go into his diocese, his highness desired him to remember that he should cause two letters to be devised: "To be signed by me;" said the king. "The one to be directed to you, my lord, and the other to the archbishop of York, in which I will command you both to send your precepts to all other bishops within your provinces, to see those enormities and ceremonies that we communed about, be reformed without delay."

So upon this, the king's pleasure being known, when the archbishop of Canterbury had entered Kent, he caused his secretary to write these letters according to the king's mind. And being in readiness, he sent them to the court to Sir Anthony Denny, for him to get them signed by the king. When Master Denny moved the king to do this, the king answered,

"I am now otherwise resolved; for you will send my lord of Canterbury word that since I spoke with him about those matters, I have received letters from my lord of Winchester, now on the other side of the sea, about the conclusion of a league between us and the emperor, and the French king. And he writes plainly to us, that the league will not prosper, nor go forward, if we make any other innovation, change, or alteration, either in religion or ceremonies, than has already been done and commenced before now. Therefore my lord of Canterbury must take patience in this, and forbear, until we may spot a more apt and convenient time for that purpose."

This matter of reformation began to be revived again, when the great ambassador from the French king came to the king's majesty at Hampton Court, not long before his death. There, no gentleman was permitted to wait upon his lord and master, without a velvet coat and a chain of gold. And for the entertainment of the ambassador, three very great and sumptuous banqueting houses were built in the park. At first it was purposed that the ambassador would be very richly banqueted for three nights. But as it chanced, the French king's great affairs suddenly changed, so that this ambassador was sent for, to come home in haste, before he had received half the noble entertainment that was prepared for him; and he had but the fruition of the first banqueting house.

Now, it is not our purpose here to address what prince-like order was used in the furnishing of the banquet, and in the places of the noble estates — namely, the king's majesty, and the French ambassador, with the noblemen both of England and France on the one part, and of the queen's highness and the lady Anne of Cleves, with other noble women and ladies on the other part — nor the great and sumptuous preparation of costly and fine dishes displayed there. We will only consider and note the conference and communication that was had the first night after the banquet was finished, between the king's majesty, the ambassador, and the archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer), regarding establishing godly religion in both their realms. The king's highness stood openly in the banqueting-house, before all the people, leaning one arm on the shoulder of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the other on the shoulder of the ambassador. In the report of the archbishop to his secretary, on the later occasion of his service to be done during King Edward's visitation, it was related in the register of that visitation as follows.

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When the visitation was put in a readiness, before the commissioners proceeded in their voyage, the archbishop sent for the register to Hampton Court, and desired him to make notes of certain things in the visitation. He gave him instruction, having further talks with him regarding the good effect and success of the visitation. On this occasion the register said to his master the archbishop:

“I remember, that you not long ago caused me to write letters, which King Henry VIII should have signed and directed to your grace and the archbishop of York, for the reformation of certain enormities in the churches, such as taking down the roods, and forbidding the ringing on Allhallows-night, and similar vain ceremonies. These letters your grace sent to the court to be signed by the king's majesty, but as yet I think there was never anything done.”

“Why?” asked the archbishop, “Did you never hear that those letters were suppressed and stopped?” The archbishop's servant replied; “As it was my duty to write those letters, so it was not my part to be inquisitive about what became of them.”

“Indeed,” replied the archbishop, “my lord of Winchester then being beyond the seas, about the conclusion of a league between the emperor, the French king, and the king our master, and fearing that some reformation regarding religion might pass here in the realm in his absence, he wrote to the king's majesty, bearing him in hand, that the league would not prosper nor go forwards on his majesty's behalf if he made any other innovation, or alteration in religion, or in the ceremonies in the church. This caused the king to stay the signing of those letters, as Sir Anthony Denny wrote to me by the king's command.”

Then his servant said back to him, “Because the king's good intent did not then take place, now your grace may go forward in those matters, as the opportunity of the time serves much better than in King Henry's days.”

“Not so,” said the archbishop. “It was better to attempt such reformation in King Henry’s day than at this time, [King Edward] being in his infancy. For if the king’s father had set forth anything for the reformation of abuses, who dared challenge it? Indeed, we are now in doubt as to how men will take the change or alteration of abuses in the church. And therefore, the council has especially forbore speaking of it, and of other things which they would gladly have reformed, referring all those, and such like matters, to the discretion of the visitors. But if King Henry VIII had lived to this day with the French king, it would have been past my lord Winchester’s power to have influenced the king’s highness, as he did when he was about the same league.”

“I am sure you were at Hampton Court,” replied the archbishop, “when the French king’s ambassador was entertained there at those solemn banqueting houses, not long before the king’s death — namely, when after the banquet was done the first night, the king leaning upon the ambassador and me, if I should tell what communication passed between the king’s highness and the ambassador, concerning the establishing of sincere religion, a man would hardly have believed it. Nor had I myself thought the king’s highness had been so forward in those matters as he then appeared. I may tell you it concerned more than the pulling down of roods, and suppressing the ringing of bells. I take it that few in England would have believed that the king’s majesty and the French king had been at this point, not only within half a year later to have changed the mass in both realms into a communion (as we now use it), but also to have utterly extirpated and banished the bishop of Rome and his usurped power, out of both their realms and dominions. Indeed, they were so thoroughly and firmly resolved in that behalf, that they also meant to exhort the emperor to do the same in Flanders and his other countries and seigniories, or else they would break off from him. And in this, the king’s highness commanded me (said the archbishop) to pen a form to be sent to the French king to consider it. But the deep and most secret Providence of Almighty God visiting this realm with a sharp scourge for our iniquities, prevented for a time this their most godly device and intent, by taking to His mercy both these princes.”

*A brief Narration of the trouble of Sir George Blage.*

Here something may be said about Sir George Blage, one of the king’s privy chamber, who being falsely accused by Sir Hugh Caverley, knight, and Master Littleton, was sent for by Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, and carried to Newgate, and from there to Guildhall, where he was condemned and appointed to be burned. The words which his accusers laid to him were these; “What if a mouse were to eat the bread? Then, in my opinion, they should hang the mouse.” Whereas, to the end of his life, he protested that he never spoke these words. But the truth, he said, was this: that those walking with him in St. Paul’s church after a sermon of Doctor Crome’s, asked if he were at the sermon. He said, “Yes.” “I heard,” says Master Littleton, “that he said in his sermon, that the mass profits neither the quick nor the dead.” “No,” says Master Blage, “Why then? Perhaps for a gentleman when he rides in hunting, to keep his horse from stumbling!” And so they departed, and immediately after he was apprehended and condemned to be burned. When this was heard among those of the Privy Chamber, the king hearing them whispering (which he could never abide) commanded them to tell him the matter. Upon the matter being told, and suit being made to the king, especially by the good earl of Bedford (who was then lord privy seal), the king was very offended that they would come so near him, into his Privy Chamber, without his knowledge, He sent for Wriothesley, commanding him to immediately draw out the pardon himself, and so Blage was set at liberty. Blage afterwards came into the king’s presence. “Ah, my pig,” the king said to him, for so he used to call him. “Yes,” he said, “if your Majesty had not been better to me than your bishops were, your pig would have been roasted before this time.”

***The Abolishing of English Books***

Then the popish leaders, when they had martyred Mrs. Askew and the others, and now being in their triumph, like the Pharisees when they had brought Christ to his grave, devised among themselves how to keep Blage down, and to tread over the truth forever. On consulting with certain of the council, they made out a hard proclamation, authorized by the king's name, for abolishing the Scriptures [in English], and all English books that might set forth God's true word, and the grace of the gospel.

*A Proclamation for the abolishing of English Books,  
the 8th of July A.D. 1546.*

“The king's most excellent majesty understanding how, under the pretense of expounding and declaring the truth of God's Scripture, diverse evil-disposed persons have taken it upon themselves to utter and sow abroad, by books printed in the English tongue, various pernicious and detestable errors and heresies, not only contrary to the laws of this realm, but also repugnant to the true sense of God's law and word, by reason of which certain men of late, to the destruction of their own bodies and souls, and to the evil example of others, have attempted, arrogantly and maliciously, to impugn the truth, and with that to trouble the sober, quiet, and godly religion, united and established under the king's majesty in this his realm; his highness minding to foresee the dangers that might ensue from the said books, is forced to use his general prohibition, commandment, and proclamation, as follows:

“First, That from now on no man, woman, or person, of whatever estate, condition, or degree he or they may be, shall, after the last day of August next ensuing, receive, have, take, or keep in his or their possession, the text of the New Testament of Tyndale's or Coverdale's translation in English, or any other text than is permitted by the act of parliament made in the session of the parliament held at Westminster in the 34th and 35th years of his majesty's most noble reign.

[619] AD. 1540-1547.

“Nor after the said day shall they receive, have, take, or keep in his or their possession, any manner of books printed or written in the English tongue, which is, or shall be set forth in the names of Frith, Tyndale, Wycliffe, Joy, Roy, Basel, Bale, Barnes, Coverdale, Turner, Tracy, or by any of them, or any other book or books containing matter contrary to the said act made in the year 34 or 35; but shall, before the last day of August next coming, deliver the English book, or books, to his master in that household, if he is a servant, or dwells under any other, and the master or ruler of the house, and others who dwell at large, shall deliver all such books of these sorts that they have, or will come to their hands, delivered as before or otherwise, to the mayor, bailiff, or chief constable of the town where they dwell, to be delivered over by them openly, within forty days next following after the said delivery, to the sheriff of the shire, or to the bishop's chancellor, or commissary of the same diocese, with the intent that the said bishop, chancellor, commissary, and sheriff, and every of them, may cause them to be openly burned immediately. It is the king's majesty's pleasure, that every one of them shall see this executed in the most effectual way, and make a certificate of their doings to the king's majesty's most honorable council, before the first day of October next coming.

“And with the intent that no man will mistrust any danger of such penal statutes as are passed in this behalf, for keeping the said books, the king's majesty is most graciously contented by this proclamation to pardon that offense till the said time appointed by this proclamation for the delivery of the said books, and commands that no bishop, chancellor, commissary, mayor, bailiff, sheriff, or constable, shall be curious to mark who brings forth such books, but only order and burn them openly, as ordered in this proclamation. And if any man, after the last day of August next coming, has any of the said books in his keeping, or is proved and

convicted by sufficient witness before four of the king's most honorable council, to have hidden them, or used them, or any copy of any of them, or any part of them, by which it appears that he has willingly offended the true meaning of this proclamation, the same shall not only suffer imprisonment and punishment of his body at the king's majesty's will and pleasure, but also shall make such fine and ransom to his highness for the same, as shall be determined by his majesty, or four of his grace's said council, etc.

"Finally, His majesty straitly charges and commands that no person or persons, of whatever estate, degree, or condition, he or they may be, from the day of this proclamation, presume to bring any manner of English book, concerning any manner of Christian religion, printed in the parts beyond the seas, into this realm, to sell, give, or distribute any English book printed in the outward parts, or the copy of any such book, or any part thereof, to any person dwelling within this his grace's realm, or any other of his majesty's dominions, unless it shall be specially licensed to do so by his highness' express grant, to be obtained in writing for the same, upon the pains before limited, and with this to incur his majesty's extreme indignation."

Having procured this proclamation, they proceeded to prohibit all the books that taught the true gospel of Christ, under the pretense that they taught heresy and every evil thing. And thus they slandered, under terms of *heresy* and *blasphemy*, the writings, doctrine, and persons of the protestants. And while they thus prohibited all true doctrine, they themselves published many books against the protestants, in which they most falsely and untruly call them heretics, charging them as blasphemers of God, despisers of God and men, church robbers, cruel, false liars, crafty deceivers, unfaithful, promise-breakers, disturbers of the public peace and tranquility, corrupters and subverters of the commonwealth, and all else that is bad.

In much the same way. Socrates was accused by his countrymen of being a corrupter of the youth, whom Plato notwithstanding defends. Aristides, the Just, did not lack his unjust accusers. Was it not objected to St. Paul, that he was a subverter of the law of Moses, and that we might do evil so that good might come of it? How was it laid to the Christian martyrs in the primitive church for worshipping an ass's head, and for sacrificing infants? And to come nearer to our latter days, you heard likewise how falsely the Christian congregation of the Frenchmen who gathered together in the night at Paris, to celebrate the holy communion, were accused of horrible wickedness, which we must not name, and were condemned to the fire, and burned. Finally, what innocency is so pure, or truth so perfect, which cannot be voided by these slanders and criminations, when our Savior Christ himself was noted as a wine-drinker, and a common haunter of the publicans, etc.?

Even so, it likewise pleases our Lord and Savior Christ to keep and to exercise his church under the same kind of adversaries now reigning in the church, who under the name of the church, will maintain a portly state and kingdom in this world. And because they cannot uphold their cause by plain scripture and the word of God, they bear it out with railing and slandering, making princes and the simple people believe that whoever dares to reply with any Scripture against their doings, are all heretics, schismatics, blasphemers, rebels, and subverters of all authority and government.

It is written of Nero, that when he himself had caused the city of Rome to be set on fire, and it had burned for seven nights, he made an open proclamation that the innocent Christians had set the city on fire, to stir the people against them, by which he might burn and destroy them as rebels and traitors.

The dealing of these papists does not seem much unlike this. When they are the true heretics themselves, and have burnt and destroyed the church of Christ, they make out their

exclamations, bulls, briefs, articles, books, censures, letters, and edicts against the poor protestants, to make the people believe that the protestants are the heretics, schismatics, and disturbers of the whole world. If they could prove them to be so, as they reprove them to be heretics, they would be worthy to be heard. But now they cry out upon them "heretics!" and can prove no heresy; they accuse them of error, and can prove no error; they call them schismatics, and what church since the world stood has been the mother of so many schisms as the mother church of Rome? They charge protestants with dissension and rebellion; and what dissension can be greater than to dissent from the Scriptures and word of God? Or what rebellion is so great as to rebel against the Son of God, and against the will of his eternal Testament? Protestants are disturbers, they say, of peace and public authority; which is as true as Christians setting the city of Rome on fire. What doctrine ever attributed so much to public authority of magistrates, as do the protestants? Or who ever attributed less to magistrates, or deposed more dukes, kings, and emperors, than the papists? Protestants say the bishop of Rome is no more than the bishop of Rome, and ought to wear no crown; that he should not be a rebel against his king and magistrates, but rather a maintainer of their authority; which indeed the bishop of Rome cannot abide.

Briefly, will you see who are the greater heretics, the protestants or the papists? Let us test it by a measure, and let this measure be the glory alone of the Son of God, who cannot fail. Now judge, I beseech you, whoever knows the doctrine of them both, which of these two ascribe more or less to the majesty of Christ Jesus our King and Lord? The protestants admit no other head of the church, nor justifier of our souls, nor forgiver of our sins, nor advocate to his Father, but Christ alone. While the papists can abide none of these articles, but condemn them as heresy. This being so (as they themselves will not deny) now judge, good reader, who has set the city of Rome on fire: Nero, or the Christians?

But to return to our former purpose, which was to show the proclamation of the bishops for abolishing English books, as being corrupt and full of heresy. Notwithstanding, we have declared that they contain no heresy, but sound and wholesome doctrine, according to the perfect word and Scripture of God.

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Now, when the prelates of the pope's side had procured this proclamation for the condemnation of all such English books, printed or unprinted, which made against their advantage, they triumphed not a little, thinking they had overthrown the gospel forever, and that they had firmly established their kingdom. After so straight, so precise, and so solemn a proclamation set forth and armed with the king's terrible authority, and also after the cruel execution of Anne Askew, Lassels, and the rest, who would not have thought the gospel was overthrown? Especially seeing what sure work the papists had made in setting up their own cause, and throwing down the cause of truth.

But it is not a new thing with the Lord, to show his power against man, who when he counts himself the most sure, is then furthest off; and when he supposes to have done it all, must then begin again. So it was in the primitive church before Constantine's time, that when Nero, Domitian, Maximin, Decius, and other emperors, impugning the gospel and profession of Christ, not only instituted laws and made proclamations against the Christians, but they also engraved those same laws in tables of brass, minding to make all things firm forever. Yet we see how, with a little turning of God's hand, all their mighty devices and brazen laws were turned to wind and dust. So little does it avail man to wrestle against the Lord and his proceedings. Man's building is mortal and ruinous, made of brittle brick, and moldering stones. Yet what the Lord takes in hand to build, neither wastes time,

nor can man pull it down. What God sets up, there is neither power nor striving to the contrary. What He intends, stands; what He blesses, prevails. And yet man's presumption will not cease to erect towers of Babel against the Lord, which the higher they are built up, fall with greater ruin. For what can stand, that does not stand with the Lord?

The proclamation was terrible for the time. Yet not long after, because of the king's death (whom the Lord shortly afterwards took to His mercy) it became of no avail. So that where the prelates thought to make their jubilee, it turned into a day of lamentation. Such are the admirable workings of the Lord of Hosts, whose name be sanctified forever.

I not infer this for any other purpose than that the works of the Lord may be seen — admonishing you, good reader, that as to the king (who in this proclamation had nothing but his name), nothing is spoken here but to his honor and praise. Of his own nature and disposition, he was so inclinable and forward in abolishing the almost invincible authority of the pope, in suppressing monasteries, in repressing idolatry and pilgrimage, etc., such enterprises as never a king of England before him had accomplished (though some began to attempt them). So to this day we see but few in other realms who dare to follow the same.

If princes always have their counsel about them, that is but a common thing. If sometimes they have evil counsel ministered, I take that to be the fault of those who are about them, rather than of princes themselves. So long as queen Anne, Thomas Cromwell, bishop Cranmer, Master Doctor Ruts, with others like them were about the king, and could prevail with him, what organ of Christ's glory did more good in the church than he? This is apparent by such monuments, instruments, and acts set forth by him, in setting up the Bible in the church; exploding the pope with his vile pardons; removing diverse superstitious ceremonies; bringing into order the inordinate orders of friars and sects; in putting chantry priests to their pensions; permitting white meat during Lent; destroying pilgrimage worship; abrogating idle and superfluous holydays, both by public acts, and also by private letters sent to Bonner tending to this effect. We subjoin one of these letters here:

*By the King.*

“Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas considering the manifold inconveniences which have ensued, and daily ensue to our subjects by the great superfluity of holydays, we have by the assent and consent of all the bishops and other notable personages of the clergy of this our realm, in full congregation and assembly had for that purpose, abrogated and abolished such holydays as are neither canonical, nor fit to be suffered in a commonwealth. For the manifold inconveniences which ensue from the same, as recited, and to the intent that our determination in this may be duly observed and accomplished, we have thought convenient to command you, immediately upon the receipt of this, to address your commandments in our name to all the curates, religious houses, and colleges within your diocese, with a copy of the act made for the abrogation of the holydays aforesaid. Herewith you will receive a transcript, commanding them and every one of them, in no way, either in the church or otherwise, to invite or speak of any of the said days and feasts that are abolished. The people might take occasion by this either to murmur, or to disdain the order taken in this, and to continue in their accustomed idleness, notwithstanding the same — but to ignore it with such secret silence that they may have abrogation by disuse, as they have already by our authority in convocation. And because the time of harvest now approaches, our pleasure is that you shall with such diligence and dexterity put this matter into execution, as it may immediately take place for the benefit of our subjects at this time, accordingly without failing, as you will answer to us for the contrary.

“Given under our signet, at our monastery of Chertsey, the eleventh of August.”



Thus while the king had good counsel was about him, and could be heard, he did much good. So again when sinister and wicked counsel, under subtle and crafty pretenses, had the ascendancy over him, thrusting truth and charity from the prince's ears, so much as religion and all good things went prosperously forward before, so much on the contrary side, all devolved backward again. Thus the proclamation proceeded, mentioned above, concerning the abolishing and burning of English books. This proclamation bore the name of the king's majesty, but being the very deed of the popish bishops, it no doubt would have done much hurt in the church among the godly sort — bringing them either into great danger, or else keeping them in much blindness — had not the shortness of the king's days stopped the malignant purposes of the prelates. It caused the king to leave to the people by his death, that which he would not grant by his life. For within four months, the proclamation coming out in August, he died on the 27th of January (A.D. 1547), having reigned nearly 38 years. He left behind him three children who succeeded him in his kingdom: king Edward, queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth, of whom it now remains to prosecute in the process of this history (by the permission and sufferance of Christ our high Lord and Prince), according to the order of their succession, and the acts done by them in the church requires. I will first prosecute certain other matters along the way.

***Persecution in Scotland.***

Thus having finished the time and reign of king Henry VIII, it remains now, according to my promise made before, to place and adjoin here so much as comes to our hands regarding the persecution of Scotland, and of the blessed martyrs of Christ, who in that country likewise suffered for the true religion of Christ, and the testimony of their faith.

To proceed therefore in the history of the affairs of Scotland, next after the mention of David Stratton and Master Norman Gourlay (or Nicolas Gurley), with whom we ended earlier (see p. 501), the order of time requires us to refer to the memory of Sir John Borthwick, knight, commonly called Captain Borthwick. Being accused of heresy, as the papists call it, and cited to answer for it, A.D. 1540, he did not appear, but escaped into other countries. Even though absent, however, he was condemned by the sentence of David Breaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, and other prelates of Scotland; all his goods were confiscated, and his picture at last was burned in the open marketplace.

[621] A.D. 1540-1547.

*The Sentence of Condemnation against Sir John Borthwick, knight,  
by the Cardinal, Bishops, and Abbots in Scotland, A.D. 1540.*

[After reciting the articles with which he was charged, it thus concludes:]

“Of all these premises, and many other errors held, spoken, published, affirmed, preached, and taught by him, the common fame and report is that the said Sir John Borthwick is held, reputed, and accounted by very many as a heretic, and principal heretic, who holds evil opinions of the catholic faith.

“Where we, David, by the title of St. Stephen, in Mount Celio, prelate and cardinal of the holy church of Rome, archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of the whole kingdom of Scotland, and born legate of the apostolic see, sitting in the manner of judges in our tribunal seat, the most holy gospels of God being laid before us, so that our judgment might proceed from the face of God, and our eyes might behold and look upon equity and justice, having only God, and the verity and truth of the catholic faith before our eyes, his holy name being first called upon, as said before, having hereupon held a council of wise men, divines as well as lawyers, we pronounce, declare, decree, determine, and give sentence, that the said Sir John Borthwick,

called Captain Borthwick, being suspected, infamed, and accused of the errors and heresies listed before, and wicked doctrines manifoldly condemned, as aforesaid — and by lawful proofs had against him in every one of the premises, being convicted and lawfully cited and called, not appearing, but as a fugitive, runaway and absent, even as if he were present, to be a heretic — is, and has been convicted as a heretic. And as a convicted heretic and heresiarch, he is to be punished and chastened with due punishment, and afterwards to be delivered and left to the secular power. Moreover, we confiscate and make forfeit, and by these presents declare and decree to be confiscated and made forfeit all and singular, his goods, movables, and unmovables, however and by whatever title they were gotten, and in whatever place or part they may be; and all his offices, whatever he has previously had, reserving notwithstanding the dowry and such part and portion of his goods, as by the law, custom, and right of this realm to persons confiscate ought to pertain. Also, we decree that the picture of the said John Borthwick being formed, made, and painted according to his likeness, is to be carried through our city, to our cathedral church; and afterwards to the market cross of the same city; and there in token of malediction and curse, and to the terror and example of others; and for a perpetual remembrance of his obstinacy and condemnation, is to be burned.

“Likewise we declare and decree, that notwithstanding, if the said John Borthwick is hereafter apprehended and taken, he shall suffer such like punishment due by order of law unto heretics, without any hope of grace or mercy to be obtained in that behalf. Also we plainly admonish and warn, by the terror of these presents, all and singular faithful Christians, both men and women, of whatever dignity, state, decree, order, condition, or pre-eminence they may be, or with whatever dignity, or honor, ecclesiastical or temporal they may be honored, that from this day forward they do not receive or harbor the said Sir Jolin Borthwick, commonly called Captain Borthwick, being accused, convicted, and declared a heretic, and arch-heretic, into their houses, hospitals, castles, cities, towns, villages, or other cottages, whatever they may be, or by any manner of means admit him there, either by helping him with food, drink, or victuals, or any other thing whatever it may be, they show to him any manner of humanity, help, comfort, or solace, under the pain and penalty of greater and further excommunication, confiscation and forfeitures. And if it happens that they are found culpable or faulty in the premises, that they shall be accused therefore as the favorers, receivers, defenders maintainers, and abettors of heretics, and shall be punished therefore according to the order of law, and with such pain and punishment as shall be due to men in such behalf.”

*The Sentence against Thomas Forrest et al.*

And now to address others who followed, beginning first in order with Thomas Forrest and his fellows. Their history is as follows:

Not long after the burning of David Stratton and Master Gourlay — in the days of David Beaton, cardinal, and archbishop of St. Andrews; and George Crichton, bishop of Dunkeld — a canon of St. Colme’s Inche, and vicar of Dolone, called **Dean Thomas Forrest**, preached every Sunday to his parishioners out of the epistle or gospel, as it fell for the time. This was then a great novelty in Scotland, to see any man preach except a Black friar, or a Grey friar. And therefore the friars envied him, and accused him to the bishop of Dunkeld (in whose diocese he remained) as a heretic, and one who showed the mysteries of the Scriptures to the vulgar people, in English, to make the clergy detestable in the sight of the people. The bishop of Dunkeld, moved by the instigation of the friars, called Dean Thomas, and said to him, “Dean Thomas, I love you well, and therefore I must give you counsel as to how you will rule and guide yourself.” Thomas said to him, “I thank your lordship heartily.” Then the bishop began his counsel in this manner.

“Dean Thomas, I am informed that you preach the epistle, or gospel, every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you do not take the cowl or uppermost cloth, from your parishioners. This is very prejudicial to the churchmen. And therefore. Dean Thomas, I would have you take your cowl and your uppermost cloth, as other churchmen do, or else it is too much to preach every Sunday. For in so doing you may make the people think that we should preach likewise. But it is enough for you, when you find any good epistle, or any good gospel that sets forth the liberty of the holy church, to preach that, and let the rest alone.”

Thomas answered; “My lord, I think that none of my parishioners will complain that I do not take the cowl or the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give them to me, together with any other thing that they have, and I will give and share with them anything that I have. And so, my lord, we agree right well, and there is no discord among us.

“And where your lordship says, it is too much to preach every Sunday; indeed I think it is too little, and I would also wish that your lordship did the same.”

“No, no, Dean Thomas,” said the bishop; “let that be; for we are not ordained to preach.”

Then Thomas said; “Where your lordship bids me to preach when I find any good epistle, or a good gospel, truly, my lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the epistles and gospels, and among them all I could never find an evil epistle, or an evil gospel. But if your lordship will show me the good epistle, and the good gospel, and the evil epistle, and the evil gospel, then I will preach the good, and omit the evil.”

Then my lord spoke stoutly, and said, “I thank God that I never knew what the New and Old Testament was” (and from these words arose a common proverb in Scotland: ‘You are like the bishop of Dunkeld, who knew neither new nor old law’). “Therefore. Dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my mass book, and my pontifical. Go your way, and leave off all these fantasies; for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, you will repent it when you may not mend it.” Thomas said; “I trust my cause is just in the presence of God, and therefore I do not care much what follows.” And so my lord and he separated at that time.

Soon after, a summons was directed from the cardinal of St. Andrews, and the bishop of Dunkeld, upon the Dean Thomas Forrest, upon two Black friars, called Friar John Kelore, and another called Beverage, and upon a priest of Stirling, called Duncan Simpson, and one gentleman called Robert Forster, in Stirling, with ‘three or four others with them of the town of Stirling, who at the day of their appearance, were condemned to death without any opportunity for recantation, because it was alleged they were heresiarch, or chief heretics and teachers of heresy.

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And it was especially because many of them were at the bridal and marriage of a priest, who was vicar of Twybody, beside Stirling. And they ate flesh during Lent, at the bridal, and so they were all together burnt upon the castle hill, Edinburgh, where those who were first bound to the stake godly and marvellously comforted those who came behind.

*The persecution by the Cardinal of Scotland,  
against certain persons in Perth.*

There was a certain act of parliament made in the government of the lord Hamilton, earl of Arran and governor of Scotland, giving privilege to all men of the realm of Scotland to read the Scriptures in their mother tongue — forbidding, nevertheless, all reasoning, conference, or convocation of people to *hear* the Scriptures read or expounded. This liberty of private reading, being granted by public proclamation, bore fruit. So that in several parts of

Scotland, the eyes of the servants of God were opened to see the truth, and to abhor the papistical abominations.

At this time, a sermon was given by Friar Spense, in Perth, affirming that prayer made to saints is so necessary, that without it there could be no hope of salvation to man. A burgesse of the town, Robert Lamb, could not bear this blasphemous doctrine, but publicly accused the friar of erroneous doctrine, and adjured him in God's name to utter the truth. The friar, stricken with fear, promised to do this; but the trouble, tumult, and stir of the people increased so much, that the friar could gain no audience. Yet Robert, with great danger to his life, escaped the hands of the multitude, especially of the women, who proceeded with extreme cruelty against him.

At this time (A.D. 1543) the enemies of the truth procured John Charters, who favored the truth, and was provost of the city and town of Perth, to be deposed from his office by the governor's authority. A papist named Master Alexander Marbeck was chosen in his place, so that they might more easily accomplish their wicked and ungodly purpose. After deposing the former provost, and electing the other, in the month of January the governor, the cardinal, the earl of Argyle, justice Sir John Campbell of Lundie, knight, and Justice Defort, the lord Botthwick, the bishops of Dunblane, and Orkney, with others of the nobility, all came to Perth. Although there were many accused for the crime of heresy, as they called it, yet only the following persons were apprehended at that time: Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Raveleson, James Founleson, and Hellen Stirke, his wife. They were cast that night into the Spay Tower of the city, to receive judgment on the morrow after.

The next day when they appeared and were brought forth to judgment, there was laid in general to all their charge, violation of the act of parliament expressed before, and their conference and assemblies in hearing and expounding of the Scriptures against the tenor of the act. Robert Lamb was accused especially for interrupting the friar in the pulpit, which he not only confessed, but also confirmed constantly, that it was the duty of no man, who understood and knew the truth, to hear the truth impugned without contradiction. And therefore, many who were there present in judgment, who hid the knowledge of the truth, should bear the burden in God's presence for consenting. This Robert, along with William Anderson and James Raveleson, were accused of hanging up the image of St. Francis on a cord, nailing rams' horns to his head, and a cow's rump to his tail, and for eating a goose on Allhallows evening.

James Hunter, being a simple man and without learning, could be charged with no great knowledge in doctrine. Yet because he often frequented that suspected company, he was accused.

The woman, Hellen Stirke, was accused because in her childbed she was not accustomed to call upon the name of the Virgin Mary, but only upon God for Jesus Christ's sake, and because she said, that if she herself had lived in the time of the Virgin Mary, God might have looked to her humility and base estate, as he did to the virgin's, in making her the mother of Christ — thereby meaning that there were no merits in the virgin, which procured for her that honor to be made the mother of Christ, and to be preferred before other women, but only God's free mercy exalted her to that estate. These words were counted most execrable in the face of all the clergy, and of the whole multitude.

James Raveleson, when building a house, set atop his fourth stair the three-crowned diadem of Peter, made of wood, which the cardinal took as being done in mocking of his cardinal's hat; and this procured no favor toward James at their hands.

These persons were condemned and judged to death, by an assize, for violating, as alleged, the act of parliament, in reasoning and conferring upon the Scriptures; for eating flesh on forbidden days; for interrupting the holy friar in the pulpit; for dishonoring images, and for blaspheming the Virgin Mary.

After their sentence was given, their hands were bound, and the men cruelly treated. The woman beholding this, desired likewise to be bound by the sergeants with her husband, for Christ's sake.

There was great intercession made by the people of the town for the life of these persons, to the governor, who of himself was willing to do so, that they might be delivered. But the governor was so under subjection to the cruel priests, that he could not do what he would. Indeed, they threatened to assist his enemies and to depose him, unless he assisted their cruelty.

There were some priests in the city who ate and drank in these honest men's houses before, to whom the priests were much bound. These priests were earnestly desired to entreat for them at the cardinal's hands. But they altogether refused, desiring the death of these men rather than preservation. So cruel are these wicked men from the lowest to the highest.

Then they were carried by a great band of armed men (for they feared rebellion in the town unless they had their men of war) to the place of execution. This was common to all thieves, and to make their cause appear more odious to the people.

Robert Lamb, at the foot of the gallows, made his exhortation to the people, desiring them to fear God, and leave the leaven of papistical abominations. So every one comforting another, and assuring themselves that they should sup together in the kingdom of heaven that night, they commended themselves to God, and died constantly in the Lord.

Lamb's wife desired earnestly to die with her husband, but she was not allowed. Yet following him to the place of execution, she gave him comfort, exhorting him to perseverance and patience for Christ's sake. And parting from him with a kiss, she said, "Husband, rejoice, for we have lived together many joyful days; but this day in which we must die, ought to be most joyful for us both, because we must have joy forever. Therefore I will not bid you good night, for we shall suddenly meet with joy in the kingdom of heaven." After that she was taken to a place to be drowned, even though she had a child sucking at her breast; but this did not move the unmerciful hearts of her enemies. So after she had commended her children to the neighbors of the town for God's sake, and the child was given to the nurse, she sealed the truth by her death.

*The Condemnation of Master George Wishart,  
who suffered Martyrdom, A.D.1546.*

I will solicit the attention of the reader to the uncharitable manner of the accusation of Master George Wishart, by the bloody enemies of Christ's faith. Note also the articles of which he was accused, and his meek answers. Finally, ponder the furious rage and tragic cruelty of the malignant church of Rome, in persecuting this blessed man of God; and his humble, patient, and most godly answers made to them at the moment, without regarding their menacings and threats, and not moving his countenance nor changing his visage.

[623] A.D. 1540-1547.

But before I refer to his articles, I thought it not impertinent to touch somewhat concerning the life and conversation of this godly man, as it came to my hands, certified in writing by a scholar of Wishart named Emery Tylney. His words, as he wrote them to me, follow:

“About the year 1543, there was in the University of Cambridge one Mr. George Wishart, commonly called Mr. George of Benet’s college, a man of tall stature, judged by his physiognomy. He was of a melancholy disposition, black-haired, long-bearded, handsome, well-spoken of in his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and well travelled. He never had on him for his habit or clothing anything but a mantle or frieze-gown to the shoes, a black millian fustian doublet, and plain black hose, coarse new canvass for his shirts, with white falling bands and cuffs at his hands. All of this apparel he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him.

“He was modest man, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness; for his charity never had an end, night, noon, or day. He forbore one meal in three, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature. He lay hard upon a puff of straw, and coarse new canvass sheets which, when he changed them, he gave away. He commonly had by his bedside a tub of water in which (his people being in bed, the candle put out, and all quiet) he used to bathe himself. I being very young and assured, often heard him, and on one light night discerned him. He loved me tenderly, and I him as effectually, for my age. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him; but the Lord was his defense. And after due correction for their malice, by a good exhortation, he amended them and went his way. O that the Lord had left him to me, his poor boy, that he might have finished what he had begun! For in his religion he was as you see here in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland, with some of the nobility that came for a treaty to king Henry VIII. His learning was no less sufficient than his desire; always pressed and ready to do good in whatever he was able, both in the house privately, and in the school publicly, professing and reading diverse authors.

“If I were to declare his love toward me, and all men, his charity to the poor in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, indeed, infinitely studying how to do good to all, and hurt to none, I would sooner lack words than just cause to commend him.

“All this I testify with my whole heart and truth about this godly man. He that made all, governs all, and shall judge all, knows that I speak the truth, that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, and the hypocrite disclosed.

“Emery Tylney.”

Master George Wishart was in captivity in the castle of St. Andrews, where the dean of the town was sent, by command of the cardinal, to summon him to appear before the judge on the following morning, to give an account of his seditious and heretical doctrine.

Master George responded, “What need is there for my lord cardinal to summon me to answer for my doctrine before him, under whose power and dominion I am thus bound with irons? May not my lord compel me to answer by his power? Or does he believe that I am unprepared to render an account of my doctrine?”

The next morning the cardinal had his servants dress themselves in their most warlike array, with all their arms, more prepared for war than for preaching the word of God. And when these armed champions, marching in warlike order, had conveyed the bishops into the abbey church, they sent for Master George, who was conveyed into the church by the captain of the castle, accompanied by a hundred men-at-arms. Like a lamb they led him to the sacrifice. As he entered into the abbey church door, there was a poor man lying there

afflicted with great infirmities, who asked alms from him, to whom he hung his purse. And when he came before the lord cardinal, the subprior of the abbey, called dean John Winryme, stood up in the pulpit, and made a sermon to the congregation, taking his subject matter out of Matthew 13. His sermon was divided into four principal parts.

The first part was a brief and short declaration of the evangelist.

The second part of the interpretation about the good seed. And because he called the word of God the good seed, and heresy the evil seed, he declared what heresy was, and how it may be known. He defined it in this manner: "Heresy is a false opinion defended with pertinacity, clearly contrary to the word of God."

The third part of the sermon was, the cause of heresy within that and other realms. The cause of heresy is the ignorance of those who have the cure of souls; to whom it necessarily belongs to have the true understanding of the word of God, so that they may be able to win the false teachers of heresies, with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God; and not only to win them back, but also to overcome them. As St. Paul says, "For a bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God; not self-willed, not quickly angry, not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre; but a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate; holding fast the faithful word as he has been taught, so that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince those who contradict." Tit 1.7-9.

The fourth part of his sermon was how heresies should be known. Heresies (he said) are known in this way: as the goldsmith knows the fine gold from the imperfect by the touchstone, so likewise may we know heresy by the undoubted touchstone, that is, the true, sincere, and undefiled word of God. At last he added that heretics should be put down in this present life. The gospel appeared to contradict this proposition.; "Let them grow together till the harvest;" the harvest is the end of the world. Nevertheless, he affirmed that they should be put down by the civil magistrate and the law. And when he ended his sermon, they had Master George ascend the pulpit, to hear his accusation and articles. And right against them stood one John Lauder, a priest, laden full of curses written on paper. He took out a roll, both long and full of cursings, threats, maledictions, and words of devilish spite and malice, saying to the innocent Master George so many cruel and abominable words, and he hit him so spitefully with the pope's thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded lest the earth have speedily swallowed him up. Notwithstanding, he stood still with great patience, hearing their statements, not once moving or changing his countenance.

When this well-fed priest had read through all his menacings, his face running down with sweat, and frothing at his mouth like a boar, he spit at Master George's face, saying, "What do you answer to these sayings, you runagate traitor, thief, which we have duly proved by sufficient witness against you?" Master George hearing this, knelt down on his knees in the pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, sweetly and Christianly he answered to them all as follows:

"You have spoken many horrible sayings and many abominable words here this day, which I thought a great abomination not only to teach, but also to think. Therefore I pray you quietly to hear me, that you may know what were my sayings and the manner of my doctrine. This my petition, my lord, I desire to be heard for three causes.

"The first is, because through preaching of the word of God, his glory is made manifest. It is reasonable, therefore, for the advancing of the glory of God, that you hear me, teaching truly the pure word of God, without any dissimulation.

“The second reason is, because your salvation springs from the word of God; for He works all things by his word. It would therefore be an unrighteous thing if you were to stop your ears from me, teaching truly the word of God.

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“The third reason is, because your doctrine utters many blasphemous and abominable words, not coming from the inspiration of God, but of the devil, with no less peril than that of my life. It is just, therefore, and reasonable that you should know what my words and doctrine are, so that I do not perish unjustly, to the great peril of your souls. Therefore, both for the glory and honor of God, your own salvation, and safety of my life, I beseech you to hear me, and I will recite my doctrine without any color.

“First and chiefly, since the time I came into this realm I taught nothing but the commandments of God, the twelve articles of the creed, and the Lord’s prayer in the mother tongue. Moreover, in Dundee I taught the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. And I will show you faithfully what manner I used when I taught.

Then suddenly with a loud voice, the accuser cried,

“You heretic, runagate,<sup>515</sup> traitor, and thief, it was not lawful for you to preach. You have taken the power into your own hand, without any authority from the church. We thought that you have been a preacher too long.”

Then the whole congregation of the prelates, with their accomplices, exclaimed,

“If we give him license to preach, he is so crafty, and so exercised in the holy Scripture, that he will persuade the people to his opinion, and raise them against us.”

Master George seeing their malicious and wicked intention, appealed from the lord cardinal to the lord governor, as to an indifferent and equal judge. The accuser, John Lauder, responded, “Is not my lord cardinal the second person within this realm: chancellor of Scotland, archbishop of St. Andrews, bishop of Meropois, commendator of Aberbrothwick, *legatus natus, legatus a latere?*<sup>516</sup> And so reciting a long list of titles, he asked, “Is not my lord cardinal an equal judge? Who else would you desire to be your judge?”

To whom this humble man answered, “I do not refuse my lord cardinal; but I desire the word of God to be my judge, and the temporal estate, with some of your lordships as my auditors, because I am my lord governor’s prisoner here.” Whereupon the proud and scornful people who stood by mocked him, saying, “Such a man, such a judge! Speaking seditious and reproachful words against the governor and others of the nobles, meaning them also to be heretics.” Without delay and without further process, they would have sentenced Master George, had not certain men counselled the cardinal to read the articles, and to hear his answers, so that the people might not complain of his condemnation.

The following were the articles, with his answers, as far as they would give him leave to speak. For when he intended to answer their charges, and show his doctrine, they stopped his mouth with another article.

1. “You false heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief, deceiver of the people, you despise the holy church, and in it disdain my lord governor’s authority. And this we know for surety, that when

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<sup>515</sup> *Runagate*: a person who abandons or renounces a religious belief or cause; a renegade.

<sup>516</sup> A *legatus natus* is a bishop who holds the title of legate by virtue of his office, rather than being individually appointed. On the other hand, a *legatus a latere* is a legate sent from the Pope’s side, typically a cardinal who represents the Pope on a special assignment with specific powers delegated to him. This type of legate has full plenipotentiary powers and is considered the Pope’s alter ego.



you preached in Dundee, and were charged by my lord governor's authority to desist, nevertheless you would not obey, but persevered in the same; and therefore, the bishop of Brechin cursed you, and delivered you into the devil's hands, and commanded that you should preach no more. That notwithstanding, you continued obstinately.”

“My lords, I have read in the Acts of the Apostles, that it is not lawful to desist from the preaching of the gospel for the threats and menaces of men. Therefore it is written, ‘We ought to obey God rather than men.’ (Act 5.29) I have also read in the prophet Malachi, ‘I will even send a curse upon you, and I will curse your blessings’ (Mal 2.2), believing firmly that the Lord will turn your cursings into blessings.”

2. “You false heretic said that the priest standing at the altar saying mass, was like a fox wagging his tail.”

“My lords, I did not say so; these were my sayings: The moving of the body outward, without the inward moving of the heart, is nothing else but the playing of an ape, and not the true serving of God. For God is a searcher of men's hearts; therefore whoever would truly adore and honor God, must honor Him in spirit and truth.”

3. “You false heretic preached against the sacraments, saying that there were not seven sacraments.”

“My lords, if it is your pleasures, I never taught about the number of the sacraments, whether they were seven or eleven. So many as are instituted by Christ are shown to us by the gospel. I profess them openly; and unless it is the word of God, I dare affirm nothing.”

4. “You false heretic have openly taught that auricular confession is not a blessed sacrament. And you say that we should only confess to God, and to no priest.”

“My lords, I say that auricular confession, seeing that it has no promise of the gospel, cannot be a sacrament. Of the confession to be made to God, there are many testimonies in Scripture, as when David says, ‘I acknowledged my sin to you, and my iniquity I have not hidden. I said I will confess my transgressions to the Lord; and you forgave the iniquity of my sin.’ (Psa 32.5) Here confession signifies the secret knowledge of our sins before God. When I exhorted the people in this manner, I reprov'd no manner of confession. And further, St. James says, ‘Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed.’” (Jas 5.16)

When he had said these words, the bishops and their accomplices cried out, and gnashed their teeth, saying, “Do you not see what colors he has in his speaking, so that he may beguile us, and seduce us to his opinion?”

5. “You heretic openly said, that it was necessary for every man to know and understand his baptism, and what it was, contrary to general councils, and the estate of the holy church.”

“My lords, I believe there are none so unwise here, that they will make merchandise with a Frenchman, or any other unknown stranger, unless he first knows and understands the condition or promise made by the Frenchman or stranger. So likewise, I would that we understood what we promise to God, in the name of the infant in baptism. For this reason I believe you have confirmation.”

Then Master Bleiter, chaplain, said that Master George had the devil within him, and the spirit of error. A child answered him, saying, “The devil cannot speak such words as yonder man speaks.”

6. “You heretic, traitor, thief, you said that the sacrament of the altar was but a piece of bread baked upon the ashes, and nothing else; and all that is done there, is but a superstitious rite against the commandment of God.”

“Oh Lord God! The Scripture does not teach you such manifest lies and blasphemies. As concerning the sacrament of the altar, my lords, I never taught anything against the Scriptures, which I will by God’s grace make manifest this day; being ready to suffer death for it.

“The lawful use of the sacrament is most acceptable to God; but the great abuse of it is very detestable to Him. But what occasion do they have to say such words about me, I will show your lordships. I once chanced to meet with a Jew when I was sailing on the Rhine. I inquired of him what was the cause of his pertinacity, that he did not believe that the true Messiah had come, considering that they had seen all the prophecies which were spoken of him fulfilled? Moreover, the prophecies are taken away, and the scepter of Judah, and by many other testimonies of the Scripture I proved to him that Messiah had come, whom they called Jesus of Nazareth. This Jew replied, ‘When Messiah comes, he shall restore all things, and not abrogate the law which was given to our forefathers, as you do. Why do I say this? We see the poor almost perish through hunger among you; yet you are not moved with pity toward them; but among us Jews (though we are poor), there are no beggars found.

[625] A.D. 1540-1547.

Secondly: it is forbidden by the law to feign any kind of imagery of things in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the sea under the earth, but one God alone is to be honored, Yet your sanctuaries and churches are full of idols. Thirdly: a piece of bread baked upon the ashes, you adore and worship and say that it is your God.’ I have recited here but the sayings of the Jew, which I never affirmed to be true.”

Then the bishops shook their heads, and spit on the earth.

7. “You false heretic said, that extreme unction was not a sacrament.”

“My lords, I never taught anything about extreme unction in my doctrine, whether it was a sacrament or not.”

8. “You false heretic said, that holy water is not as good as washing, and such things. You condemned conjuring, and said that holy church’s cursings avail nothing.”

“My lords, as for holy water, I taught nothing about it in my doctrine. Conjurings and exorcisms, if they were conformable to the word of God, I would commend them; but as they are not conformable to the commandment and word of God, I reprove them.”

9. “You false heretic and runagate have said, that every layman is a priest, and such-like. You said that the pope has no more power than any other man.”

“My lords, I taught nothing but the word of God. I remember that I have read in some places in St. John and St. Peter, of whom one says, ‘And has made us kings and priests.’ (Rev 1.6) The other says, ‘But you are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood.’ (1Pet 2.9) Therefore I have affirmed, that any man being skillful in the word of God, and the true faith of Jesus Christ, has this power from God, not by the power or violence of men, but by virtue of the word of God, which word is called, ‘The power of God,’ (Rom 1.16) as St. Paul witnesses evidently enough. And again I say, that any unlearned man, not exercised in the word of God, nor yet constant in his faith, whatever estate or order he is of, I say, he has no power to

bind or loose, seeing that he lacks the instrument by which he binds or looses, that is to say, the word of God.”

After he had said these words, all the bishops laughed, and mocked him. When he beheld their laughing, “You laugh my lords?” Though these sayings appear scornful and worthy of derision to your lordships, nevertheless they are very weighty to me, and of great value, because they concern not only myself, but also the honor and glory of God.” In the meantime, many godly men beholding the great cruelty of the bishops, and the invincible patience of Master George, greatly mourned and lamented.

10. “You false heretic said, that a man has no free will, but is like the Stoics, who say that it is not in man’s will to do anything; but that all concupiscence and desire comes by God, whatever kind it is.”

“My lords, I did not say so, truly. I say that as many as believe in Christ firmly, to them is given liberty, conformable to the saying of St. John, ‘If the Son, therefore, makes you free, you shall be free indeed.’ (Joh 8.36). On the contrary, as many as do not believe in Christ Jesus, are bond-servants of sin. \*Whoever commits sin is the servant of sin.” (Joh 8.34)

11. “You false heretic said, it is as lawful to eat flesh on Friday, as on Sundays.”

“I have read in the epistles of St. Paul, that whoever is clean, to him all things are clean. On the contrary, to the filthy man all things are unclean. A faithful man, clean and holy, sanctifies by the word, the creature of God. But the creature makes no man acceptable to God. So that a creature may not sanctify any impure and unfaithful man. But to the faithful man all things are ‘sanctified by the word of God and prayer.’” (1Tim 4.5)

After these sayings of Master George, then all the bishops with their accomplices said, “Why do we need any witness against him? Has he not openly spoken blasphemy here?”

12. “You false heretic said that we should not pray to saints, but to God only. Say whether you have said this, or not; speak shortly.”

For the weakness and infirmity of the hearers he said, without doubt plainly, that saints should not be honored. “My lord,” he said, “there are two things worthy of note. The one is certain; the other uncertain. It is found plainly and certain in Scripture, that we should worship and honor one God, according to the saying of the first commandment, ‘You shall worship the Lord your God, and him only shall you serve.’ (Mat 4.10) But as for praying to and honoring of saints, there is great doubt among many whether or not they hear invocations made to them. Therefore I exhorted all men equally in my doctrine, that they should leave the unsure way, and follow that way which was taught by our Master Christ. He is our only Mediator, and he makes intercession for us to God his Father. He is the door by which we must enter in. Whoever does not enter in by this door, but climbs up another way, is a thief and a murderer. He is the Truth and the Life. Whoever goes out of this way, there is no doubt but he shall fall into the mire; yes, truly, has fallen into it already. This is my doctrine, which I have ever followed. Truly, that which I have heard and read in the word of God I taught openly, and not in corners. And now you will witness the same, if your lordships will hear me. Unless it stands by the word of God, I dare not be so bold as to affirm anything.”

13. “You false heretic have preached plainly, saying, that there is no purgatory; and that it is a feigned thing, that any man after this life can be punished in purgatory.”

“My lords, as I have oftentimes said before, without witness and testimony of the Scriptures I dare affirm nothing. I have oftentimes read over the Bible, and yet I never found such a

term, nor yet any place of Scripture applicable to it. Therefore I was ashamed to teach that which I could not find in the Scriptures.”

Then he said to Master John Lauder,” his accuser, “If you have any testimony of the Scriptures by which you may prove any such place, show it now before this auditory.” But his accuser did not have a word to say for himself; he was as dumb as a beetle in that matter.

14. “You false heretic have taught plainly against the vows of monks, friars, nuns, and priests; saying that whoever was bound to such vows, they vowed, themselves to the estate of damnation. Moreover, that it was lawful for priests to marry wives, and not to live single.”

“My lords, I have read in the gospel, that as many as do not have the gift of chastity, nor have overcome the concupiscence of the flesh, nor have vowed chastity, should marry. You have experience, though I would hold my peace, of what inconvenience they have vowed themselves.”

When he had said these words, they were all dumb, thinking it better to have ten concubines, than one married wife.

15. “You false heretic and runagate said, you will not obey our general or provincial councils.”

“My lords, what your general councils are I do not know. I was never exercised in them; but I gave my labors to the pure word of God. Read here your general council, or else give me a book in which they are contained, that I may read them. If they agree with the word of God, I will not disagree.”

Then the ravening wolves said, “Why let him speak any further? Read the rest of the articles, and do not stay upon them.”

Among these cruel tigers there was one false hypocrite, a seducer of the people, called John Graifind Scot, standing behind John Lauder, hastening him to read the rest of the articles, and not to tarry upon Master George’s godly answers. “For we may not listen to them,” he said, “any more than the devil may abide the sign of the cross.”

16. “You heretic said, that it is in vain to build costly churches to the honor of God, seeing that God does not remain in the churches made with men’s hands, nor can God be in so little a space as between the priest’s hands.”

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“My lords, Solomon says, ‘Behold, the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain you; how much less this house that I have built?’ (1Kng 8.27) And Job consents to the same sentence: ‘Can you by searching find out God? Can you find out the Almighty to perfection? It is high as heaven; what can you do? deeper than hell; what can you know? Its measure is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea.’ (Job 11.7-9) So that God cannot be comprehended in one place, because he is infinite. Notwithstanding these sayings, I never said that churches should be destroyed; but on the contrary I ever affirm that churches should be sustained and upheld; that the people should be congregated into them, there to hear of God. And moreover, wherever there is true preaching of the word of God, and the lawful use of the sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himself. So that both these sayings are true together: God cannot be comprehended in any place; and yet, wherever two or three are gathered together in his name, there He is present in the midst of them.” <sup>Mat 18.20</sup>

Then he said to his accuser, “If you think anything otherwise than I say, show your reasons before this auditory.” Then being dumb and without all reason, and not answering one word, his accuser proceeded forward in his articles.

17. "You false heretic despise fasting, and said you should not fast."

"My lord, I find that fasting is commended in the Scripture; therefore I would be a slanderer of the gospel if I despised fasting. And not only so, but I have learned by experience, that fasting is good for the health of the body. But God knows who fasts the true fast."

18. "You false heretic have preached openly, saying that the soul of man shall sleep till the latter day of judgment, and shall not obtain immortal life until that day."

"God, full of mercy and goodness, forgive those who say such things of me: I know surely by the word of God, that whoever has begun to have the faith of Jesus Christ, and believes firmly in him, I know surely that the soul of that man shall never sleep, but shall live an immortal life. This life from day to day is renewed in grace and augmented; nor yet shall it ever perish or have an end, but shall ever live immortal with Christ. All who believe in Him shall come to this life, and rest in eternal glory. Amen."

When the bishops with their accomplices had accused this innocent man in this manner, they condemned him to be burnt as a heretic, having no regard to his godly answers and true reasons, nor yet to their own consciences, thinking truly that they do good sacrifice to God, conformable to the saying in St. John, "They shall put you out of the synagogues: yes, the time comes, that whoever kills you will think that he does God service." Joh 16.2.

*The Prayer of Master George Wishart.*

"O immortal God, how long will you suffer the great cruelty of the ungodly to exercise their fury upon your servants who further Your word in this world, seeing that they desire to be contrary, that is, to choke and destroy the true doctrine and verity by which you have shown Yourself to the world, which was all drowned in blindness and ignorance of your name. O Lord, we know surely that your true servants must suffer, for your name's sake, persecution, affliction, and troubles in this present life, which is but a shadow, as you have shown to us, by your prophets and apostles. Yet we desire of You heartily, that you keep, defend and help your congregation, which you have chosen before the beginning of the world, and give them your grace to hear these words and to be your true servants in this present life."

Then they caused the common people to depart, whose desire was always to hear that innocent man speak. Then the sons of darkness pronounced their sentence, not having respect to the judgment of God. And when all this was done, the cardinal had his warders pass again with the meek lamb into the castle, until such time as the fire was made ready. When he had come into the castle, two grey fiends came there: friar Scot and his mate, saying, "Sir, you must make your confession to us." He answered and said, "I will make no confession to you. Go fetch me yonder man who preached this day, and I will make my confession to him." Then they sent for the sub-prior of the abbey, who came to him with all diligence, but what he said in this confession, I cannot show.

When the fire was made ready, and the gallows erected, at the west part of the castle near to the priory, the lord cardinal — dreading lest Master George should be taken away by his friends — commanded that all the ordnance of the castle should be turned against that part, and that all his gunners should be ready and stand by their guns. until such time as he was burned. All this being done, they bound Master George's hands behind his back, and led him out from the castle with their soldiers, to the place of execution. As he came out from the castle gate, certain beggars met him there asking him alms for God's sake. He answered them, "I lack my hands with which I might give you alms, but the merciful Lord, of his benignity and abundance of grace, grants to give you necessities both for your bodies and souls." Then afterward two false fiends met him (I should say, friars) saying, "Master

George, pray to our Lady, that she may be mediatrix for you to her Son." He answered them meekly, "Cease, do not tempt me, my brethren." After this he was led to the fire with a rope about his neck, and a chain of iron about his middle.

When he came to the fire, he went down upon his knees and rose again, and three times he said these words, "O you Savior of the world, have mercy on me! Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into your holy hands." When he had made this prayer, he turned to the people and said these words:

"I beseech you, Christian brethren and sisters, that you not be offended in the word of God for the affliction and torments which you see already prepared for me. But I exhort you, that you love the word of God, and suffer patiently and with a comfortable heart for the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation, and everlasting comfort.

"Moreover, I pray that you show my brethren and sisters, who have heard me often before, that they do not cease, nor depart from the word of God which I taught them according to the grace given to me, for any persecutions or troubles in this world, which do not last. And show them that my doctrine was no old wife's fables following the constitutions made by men. If I had taught men's doctrine, I would have gotten great thanks by men. But for the world's sake and true gospel, which was given to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent: that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake. Consider, and behold my visage. You shall not see me change my color. I do not fear this grim fire. And so I pray you to do likewise, if any persecution comes to you for the word's sake, and not to fear those who slay the body, and afterward have no power to slay the soul. Some have said of me, that I taught that the soul of man sleeps until the last day. But I know surely, and my faith is such, that my soul shall sup with my Savior Christ this night, before it is six hours."

Then he prayed for those who accused him, saying,

"I beseech you, Father of heaven, to forgive those who have, from any ignorance, or from any evil mind, forged any lies against me; I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive those who have condemned me to death this day ignorantly."

And last of all he spoke to the people in this manner;

"I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to learn the word of God, so that they at last may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good. And if they will not convert themselves from their wicked errors, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not escape."

[627] A.D. 1540—1547.

He said many faithful words in the meantime, taking no heed or care of the cruel torments, which were then prepared for him.

And at last the hangman, who was his tormentor, sat down upon his knees, and said; "Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death." To whom he answered, "Come here to me." When he had come to him, he kissed his cheek, and said, "Behold, here is a token that I forgive you. Do your office." By and by he was put upon the gallows and hanged, and there he was burnt to powder. When the people beheld the great torment, they could not withhold from piteous mourning and complaining of this innocent lamb's slaughter.

*The Martyrdom of Adam Wallace.*

On a platform erected at the Black friars' church in Edinburgh, there was the lord governor: behind him sat Master Gawin Hamilton, dean of Glasgow, representing the metropolitan

pastor. On a seat at his right hand sat the archbishop of St. Andrews. At his back stood the official of Lothian. Next to the archbishop of St. Andrews, sat the bishop of Dunblane, the bishop of Murray, the abbot of Dunfermline, the abbot of Glenluce, with other churchmen of that city. And at the other end of the seat sat Master Ouchiltrie: at his left hand sat the earl of Argyle, justice, with his deputy Sir John Campbell of Lundie. Next to him, the earl of Huntly. Then the earl of Angus, the bishop of Galloway, the prior of St. Andrews, the bishop of Orkney, the lord Forbes, dean John Winryme, sub-prior of St. Andrews. And behind the seats stood the whole senate, the clerk of the register, etc.

At the farther end of the chancel wall, in the pulpit, was placed Master John Lauder, parson of Marbottle, the accuser, clad in a surplice and red hood. And a great congregation of the people in the body of the church, were standing on the ground.

After that, Adam Wallace was brought in, a simple poor man in appearance. He was commanded to look to the accuser, who asked him what was his name. He answered, "Adam Wallace." The accuser said he had another name, which he granted, and said he was commonly called Feane. Then he asked where he was born. "Within two miles of Fayle," he said, "in Kyle." Then the accuser said, "I am sorry that such a poor man as you should put these noble lords to such great inconvenience this day by your vain speaking."

"And I must speak," Wallace said, "as God gives me grace, and I believe I have said no evil to hurt anybody."

"Would to God," said the accuser, "that you had never spoken. But you are brought forth for such horrible crimes of heresies, as were never imagined nor heard of in this country before, which shall be sufficiently proved, so that you cannot deny it."

"Adam Wallace, alias Feane: you are openly accused for preaching, saying, and teaching the blasphemies and abominable heresies under-written. First, you have said and taught that the bread and wine on the altar, after the words of consecration, are not the body and blood of Jesus Christ."

Wallace turned to the lord governor, and lords mentioned, saying; "I never said, nor taught anything but what I found in this book (having there a Bible at his belt in French, Dutch, and English) which is the word of God. And if you will be content that the Lord God and his word will be my judge as to where I have said wrong, I will take that punishment which you will put upon me. For I never said anything concerning what I am accused of, but that which I found in this book."

"What did you say?" asked the accuser. "I said, he answered, "that after our Lord Jesus Christ had eaten the paschal lamb in his last supper with his apostles, and fulfilled the ceremonies of the old law, he instituted a new sacrament in remembrance of his death then to come. And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and broke it, and gave it to his disciples, and said. Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying. Drink you all of it: for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." Mat 26.26-28. And in St. Luke it is added, "Do this in remembrance of me." Luk 22.19.

Then the bishop of St. Andrews, and the official of Lothian, with the dean of Glasgow, and many other prelates, all said "We know this well enough." The Earl of Huntly said, "You did not answer to that which is laid to you; say either no or yes to it." Wallace answered, "If you will admit God and his word spoken by the mouth of his blessed Son Jesus Christ our Lord and Savior, you will admit that which I have said; for I have said and taught nothing but

what the Word says, which is the test and touchstone, and which ought to be the judge, to me and to all the world.”

“Why,” said the Earl of Huntly, “Do you not have a judge good enough? And do you think that we do not know God and his word? Answer to that which is spoken to you.” And then they made the accuser say the same thing over again. “You say,” said the accuser, “and have taught, that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration, are not the body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ.”

He answered, “I never said more than the written word says. For I know well by St. Paul when he says, ‘Therefore, whoever eats this bread and drinks this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. For whoever eats and drinks unworthily, eats and drinks damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord’s body.’ And therefore when I taught, which was but seldom, and only to those who requested and desired me to, I said that, ‘If the sacrament of the altar were truly administered, and used as the Son of the living God instituted it, wherever that was done, there was God himself by his divine power.’”

The bishop of Orkney asked him, “Do you not believe that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, is the very body of God, flesh, blood, and bone?”

He answered, “I do not know what that word *consecration* means. I do not have much Latin, but I believe that the Son of God was conceived of the Holy Spirit, and born of the Virgin Mary, and has a natural body, with hands, feet, and other members, and in the same body he walked up and down in the world, preached and taught. He suffered death under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and that by his godly power he raised that same body again the third day; and the same body ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father, who shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead. And that this body is a natural body, with hands and feet, and cannot be in two places at once, he shows well himself. For which everlasting thanks be to Him who makes this matter clear. When the woman broke that ointment on him, answering some of his disciples who resented it, he said, ‘The poor you always have with you, but me you do not always have,’ meaning his natural body. And likewise at his ascension he said to the same disciples who were fleshly, and would have had him ever remain with them corporally, ‘It is needful for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter (the Holy Spirit) will not come to you,’ meaning that his natural body must be taken away from them. ‘But be of good cheer; for I am with you always, until the end of the world.’

“And that the eating of his very flesh does not profit. may be well known by his words which he spoke in St. John, where after he said, ‘Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you;’ they murmured at it. And he reproveth them for their gross and fleshly taking of his words, and he said, ‘What then if you were to see the Son of Man ascend up where he was before? It is the Spirit that quickens; the flesh profits nothing,’ to be eaten as they took it, and even so take you it.” (Joh 6.53-63)

“It is a horrible heresy,” said the bishop of Orkney.

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Then Wallace was bid to hear the accuser, who propounded the second article, and said, “You said likewise, and openly taught, that the mass is very idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God.”



“Wallace answered and said, “I have read the word of God in three tongues, and have understood them so far as God gave me grace, and yet I never read that word *mass* in any of it. But I found that the thing that was highest and most in estimation among men, and not in the word of God, was idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. And I say that the mass is held in great estimation among men and is not founded on the Word. There, I said it was idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. But if any man will find it in the Scripture, and prove it by God’s word, I will acknowledge my error, and will submit to all lawful correction and punishment.”

“Go to the third article,” said the archbishop. Then the accuser said, “You have openly taught that the God whom we worship is but bread, sown of corn, grown from the earth, baked by men’s hands, and nothing else.”

He answered, “I worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, three Persons in one Godhead, who made and fashioned the heaven and earth, and all that is in them. But I do not know what God you worship; and if you will show me whom you worship, I will show you what he is, as I can by my judgment.”

“Do you not believe,” asked the accuser, “that the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration between the priest’s hands, is the very body and blood of the Son of God, and God himself?” “What the body of God is,” he said, “and what kind of body he has, I have shown you so far as I have found it declared in the Scriptures.”

Then the accuser said, “You have preached, and openly taught other great errors and abominable heresy against all seven sacraments, which for shortness of time I omit and pass over. Do you admit the articles that you are accused of or not?” And then the accuser repeated the above three articles, and asked Wallace whether he granted or denied them?

Wallace answered as he did before, that he had said nothing but what agreed with the holy word as he understood it. So God judge him, and his own conscience accuse him; and he would abide by that till the time he was better instructed by the Scriptures, even to the death. And he said to the lord governor and other lords, “If you condemn me for holding by God’s word, my innocent blood shall be required at your hands when you are brought before the judgment-seat of Christ, who is mighty to defend my innocent cause, before whom you shall not deny it. Nor yet will you be able to resist his wrath; to whom I refer the vengeance. As it is written, ‘Vengeance is mine, I will repay, says the Lord.’” Rom 12.19

Then they passed sentence, and condemned him, and left him to the secular power in the hands of Sir John Campbell, justice deputy, who delivered him to the provost of Edinburgh to be burned on the Castle-hill. He was put in prison with irons about his legs and neck, and given in charge to Sir Hugh Terry, to keep the key. He was an ignorant minister, and a ready servant of Satan and of the bishops. By direction, he sent two Grey friars to the poor man to instruct him, with whom he would not enter into any communication. Soon after, two Black friars, an English friar, and another subtle sophist were sent to him. Wallace would have reasoned and declared his faith by the Scriptures with the English friar. But he answered that he had no commission to enter into disputation with him, and so he departed.

Then a worldly-wise man was sent to him, though ungodly in the understanding of the truth. This was the dean of Roscalrige, who gave him Christian consolation. He exhorted Wallace to believe the reality of the sacrament after the consecration; but he would consent to nothing that did not have evidence in the holy Scriptures, and so he passed that night in singing and praising God to the tears of many hearers, having learned the psalter of David without a book. For they had previously spoiled him of his bible which, till after he was

condemned, was always with him wherever he went. After Sir Hugh knew that he had certain books to read and comfort his spirit, he came in a rage, and took them from him, leaving him destitute of consolation. And he gave ungodly and injurious provocations, in order to pervert the poor man from the patience and hope he had in Christ his Savior. But God did not allow him to be moved.

Thus this godly man abode in irons all night and all the next morning, when provision was commanded to be made for his burning the next day. That day the lord governor, and all the principals, both spiritual and temporal lords, departed from Edinburgh to their other business.

After they were departed, the dean of Roscalrige came to him again, and reasoned with him. But Wallace answered as before, that he would say nothing concerning his faith, except as the Scripture testifies — yes, even if an angel came from heaven to persuade him to it. But he confessed to have received good consolation from this dean in other respects, as becomes a Christian.

Then Sir Hugh Terry came in again, and examined him, and said that he would make devils come out of him before evening. He answered, “You should rather be a godly man to give me consolation in my case. When I knew you had come, I prayed God that I might resist your temptations, which I thank him, He has made me able to do. Therefore I pray you, let me alone in peace.” Then Wallace asked of one of the officers who stood by, “Is your fire-making ready?” When he was told it was, he answered, “As it pleases God, I am ready sooner or later as it shall please Him.” And then he spoke to a faithful one in that company, and asked him to commend him to all the faithful, being sure to meet together with them in heaven. From that time to his coming to the fire, no man spoke with him.

When he was brought out of prison, the provost, with great menacing words, forbade him to speak to any man, or any man to him. Coming from the town to the castle hill, the common people said, “God have mercy upon him.” “And on you too,” he said. Being beside the fire, he lifted up his eyes to heaven two or three times, and said to the people, “Let it not offend you that I suffer death this day for the truth’s sake; for the disciple is not greater than his master.” The provost was angry that he spoke. Then Wallace looked to heaven again, and said, “They will not let me speak.” The cord being about his neck, the fire was lit, and so he departed to God with great constancy.

*The Schism that arose in Scotland about the Paternoster.*

After **Richard Marshall**, doctor of divinity, and prior of the Black friars at Newcastle, in England, had declared in his preaching at St. Andrews, in Scotland, that the Lord’s Prayer (commonly called the Paternoster) should be said only to God, and not to saints, or to any other creature. The doctors of the university of St. Andrews, together with the Grey friars, who had long ago taught the people to pray the Paternoster to saints, had great indignation that their old doctrine should be opposed. They stirred up a Grey friar named Friar Toittis, to preach again to the people, that they should and might pray the Paternoster (or our Lord’s Prayer) to saints. Finding no part of the Scriptures to found his purpose upon, he yet came to the pulpit on the first of November, being the feast of Allhallows (A.D. 1551), and took the text from the gospel that day read in their mass, in the fifth of Matthew, containing these words: “Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.”

This feeble foundation being laid, the friar began to reason most impertinently, that the Lord’s Prayer might be offered to saints, because every petition pertains to them.

“For if we meet an old man in the street,” he said, “we will say to him, ‘Good day, father,’ and therefore much more may we call the saints our *fathers*. And because we also grant that they are in heaven, so we may say to every one of them, ‘Our Father which is in heaven.’

[629] A.D. 1540-1547

“Our Father, God, has made their names holy, and therefore we, as followers of God, should hold their names holy, and so we may say to any of the saints, ‘Our Father which is in heaven, hallowed be your name.’ And for the same cause,” said the friar, “as they are in the kingdom of heaven, so that kingdom is theirs by possession. And so praying for the kingdom of heaven, we may say to them, and every one of them, ‘Your kingdom come.’ And unless their will had been the very will of God, they would never come to that kingdom; therefore seeing that their will is God’s will, we may say to every one of them, ‘Your will be done.’”

But when the friar came to the fourth petition, regarding our daily bread, he began to be astonished and ashamed, so that he sweat abundantly; partly because his sophistry began to fail him, not finding such a color for that part, as for the other which went before it; and partly because he spoke against his own knowledge and conscience. And so he was compelled to confess that it was not in the saints’ power to give us our daily bread, but that they should pray to God for us, he said, that we may obtain our daily bread by their intercession. And so he commented on the rest of the prayer to the end. Not yet content with this detestable doctrine, he affirmed most blasphemously, that St. Paul’s napkin, and St. Peter’s shadow did miracles, and that the virtue of Elijah’s cloak divided the waters, attributing nothing to the power of God — with many other errors of the papists, horrible to be heard.

Upon this, followed a dangerous schism in the church of Scotland, not only as to the clergy, but the whole people were divided among themselves, one defending the truth, and another the papistry. So that there arose a proverb: “To whom do you say your Paternoster?” And although the papists had the upper hand then (so great was the blindness of that age), yet God so inspired the hearts of the common people, that whoever could understand the bare words of the Lord’s Prayer in English (which was then said in Latin), utterly detested that opinion, holding that it should in no way be said to saints. So that the tradesmen and others, when the friar came among them, put him to great shame, crying “Friar Paternoster! Friar Paternoster!” At last, being convicted in his own conscience, and ashamed of his former sermon, he was compelled to leave the town of St. Andrews.

At length the Christians were so offended, and the papists, on the other side, were so proud and willful, that it was necessary for the clergy at last be assembled to dispute and conclude the whole matter, so that the laypeople might be put out of doubt. This being done, and the university agreed, there ensued much subtle sophistry. For some of the popish doctors affirmed that it should be said to God *formalitèr*, and to saints *materialitèr*; others *ultimatè et non ultimatè*; Others said it should be said to God *principalitèr*, and to saints *minus principalitèr*. Others that it should be said to God *primariè*, and to saints *secondariè*. Others that it should be said to God *capiendo strictè*, and to saints *capiendo largè*. These vain distinctions being heard and considered by the people, those who were simple remained in greater doubt than they were before; so that a well-aged man, and a servant to the subprior of St. Andrews, who was called the subprior’s Thome, being asked to whom he said his Paternoster; he answered, “To God only.” Then they asked him again what should be said to the saints; he answered, “Give them plenty of aves and creeds, for that will suffice them well enough, although they spoil God of his right.” Others said that because Christ,

who made the Paternoster, never came into the isle of Britain, and so did not understand the English language, the doctors concluded that it should therefore be said in Latin.

This trouble and open slander still continuing, it was thought good to call a provincial council to decide the matter. This council being assembled at Edinburgh, the papists, being destitute of reason, defended their parts with lies, alleging that the university of Paris had concluded that the Lord's Prayer should be said to the saints. But as that could not be proved, and they could not prevail by reason, they used their will instead. Friar Scot, being asked to whom he should say the Paternoster, answered: "Say it to the devil." So the council, perceiving they could profit nothing by reasoning, were compelled to omit voting.

But then those who were called churchmen were found divided among themselves. For some bishops, with the doctors and friars, consented that the Paternoster should be said to the saints. But the bishops of St. Andrews, Caithness, and Atheins, with other learned men, refused to subscribe to it. Finally, with the consent of both parties, commission was given by the holy church to Dean John Winrame, then subprior of St. Andrews, to declare to the people how and in what manner they should pray the Lord's Prayer. Accepting the commission, he declared that it should be said to God, with some other restrictions which are not necessary to relate. And so, little by little, the tumult ceased.

*The Martyrdom of Walter Mille.*

Among the rest of the martyrs of Scotland, the constancy of Walter Mille is not to be passed over with silence. Out of his ashes sprang thousands of the same opinion and religion in Scotland, who altogether chose to die rather than be trodden upon any longer by the tyranny of the cruel and ignorant bishops, abbots, monks and friars. And so the church of Scotland began to debate the true religion of Christ against the Frenchmen and papists; for the controversy ensued soon after the martyrdom of Walter Mille.

In the year 1558, in the time of Mary, queen regent of Scotland, and John Hamilton being bishop of St. Andrews, and primate of Scotland, this Walter Mille (who in his youth had been a papist) after he had been in Germany, and heard the doctrine of the gospel, returned again to Scotland. Setting aside all papistry and constrained celibacy, he married a wife, which brought him under the suspicion of the bishops of Scotland for heresy. After long watching for him, he was taken by two popish priests, and brought to St. Andrews, and imprisoned in the castle. When in prison, the papists earnestly labored to seduce him, and threatened him with death and torments, to cause him to recant and forsake the truth. But seeing that he remained firm and constant, they labored to persuade him by fair promises. They offered him a monk's portion for all the days of his life, in the abbey of Dunfermline, if he would deny the things he had taught, and grant that they were heresy. But continuing in the truth even to the end, he despised their threatenings and fair promises.

Then the bishops assembled together from St. Andrews, Murray, Brechin, Caithness, and Atheins, the abbots of Dunfermline, Landors, Balindrinot, and Towpers, with the doctors of theology of St. Andrews, such as John Greson, Black friar, and John Winrame, subprior of St. Andrews, William Cranston, provost of the Old College, with diverse other friars, Black and Grey. These being assembled, and having consulted together, Walter was taken out of prison, and brought to the metropolitan church, where he was put in a pulpit before the bishops, on the 20th of April. Being brought into the church, and climbing up into the pulpit, he appeared so weak and feeble of person, partly by age, and partly by ill treatment, that he could not climb up without help. Then they gave up the hope of hearing him, for the weakness of his voice. But when he began to speak, he made the church ring and sound

again, with such great courage and stoutness, that the Christians who were present were no less rejoiced than the adversaries were confounded and ashamed. Being in the pulpit, and on his knees at prayer, Andrew Oliphant, one of the bishops' priests, commanded him to arise, and to answer to his articles, saying, "Walter Mille, arise and answer to the articles, for you delay my lord here too long." Walter, after he had finished his prayer, answered saying, "We ought to obey God rather than man; I serve one more mighty, even the Omnipotent Lord. Now say what you have to say."

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Oliphant. — "What do you think of priests' marriage?"

Mille. — "I hold it a blessed bond; for Christ himself maintained it, and approved the same, and also made it free to all men. But you think it is not free to you; you abhor it, and in the meantime you take other men's wives and daughters, and will not keep the bond that God has made. You vow chastity, and break it. St. Paul would rather marry than burn; which I have done, for God never forbade marriage to any man, of whatever state or degree he was."

Oliphant. — "You say there are not seven sacraments."

Mille. — "Give me the Lord's supper and baptism, and you take the rest, and divide them among you. For if there are seven, why have you omitted one of them — to wit, marriage — and given yourselves to ungodly immoralities?"

Oliphant. — "You are against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and say that the mass is wrong, and is idolatry."

Mille. — "A lord or a king sends and calls many to a dinner; and when the dinner is in readiness, he causes a bell to be rung, and the men come to the hall, and sit down to be partakers of the dinner. But the lord, turning his back to them, eats it all himself, and mocks them. So do you."

Oliphant. — "You deny the sacrament of the altar to be the very body of Christ really in flesh and blood."

Mille. — "The Scripture of God is not to be taken carnally, but spiritually; and stands in faith alone. And as for the mass, it is wrong, for Christ was offered once on the cross for man's trespass, and will never be offered again, for then he ended all sacrifice."

Oliphant. — "You deny the office of a bishop."

Mille. — "I affirm that those whom you call bishops. do no bishops' works, nor use the office of bishops (as St. Paul bids, in writing to Timothy), but they live after their own sensual pleasure, and take no care of the flock. Nor yet do they regard the word of God, but desire to be honored and called 'My lords.'"

Oliphant. — "You spoke against pilgrimage."

Mille. — "I affirm and say that it is not commanded in the Scripture, and that there is no greater immorality committed in any place, than at your pilgrimages."

Oliphant. — "You preached secretly and privately in houses, and openly in the fields."

Mille. — "Yes, man, and on the sea also, sailing on a ship."

Oliphant. — "Wilt you not recant your erroneous opinions? And if you will not, I will pronounce sentence against you."

Mille. — “I am accused of my life. I know I must die once, and therefore as Christ said to Judas, what you do, do quickly. You shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn, I am not chaff. I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail; but I will abide both.”

Then Andrew Oliphant pronounced sentence against him, that he should be delivered to the temporal judge, and punished as a heretic, which punishment was to be burnt. His boldness and constancy so moved the hearts of many, that the bishop’s steward of his regality, provost of the town, named Patrick Learmont, refused to be his temporal judge, to whom it properly pertained. Also the bishop’s chamberlain, being charged with it, would in no way take upon himself so ungodly an office. Indeed, the whole town was so offended with his unjust condemnation, that the bishop’s servants could not get, even for money, so much as a cord to tie him to the stake, or a tar barrel to burn him; but they were constrained to cut the cords of their master’s own pavilion to serve their turn.

Nevertheless, one servant of the bishop’s, more ignorant and cruel than the rest, called Alexander Simmerwail, acting in the office of a temporal judge, conveyed him to the fire, where his boldness and hardiness more and more increased. So that the Spirit of God, working miraculously in Mille, made it manifest to the people, that his cause and articles were most just, and he was being innocently martyred.

When all things were ready for his death, and he was brought by armed men to the fire, Oliphant asked him to pass to the stake. Walter said, “No, but will you put me up with your hand, and take part in my death? You will see me pass up gladly; for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hands upon myself.” Then Oliphant put him up with his hand, and he ascended gladly, and desired that he might have an opportunity to speak to the people. But Oliphant and others of the burners refused, saying that he had spoken too much, for the bishops were offended that the matter had continued so long. Then some of the young men committed both the burners, and the bishops, their masters, to the devil, saying that they believed they should lament that day, and desired Walter to say what he pleased.

And so after he made his humble supplication to God on his knees, he arose, and standing upon the coals, he said;

“Dear friends, the reason why I suffer this day is not for any crime laid to my charge (although I am a miserable sinner before God), but only for the defense of the faith of Jesus Christ, set forth in the Old and New Testaments. For this, as the faithful martyrs have gladly offered themselves before, being assured of eternal felicity after the death of their bodies, so this day I praise God, that he has called me of His mercy among the rest of his servants, to seal up his truth with my life. As I have received this from him, so I willingly offer it to His glory.

Therefore, if you would escape the eternal death, no longer be seduced with the lies of priests, monks, friars, priors, abbots, bishops, and the rest of the sect of antichrist, but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that you may be delivered from condemnation.”

All the while there was great mourning and lamentation among the multitude; for perceiving his patience, constancy, and hardiness, they were not only moved and stirred up, but their hearts were also so inflamed, that he was the last martyr who died in Scotland for religion. After his prayer, he was hoisted upon the stake, and being in the fire, he said, “Lord have mercy on me! Pray, people, while there is time!” And so he endured his cruel end with constancy.

In the time of the Reformation, in the same place where Walter Mille was burnt, the images in the great church of the abbey were burnt.

And thus much concerning the martyrs who suffered in the realm of Scotland for the faith of Jesus Christ, and the testimony of His truth.

***Persecutions in Kent.***

In looking through the registers of William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, I find others during the time and reign of King Henry, besides those comprehended above. Some of them suffered martyrdom for the testimony of God's word, and some recanted. Although they come a little out of order here, and should have been placed before, at the beginning of King Henry's reign, yet rather than omitting them entirely, I judged it fitting here to give them a place, being no less worthy to be registered and preserved from oblivion, than others before them — especially as they were martyred here in England, before the appearing and preaching of Martin Luther.

The martyrs alluded to are William Carder of Tenterden, weaver; Agnes Grebil of Tenterden; Robert Harrison of Halden; John Brown of Ashford; Edward Walker of Maidstone, a cutler.

*The Articles upon which the above five blessed  
Martyrs were accused and condemned.*

1. For holding that the sacrament of the altar was not the very true body of Christ, but only material bread in substance.
  2. That auricular confession was not to be made to a priest.
  3. That no power is given by God to priests, more than laymen, of ministering sacraments, saying mass, or other Divine service.
- [631] A.D. 1540-1547.
4. That the solemnization of matrimony is not necessary to the salvation of souls, nor was it instituted by God (as a sacrament, they meant.)
  5. That the sacrament of extreme unction is not available or necessary to the soul's salvation.
  6. That the images of the cross, of the crucifix, of the blessed Virgin, and other saints, are not to be worshipped; and that those who worship them commit idolatry.
  7. That pilgrimages to holy places, and holy relics, are not necessary, nor meritorious to the soul's salvation.
  8. That invocation is not to be made to saints, but only to God, and that He alone hears their prayers.
  9. That holy bread and holy water have no more virtue after their consecration than before.
  10. That they have believed, taught, and held all and every one of the same damnable opinions before; as they did at that present time.
  11. That though they have now confessed their errors, they would not have so done except for fear of manifest proofs brought against them; nor would they ever have confessed the same of their own accord.
  12. That they have communed and talked up to now of the said damnable errors with diverse other persons, and have possessed books concerning the same.

*The order and form of Process used against  
these five Martyrs, A.D. 1511.*

**William Carder** was brought before William Warham, archbishop, and his chancellor Cuthbert Tunstall, Doctor Sylvester, Doctor Welles, Clement, Brown, with others, the notaries being William Potking, and David Cowper. The articles and interrogatories above specified were laid to his charge, which he denied. He affirmed that he never did, nor does he hold any such opinion, otherwise than becomes what every Christian man should do, who is ready to conform himself in all points to their doctrine. And therefore to better clear himself against those interrogatories objected against him, he stood in denial of them. The other four martyrs after him did the same.

Notwithstanding all of this, the uncharitable archbishop brought against him such witnesses as were abjured before, whom he knew. For fear of relapse, they dared do no other than to disclose whatever they knew — to wit, Christopher Grebil, William Rich, Agnes Ive, John Grebil, Robert Hills, and Steven Castelin. Their depositions being taken, and Carder being asked what he could say for himself, said he had nothing to produce against their attestations; but submitted himself to their mercy. He added that if he had any disbelief of the sacraments of the church, contrary to the common holding of the catholics, he now was sorry and repented of them. This being done, the archbishop, notwithstanding Carder's submission, and notwithstanding that the register makes no mention of any relapse contrary to law, or at least contrary to all Christian charity, proceeded to the reading of his sentence, and condemned him to be burnt.

After him, **Agnes Grebil** was called and examined on the twelve articles, which she in like manner denied, as the other had done, putting her adversaries to their proof. Then the archbishop called for John Grebil, her husband, and Christopher and John Grebil, her two sons, and caused them upon their oath to depose against their own natural mother!

First, John Grebil, her husband, being examined by virtue of his oath, said what Agnes, his wife, believed about the sacrament of the altar, of going on pilgrimage, offerings, and the worshipping of saints, images, etc., and how long she had held such opinions. He deposed that first, about the end of King Edward IV's days, in his house, by the teaching of John Ive, she was brought to that belief. And so she continued from there, daily, until the time of her detection.

Besides that, he said, "when my children, Christopher and John, being about seven years of age, were then taught by me in my house, the error of the sacrament of the altar, and also by Agnes, my wife, she was always of one mind in her disbelief about the sacrament of the altar, that it was not Christ's body, flesh, and blood, but only bread." Further, being examined how he knew that she was steadfast in this error; he said that she always, without contradiction, affirmed this teaching, and said the opinion was good, and that she was well contented that her children should be of the same opinions against the sacrament of the altar, etc.

The bishop, with his popish doctors, not content with this, in order to set the husband against the wife, proceeded further in their popish zeal and caused her two children, Christopher and John, to be produced, one aged twenty-two, the other nineteen. Against their own mother, being pressed with their oath, they witnessed and said that Agnes, their mother, held, believed, taught, and defended that the sacrament of the altar was but bread, and not the very body of Christ's flesh and blood; that baptism was no better in the fount than out of the fount; that confirmation was of no effect; that the solemnization of



matrimony was no sacrament; that confession to God alone was sufficient; also that going on pilgrimage, and the worshipping of saints and images, was of no effect, etc. That their father, and Agnes, their mother, had held, taught, and communed about these errors within their house for three years past, on holy-days as well as working days, affirming and teaching that these opinions were good and lawful, and to be held and maintained; and agreement was made among them, that none of them should reveal about the others. Finally, that as far as they could remember, they never heard their father and mother holding or teaching any other opinions than the said errors against the sacrament of the altar, and pilgrimages, offerings, worshipping of saints and images, etc.

Here, Christian reader, you have before your eyes a horrible spectacle of impiety: first, of an unnatural husband, witnessing against his own wife; and of just as unnatural children, accusing and witnessing against their own mother. Although they had done so, the cause was of itself just and true; and yet it seems more than nature would have led them to do. Now the case being such that, by God's word, it stands firm, sound, and perfect, what impiety was it for men to accuse a poor woman of heresy, which is not heresy? And yet the greatest impiety of all rests in these papists and popish priests, who were the authors of all this mischief.

The reason why this good woman stood in the denial of these articles was this: that she never thought that her husband and her own children, who alone were privy to her religion, would testify against her. And thus the archbishop, with his doctors, having now gained the end that they sought, even though she was ready to deny all errors, and to conform herself to their religion, yet they proceeded to their sentence, and condemned her to death.

After her condemnation, next was brought to examination **Robert Harrison**. Because he stood in his denial, witnesses were produced against him. After the deposition of these witnesses, although he submitted himself to repentance and conformity, yet it would not be received, but sentence was read, and he was condemned with the other two to the fire.

Thus these three were condemned and burned, and a certificate upon the same was given to the king, from Warham the archbishop (A.D. 1511).

Besides these three godly martyrs, I find in the registers of William Warham two other godly martyrs in the same year, and for the same twelve articles, condemned upon the depositions of certain witnesses. Their names were **John Brown** and **Edward Walker**.

Besides these five blessed saints of God, whom they so cruelly condemned to death by their sentence in the year 1511, we also find in the same registers of William Warham, a great number of others whom for the same doctrine and like articles, they had apprehended and put to open recantation. The names of these persons are given in the following list:

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John Grebil, the elder, of Bcnenden.  
 Christopher Grebil, his son.  
 John Grebil, son of John the Elder, of  
 Benenden  
 W. Olbert, the elder, of Godmersham.  
 Agnes Ive, of Canterbury.  
 Agnes Chytenden, of Canterbury,  
 Thomas Manning, of Benenden.  
 Joan Colyn, of Tenderden.  
 Robert Hills, of Tenterden.

Alice Hills, his wife.  
 Thomas Harwood, of Rolvenden.  
 Joan Harwood, his wife.  
 Philip Harwood,  
 Stephen Castelyn, of Tenterden,  
 W. Baker, of Cranbrook.  
 Margaret Baker, his wife.  
 William Olbert, the younger, of  
 Godmersham.  
 Agnes Reynold, of Cranbrook,

Thomas Field, of Boxley.  
Joan Olbert, wife to W. Olbert, the elder, of  
Godmersham.

Elizabeth White, of Canterbury.  
Thomas Church, of Great Chartre  
Vincent Lynch, of Halden,  
John Rich, of Wittisham.  
Joan Lynch, of Tenterden,  
Thomas Browne, of Cranbrook,  
John Franke, of Tenterden,  
Joyce Bampton, wife of John Bampton, of  
Berstede.

Richard Bampton, of Boxley,

Robert Bright, of Maidstone,  
William Lorkyn, of East Farley.  
John Bannes, of Bosley, 1512,  
John Buckherst, of Staplehurst  
Joan Dodd, wife of John Dodd.  
John Benet, of Staplehurst,  
Rebecca Benet, his wife,  
Joan Lowes, wife of Thomas Lowes, of  
Cranbrook,  
Julian Hills, wife of Robert Hills, of  
Tenterden,  
Robert Franke, of Tenterden.

The articles laid to these abjurers appear in the registers to be the same which were objected to the other five martyrs. By these articles and abjurations we may understand what doctrine of religion was most prevalent in England, before the time that the name of Martin Luther was ever heard of here among us. For all this is in the archbishop of Canterbury's Registers for A.D. 1511.

### **Three sorts of Judgments among the Papists against Heretics.**

As to the penance and penalty enjoined to heretics as also to all others, the popish fathers, in their processes of heretical pravity, have three distinct kinds of judgments and proceedings.

Some they judge to be burned, so that others being brought into terror by them, they might more quietly maintain their kingdom, and reign supreme. And thus they condemned the five martyrs above-mentioned, even though they were willing to submit themselves to the mother church. Yet they could not be received, as it appears by the words of the register, and by the tenor of their sentence.

And the sorts of persons thus condemned, consist either of those who have been abjured before, and fallen into relapse; or else who stand constantly in their doctrine, and refuse to abjure; or else those whom they intend to make a terror and example to others, notwithstanding that they may be willing and ready to submit themselves, and yet cannot be received. Of the last sort were the five martyrs named above. So also was John Lambert. Submitting himself to the king, he could not be accepted. So likewise was Richard Mekins, and the three women of Guernsey, whose submission would not serve to save their lives, with many others. Against these sorts of persons, the process which the papists use is this:

First, once they began to be suspected, they were afterward denounced and cited. Then by virtue of inquisition, they are taken and clapped fast in irons in prison. From there they are brought out at last to examination, if they are not killed before by famine, cold, or strictness of imprisonment. Then articles are drawn, or rather twisted out of their writings or preachings; and they are put to their oath, to answer truly to every point and circumstance articulated against them. These articles, if they seem to deny or solve by true expounding, then witnesses are called in, no matter what witnesses they are, however infamous in character. Or, if no other witnesses can be found, then the husband is brought in and forced to swear against the wife, or the wife against the husband, or the children against the mother, as in the example of Agnes Grebil. Or if no witness at all can be found, then they are strained on the rack; or by other torments they are forced to confess their knowledge, and to impeach others. Nor might any be allowed to come to them, nor may any public audience be

given to speak for themselves, till at last the sentence is read against them, to give them up to the secular arm, or to degrade them if they are priests, and then to burn them.

And yet the malignity of these adversaries does not cease here. For after the fire has consumed their bodies, they fall upon their books, and condemn them in like manner to be burned. And no man must be so hardy as to read their books, or keep them, under pain of heresy. But before they have destroyed these books, they first gather articles out of them, and they so perversely twist them to their own purposes, falsely, and contrary to the right meaning of the author, making them appear to be the most heretical and execrable. This being done, and the books destroyed, so that no man may compare them with the articles to discover their falsehood, they then send abroad these articles, so that princes and people may see what heretics they were.

To the second order belongs that sort of heretics whom these papists do not condemn to death, but assign to monasteries, there to continue and to fast all their life, with bread and sorrow, and the water of affliction. And so that they should not remove one mile out of the precinct of the monastery so long as they lived, without them being otherwise dispensed with by the archbishop or his successors.

The third kind of heretics were those whom these prelates did not judge to perpetual prison, but only enjoined them to penance: either to stand before the preacher, or else to bear a faggot around the market, or in a procession; or to wear the picture of a faggot on their left sleeves, without any cloak or gown over it; or else to kneel at the saying of certain masses, or to say so many paternosters, aves, and creeds, to a certain saint; or to go on pilgrimage to a certain place; or to bear a faggot to the burning of some heretic; or to fast certain Fridays on bread and water; or if it was a woman, to wear only woolens on Fridays.

And thus much, out of the register of William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury. Many more examples might be collected out of other bishops' registers, if either leisure would serve me to search, or if the largeness of this volume would allow all to be inserted that might be found. Yet the history and martyrdom of Launcelot and his companions should not be forgotten.

*The Martyrdom of Launcelot, one of the King's Guards;  
John, a painter; and Giles German.*

About the year 1539, one John, a painter, and Giles German, were accused of heresy, and while they were in examination at London before the bishop and other judges, by chance one of the king's servants named Launcelot came in, a very strong and tall man, and of no less godly a mind and disposition.

This man standing by, seemed by his countenance and gesture to favor both the cause and the poor men who were his friends. Whereupon, being apprehended, he was examined and condemned together with them. And the next day, at five o'clock in the morning, he was carried with them into St. Giles-in-the-fields, and there burned. There was but a small concourse of people at their death.

[633] A.D. 1540-1547.

*The Story of one Stile, a Martyr.*

In the company and fellowship of the blessed saints and martyrs of Christ, who innocently suffered in king Henry's reign, for the testimony of God's word and truth, another good man, named Stile, also comes to my mind. He was with like cruelty oppressed and burned in Smithfield about the latter end of the time of Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London. With him

there was also burned a book of the Apocalypse, which probably he was accustomed to read. When he saw this book fastened to the stake, to be burned with him, lifting up his voice, he said, "O blessed Apocalypse, how happy am I that I shall be burned with you?" And so this good man and the blessed Apocalypse were both consumed together in the fire.

And thus (through the gracious support of Christ our Lord) we have run over these 37 laborious years of king Henry's reign. Under his time and government, we have discoursed here of those acts and records, troubles, persecutions, recantations, practices, alterations, and reformations as then happened in the church. We did not omit the statutes, injunctions, and proclamations that were set forth by him in matters pertaining to the church. Although not comprehending all things so fully as we might, yet omitting as few things as we could.

### ***The Death of King Henry VIII.***

Closing this eighth book with the death of king Henry VIII, we will next proceed to the time and reign of king Edward his son. But first we will interpose a few words regarding the death of king Henry.

After a long languishing, infirmity growing more and more upon him, he lay from St. Steven's day (December 26th) to the latter end of January. His physicians at length perceiving that he was failing, and yet not daring to discourage him with thoughts of death, for fear of the act passed earlier in parliament, that no one should say anything about the king's death (the act being made only for soothsayers, and talkers of prophesies). This moved those who were about the king to put him in remembrance of his mortal state and fatal infirmity, when the rest dreaded to do so. Master Denny, who was specially attendant upon him, boldly coming to the king, told him the state he was in, and that to man's judgment, he was not likely to live. He therefore exhorted the king to prepare himself for death, calling to remembrance his former life; and entreating him to call upon God in Christ for grace and mercy, as becomes every good Christian man.

Although the king was loath to hear any mention of death, yet perceiving that it was the judgment of his physicians, and also feeling his own weakness, he disposed himself to hearken to the words of Denny's exhortation, and to consider his past life. Which although he much accused himself, yet he said, "the mercy of Christ is able to pardon me all my sins, even if they were greater than they are." Master Denny being glad to hear him speak this way, asked to know his pleasure, whether he would have any learned man sent for to confer with, and to open his mind to. The king answered that if he had any, he would have Doctor Cranmer, who was then at Croydon. And therefore Master Denny asking the king whether he would have him sent for, "I will first," said the king, "take a little sleep, and then according to how I feel, I will advise upon the matter."

After an hour or two, the king awaking, and feeling feebleness increasing upon him, commanded Doctor Cranmer to be sent for. But before he could come, the king was speechless, and almost senseless. Notwithstanding, perceiving Doctor Cranmer, he reached his hand to him, held him fast, but could utter no words to him; and he was scarcely able to make any sign. Then the archbishop exhorting him to put his trust in Christ, and to call upon his mercy, desired him, though he could not speak, to yet give some token with his eyes, or with his hand, that he trusted in the Lord. Then the king, holding him with his hand, wrung his hand in his as hard as he could. Shortly after, he departed, after he had reigned in this land for thirty-seven years and nine months, leaving behind him three children: Edward, Mary and Elizabeth.

We conclude this book with the following history of certain friars in France, A.D. 1534, as illustrative of the priestcraft of those times.

The wife of the mayor of the city of Orleans provided in her will, to be buried without any pomp or solemnity. For when anyone departs there, the bellmen are hired to go about the city, and in the places most frequented, to assemble the people with the sound of the bell, and to declare the names and the titles of the parties deceased — also where and when they are to be buried, exhorting the people to pray for them. And when the corpse is carried forth, numbers of the begging friars go with it to the church, with many torches and tapers carried before them. The more pomp and solemnity that is used, the greater the concourse of people. But this woman would have none of all this pomp done for her. Therefore her husband, who loved her well, followed her mind, and gave to these greedy cormorants, the friars, who waited for their prey, six crowns for a reward. Yet they gaped for a great deal more. Afterwards, when he cut down a wood and sold it, the friars craved to have part of it, freely without money; he refused them. They took this grievously. As they did not love him before, they now devised a way to be revenged, saying his wife was damned everlastingly!

The workers of this tragedy were Colyman and Steven of Arras, both doctors of divinity. The first was indeed a conjurer by profession. He had all his trinkets and furniture concerning such matters in readiness, and they settled the matter thus:

They set a young man, who was a novice, above the vault of the church. And when they came to say their matins at midnight, in their accustomed manner, he made a tremendous noise and shrieking aloft. Then this Colyman went crossing and conjuring, but the other above would not speak. When charged to make a sign to declare if he were a dumb spirit, he rustled and made a noise again, and that was the sign.

When they had laid this foundation for their priestcraft, they went to certain of the chief men in the city. And to those who favored them most, they related what a sad affair had happened. Yet they did not say what it was, but entreated them to take the pains to come to their service at night. When they had come, and the service was begun, the who was aloft made a great noise. It was demanded what he wanted, and what he was. He signified that he could not speak. Then he was commanded to answer to their interrogatories by signs and tokens. Now, there was a hole made for the purpose, and by laying his ear to it, he might hear and understand what the conjurer said. There was also a table at hand, and when any question was asked, he struck and beat upon the table, so that he might be heard beneath. Then the conjurer demanded whether he was any of those who had been buried in that church. After that, reckoning up many of their names in order, whose bodies had been buried there, he at last named the mayor's wife. Here the young man who was perched above in the roof, and who was playing the ghost, made a sign that he was the spirit of that woman. Then the friar asked whether she was damned, and for what offense? Whether it was for covetousness, pride, or not doing the works of charity, or else for this new heresy and Lutheranism? What was the cause that he made such a noise, and was so unquiet? Was it that the body buried in holy ground should be dug up again, and carried to some other place? To all these things this pretended ghost answered by signs as he was commanded — affirming or denying everything by striking twice or three times upon the table.

When he had thus signified that Luther's heresy was the cause of her damnation, and that her body must be taken up, the friars desired the citizens who were present, to bear witness of those things which they had seen and heard, and set their hands to it in writing.

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But taking advice lest they both offend the mayor, and bring themselves into trouble, they refused to subscribe. Notwithstanding, the friars took the plate with the host, and the Lord's body (as they call it), and all their saints' relics, and carried them to another place, and there they said their mass. They usually do this by the pope's law, when a church is suspended and must be hallowed again. When the bishop's official heard of this, he came there to understand the matter better. Associating with certain honest men, he commanded the friar to conjure up the ghost in his presence, and he purposed to appoint certain men to go up to the vault, to see if any spirit appeared there. But Steven of Arras was against it, and exhorted them earnestly that they should not do so, saying, that the spirit should not be molested. Although the official earnestly urged them to conjure it up before him, yet he could not bring them to do it. In the meantime, the mayor, making his friends privy as to what he would do, went to the king and informed him of the whole matter. And because the friars, trusting to their immunities and privileges, refused to come into judgment, the king chose certain ones out of the court of parliament at Paris, to examine the matter, and gave them full authority to do so. Whereupon they were carried to Paris, and constrained to answer, but they would confess nothing.

Then they were sent back to prison, and kept apart from one another. The novice was kept in the house of Fumeus, a senator. Being often examined, he would confess nothing, fearing lest he would afterward be murdered by them for speaking against their order. But when the judges promised him that he would have no harm, and would come into the friars' hands no more, he declared to them the whole matter. Being brought before the others, he admitted the same. But although they were convicted, they yet refused their judges, and relied on their privileges. But it was altogether in vain, for they were condemned in open judgment, that they should be carried back to Orleans, and committed to prison. Afterwards they would be brought openly to the cathedral church, and so to the place of punishment where malefactors are executed, and there they would make open confession of their wickedness.

THE END OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.

## ACTS AND MONUMENTS

### BOOK IX.

CONTAINING

#### *An account of the acts and events of the reign of King Edward VI.*

After the death of King Henry VIII, succeeded King Edward his son, at the age of nine years. He began his reign on the twenty-eighth of January A.D. 1547, and reigned six years, eight months, and eight days. He died on the sixth day of July A.D. 1553. Enough cannot be said to his commendation, of the excellent virtues and singular graces wrought in him by the gift of God. Yet because the renowned fame of such a worthy prince should not pass our history without some grateful remembrance, I propose to briefly touch some portion of his praise, taken out of the many things which might be described. For to stand upon all that might be said of him, would take too long; and yet to say nothing, would be too unkind. If kings and princes who have wisely and virtuously governed, have in all ages found writers to panegyris (eloquently praise) and celebrate their acts and memory, who never knew them, nor were subject to them, then how much are we Englishmen bound not to forget our duty to King Edward? He was a prince of tender years; yet for his sage and mature ripeness in all princely ornaments, as I see but few to whom he may not be equal, so again I do not see many to whom he may not justly be preferred.

And here, to use the example of Plutarch in comparing kings and rulers, the Latins with the Greeks together, if I were to seek with whom to match this noble King Edward, I find none with whom to make my comparison more aptly, than with good king Josiah. For as one began his reign at eight years of age, so the other began at nine. Neither were their acts and zealous proceedings in God's cause very unlike. For as mild Josiah pulled down the high altars, cut down the groves, and destroyed all monuments of idolatry in the temple, so the like corruptions, dross, and deformities of popish idolatry which had crept into the church of Christ, this King Edward removed, and purged the true temple of the Lord. Josiah restored the true worship and service of God in Jerusalem, and destroyed the idolatrous priests. King Edward, in England, likewise abolished idolatrous masses and false invocation, reduced religion to a right sincerity again, and would have brought it more to perfection if life and time had answered his godly purpose. And though he did not kill the idolatrous sacrificers, as Josiah did, yet he put them to silence, and removed them from their places.

Moreover, in King Josiah's days the holy Scriptures and book of God's word was utterly neglected and cast aside; he most graciously repaired and restored it again. And did not King Edward do the same, with the self-same book of God's blessed word, and with other wholesome books of Christian doctrine, which before were decayed and extinguished in his father's days? Briefly, in all points and respects, no great difference is to be found between Josiah and this our godly king, except in length of reign. If Edward might have reached (by the sufferance of God) the continuance of Josiah's reign, proceeding in those beginnings which appeared in his youth, no doubt by his acts and doings some great perfection would have ensued to this church and realm. But the manifold iniquities of Englishmen deserved another plague, as will be declared in the sequel of this history.

In the meantime, to proceed as we have begun, with the excellent virtues of this young "Christian Josiah," we will give a taste of the noble nature and princely qualities of this king. By these the reader may judge for himself what is to be thought of the rest of his doings. And to begin first with that which is the chief property of all other external things in a prince,

## Bk. IX. The Reign of King Edward VI

that is, to be loved by his subjects. Such were the hearts of all English people towards this king, that there was never a prince in this realm more highly esteemed, or more dearly and tenderly beloved by all his subjects, but especially by the good and learned sort. And as he was beloved by his subjects, so he loved them back. His nature and disposition were meek, and much inclined to clemency. He always spared and favored the life of man, insomuch that when Joan was to be burned, all the council could not move him to put his hand to the warrant, but were obliged to get Dr. Cranmer to persuade him. And yet neither could he induce the king to do so, the king saying, "What, my lord, will you have me send her quickly to the devil in her error?" So that Dr. Cranmer himself confessed that he never had so much to do in all his life, as to cause the king to sign his hand, saying that he would lay all the charge of it upon himself before God. Edward lacked no promptness of wit, gravity of sentence, or ripeness of judgment. Favor and love of religion was in him from his childhood. And besides these notable excellences, and other great virtues in him, add moreover skill and knowledge of tongues and other sciences, in which he excelled far beyond his years.

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Of all his justices, magistrates, and gentlemen who bore any authority within this realm, he knew their names, their housekeeping, their religion, and conduct, whatever it was. There were few sermons in his court, especially in the lord protector's time, which he did not attend. And those he was present at, he noted them with his own hand.

But above all other examples of his commendation — and which is the chief point which ought most to concern all men — he was zealous in maintaining, promoting, preferring, embracing, and defending the true cause of Christ's holy gospel. And it was his study, his zealous fervency, and his admirable constancy in this, that he promoted it in others by his own example.

In the days of this King Edward VI, the emperor Charles made a request to the king and his council, to permit the Lady Mary (who afterwards succeeded to the crown) to have mass in her house without prejudice of the law. And the council, one time, sitting upon matters of policy, and having that in question under consideration, sent Cranmer, who was then archbishop of Canterbury, and Ridley, then bishop of London, to entreat the king for it. Upon coming to his grace, they alleged their reasons and persuasions for accomplishing it. So the king hearing what they could say, replied out of the Scriptures so gravely and wisely, that they were forced to give way to his reply, and acknowledge its truth. Then, after long debating with his majesty, they alleged what dangers the refusal might bring upon his grace; what breach of amity on the emperor's part; what troubles; what unkindness, and what occasions it would force, etc. The king answered, desiring them to content themselves, for he would, he said, rather spend his life and all he had, than agree to and grant what he knew certainly to be against the truth. When the bishops heard this, they still urged him to grant it. Then the good king seeing their importunate suit, his tender heart bursting out into bitter weeping, and sobbing, he desired them to be content. Then the bishops themselves, seeing the king's zeal and constancy, wept as quickly as he did, and took their leave of his grace. On coming from him, the archbishop took Master Cheek, his schoolmaster, by the hand, and said, "Ah, Master Cheek, you may be glad all the days of your life that you have such a scholar. For he has more divinity in his little finger, than we all have in our whole bodies." Thus the Lady Mary's mass was prevented for that time.

Besides these heavenly graces and virtues, which are required in all faithful and Christian magistrates who have the government of Christ's flock, neither was he unprovided with such outward gifts and knowledge as pertain to the political government of his realm. So that he



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was not inexpert or ignorant of the monetary exchange, and all the circumstances of the same as regarding doings beyond the sea. But he was as skillful, and could say as much in these, as the chief doers in his affairs. Likewise in entertaining ambassadors, to whom he would give an answer to every part of their oration, to the great wonder of those who heard him. He was doing that in his tender years, by himself, which many princes at their mature age are seldom prone to do except by others. And as he was a great noter of things that pertained to princely affairs, so he had a chest for every year, for keeping such records and matters as were passed and concluded by the council. He would also require from them a reason and cause for everything that passed their judgments. And he always kept the key to this chest about him. He also cyphered his notes in Greek letters, so that those who waited on him would not read or know what he had written. Moreover, he had great respect for justice, and to the dispatch of poor men's lawsuits, and would appoint hours and times with Master Cox, then Master of his requests, how and by what order they might be helped in their causes, without long delay and attendance — and also debate with him, so that their matters might be heard and judged with equity.

Thus after the godly disposition of this king being declared, we will now describe the order and proceedings which he followed in his administration and government of both states, political as well as ecclesiastical. Coming to the crown after the decease of his father, because he was of young and tender age, he was committed to sixteen governors. Among them, especially, the Lord Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, his uncle, was appointed as protector and overseer of him and of the commonwealth. He was a man not so highly advanced for his consanguinity as for his noble virtues, and especially for his favor to God's word. Through the endeavor and industry of Seymour, first, that monstrous hydra with six heads, I mean the Six Articles, which had devoured so many men before, was abolished and taken away. Then he restored the holy Scriptures in the mother tongue, and he extinguished and abolished masses. After small beginnings, little by little, greater things followed in the reformation of the churches. Then those who were in banishment for the danger of the truth, were received back to their country. To be brief, a new face of things now began to appear, as if on a stage, new players coming in, and the old ones being thrust out. For the most part, the bishops of churches and dioceses were changed. Those who had been dumb prelates before, were compelled to give way to others who would preach and take pains.

Besides this, men of learning and notable knowledge were sent for from foreign countries, and cordially received and promoted in this country. Among them were Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, and Paul Phagius. Of these, the first taught at Oxford; the other two professed at Cambridge, and with no small commendation by the whole university. Of the old bishops, some were committed to one prison ward, some to another. Bonner, bishop of London, was committed to the Marshalsea; and soon after, for his contempt and misdemeanor, he was deposed from his bishopric. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, with Tunstall, bishop of Durham, was thrown into the Tower for his disobedience. There he kept his Christmas for three years straight. He was more worthy of some other place outside the Tower, if it had pleased God otherwise, not to cause a further plague to this realm by that man.

But these meek and gentle times of king Edward, under the government of this noble protector, have this one commendation: that among the whole number of the popish sort, some of them stole secretly out of the realm; many were crafty dissemblers; some were open and manifest adversaries — yet of all that multitude, not one man lost his life. In short, during the whole six years of this king, there was much tranquility, and as it were, a breathing-time was granted to the whole church of England. So that the rage of persecution ceasing, and the sword being taken out of the adversary's hand, there was now no danger to

the godly, unless it were by wealth and prosperity, which often bring more damage in corrupting men's minds, than any time of persecution or affliction.

Briefly, during all this time, neither in Smithfield nor in any other quarter of this realm, was anyone heard to suffer for any matter of religion, either papist or protestant, either for one opinion or another, except two: one an Englishwoman, called Joan of Kent, and the other a Dutchman, named George.

Besides these two, there was no one else in all king Edward's reign who died in any cause of religion. However, one Thomas Dobbe was apprehended and imprisoned in the beginning of this king's reign, for speaking against the idolatry of the mass; he died in the same prison.

This Thomas Dobbe, being a student and a master of arts at Cambridge, was brought up in St. John's College, and was a fellow there, where he increased in the study of good letters. Among his equals he was very forward; of nature and disposition simple and modest; of zeal towards God fervent; patient in injuries, and injurious to no man. At length this godly man, intending to enter the Christian state of matrimony, resorted to a certain maiden not far off from where he dwelt. On this account he was greatly molested and wickedly abused by three of that college, named Hutchinson, Pindare, and Taper.

[637] A.D. 1547-1553.

With their malicious handling, scornful dealing, rebukes, and vilifications, they so vexed the virtuous simplicity of the man, that they never left him, till at length they wearied him out of the college. Having no rest or quietness there, because of the unreasonable and virulent handling of his adversaries, he was compelled to seek some other place to settle himself. On coming up to London, he chanced to pass through St. Paul's church, where it happened that at the south side of the church there was a priest celebrating mass, being at the elevation of the body as Thomas passed by. The young man, replete with godly zeal, and pitying the ignorance and idolatry of the people in honoring so devoutly what the priest lifted up, was not able to forbear. Opening his mouth and turning to the people, he exhorted them not to honor the visible bread as God, which neither was God, nor yet ordained from God to be honored, etc. For this he was apprehended by the Mayor, accused to the archbishop of Canterbury, and committed to the Compter (jail). There, falling into a sickness, he died. His pardon, notwithstanding was obtained by the lord Protector, and it would have been brought to him if he had lived. And thus much concerning Thomas Dobbe.

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I find that in the first year of the reign of king Edward, there was one John Hume, servant to Master Lewnax, of Wresel, apprehended, accused, and sent up to the archbishop of Canterbury for these articles:

1. First for denying the sacrament (as the altar was then called) to be the real flesh and blood of Christ.
2. For saying that he would never take off his hat to it, even if he were burned for it.
3. For saying that if he were to hear mass, he *should* be burned.

For this he was sent up by his master and mistress Lewnax, with special letters to the archbishop, requiring him to be punished by law. But because I find no execution following, I therefore pass over this story.

These things premised, when this virtuous and godly young prince (endued as you have heard with special graces from God) was now peaceably established in his kingdom. He had

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a council about him, grave, wise, and zealous in God's cause, especially his uncle, the duke of Somerset. The king then most earnestly desired the advancement of the true honor of Almighty God, and the planting of His sincere religion, as well as the utter suppression and extirpation of all idolatry, superstition, hypocrisy, and other enormities and abuses, throughout his realms and dominions. Therefore, following the good example of king Josiah, as expressed before, he determined to immediately enter into some reformation of religion in the church of England.

At his first entry (notwithstanding his father's good beginning in abolishing the usurped power of antichrist), he still found most of his laws were greatly against this zealous enterprise. He therefore purposed by the advice of his wise and honorable council, and of his own regal power and authority, to somewhat prosecute his godly purpose, until such time as by the consent of the whole estate of parliament, he might establish a more free, perfect, and uniform order in this.

Whereupon, intending first a general visitation over all bishoprics within his realm, to redress the abuses in them, he chose certain wise, learned, discreet, and worshipful personages to be his commissioners in that behalf. And so, dividing them into several companies, he assigned them several dioceses to visit, He likewise appointed to every company one or two godly learned preachers who, at every session, would in their preaching both instruct the people in the true doctrine of the gospel of Christ, and in all love and obedience to it, and also earnestly warn them against their old superstition and usual idolatry. And so that they might be more orderly directed in this commission, certain injunctions and ecclesiastical orders were delivered to them, drawn out by the king's learned council, which they should both inquire about, and also command in his majesty's behalf, to be thereafter observed by every person to whom they severally pertained in their circuits.

In these orders it was first enjoined, that all ecclesiastical persons should themselves observe, and cause to be observed by others, all such statutes as were made for abolishing the bishop of Rome's usurped power, and establishing the king's supreme authority; and that every one of them should, at least four times a year, declare in their public sermons to the people, that the one being most arrogantly usurped *against* the word of God, was now justly taken away, and the other was to be obeyed by all his grace's subjects.

And again, that every ecclesiastical person having a cure, should preach or cause to be preached within their several cures, one sermon every quarter of a year, in which they should sincerely set forth the word of God. And they should also exhort the people to the works of faith and mercy prescribed in the Scriptures, and not to works devised by man's imagination, such as going on pilgrimages and other similar idolatrous superstitions. These they should also, to the utmost of their power, reprove and speak against, declaring that all grace and goodness should be sought at God's hand alone, and not at any other creature's; and that they should not only immediately take down and destroy all those images which had previously been abused by pilgrimage or offerings within their cures. And they should also not allow thereafter, any lights or other idolatrous oblation to be made or set up before any image that was still allowed in the church.

Also that every holy-day (having no sermon in their church) they should immediately after the gospel, distinctly read in the pulpit the Lord's Prayer, the Belief (Apostles Creed), and the Ten Commandments in the English tongue. They should exhort the people not only to learn them, but also to teach them to their children and families. And also that they should charge all parents and governors of households, to bring up their youth in some good

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exercise or occupation, whereby they might afterwards serve the commonwealth, and not run about like vagabonds and idle loiterers, and thereby incur the danger of the laws.

Furthermore, that persons, having a cure, should see the holy sacraments of Christ reverently administered within their cures. And that if any of them (by special license or other cases expressed in the statutes of this realm) should at any time be absent from their benefices, then they should leave in their places some godly, learned, and discreet curate, who was able to instruct the people in all truth and godliness, not seeking themselves, but rather the profit of their flock.

And likewise, that they should see provided and set up in some most convenient and open place in every church, one great Bible in English, and one book of the paraphrases of Erasmus upon the gospels,<sup>517</sup> both in English, so that the people might reverently, without any argument or contention, read and hear the same at such times as they chose, and not be prohibited by the parson and curate, but rather to be more encouraged to it.

And that the parsons and curates should not at any time (except for necessary causes) haunt any tavern or alehouse. Neither should they spend their time idly in unlawful games; but at every convenient leisure, they should give themselves to the reading or hearing of the holy Scriptures.

Moreover, that during the time of confession, in every period of Lent, they should examine their parishioners, whether they could say the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the articles of the Christian faith; and that if they could not, they should then reprove them, declaring further to them, that they should not presume to come to the Lord's table without the true knowledge of it, and an earnest desire to fulfill them.

Also, that they should not admit any man to preach within their cures, but those who were lawfully licensed; and that those who had at any time before had extolled and praised any idolatrous pilgrimage or other superstition, should now openly recant before the people.

And if there were any open hinderer or disturber of the reading or preaching of the word of God within their parishes, that then they should immediately bring them to the king's council, or to some justice of peace.

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And further, so that learning and knowledge might be better maintained, it was also ordained, that every beneficed person who could yearly spend twenty pounds or upwards, and was not resident in their cures, should pay towards the relief of the poor within their parish every year, the fortieth part of their fruits and profits. And likewise, that every such person who could spend one hundred pounds yearly, or more, should for every hundred pounds, give a competent scholarship to some poor scholar within one of the universities of Oxford or Cambridge, or else in some other grammar-school of the realm.<sup>518</sup>

And also that every priest, having the degree of a bachelor of divinity, should have his own New Testament in English and Latin, with the paraphrases of Erasmus upon the same, and he should diligently read and study it, and should collect and keep in memory all those comforting places of the Scriptures, which set forth the mercy, benefits, and goodness of

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<sup>517</sup> Desiderius Erasmus (d. 1547) paraphrased the Gospels as part of his broader project of rewriting and expanding the New Testament texts in a more accessible and contemporary language.

<sup>518</sup> A grammar school in England in the 1500s was an educational institution that primarily focused on teaching Latin grammar. This was essential for those pursuing careers in the church, law, or higher education. These schools were often attached to religious institutions, and were designed to prepare students for university studies.

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Almighty God towards all penitent and believing persons. Thus they might comfort their flock in all dangers of death, despair, or trouble of conscience. And therefore, every bishop in their visitations should from time to time test and examine how they had profited in their studies.

Although the mass was then still retained by the law, yet it was enjoined that at every high mass, the sayer or singer should openly and distinctly read the gospel and the epistle in English, in the pulpit, or in some other convenient place, so that the people might hear. And in like place and manner, they should read on every holy-day and Sunday, at matins, one chapter of the New Testament in English, omitting three of their nine Latin lessons, with their responses. And at even-song likewise, immediately after Magnificat, read one chapter of the Old Testament instead of their usual responses and memories.

Furthermore, because of the vain contentions that often fall among the people for going on procession, it was ordained that from then on, the priest and clerics should kneel in the midst of the church, and there distinctly sing or read the Litany in English, set forth by the authority of King Henry VIII; and that no person should depart from the church during the reading of the Scripture or the Litany, or during any sermon, without just and urgent cause.

Likewise, so that the people should spend the holy-days in hearing the word of God, in private and public prayers, in acknowledging their offenses to God, and their amendment of the same; in reconciling themselves charitably to their neighbors where displeasure has been given; in often receiving the communion of the body and blood of Christ; in visiting the poor and sick, and in all sober and godly conversation; and not in vanity, idleness, or drunkenness; nor yet in any bodily labor, other than during the time of harvest to save the fruits of the earth, if necessity so required; and that no curate should allow any person to receive the holy communion who had maliciously and openly contended with his neighbors, unless he first openly reconciled himself, and remitted all rancor and malice whatever.

Moreover, it was ordained that every dean, archdeacon, master of a collegiate church, or hospital, and prebendary, being a priest, should himself personally preach at least twice every year in some such place where he had jurisdiction and living; and that they and all other curates should teach the people that no man out of any private affection should maliciously violate any ceremony in the church, not then abrogated by the king's authority. So likewise, on the other side, they should not use them superstitiously or idolatrously, by attributing to them remission of sins, driving away evil spirits, and other such like dreams and fancies of men, or else putting any confidence of salvation in them. And further, that they should utterly take away and destroy all shrines and monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, and other idolatrous superstition, in their churches, as well as in their private houses.

Also, that they should see provided within their churches, a strong and fit chest for the safe keeping of the people's alms given towards the relief of the poor. And that the curates should earnestly exhort and entreat their parishioners, especially at the making of their wills, that as they had been therefore willing to bestow much of their substance upon vain, superstitious, and blind devotions contrary to God's word, so now they would be much more ready to give some portion to their poor and needy brethren, knowing this is not only commanded in the word of God, but also promised to be rewarded. And to better relieve the poor, it was also appointed that all money and profits arising upon fraternities, images, or given to finding idolatrous lights, should be converted to the same use. Last of all, for the lack of learned curates and other good preachers, it was enjoined that the curates (having no

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sermon) should read every Sunday to the people in their churches, one of the homilies which would be shortly set forth for that purpose by the king's authority.

There were also other articles in the injunctions, appointed for beauty and due order in the churches — such as for repairing chancels, and priests' houses; for keeping a register book of weddings, christenings, and burials; for reading these injunctions every quarter; for the due paying of tithes; for forbidding any other alteration of service in the church, or fasting days; for making attractive pulpits for the preachers; for avoiding simony in the buying and selling of benefices; for the charitable use of priests; for praying only upon the English and Latin primers published by King Henry VIII; for teaching grammar in the common schools; and lastly, that the chantry priests should teach young children either to write and read, or else some other good and profitable exercises.

Besides the general injunctions for the whole estate of the realm, there were also others particularly appointed for the bishops, which being delivered to the commissioners, were likewise at their visitations committed to the bishops, with charge to be inviolably observed and kept upon pain of the king's majesty's displeasure. The effect of this was in the following manner:

First, that they should to the uttermost of their wit and understanding, see and cause all the king's injunctions in their diocese to be duly, faithfully, and truly kept and observed, and that they should personally preach within their diocese, at least once in every quarter of a year — that is to say, once in their cathedral churches, and three times in several other places of their dioceses, as they see it most convenient and necessary, unless they had a reasonable excuse to the contrary. Likewise, that they should not retain any chaplain in their service or household, except those who were learned, or able to preach the word of God.

Moreover, that they should not give priestly orders to any person, except those who were learned in the holy Scriptures. Nor should they refuse orders to those who were learned in the Scriptures, being of honest conversation and living. And lastly, that they should not at any time or place preach, or set forth to the people, any doctrine contrary to the king's highness' homilies, nor admit or give license to anyone to preach within their diocese, except to those they know (or at least assuredly trust) would do the same. And if at any time they should perceive the contrary, reprov'd by hearing, or by report, they should then not only prohibit that person so offending, but also punish him and revoke his license.

Now, during the time that the commissioners were occupied abroad in their circuits, about the speedy and diligent execution of these godly and zealous orders and decrees of the king and his council, his majesty (with the advice of his council) desiring a further reformation in religion, as well as in his civil government, appointed a parliament of the three estates of his realm to be summoned to meet on the 4th of November, in the first year of his reign (A.D. 1547), which continued to the 24th of December. In this session, his highness desired the governance and order of his people to be in perfect unity and concord in all things, and especially in the true faith and religion of God.

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And with this, he also duly weighed the great danger that his loving subjects were in for confessing the gospel of Christ, through many cruel statutes made by his predecessors against the same. These statutes being left in force, might both cause the obstinate to despise his grace's godly proceedings, and also the weak to be fearful of their Christian-like profession. He therefore caused it, among other things, to be enacted by the authority of the same parliament, that all acts of parliament and statutes touching, mentioning, or in any

way concerning religion or opinions — that is to say, the statute made in the first year of the reign of King Richard II; and the statute made in the second year of the reign of King Henry V; and the statute made in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry VIII; concerning punishment and the reformation of heretics and Lollards, and every provision contained in them; also, the statutes made for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning Christian religion, commonly called the Six Articles, made in the thirty-first year of the reign of King Henry VIII; also the statute made in the parliament begun the 16th of January in the thirty-third year of the reign of King Henry VIII, and afterwards postponed to the 21st of January in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, touching, mentioning, or in any way concerning books of the Old and New Testament in English, and the printing, uttering, selling, giving, or delivering of books or writings, and the retaining of English books or writings, and reading, preaching, teaching, or expounding the Scriptures, or in any way touching, mentioning, or concerning any of the said matters; and also one other statute made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry VIII, concerning the qualification of the statute of the Six Articles; and all and every other act or acts of parliament concerning doctrine or matters of religion, and all and every branch, article, sentence, matter, pains, or forfeitures contained, mentioned, or in any way declared in any of the same acts and statutes — should from then on be utterly repealed, made void, and of no effect.

By this occasion, all his godly subjects then abiding within the realm, had free liberty to publicly profess the gospel; and many learned and zealous preachers, banished before, were now not only licensed freely to return home again, but also encouraged to boldly and faithfully travel in their function and calling. So that God was much glorified, and the people in many places were greatly edified.

Moreover, in the same session, his majesty, with the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the same parliament assembled, thoroughly understanding by the judgment of the best learned men, that it was more agreeable to the first institution of the sacrament of the most precious body and blood of our Savior Christ, and also more conformable to the common use and practice, both of the apostles and of the primitive church, for the space of five hundred years and more after Christ's ascension, that the holy sacrament should be administered to all Christian people under both kinds, of bread and wine, than under the form of bread only. And also, that it was more agreeable to the first institution of Christ, and the usage of the apostles and primitive church, that the people being present should receive the same as the priest, than that the priest should receive it alone. By their authority, they enacted that the holy sacrament should from then on be commonly delivered and administered to the people, throughout the churches of England and Ireland, and other of the king's dominions, under both kinds, bread and wine, unless necessity otherwise required. And also that the priest who should administer the same, should, at least one day before, exhort all persons who might be present, to prepare themselves to receive the same. And at the day prefixed, after some godly exhortation made by the minister, in which would be further expressed, the benefit and comfort promised to those who worthily receive this holy sacrament, and the danger and indignation of God threatened to those who presume to receive the same unworthily, to the end that every man might test and examine his own conscience before he comes to it. The minister should not, without a lawful cause, refuse it to any one person who would devoutly and humbly desire it.

After this consent of the parliament, the king was no less desirous to have the form of administration of the sacrament truly reduced to the right rule of the Scriptures and the first use of the primitive church, than he was to establish it by the authority of his own regal laws. He appointed certain of the gravest and best learned bishops, and others of his realm,

to assemble together at his castle of Windsor, and there to argue and treat this matter, and to conclude and set forth one perfect uniform order according to the rule and use aforesaid.

In the meantime, while the learned were thus occupied about their conferences, the lord protector and the rest of the king's council, further remembered that the time of the year then approached in which many superstitious abuses and blasphemous ceremonies were practiced against the glory of God, and the truth of his word. They determined to utterly abolish them, and directed their letters to Cranmer, then archbishop of Canterbury and metropolitan of England, requesting that he should command every bishop within his province, to immediately charge all the curates of their dioceses, that candles should no longer be borne on Candlemas day, nor ashes used in Lent, nor palms on Palm Sunday.

Whereupon the archbishop, zealously favoring the good and Christian-like purpose of the king and his council, immediately wrote to the rest of the bishops of that province, and among them, to Edmund Bonner, then bishop of London. We have more to say hereafter of his rebellious and obstinate disobedience. I will not speak of that now, but only note by the way, his former dissimulation and cloaked hypocrisy in outwardly consenting to this and all the king's proceedings. But whether it was for fear or other subtle pretense, I do not know.

About the same period, a report was made to the lords of the council, that great contention and strife arose daily among the common people in various parts of this realm, for pulling down and taking away the images from the churches, that had been idolatrously abused by pilgrimages, offerings, or otherwise. Some affirmed that one image was abused, others another, but most said that neither was abused. So that if speedy remedy was not had, it might turn to further inconvenience. Therefore, thinking it best for avoiding discord and tumult, it was determined that all manner of images should be clean taken out of all churches, and none allowed to remain. They again wrote their letters to the archbishop of Canterbury, requesting his ready aid in the following manner:

*Letter of the Council sent to the Archbishop  
of Canterbury, for the abolishing of Images.*

“After our right hearty commendations to your good lordship: whereas now of late in the king's majesty's visitations, among other godly injunctions commanded to be generally observed through all parts of this his highness's realm, one was set forth for taking down all such images as had at any time been abused with pilgrimages, offerings, or censings. However, this said injunction has in many parts of this realm been quietly obeyed and executed, yet in many other places much strife and contention has arisen and daily arises, and more and more increases about the execution of the same. Some men are so superstitious, or rather willful, as they would by their good will retain all such images, even if they have been most manifestly abused. And also in some places the images which were taken down by the said injunctions, are now restored and set up again; and almost in every place there is contention for images, whether they have been abused or not. While these men go on both sides, contending whether this or that image has been offered to, kissed, incensed, or otherwise abused, proceedings have in some places taken place of such a sort, that further inconveniences are likely to ensue if remedy is not found in time.

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“Considering therefore, that almost in no place of this realm is any sure quietness found, but where all images are clean taken away and pulled down already, and to the intent that all contention in every part of the realm about this matter may be put down, and so that the lively image of Christ should not contend for the dead images, which are not necessary things, and without which the churches of Christ continued most godly for many years, we have thought it



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good to signify to you, that his highness's pleasure, with the advice and consent of us, the lord protector, and the rest of the council, is that immediately upon the sight of these images, with as convenient diligence as you may, you shall not only give orders that all the images remaining in any church or chapel within your diocese be removed and taken away, but also by your letters signify to the rest of the bishops within your province, his highness's pleasure, for the same order to be given by them and every one of them within their several dioceses. And in execution of this, we require both you and the rest of the said bishops to use such foresight, that the same may be quietly done, with as good a satisfaction of the people as possible. Thus fare your good lordship heartily well.

“From Somerset-place, the 11th of February, 1548.”

When the archbishop had received these letters, he forthwith directed his precept to Bonner, bishop of London, requiring, and in the king's name commanding him, that with all speed he should give in charge to the rest of the bishops within the province of Canterbury, to look immediately without delay to the diligent and careful execution of the contents of the letter through all parts of the diocese. And also that he himself should do the same within his own city and diocese of London. Whereupon the bishop, seeming then with like outward consent as before, to allow these doings, presently (by virtue of the precept) sent out his mandate to the rest of the bishops, as well as to the bishop of Westminster.

These things were thus determined by the learned men whom the king had appointed to assemble together for the true and right manner of administering the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, according to the rule of the Scriptures of God, and the first usage of the primitive church. After their long, learned, wise, and deliberate counsels, they finally concluded and agreed upon one godly and uniform order, not much differing from the manner used and authorized at present within this realm and church of England, commonly called *The Communion*. This agreement being exhibited to the king, and most gladly accepted, it was publicly printed, and by his majesty's council, sent to every bishop of the realm. It required and commanded them by letters on the king's majesty's behalf, that in their own persons they should immediately pay diligent and careful respect to the due execution of it, and with all diligence they should also cause the books which they then sent them, to be delivered to every parson, vicar, and curate within their diocese, so that they likewise might well and sufficiently qualify themselves for the better distribution of the communion (according to the tenor of the book) by the feast of Easter next ensuing, as more fully appears by their letters following here:

*Letters missive from the Council to the Bishops of the Realm,  
concerning the Communion to be administered in both kinds.*

“After our most hearty commendations to your lordship, whereas in the parliament recently held at Westminster, it was among other things most godly established that according to the first institution and use of the primitive church, the most holy sacrament of the body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ should be distributed to the people under the kinds of bread and wine; according to the effect of which the king's majesty, minding, with the advice and consent of the lord protector's grace, and the rest of the council, to have the said statute well executed in such sort, or like as is agreeable with the word of God (so that the same may also be faithfully and reverently received by his most loving subjects, to their comfort and well-doing) has caused sundry of his majesty's most grave and well-learned prelates, and other learned men in the Scriptures, to assemble themselves for this matter. After long conference together, they have with deliberate advice, finally agreed upon such an order to be used in all places of the king's majesty's dominions, in the distribution of the said most holy sacrament, as may appear to you by the book which we herewith send to you. Knowing your lordship's

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knowledge in the Scriptures, and earnest good will and zeal to setting forth all things according to the truth of them, we are well-assured that you will, of your own good will, and out of respect to your duty, diligently set forth this most godly order here agreed upon, and commanded to be used by the authority of the king's majesty — yet remembering the crafty practice of the devil, who does not cease to work by all ways and means, the hindrance of all godliness.

“And considering furthermore, that a great number of the curates of the realm, either for lack of knowledge cannot, or for lack of a good mind will not, be so ready to set this out as we would wish; and as the importance of the matter and their own bounden duties require; we thought it good to pray and request your lordship, and nevertheless, in the king's majesty's our most dread Lord's name, to command you, to have an earnest diligence and careful respect both in your own person, and by all your officers and ministers also, to cause these books to be delivered to every parson, vicar, and curate within your diocese, with such diligence that they may have sufficient time to well instruct and advise themselves, for the distribution of the most holy communion, according to the order of this book, before this Easter time. And that they may, by your good means, be well-directed to use such good, gentle, and charitable instruction of their simple and unlearned parishioners, as may be to all their good satisfaction as much as may be, we are praying you to consider that this order is set forth to the intent that there should be in all parts of the realm, and among all men, one uniform manner quietly used. The execution of this, as it likely will stand very much in the diligence of you and others of your vocation, so we immediately require you to have a diligent respect to it, as you tender the king's majesty's pleasure, and will answer for the contrary. And thus we bid your lordship right heartily farewell. From Westminster, the 13th of March 1548.”

By means of this letter, and of the godly order of the learned, and also of the statute and act of parliament mentioned earlier, all private blasphemous masses were now by just authority fully abolished throughout this realm of England, and the right use of the sacrament of the most precious body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ was truly restored in their place. But nevertheless, as at no time can anything be so well done by the godly, that the wicked will not find some subtle means to deface it, so at this time, through the perverse obstinacy and dissembling frowardness of many of the inferior priests and ministers of the cathedral and other churches of this realm, there arose a disturbing schism and variety of fashions in celebrating the common service and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church. For some gladly followed the order, zealously allowing the king's proceedings; others, though not so willingly, admitted them, and yet dissembling, they used only part of them; but many, carelessly despising it all, still exercised their old accustomed popery.

### ***Book of Common Prayer – 1549***

The king and his council having good intelligence of this, fearing the great inconveniences and dangers that might happen through this division, and being loath to use any great severity towards his subjects, but rather desirous to bring them to some conformity by some quiet and godly order, by their prudent counsel, again appointed the archbishop of Canterbury, with certain of the best learned and discreet bishops and other learned men, to diligently consider and ponder the premises.

[641] A.D. 1547-1553.

Thereupon, having an eye and respect to the most sincere and pure Christian religion taught by the holy Scriptures, as well as to the usages of the primitive church, they sought to draw up and make one convenient and fit order, rite, and fashion of Common Prayer, and one

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administration of the sacraments, to be had and used within this realm of England, and the dominions of the same. After most godly and learned conferences, through the aid of the Holy Spirit, with one uniform agreement concluded, they set forth, and delivered to the king's highness, a book in English, entitled, "A Book of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, for the use of the Church of England." His highness receiving this with great comfort and quietness of mind, immediately exhibited it to the lords and commons of the parliament which was then assembled at Westminster, about the 4th of November, in the second year of his reign, in the year 1548, and continuing to the 14th of March next ensuing.

Whereupon, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of the parliament assembled. They well and thoroughly considered the most godly concern of the king's highness, of the lord protector, and others of his majesty's council. They gathered together the archbishops, bishops, and other learned men, as the godly prayers, orders, rites, and ceremonies in the said book of Common Prayer, to consider altering those things which were altered, and retaining those things which were retained in the book. And also to consider the honor of God, and the great quietness which, by the grace of God, might ensue upon that one uniform rite and order, in such common prayer, rites, and ceremonies to be used throughout England, Wales, Calais, and the Marches thereabouts. They first gave to his highness most lowly and hearty thanks for the book. And then they most humbly prayed him, that it might be ordained and enacted by his majesty with the assent of the lords and commons in that parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same. That not only every person and persons who had offended concerning the premises might be pardoned (other than those who then remained in ward in the Tower of London, or in the Fleet), but also that all and singular of the ministers in any cathedral, or parish churches, or other places within the realm of England, Wales, Calais, and the Marches of the same, or in other of the king's dominions, should from and after the feast of Pentecost next coming, be bound to say and use each of the matins, evensong, celebration of the Lord's Supper, and the administration of the sacraments, and all other common and public prayers — in such order and form as was mentioned in the book, and none otherwise.

Although they were so godly and good, that they gave occasion to every honest and conformable man, to most willingly to embrace them, yet — lest any obstinate persons who would willingly disturb so godly an order and quiet in this realm, go unpunished — they further requested that it might be ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any manner of parson, vicar, or other minister whatever, who ought to say or sing the Common Prayer mentioned in the book, or administer the sacraments, that after the feast of Pentecost next coming, should they refuse to use the Common Prayer, or to administer the sacraments in such cathedral or parish churches, or in other places as he might use or minister, in such an order and form as mentioned and set forth in the book; or if they should willfully, and obstinately standing in the same, use any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of mass, openly or privily, or matins, evensong, administration of the sacraments, or other public prayer, than was mentioned and set forth in the said book; or should preach, declare, or speak anything in derogation or discredit of the said book, or anything contained in it or any part of it — and should be lawfully convicted of it, according to the laws of this realm, by the verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, he should then lose and forfeit to the king's highness, his heirs and successors, for his first offense, one whole year's profit of whichever of his benefices or spiritual promotions it might please the king's highness to assign and appoint; and also for the same offense, should suffer imprisonment for six months without bail or surety.

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But if any such person, after his first conviction, should soon offend again, and be lawfully convicted, then for his second offense, he should suffer imprisonment for one whole year, and should also be deprived, *ipso facto*, of all his spiritual promotions forever. So that it would be lawful for the patrons and donors to give the same to any other learned man, in like manner as if the party so offending were dead.

And if any person or persons should offend a third time, and be lawfully convicted, then he would, for that third offense, suffer imprisonment during his life. If any such person or persons aforesaid, so offending, *did not have any benefice or spiritual promotion*, then for his first offense he should suffer imprisonment for six months without bail or surety; and for his second offense, imprisonment during his life.

This request, or rather the actual agreement of the lords and commons of the parliament, once it was understood by the king, was also soon ratified and confirmed by his regal consent and authority. Thereupon, the *Book of Common Prayer* was presently printed, and commanded to be used throughout the whole realm and dominion, according to the tenor and effect of the statute.

Moreover, in the same session of the said parliament, it was enacted and established by the authority of it, that because great, horrible, and unspeakable inconveniences had, from time to time, arisen among the priests, ministers, and other officers of the clergy, through their compelled chastity, and by such laws as prohibited to them the godly and lawful use of marriage, that therefore all and every law and laws positive, canons, constitutions, and ordinances previously made by the authority of man alone, which prohibited or forbade marriage to any ecclesiastical or spiritual person or persons, of whatever estate, condition, or degree they were, or by whatever name or names they were called, which by God's law may lawfully marry, in all and every article, branch, and sentence concerning only the prohibition of the marriage of the persons aforesaid, should be utterly void and of no effect. And that all manner of forfeitures, pains, penalties, crimes, or actions, which were contained in the laws, and followed the same, concerning the prohibition of the marriage of the ecclesiastical persons, should from then on also be clearly and utterly void. On the occasion of which, it was thereafter lawful for any ecclesiastical person to live most godly in the pure and holy estate of matrimony according to the laws and word of God.

But if the first injunctions, statutes, and decrees of the prince were but slenderly regarded by many, with much less good affection were these now received by several (especially the book of Common Prayer). Indeed, and that was by some who had always before, in outward show, willingly allowed the former doings, as it appears plainly by Bonner, the bishop of London. By his former letters and other mandates, he seemed to favor all the king's proceedings. Yet, notwithstanding both the statute for establishing the communion, and for abolishing all private masses, and also this statute of the ratifying and confirming of the book of Common Prayer, he still permitted sundry idolatrous private masses with peculiar names to be solemnly sung daily within particular chapels of the cathedral church of St. Paul's. He cloaked them with names like the Apostles' communion, and our Lady's communion, not once finding any fault with them, until such time as the lords of the council were obliged by their letters to command and charge him to see better to such things.

Over and besides all this, the lord protector, with the rest of the king's privy and learned council, assembled together in the Star Chamber to advance the king's godly proceedings. They called before them all the justices of peace. There it was pronounced to them by the lord Rich, then lord chancellor, an eloquent and learned admonition, requiring them to see to the due execution of the king's laws.

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It is apparent from these acts, what zealous care there was in this young king, and in the lord protector, concerning the reformation of Christ's church, by these injunctions, letters, precepts, and exhortations. By which we have to note, not so much the careful diligence of the king and his learned council, as the lingering slackness of justices and lawyers. And especially of some bishops and old popish curates, by whose cloaked contempt, willful connivance, and stubborn disobedience, the Book of Common Prayer, long after its publication, was either not known at all, or else very irreverently used in many places of the realm. When the king perfectly understood this by the complaint of several persons, he was not a little grieved to see the godly agreement of the learned, and the willing consent of the parliament, and his grace's own zealous desire, having so little effect among his subjects. He therefore decreed, with the advice of his whole council, to write again to all the bishops of his realm, for speedy and diligent redress in this matter. He commanded them that they themselves should have a more special regard to the execution of his wishes, and also that all others within their several precincts and jurisdictions, should by their good instructions and example, be more frequently and with better devotion, moved to use and frequent the book. This further appears by the ensuing letter:

*A Letter directed by the King, and his Council,  
to Bonner, Bishop of London.*

“Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: and whereas after great and serious debating and long conference of the bishops and other grave and well-learned men in the holy Scriptures, one uniform order for common prayers and the administration of the sacraments has been, and is most godly set forth, not only by the common agreement and full assent of the nobility and commons of the late session of our late parliament, but also by the like assent of the bishops in the same parliament, and of all other the learned men of our realm in their synods and provincial convocations. It was much to our comfort to understand the godly labor then taken diligently and willingly for the true opening of things mentioned in the said book, by which the true service and honor of Almighty God, and the right ministration of the sacraments being well and sincerely set forth according to the Scriptures and use of the primitive church, much idolatry, vain superstition, and great and slanderous abuses were taken away. So it is no small occasion of sorrow to us, to understand by the complaints of many, that our said book, so much labored for, and also sincerely set forth, remains in many places of our realm, either not known at all, or not used; or at least if used, it is very seldom. And that in such a light and irreverent way, as the people in many places either have heard nothing, or if they have heard, they neither understand, nor have that spiritual delight in it, that pertains to good Christians. The fault of this, as we must of reason impute to you and others of your vocation, called by God, through our appointment, to due respect to this and similar matters; so considering that by these and similar occasions, our loving subjects still remain in their blindness and superstitious errors, and in some places, they remain in irreligious forgetfulness of God, whereby His wrath may be provoked upon us and them. Remembering with this, that among other cures committed to our princely charge, we think this the greatest: to see the glory and true service of Him maintained and extolled, by whose clemency we acknowledge ourselves to have all that we have, we could not except by the advice and consent of our dearest uncle, Edward Duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of our realm, dominions, and subjects, and the rest of our privy council, admonish you about the premises. In these, because it was your office to use earnest diligence, and to prefer the same in all places within your diocese, as the case required, so we have thought it good to pray and request you, and nevertheless to straitly charge and command you, that from now on you have an earnest and special regard to reduce these things, so that the

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curates may do their duties more often and in a more reverent way; and the people may be occasioned by the good advice and examples of yourself, your chancellor, archdeacons, and other inferior ministers, to come more often and with more devotion to their said common prayers, to give thanks to God, and to be partakers of the most holy communion. In doing so, by showing yourself diligent, and giving a good example in your own person, you will both discharge your duty to the great Pastor, to whom we all have to account, and also do us good service. And on the other side, if we hereafter (notwithstanding these letters and commandments of ours) hear complaint, and find the same fault in your diocese, we will have just cause to impute the fault of it, and of all that ensues from it, to you. And consequently we will be occasioned thereby to otherwise see to the redress of these things, for which we would be sorry. And therefore we charge and command you, upon your allegiance, to look well upon your duty in this, as you respect our pleasure.

“Given under our signet at our manor of Richmond,  
the 23rd of July, the third year of our reign, 1549.”

The bishop of London, among the rest of the bishops receiving these letters, willingly accepted them in an outward show (as before). Therefore, immediately with the said letters, they directed the following precept to the dean and chapter of the cathedral church of St. Paul's, commanding them to look to duly accomplishing these things accordingly.

*A Letter of Bonner,  
to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's.*

“Edmund by the grace of God, etc. To my well beloved brethren, the dean and chapter of the cathedral church of St. Paul in London, and to the other ministers there and every of them, I send greeting. And whereas I have recently received letters from our sovereign lord the king, of such tenor as is annexed to this, and according to my most bounden duty, I am right well willing, and desiring that the said letters should be duly executed and observed in all points, according to the tenor and as pertains to the purport of the same. These, therefore, are to require, and also to straitly charge you, and every of you, on his majesty's behalf, etc., that you admonish and command, or cause to be admonished or commanded, all and singular parsons, vicars, and curates of your jurisdiction, to accordingly observe and accomplish the same from time to time. Furthermore, I am requiring and likewise charging you, and every of you, to certify this to me, to my chancellor or other my officers in this behalf, with such convenient speed as pertains both to your proceedings in the execution of them, and also to the persons and names of all those who from now on are found negligent in doing their duties in the premises, or any of them.

“Given at my house at Fulham, the 26th of July,  
in the year of our Lord 1549, and in the  
third year of his majesty's reign.”

Moreover, as the king at this time heard the muttering of rebellion then stirring (of which more will be said shortly), and also being credibly informed that, through the evil example, slackness of preaching, and administering of the sacraments, and the careless contempt of bishop Bonner, not only were many of the people in the city of London and other places of his diocese, very negligent and forgetful of their duties to God (in frequenting the divine service then established and set forth by the authority of parliament); but also that others, utterly despising it, often frequented in secret places of his diocese, the popish mass and other foreign rites not allowed by the laws of this realm. Therefore the king thought it good to appoint the lord protector and the rest of his privy council to call the bishop before them, and to deal with him according to their wise and discreet judgment.

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On the 11th of August 1549, they sent a messenger for him. And upon his appearance, he made a declaration of such information and complaints as had been brought against him. Then, after sharp admonitions and reproofs for his evil demeanors, they delivered to the bishop, from the king (for his better reformation and amendment), certain private injunctions to be followed and observed by himself. And as in the first branch of the injunctions, he was personally assigned to preach at St. Paul's Cross on Sunday for the next three weeks (because both the dangerous and fickle state of the times, and also partly his own suspicious behavior required it), they further delivered to him in writing such articles to address in his sermon, as they then thought most fitting and necessary for the time. All of these injunctions and articles I insert here:

### *Certain private Injunctions and Articles given to Bonner by the Council.*

“Because we are notified that among other disorders of our subjects at this present time, there are several in our city of London, and other places within your diocese, who are very negligent and forgetful of their duty to Almighty God, from whom all good things are to be looked for. They assemble themselves very seldom for common prayer and the holy communion (now being a time when it is more needful with heart and mind to pray to our heavenly Father for his aid and succor), and fewer times than they were accustomed to before. We are right sorry for this. So too, we understand that this offense to God is most generally committed through your evil example, and the slackness of your preaching and instructing our people to do their duties. For up to now, upon all principal feasts, and those called *majus duplex*, you yourself usually executed these in person. Now, since the time that by the advice of our whole parliament we have set a most godly and devout order in our church of England and Ireland, you have very seldom or never executed upon such other days, to the contempt of our proceedings, and the evil example to others. And because it is also brought to our knowledge, that many in London, as well as in other places of your diocese, frequent and haunt foreign rites of masses, which are not allowed by the orders of our realm. And they despise and forbear to praise and laud God, nor will they pray according to such rites and ceremonies as are approved in this realm, and set out by our authority. And further, that adultery and fornication is maintained and kept openly and commonly in the city of London, and in other places of your diocese, by which the wrath of God is provoked against our people. You have previously been admonished about this; yet up to now you have made no redress as pertains to the pastoral office, authority, and cure of a bishop. Therefore, we to whom the supreme cure and charge of this church pertains, to avert from us the high indignation of Almighty God, by the advice of our most entirely beloved uncle the lord protector, and the rest of our privy council, we have thought it no less than our most bounden duty, to admonish, charge, and warn you, without delay, that you most strictly look upon the premises, and see them so reformed that no negligence may appear on your behalf, upon such pain as we may inflict upon you by our laws ecclesiastical and temporal, to deprivation or otherwise, as seems reasonable to us, according to the offense. And to the intent that you might better see to the reformation of the said abuses, we thought it good to give you the following injunctions:

“1. You shall preach at St. Paul's Cross, in London, in proper person, on Sunday come three weeks from this date, and in the same sermon declare and set forth the articles annexed to this; and hereafter you shall preach once every quarter of the year there, exhorting in your sermon the people to obedience, prayer, and godly living; and you shall be present at every sermon hereafter made at St. Paul's cross, if sickness or some other reasonable cause do not hinder you.

“2. You yourself in person shall from henceforth on every day which up to now in this church of England was accounted a principal feast, or *Majus duplex*, and at all such times as the

bishops of London, your predecessors, usually celebrated and sang high mass, now celebrate and execute the communion at the high altar in St. Paul's, for the better example of all others, unless sickness hinders you.

“3. You shall yourself, according to your duty and the office of a bishop, call before you all those who do not come and frequent the common prayer and service in the church, or do not come to God's table and receive the communion at least once a year, or whoever frequents or goes to any other rite or service than is appointed by our book — either of matins, evensong, or mass — in any church, chapel, or other private places within your diocese; and you shall see all such offenders brought before you and punished according to the ecclesiastical laws, with severe and strict punishment. Likewise you shall see one only order used in your diocese, according to our said book, and none other.

“4. You shall both by yourself, and all your officers under you, search out and bring before you, more diligently than up to now (as pertains to your office) all adulterers, and see them punished according to the ecclesiastical laws, and the authority given you in that behalf.

“5. ‘We have heard also complaints, that the church of St. Paul's, and other churches in London are more neglected of late, in reparation of the glass, as well as other buildings and ornaments, than they were previously, and that many persons in the city, from malice, deny the payment of their due tithe to their curates, by which the curates are both injured and made not so well able, and in a way, discouraged to do their duties. In this thing, it is also our will and commandment, that you shall diligently look to, and see it redressed as it applies.

“6. Because all these complaints are mostly done and committed in London, to the intent you may look more earnestly, better, and more diligently to their reformation, our pleasure is that you shall abide and keep residence in your house there, in the city, see, and principal place of your diocese, and nowhere else, for a certain time, until you are otherwise licensed by us.”

### ***Disloyalty in Cornwall and Devonshire***

And thus having brought Bishop Bonner home to his own house, we will leave him there a while to take his ease in his own lodging, till we return to him again. In the meantime we will make a little digression into Cornwall and Devonshire,<sup>519</sup> to relate some part of the disloyal doings of the men there, against their meek and excellent prince. They were not content with him, but contrary to all order, reason, nature and loyalty, they advanced in a rebellious conspiracy against him, and against his proceedings, through the pernicious instigation of popish priests. Hating the injunctions and godly order of reformation set forward by the king, and especially mourning to see their old popish church of Rome decaying, they did not cease by all sinister and subtle means, under God's name and the king's, and under color of religion, to persuade the people, and to assemble in companies, to gather captains, and at last to burst out in rank rebellion. Nor were there lacking among the lay sort, some as seditiously disposed to rebellion, as they were to mischief and madness.

Among them, the chief captains were Humfrey Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount, James Rosogan, John Rosogan, John Pain, Thomas Underbill, John Soleman, and William Segar. There were eight priests who were the principal stirrers, some of them governors of the camps; afterwards they were executed. Their names were Robert Bochim, John Temson, Roger Baratt, John Wolcock, William Asa, James Mourton, John Barow, Richard Bennet, besides a multitude of other popish priests. The number of those concerned in the rebellion, amounted to a little less than 10,000 stout traitors.

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<sup>519</sup> Devonshire and Cornwall are located in the south-western region of England, forming the South West Peninsula. Devon, lies east of Cornwall, with the English Channel to the south.



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Their first intent was, after they had spoiled their own districts most miserably, to invade the city of Exeter, and so all other parts of the realm. But they were repulsed from Exeter, and then they fell to spoiling and robbing wherever or whatever they might catch.

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At length, laying their traitorous heads together, they consulted upon certain articles to be sent up. But such differences of opinion prevailed among them, that their plans utterly failed. Some seemed more tolerable; others were altogether unreasonable. Some would have no justice. Some would have no state of gentlemen. The priests ever harped upon one string, namely, to bring the bishop of Rome back into England.

After much ado, at last a few articles were agreed upon, to be forwarded to the king.

*The Articles of the Commons of Devonshire,  
and Cornwall, sent to the King.*

“1. Because man, unless he is born of water and the Holy Spirit, cannot enter into the kingdom of God, and because the gates of heaven are not opened without His blessed sacrament and baptism, therefore, we will that our curates shall minister this sacrament at all times of need, week-days as well as holydays.

“2. We will have our children confirmed by the bishop whenever we shall, within the diocese, resort to him.

“3. Because, as we constantly believe that after the priest has spoken the words of consecration at mass, there celebrating and consecrating the same, there is very really the body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ, God and man; and that no substance of bread and wine remains after, but the very self same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and was given upon the cross for our redemption. We will therefore have mass celebrated as it has been in times past, without any man communicating with the priest, as many, rudely presuming to unworthily receive the same, make no distinction between the Lord’s body and other kinds of food; some saying that it is bread before and after, some saying that it is profitable to no man unless he receives it, with many other abusive terms.

“4. We will have the consecrated host preserved in our churches. We will have holy bread and holy water in remembrance of Christ’s precious body and blood.

“5. We would have our priests sing, or say with an audible voice, God’s service in the choir of the parish churches, and not have God’s service set forth like a Christmas play.

“6. Because priests are men dedicated to God, for ministering and celebrating the blessed sacraments and preaching God’s word, we would have them live chaste without marriage, as St. Paul did, being the elect and chosen vessel of God, saying to all honest priests, ‘Be followers of me.’

“We would have the Six Articles which our sovereign lord king Henry VIII set forth in his latter days, be used and so taken as they were at that time.

“We pray God save king Edward, for we are his, both body and goods.”

*The Answer sent by the King’s Majesty,  
to certain of his people assembled in Devonshire.*

“Knowledge has been given to us and our dearest uncle Edward duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of all our realms, dominions, and subjects, and to the rest of our privy council, of some assemblies made by you, who ought to be our loving subjects, against all order, law, and otherwise than any loving and kind subjects have ever attempted against their

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natural and liege sovereign lord. Yet we have thought it fitting at this time, not to condemn or reject you, as we might justly do, but to treat you as our subjects, thinking that the devil does not have that power in you, to make you, of natural born Englishmen, so suddenly become enemies to your own native country; or to make traitors of you, our subjects; or under some pretense, to relieve yourselves, to destroy yourselves, your wives, children, lands, houses, and all other commodities of your life. This we say: we trust that although you are seduced by ignorance, you will not be obstinate upon gaining knowledge. And though some among you (just as there will ever be some tares among good wheat) forget God, neglect their prince, do not esteem the state of the realm, but like careless desperate men, delight in sedition, tumult, and wars — yet nevertheless, most of you will hear the voice of your natural prince, and will by wisdom and counsel be warned, and cease your evils in the beginning, whose ends will be your own destruction, even by Almighty God's order. Therefore, we speak to you as our subjects, seduced by ignorance, and we are content to use our princely authority, like a father to his children, to admonish you of your faults — not to punish them, but to put you in remembrance of your duties, and not to avenge your forgetfulness.

“First, As to your disorderly rising in multitudes, and assembling yourselves against our other loving subjects, to array yourselves to war, who among you all can answer to Almighty God, who charges you to obey us in all things? Or how can any English good heart answer us, our laws, and the rest of our very loving and faithful subjects, who indeed by their obedience make our honor, estate, and degree?

“You use our name in your writings, and abuse it against ourself. What injury you do us, to call those who love us, to your evil purposes by the authority of our name! God has made us your king by his ordinance and providence, by our blood and inheritance, by lawful succession and our coronation — but not to this end, as you use our name. We are your most natural sovereign lord and king, Edward the Sixth, to rule you, to preserve you, to save you from all your outward enemies, to see our laws well ministered, every man to have his own; to suppress disorderly people, to punish traitors, thieves, pirates, robbers, and such like, yes, to keep our realms from foreign princes, from the malice of Scots, of Frenchmen, and of the bishop of Rome. Thus, good subjects, our name is written; and thus it is honored and obeyed. It has this majesty by God's ordinance, and not by man's. So that we cannot write too much about this offense of yours. And yet we do not doubt that this is enough from a prince to all reasonable people; from a king to all kind-hearted and loving subjects; from a powerful king of England to every natural Englishman.

“Your pretenses, which you say move you to do these things, and with which you seek to excuse this disorder, we assure you, are either all false, or else so vain that we do not doubt that after you understand the truth, you will all, with one voice, acknowledge yourselves ignorantly led, and seduced by error. And if there are any who will not, they are rank traitors, enemies of our crown, seditious people, heretics, papists, or those who do not care how they seek to provoke an insurrection; and those who cannot become so rich with their own labors, and with peace, as they can with spoils, wars, robberies, and such — yes, with the spoil of your own goods, and with the living of your labors, the sweat of your bodies, the food of your own households, wives and children. They are those who, for a time, will use pleasant persuasions with you, but in the end will cut your throats for your own goods.

“You are persuaded that your children, even when necessity requires it, will not be christened except on the holydays. Learn from us how false this is. Our book which we have set forth by the free consent of our parliament, in the English tongue, teaching you the contrary, even in the first leaf, indeed, the first side of the leaf of that part which treats baptism. Good subjects, look and do not be deceived, for we do not speak to others. Those who have put this false opinion into your ears, do not mean the christening of your children, but the destruction of

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you who are our christened subjects. Let this be known to you: our honor is so much, that we may not be found faulty of our word. Prove it, if by our laws you may not christen your children upon necessity, every day or hour in the week, then you might be offended. But seeing that you may do it, how can you believe those who teach you the contrary? What do you think they mean in other things, who move you to break your obedience against us, your king and sovereign, upon these false tales and persuasions?

[645] A.D. 1547-1553.

“Therefore, all of you who will acknowledge us as your sovereign lord, and who will hear the voice of us your natural king, may easily perceive how you are deceived; and how subtly traitors and papists, with their falsehood, seek to achieve and bring their purpose to pass. Every traitor will be glad to dissemble his treason, and feed it secretly, and every papist his popery, and nourish it inwardly. And in the end, they would make you, our subjects, partakers of treason and popery, under the pretense of a commonwealth and holiness.

“And how are you seduced by those who put in your heads, that the blessed sacrament of Christ’s body does not differ from other common bread? If our laws, proclamations, and statutes, are all to the contrary, then why would any man persuade you against them? We ourselves in our own heart, our council in all their profession, our laws and statutes in all their purposes, our good subjects in all their doings, most highly esteem that sacrament, and use the communion to our comfort. We make so much of a distinction between it and other common bread, that we think there is no profit from other bread but to maintain our bodies. But of this blessed bread we take it to be the very food of our souls to everlasting life. What do you think, good subjects? Being your prince, your lord, your king by God’s appointment, will we more prevail with truth, than certain evil persons do with open falsehood? Will any seditious person persuade you that the sacrament is despised, which by our laws, by ourself, by our council, by all our good subjects, is esteemed, used, participated, and daily received? If ever you were seduced, if ever deceived, if ever traitors were believed, if ever papists poisoned good subjects, it is now. It is not the christening of children, not the reverence of the sacrament, not the health of your souls that they aim at, good subjects. It is sedition; it is high treason; it is your destruction they seek, however craftily, however piteously, however cunningly they do it. With one rule, judge the end which must follow upon your purposes. Almighty God forbids, upon pain of everlasting damnation, disobedience to us, your king. If we were slow, would God err? If your offense is towards God, do you think it pardoned without repentance? Is God’s judgment mutable? Your pain is damnation, your judge is incorruptible, your fault is most evident.

“Likewise you are badly informed in other articles, such as for confirmation of your children, for the mass, for the manner of your service of matins and even-song. Whatever is ordered in them has been long debated and consulted by many learned bishops, doctors, and other men of great learning in this realm. In nothing was so much labor and time spent, nothing so fully ended.

“As for the service in the English tongue, it has manifest reasons for it. Perhaps it seems a new service to you; yet indeed it is nothing other than the old. The self same words are in English which were in Latin, saving a few things were taken out which were so childish that it would have been a shame to hear them in English, as all can judge who choose to report the truth. The difference is that you, our subjects, may understand in English, being our natural country tongue, that which was up to now was spoken in Latin; then it only served those who understood Latin, but now it serves all of you who are born English. How can it with reason offend any reasonable man, that he should understand what any other man says, and consent with the speaker? If the service of the church was good in Latin, it remains good in English. For nothing is altered, but to speak with knowledge that which was spoken with ignorance,

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and to let you understand what is said to you, to the intent you may further it with your own devotion. It is an alteration for the better, unless knowledge is worse than ignorance. So that whoever has moved you to dislike this order, can give you no reason for it, nor answer you, if you understood it.

“Therefore, you our subjects, remember that we speak to you, being ordained your prince and king by Almighty God. If in any way we could advance God’s honor more than we do, we would do it. See that you become subject to God’s ordinances, obeying us your prince, and learn from those who have authority to teach you, who have power to rule you, and will execute our justice if we are provoked. Do not learn from those whose fruits are nothing but willfulness, disobedience, obstinacy, dissimulation, and destruction of the realm.

“For the mass, we assure you, no small study or pains have been spent by all the learned clergy in this. And to avoid all contention, it is brought even to the very use as Christ left it, as the apostles used it, and as the holy fathers delivered it. But it is indeed somewhat altered from what the popes of Rome had made it for their own gain. Although you may hear the contrary from some evil popish men, yet our majesty, who for our honor may not be blemished, nor stained, assures you that they deceive you, abuse you, and blow these opinions into your heads, to accomplish their own purpose.

“And so likewise judge about the confirmation of children. Let them answer you this one question: Do they think that a child christened is damned, because it dies before confirmation? They are confirmed when they have arrived at the years of discretion, to learn that which they professed by baptism; they are taught in age that which they received in infancy; and yet no doubt they are saved by baptism, not by confirmation; and they are made Christ’s by christening, and taught how to continue by confirmation. Therefore, on the whole good subjects, mark how our doctrine is founded upon true learning, and theirs upon shameless errors.

“To conclude, besides our gentle manner of informing you, whatever is contained in our book, either for baptism, sacrament, mass, confirmation, and service in the church, is established by our parliament, agreed by the whole clergy, indeed, devised by the bishops of the realm, and further, confirmed by God’s word. How dare you trust, yes, how dare you give ear, without trembling, to any person — to disallow a parliament — to allow a subject to persuade you against our majesty — a man from his singular arrogancy against the determination of the bishops, and all the clergy, any invented argument against the word of God?

“But now we resort to you our subjects, and say of your blindness, of your unkindness and unnatural conduct, that if we thought it had not begun from ignorance, and been continued by persuasion of certain traitors among you, who we think are few in number, but busy in their doings, we could not be persuaded but to use our sword, and do justice, as we are ordained by God to redress your errors by revenge. But though love and zeal overcome our just anger, yet how long that will be, God knows, in whose hand our heart is. Or rather for your own sakes, being our christened subjects, we would that you were persuaded rather than vanquished, informed than forced, taught than overthrown, quietly pacified than rigorously prosecuted.

“You require to have the statute of Six Articles revived. Do you know what you require? Or do you know what ease you have with the loss of them? They were laws made, but quickly repented; they were too bloody to be borne by our people. And yet at first they were indeed made of some necessity. Oh subjects! How are you entrapped by subtle persons? Out of pity, we took the articles away, because they were bloody; and you now will ignorantly ask to have them back again. You know full well that they helped us to extend rigor, and gave us cause to draw our sword very often. They were like a whetstone to our sword, and for your sakes we

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ceased to use them. Since our mercy moved us to write our laws with mildness and equity, how are you blinded to ask for them in blood?

“But leaving this manner of reasoning and resorting to the truth of our authority, we let you know that these have been annulled by our parliament, with great rejoicing of our subjects, and are not now to be called into question by subjects. Dare any of you then, bearing the name of a subject, stand against an act of parliament — a law of the whole realm? What is our power if laws were thus to be neglected? Indeed, what is your surety if laws are not kept? Assure yourselves that we, of no earthly power under heaven, can make such a reputation as we do of our power, to have our laws obeyed; and this cause of God, which we have taken in hand, to be thoroughly maintained, from which we will never remove a hair’s breadth, nor give way to any creature living, much less to any subject. But in this we will spend our royal person, our crown, treasure, realm, and all our estate, of which we assure you by our high honor.

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“For in this indeed rests our honor; in this stands our kingdom; in this do all kings acknowledge us to be a king. And do any of you dare to breathe or think against our honor, our kingdom, our crown?

“In the end of this, your request (as we are given to understand it), you would have them stand in force until our full age. To this we think, if you knew what you were saying, you would never have uttered that notion, nor ever have given breath to such a thought. For what do you think of our kingdom? Are we of less authority for our age? Are we not your king now, as we shall be? Or will you be subjects later, and are you not subjects now? Do we not now have the right we will have? If we would suspend and hang our doings in doubt until our full age, you must first know, as a king, we have no difference of years nor time, except that as a natural man and creature of God, we have youth; and by His sufferance we shall have age: We are your rightful king, your liege lord, your king anointed, your king crowned, the sovereign king of England, not by our age, but by God’s ordinance, not only when we will be twenty-one years, but when we are ten years. We possess our crown, not by years, but by the blood and descent from our father King Henry VIII. You are our subjects, because we are your king; and rule we will, because God has willed. It is as great a fault in us not to rule, as in a subject not to obey.

“In truth, those who move this matter, if they dared utter it themselves, they would deny our kingdom. But our good subjects know their prince, and will increase, not diminish his honor; enlarge, not abate his power; acknowledge, not defer his kingdom till certain years. All is one, to speak against our crown and to deny our kingdom, as to require that our laws may be broken until we attain twenty-one years. Are we not your crowned, anointed, and established king? In what then are we of less majesty, of less authority, or less state, than were our progenitors, kings of this realm, except that your unkindness, your unnaturalness will diminish our estimation? We have up to now, since the death of our father, by the good advice and counsel of our dear and entirely beloved uncle, kept our state, maintained our realm, preserved our honor, defended our people from our enemies. We have up to now been feared and dreaded by our enemies; yes, by princes, kings, and nations. Indeed, in this we are not at all inferior to any of our progenitors, which grace we acknowledge to be given to us from God; and how else, if not by the good obedience of our people, the good counsel of our magistrates, and the due execution of our laws? By the authority of our kingdom, England up to now has gained honor; during our reign, it has won from the enemy, and not lost.

“It has been marvelled that we, of such young years, should have reigned so nobly, so royally, so quietly. And how does it chance that you, our subjects of that our county of Devonshire, would give the first occasion to slander this realm of England, to give courage to the enemy, to brand our realm with the evil of rebellion, to make it a prey to our old enemies, to diminish

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our honor, which God has given, our father left, our good uncle and council preserved for us? What greater evil could you commit than even now, when our foreign enemy in Scotland and on the sea, seeks to invade us, to rise in this manner against our law, to provoke so justly our wrath, to ask our vengeance, and to give us occasion to spend that force upon you, which we meant to bestow upon our enemies, to begin to slay you with that sword which we drew against the Scots and other enemies, to make a conquest of our own people, which otherwise should have been of the whole realm of Scotland?

“Thus far you see we have descended from our high majesty for love, to consider you in your base and simple ignorance, and have been content to send you an instruction like a fatherly prince, who of justice might have sent you your destruction like a king to rebels. And now let you know, that as you see our abundant mercy, so if you provoke us further, we swear to you by the living God, by whom we reign, you shall feel the power of the same God in our sword. How mighty it is, no subject knows; how puissant it is, no private man can judge; how mortal it is, no English heart dare think. But surely, surely, as your lord and prince, your only king and master, we say to you, repent yourselves, and take our mercy without delay. Or else we will at once extend our princely power, and execute our sharp sword against you, as against very infidels and Turks, and rather endanger our own royal person, state, and power, than not execute the same.

“And if you will prove the example of our mercy, learn from those who recently arose, pretending some grievances, and yet acknowledging their offenses, who have not only received most humbly their pardon, but also feel by our order, to whom all public order alone pertains, redress devised for their grievances. In the end, we admonish you of your duties towards God, to whom you shall answer in the day of the Lord, and of your duties towards us, to whom you shall answer by our order, and take our mercy while God so inclines us, lest when you are constrained to ask, we will be too hardened in our heart to grant it to you; and where you now hear of mercy, mercy and life, you shall then hear of justice, justice and death.

“Given at Richmond, the 8th of July, the third year of our reign.”

Besides the articles of these Devonshire men, the rebels also sent up, not long after, a supplication to the king, to which an answer was again made by the king’s learned council.

To behold the malicious working of those popish priests, to kindle more the spark of sedition in the people’s hearts, what rumors they raised up against the king and his council! They made the vulgar multitude believe that they should be made to pay, first for their sheep, next for their geese and pigs also, and such other things. And whatever they had in store, or should put into their mouths, they must pay a tax for it to the king! A word was never thought or meant about this by the king. But it seemed fit matter for such priests, by which to set the prince against his subjects by the ears.

Against this seditious company of rebels, the king and his council sent Sir Jolin Russel, knight and lord privy seal, as lieutenant-general of the king’s army. The charge and conduct of suppressing this insurrection chiefly depended on him. He was joined, as part of ordinary council in those affairs put under him, by Sir William Herbert, Sir J. Pawlet, Sir Hugh Pawlet, Sir Thomas Speck, with the lord Grey, and others.

Thus the lord privy seal, accompanied by the lord Grey, advancing his power against the rebels, though not equal in number of soldiers, yet through the Lord’s help, he repulsed them about the latter end of July 1549. Notwithstanding, the rebels recovered themselves, and encountered a second time with the lord privy seal, about the beginning of August. They were utterly vanquished and overthrown, so that the popish rebels not only lost the field,

but a great part of them also lost their lives. They lay there slain miserably in the chase for about two miles.

These rebels, to make their party more sure by the help and presence of their “consecrated god,” brought the pix with them into the battle, with the host in it, under his canopy. And instead of an altar, they set him riding in a cart. Nor was there any lack of masses, crosses, banners, candlesticks, with holy bread also, and plenty of holy water, to defend themselves from devils and all adversaries. In the end, these could neither help their friends, nor save themselves from the hands of their enemies. The consecrated god, and all the trumpery about him, was very soon after taken in the cart, and there thrown into the dust. It left a notable lesson not to put their confidence hereafter in such vain idols, but only in the true and living God and immortal Maker, serving Him according to his prescribed word, and that was only in the faith of his Son, and not according to their own dreaming fantasies.

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Note: This event brings to my remembrance another similar popish field of battle (called *Musselburgh field*) fought in Scotland the year before this, where the Scots likewise encamped themselves against the lord protector, and the king’s power. They brought with them to the battle, the consecrated gods of their altars, with masses, crosses, banners, and all their popish array, having full confidence by virtue of them, to have a great victory against the English army. The number of the Scots army so far exceeded ours, and they were so appointed with their pikes in the front ranks against our horsemen (who gave the first onset) that our men were glad to retreat, but not without the loss of diverse gentlemen. Notwithstanding, the mighty arm of the Lord so turned the victory, that the Scots, in the end, with all their masses, pixes, and idolatrous trinkets, were put to the rout. In that field were slain between thirteen and fourteen thousand, and not more than a hundred Englishmen. The original cause of this war was the promise of the Scots, made before to king Henry, for the marriage of the young Scottish queen to king Edward. The Scots afterwards broke this promise.

During this commotion among the popish rebels in Cornwall and Devonshire, another disturbance began to be engendered in **Oxford** and **Buckinghamshire**. But that was soon appeased by lord Grey, who chased the rebels to their houses. Two hundred of them were taken, and a dozen of the ringleaders were delivered to him, some of whom were executed.

In **Norfolk** and parts thereabout, although the origin of their tumultuous stirring was not for the same cause, yet the obstinate hearts of that unruly multitude seemed no less bent upon mischief, and to disturb the public peace. The rude and confused rabble was overthrown and slain, numbering at least four thousand, it is supposed,. And the chief stirrers and authors of that commotion were taken and executed. One of them (Ket) was hanged in chains.

Besides these insurrections, about the latter end of July 1549, another commotion began in **Yorkshire**. The causes moving them to raise this rebellion were these: first and principally, their traitorous hearts grudging at the king’s proceedings in advancing and reforming the true honor of God and his religion. Another cause was trusting to a blind and fantastic prophecy with which they were seduced, thinking the prophecy would shortly come to pass. The tenor of that prophecy, and the purpose of the traitors, was that, “There should no king reigning in England; that the noblemen and gentlemen should be destroyed; and that the realm should be ruled by four governors, to be elected and appointed by the commons holding a parliament, to begin at the south and north seas of England,” etc. They imagined

that their rebellion in the North, and the other rebellion of the Devonshire men in the West, meeting (as they intended) at one place, would be the means to bring about their traitorous devilish device. Plotting together how they might find more company to join with them in their detestable designs, their plan was to rise at once in two places, the one seven miles distant from the other. At first they would rush to kill and destroy those gentlemen and men of substance about them who favored the king's proceedings, or who would resist them.

It would be tedious to recite what riot these rebels gave themselves to, ranging about the country from town to town to enlarge their rebellious band, taking those by force who were not willing to go, and leaving no man above the age of sixteen in any town where they came. Thus their numbers were so increased, that in a short time they had gathered three thousand to favor their wicked attempts. They were likely to gather more, if the Lord's goodness, through prudent circumspection, had not interrupted the course of their furious beginning.

For first came the king's gracious and free pardon, discharging and pardoning them and the rest of the rebels of all treasons, murders, felonies, and other offenses done to his majesty, before the 21st of August A.D. 1549. This pardon influenced many of the rebels. And though the leaders contemptuously refused it, yet they were soon taken and executed, and this rebellion was suppressed.

### ***Proceedings Against Bishop Bonner.***

Let us now return to Bonner, bishop of London, where we left him before' that is, in his own house, where he was commanded by the council to remain.

To better understand the circumstances relating to Bonner, it is requisite to retrace matters from the beginning of King Edward's time. King Edward, in the first year of his reign, A.D. 1547, for the order of his visitation, directed certain commissioners, such as Sir Anthony Cook, Sir John Godsolve, knights; Mr. John Godsolve, Christopher Nevinson, doctors of the law; and John Madew, doctor of divinity; who sat on their commission in St. Paul's church. There were present at the same time, bishop Bonner, John Royston, Polydore Virgil, Peter Van, and others. After the sermon was given, and the commission read, they administered an oath to the bishop of London, to renounce the bishop of Rome, with his usurped authority, and to swear obedience to the king, according to the form of the statute made in the thirty-first year of king Henry VIII. Also that the bishop should present and redress all such things as were needed to be reformed within the church.

Whereupon the bishop humbly and instantly desired that he might see their commission, only for this purpose (he said): that he might better fulfill and put into execution the things in which he was charged by them or their commission. The commissioners replied that they would deliberate more upon the matter. And so they called the other ministers of the church before them, and administered the same oath to them, that they did to the bishop. Certain interrogatories and articles of inquisition were read to them by Peter Lilly, the public notary. This done, and after their oaths were taken, the commissioners delivered to the bishop certain injunctions, in print as well as written, and homilies set forth by the king. The bishop received all these things, under the words of this protestation: "I receive these injunctions and homilies with this protestation, that I will observe them, if they are not contrary and repugnant to God's law, and to the statutes and ordinances of the church." He then added immediately, with an oath, that he never read the homilies and injunctions.

This protestation being made, Bonner instantly desired Peter Lilly, the registrar, to register it. And so the commissioners delivered the injunctions and homilies to Master Bellassere,



archdeacon of Colchester, and Gilbert Bourn, archdeacon of London, Essex, and Middlesex. They enjoined them to put them into speedy execution, and also reserved other injunctions to be administered afterwards, to the bishop as well as to the archdeacons, as they might see cause, etc. So continued the visitation till three o'clock the same day. At that hour and place, the commissioners sitting, and the canons and priests of the church appearing before them, they were examined by virtue of their oath, for their doctrine and conduct. First, John Painter, one of the cathedral church, there and then openly confessed that he lived viciously and immorally. Diverse other canons and priests of the church confessed these crimes in like manner, and could not deny they were culpable.

After the commissioners had delivered the king's injunctions and book of homilies to Master Royston, prebendary, and to the proctor of the dean and chapter of the cathedral church of St. Paul, they enjoined them to see them executed. They adjourned their visitation until seven o'clock the next day. By this visitation, it appears how Bonner made his protestation after receiving the king's injunctions.

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And further, we may perceive the immoral life and conversation of these unmarried priests of popery. The bishop shortly after his protestation, whether for fear, or for conscience, repenting himself, went to the king, where he submitted himself, and recanting his former protestation, craved pardon of the king for his demeanor toward his grace's commissioners. Which pardon although it was granted to him by the king, for acknowledging his fault, yet, for example, it was thought good that he should be committed to the Fleet.

*The Form of Bonner's Recantation.*

"Whereas I, Edmund, bishop of London, have at such time as I received the king's majesty's injunctions and homilies of my most dread sovereign lord, at the hands of his highness's visitors, unadvisedly made such protestation, as now upon better consideration of my duty of obedience, and of the evil example that might ensue to others from it, appears to me neither reasonable, nor such as might well stand with the duty of a humble subject. Since the same protestation, at my request, was then enacted and put in record by the register of that visitation, I have thought it my duty not only to declare before your lordships, that upon better consideration of my duty, I now renounce and revoke my said protestation, but also most humbly beseech your lordships, that my revocation of the same may likewise be put in the same records for a perpetual memory of the truth, most humbly beseeching your good lordships, both to take order that it may take effect, and also that my former and unadvised doings may be, by your good mediations, pardoned by the king's majesty.

"EDMUND, London."

Thus we see how, upon his humble submission, he received his pardon from the king. And yet, for example's sake, he was commanded to the Fleet. He did not continue there long, but according to the king's pardon, he was restored both to his house and living again, in the first year of the king, 1548.

It will be remembered how, in the second and a great part of the third year of the king, Bonner demeaned himself, by not advancing the king's proceedings. And yet he acted in such a way that no advantage could be taken against him by law, both in swearing his obedience to the king, and in receiving his injunctions; also in confessing his assent and consent touching the state of religion then; and in directing his letters, according to the archbishop of Canterbury's precepts, to Cloney (his sumner), to the bishop of Westminster, and to other bishops, for abolishing images, for abrogation of the mass, for bibles to be set

up in the churches, and for administering the sacrament in both kinds, with such other matters of reformation. At length, hearing of the death of the lord admiral, the lord protector's brother, and afterwards of the insurrection of the king's subjects, Bonner began to draw back somewhat and became slack in his pastoral diligence. So that in many places of his diocese and in London, the people were not only negligent in resorting to divine service, but they also frequented and haunted foreign rites of masses. And also himself, contrary to his usual manner, on principal feasts he refused to officiate in person. Whereupon being suspected and complained about, and brought before the king's council (as said before), after sharp admonitions and reproofs, he had certain private injunctions sent to him to compel him to preach at St. Paul's Cross on certain days.

The delivery of these injunctions and articles to the bishop (with the time of his preaching being appointed) he was soon after known among the citizens and commons within the city of London, so that every man expecting the appointed time, wished to hear the preaching. The time having come, the bishop, according to the injunctions, publicly preached at the cross of St. Paul's on the first day of September. However, as hypocrisy never lurks so secretly in the hearts of the wicked, that at one time or another, God in his most righteous judgment, will not make it open to the world. So Bonner's long cloaked obstinacy and hatred against the king's godly proceedings, was most plainly manifested in his sermon.

For although he was commanded to treat only such special points as were mentioned in his articles, in order to withdraw the minds of the people, as much as it lay in him, from the right and true understanding of the holy sacrament administered in the holy communion then set forth by the authority of the king's majesty (according to the true sense of the holy Scripture), he spent most of his sermon treating the gross, carnal, and papistical presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar. And he also not only slenderly touched on the rest of his articles, but with a rebellious and willful carelessness, he utterly omitted the whole last article, concerning the lawful authority of the king's highness during his non-age — even though by special command, he was chiefly appointed to address this, because it was the traitorous opinion of the popish rebels.

This contemptuous and disobedient dealing, just as it greatly offended most of the king's faithful and loving subjects present there, so it much displeased that faithful and godly preacher, John Hooper, who was afterwards bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, and in the end, a most constant martyr for the gospel of Christ; and it also displeased William Latimer, bachelor of divinity. Therefore, well weighing the foulness of the act, and their bounden allegiances to their prince, they exhibited to the king's highness, under both their names, a bill of complaint or denunciation against the bishop.

The king's majesty thus having perfect intelligence, by the information of these two credible persons, of the contemptuous and perverse negligence of this bishop, in not accomplishing his highness' command, thought it necessary with all convenient speed to look more severely to the punishment of such dangerous and rebellious obstinacy. And therefore, by the advice of the lord protector, and the rest of his honorable council, the king directed his commission under his great seal to the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Rochester, and to other grave and trusty personages and counsellors, appointing and authorizing them to call before them the bishop of London, as well as the denouncers, and upon due examination and proof, to proceed against him summarily, according to law, either to suspension, excommunication, committing to prison, or deprivation.

The commission being sealed with the king's great seal, it was by his highness's council directly delivered at court to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of

the commissioners, who were all present there together. Upon receipt of it, they determined to sit at the archbishop's house at Lambeth the next Wednesday, which was the 11th of September; and they appointed the bishop of London to be summoned before them. The manner of his behavior at his appearance must be described, because it both declares the froward (willful) nature and stubborn condition of the person, and also what esteem and authority he thought the commissioners had.

At his first entry into the archbishop's house at Lambeth, where the archbishop and the commissioners sat, he passed by them with his cap on his head (as if he did not see them), until someone plucked him by the sleeve, asking him to do reverence to the commissioners. He laughingly turned himself, and spoke to the archbishop in this way: "What, my lord, are you here? By my pledge, I did not see you." — "No," said the archbishop, "you would not see." — "Well," he said, "you sent for me; have you anything to say to me?" — "Yes," said the commissioners, "we have here authority from the king's highness to call you to account for the sermon you made recently at St. Paul's Cross, because you did not publish to the people the article which you were commanded to preach upon." At these words the bishop, either because he did not like to hear of this matter, or else because he wished to make his friends believe that he was called to account only for his opinions in religion, began to speak of other matters, and said to the archbishop, "In good faith, my lord, I wish one thing were held in more reverence than it is."

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What is it?" asked the archbishop. — "The blessed mass," he said. — "You have written very well of the sacrament: I marvel you do not honor it more." The archbishop of Canterbury perceiving the bishop's subtlety, replied to him, "If you think it is well, it is because you do not understand it." The other then, adding to his ignorance an obstinate impudence, answered, "I think I understand it better than you who wrote it." To which the archbishop replied, "Truly I will easily make a child that is but ten years old understand it as much as you. But what is this to the matter?"

When they began to enter the judicial prosecuting of their commission, and had called upon the denouncers to propose such matter as they had to object against him, hearing them speak, he fell to scorning and taunting them, saying to the one, that he spoke like a goose; and to the other, that he spoke like a woodcock, and utterly denying their accusations to be true. The archbishop seeing his peevish malice against the denouncers, asked him whether, if he would not believe them, he would credit the people present there? And then (because many of those present were at the bishop's sermon at St. Paul's Cross) he stood up and read the article of the king's authority, saying to them, "What do you say, my masters, did my lord of London preach this article?" They answered, "No, no." At which the bishop, turning himself about, deridingly said, "Will you believe this foolish people?"

Besides this, he used many irreverent, unbecoming, obstinate, and contrary words towards the commissioners (in defacing their authority with the terms of *pretended* commissioners, *pretended* witnesses, and unjust, unlawful, and *pretended* proceedings, terming some of them daws, woodcocks, fools, and such like). I will omit them here, for they appear in the sequel of the history.

On Wednesday, the 11th of September 1549, in the third year of the reign of King Edward VI, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of all England, with Nicholas Ridley then bishop of Rochester, Sir William Petre, knight, one of the king's two principal secretaries, and Master William May, doctor of the civil law, and dean of St. Paul's,

by virtue of the king's commission, sat judicially upon the examination of Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, within the archbishop's chamber of presence, at his house in Lambeth. Before them, the said bishop also personally appeared there. At which time the archbishop, in the name of the rest, declared to the bishop, that a grievous complaint had been previously made and exhibited against him in writing, to the king's majesty and his most honorable council, and that therefore his highness, with their advice, had committed the examination of it to him, and his colleagues present there. He showed a bill of complaint, exhibited to the king by William Latimer, and John Hooper, ministers, which they requested Sir William Petre to read.

These things ended, the bishop, like a subtle lawyer having secret intelligence before of these matters (whatever he pretended to the contrary) pulled out of his bosom a solemn protestation ready written, which he exhibited to the commissioners, requesting that the same might be openly read.

The protestation being read, he requested the commissioners that he might have the bill of complaint delivered to him. When he had well perused it, he said that the same was very general, and so general that he could not directly answer it. The archbishop answered that the special cause of the complaint against him was that he had transgressed the king's command, given to him by his council, in that in his sermon made at St. Paul's Cross, he did not set forth to the people the king's highness' royal power in his minority, according to the tenor of the article delivered to him for that purpose. And for proof of this he called William Latimer and John Hooper, who had put up the bill of complaint to the king against him.

When the bishop had earnestly looked upon them, he said, "As for this merchant, Latimer, I know him very well, and have borne with him, and winked at his doings a great while. But I have more to say to him hereafter. But as to this other merchant, Hooper, I have not seen him before. However I have heard much of his naughty preaching." And then turning to the archbishop (on purpose, most likely to make his friends think that he was not called there to answer for his contemptuous disobedience, but for matters of religion), said to him, "Ah, my lord, now I see that the cause of my trouble is not for the matter that you pretend against me, but it is because I preached and set forth in my recent sermon that the true presence of the most blessed body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ is in the sacrament of the altar. As for these my accusers, just as they are evil, infamous, notorious, and criminal persons, so they are manifest and notable heretics and seducers of the people, especially regarding the sacrament of the altar; and most of all this Hooper. For whereas in my late sermon at St. Paul's Cross, I preached that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is the true body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ, the self-same in substance that was hanged and shed upon the cross — he, the same afternoon, having a great rabble with him of his damnable sect, openly in the pulpit in my diocese, erroneously preached against it to the people. And maliciously inveighing against my sermon, he denied the verity and presence of Christ's true body and blood to be in the sacrament, and also falsely and untruly interpreted and expounded my words. And especially where I preached and affirmed the very true body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ to be in the sacrament, the self-same substance that was hanged and shed upon the cross, he, like an ass — as he is an ass indeed — falsely changed and turned the word *that* into *as*, like an ass, saying, that I had said *as* it hanged, and *as* it was shed upon the cross."

The archbishop perceiving the bishop's drift, and hearing him talk so much of the presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, said to him, "My lord of London, you speak much of a presence in the sacrament. What presence is there, and of what presence do you

mean?" The bishop being somewhat stirred and moved in mind, as appeared by his choleric countenance, spoke again to the archbishop very earnestly, and said, "What presence, my lord? I say and believe that there is the very true presence of the body and blood of Christ. What and how do you believe my Lord?" The archbishop, minding to nip the gross absurdities of the papists, asked him further, "Whether Christ was there, face, nose, mouth, eyes, arms, and lips, with other lineaments of his body." The bishop shaking his head, said, "Oh, I am right sorry to hear your grace speak these words," and boldly urged the archbishop to show his mind in this. Wisely weighing the presumption of the party, with the place and occasion of their assembly, the archbishop refused to do so, saying that their being there at that time was not to dispute of those matters, but to prosecute their commission committed to them by their prince. And therefore he desired Bonner to answer to such things as were objected against him.

Upon which Bonner requested to have a copy both of the commission, and also of the denunciation, with time to answer. The commissioners willingly granted this, assigning him to appear again before them on the next Friday, at eight o'clock before noon, and then to answer the tenor of the denunciation.

On Friday, the 13th of September, four commissioners, with Sir Thomas Smith Knight, the other of the king's two principal secretaries, and joint commissioner with them, sat judicially in the archbishop's chapel in his house at Lambeth; before whom appeared the bishop of London. The archbishop, in the name of the rest, first said to him, "My lord of London, the last time you were before us, we laid certain articles and matter to your charge regarding your disobedience to the king's majesty, and you have this day to make your answer. Therefore, now show us what you have to say for your defense."

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The bishop first asking the archbishop if he had said all, and he replying, "Yes," gave this answer: "My lord, the last day that I appeared before you, I remember there sat in the king's majesty's commission, your grace, you my lord of Rochester, you Master Secretary Petre, and you Master Dean of St. Paul's. But now I perceive there also sits Master Secretary Smith, who because he did not sit at the beginning, nor took the commission upon himself, should not do so. For by the law, those who begin must continue the commission." The archbishop answered, that he was no lawyer, and therefore he could not show what the law wills in that case, but if the law is so indeed, surely I take it to be an unreasonable law.

"Well," said the bishop, "there are those here who know the law, and yet I do not say this to stand or stick much in this point with you, but to tell it to you, as it were, by the way; for I have my answer ready here."

Then Master Secretary Petre said to the bishop, "My lord, in good truth, I must say to you, that although I have professed the law, yet by discontinuance and disuse of it, and having been occupied a long time in other matters, I have perhaps forgotten what the law will do precisely in this point. But admitting that if the law were as you say, yet you know, my lord, that this is our certain rule in law: *Quod consuetudo est juris interpres optimus* (that custom is the best interpreter of law). And I am sure you will not and cannot deny, that the custom in this realm is commonly used to the contrary in all judgments and commissions. And in very deed, we were all together at the court, having the commission presented to us, and took it upon us. And therefore, to stick in such trifling matters, you will, in my judgment, hurt yourself and your matter, rather than otherwise."

“Truly, Master Secretary,” said the bishop, “I have also for a long while been disused in the study of law, but having occasion, partly by reason of this matter to turn to my books, I find the law to be as I say, and yet, as I said, I tell you of it by the way, not minding to stick much with you in that point.”

At these words, Master Secretary Smith said also to the bishop, “Well, my lord of London, as cunning as you make yourself in the law, there are those here who know the law as well as you. And for my part I have studied the law too, and I promise you these are but quirks invented to delay matters. But our commission is to proceed summarily, and to cut off such frivolous allegations.”

“Well,” replied the bishop, “look well on your commission, and you will find these words in it: ‘To proceed according to the law and justice:’ and I ask both law and justice at your hands.”

Then Master Secretary Petre desired him to stand no more upon this, but to proceed to his answer. Whereupon the bishop Bonner took a writing which contained his answer to the denunciation exhibited the day before by Latimer and Hooper, and delivering it to the archbishop, he said that it was in his own handwriting, and for lack of sufficient time it was written so hastily and cursorily, that it could scarcely be read by any other. Therefore he desired to read it himself; and so taking it back, he read it openly.

The purport of his answer was that Hooper and Latimer were heretics, and therefore infamous and not to be believed or admitted as witnesses. Further, that the injunctions given to him were not sealed with the broad seal, or signed by the king, and that, notwithstanding, he did preach against rebellion and in behalf of the king’s authority — alleging that the witnesses were not to be believed, and that the charge was not true.

While he was reading the answer, objecting against his denouncers, causes for which he would have had the denouncers rejected by the commissioners. The archbishop of Canterbury replied that, “If there were any such law, he thought it was not a good or godly law, but a law of the bishop of Rome.”

“No, sir,” said the bishop of London, “it is the king’s law used in this realm.”

“Well, my lord,” said the archbishop, “you are too full of your law. I wish you had less knowledge in that law, and more knowledge in God’s law, and of your duty.”

With that, Secretary Petre desired the bishop to proceed in reading his answers. He did so, and when he had finished, Latimer delivered a writing to the archbishop and the rest of the commissioners; who then said to the bishop of London, “here are certain articles which we intend to administer to you.”

The commissioners assigned him Monday the 16th of September next following, to appear before them, and to make his full answers to all the articles administered to him by them this day.

On Monday, the 16th of September, the archbishop of Canterbury, associated with the bishop of Rochester, Secretary Smith, and Dr. May, dean of St. Paul’s, sat judicially within his chapel at Lambeth. Before them there and then appeared the bishop of London, as assigned in the last session. At that time he exhibited to the commissioners, in writing, his answers to the articles.

But before they were read, the archbishop said to him that his recent answers, made on the 13th of September to the denunciation, were very obscure, and also contained much matter

of slander against Latimer and Hooper, and much untruth. Therefore they desired to purge themselves. Whereupon Latimer, obtaining leave to speak, said that the bishop of London had most falsely, untruly, and uncharitably accused him, laying to his charge many feigned and untrue matters, and such as he would never be able to prove. For example, he alleged that William Latimer and John Hooper, with other heretics conspiring against him on the first day of September, after the bishop's sermon, assembled themselves together unlawfully against the bishop; that saying was most untrue. For neither that day, nor before that day, nor until certain days after, did he ever know or speak with Hooper. As to Latimer preaching there, he never held, taught, or preached anything concerning the blessed sacrament, other than he ought to do; nor otherwise than according to the Scriptures, and the true catholic faith of Christ's church. Therefore he offered himself to be tried by the archbishop, or other such learned men as it might please the king's majesty, or the commissioners, to appoint. And further, he offered to submit to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, if the bishop could justly prove to be true the things that he had shamefully laid to his charge there. Then Master Hooper obtained like license, and spoke to this effect:

"This ungodly man," pointing to the bishop, "has most uncharitably and ungodly accused me before your grace and this audience, and has laid to my charge that I am a heretic. Whereas, I take God to record, I never spoke, read, taught, or preached any heresy, but only the most true and pure word of God. And whereas, he says, I frequent the company of heretics; I do much marvel of his so saying; for it has pleased my lord protector's grace, my singular good lord and my lady's grace, to have me with them, and I have preached before them, and much used their company, with diverse other worshipful persons, and therefore I suppose this man means them. And further, whereas he says that I have made heretical books against the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, calling it mathematical, I perceive that this man knows not what this word mathematical there means, and therefore understands not my book: which, I take God to be my judge, I have made truly and sincerely, and according to his holy word: and by the same his holy word and Scriptures I am always and shall be ready to submit myself to your grace's judgment and the superior powers to be tried;" with many such more words of like importance.

This ended, the archbishop asked the bishop how he could prove that Hooper and Latimer assembled together against him on the first of September, as he had alleged, seeing that they now denied it, and therefore he willed him to answer immediately.

The bishop then answered that he would duly prove it, if he might be allowed to do it according to law. And with that, he pulled out of his sleeve certain books, saying, "I have this scoundrel's books which he made against the blessed sacrament, which you shall hear."

[651] A.D. 1547-1553.

Then, as he was turning certain leaves of it, Hooper began to speak again, but the bishop, turning himself towards him, tauntingly said, "Put up your pipes, you have spoken for your part, I will meddle no more with you." And with that, he read a certain sentence from the book. This done, he said, "Look, here you may see his opinion, and what it is." At these words, the people standing behind, and seeing his irreverent and unseemly demeanor and railing, fell suddenly into great laughing. At this, the bishop being moved, and not perceiving the reason why they laughed, turned towards them in a great rage, saying, "Ah, woodcocks, woodcocks!"

Then one of the commissioners said, "Why do you say so, my lord?" "Indeed," the bishop replied, "I may well call them woodcocks, who will thus laugh, and do not know at what, nor having yet heard what I said or read."

"Well, my lord of London," said the archbishop, "then I perceive you would persuade this audience, that you were called here for preaching your belief in the sacrament of the altar, and therefore you lay to these men's charge (meaning Hooper and Latimer) that they have accused you of that. However, there was no such thing laid to your charge, and therefore this audience will hear openly read, the denunciation that is put up against you, to the intent that they may better perceive your dealing in this." And with that, he said to the people, "My lord of London would make you believe that he is called here for declaring and preaching his opinion regarding the sacrament of the altar. But to the intent that you may perceive how he goes about to deceive you, you will hear the denunciation that is laid in against him, read to you." And thereupon he delivered the denunciation to Sir John Mason, knight, who read it openly. This done, the archbishop said again to the audience, "Behold, you hear how the bishop of London is called for no such matter as he would persuade you."

With this, the bishop being in a raging heat, as one void of all humanity, turned himself around to the people, saying, "Well, now hear what the bishop of London says for his part." But the commissioners, seeing his inordinate rebelliousness, forbade him to speak any more, saying that "he used himself very disobediently."

Notwithstanding, the bishop persisted in his irreverent manner of dealing with the commissioners. He pulled out of his sleeve another book, and said to the archbishop; "My lord of Canterbury, I have here a note out of your books that you made touching the blessed sacrament, in which you affirm the verity of the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament; and I have another book also of yours of the contrary opinion; which is a marvelous matter."

To which the archbishop replied that he made no books contrary one to another, and that he would defend his books. However, he thought the bishop did not understand them; "for I promise you," he said, "I will find a boy ten years old, who will be more apt to understand that matter than you, my lord of London."

Thus, after a great many words, the commissioners, thinking it not good to spend any more time with him, desired the bishop to show his answers to the articles objected, against him the previous day. Having them ready, he read the same to them. In them he laments that someone of his vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vile heretics, should be used in such a strange manner, having nevertheless done the best he could to declare his obedience to the king's majesty for the discouraging of rebellion; and also for the truth of Christ's true body, and his presence in the sacrament of the altar; for which alone the malicious denouncers, with their accomplices, had studied to trouble him.

Then in reply to the charge of omitting to defend the authority of the king during his minority, he said, for better setting forth the king's majesty's power and authority in his minority, he had collected out of histories, as well as out of the Scriptures, the names of several young kings who, notwithstanding their minority, were faithfully and obediently honored, and reputed for very true and lawful kings — such as Henry III being but nine years old; Edward III being but thirteen, Richard II being but eleven; Henry VI being not fully one year; Edward V being but eleven; Henry VIII being but eighteen years of age. And out of the Old Testament, Uzziah, who was but sixteen years old; Solomon and Manasseh being but twelve; Josiah, Jehoiachim, and Joash being but eight years of age when they



entered their reigns. All of these notes, with many others, he had purposed to declare, if they had come to his memory, as indeed they did not, because he was disturbed — partly for lack of preaching, and partly because of a bill that was delivered to him from the king's council, to declare the victory then had against the rebels in Norfolk and Devonshire — this being of some length, it confounded his memory; and also partly because his book in his sermon fell from him, which had his notes which he had collected for that purpose. So that he could not remember what he intended, yet in general he persuaded the people to obedience to the king's majesty, whose minority was manifestly known to them, and to all others.

When he had ended the reading of his answers, the commissioners said to him that in them he had very obscurely answered the article beginning thus: "You shall also set forth in your sermon that our authority," etc. He answered, that he had already made as full and sufficient an answer in writing, as he was bound to make by law.

The judges again demanded of him, whether he would answer otherwise, or not? To which he said, "No, unless the law compelled him." Then they asked him whether he thought the law compelled him to answer more fully, or not.' He answered, "No;" adding further that he was not bound to answer to such positions.

The commissioners then seeing his stubborn rebellion. told him plainly, that if he persisted this way, and would not answer otherwise, they would, according to the law, take him as if he had confessed it. He said, as before, that he had already fully answered them. But when they requested to have the notes which he had made of his sermon, he said they would have them if they would send for them. And as in his answer he stated that he did not know what the opinion of the rebels was, the judges declared to him that their opinion was that, "the king's majesty, before his grace came to the age of twenty-one years, did not have such full authority to make laws and statutes, as when he came to further years; and that his subjects were not bound to obey the laws and statutes made in his young age." The bishop answered that he was not of the opinion of the rebels mentioned in that article, as it appeared by his answers to the denunciation, as well as to the fifth article objected against him.

This ended, they admitted for witnesses upon the articles objected against him, Master John Cheek, Henry Markham, John Joseph, John Douglas, and Richard Chambers, whom they bound with an oath upon the holy evangelists, to truly answer and depose upon the same articles in the presence of the bishop who, like a wily lawyer, protested against receiving, admitting, and swearing those witnesses, also demanding a competent time to minister interrogatories against them, with a copy of all the acts of that day. The delegates were well pleased with this, and assigned him to administer his interrogatories against Master Cheek on that day, and against the rest on the next day.

After this, the judges' delegate assigned the bishop to appear again before them on the Wednesday next ensuing, between the hours of seven and eight o'clock before noon, in the hall of the archbishop's manor of Lambeth, there to show cause why he should not be declared *pro confesso* (confessed) upon all the articles to which he had not answered, and to see further process done in the matter. And so they departed (while he still protested against the validity of all their proceedings).

In the meanwhile, the commissioners certified to the king's majesty and his council what the demeanor of the bishop was, and what objections he had made against their proceedings, and their doubts whether by the tenor of his majesty's commission, the commissioners might proceed not only with the denunciation, but with their mere office; and also whether they might determine or hear the cause as well.

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His majesty, for a better understanding of this, on the 17th of September sent to the commissioners a full and perfect declaration of his will and pleasure in the commission, giving them full authority to proceed at their own discretion.

After this declaration had been sent down to, and received back from the king, the bishop of London appeared again before them on Wednesday, the 18th of September, in the great hall at Lambeth. There he declared that he had already sufficiently answered all things. Yet to further satisfy the term assigned to him, to show cause why he should not be declared *pro confesso* upon the articles to which he had not fully answered, he had a writing to exhibit why he should not be so declared, which he read there openly. In this writing, using his accustomed irreverent terms of *pretended*, *unjust*, and *unlawful* process and assignment, he said he was not bound by the law (for good and reasonable causes) to obey them, especially their assignment.

When his frivolous objections were read, the archbishop seeing his inordinate and intolerable contempt of manner and language towards them, charged him very sharply, saying, "My Lord of London, if I had sat here only as archbishop of Canterbury, it would have been your duty to act more lowly, obediently, and reverently towards me than you have. But seeing that I with my colleagues, now sit here as delegates from the king's majesty, I must tell you plainly, that you have behaved yourself too inordinately. For every time that we have sat in commission, you have used such unseemly fashions, without any reverence and obedience, giving taunts and checks to us, with the servants and chaplains, as well as to certain of the most ancient who are here, calling them fools and daws, with similar expressions, such that you have given the multitude an intolerable example of disobedience. And I assure you, my lord, you and another bishop whom I could name, have acted so contemptuously and disobediently, as I think the like has not been heard of before, by which you have done much harm."

At these words the bishop said scornfully to the archbishop, "You show yourself to be a proper judge." The archbishop then reminded him how indiscreetly, the last day in the chapel, he had called all the people "woodcocks."

The bishop answered that William Latimer, one of the denouncers, had practiced with the audience, that when he lifted up his hand to them, they should say as he said, and do as he did; such as, one time, upon lifting up his hand, "No, no;" and at another time, "Yes, yes," and they laughed at what they could not tell.

To these words Latimer replied, saying that, "he did not lift up his hand at any time, except to cause them to hold their peace."

Then secretary Smith said to the bishop, that in all his writings and answers he did not once acknowledge them as the king's commissioners, but always used protestations, calling them *pretended* commissioners, *pretended* delegates, *pretended* commission, *pretended* articles, *pretended* proceedings, so that all things were *pretended* with him. "Such terms," he said, "proctors use to delay matters for their clients, when they would not have the truth known. But you, my lord, to use us, the king's majesty's commissioners, with such terms, do very naughtily. And I pray you, what else did the rebels do but act in the same way? For when letters and pardons were brought to them from the king and his council, they would not credit them, but said they were none of the king's or his council's, but gentlemen's doings, with similar terms. But now, my lord, because we cannot make you confess whether, in your sermon, you omitted the article regarding the king's majesty's authority in his tender age or

not, but have still said you will not answer otherwise than you have done, and that you have already sufficiently answered, so that we can by no means induce you to confess plainly what you did, yes or no — therefore I say, to the intent we may come to the truth, we have dilated the matter more at large, and have drawn out other articles to which you shall be sworn. And then I trust, you will dally with us no more as you have done.”

Then the delegates ministered to him certain new articles and injunctions, and bound him there with an oath in form of law, to make a full and true answer. Notwithstanding, the bishop still protested the nullity and invalidity of these articles, injunctions, and process, also desiring a copy, with a competent time to answer.

The judges decreed a copy, commanding him to come to his examination the next day.

Then the commissioners received for a witness Sir John Mason, Sir Thomas Chalenor, knights. Master William Cecil, Armigal Wade, and William Hunnings, clerks to the king’s council, whom they bound with a corporal oath in the presence of the bishop.

These articles being thus administered to the bishop of London, the next day, being Thursday the 19th of September, the before-named commissioners sat in the archbishop’s chamber of presence at Lambeth, attending the coming of the bishop of London. Before them there appeared Robert Johnson the bishop’s registrar, who declared to the commissioners that the bishop his master could not at that time personally appear before them without great danger of his bodily health. This was because he feared to fall into a fever because of a cold he had contracted by exerting himself too much the night before, whereby he was compelled to keep to his bed. Nevertheless, if he could, without danger of his bodily health, he would appear before them the same afternoon. This excuse the judges were content to take in good part. Master Smith remarked that, “if he were sick indeed, the excuse was reasonable, and to be allowed. But,” he said, “I promise you, my lord has so dallied with us, and previously used such delays, that we may mistrust that this is but a feigned excuse. However, upon your faithful declaration, we are content to tarry until one o’clock this afternoon.” And so they did, desiring Master Johnson to then signify to them whether the bishop could appear or not.

At that hour, Robert Johnson and Richard Rogers, gentlemen of the bishop’s chamber, appeared again before the commissioners, declaring that for the causes before alleged, their master could not appear at that time. Whereupon Master secretary Smith said to them, “My lord of London, your master has used us very poorly, and previously sought delays. And now, perhaps, perceiving these last articles to touch the heart of it, and therefore being loth to answer, he feigns being sick. But because he will not so deceive us any more, we will send the knight marshal to him, commanding him that if he is sick indeed, to let him alone; for that is a reasonable excuse. But if he is not sick, then to bring him directly to us; for I promise you he will not use us as he has done. And therefore Master Johnson, do the part of a trusty servant as becomes you. But it is also your part to show my lord his stubborn heart and disobedience, which does him more harm than he is aware of. What, does he think to stand with a king in his own realm? Is this the part of a subject? Indeed, I suppose we will have a new Thomas à Becket. Let him take heed, for if he plays these parts, he may happen to be made shorter by the head. He may appeal if he thinks it good; but appeal to where? To the bishop of Rome? I say he cannot appeal except to the same king who has made us his judges, and to the bench of his council. And how they will take this matter when they hear of it, I do not doubt. He would make men believe that he was called before us for preaching his opinion about the sacrament. In this, I assure you, he acted both falsely and wickedly, and more than was becoming of him, and more than he was commanded to do, for he was not

desired to speak of that matter. Yet we will lay no such thing to his charge, and therefore we will not have him delay us." This ended, the delegates decreed to wait for him until the next day at two o'clock, being a Friday, the 20th of September.

[653] A.D. 1547-1553.

At that day and time the bishop himself appeared (personally before them in the same chamber of presence), where he exhibited his answers to the last articles. After this, and perceiving that Master secretary Smith was shorter with him than the other commissioners. He would not allow him to delay the matter any longer with his vain subtleties in law, but urged him to go directly to his matter. Sometimes he sharply rebuked the bishop for his ill and stubborn behavior towards them. Bishop Bonner, to destroy the secretary's authority, exhibited in writing a recusal of the secretary's judgment against him, in which he rejects the secretary as a prejudiced and hostile person, unfit to sit in judgment upon him. When this was read by the bishop, the secretary told him plainly, that he would proceed in his commission; and he would still be his judge; and he said further, "My lord, you say in your recusal, that I said you 'were acting like thieves, murderers, and traitors.' Indeed, I said it, and I will so say again, since we perceive it by your actions."

The bishop in a great rage replied, "Well, sir, because you sit here by virtue of the king's commission, and are secretary to his majesty, and also one of his highness' council, I must and do honor and reverence you. But, as you are but Sir Thomas Smith, and say as you have said, 'That I act like thieves, murderers, and traitors,' I say you lie, and I defy you. Do what you can to me. I do not fear you, and therefore what you do, do quickly."

The archbishop with the other commissioners said to him, that for such irreverent behavior he was worthy of imprisonment.

Then the bishop, in madder fury than before, replied, "In God's name you may send me where you will, and I must obey you, and so I will, unless you send me to the devil. For there I will not go for you. Three things I have: a small portion of goods, a poor carcass, and my own soul. The first two you may take, but as for my soul, you shall not get it."

"Well," the secretary then said, "you shall know that there is a king."

"Yes, sir," said the bishop, "but that is not you; nor, I am sure, will you take it on yourself."

"No sir," said the secretary, "but we will make you know who it is." And with that, the commissioners commanded the bishop and all the rest to depart the chamber, until they called for him again.

Now that the commissioners were in consultation, the bishop, with Gilbert Bourn, his chaplain, Robert Warnington his commissary, and Robert Johnson his registrar, were tarrying in a vacant place before the door of the chamber. The bishop, leaning on a cupboard, and seeing his chaplains very sad, said

"Sirs, what do you mean by this? Why show yourselves to be sad and heavy in mind, as appears to me by your outward gestures and countenances? I would wish you, and I require you, to be as merry as I am (as he laid his hand on his breast). For before God, I am not sad nor heavy, but merry and of good comfort, and am right glad and joyful of my trouble, which is for God's cause, and it does not grieve me at all. But the great matter that grieves me and pierces my heart is, that this Hooper and such other vile heretics and beasts are allowed and licensed to preach at Paul's Cross, and in other places within my diocese, most detestably preaching and railing at the blessed sacrament of the altar, and denying the verity and presence of Christ his true body and blood to be there; and so they infect and betray my flock.

## Bk. IX. The Reign of King Edward VI

But I say it is there in very deed, and in that opinion I will live and die; and I am ready to suffer death for it. Therefore, you being Christian men, I require you, and also charge and command you in the name of God, and on his behalf, as you will answer him for the contrary, that you go to the mayor of London, and to his brethren the aldermen, praying and also requiring them earnestly in God's name and mine, and for my own discharge on that behalf, that from now on, when any such detestable and abominable preachers (and especially those who hold opinions against the blessed sacrament of the altar) come to preach to them, they quickly depart from their presence, and do not hear them, lest tarrying with such preachers, they not only hurt themselves in receiving their poisoned doctrine, but also give encouragement to others, who thereby might take an occasion to think and believe that their erroneous and damnable doctrine is true and good."

And then, turning himself around, and beholding two of the archbishop's gentlemen who kept the chamber door where the commissioners were in consultation, and perceiving that they had heard all his talk, he spoke to them also, and said,

"And, sirs, you are my lord of Canterbury's gentlemen, I know you very well. And therefore I also require and charge you in God's behalf, and in his name, that you do the same where you chance to see and hear such corrupt and erroneous preachers, and also notify my lord your master of the same, and of these sayings of mine that I have now spoken here before you, as you are Christian men, and shall answer before God for the contrary."

With this, the commissioners called for the bishop again, who read to them an instrument containing an appeal to the king.

Then the delegates proceeded to the examination of his last answers. Finding them imperfect, they demanded of him on what specific day of August he was sent for by the lord protector? He obstinately answered that he was not bound to make any other answer than he had already made, nor would he otherwise answer as long as Master secretary Smith was present, whom he had recused before, and would not recede from his recusation.

The secretary, seeing him so willful and perverse, said sharply to him, "My lord, come off and make a full and perfect answer to these articles, or else we will take other order with you."

"In faith, sir," the bishop then said, "I thought you had been learned. But now before God I perceive well that either you are not learned, or else you have forgotten it. For I have so often answered lawfully and sufficiently and have shown sufficient and reasonable causes, that I must judge that you are too ignorant in this."

"Well," said Master secretary, "you will not then answer otherwise?"

"No," said the bishop, "unless the law compels me."

"Then," said the secretary, "call for the knight marshal, that he may be taken to ward."

With that, all the rest of the commissioners charged the bishop, that he had very outrageously and irreverently behaved himself towards them, sitting on the king's majesty's commission, and especially towards Sir Thomas Smith, his majesty's secretary, and for that and other contemptuous words which he had spoken, they declared they would commit him to the Marshalsea.

By this time the marshal's deputy came before them, whom Master secretary commanded to take the bishop as prisoner, and so keep him, that no man might come to him.

When the secretary had ended, the bishop said to him, "Well, sir, it might have become you right well, that his grace of Canterbury, here present, being first in commission, and your better, should have done it."

Then the commissioners assigning him to be brought before them on Monday, to make full answer to these articles, or else to show cause why he should not be declared guilty by confession, concluded the session.

Now, as the bishop was departing with the undermarshal, he turned himself in a great fury toward the commissioners, and said to Sir Thomas Smith, "Sir, where you have committed me to prison, you shall understand, that I will require no favor at your hands, but shall willingly suffer what shall be put me to, such as bolts on my heels; yeas, and if you will, iron about my middle, or wherever you will."

Then departing again, he returned once more, and said to the archbishop, "Well, my lord, I am sorry that I, being a bishop, am thus handled at your grace's hand; but more sorry that you allow abominable heretics to practice as they do in London and elsewhere, infecting and disquieting the king's liege people.

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And therefore I require you, as you will answer to God and the king, that from now on you will abstain from doing this. For if you do not, I will accuse you before God and the king's majesty." And so he departed, using many reproachful words against the common people, who stood and spoke to him along the way as he went out.

*The sixth action or process against Bonner, Bishop of London.*

It was assigned, that upon Monday, the 23rd of the same month, the bishop should again appear before the commissioners, to show a final cause why he should not be declared *pro confesso*, upon all the articles to which he had not fully answered.

Accordingly, the bishop was brought before them by the under-marshal, and there declared that his appearance at that time and place was not voluntary, for he was brought there against his will by the keeper of the Marshalsea. He then intimated a general recusation of all the commissioners, alleging that because the archbishop with all his colleagues had neither observed the order of their commission, nor proceeded against him in any laudable form of judgment, but attempted many things unlawfully against his person, dignity, and state, especially in committing him to prison. And he therefore refused and declined from the judgment of the archbishop and his colleagues, and excepted against their jurisdiction. Therefore, according to his appeal, he purposed to submit himself to the tuition, protection, and defense of the king's majesty; for whose honor and reverence' sake, he said, they should not proceed any further against him.

The archbishop, however, with the others, told him plainly that they would still be his judges, and proceed against him according to the king's commission. Then the bishop, seeing that they would still proceed against him, intimated an appeal to the king's majesty. The commissioners, notwithstanding, stood to their commission, and straitly urged him to give a more complete answer to his articles than he had done. The bishop said that he would stand to his recusations and appeal, and would not make any other answer.

Then the delegates demanded of him what cause he had to allege, and why he should not be declared *pro confesso* upon the articles to which he had not fully answered. The bishop still answered (as before) that he would adhere to his appeal and recusation.

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Whereupon the archbishop, with the consent of the rest, seeing his pertinacity, pronounced him obstinate, and declared him guilty, upon all the articles which he had not answered.

This done, Master secretary Smith showed a letter which the bishop of London had sent to the lord mayor, and the aldermen of the city of London, as follows:

*To the right honorable and my very good Lord,  
the Lord Mayor of London, with all his worshipful Brethren,  
my very dear and worshipful Friends, with speed.*

“Right honorable, with my very humble recommendations. Whereas I have perceived of late, and heard with my ears, what vile beasts and heretics have preached to you, or rather like themselves, have prated and railed against the most blessed sacrament of the altar, denying the truth and presence of Christ’s true body and blood to be there, giving you and the people liberty to believe what you wish, teaching you detestably, that faith in this behalf must not be constrained, but that every man may believe as he will. Because of this, lest my presence and silence might to some have been seen to allow their heretical doctrine, and given credit to them, betraying my flock of the catholic sort, you know I departed yesterday from the heretic praters’ uncharitable charity, and so I could have wished that you and all others who are catholic might have done, leaving those there with him who are already cast away, and will not be recovered. For tarrying with him still, you will not only hurt yourselves in receiving his poisoned doctrine, but also give countenance that their doctrine is tolerable because you are content to hear it, and say nothing against it. And because I cannot tell when I will speak with you to notify you of this, I therefore thought it good for my own discharge and yours, to write this much to you, requiring and praying you again and again in God’s behalf, and for my own discharge, that you do not allow yourselves to be abused with such wicked preachers and teachers, in hearing their evil doctrine that you perceive them going about to sow. And thus our blessed Lord long and well preserve you all with this noble city in all good rest, godliness, and prosperity. Written in haste, this Monday morning, the 16th of September 1549.

“Your faithful beadsman <sup>520</sup> and poor bishop,  
“Edmund Bonner.”

This letter being read, the secretary demanded whether he wrote it or not. He would not otherwise answer, but that he would still adhere and stand to his former recusations and appeals. The commissioners seeing this, determined to continue this case until the following Friday, assigning the bishop to be there to hear a final decree of this matter.

On Friday the commissioners did not sit in commission according to their appointment, but deferred it till Tuesday, the 1st of October. On that day the bishop appearing before them, the archbishop declared to him, that although on Friday last, they had appointed to pronounce their final decree and sentence in this matter, yet as they thought this sentence (although they had just cause to give it), would be very severe against him, they had not only deferred it until this day, but desiring to be friendly to him, and to use a more gentle reformation towards him, had made such suit for him. Although he had grievously offended the king’s majesty, yet if he would have acknowledged his fault, and made some amends in submitting himself, he would have found much favor. The sentence would not have been so extreme against him, as it was likely to be now.

The bishop not at all regarding this gentle and friendly admonition, but persisting in his rebelliousness, he made another protest against the commissioners, and then appealed from

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<sup>520</sup> *Beadsman*: a man person who is paid to pray for the soul of another.

them to the king. He refused to answer, on the plea that he was not free, but a prisoner. He then handed in both his protests and his appeal in writing, after having publicly read them.

These things ended, the archbishop said to him, "My lord where you say that you come compelled, or else you would not have appeared, I much wonder. For you would thereby make us and this audience here believe that because you are a prisoner, you should not therefore answer. If this were true, it would be enough to confound the whole state of this realm. For I dare say, that of the greatest prisoners and rebels who your keeper there (meaning the under-marshal) ever had under him, he cannot show me one who has used such defense as you have done."

"Well," said the bishop, "if my keeper were learned in the laws, I could show him my mind."

"Well," said the archbishop, "I have read over all the laws as well as you, but to another end and purpose than you did; and yet I can find no such privilege in this matter."

Then Master Secretary Smith charged him very severely how disobediently and rebelliously he had behaved himself towards the king's majesty and authority.

The bishop replied, "he was the king's majesty's lawful and true subject, and acknowledged his highness to be his gracious sovereign lord, or else he would not have appealed to him as he did. Yes, and he would gladly lay his hands, and his neck also, under his grace's feet. And therefore he desired that his highness's laws and justice might be administered to him."

"Indeed," replied Master Secretary, "you say well my lord. But I pray you, what else have all those rebels in Norfolk, Devonshire, and Cornwall, and other places done? Have they not said the same thing?"

[655] A.D. 1547-1553.

"We are the king's true subjects, we acknowledge him as our king, and we will obey his laws,' with similar phrases. Yet when either commandment, letter, or pardon was brought to them from his majesty, they did not believe it, but said it was forged and made under a hedge, and was gentlemen's doings — so that they neither would nor did obey anything."

"Ah, sir," said the bishop, "I perceive your meaning; you would say that the bishop of London is a rebel like them."

"Yes, by my pledge," said the secretary. At which the people laughed.

Then the dean of St. Paul's said to him that, "he marvelled much, and was very sorry to see him so intractable, that he would not allow the judges to speak." To whom Bonner disdainfully answered; "Well, Master Dean, you must say something." And likewise at another time, as the dean was speaking, he interrupted him and said, "You may speak when your turn comes." Then secretary Smith said, "I would that you knew your duty."

"I would," he retorted, "that you knew it as well," with an infinite deal more of such stubborn and contemptuous behavior. The commissioners weighing this, determined that the archbishop (Cranmer), with their whole consent, should openly read and publish their final decree or definitive sentence against him. He did this, pronouncing the bishop to be entirely deprived from the bishopric of London.

The sentence specified that the bishop of London had neglected the king's injunctions in his diocese, and especially had not complied with his majesty's command to preach in behalf of the king's authority as impeached by the rebels; and the sentence embodied the words of the royal injunctions, which he thus neglected, and which are as follows:



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“You shall also set forth in your sermon, that the authority of our royal power is (as of truth it is) of no less authority and force in our younger age, than it is and was of any of our predecessors, even though the same were much older, as may appear by the example of Josiah and other young kings in Scripture. And therefore all our subjects are to be no less bound to the obedience of our precepts, laws, and statutes, than if we were thirty or forty years of age.”

When this sentence of deprivation was ended, the bishop immediately appealed by word of mouth:

“I, Edmund, bishop of London, brought in and kept here as a prisoner against my consent and will, do under my former protestation, and to the intent it may also appear, that I have not consented nor agreed to anything done against me and in my prejudice. I allege and say that this sentence given here against me, is *lex nulla* (legally void); and so far as it appears to be *aliqua* (in part), I say it is *iniqua* and *injusta* (unfair and unjust); and that therefore I appeal to the most excellent and noble king Edward VI, by the grace of God, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the church of England, and also Ireland, next and immediately under God here on earth, supreme head; and to his court of chancery or parliament, as the law, statutes, and ordinances of this realm will allow and bear in this behalf, desiring instantly first, second, and third, according to the laws, letters, reverential or dismissory, to be given and delivered to me in this behalf, with all things expedient, requisite, or necessary in any way.”

The judges said, “they will declare and signify to the king’s majesty what is done in this matter.”

The archbishop of Canterbury, considering that most of the audience did not understand the meaning of the sentence which was read in the Latin tongue, said to them, “Because there may be many of you here who do not understand the Latin tongue, and so cannot tell what judgment has been given, I will therefore show you its effect.” And with that, he declared in English the causes expressed in the sentence, adding these words:

“Because my lord of London (Bonner) is found guilty in these matters, therefore we here, by our sentence, have deprived him of our bishopric of London. And we show this to you so that from now on you shall not esteem him any more as bishop of London.”

Then Bonner desired the archbishop to declare likewise how he had appealed. But the other, seeing his brazen contempt, refused it, saying, “You may do it yourself.” Whereupon the bishop again said very disdainfully, “What will your grace do with me, regarding my imprisonment? Will you still keep me in prison?”

The commissioners answered him that they perceived now more in the matter than they did before, and that his behavior was a greater rebellion than he was aware of, and therefore they would not discharge him, but committed him back to his keeper, to be kept in prison. There he most justly remained until the death of that most worthy and godly prince king Edward VI. After that time, Bonner wrought most horrible mischief and cruelties against the saints of God, as it will appear later, throughout the reign of queen Mary.

Immediately after his deprivation, he wrote from the Marshalsea other supplicatory letters to the lord chancellor, and to the rest of the king’s council. In these he complained that because of the great enmity that the duke of Somerset and Sir Thomas Smith bore to him, his earnest suits to the king and his council could not be heard. He therefore most humbly desired their lordships to consider him, and to let him have liberty to prosecute this matter before them, and he would daily pray for the good preservation of their honors. Afterwards he wrote in the same way to the king’s majesty.

The king, upon receiving Bonner's petition, gave in charge and commandment to certain men of honor and worship, and persons skillful in the law — such as, to the lord Rich, high chancellor, the lord treasurer, the marquis of Dorset, the bishop of Ely; Lord Wentworth, Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir William Herbert, knights; doctor Rich, Wooton, Edward Montague, lord chief justices; Sir John Baker, knight; along with judge Hale, John Gosnold, doctor Oliver, and also doctor Layson — so that by perusing all such acts, matters, and muniments (documentation) of Bonner exhibited, produced, propounded, and alleged by him, with all his protestations, recusations, and appeals, they might upon mature consideration give their direct answer, whether the appeal of Bonner was to be deferred to, and whether the sentence against him stood sufficient and effectual by the law or not. Soon after their diligent discussion, and considerate advice, they gave their answer that the appeal of Edmund Bonner was null and unreasonable, and in no way to be deferred to; and that the sentence by the commissioners against him was rightly and justly pronounced.

And this was the conclusion of Bonner's whole matter and deprivation.

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### ***Reformation of Church Services***

Thus leaving Doctor Bonner for a while in the Marshalsea, we will proceed further in the course of our history, as the order of years and time requires. The trouble of the lord protector (duke of Somerset) falls here jointly with the deprivation of Doctor Bonner. Yet as the duke was shortly delivered again, I will therefore delay treating it till his second trouble, which was two years later. And so in the meantime, I intend to continue the matter regarding the king's godly proceedings for the reformation of religion in the year 1549.

First, a note should be made here about Peter Martyr and his learned labors and disputation concerning the sacrament, in the University of Oxford this same year, with Doctor Chedsey and others. The dispute was that the substance of bread and wine was not changed in the sacrament, and that the body and blood of Christ was not carnally and bodily in the bread and wine, but united to it only sacramentally.

In like manner, some mention should be made here about the ecclesiastical laws. Thirty-two persons were assigned to compile them, by act of parliament in 1549. But because these are matters of treatise rather than historical, I mean to defer their further consideration to the end of the history of this king's days. Meanwhile, I will pass on to other matters.

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#### *Books of Latin service called in and abolished.*

It follows in our history, that certain of the vulgar multitude, hearing of the apprehension of the lord protector,<sup>521</sup> and supposing that the alteration of public service into English, and the administration of the sacrament and other rites recently appointed in the church, had been the act chiefly or only of the lord protector, began now to spread abroad the report that they would now have their old Latin service with holy bread and holy water, and their other superstitious ceremonies again. Therefore the king, with the privy council, directed his letters of request, and his straight commandment, to the bishops in their diocese, to cause the deans and prebendaries of their cathedral churches — all parsons, vicars, and curates, with the church-wardens of every parish within their diocese — to bring in and deliver up all

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<sup>521</sup> Edward Seymour, the Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector of England, was captured on 11 October 1549. He was brought before King Edward VI, who outlined charges against him, including ambition, vainglory, rash wars during the king's youth, neglect of Newhaven, enriching himself from the royal treasury, and ruling by his own authority.

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antiphoners, missals, grailes, processionales, manuals, legends, pies, porthoses, journals, and ordinals following the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, Bangor, Hereford, or any other private use; and all other books of religious service, which might be any hindrance to the service now set forth in English, charging also and commanding that all those who are found disobedient in this behalf should be committed to ward (jail).

And because the king was informed that among the people there was a refusal to pay toward the finding of bread and wine for the holy communion, by which the communion in many places was omitted, the bishops in like manner had given in charge to provide for redress of this, and to punish them who might refuse. By this it appears that no wafer cakes, but common bread was then, by the king's appointment, ordinarily received and used in churches. This was about the end of December A.D. 1549.

### *Taking down Altars, and setting up the Table instead.*

The year next, 1550, other letters for taking down altars in churches, and setting up the table instead, were sent to Nicholas Ridley who, being bishop of Rochester before, was now made bishop of London in Bonner's place. The copy and contents of the king's letters are these:

### *The King's Letters to Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, etc.*

“Right reverend father in God; right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas it has come to our knowledge that the altars within most of the churches of this realm being taken down already, upon good and godly considerations, there yet remain altars standing in other churches. By the occasion of this, much variance and contention arises among sundry of our subjects. If good foresight were not had, they might perchance engender great hurt and inconvenience. We admonish you, that minding to have all occasion of contention taken away, which many times grows by those and similar diversities, and considering that among other things belonging to our royal office and cure, we account the greatest to be, to maintain the common quiet of our realm. We have thought it good, by the advice of our council, to require you — and nevertheless, to especially charge and command you — to avoid all matters of further contention and strife about the standing or taking away of the said altars, to give substantial order throughout all your diocese, so that with all diligence all the altars in every church or chapel be taken down, in places exempted as well as not exempted within your diocese. And in place of them, a table be set up in some convenient part of the chancel, within every such church or chapel, to serve for the administration of the blessed communion. And to the intent that the same may be done without the offense of those of our loving subjects who are not yet so well persuaded in that behalf as we would wish, we send to you with this letter, certain considerations gathered and collected, that aid the purpose. These and such others as you think appropriate, are to be set forth to persuade the weak to embrace our proceedings in this part. We pray you to have them declared to the people by some discreet preachers, in such places as you think fitting, before taking down the said altars. Thus both the weak consciences of others may be instructed and satisfied as much as may be, and this, our pleasure, may be more quietly executed. To better do this, we require you to open the aforesaid considerations in our cathedral church in your own person, if convenient, or otherwise by your chancellor or some other grave preacher, both there and in such other market towns and most notable places of your diocese, as you may think most requisite.

“Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster,  
the ‘24th of November, in the fourth year of our reign.”

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*Reasons why the Lord's Board should be  
in the form of a Table, rather than an Altar.*

1. The form of a table shall more move the simple away from the superstitious opinions of the popish mass, to the right use of the Lord's Supper. For the use of an altar is to make sacrifice; the use of a table is to serve for men to eat upon. Now, when we come to the Lord's board, what do we come for? Is it to sacrifice Christ again, and to crucify him again? Or is it to feed upon Him who was crucified and offered up only once for us? If we come to feed upon him, to spiritually to eat his body, and to spiritually to drink his blood, which is the true use of the Lord's Supper, then no man can deny that the form of a table is more appropriate for the Lord's board than the form of an altar.

2. Whereas it is said, that the Book of Common Prayer mentions an altar, and therefore it is not lawful to abolish what the book allows. To this it is thus answered: the Book of Common Prayer calls the thing on which the Lord's Supper is administered indifferently a table, an altar, or the Lord's board, without prescribing any form, either of a table or of an altar. So that whether the Lord's board has the form of an altar, or of a table, the Book of Common Prayer calls it both an altar and a table. For just as it calls it an altar, upon which the Lord's Supper is administered, a table and the Lord's board, so it calls the table where the holy communion is distributed with praise and thanksgiving to the Lord, an altar — for there the same sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving is offered. And thus it appears that there is nothing either said or meant contrary to the Book of Common Prayer.

3. The popish opinion of mass was that it might not be celebrated except upon an altar, or at least, upon a super-altar, to supply the fault of the altar, which must have had its imprints and characters, or else it was thought that the thing was not done lawfully. But this superstitious opinion is more held in the minds of the simple and ignorant by the form of an altar, than of a table. Therefore it is more fitting for the abolishing of this superstitious opinion, to have the Lord's board in the form of a table than of an altar.

4. The form of an altar was ordained for the sacrifices of the law, and the Greek word so implies. But now, both the law and the sacrifices of the law have ceased; and therefore the form of the altar used in the altar ought to cease with it.

5. Christ instituted the sacrament of his body and blood at his last supper at a table, and not at an altar, as it manifestly appears by the three Evangelists. And St. Paul calls coming to the holy communion, coming to the Lord's Supper. And also it is not read that any of the apostles, or the primitive church, ever used any altar in the ministration of the holy communion.

Therefore, seeing that the form of a table is more agreeable to Christ's institution, and with the usage of the apostles, and of the primitive church, than the form of an altar, the form of a table is therefore rather to be used than the form of an altar in the administration of the holy communion.

[657] A.D. 1547-1553.

6. It is said in the preface to the Book of Common Prayer, that if any doubt arises in the use and practicing of that book; to appease all such diversity, the matter shall be referred to the bishop of the diocese, who by his discretion shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same, so that the same order is not contrary to anything contained in that book.

After these letters and reasons were received, Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, held his visitation in which, among other injunctions, the bishop exhorted those churches in his diocese, where the altars then remained, to conform themselves to those other churches which had taken them down, and had set up in place of the multitude of their altars, one decent table in every church.

There arose a great diversity about the form of the Lord's board, some using it in the form of a table, and some of an altar. When the bishop was required to determine what was most fitting in this, he declared he could do no less of his bounden duty, to appease such diversity, and to procure one godly uniformity, than to exhort his entire diocese to that which he thought best agreed with Scripture, with the usage of the apostles, and with the primitive church. And also, to that which is not only not contrary to anything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, but also that might highly further the king's most godly proceedings in abolishing the vain and superstitious opinions of the popish mass from the hearts of the simple, and to bring them to the right use of the Lord's Supper, as taught by the holy Scriptures. And so he appointed the form of a table to be used in his diocese. And in the church of St. Paul, he broke down the wall then standing by the high altar.

***Correspondence between Edward and Mary***

Now we will enter into those matters which happened between King Edward and his sister Mary, as seen by their following letters:

*Mary, to my Lord Protector and the rest  
of the King's Majesty's Council.*

“My lord, I perceive by the letters which I lately received from you and others of the king's majesty's council, that you are all sorry to find so little conformity in me regarding the observation of his majesty's laws. I am well assured that I have offended no law, unless it is a recent law of your own making, for altering matters in religion, which in my conscience is not worthy to have the name of a law, both for the king's honor sake, the welfare of the realm, and giving an occasion for an evil report throughout Christendom — besides the partiality used in it, and (as my conscience is very well persuaded) the offending of God, which surpasses all the rest. But I am well assured that the king's father's laws were all allowed and consented to without compulsion by the whole realm, both spiritual and temporal, and all you executors were sworn upon a book to fulfill the same, so that it was an authorized law. And I have obeyed that, and will do so with the grace of God, till the king's majesty, my brother, has sufficient years to be a judge in these matters himself. In this, my lord, I was plain with you when I was last at the court, and declared to you at that time I would stand to, and I now assure you all, that the only occasion of my stay from altering my opinion, is for two causes.

“One is principally for my conscience' sake; the other, that the king, my brother, will not hereafter charge me with being one of those who were agreeable to such alterations in his tender years. And what fruits daily grow by such changes, since the death of the king, my father, it well appears to every indifferent (unbiased) person, both to the displeasure of God, and the unquietness of the realm.

“Notwithstanding, I assure you all, I would be as loath to see his highness take hurt, or that any evil should come to his realm, as the best of you all. And none of you have the same cause, considering how I am compelled by nature, being his majesty's poor and humble sister, most tenderly to love and pray for him, and for his realm (being born within it), and wish all health and prosperity to God's honor.

“And if any judge the contrary of me for my opinion's sake, as I trust none does, I do not doubt in the end, with God's help, to prove myself as true a natural and humble sister, as those of the contrary opinion, with all their devices and altering of laws, will prove themselves true subjects. I am praying you, my lord, and the rest of the council, to trouble and unquiet me no more with matters touching my conscience, in which I am at a full point, with God's help, whatever happens to me, intending, with His grace, to trouble you little with any worldly suits, but to bestow the short time I think to live, in quietness. And I pray for the king's majesty, and

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all of you, heartily wishing that your proceedings may be to God's honor, the safeguard of the king's person, and quietness to the realm.

"Moreover, where your desire is that I would send my controller and Doctor Hopton to you, by whom you would signify your minds more amply to my content and honor — it is not unknown to you all, that the chief charge of my house rests only upon the labors of my controller. He has not been absent from my house three whole days since setting it up, unless it were for my letters patent. So that if it were not for his continual diligence, I think my little portion would not have stretched so far. And my chaplain, by occasion of sickness, has been long absent, and is not yet able to ride.

"Therefore, as I cannot forbear my controller, and my priest is not able to journey, so I will desire you, my lord, and all the rest of the council, that having anything to be declared to me, except on matters of religion, you will either write your minds, or send some trusty person with whom I will be contented to talk, and answer as the case requires. I assure you that if any servant of mine, either man or woman, or chaplain, should move me to the contrary of my conscience, I would not give ear to them, nor suffer the like to be used within my house. And thus, my lord, with my hearty commendations, I wish to you and the rest, as well to do as myself.

"From my house at Kenning Hall, the 22nd of June 1549.  
"Your assured friend to my power, "Mary."

To this letter the council replied, giving instructions to Doctor Hopton, who would himself inform the princess of the mind of the council, after which the king wrote to her as follows:

*The King's Letter to the Lady Mary*  
*24th of January 1550.*

"Right dear, etc. We have seen by letters of our council, sent to you of late, and by your answer regarding your chaplains having offended our laws in saying mass, the good and convenient advices of our council, and your fruitless and indirect mistaking of the same. This moves us to write at this time, that where good counsel from our council has not prevailed, yet the same from ourself may have due regard. The whole matter we perceive rests in this: that you — being our next sister, in whom above all others of our subjects, nature should place the most estimation of us — would wittingly and purposely, not only break our laws yourself, but also have others maintained to do the same. Truly, however, the matter may have other terms, but other sense it has not. And although by your letter it seems you challenge a promise made to you, that you may do so, yet surely we know the promise had no such meaning, either to maintain, or to continue your fault. You must know this, sister, that you were borne with at first, when the law was made — not that you should disobey the law, but that by our lenity and love you might learn to obey it. We made a distinction between you and our other subjects, not that all others should follow our laws, and you alone oppose them, but that you might be brought as far by love, as others were by duty. The error in which you rest is double, and it is so great, that neither for the love of God can we suffer it unredressed, nor for the love of you can we but wish it amended.

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"First, you retain a fashion in honoring of God, who indeed is thereby dishonored, and you err in zeal for lack of knowledge. And having knowledge offered to you, you refuse it, not because it is knowledge, we trust (for then we might despair of you), but because you think it is not knowledge. And surely in this we can best reprehend you, because we learn daily in our school, that we may therefore learn things, because we do not know them, and we are not allowed to say we do not know those things, or we think they are not good, and therefore we will not learn

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them. Sister, you must think nothing can commend you more than reason, according to which you have used up to now; and now for very love we will, ourself, offer you reason. If you are persuaded in conscience contrary to our laws, you or your persuaders will freely be allowed to say what you or they can, so that you will hear what will be said in response.

“In this point you see I set aside my estate, and talk with you as your brother, rather than your supreme lord and king. Thus should you — being as well content to hear of your opinions as you are content to hold them — in the end thank us as much for bringing you to light, as now you are loath to see it, before you learn. And if this much reason, with our natural love, will not move you, for which we would be sorry, then we must consider the other part of your fault, which is the offense of our laws. For though up to it has been suffered in hope of amendment, yet now, if there is no hope, why should there be sufferance? Our charge is to have the same care over every man’s estate, that every man ought to have over his own. And in your own house, just as you would be loath to openly suffer one of your, servants, being next you, to most manifestly break your orders, so you must think in our state it shall miscontent us to permit you, who are so great a subject, not to keep our laws. Your nearness to us in blood, your greatness in estate, the condition of this time, makes your fault the greater. The example is unnatural, that our sister should do less for us than our other subjects. The cause is slanderous for so great a personage as yourself to forsake our majesty.

“Finally, it is too dangerous in a troublesome commonwealth, to make the people mistrust a faction. We are young, you think, in years to consider this. Truly sister, it troubles us more; for it may be that this evil suffered in you is greater than we can discern. And so we are as much troubled because we doubt whether we see the whole peril, as we do for what we see. Indeed we will presume no further than our years gives us; that is, in doubtful things, not to trust our own judgment. But in evident things we think there is no difference. If you should not do as other subjects do, would it not be evident that you would not be a good subject? Were it not plain in that case, that you would not treat us as your sovereign lord? Again, if you were suffered to manifestly break our laws, would it not be a covert for others to do so? And if our law is broken, and despised, where is our estate? These things are so plain, that we could almost have judged them six years past. Indeed, it grieves us not a little, that you, who should be our greatest comfort in our young years, should alone give us occasion for discomfort. Do you not think that it must trouble us? And if you can think so, you should amend it, sister. Without doubt, our natural love towards you is great, and therefore do not diminish it yourself. If you would be loved by us, show some token of love towards us, that we do not say with the Psalm, “They rendered me evil for good.” If you would be believed, when by writing you confess us to be your sovereign lord, then hear what in other things is often alleged. “Show me your faith by your works.”

“In the answer of your letter to our council, we remember you hold only upon one reason, divided into two parts. The first is that in matters of religion, your faith is no other than what all Christendom confesses. The next is that you will assent to no alteration, but wish things to stand as they did at our father’s death. If you mean in the first to rule your faith by that which you call *Christendom*, and not by this Church of England, in which you are a member, then you err in many points, such as our father would not have suffered, whatever you may say about things standing still as they were left by him. The matter is too plain to write what may be gathered, and too perilous to be concluded against you. For the other part, if you like no alteration by our authority, of things that were not altered by our father, then you do us too great an injury. We take ourself, for the administration of this our commonwealth, to have the same authority which our father had, diminished in no part, neither by example of Scripture, nor by universal laws. The histories in Scripture are plenteous, which show us that almost the best ordered church of the Israelites was led by kings younger than we are. Well, sister, we will not in these things interpret your writings for the worst; love and charity will expound them.

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But yet you must not be bold to offend in that to which you see your writings might be twisted. To conclude, we exhort you to do your duty. And if there is any impediment, not of purpose, you will find a brotherly affection in us to remedy the same. We will give orders to teach and instruct you, and so procure you to do your duty willingly, so that you will perceive you are not used merely as a subject, and only commanded — but as a daughter, a scholar, and a sister, who is taught, instructed, and persuaded. For this reason, when you have considered this letter of ours, we pray that we may shortly hear from you.”

*The Lady Mary's Answer to the King.*

“My duty most humbly remembered to your majesty, please understand that I have received your letters by Master Throgmorton, the bearer. The contents of it trouble me more than any bodily sickness, even if it were to the death; and rather for your highness charging me to be both a breaker of your laws, and also an encourager of others to do the same. I most humbly beseech your majesty to think that I never intended towards you otherwise than my duty compels me to; that is, to wish your highness all honor and prosperity, for which I do and daily shall pray. And where it pleases your majesty to write that I claim a promise made otherwise than it was meant, the truth is, the promise could not be denied before your majesty's presence, at my last waiting upon you. And although, I confess, the ground of faith (to which I take reason to be but a handmaid) and my conscience also has and does agree with the same. Yet touching that promise, for so much as it has pleased your majesty (God knows by whose persuasion) to write, it was not so meant. I most humbly desire your highness to examine the truth of it indifferently, and either your majesty's ambassador, now with the emperor, will inquire about the same, if it is your pleasure to have him bring it up, or else to cause it to be demanded of the emperor's ambassador here, even if he were not within this realm at that time.

“And thereby it will appear that I have not offended your majesty in this point, if it may please you to so accept it. And even though your majesty at these years (God be praised) has as much understanding and more, than is commonly seen in that age, yet considering you hear but one side (your highness not offended) I would be a suiter to the same, so that till you were grown to more mature years, it might stand with your pleasure to stay in matters regarding the soul. So undoubtedly your majesty should know more, and hear others, and nevertheless be at your liberty and do your will and pleasure. And whatever your majesty has conceived of me, either by letters to your council, or by their report, I trust in the end to prove myself as true to you, as any subject within your realm. And I will by no means stand in argument with your majesty, but in a most humble way beseech you, even for God's sake, to suffer me, as your highness has done up to now. It is for no worldly respect that I desire it, God is my judge; but rather than to offend my conscience, I would desire of God to lose all that I have, and also my life. Nevertheless, I live and die your humble sister and true subject.

[659] A.D. 1547-1553.

“Thus, after pardon craved of your majesty, for my rude and bold writing, I beseech Almighty God to preserve you in honor with as long continuance of health and life, as any noble king ever had.

“From Beaulien, the 3rd of February.

“Your majesty's most humble and  
“unworthy sister, Mary.”

After many other letters from the council to the princess Mary, and from her in reply, and also to his majesty, the king wrote the following:



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*The King's Letter to the Lady Mary.*

“Right dearly and right entirely beloved sister, we greet you well, and let you know that it grieves us much to perceive no amendment in you, of that which we, for God’s cause, your soul’s health, our conscience, and the common tranquility of our realm, have so long desired. We assure you that our sufferance has much more demonstration of natural love, than contentment of our conscience, and foresight of our safety. Therefore, although you give us occasion, almost as much as it is in you, to diminish our natural love, yet we are loath to feel it decay, and do not mean to be so careless of you as we are provoked to be.

“And therefore meaning your welfare, and joining with it a care not to be found guilty in our conscience to God, having cause to require forgiveness that we have so long, from respect of love toward you, omitted our bounden duty, we send at this present time our right trusty and right well-beloved councillor, the lord Rich, chancellor of England, and our trusty and right well beloved councilors, Sir Anthony Wingfield, knight, controller of our household; and Sir William Paget, knight, one of our principal secretaries, with a message to you, regarding tbs order of your house, willing you to give them firm credit in those matters they will say to you from us, and do there, in our name.

“Given under our signet, at our castle of Windsor,  
the 24th day of August, in the first year of our reign.”

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*A Copy of the King's Instructions, given to the said  
Lord Chancellor, Sir Anthony Wingfield, and Sir  
William Paget, knights, etc., the 24th of August 1551.*

“You, the said lord chancellor and your colleagues, shall immediately repair to the lady Mary, giving to her his majesty’s hearty commendations, and show the reason for your coming is as follows:

“Although his majesty has a long time, by his majesty’s own mouth and writing, as well as by his council, endeavored that the lady being his sister, and a principal subject and member of his realm, should both be indeed, and also show herself conformable to the laws and ordinances of the realm, in the profession and rites of religion, using all gentle means of exhortation and advice that the reformation of the fault might willingly come of herself, as was the expectation and desire of his majesty, and all good and wise men. Yet notwithstanding, his majesty sees that up to now, no manner of amendment has followed. But by the continuance of the error, and manifest breach of his laws, no small peril may happen to the state of his realm. The sufferance of such a fault being directly to the dishonor of God, and the great offense of his majesty’s conscience, and also that of all other good men. Therefore of late, even with the consent and advice of the whole state of his privy council, and diverse others of the nobility of his realm, whose names you may repeat if you think it convenient, his majesty resolutely determined it just, necessary, and expedient, that her grace should not in any way use or maintain the private mass, or any other manner of service, than that which is authorized and allowed by the law of the realm. And to signify his majesty’s determination to her grace, it was thought in respect of a favorable proceeding with herself, to have the same not only to be manifested by her own officers and servants, being most esteemed with her, but also to be executed with them in her house, for the quiet proceeding in the very matter, as well as less molesting her grace with any message by strangers, in that time of her solitariness in which her grace was then, because of the recent sickness.

“For this purpose, her three servants — Rochester, Englefield, and Waldgrave — were sent in message in the following manner. First, to deliver his majesty’s letter to her; next to discharge the complaints about saying mass; and prohibiting the entire household from hearing any. In

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this, the king's majesty perceives from their own report upon being returned to the court, how negligently, and indeed how falsely they have executed their commandment and charge, contrary to the duty of good subjects, and to the manifest contempt of his majesty. It went so far that, before his majesty's council, they have refused to do that which pertains to every true faithful subject, so far to the offense of his majesty, and derogation of his authority, that their punishment could in no way be forborne. Yet in the manner of their punishment, his majesty and his council has such consideration and respect for her person, being his sister, that without doubt his majesty could not with honor have had the like consideration or favor in the punishment of the dearest councillor he has, if any of them had so offended. Therefore his majesty has sent you the three, not only to declare to her grace the causes of his recently sending his officers in message there, but also the causes of their absence now presently.

“And further, in the default of the officers to order her chaplains, as well as her whole household, that his majesty's laws may be observed there. And in the communication with her, you will take occasion to answer in his majesty's name certain points of her letter recently sent to his majesty. The copy of this letter is now also sent to you to peruse, for your better instruction how to proceed in this. First, her allegation of the promise made to the emperor must be so answered as the truth of the matter serves, of which every one of you have often heard sufficient testimony in the council. For offering her body at the king's will, rather than change her conscience, it grieves his majesty much that her conscience is so settled in error, and yet no such thing is meant by his majesty, nor by any of his council, to once hurt or will evil to her body; but even to the bottom of their hearts, they wish for her a sound mind in a sound body. And therefore you will do well to persuade her grace, that this proceeding comes only of the conscience. The king has to avoid offense to God, and from necessary counsel and wisdom, to see his laws executed in such weighty causes. Also, because it is thought that Rochester had the care and consideration of her grace's provision of her household, and by his absence that household might be disordered or disfurnished; his majesty has sent a trusty skillful man of his own household, to serve her grace for the time being. He is also sufficiently instructed by Rochester about the state of things in her household. And if there is anything lacking in the same, his majesty's pleasure is, that his servant will advertise his own chief officers of his household, to the intent that the same may be supplied from any store here, or otherwise conveniently helped, so that her grace will not lack.

“Having thus proceeded with her grace, for the declaration of the causes of your coming, you shall then cause to be called before you the chaplains, and all the rest of the household there present, and in the king's majesty's name most straitly forbid the chaplains either to say or use any mass or kind of service other than authorized by the law. And likewise you shall forbid all the rest of the company to be present at any such prohibited service, upon pain of being most severely punished, as deservedly falling into the danger of the king's indignation, and charge them all alike, that if any such offense is openly or secretly committed, they shall notify some of his majesty's council. In that case, you shall use the reasons of their natural duty and allegiance that they owe as subjects to their sovereign lord, which derogates all other earthly duties.

“Also, if you find any of the priests, or any other person disobedient to this order, then you shall commit them directly to prison, as you think convenient.

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“Also, because you were privy to the determination at Richmond, and there understood how necessary it was to have reformation in this, his majesty upon the great confidence he has in your wisdom and uprightness, remits to your discretion the manner of proceeding in this. And if anything chances to arise there otherwise than according to these instructions, then to assist

you in the execution of your charge, our instructions in sum are to avoid the use of the private mass, and other unlawful service in the house of the lady Mary.

“Also, you shall devise by some means as you think fit, to understand after your departure, how the order you give is observed, and as you judge fit, to certify the same to me.”

***An Account of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.***

The first imprisonment of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was before the deprivation of bishop Bonner. Yet because he was not deposed from his bishopric till the next or 2nd year after (A.D. 1551), I have therefore put off his history to this present place.

When the king’s injunctions for a visitation of the whole realm were sent out, this bishop displayed a spirit of neglect and disobedience; and in his sermons warned the people against the preachers of the gospel, and generally against the king’s proceedings. Having disobeyed the king’s injunctions, he was sent to the Fleet, and there so he misconducted himself, and also before the council, that he was committed to the Tower.

Certain of the council, by the king’s appointment — the duke of Somerset, the lord treasurer, the lord privy seal, the lord great chamberlain, and Master Secretary Petre — many times had access to him in the Tower to persuade him. Repairing to him on the 10th of June 1550, he desired to see the king’s book of proceedings. Upon the sight of it, he would give a full answer, seeming to be willing to conform himself in all things to the king’s proceedings, and promising that in case anything offended his conscience, he would open it to none but the council. Upon which it was agreed that the book would be sent to him to see his answer, that his case might be resolved, and that he would have the liberty of the gallery and garden in the Tower when the duke of Norfolk was absent.

The answer of the bishop being received, through the report of the lords who had been with him, declaration was made the 8th of July 1550, that his answers were doubtful. Therefore it was determined that he should be directly examined, to determine whether he would sincerely conform himself to the king’s proceedings or not.

The following articles were therefore sent to him for his subscription as a proof of his conformity.

“Whereas I, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, having been suspected as one too much favoring the bishop of Rome’s authority, decrees, and ordinances, and as one who did not approve or allow the king’s majesty’s proceedings in alteration of certain rites in religion, was summoned before the king’s highness’s council, and admonished for it; and having certain things appointed for me to do and preach for my declaration, I have not done that as I ought to do, although I promised to do it. By this I have not only incurred the king’s majesty’s indignation, but also diverse of his highness’s subjects have, by my example, taken encouragement (as his grace’s council is certainly informed) to complain at his majesty’s most godly proceedings. I am right sorry therefore, and acknowledge I have been deservedly punished, and most heartily thank his majesty, that of his great clemency it has pleased his highness to deal with me, not according to rigor, but mercy. And to the intent that it may appear to the world how little I complain at his highness’s doings, which are most godly in religion, and most profitable to the commonwealth, I affirm and say freely of my own will, without any compulsion, as ensues:

“1. That by the law of God, and the authority of the Scriptures, the king’s majesty, and his successors, are the supreme heads of the churches of England and of Ireland.

“2. That the appointing of holy-days and fasting days; as Lent, Ember days, or any such like, or to dispense with them, is in the king’s majesty’s authority and power: and his highness as

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supreme head of the churches of England and Ireland, and governor of them, may appoint the manner and time of the holydays and fasting days, or dispense with them, as seems most convenient to his wisdom, for the honor of God and the wealth of this realm.

“3. That the king’s majesty has most Christianly and godly set forth, by and with the consent of the whole parliament, a devout and Christian book of service of the church, to be used by the church, this book is to be accepted and allowed by all bishops, pastors, curates, and all ministers ecclesiastical of the realm of England, and so to be declared and commended by him in all places where he happens to preach or speak of it to the people, that it is a godly and Christian book and order, and is to be allowed, accepted, and observed by all the king’s majesty’s true subjects.

“4. I acknowledge the king’s majesty now is (whose life God long preserve), my sovereign lord and supreme head, under Christ, to me as a bishop of this real, and natural subject to his majesty, and now in his young and tender age, is my full and entire king; and that I and all other of his highness’s subjects are bound to obey all his majesty’s proclamations, statutes, laws, and commandments that are made, promulgated, and set forth in his highness’s young age, as though his highness were at present thirty or forty years old.

“5. I confess and acknowledge, that the statute commonly called the Statute of the Six Articles, on just causes and grounds, is repealed and disannulled by authority of parliament.

“6. That his majesty and his successors have authority in the churches of England, and also of Ireland, to alter, reform, correct, and amend all errors and abuses, and all rites and ceremonies ecclesiastical, as seems from time to time to his highness and his successors, most convenient for the edification of his people, so that the same alteration is not contrary or repugnant to the Scriptures and law of God.

“Subscribed by STEPHEN WINCHESTER,  
with the testimonial hands of the council to the same.

Although Winchester subscribed to these articles with his own hand, granting the supremacy of the king, yet because he stuck so much in the first point regarding his submission, and would in no case subscribe, but only made his answer in the margin, it was therefore thought good that the master of the horse, and Master Secretary Petre should repair to him again, exhorting him to look better upon it; and at the same time, his subscription or answers were required to the following articles:

*Copy of the last Articles sent to Stephen Gardiner,  
the Bishop of Winchester.*

“Whereas I, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, have been suspected as one who did not approve or allow the king’s majesty’s proceedings in alteration of certain rites in religion, and was convented before the king’s highness’s council, and admonished by it, and having certain things appointed for me to do and preach for my declaration, have not done in this as I ought to do, whereby I have deserved his majesty’s displeasure; I am right sorry therefore. And to the intent that it may appear to the world how little I complain at his highness’s doings, which are most godly in religion, and most profitable to the commonwealth, I affirm as follows:

[661] A.D. 1547-1553.

“1. That the late king, of most famous memory, king Henry VIII, our late sovereign lord, justly and for good reason and ground has taken away, and caused to be suppressed and defaced, all monasteries and religious houses, and all conventicles and convents of monks, friars, nuns, canons, fellows, and other persons called religious, and that the same being so dissolved, the persons who are bound and professed to obedience to a person, place, habit, and other

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superstitious rites and ceremonies, upon that dissolution and order appointed by the king's majesty's authority as supreme head of the church, are clearly released and acquitted of those vows and professions, and at their full liberty, as though those unwitty and superstitious vows had never been made.

"2. That any person may lawfully marry, without any dispensation from the bishop of Rome, or any other man, with any person whom it is not prohibited to contract matrimony with, by the Levitical law.

"3. That vowing and going on pilgrimage to images, or the bones or relics of any saints, has been superstitiously used, and the cause of much wickedness and idolatry, and therefore have been justly abolished by the late king, and the images and relics so abused have been (great and godly considerations) defaced and destroyed.

"4. That the counterfeiting of St. Nicholas, St. Clement, St. Catharine, and St. Edmund, by children previously brought into the church, was a mere mockery and foolishness, and therefore was justly abolished and taken away.

"5. It is convenient and godly that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, that is, the whole Bible, are had in English and published, to be read by every man, and that whoever repels and discourages men from reading from them, does evil.

"6. That the said late king, on just ground and reason, received into his hands the authority and disposition of chantries, and such livings as were given for the maintenance of private masses, and well changed various of them to other uses.

"7. The king's majesty that now is, by the advice and consent of the parliament, upon just ground and reason, suppressed, abolished, and took away the said chantries, and such other livings as were used and occupied for maintenance of private masses, and masses satisfactory for the souls of those who are dead, or finding *obits*,<sup>522</sup> lights, or other similar things. The mass that was usually said by priests was full of abuses, and had very few things of Christ's institution, besides the epistle, gospel, the Lord's prayer, and the words of the Lord's supper. The rest, for the most part, were invented and devised by bishops of Rome, and by other men of the same sort, and therefore justly taken away by the statutes and laws of this realm; and the communion which replaced them, is very godly, and agreeable to the Scriptures.

"8. That it is most convenient and fit, and according to the first institution, that all Christian men should receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ in both the kinds, that is, in bread and wine.

"9. And the mass, in which only the priest receives and others but look on, is but the invention of man, and the ordinance of the bishop of Rome's church, but not agreeable to the Scriptures.

"10. That upon good and godly considerations, it is ordered in the said book and order, that the sacrament should not be lifted up, and shown to the people to be adored, but is to be received with godly devotion, as it was when first instituted.

"11 That it is well, politically, and godly done, that the king's majesty by act of parliament, has commanded all images which have stood in churches and chapels, to be abolished and defaced, lest at any time hereafter they might give occasion for idolatry, or be abused, as many of them have previously been, with pilgrimages and such idolatrous worshipping.

12. That by the same authority of parliament, all massbooks, and other books of the service in Latin, previously used, should be abolished and defaced, for certain superstitions contained in

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<sup>522</sup> *Obits* (or *obiits*) were annual commemorative services in the Middle Ages, often associated with an endowed mass, held on the anniversary of a person's death to pray for their soul.

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them, as well as to avoid dissension: And that the said service in the church should be in one uniform conformity throughout the realm, and on no occasion to the contrary through those old books.

“13. That bishops, priests, and deacons, have no commandment from the law of God, either to vow chastity, or to abstain continually from marriage.

“14. That all canons, constitutions, positive laws, and ordinances of man, which prohibit or forbid marriage to any bishop, priest, or deacon, are justly, and upon godly grounds and considerations, taken away and abolished by authority of parliament.

“15. The homilies recently commanded and set forth by the king’s majesty, to be read in the congregation of England, are godly and wholesome, and teach such doctrine as ought to be embraced by all men.

“16. The book set forth by the king’s majesty, by authority of parliament, containing the form and manner of making and consecrating archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, is godly, and in no point contrary to the wholesome doctrine of the gospel, and therefore ought to be received and approved of by all the faithful members of the church of England, and especially the ministers of God’s word, and commended by them to the people.

“17. That the orders of sub-deacon, Benet and Colet, and such others as were commonly called *minores ordines*, are not necessary by the word of God to be reckoned in the church, and are justly left out in the said book of orders.

“18. That the holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ, and that nothing is to be taught as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that which may be concluded and proved by the holy Scriptures.

“19. That upon good and godly considerations it was and is commanded by the king’s majesty’s injunctions, that the paraphrases of Erasmus in English, should be set up in some convenient place in every parish church of this realm, so that the parishioners may most conveniently resort to read the same.

“20. And because these articles aforesaid, contain only such matters as are already published and openly set forth by the king’s majesty’s authority, by the advice of his highness’ council, for many great and godly considerations — and among others, for the common tranquility and unity of the realm — his majesty’s pleasure, by the advice aforesaid, is that you the bishop of Winchester, shall not only affirm these articles with subscription of your hand, but also declare and profess yourself well contented, willing, and ready to publish and preach the same at such times and places, and before such audience, as from time to time shall seem convenient and requisite to his majesty, upon pain of incurring such penalties and punishments by his majesty’s laws, as may be inflicted upon you for not doing the same.

“These articles were sent to him on the 15th of July.

The bishop of Winchester receiving and perusing these articles, made this reply: that first regarding the article of submission, he would in no way consent, affirming, as he had done before, that he had never offended the king’s majesty in any such way as might give him cause thus to submit ‘himself; praying earnestly to be brought to his trial, in which he refused the king’s mercy, and desired nothing but justice. And for the rest of the articles, he answered that after he was past his trial on the first point, and was at liberty, then it should appear what he would do — it not being reasonable, as he said, that he should subscribe them in prison.

When the king and his council had intelligence of his answer, it was agreed that he should be sent for before the whole council, and peremptorily required to subscribe the articles which had been sent to him. This the bishop refused to do.

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Upon this, the fruits of his bishopric were sequestered, and he was required to conform himself to their orders, within three months, upon pain of deprivation.

After this sequestration, the bishop was brought to Lambeth before the king's commissioners, namely, the archbishop of Canterbury; Nicholas, bishop of London, Thomas, bishop of Ely; Henry, bishop of Lincoln; Secretary Petre, judge; Sir James Hales, knight; Dr. Leyton and Dr. Oliver, lawyers; and John Gosnold, esquire, etc., to be examined by them on nineteen articles which were objected against him, charging him with direct disobedience to the royal injunctions.

After the articles were exhibited to him, and he had leave to answer, he used all the wary shifts and remedies of the law, by way of protesting, recusing, and excepting against the commission, and also requiring of the actuaries, the copies both of the articles and of his protestation. Indeed, he so cavilled and dallied from day to day to answer directly, that at last he appealed from them to the king's royal person, reputed them not to be competent and impartial judges to hear and determine his cause. In the end, the commissioners proceeded to the sentence definitive against him, deposing him from all the rights and emoluments of the see of Winchester.

This sentence being given, the bishop of Winchester excepted against it as unjust, and of no effect in law, and then and there, immediately after the pronouncing of the sentence, by word of mouth, appealed to the king's royal majesty.

And here we leave Winchester for a while, till we come to treat his later death later on. As we number some among good lawyers, so he is to be reckoned among ignorant and bad divines, proud prelates, and bloody persecutors, as it may appear both by his cruel life and his pharisaical doctrine.

### ***The History of Edward Seymour, Lord Protector***

*The Tragic History of the worthy  
Lord Edward, Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector.*

After having recorded so many troublesome matters, we come now to the lamentable and tragic history of the lord Edward, duke of Somerset, the king's uncle, and protector of his person, and of his realm. We purpose to relate in order, the origin and whole occasion, even from the beginning.

King Edward, after both his father and mother were dead, had three uncles on his mother's side: Edward, Thomas, and Henry Seymour. Of the two first, one was made protector of the realm, and the other high admiral. These two, so long as they were joined together in amity and concord, they preserved both themselves, the king their nephew, and the whole commonwealth, from the violence and fear of all danger. But the subtle old serpent, always envying man's felicity, through slanderous tongues, sought to sow discord between them; then suspicion; and last of all extreme hatred — so that the protector suffered his brother to be condemned, and to lose his head. By this it came to pass, by God's judgment upon him, or because, after the death of his brother and the king (Edward being still young and tender of age, he was less able to shift for himself) that not long after, he was overthrown by his

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enemies, and imprisoned in the Tower. And at last he lost his head also, to the great lamentation of many good men.

For a better introduction of this history, we will begin with the brother of the lord protector. Sir Thomas Seymour, high admiral of England, who had married Queen Catharine Parr, late wife to king Henry VIII. Now it happened (on what occasion I do not know) that a dispute took place between the queen and the duchess of Somerset, and then also, on behalf of their wives, displeasure began between the brothers. Although it was appeased for a time through the persuasion of friends, yet a short time later it broke out again, both to the trouble of the realm, and especially to the confusion of themselves. First, it was laid to the lord admiral's charge, that he purposed to destroy the young king, and to transfer the crown to himself. Being attainted and condemned, he suffered at Tower-hill on the 20th of March 1549. Just as there were many who reported that the duchess of Somerset had wrought his death, so there were many who thought and affirmed that the fall of one brother would be the ruin of the other.

It was not long after the beheading of the lord admiral, that insurrections began in diverse quarters of the realm. By their occasion, the lord Russel, lord privy seal, was sent to the Western parts, and the lord Dudley, earl of Warwick, was sent with an army into Norfolk; where both he and a great number of gentlemen who were with him, meeting with the rebels, were in great danger. Notwithstanding, in the end the rebels were overthrown, which was about the beginning of September 1549. After this victory, in the month following, at the return of the earl of Warwick, there was great working and consultation among the lords. They assembled themselves in the house of Mr. York, and at Baynard's Castle, and in the lord mayor's house at London, against the lord protector, who then remained with the king at Hampton Court. The lord protector writes thus about this business and trouble, in his letters to the lord Russel in the West country:

*A Letter of the Lord Protector, to the Lord Russel,  
Lord Privy Seal, concerning troubles working against him.*

“After our right hearty commendations to your good lordship, here has risen of late such a conspiracy against the king's majesty and us, as never has been seen, which they cannot maintain but with such vain letters and false tales surmised, as was never meant nor intended by us. They pretend and say that we have sold Boulogne to the French, and that we withhold wages from the soldiers, and they spread other such tales and letters abroad (of which, if any one thing is true, we would not wish to live). The matter now being brought to a marvellous extremity, such as we would never have thought it could have come to, especially from those men towards the king's majesty and us, of whom we have deserved no such thing, but rather much favor and love. But the case being as it is, this is to require and pray you to hasten here to the defense of the king's majesty, with such force and power as you may, to show the part of a true gentleman, and of a sincere friend. This thing we trust God will reward, and the king's majesty in time to come, and we will never be unmindful of it too. We are sure you will have other letters from them; but as you tender your duty to the king's majesty, we require you not to hesitate, but to immediately repair with such force as you have, to his highness's Castle of Windsor, and cause the rest of whatever force you may command, to follow you. And so we bid you farewell right heartily.

“From Hampton Court, the 6th of October.

“Your Lordship's assured loving friend,

“Edward Somerset.”



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To this letter of the lord protector, sent the 6th of October, the lord Russel replying on the 8th, first laments the heavy dissension between the nobility and him, which he takes for such a plague, as a greater could not be sent by Almighty God upon this realm. He said it was the next way “to make us conquerors, slaves, and likely to induce on the whole realm a universal calamity and thralldom, unless the merciful goodness of the Lord helps, and in some way order is taken in staying these great extremities.” As to the duke’s request in his letters, since the lord Russel heard beforehand of this broil of the lords, and fearing lest some conspiracy had been meant against the king’s person, he hastened forward with such force as he could command for the safety of the king.

But now to return to the matter of the lords who, together with the earl of Warwick, were assembled at London against the lord protector. When the king with his council at Hampton Court heard of this, secretary Petre was sent to them, with the king’s message. But the lords detained him with them, making no reply to the message.

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Then the lord protector wrote to them as follows:

“My lords, we commend us most heartily to you; and whereas the king’s majesty was informed that you were assembled in such a way as you now remain, and was advised by us and such others of his council as were then about his person, to send Master Secretary Petre to you, with such message that thereby might have ensued the surety of his majesty’s person, with preservation of his realm and subjects, and the quiet both of us and yourselves, as Master Secretary can well declare to you. His majesty and we of his council here do not a little marvel that you detain the said Master Secretary with you, and have not granted to send a reply to his majesty, neither by him nor any other. And for ourselves, we much more marvel and are right sorry, as both we and you have good cause to be, to see the manner of your doings bent with violence, to bring the king’s majesty and us to these extremities. Now we intend, if you will take no other way but violence, to defend as nature and our allegiance binds us, to extremity of death, and to put all into God’s hand, who gives victory as it pleases him. So that, if any reasonable conditions and offers might take place (as up to now none have been signified to us from you, nor do we understand what you require or seek, or what you mean), and you seek no hurt to the king’s majesty’s person, then as regards all other private matters, to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, and to preserve the king’s majesty’s person, his realm, and his subjects, you will find us agreeable to any reasonable condition that you will require. For we esteem the king’s safety and the tranquility of the realm more than all other worldly things — indeed, more than our own life. Thus praying you to send your determinate answer to this by Master Secretary Petre, or if you will not let him go, then by this bearer. We beseech God to give both you and us grace to determine this matter, as may be to God’s honor, the preservation of the king, and the quiet of us all, which may be, if the fault is not in you. And so we bid you most heartily farewell.

From the king’s majesty’s Castle of Windsor,  
the 7th of October, 1549.”

After these letters were received, with the reasonable condition of the lord protector — not much regarded by the lords, for they still persisted in their purpose — they took this advice: first, to keep themselves in the city of London, as strong as they might. And therefore calling upon the mayor and aldermen, they commanded them in any case to provide a good and substantial watch by night, and a good ward by day, for the safeguard of their city, and the ports and gates. This was consented to, and the companies of London in their turn kept watch and ward accordingly.

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Then these lords and councilors demanded of the lord mayor and his brethren, 500 men to aid them to fetch the lord protector out of Windsor from the king. But the mayor answered that he could grant no aid without the assent of the common council of the city. So the next day a common council was notified. But in the meantime, the lords of the council assembled themselves at the lord mayor's house, who then was Sir Henry Amcottes, fishmonger. William Lock, a mercer, and Sir John Aileph, were sheriffs. There the council agreed and published a proclamation against the lord protector, charging him as follows:

1. That the lord protector, by his malicious and evil government, was the occasion of all the sedition that lately happened within the realm.
2. The loss of the king's pieces in France.
3. That he was ambitious and sought his own glory, as appears by building the most sumptuous and costly houses in the time of the king's wars.<sup>523</sup>
4. That he did not esteem the grave counsel of the councilors.
5. That he sowed division between the nobles, the gentlemen, and the commons.
6. That the nobles have assembled themselves together at London for no other purpose but to cause the protector to live within limits, and to take such order for the surety of the king's majesty as was fit, whatever the protector's doings might be; which they said were unnatural, ungrateful, and traitorous.
7. That the protector slandered the council to the king, and did whatever lay in him, to cause variance between the king and the nobles.
8. That he was a great traitor, and therefore the lords desired the city and commons to aid them, to take him from the king.

In witness and testimony of the contents of the proclamation, the lords subscribed their names.

After the proclamation, the lords, or most of them, continuing in London, came the next day to the Guildhall. This was during the time that the Lord Mayor and his brethren sat in their court or inner chamber, and communed a long while with the mayor. At last the mayor and his brethren came out to the common council, where he read the king's letter sent to the mayor and citizens, commanding them to aid him with a thousand well-appointed men out of their city, and to send them with all speed to his castle at Windsor.

This letter was directed to Sir Henry Amcottes, knight, lord mayor, to Sir Rowland Hill, knight, mayor elect, and to the aldermen and common council of the city of London. The day and date of the letter was the 6th of October, in the third year of his reign, being signed with the hand of the king, and of the lord protector.

This letter of the king and of the lord protector was not so secretly devised, nor so speedily sent, that the lords still remaining in London did not have knowledge of it immediately (by means, some suppose, of the lord Paget, who was then with the king and the protector). They were there, ready-furnished with their own bands of serving-men, and other soldiers and men-at-arms.

The lords directly addressed their letters to the said lord mayor and aldermen, also in the king's name, not only for a support of armed men to serve their purposes, and for a

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<sup>523</sup> The only sedition was the resistance of the Roman Catholics to the reformation of the church; the king lost no lands in France; and there were no wars other than the one with Scotland that began under Henry VIII.

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sufficient watch to fortify their city, but also that they should not obey any such letters, proclamations, or injunctions sent to them from the lord Protector. These letters of the lords came to the lord mayor and his brethren, the 6th of October.

After the receipt of these two letters, the one from the king, and the other from the lords, which both came at one time, with contrary commandment to the lord mayor and citizens of London, they were perplexed as to what measures to take. On one side, the name and authority of the king was much; on the other side, the power of the lords, then lying in London, was not little, and it seemed then to be such as would have no refusal.

The case thus standing in doubt, the recorder requested that the citizens would grant their aid rather to the lords, for the protector had abused both the king's majesty and the whole realm; and that unless he were taken from the king, and made to understand his folly, this realm was in great hazard. He therefore required that the citizens would assent to aid the lords with five hundred men.

No other answer was made by a great part of the common council, but silence. The recorder (who at that time was Mr. Brook) still looked to them for an answer. At last a wise and good citizen stepped up, named George Stadlow. He said —

“In this case it is good for us to think of things past, to avoid the danger of things to come. I remember, in a story written in Fabian's Chronicle, of the war between the king and his barons, which was in the time of King Henry III. And then the barons (as our lords do now) demanded aid from the mayor and city of London, and that was in a rightful cause for the commonwealth, which was for the execution of diverse good laws against the king, who would not allow those laws to be executed. The city aided them, and it came to an open battle. The lords prevailed against the king, and took the king and his son prisoners, and upon certain conditions, the lords restored the king and his son back to their liberties. Among all the other conditions was this one: that the king would not only grant his pardon to the lords, but also to the citizens of London.

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“This was granted, indeed; and the same was ratified by act of parliament. But what followed? Was it forgotten? No surely; nor forgiven during the king's life. The liberties of the city were taken away, strangers appointed to be our heads and governors, the citizens given away, body and goods, and they were most miserably afflicted with one persecution or another. Such a thing is it to enter into the wrath of a prince, as Solomon says, ‘The wrath and indignation of a prince is death.’ <sup>Pro 16.14</sup> Therefore, as this aid is required by the king's majesty, whose voice we ought to hearken to (for he is our high shepherd) rather than to the lords, yet I would not wish the lords to be clearly shaken off. My counsel is, that they with us, and we with them, may join in suit, and make our most humble petition to the king's majesty, that it would please his highness to hear such complaint against the government of the lord protector, as may be justly alleged and proved. And I do not doubt that this matter will be so pacified, that neither the king nor the lords will have cause to seek further aid, nor we to offend either of them.”

After this, the commons stayed, and the lord mayor and his brethren broke up, till they had further communed with the lords. The conclusion was that the lords (on what occasion I do not know) sat the next day in council in the star-chamber. And from there they sent Sir Philip Hobby with the letter of credence to the king's majesty, beseeching and requesting his majesty to give credit to that which Sir Philip should declare to his majesty in their names. The king gave him liberty to speak, and most gently heard all that he had to say. He so handled the matter, declaring his message in the name of the lords, that in the end the lord protector was commanded from the king's presence, and shortly was committed to the ward

in a tower within the castle of Windsor. Soon after, Sir Thomas Smith, Mr. Whalley, Mr. Fisher, and many other gentlemen who attended upon the lord protector, were arrested. The same day, the lords of the council resorted to the king, and the next day they brought the lord protector from there, and the others who were there arrested, and conveyed them through the city of London to the Tower, and there they left them.

And thus much concerning the *first trouble* of the lord protector, duke of Somerset. Though his enemies seemed to intend no less than the spilling of his blood, yet the Lord above, the only Disposer of all men's purposes, so ordered the matter by means of the intercession of the king, that the proclamation which had made him a traitor, within three days was called back. The duke was restored to liberty, which lasted for two years and two days.

After this time, the duke of Somerset was again apprehended and committed to the Tower, and with him also Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Ralph Vane, Sir Partridge, and others. At length, the time of his arraignment having come, the duke was brought from the Tower. He was conveyed through London with the axe of the Tower before him, and with great preparation of bills, halberds, pikes, etc. A watch was also set and appointed before every man's door through the High street of London. And thus he was brought into Westminster-hall, where the lords of the council sitting as his judges in the middle of the hall, he was arraigned and charged with both treason and felony.

I pass over the unseemly speeches, the vile taunts and spiteful rebukes used by certain of the sergeants and justices, and of some others sitting there. All of these the duke patiently and quietly suffered. And like a lamb, following the true Lamb and example of all meekness, he was content to take all things at their hands. With no less patience than he did before, with their fulsome words and flatterings in the time of his high estate and prosperity, he now bore their ungentle and cruel railings. And as the patience of this good duke was marvellous towards his enemies, so also his discretion and temperance were no less displayed in answering the articles objected to him. He replied to these, submitting himself in the end to be tried by his peers. They framed their verdict thus: "That concerning treason, with which he was charged, they discharged him; but they accounted him guilty of felony." When the people (who were present in great numbers) heard the lords say, "Not guilty" (meaning of treason) supposing that he had been entirely acquitted by these words, and especially seeing the axe of the Tower carried away, they made an outcry for great joy and gladness, declaring their loving affection and hearty favor toward the duke, whose life they greatly desired. But the people were deceived, and the innocent duke condemned to die for felony. This act of felony had been made a little earlier against the rebels and against unlawful assemblies — anyone who would seek or procure the death of any counsellor — so that every such attempt and procurement, according to the act, would be judged a felony. By virtue of this act, the duke was accused, with others, of intending and purposing the death of the duke of Northumberland and of others beside. He was condemned of felony, and sent back to the Tower.

At his passage through the city, great exclamations and outcries were made by the people, some rejoicing that he was acquitted, some bewailing that he was condemned.

He continued in the Tower till the 22nd of January. On that day, when the letter of execution came down from the king and the council, the duke and uncle to the king, not being found a traitor but only being convicted of the act of felony, was delivered to the sheriffs; and so he was brought to the place of execution.

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The order and manner of the execution have been related to us by a certain noble personage who was present there, and near to him on the scaffold, beholding all things with his eyes, and also reporting them with his pen:

“On the 22nd of January 1552, in the sixth year of Edward VI, the noble duke of Somerset, uncle to king Edward, was brought out of the Tower of London, and delivered to the sheriffs of the city. Surrounded by a great number of armed men, both of the guard and others, he was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill. Changing neither voice nor countenance, as calmly as if at home, he knelt down, lifted up his hands, and commended himself to God.

“After he had ended a few short prayers, standing up again, and turning himself toward the east side of the scaffold, not at all abashed either with the sight of the axe, nor of the executioner, nor of present death; but with alacrity and cheerfulness of mind and countenance, as he was accustomed before to hear the causes and supplication of others, and especially the poor (towards whom, as it were, with a certain fatherly love to his children, he always showed himself most attentive) he uttered these words to the people:

“Dearly beloved friends, I am brought here to suffer death, although I never offended against the king either by word or deed, and have been always as faithful and true to this realm as any man has been. But because I am condemned by a law to die, I acknowledge myself, as well as others, to be subject to it. Therefore, to testify my obedience, which I owe to the laws, I have come here to suffer death. I willingly offer myself to this, with most hearty thanks to God, that he has given me this time of repentance. Through sudden death, he might have taken away my life, so that I would neither have acknowledged him, nor myself.

“Moreover, dearly beloved friends, there is still something that I must put you in mind of, regarding the Christian religion which, so long as I was in authority, I always diligently set forth and furthered to my power. Nor do I repent of my doings, but rejoice in them, since now the state of the Christian religion comes much nearer to the form and order of the primitive church. This thing I esteem as a great benefit given by God both to you and me. I most heartily exhort you all, that this which is most purely presented to you, you will accept and embrace with like thankfulness, and display the same in your living. If you do not do this thing, then without doubt greater mischief and calamity will follow.’

[665] AD. 1547-1553.

“When he had spoken these words, suddenly there was a terrible noise; and a great fear came upon all men. This noise was as if it had been the noise of some great storm; as if a great deal of gunpowder enclosed in a magazine had exploded. To others it seemed as if it had been a great multitude of horsemen running together, or coming upon them. So great was the noise in the ears of all men, even though they saw nothing, that all the people were amazed without any evident cause. Men were seen running away, some into the ditches and puddles, and some into the houses. Others being afraid of the horror and noise, fell down grovelling to the ground, with their pole-axes and halberds. Most of them cried out, ‘Jesus save us, Jesus save us! Those who stood still did not know where they were. And I myself, who was present there among the rest, also being afraid in this confusion, stood still altogether amazed, expecting that someone would knock me on the head.

“In the meantime, the people by chance spied Sir Anthony Brown riding under the scaffold. This was the occasion of a new noise. For when they saw him coming, they conjectured that which was not true — but notwithstanding, that which they all wished for — that the king, by that messenger, had sent his uncle pardon. And therefore with great rejoicing and throwing their caps up, they cried out, ‘Pardon, pardon has come; God save the king! Thus this good duke, although he was destitute of man’s help, yet he saw, before his departure, what great

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love and favor he had with all men. And truly I do not think that in so many deaths of dukes as have been in England these past few years, there were so many weeping at one time; and not without cause. For all men saw in the fall of this duke, the public ruin of England.

“But now to return. The duke standing still in the same place, modestly, and with a grave countenance, made a sign to the people with his hand, that they would keep quiet. This being done, and silence obtained, he spoke to them in this manner:

“Dearly beloved friends, there is no such matter here in hand as you vainly hope or believe. It seems thus good to Almighty God, whose ordinance it is fit and necessary that we all be obedient to. Therefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am most willing to suffer. And let us now join in prayer to the Lord for the preservation of the king’s majesty, to whom I have always shown myself a most faithful and true subject. I have always been most diligent about his majesty in his affairs both at home and abroad, and no less diligent in seeking the common commodity of the whole realm! ‘

At these words, all the people cried out and said, ‘It is most true!’ Then the duke proceeding, said,

‘To his majesty I wish continual health, with all felicity and all prosperous success.’

The people again cried out, ‘Amen! ‘

“Moreover, I wish to all his councilors the grace and favor of God, by which they may rule in all things uprightly with justice. I exhort you all in the Lord to show yourselves obedient to them, as it is your bounden duty under pain of condemnation, and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguarding of the king’s majesty.

“Moreover, because I have oftentimes had interactions with diverse men, and it is hard to please every man, if therefore there are any who have been offended and injured by me, I most humbly request and ask him forgiveness, but especially Almighty God, whom throughout all my life I have most grievously offended. And all others, whatever they are, who have offended me, I forgive them with my whole heart. Now I once again request of you, dearly beloved in the Lord, that you will keep yourselves quiet and still, lest through your tumult you might trouble me. For although the spirit is willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering, and through your quietness I will be much quieter. Moreover, I desire you all to bear me witness that I die here In the faith of Jesus Christ, desiring you to help me with your prayers, so that I may persevere constant in the same to my life’s end.’

“After this, turning himself back around like a meek lamb, he knelt down upon his knees. Then Doctor Cox, who was present there to counsel and advise him, delivered a scroll into his hand, in which was contained a brief confession to God. This being read, he stood up on his feet again, without any trouble of mind (as it appeared) and first bid the sheriffs farewell, then the lieutenant of the Tower, and others, taking them all by the hands who were upon the scaffold with him. Then he gave the hangman certain money. This done, he put off his gown, and kneeling down again in the straw, he untied his shirt-strings. After that, the hangman came to him, turned down his collar round his neck, and all other things which hindered him. Then lifting up his eyes to heaven, where alone is hope, and covering his face with his own handkerchief, he laid himself down, showing no token of trouble or fear, nor did his countenance change; but before his eyes were covered there began to appear a red color in the midst of his cheeks.

“Thus this most meek and gentle duke lying along, and looking for the stroke, because his doublet covered his neck, he was commanded to rise up and put it off; and then laying himself down again upon the block, and calling three times upon the name of Jesus, saying,

‘Lord Jesus save me!’ And as he was repeating this the third time, even as the name of Jesus was being uttered, in a moment he was bereft both of head and life, and slept in the Lord Jesus. He was taken away from all the dangers and evils of this life, and is resting now in the peace of God — in the promotion of whose truth and gospel he always showed himself an excellent instrument and member; and therefore he has received the reward of his labors.”

As to the manners, disposition, life, and conversation of the duke, what do we need to say, when he cannot be sufficiently commended according to the dignity of his virtues? There was always great humanity in him, and such meekness and gentleness, as is rarely found in so high an estate. He was prone and ready to give ear to the complaints and supplications of the poor, and no less attentive to the affairs of the commonwealth. And if he, together with King Edward, had lived, they were likely to have done much good in reforming many disorders within this realm. He was utterly ignorant of all craft and deceit, and as far void of all pride and ambition, as he was from doing of injury. He was of a gentle disposition, not coveting to be revenged; he was more apt and ready to be deceived, than to deceive. He ever showed his nobility along with love and zeal for the gospel and for religion. The proof of this was sufficiently seen in his constant standing to God’s truth, and in his zealous defense of it, against the bishops of Chichester, Norwich, Lincoln, London, and others, in the consultation at Windsor, in the first year of the king’s reign.

But as there is nothing in this world so perfect in all respects, which is not blotted or darkened with some spot of vice. So among the manifold commendations of this duke, there was one thing which greatly stained both his honor and estimation, and also more endangered his own life. This was that, in consenting to the death of his brother, he followed too rashly the persuasion of others, and weakened his own power, and also provoked the chastisement of God’s scourge.

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Before we conclude the history of good king Edward VI, this place seems not unfit to mention a few other things concerning the church and religion. Religion began to grow well, and to come happily forward during this king’s days, had not the unhappy troubles of the state, owing to the lords not agreeing among themselves, disquieted the good prospect. But how subtly the malice of the devil works! So long as the lords agreed among themselves, Winchester and Bonner, with all that faction, were cut short, and they began to yield to conformity. But afterwards perceiving the nobles to be divided, the lord protector displaced, his brother the admiral beheaded, and the young king now left to himself, they began to take more heart.

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And thus, though nothing else will lead us, yet experience may teach us what discord works in public weals; and contrarily, what a necessary thing concord is to the advancement especially of God’s matters pertaining to his church. For, as to the success of the gospel of peace, while public peace and the gospel joined together, it was wonderful how error and popery were confounded, and ashamed to show their faces. So that both Doctor Smith, Chadsey, Stamlish, Young, Oglethorpe, with many others, recanted their former ignorance. Bonner, with his own hand, subscribed to the king’s supremacy, and promoted his injunctions. Stephen Gardiner also did the same, subscribing with his own hand the first book of the king’s proceedings. And no doubt he would have done the same to the second book also, had not unfortunate discord fallen among the nobles in so unfortunate a time.

***Disputations at Cambridge about the Sacrament***

I showed before (p. 636), how in these peaceable days, Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paul Phagius, with other learned men, were entertained and provided for in the two universities of this realm, Oxford and Cambridge; and how with their diligent industry there, they did much good. I likewise have in my hands the learned and fruitful disputations of these men to insert here. But the largeness of this volume compels me to make short of them, especially seeing the length of their disputations.

First, Peter Martyr was called by the king to the public reading of the divinity lecture in Oxford. Among his other learned exercises, he set up in the public schools three conclusions of divinity to be disputed and tried by argument. Those present at these disputations were the king's visitors <sup>524</sup> — to wit, Henry, bishop of Lincoln; Doctor Cox, chancellor of that university; Dr. Hains, dean of Exeter; Richard Morison, Esq.; and Christopher Nevinson, doctor of civil law. The conclusions propounded were these:

“1. In the sacrament of thanksgiving there is no transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ.

“2. The body and blood of Christ is not carnally or corporally in the bread and wine; nor, as others used to say, under the kinds of bread and wine.

“3. The body and blood of Christ is united to bread and wine sacramentally.”

Those who were the chief disputers against him on the contrary side, were Doctor Tresham, Doctor Chadsey, and Morgan.

The like disputation was also appointed and commenced at Cambridge about the same time, concerning the matter of the sacrament. The king's visitors were directed down for the same purpose by the king. The names of these visitors were Nicholas Ridley, bishop of Rochester; Thomas, bishop of Ely; Master John Cheek, the king's schoolmaster; Doctor May, civilian; and Thomas Wendy, the king's physician. The conclusions in that disputation propounded were these:

“Transubstantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifest words of Scripture, nor can it necessarily be collected from there, nor confirmed by the consents of the ancient fathers for these past thousand years.”

This disputation continued for three days severally. In the first, Dr. Madew answered; against him disputed Dr. Glin, Mr. Langdale, Mr. Segewick, and Mr. Young. In the second disputation, Dr. Glin answered; against him disputed Mr. Grindal, Mr. Perne, Mr. Gest, and Mr. Pilkington. In the third disputation Mr. Perne answered; against him disputed one Mr. Parker (*not* Dr. Matthew Parker), Mr. Pollard, Mr. Vavisor, and Mr. Young.

At length, the disputations being ended, the bishop of Rochester, Dr. Nicholas Ridley, in the manner of the schools, made the following determination upon the conclusions:

There has been an ancient custom among you, that after disputations in your schools there some determination should be made of the matters so disputed and debated, especially regarding the Christian religion. It has seemed good to these worshipful assistants joined with me in commission from the king's majesty, that I should perform the same at this time. I will, by your favorable patience, declare both what I think and believe myself, and what

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<sup>524</sup> *Visitor*: a head or overseer of an institution such as a college, who resolves disputes, etc.



also what others ought to think of the same. I wish that afterwards, every man would with diligence weigh and ponder this at home.

The principal grounds or rather head-springs of this matter are specially five:

The 1st is the authority, majesty, and truth of holy Scripture.

The 2nd is the most certain testimonies of the ancient catholic fathers, who in my judgment sufficiently declare this matter.

The 3rd is the definition of a sacrament.

The 4th is the abominable heresy of Eutiches, that may follow from transubstantiation.

The 5th is the most sure belief of the article of our faith, "he ascended into heaven."

1. This transubstantiation is clearly against the words of the Scriptures, and the consent of the ancient catholic fathers. The Scripture says, "I will not drink hereafter of this fruit of the vine," etc. Now the fruit of this vine is wine; and it is manifest that Christ spoke these words after the supper was finished, as it appears both in Matthew, Mark, and also in Luke, if they are well understood. There are not many places of Scripture that confirm this, nor is it very material: for it is enough if there is any one plain testimony for it. Nor should it be measured by the number of Scriptures, but by the authority and by the truth of the Scriptures. And the majesty of this truth is as ample in one short sentence of the Scripture as in a thousand.

Christ took bread; he gave bread. In the Acts, St. Luke calls it bread. St. Paul calls it bread after the sanctification. <sup>1Cor 11.24</sup> Both of them speak of breaking, which belongs to the substance of bread, and in no way to Christ's body. For the Scripture says, "A bone of him shall not be broken." <sup>Psa 34.20</sup> Christ says, "Do this in remembrance of me." <sup>Luk 22.19</sup> St. Paul also says, "Do you this in remembrance of me." And again, "As often as you drink of this cup, do it in remembrance of me." <sup>1Cor 11.25</sup> And our Savior Christ, in St. John sixth chapter, speaking against Capernaum, says, "Do not labor not for the food which perishes." And when they asked, "What shall we do that we might work the works of God?" He answered them, "This is the work of God, that you believe on him whom he has sent." <sup>Joh 6.27-29</sup> You see how he exhorts them to faith, "For faith is that work of God." Again, "This is the bread which came down from heaven." <sup>Joh 6.50</sup> But Christ's body did not come down from heaven. Moreover, "Whoever eats my flesh, and drinks my blood, dwells in me, and I in him. My flesh," he says, "is food indeed, and my blood is drink indeed." <sup>Joh 6.54-55</sup> When they heard this they were offended; and while they were offended, he said to them, "What if you see the Son of man ascend where he was before?" <sup>Joh 6.62</sup> By this he set about to draw them from gross and carnal eating. This body, he says, will ascend up into heaven, meaning altogether, as St. Augustine says, "It is the spirit that quickens; the flesh profits nothing. The words that I speak to you, they are spirit and they are life," <sup>Joh 6.63</sup> and must be spiritually understood. These are the reasons which persuade me to incline to this sentence and judgment.

2. Now my second ground against this transubstantiation is the ancient fathers, a thousand years past. They are so far from confirming transubstantiation, that plainly they seem to me to think and speak the contrary.

**Dionysius** in many places calls it "bread." The places are so manifest and plain, that I need not recite them.

**Ignatius** says to the Philadelphians, "I beseech you, brethren, cling fast to one faith, and to one kind of preaching, using together one kind of preaching, using together one kind of

thanksgiving; for the flesh of the Lord Jesus is one, and his blood is one which was shed for us: there is also one bread broken for us, and one cup of the whole church.”

**Irenaeus** writes, “Even as the bread that comes of the earth receiving God’s name is now no longer common bread, but sacramental bread, consisting of two natures, earthly and heavenly. Even so, our bodies receiving the eucharist, are now no longer corruptible, having hope of the resurrection.”

[667] A.D. 1547-1553.

**Tertullian** is very plain, for he calls it a *figure* of his body, etc. **Chrysostom** writes to Caesarius the monk, although he is not received by some, yet will I read the place to impress it more deeply in your minds, for it seems to plainly show the substance of bread remains. His words are these:

“Before the bread is sanctified, we name it bread: but by the grace of God sanctifying the same, through the ministry of the priest, it is delivered from the name *bread*, and is counted worthy to bear the name of *the Lord’s body*, even though the very substance of bread notwithstanding remains in it, and now is not taken to be two bodies, but one body of the Son,” etc.

**Cyprian** says, “Bread is made of many grains. And is that natural bread, and made of wheat? Yea, it is so indeed.”

The book of **Theodoret** in Greek was recently printed at Rome. If it had not been his, it would not have been published there, seeing that it is directly against transubstantiation. For he says plainly, that bread still remains after the sanctification. **Gelasius** also is very plain in this manner, “The sacrament,” he says, “which we receive, of the body and blood of Christ, is a divine matter; because of which we are made partakers of the divine nature; yet it does not cease to be the substance of bread and wine. Therefore the representation and similitude of the body and blood of Christ are celebrated in the action of the mysteries,” etc. After this he recited certain places out of Augustine and Cyril, which were not noted.

**Isichus** also confesses that it is bread. Also the judgment of **Bertram** in this matter is very plain and manifest. And thus much for the second ground.

3. The third ground is the nature of the sacrament, which consists of three things, which are unity, nutrition, and conversion.

Regarding unity, Cyprian writes, “Even as one bread is made of many grains, so are we one mystical body of Christ.” Therefore bread must still remain, or else we destroy the nature of a sacrament. Also those who take away nutrition, which comes by bread, likewise take away the nature of a sacrament. For as the body of Christ nourishes the soul, even so bread likewise nourishes the body of man.

Therefore those who take away the grains or the union of the grains in the bread, and deny the nutrition or substance of it, in my judgment are sacramentaries; for they take away the similitude between the bread and the body of Christ. Those who affirm transubstantiation are indeed sacramentaries and Capernaites.

Regarding conversion, that as the bread which we receive is turned into our substance, so we are turned into Christ’s body. **Rabanus** and **Chrysostom** are sufficient witnesses.

4. Those who say that Christ is carnally present in the eucharist, take from him the truth of man’s nature. **Eutyches** granted the divine nature in Christ, but he denied his human nature. So too, those who defend transubstantiation ascribe to the human nature, that which belongs only to the divine nature.

5. The fifth ground is the certain persuasion of this article of faith: “He ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand,” etc. **Augustine** says, “The Lord is above, even to the end of the world; yet the truth of the Lord is here also. For his body in which he rose again must be in one place; but his truth is spread abroad everywhere.” Also in another place, he says,

“Let the godly also receive that sacrament, but let them not be anxious (speaking there of the presence of his body). For as to his majesty, his providence, his invisible and unspeakable grace, these words are fulfilled which he spoke, ‘I am with you to the end of the world.’<sup>Mat 28.20</sup> But according to the flesh which he took upon himself, according to that which was born of the Virgin, was apprehended by the Jews, was fastened to a tree, taken down again from the cross, wrapped in linen clothes, was buried and arose again, and appeared after his resurrection, so ‘you shall not always have me with you.’<sup>Mat 26.11</sup> And why? Because as concerns his flesh, he was conversant with his disciples for forty days, with them accompanying him, seeing him, but not following him. He went up into heaven, and *is not here*, for he sits at the right hand of his father. And yet he is here, because he has not departed from here, as concerns the presence of his Divine Majesty.”

Mark and consider well what St. Augustine says: “He is ascended into heaven, and is not here.” Do not believe them, therefore, who say that he is still here on the earth. Moreover, the same Augustine says,

“Do not doubt that Jesus Christ, as concerns the nature of his manhood, is there [in heaven] from where he shall come. And remember well and believe the profession of a Christian man, that he arose from death, ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of his Father, and from that place and no other (not from the altars) he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. And he shall come, as the angel said, as he was seen going into heaven;<sup>Act 1.11</sup> that is to say, in the same form and substance to which he gave immortality, but did not change his nature. In this form (meaning his human nature) we may think that it is everywhere.”

In the same epistle, he says, “Take away from our bodies the limitation of places, and they shall be nowhere; and because they are nowhere, they shall not be at all.” **Virgilius**<sup>525</sup> says,

“If the word and the flesh are both of one nature, seeing that the word is everywhere, why then is not the flesh also everywhere? For when it was on earth, then truly it was not in heaven; and now when it is in heaven, it is surely not on earth. And it is so certain that it is not on earth, that as concerning the same, we look for him *from* heaven, whom, as concerning the word, we believe to be with us on earth.”

“Seeing that these things are so, the course of the Scriptures must be searched by us, and many testimonies must be gathered, to show plainly what a wickedness and sacrilege it is to refer those things to the property of the divine nature, which only belong to the nature of the flesh. And contrarywise, to apply those things to the nature of the flesh, which properly belong to the divine nature.”

This is what the transubstantiators do. While they affirm Christ’s body is not contained in any one place, and ascribe to his humanity what properly belongs to his divinity, just as those do who would have Christ’s body limited in no one certain place. Now, in the latter conclusion concerning the sacrifice, because it depends on the first, I will declare in a few words what I think. For if we agree on that, the whole controversy in the other would soon be at an end. There are two things which persuade me that this conclusion is true: certain places in the Scriptures, and also certain testimonies of the fathers. St. Paul says,

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<sup>525</sup> Presumably Virgil of Salzburg (c. 700-784), Irish astronomer and churchman, bishop of Salzburg.

## Bk. IX. The Reign of King Edward VI

“Christ having become a high priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building; nor by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, he entered once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us,” etc. And “now once at the end of the world, he has appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself.” (Heb 9.11-12) And again, “Christ was offered once to bear the sins of many.” <sup>Heb 9. 28</sup> Moreover, he says, “For by one offering he has perfected forever those who are being sanctified.” <sup>Heb 10.14</sup>

These Scriptures persuade me to believe that there is no other oblation of Christ (though I am not ignorant there are many sacrifices), except that which was made once on the cross.

The testimonies of the ancient fathers, which confirm this, are out of *Augustine ad Bonif.* epistle 23. Again in his *Book of Forty-three Questions*, in the Forty-first Question.

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Also in his *Twentieth Book against Faustus the Manichaeon*, cap. xxi. And in the same book against Faustus, cap. xxviii. **Augustine** writes: “Now the Christians keep a memorial of the sacrifice past, with a holy oblation and participation of the body and blood of Christ.”

**Fulgentius**, in his Book “De Fide,” calls the same oblation a commemoration. These things are sufficient at this time, for a scholastical determination of these matters.

### ***Disputations on “This is my body.”***

Beside these disputations, others were also held at Cambridge shortly after, by Martin Bucer, upon the following conclusions:

1. The canonical books of holy Scripture alone sufficiently teach the regenerated all things necessarily belonging to salvation.
2. There is no church on earth which does not err in manners (practice) as well as in faith.
3. We are so justified freely by God, that before our justification, all our works are *sin*, and it provokes God’s wrath against us, whatever good work we seem to do. Then being justified, we do *good* works.

In these three propositions, Bucer disputed against Mr. Sedgewick, Young, and Perne. Because these disputations are long, I am minded to reserve them to some other convenient place. In the meantime, because there has been, and still is, great controversy among the learned, and much effusion of Christian blood about the words and meaning of the sacrament — to the intent that the truth of it may be explained more openly, and all doubtful scruples be discussed — it will not be out of place to adjoin a certain learned treatise in the form of a dialogue. It pertains to the argument compiled, it seemed, out of the writings of **Peter Martyr** and other authors, by a learned and reverend person of this realm. Under the personae of *Custom* and *Truth*, he lays before our eyes, and teaches all men, not to measure religion by custom, but to test custom by the truth and the word of God. For otherwise, custom may soon deceive, but the word of God abides forever.

### *A Dialogue explaining the Words of Christ: “This is my Body.”*

Custom. — I greatly marvel what madness is creeping into those men’s hearts, who are not ashamed now-a-days to so violently tread down the lively word of God, yes, and impudently deny God himself.

Truth. — God forbid there should be any such men. Indeed I remember that the Romish bishop usually had the Bible for his footstool, so as to tread down God's word when he stood at his mass. But thanks be to God he is now revealed, and his abominations opened and blown throughout the world. And I hear of no others who oppress God's word.

Custom. — No more? Yes, doubtless there are a hundred thousand more, and it is your duty to withstand them.

Truth. — As to my duty, you know it does not agree with my nature to bear with falsehood. But who are they? Disclose them if you would have them reproved.

Custom — What! Are you so great a stranger in these quarters? Do you not hear how men daily speak against the sacrament of the altar, denying it to be the real body of Christ?

Truth. — In good truth I have been abroad a great while, and returned but recently into this country. So you must pardon me if my answer is to seek in such questions. But go on with your tale. You have been here longer, and are better acquainted than I am. What more do they say than this?

Custom. — Than this? Why, what more can they possibly say?

Truth. — Yes, there are many things worse than this: for this seems to be tolerable in some respects.

Custom. — What! I think you toy with me. Does it seem tolerable to deny the sacrament.?

Truth. — They do not deny it, so far as I can gather by your words.

Custom. — No, then fare you well: I perceive you will take their part.

Truth. — I am not partial, but indifferent to all parties: for I never go further than the truth.

Custom. — I can scarcely believe you. But what is truer than Christ, who is truth itself? Or who was ever so hardy before, as to charge Christ with a lie for saying these words, "This is my body?" The words are evident and plain: there is not so much as one obscure or dark letter in them; there is no cause for any man to cavil. And yet, though Christ himself affirmed it to be his body, men now-a-days are not abashed to say, "Christ lied, it is *not* his body." The evangelists all agree; the old writers stand on our side; the universal and catholic church has been of this mind these fifteen hundred years and more. And will we think that Christ himself, his evangelists, and the whole catholic church, have been deceived for so long, and the truth is now at length begotten and born in these days?

Truth. — You have moved a matter of great force and weight, and without many words, I can make no full answer to it. Notwithstanding, because you provoke me to it, I will take part with those of whom you have made false report, for none of them ever approved Christ of any lie. But on the other hand, they say that many men in recent days, not understanding Christ's words, have built and set up many fond lies in his name. Therefore, I will first declare the meaning of these words, "This is my body;" and next, in what sense the church and the old fathers have evermore taken them. First therefore you will understand that Scripture is not to be taken always as the letter sounds, but as the intent and purpose of the Holy Spirit was, by whom the Scripture was uttered. For if you follow the bare words, you will soon shake down and overthrow the greatest part of the Christian faith. What is plainer than these words, "My Father is greater than I?" From those plain words sprang up the heresy of the Arians, who denied that Christ is equal with his Father. What is more evident than this saying, "I and my Father are one?" Yet from there arose the heresy of those who denied three distinct persons. "They all had one soul and one heart," was spoken by the

apostles; and yet each of them had a soul and heart particular to himself. “They are now not two, but one flesh,” is spoken of the man and his wife; and yet both the man and his wife have their own bodies. Reuben said of his brother, “He is our very flesh,” <sup>Gen 37.27</sup> Yet notwithstanding, he was not their real flesh. “I am bread,” said Christ, yet he was flesh, and *not* bread. “Christ was the stone,” <sup>1Cor 10.4</sup> says St. Paul; and yet was not material stone. “Melchizedek had neither father nor mother,” and yet indeed he had both. “Behold the Lamb of God,” says John the Baptist of Christ; notwithstanding, Christ was a man, and not a lamb. Circumcision was called the *covenant*, whereas it was but a *token* of the covenant. The lamb was named the *Passover*, and yet it was eaten only in *remembrance* of the Passover. Jacob raised up an altar, and called it “The mighty God of Israel.” <sup>Gen 33.20</sup> Moses, when he had conquered the Amalekites, set up an altar, and called it by the names of God, Jehovah, and Tetragrammaton. <sup>Exo 17.15</sup> “We are all one bread,” <sup>1Cor 10.17</sup> says St. Paul; yet they were not thereby turned into a loaf of bread. Christ hanging on the cross, pointed out St. John to his mother, saying, “Behold your son,” <sup>Joh 19.26</sup> and yet was he not her son. “As many as are baptized into Christ,” says St. Paul, “have put on Christ,” <sup>Gal 3.27</sup> and as many as are baptized into Christ, are washed with the blood of Christ. <sup>Rev 1.5</sup> Notwithstanding, no man took the font water to be the natural blood of Christ. “The cup is the new testament,” <sup>1Cor 11.25</sup> says St. Paul, and yet the cup is not indeed the very new testament. You see, therefore, that it is not strange, nor an unusual thing in the Scriptures, to call one thing by another’s name. So that you can no more prove the changing of the bread into Christ’s body in the sacrament, because of the words, “This is my body,” than prove the change of the wife’s flesh into the natural and real body and flesh of the husband, because it is written, “They are not two, but one flesh;” or the altar of stone to be very God, because Moses pronounced it to be the mighty God of Israel.

[669] A.D. 1547—1553.

However, if you must stick to the letter, you will make for my argument, and hinder yours. For I will reason thus, and use your own weapon against you: The Scripture calls it “bread.” The evangelists agree in calling it “bread.” St. Paul names it “bread” five times in one passage. Therefore I conclude by your own argument, that we should not only say, but also believe that bread remains in the sacrament.

Custom. — I think your answer is reasonable, yet I cannot be satisfied. Therefore, declare more at large, what moves you to think this about the sacrament. For I think you would not withstand a doctrine so long held and taught, unless you were forced by some strong reasons.

Truth. — First, in examining the words of Christ, I look to the meaning and purpose for which they were spoken. I see that Christ meant to have his death and passion kept in remembrance. For men of themselves are forgetful of the benefits of God. And therefore it was necessary that they should be admonished and stirred up with some visible and outward tokens, as with the Passover lamb, the bronze serpent, and the like. For the bronze serpent was a token, that when the Jews were stung and wounded with serpents, God restored them and made them whole. The Passover lamb was a memory of the great benefit of God, which saved the Jews when he destroyed the Egyptians, for their doors were sprinkled with the blood of a lamb. So likewise Christ left us a memorial and remembrance of his death and passion in outward tokens, so that when the child demands of his father, what the breaking of the bread and drinking of the cup means, he might answer him that just as the bread is broken, so Christ was broken and rent upon the cross, to redeem the soul of man. And likewise, just as wine restores and comforts the body, so the blood of Christ

cherishes and relieves the soul. And this I gather by the words of Christ, and by the institution and order of the sacrament. For Christ charged the apostles to do this in remembrance of him. I therefore argue that just as nothing is done in mere remembrance of itself; and just as the sacrament is used in remembrance of Christ, therefore the sacrament is not Christ, or it would be a memorial of itself. And again I argue that Christ never devoured himself, and yet Christ ate the sacrament with his apostles; and therefore we may conclude that the sacrament is not Christ himself. Besides this, I see that Christ did not ordain his body, put a *sacrament* of his body. And a sacrament, as St. Augustine declares, is an outward sign of an invisible grace. His words are. *Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiae visibile signum*. Out of these words I gather two arguments. The first is this; the sign of the body of Christ is not the thing signified; therefore they are not one. And again, one thing cannot be both visible and invisible; but the sacrament we know is visible, and the body of Christ invisible; and we may therefore conclude that they are not one and the same.

I remember that Christ ministered this sacrament not to great and deep philosophers, but to a sort of ignorant and unlearned fishermen, who notwithstanding, understood Christ's meaning right well, and delivered it, even as they took it from Christ's hand, to the people, and fully declared to them the meaning. But neither those people, nor scarcely the apostles themselves, could understand what is meant by transubstantiation, impanation,<sup>526</sup> dimensions, accidents, without subjects, etc. This is no learning for the unlearned and rude people, and therefore it is likely that Christ meant some other thing than has been taught in recent days. Further, Christ's body is food, not for the body, but for the soul; and therefore it must be received with the instrument of the soul, which is faith. For just as you receive sustenance for your body by the mouth, so the food of your soul must be received by faith, which is the mouth of the soul. And St. Augustine sharply rebukes them those who think to eat Christ with their mouth, saying, "Why do you make ready your tooth and your belly? Believe, and you have eaten Christ." Likewise speaking of eating the same body, Christ says to the Capernaïtes, who understood him grossly as men do now a-days: "The words that I speak are spirit and life. It is the spirit that quickens, the flesh profits nothing." Joh 6.63

Custom. — What do you mean by this *spirit*, and by *spiritual* eating? I pray you utter your mind more plainly. For I know well that Christ has a body, and therefore must be eaten, as I think, with the mouth of the body. For the spirit and the soul, as it has no body and flesh, so it has no mouth.

Truth. — You must understand, that a man is shaped of two parts — of the body and of the soul. And each of them has its life and its death, its mouth, its teeth, its food, and its abstinence. For as the body is nourished and fostered with bodily foods, or else it cannot live; so must the soul have its cherishing, otherwise it will decay and pine away. And therefore we justly say that the Turks, Jews, and heathen are dead, because they lack the lively food of the soul. But how then, or by what means will you find the soul? Doubtless not by the instrument of the body, but of the soul. For that which is received into the body, has no passage from there into the soul. For Christ says, "Whatever enters at the mouth goes into the belly, and is cast out into the stream." And whereas you say that the spirit has no mouth, as it has no body or bones; you are deceived. For the spirit has a mouth, or else how could a man eat and drink justice? For undoubtedly his bodily mouth is not a fit instrument for it. Yet Christ says, that he is blessed who hungers and thirsts for righteousness. If he hungers and thirsts for righteousness, he must both eat and drink it; for otherwise he

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<sup>526</sup> Impanation refers to the doctrine that Christ's body is present in the Eucharist *alongside* the substance of the bread; similar to consubstantiation.

neither abates his hunger, nor quenches his thirst. Now, if a man may eat and drink righteousness with his spirit, no doubt his spirit has a mouth. From this I argue that just as the mouth of the soul is spiritual, so the food must be spiritual.

And in like manner Christ, speaking of eating his body, calls himself “the bread” — not bread for the body, but “the bread of life,” for the soul. And he says, “He who comes to me shall never hunger; and he who believes in me shall never thirst.” Therefore, whoever will be relieved by the body of Christ, must receive him as he will be received, with the instrument of faith, and not with his teeth or mouth. And whereas I say that Christ’s body must be received and taken with faith, I do not mean that you will pluck down Christ from heaven, and put him in your faith, as in a visible place; but that with your faith you must rise and spring up to him, and leaving this world, dwell above in heaven — putting all your trust, comfort, and consolation in Him who suffered grievous bondage to set you at liberty — creeping into his wounds which were so cruelly pierced and wounded for your sake. So you will feed on the body of Christ; so will you suck the blood that was poured out and shed for you. This is the spiritual, the very true, the only eating of Christ’s body. And, therefore, St. Gregory calls it, “The food of the mind, and not of the stomach.” And St. Cyprian says likewise: “We do not sharpen our tooth, nor prepare our stomach.”

Now to return. Seeing it is plain that Christ’s body is food for our spirit, and has nothing to do with our body, I will say that the sacrament is bodily food and increases the body; and therefore the sacrament is not the very body of Christ. It is evident that it nourishes the body; for Christ calls it the fruit of the vine, whose duty is to nourish. And as a proof, if you consecrate a whole loaf, it will feed you as well as your table bread. And if a little mouse gets a host (a piece of consecrated bread), he will crave no more food for his dinner. Therefore, as I said before, seeing that Christ’s body is spiritual food, and the bread of the sacrament bodily food, I may conclude that the sacrament is not Christ’s body. Besides this, where it was forbidden in the old law that any man should eat or drink blood, the apostles notwithstanding took the cup from Christ’s hands, and drank of it, and never staggered or shrunk at the matter. From this it may be gathered that they took it as a mystery, as a token, and as a remembrance, far otherwise than it has been taken recently.

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Again, when the sacrament was given, none of them crouched down and took it for his God, forgetting the one who sat there present before their eyes; but they took it, and ate it, knowing that it was a sacrament and remembrance of Christ’s body. Yes, the old councils commanded that no man should kneel down at the time of the communion, fearing that it might be an occasion of idolatry. And long after the Apostles’ time, as Tertullian writes, women were allowed to take it home with them, and store it in their chests. And the priests many times sent it to sick persons by a child, which no doubt would have given more reverence to it, if they had taken it for their God. But a great while after, about 300 years ago, Honorius III, bishop of Rome, took him and hung him up, and caused men to kneel and crouch down, and all to deify him.

If the bread is turned and altered into the body of Christ, doubtless it is the greatest miracle that God ever wrought. But the apostles saw no miracle in it. Nazianzen, an old writer, and St. Augustine, treating all the miracles in the Scripture, do not include the sacrament among them. As for the apostles, it appears that they took it for no marvel, for they never mused at it, nor demanded how it might be. Whereas in other things they were ever full of questions. As for St. Augustine, he not only skipped over it, as no wonder, but by plain and express words, he testifies that there is no marvel in it.



Bk. IX. The Reign of King Edward VI

A little before the institution of the sacrament, Christ spoke of his ascension, saying. "Yet a little while, and the world will see me no more." <sup>Joh 14.19</sup> "Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid," <sup>Joh 14.27</sup> because I go from you;. "I tell you the truth; it is expedient for you that I go away; for if I do not go away, the Comforter will not come to you; but if I depart, I will send Him unto you:" <sup>Joh 16.7</sup> with many other like warnings of his departure. St. Stephen saw him sitting at the right hand of his Father, and thought it a special revelation of God; but he never said that he saw him at the communion, or that he made him every day himself. And in the Acts of the Apostles, St. Peter says that, "the heaven must receive Christ until the times of restitution of all things." <sup>Act 3.21</sup> Isaiah, Solomon, and St. Stephen say, "That God dwells not in temples made with man's hand." <sup>Act 17.24</sup> St. Paul wishes that he were dissolved and dead, and were with Christ; <sup>Phi 1.23</sup> — not in the altar, doubtless, where he might be daily, but in heaven. And to be brief, it is in our creed, and we constantly believe that Christ had ascended into heaven, and sits at his Father's right hand; and we have no promise that he will come down at every priest's calling.

Custom. — O my, you are far deceived; I can in no way brook these words. You shut up Christ too straitly, and imprison him in one corner of heaven, not allowing him to go at large. He has deserved more gentleness at your hand, than to be tied up so short.

Truth. — I neither lock up nor imprison Christ in heaven, but according to the Scriptures I declare that he has chosen a blessed place, and one most worthy to receive his majesty. Whoever is enclosed in this place, does not think he is a prisoner; but if you take it for so heinous a thing that Christ should sit in heaven in the glory of his Father, what do you think of those who imprison him in a little box — yes, and keep him in captivity so long, until he is moldy and overgrown with vermin, and when he is past men's feeding on. They are not content to hang him till he stinks, but would they have him put to a new execution, and burn him too? This is wonderful and extremely cruel imprisoning. But to return to the matter, we are certainly persuaded by the word of God, that Christ, the very Son of God, granted to take upon himself the body and shape of man, and that he walked and was conversant among men in that one body, and not in many bodies; and that he suffered death, rose again, and ascended to heaven in the self-same body; and that he sits at his Father's right hand in his manhood, in the nature and substance of that body. This is our belief; this is the very word of God. Therefore they are far deceived who, leaving heaven, would grope for Christ's body on earth.

Custom. — No, sir, but I see now you are far out of the way. For Christ does not have so gross and fleshly a body as you think, but a spiritual and ghostly body, and therefore without repugnance it may be in many places at once.

Truth. — You say right well, and grant that Christ's body is spiritual. But I pray you answer me by the way: can any other body than that which is spiritual be in various places at one time?

Custom. — No, truly.

Truth. — Do we have that self-same sacrament that Christ gave to his disciples, or not?

Custom. — Doubtless we have the same one.

Truth. — When was Christ's body spiritual? Was it spiritual even from his birth?

Custom. — No; for doubtless before he arose from death, his body was earthly, as other men's bodies are.

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Truth. — Well, but when did Christ give the sacrament to his disciples? Before he rose from the dead, or afterwards?

Custom. — You know yourself he gave it before his resurrection, the night before he suffered his passion.

Truth. — Why then, I think he gave the sacrament at that time when his body was not spiritual.

Custom — Even so.

Truth. — And was every portion of the sacrament dealt to the apostles, and did they receive into their mouths the very real and substantial body of Christ?

Custom. — Yes, doubtless.

Truth. — Mark well, what you have said; for you have granted me a great contradiction. First you say that no body which is not spiritual, can be in several places at once. Then you say that Christ's body, at the last supper was not spiritual. And yet you hold that he was visibly present there before the apostles' eyes, and in each of their hands and mouths all at once.

Custom. — Indeed you have driven me into the straits before I was aware of you; and I do not know how I may escape your hands honestly. But the best refuge that I have is this, that I will not believe you.

Truth. — I desire you not to give credit to me. Believe the word of God; indeed, believe your own creed. For they both witness against you, that Christ's body is taken up into heaven, and it shall remain there until he comes to judge.

Custom. — Tush, what are you speaking from the word of God? There are many dark sayings in it which every man cannot attain to.

Truth. — I grant you there are obscure places in the Scripture, yet not so obscure that a man with the grace of God may not perceive them. For it was not written for angels, but for men. But as I understand it, custom meddles very little with the Scripture. What would you say from St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose? What if they stand on our side?

Custom. — No, no, I know them well enough.

Truth. — Well, as you know them, if they are called to witness it, they will give evidence against you. For St. Augustine, in all his books declares that Christ's body is placed in one room, Dei, i. he says, "Do not doubt the man Jesus Christ to be there, from where he shall come. And remember well, and faithfully believe the Christian confession, that he is risen, ascended into heaven, sits at the right hand of God the Father, and from there he shall come, and from no other place, to judge the quick and the dead. And he shall come in the same substance of body to which he gave immortality, and did not take the nature from it. In this form, he is not thought to be dispersed in all places; for we must beware to so defend his divinity that we do not destroy his humanity." All the old fathers witness the same.

Now, to return to the matter. Seeing that the word of God in many and sundry places, the creed, and all the old fathers agree, that the body of Christ has ascended into heaven, and there it remains at the right hand of the Father, and cannot be in more than in one place, I conclude that the sacrament is not the body of Christ.

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First, because the sacrament is not in heaven, nor does it sit at the Father's right hand; moreover, because it is in a hundred thousand boxes. Whereas Christ's body fills but one place. Furthermore, if the bread were turned into the body of Christ, then it would necessarily follow that sinners and impenitent persons receive the body of Christ.

Custom. Indeed, and so they do. For St. Paul says plainly, that they receive the body of Christ to their own confusion.

Truth. — No, not so. These are not St. Paul's words. Rather, he says,

“Therefore whoever eats this bread, and drinks this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For he that eats and drinks unworthily, eats and drinks damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body.” (1Cor 11.27-29)

Here he calls it *bread* in plain words. And although the sacrament is truly bread, yet the injury redounds to the body of Christ. As if a man breaks the king's mace, or treads the broad seal under his foot, even if he has broken and defaced nothing but silver and wax; yet the injury is the king's, and the doer shall be taken as a traitor. He that reads the gospel, in which the passion and death of Christ is declared, and lives contrary to the gospel, will doubtless be even more guilty of the death of Christ, because he hears and reads the word of God, and does not regard it. In a certain country the manner is that when the gospel is read, the king will stand up with a bare sword in his hand, declaring thereby that he bears his sword in defense of the gospel. But if he himself oppresses the gospel, he bears the sword against himself; for the gospel will turn to his judgment and condemnation. Thus Christ will so much more extremely punish a man who, knowing himself to be wicked and without repentance, and therefore none of the flock of Christ, yet notwithstanding will impudently creep into the company of Christian men, and receive the sacraments with them as though he were one of their number. And this is what St. Paul meant by the unworthy receiving of the sacrament of Christ's body. Therefore a man may unworthily take the sacrament, and be guilty of the death of Christ, even if he does not receive Christ's body into his mouth, and chews it with his teeth. But what if I prove that every priest at the mass is guilty of the body and blood of Christ?

Custom. — I dare say, you cannot prove it.

Truth. — But if I do prove it, will you believe me?

Custom. — I may well enough, for it is impossible to do it. For priests commonly are confessed before they go to mass; and how can they then take the sacrament unworthily?

Truth. — Indeed confession, if it is discreetly used, is a laudable custom, and to the unlearned man and feeble conscience it is as good as a sermon. But because it was never commanded by Christ, nor received by the apostles, nor much spoken of by the old doctors, it cannot do much for the due receiving of the sacrament. But how do you like these words of St. Ambrose: “He takes it unworthily, who takes it otherwise than Christ ordained it”?

Custom. — That I like very well. But what do you gather from it?

Truth. — I will gather this. The priest at mass takes the sacrament otherwise than Christ either commanded or taught, and thus he takes it unworthily; consequently he takes it to his condemnation.

Custom. — That is not so, for he does entirely as Christ commanded him.

Truth. — That will appear. For Christ commanded it to be done in remembrance of *Him*; the priest does it in remembrance of *dead men*. Christ took bread, and left it bread; the priest takes bread and conjures it away. Christ took bread and gave thanks; the priest takes bread and breathes upon it. Christ took bread and broke it; the priest takes bread and hangs it up. Christ took bread and dealt it to his apostles; the priest, because he is an apostle himself, takes bread and eats every whit of it alone. Christ in the sacrament gave his own body to be eaten in faith; the priest for lack of faith receives accidents<sup>527</sup> and dimensions. Christ gave a sacrament to strengthen men's faith; the priest gives a sacrifice to redeem men's souls. Christ gave it to be *eaten*, the priest gives it to be *worshipped*. And to conclude, Christ gave *bread*; the priest says he gives *a God*. Here is difference enough between Christ and the priest. Yet moreover, Christ at his supper spoke his words in a plain tongue; the priest speaks nothing but Latin or Greek, which he often does not understand; and he whispers, lest any poor man perhaps perceives him. So it comes to pass, that the priest often knows no more what he *says*, than what he *does*. Thus you may see that in the mass, the priest receives the sacrament of Christ's body far otherwise than ever Christ minded, and so he receives it unworthily and to his condemnation.

Now, if you think yourself satisfied, I will return to my former question, and prove more at large, that Christ's body cannot be eaten by the wicked, which must necessarily ensue if the bread were turned into the body of Christ. Christ in the sixth of St. John, speaking of eating his body, says, "He who eats of this bread shall live forever." (verse 58) But sinful men take the sacrament to their condemnation, and do not live forever; therefore in the sacrament they do not receive the body of Christ.

The sacrament in holy Scripture is named "the breaking of bread."<sup>Act 2.42</sup> This would truly be but a cold breaking if there remained no bread to break, except certain fantasies of *white* and *round*; whereas they can scarcely make one God with words, crossings, blessings, breathings, leapings, and much ado. They have such virtue in their fingers, that at one cross they are able to make twenty gods; for if they break the sacrament, every portion, yes, every mite, must be a God. After the apostles' time heretics arose who said that Christ, walking here among men bodily upon the earth, had no real body, but only a thing *like* a body; and so they dimmed men's sight with this. Against them the old fathers used these arguments: Christ increased in growing; he fasted, hungered, ate, wept, sweated, was weary, and in conclusion he died, and had all other properties of a true body; therefore he had a body. I will use the same kind of reasoning. It feeds, it tastes like bread, it looks like bread, the silly little mouse takes it for bread, and to be short, it has all the properties and tokens of bread. The old fathers, when any part of the sacrament remained more than was spent at the communion, they used to burn it, and from it came ashes. But there is nothing in the sacrament that can turn to ashes except bread (for I do not think they burned Christ's body to ashes). The emperor Henry VI, was poisoned in the host; and Victor the bishop of Rome in the chalice. But poison cannot hang in God's body and blood. What need is there for many words in a matter so evident? If you demand either God's word, or the doctors and the ancient writers, or your reason, or your eyes, or nose, or tongue, or fingers, or the mouse — all these agree in one thing, and answer together, "There is *bread*."

Therefore, if you reject so many and such constant witnesses, and that so well agree in their tale, especially being such as will not lie for any man's pleasure, I will appeal from you, and take you as no indifferent judge. If all these witnesses do not suffice you, I will call the

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<sup>527</sup> An *accident* is an incidental element of something, rather than essential. The bread may be white and round. Those are incidentals and not necessary elements of the bread, which may be brown and square.

sacrament itself to record: it cries to you, and plainly notifies you what you should think of it: "I am," it says, "grated with the teeth; I am conveyed into the belly; I perish; I can live no time; I canker; I suffer green mold; blue mold, red mold; I breed worms; I am kept in a box for fear of rats; if you leave me out all night, I will be devoured before morning, for if the mouse gets at me I am gone; I am bread, I am no God; do not believe them." Thus cries the sacrament daily, and bears witness itself.

Custom. — The devil on such reasons! and therefore I will never trouble my brains to make you answer. But if what you have said is true, why is the sacrament called *the body of Christ* by Christ himself, by his apostles, and by the old fathers?

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Truth. — Because it is no strange thing in Scripture to speak this way, as I declared before. But will you stand to St. Augustine's arbitration in this matter?

Custom. — To no man sooner.

Truth. — St. Augustine, in an epistle to his friend Boniface, gives a good reason why the sacrament, though it is not the body of Christ, it is notwithstanding called the body of Christ His words are these: "If sacraments did not have a certain similitude to those things of which they may be sacraments, then they would not be sacraments. Many times they take their name from this similitude. Therefore, in a certain way the *sacrament* of the body of Christ is the body of Christ; and the *sacrament* of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ," etc. Now, I think you are satisfied concerning the meaning of these words, "This is my body."

Custom. — Yet one thing moves me very much.

Truth. — What is that.'

Custom. The doctors and old writers, men inspired with the Holy Spirit, have ever been against your doctrine; yes, and in these days, the wisest men and best learned call you heretics, and your learning heresy.

Truth. — As to the old writers, I remember well they speak reverently of the sacraments, as every man ought to do. But where they deliver their mind with their right hand, you receive it, Custom, with the left. For where they say that it is the body of Christ, and that it must be truly eaten — meaning that it effectually lays Christ's body before the eyes, and that to the faithful man it is no less than if it were Christ himself, and that Christ must be eaten in faith, not torn nor rent with the teeth — *you* say that however it is taken, it is Christ's body, and that there is no other type of eating than with the mouth.

And that the fathers meant nothing other than I have said, will appear by their words. But regarding the learned and wise men of these days, I cannot blame them if they call my doctrine heresy. For they would condemn all the ancient writers of heresy, if they were now alive. But I will answer you as I would to them directly. In the meanwhile, mark how well their learning agrees. They say you must follow the letter; you must stick to the letter. But **Origen** says, "If you follow the letter, that which is written ('unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, there is no life in you') this letter kills." **Augustine** says, "If the commanding speech is such that it commands a wicked and horrible thing to be done, or a charitable thing to be undone, then this is *figurative speech*: 'unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, there is no life in you,' because he seems to command a wicked thing in this speech. It is therefore *figurative speech*, commanding that we should have communion with the passion of our Lord, and sweetly retain it in our remembrance."

**Athanasius** says, on John 6, “The words that Christ speaks here are not carnal, but spiritual. For what body might have sufficed for all who would eat it, to be nourishment for the whole world.’ But he therefore mentions the ascension of the Son of Man into heaven, with the intent to pluck them away from that corporal cogitation.” And it is in this way that all the ancient fathers explain these words.

But why do I need to speak of the old fathers? It is not long since the sacrament grew out of its right understanding. For this word *transubstantiation*, by which they signify the bread turning into the body of Christ, was never spoken, or heard, or thought of among the ancient fathers, or in the old church. But about 500 years past, Pope Nicholas II (about 1059), confirmed that opinion about the changing of the bread, and he would have it made an article of faith. But this was not done until it was so declared by the Council of Lateran in Rome (A.D. 1215). After that time ensued *Corpus Christi* day, masses of *Corpus Christi*, reserving the sacrament with honor, with canopies, with incensing, with kneeling, with worshipping and adoration, etc. For they thought they could not do too much for him after the bishop of Rome had allowed him as a God.

But it was not quite 200 years before that time, that this doctrine first began to bud. It had not so prevailed, that a great number of learned and good men did not know the sacrament was a *sacrament*, and not Christ himself. Charles the Great, king of France, and emperor of Germany, demanded of a learned man, whose name was Bertram, what he thought of that strange kind of calling down Christ from heaven, and turning a little bit of bread into his natural body? Bertram answered in this way:

“We say that there is a great difference between the body in which Christ suffered, the blood which he shed upon the cross, and this body which is celebrated every day in the mystery of the passion of Christ. For this body is a pledge and similitude; but the other is the very truth itself. It appears that these are separated by no less difference than between a pledge and the thing for which the pledge is given; or between an image of a thing and the thing itself; or between the form of a thing, and the truth itself.”

Thus wrote Bertram, Druthmar, and many others; and yet in all their time they were never once reprov'd of heresy. John Scotus also wrote thus, but about 200 years after his death, he was judg'd and condemn'd as a heretic, and his books were burned. Since that time, even till this day, though idolatry had great increase, there never lacked some good men who would boldly profess and set forth the truth, even though they were well-assured that their worldly reward should be spite, malice, imprisonment, sword, fire, and all kinds of torments.

Thus, in so few words as I could, I have declared to you what Christ meant by these words, “This is my body;” what the apostles taught about it, and in what way they delivered them to their successors — in what sense and meaning the holy fathers and old writers, and the universal and catholic church has evermore taken them.

### ***The Death of King Edward VI – July 1553.***

Thus having discours'd about the events in the reign of king Edward, we will now draw to the end and death of this blessed king, our young Josiah. About a year and a half after the death of the duke of Somerset, his uncle, in the year 1553, he entered into the 17th year of his age, and the 7th year of his reign. In the month of June, he was taken from us, for our sins no doubt. If it had so pleas'd the good will of the Lord to have spared him with longer life, it was not unlikely that he would have so reformed the commonwealth here in the realm of England, as it might have been said of him, for good cause, what was said in the olden

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time of the noble emperor Augustus: in reforming and advancing the empire of Rome, he received it of brick, but left it of fine marble. But the condition of this realm, and the behavior of the English people, did not deserve the benefit of so blessed a reformation, but rather such a plague of deformation as happened after Edward's reign, as will appear in the history of his successor, Mary I.

The time having now approached when it pleased Almighty God to call this young king from us. we are told that about three hours before his death, this godly child, his eyes being closed, speaking to himself, and thinking none were near him, was heard to pray thus:

### *The Prayer of King Edward before his Death.*

“Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among your chosen: however, not my will, but your will be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to you. O Lord, you know how happy it would be for me to be with you: yet for your chosen's sake send me life and health, that I may truly serve you. O my Lord God, bless your people, and save your inheritance. O Lord God, save your chosen people of England. Oh my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain your true religion, that I and my people may praise your holy name, for your Son Jesus Christ's sake.”

Then he turned his face, and seeing who was by him, said to them, “Are you so near? I thought you had been farther off.”

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Then Dr. Owen said, “We heard you speak to yourself. He then smilingly said, “I was praying to God.” The last words of his pangs were these, “I am faint; Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit.” And thus he yielded up the ghost on the 6th of July 1553, and left a woeful kingdom behind to his sister. Although in his will he had excluded his sister Marv from the succession of the crown, because of her corrupt religion, yet the plague which God had destined for this sinful realm, could not so be avoided, unless she, being the elder daughter to King Henry, succeeded in possession of the crown. It now remains to discourse about her dreadful and bloody government. It may suffice to briefly understand this, that for all the writing, sending, and practicing with the lady Mary, by the king and his council, and also by bishop Ridley, she would yet not be reclaimed from her own opinion to give any hearing to the word and voice of truth. Both this young king Edward, and also his father Henry before him, knew right well this positive will of the lady Mary, and were both much displeased against her for it. So that not only did her brother Edward utterly sequester her in his will, but also her own father, considering her inclination, conceived such heart against her, that for a long time he secluded her from the title of princess. Indeed, he seemed so eagerly incensed against her, that he was fully inclined to proceed further with her, had not the intercession of Thomas Cranmer, the archbishop, reconciled the king to again favor and pardon his own daughter.

You have already heard about the stout courage of the lady Mary toward her father, and also by her letters to her brother King Edward and his council. So now let us infer something about the stout talk and demeanor of the lady Mary toward Doctor Ridley, bishop of London, who gently coming to her of mere good will, had this communication with her, and she with him, as follows.

About the 8th of September 1552, Dr. Ridley, then bishop of London, lying at his house at Hadham in Hertfordshire, went to visit the lady Mary, then at Hunsden, two miles off. He was gently entertained by Sir Thomas Wharton, and others of her officers, till it was almost eleven o'clock, about which time the lady Mary came forth into her chamber of presence.

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The bishop saluted her grace, and said that he had come to do his duty to her grace. She thanked him for his pains, and for a quarter of an hour she talked with him very pleasantly, and said that she knew him in the court when he was chaplain to her father, and could well remember a sermon that he gave before king Henry her father, at the marriage of my lady Clinton to Sir Anthony Brown, etc. And so she dismissed him to dine with her officers. After dinner was done, the bishop, being called for by Mary, resorted again to her grace. This was the communication between them. The bishop begins in the following manner:

Bishop. — “Madam, I came not only to do my duty to see your grace, but also to offer myself to preach before you on Sunday next, if it will please you to hear me.” Her countenance changed at this; and after her silence for a time, she answered thus:

Mary. — “My lord, as for this last matter I pray you to give the answer to it yourself.”

Bishop. — “Madam, considering my office and calling, I am bound in duty to make this offer to your grace, to preach before you.”

Mary. — “Well, I pray you to give the answer (as I have said) to this matter yourself; for you know the answer well enough. But if there is no remedy, and I must make you answer, this shall be your answer: the door of the parish church adjoining shall be open for you if you come, and you may preach if you wish; but neither I nor any of mine shall hear you.”

Bishop. — “Madam, I trust you will not refuse God’s word.”

Mary. — “I cannot tell what you call God’s word; that is not God’s word’s now, that was God’s word in my father’s days.”

Bishop. — “God’s word is all one in all times, but has been better understood and practiced in some ages than in others.”

Mary. — “You dared not, for your ears have avowed that God’s word in my father’s days, is not what you do now. And as for your new books, I thank God I never read any of them; I never did, and never will.”

And after many bitter words against the form of religion then established, and against the government of the realm, and the laws made in the youth of her brother, which she said she was not bound to obey till her brother came to maturity, when she affirmed she would obey them. She asked the bishop whether he was one of the council. He answered, “No.” “You might well enough,” she said, “as the council goes now a-days.” And so she concluded with these words: “My lord, for your gentleness to come and see me, I thank you; but for your offering to preach before me, I thank you never a whit.”

Then the bishop was brought by Sir Thomas Wharton to the place where they dined, and was asked to drink. And after he had drunk, he paused a while, looking very sadly, and suddenly broke out into these words: “Surely I have done amiss.” “Why so?” said Sir Thomas Wharton. “For I have drunk,” he said, “in that place where God’s word offered, has been refused. Whereas, if I had remembered my duty, I should have departed immediately, and shaken the dust off my shoes for a testimony against this house.” These words were spoken by the bishop with such vehemence, that some of the hearers afterwards confessed their hair to stand upright on their heads. This done, the bishop departed, and so returned to his own house.

THE END OF THE NINTH BOOK



## ACTS AND MONUMENTS

### BOOK X. CONTAINING

#### *The entrance of Queen Mary to the crown, with the alteration of religion in the realm.*

During the time of his sickness, when King Edward began to appear more feeble, a marriage was solemnized in the month of May, between the lord Guilford, son to the duke of Northumberland, and the lady Jane Grey, the duke of Suffolk's daughter. Her mother, then alive, was daughter to Mary, king Henry's second sister, who was first married to the French king, and afterwards to Charles duke of Suffolk. The marriage being concluded, and king Edward growing sicker every day, there seemed to be no hope of recovery. It was brought to pass by the consent not only of the nobility, but also of the chief lawyers of the realm, that the king by his testament should appoint the lady Jane, daughter to the duke of Suffolk, to be inheretrix to the crown of England, passing over his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth.

The king's whole council subscribed to this, and the chief of the nobility, the mayor and city of London, and almost all the judges and chief lawyers of this realm, except justice Hales of Kent, a man favoring true religion, and also as upright a judge as any in this realm. He gave his consent to lady Mary, and would in no case subscribe to lady Jane. You shall hear more of this man (God willing) in the sequel of this history.

The causes laid against lady Mary, were that it was feared she would marry a foreigner, and thereby entangle the crown; and also that she would alter the religion used both in the days of King Henry her father, and also in the days of her brother King Edward, and so bring in the pope, to the utter destruction of the realm. This indeed afterwards came to pass, as will well appear by the sequel of this history.

When king Edward was dead, lady Jane Grey was established in the kingdom by the consent of the nobles, and was immediately proclaimed queen at London, and in other cities. There was little difference in age between this young damsel and king Edward, though in learning and knowledge of the tongues, she was not only equal, but also superior to him, being instructed by a master right nobly learned.

In the meantime, while these things were working at London, lady Mary, who knew of her brother's death, wrote to the lords of the council, as follows:

#### *A letter of the Lady Mary, sent to the Lords of the Council, in which she claims the crown after the decease of King Edward.*

“ My lords, we greet you well, and have received sure notice, that our dearest brother the king, our late sovereign lord, is departed to God's mercy; how woeful this news is to our heart. He only knows, to whose will and pleasure we must, and do humbly submit ourselves and our wills. But in this so lamentable a case, that is to wit, now after his majesty's departure and death, concerning the crown and governance of this realm of England, with the title of France, and all things belonging to it, what has been provided by act of parliament, and the testament and last will of our dearest father, besides other circumstances advancing our right, you know — the realm and the whole world knows. The rolls and records appear by the authority of the king our father, and the king our brother, and the subjects of this realm. So that we truly trust that there is no good true subject, who is, can, or would pretend to be ignorant of it, and of our part that we have caused of ourselves. And as God shall aid and strengthen us, we shall cause our right and title in this behalf to be published and proclaimed accordingly. And even if this

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so weighty a matter seems strange, that our brother dying on Thursday night last past, we up to now had no knowledge from you about it. Yet we consider your wisdom and prudence to be such, that having oftentimes among you debated, pondered, and well weighed this present case with our estate, with your own estate, the commonwealth, and all our honors, we shall and may conceive great hope and trust, with much assurance in your loyalty and service, and therefore for the time interpret and take things not for the worst — and that you will, like noblemen, work the best. Nevertheless, we are not ignorant of your consultations, to undo the provisions made for our preferment, nor of the great bands and forcible provisions with which you are assembled and prepared, by whom and to what end, God and you know, and nature cannot but fear some evil. But if some political consideration, or whatever else has moved you to this, yet do not doubt, my lords, that we can take all these doings of yours in gracious part, being also right ready to remit and fully pardon the same, and do it freely to eschew bloodshed and vengeance against all those who can or will intend the same.

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I also trust assuredly that you will take and accept this grace and virtue in good part as it pertains, and that we will not be forced to use the service of others, our true subjects and friends, which in this our just and right cause, God shall send us, in whom our whole affiance is. Therefore, my lords, we require you, and charge you, and each of you, that from your allegiance which you owe to God and us, and to no other, employ yourselves only for our honor and the safety of our person, and immediately upon receipt of this, cause our right and title to the crown and government of this realm to be proclaimed in our city of London, and other places, as seems good to your wisdom, and as pertains to this case, not failing of this as our very trust is in you. And this our letter, signed with our hand, shall be your sufficient warrant in this behalf.

“Given under our signet, at our Manor of Kenning  
Hall, the 9th of July 1553.”

To this letter of the lady Mary, the lords of the council answered as follows:

### *Answer of the Lords to the Lady Mary's Letter.*

“Madam, we have received your letter, dated the 9th of this month, declaring your supposed title, which you judge yourself to have to the imperial crown of this realm, and all the dominions belonging to it. For our answer to it, this is to notify you that, after the death of our sovereign lord Edward VI, a prince of most noble memory, our sovereign lady queen Jane is invested and possessed with the just and right title to the imperial crown of this realm, not only by good order of the ancient laws of this realm, but also by our late sovereign lord's letters patent, signed with his own hand, and sealed with the great seal of England, in the presence of most of the nobles, councilors, judges, with several others, grave and sage personages, assenting and subscribing to it. We must therefore, as the most bounden duty and allegiance, assent to her grace, and to none other, except we should (which faithful subjects cannot) fall into grievous and unspeakable enormities. Therefore we can do no less, but for the quiet both of the realm and you also, to notify you, that because the divorce made between the king of famous memory, king Henry VIII, and the lady Catharine your mother, was necessary to be had both by the everlasting laws of God, and also by the ecclesiastical laws, and by most of the noble and learned universities of Christendom, and confirmed also by the sundry acts of parliaments yet remaining in force, and thereby you were justly made illegitimate and unhereditary to the crown imperial of this realm. And the rules, and dominions, and possessions of the same, you will upon just consideration of this, and of diverse other causes, lawfully alleged for the same, and for the just inheritance of the right line and godly order taken by the late king our sovereign lord king Edward VI, and agreed upon by the nobles and

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great personages aforesaid, cease by any pretense to vex and molest any of our sovereign lady queen Jane's subjects from their true faith and allegiance due to her grace: Assuring you, that if you will, out of respect, show yourself quiet and obedient (as you should) you will find us all and several ready to do you any service that we may with duty, and be glad with your quietness to preserve the common state of this realm in which you may otherwise be grievous to us, to yourself, and to them. And thus we bid you most heartily farewell.

“From the Tower of London, this 9th of July 1553.

“Your ladyship's friends, showing yourself an obedient subject.

Thomas Canterbury.  
The marquis of Winchester.  
John Bedford.  
R. Rich.  
Huntington.  
Darcy.  
Cheyney.  
William Northampton.  
Thomas Ely, chancellor  
Northumberland.  
Henry Suffolk.  
Henry Arundel.

Shrewsbury.  
Pembroke.  
Cobham.  
R. Cotton.  
John Gates.  
W. Petre.  
W. Cecil.  
John Cheke.  
John Mason.  
Edward North.  
R. Bowes.

After this answer, the lady Mary stole secretly away from the city, resting chiefly upon the good will of the commons, and yet perhaps not altogether destitute of the secret advice of some of the nobles. When the council heard of her sudden departure, they speedily gathered an army, and assigned the duke of Suffolk to take that enterprise in hand. But afterwards, changing their minds, they thought it best to send the duke of Northumberland, with other lords and gentlemen — and that the duke of Suffolk should keep the Tower, where the lord Guilford and the lady Jane Grey were lodged.

Meanwhile Mary withdrew into Norfolk and Suffolk, where she understood the duke's name was in much hatred, for the service he had done there under king Edward, in subduing the rebels. There she gathered to her aid whichever of the commons she could. at the same time keeping herself close within Framlingham Castle. There resorted to her, first of all, the Suffolk men. Always forward in promoting the gospel, they promised her their aid and help, provided she would not attempt an alteration of the religion, which her brother king Edward had previously established by publicly enacted law, and which was received by the consent of the whole realm.

She soon agreed to this condition, with such promises to them that no innovation would be made in the matter of religion, so that no man would or could then have doubted her. This promise, if she had as constantly kept it, as they willingly preserved her with their bodies and weapons, she would have done a deed both worthy of her blood, and would also have made her reign more stable for herself. For though a man is ever so mighty of power, breach of promise is an evil upholder of quietness, fear is worse, but cruelty is the worst of all.

Thus Mary, being guarded by the power of the protestants of Suffolk, vanquished the duke of Northumberland, and all those who came with him. In return for their aid it was (I think) a heavy word that she answered to the Suffolk men afterwards, who made supplication to her grace to perform her promise: “In that you, being but members, desire to rule your head, you shall one day well perceive that members must obey their head, and not look to bear rule over it.” And not only that, but also to cause more terror to others, a certain

gentleman named Master Dobbe, was punished for reminding her of her promise, being set three times on the pillory to be a gazing stock to all men. Others delivered books and supplications to her, drawn from the Scriptures, to exhort her to continue in the true doctrine then established; these were sent to prison. But such is the condition of man's nature that, for the most part, we are always more ready to seek friendship when we stand in need of help, than ready to requite a benefit once it is past and received.

***Lady Mary Proclaimed Queen***

The greatest help for the cause of the lady Mary, was the short journeys of the duke, which were previously assigned to him by commission. For the longer the duke lingered on his voyage, the more the lady Mary increased in power; and the more the hearts of the people were mightily bent to her. After the council at London perceived this, and understood how the common multitude withdrew their hearts from them to stand with her, and that certain noblemen began to go over to her, they also changed, and proclaimed the lady Mary, queen.

Thus the duke of Northumberland was left destitute and forsaken at Cambridge with some of his sons and a few others, among whom was the earl of Huntington. They were arrested there and brought to the Tower of London, as traitors to the crown. Thus Mary was made queen, and the sword of authority was put into her hand.

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When she had thus been advanced by the Protestants of Suffolk, and saw all things quiet, as her enemies were conquered, and the duke sent to the Tower, she followed not long after. On the 3rd of August she was brought to London, to the great rejoicing of many men, but with a greater fear by many. Thus coming up to London, she took her first lodging at the Tower, where the lady Jane, with her husband the Lord Guilford, were imprisoned a little before her coming. There they remained waiting the queen's pleasure for more than six months. But the duke of Northumberland, within a month after his coming to the Tower, being adjudged to death, was brought forth to the scaffold and beheaded, August 22. Having received a promise and hope of pardon that if he would recant and hear mass, he consented, and denied in words that true religion which before, in king Henry VIII and in king Edward VI's days, he had declared himself both to favor and promote. He also exhorted the people to return to "the Catholic faith," as he termed it.

At the same time, the duke of Northumberland, with Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were put to death. This Palmer, on the other side, confessed his faith, which he had learned in the gospel, and lamented that he had not lived more gospel-like. In the meantime queen Mary entering thus upon her reign with the blood of these men, besides hearing mass in the Tower, gave a sad sign that she would not stand to what she had promised so faithfully to the Suffolk men, concerning not altering the state of religion — especially by delivering Stephen Gardiner out of the Tower.

Other things also followed, which every day more and more discomfited the people, showing that the queen bore no good will to the present state of religion. She not only released Gardiner, but made him lord chancellor of England and bishop of Winchester (doctor Poynt being put out). Also, Bonner was restored to his bishopric, and Doctor Ridley was displaced. Doctor Day was appointed to the bishopric of Chichester; J. Scory was put out. Doctor Tunstall to the bishopric of Durham; Doctor Heath to the bishopric of Worcester (Hooper being committed to the Fleet.) Doctor Veysey was appointed to Exeter, and Miles Coverdale was put out. These things being perceived, great heaviness and discomfort grew more and more among all good men; so that there was now to be seen a miserable face of

things in the whole commonwealth of England. Those who could dissemble, took no great care in how the matter went; but those whose consciences were joined with the truth, perceived already the coals to be kindled, which would be the destruction of many a true Christian man. In the meanwhile, queen Mary moved from the Tower to Hampton Court, and caused a parliament to be summoned for the 10th of October.

You just heard how several bishops were removed, and others placed in their sees. Among them was Doctor Ridley, bishop of London, a worthy man both of fame and learning. This Doctor Ridley, in the time of queen Jane, had given a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, declaring his mind to the people as to the lady Mary, and dissuading them from favoring her. He alleged the incommodities and inconveniencies which might arise by receiving her as their queen, prophesying as it were, before that which afterwards came to pass, that she would bring in a foreign power to reign over them, besides subverting the Christian religion then established. He showed too, that Mary being in his diocese, according to his duty, he had labored much with her to turn her to his religion. Notwithstanding that in all other points of civility she showed herself sensible and tractable, yet in matters that concerned true faith and doctrine, she showed herself so stiff and obstinate that there was no other hope of her, but that she would disturb and overturn all that had been confirmed and planted by her brother before her. Shortly after this sermon, queen Mary was proclaimed, upon which Ridley repaired to Framingham to salute the queen, but had such cold welcome that, being spoiled of all his dignity, he was sent back upon a lame and halting horse to the Tower.

Queen Mary seeing things not yet going on according to her mind as she desired, devised with her council to bring that to pass by other means which she could not accomplish by open law. She set forth a prohibition by proclamation, besides other things, that no man should preach or read openly in churches the word of God.

*A Prohibition of the Queen for Preaching, Printing, etc.*

“The queen's highness well remembering what great inconveniencies and dangers have grown in her highness' realm in times past, through the diversity of opinions in questions of religion, and also hearing that since the beginning of her most gracious reign, the same contentions are again much revived, through certain false and untrue reports and rumors spread by some light and evil-disposed persons, has thought it good to make known to all her highness' most loving subjects, her most gracious pleasure in the following manner:

“First, her majesty now being, by the goodness of God alone, settled in her just possession of the imperial crown of this realm, and other dominions belonging to it, cannot now hide that religion which God and the world knows she has ever professed from her infancy. As her majesty is minded to observe and maintain this for herself by God's grace during her time, so her highness much desires, and would be glad that the same were quietly and charitably embraced by all her subjects.

“And yet she signifies to all her majesty's loving subjects, that of her most gracious disposition and clemency her highness does not mind to compel any of her subjects to it, until such time as further order may be taken in this by common assent. Nevertheless, forbidding all her subjects of all degrees, at their perils, to promote seditions, or stir unquietness in her people, by interpreting the laws of this realm according to their brains and fancies, but to quietly continue for the time, till (as said before) further order may be taken. And therefore she wills and straitly charges and commands all her good loving subjects to live together in a quiet way with Christian charity, leaving those new found devilish terms of *papist* or *heretic*, and such like ones, and applying their whole care, study, and travel to live in the fear of God, exercising their conversations in such charitable and godly doing, as their lives may indeed express that

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great hunger and thirst of God's glory and holy word, which by rash talk and words many have pretended. And in so doing they shall best please God, and live without danger of the laws, and maintain the tranquility of the realm. As her highness shall be most glad of this, so if any man rashly presumes to make any assemblies of people, or at any public assemblies, or otherwise goes about stirring the people to disorder or disquiet, she minds, according to her duty, to see the same most severely reformed and punished according to her highness' laws.

“And furthermore, it is also well known that sedition and false rumors have been nourished and maintained in this realm, by the subtlety and malice of some evil-disposed persons who take it upon themselves, without sufficient authority, to preach and to interpret the word of God according to their own heads in churches, and in other places both public and private, and also by playing interludes, and printing false-found books, ballads, rhymes, and other improper treatises in the English tongue, concerning doctrine in matters now in question and controversy, regarding the high points and mysteries of Christian religion. These books, ballads, rhymes, and treatises are chiefly put up for sale by the printers and stationers to her grace's subjects, from an evil zeal for lucre and covetousness of vile gain. Her highness therefore straitly charges and commands all and each of her said subjects, of whatever state, condition, or degree they are, that none of them presume from now on to preach, or by way of reading in churches, or other public or private places, except in schools of the university, to interpret or teach any Scriptures, or any manner of points of doctrine concerning religion, nor to print any books, matter, ballad, rhyme, interlude, process or treatise, nor to play any interlude, unless they have her grace's special license in writing for the same, upon pain of incurring her highness' indignation and displeasure.

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“And her highness also further charges and commands all and each of her subjects, that none of them, from their own authority, presume to punish and to rise against any offender in the causes aforesaid, or any other offender in words or deeds in the recent rebellion committed or done by the duke of Northumberland or his accomplices, or to seize any of their goods, or to violently use any such offender by striking, imprisoning, or threatening the same, but wholly to refer the punishment of all such offenders to her highness and the public authority, of which her majesty minds to see due punishment according to the order of her highness' laws.

“Nevertheless, as her highness does not intend hereby to restrain and discourage any of her loving subjects, to give from time to time true information against any such offenders in the causes aforesaid, to her grace or her council, for the punishment of every such offender, according to the effect of her highness' laws provided in that part. So her highness exhorts and strictly charges her subjects to observe her commandment and pleasure in every part aforesaid, as they will avoid her highness' indignation and most grievous displeasure. The severity and vigor of which, as her highness will be most sorry to have cause to put into execution, so she utterly determines not to permit such unlawful and rebellious doings of her subjects to remain unpunished, from which may ensue the danger of her royal estate, but to see her laws regarding these points to be thoroughly executed. Such extremities she trusts all her said subjects will foresee, dread, and avoid accordingly. Her highness straitly charges and commands all mayors, sheriffs, justices of peace, bailiffs, constables, and all other public officers and ministers, to diligently see to the observing and executing of her commandments and pleasure, and apprehend all those who willfully offend in this part, committing the same to the nearest jail, there to remain without bail or bond, till certificate is made to her highness, or her privy council, of their names and doings; and upon examination of their offenses, some further order shall be taken for their punishment to the example of others, according to the effect and tenor of the laws aforesaid.

“Given at our manor of Richmond, the 18th of August,  
in the first year of our most prosperous reign.”

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### *Master Bourne Preaching at St. Paul's Cross.*

About this time, or not long before, Bonner, bishop of London, being restored, appointed Master Bourne (a canon of St. Paul's) to preach at the Cross. Afterwards he was made bishop of Bath and Wells. Bourne taking occasion of the gospel of that day to say something largely justifying Bonner who was then present. "This Bonner," he said, "had preached upon the same text in that place, on that day four years earlier, and was most cruelly and unjustly cast into the most vile dungeon of the Marshalsea for the same; and there he was kept during the time of king Edward." His words sounded so badly in the ears of the hearers, that they could not keep silence, and began to murmur and stir, so that the mayor and aldermen who were then present, greatly feared an uproar. One person hurled a dagger at the preacher, but who it was could not then be proved; though afterwards it became known.

Indeed, the stir was such, that the preacher drew in his head, and dared appear no more in that place. The matter of his sermon tended much to the dispraise of king Edward, which the people could not bear. Then Master Bradford, at the request of the preacher's brother and others, stepped up and spoke so mildly, Christianly, and effectually, that with a few words he appeased all. Afterwards, he and Master Rogers conducted the preacher between them from the pulpit to the grammar school, where they left him safe. But for this they were shortly after both rewarded with long imprisonment, and last of all, with fire in Smithfield!

Because of this tumult at St. Paul's Cross, an order was made by the lords of the council, and sent to the mayor and aldermen of London, desiring that they call the next day a common council of the city, and charge every householder to have their children, apprentices, and other servants, keep their own parish churches on the holydays, and not allow them to attempt to break the peace. They were also commanded to signify to the assembly the queen's determination — which was that her grace did not mean to compel other men's consciences otherwise than God puts into their hearts a persuasion of the truth that she herself believed in.

It was also ordered that every alderman in his ward should immediately send for the curates of every parish, and warn them not only to forbear preaching themselves, but also not to allow any others to preach or make any open or solemn reading of the Scriptures in their churches, unless the preachers were licensed by the queen.

The next day after this sermon at St. Paul's Cross, the queen's guard was at the Cross with their weapons to guard the preacher. And when the people withdrew themselves from the sermon, an order was given by the mayor, that the elders of all companies should be present so as to make a congregation, lest the preacher be discouraged by his small auditory.

On the 15th of August A.D. 1553, one William Butler was committed to the Marshalsea, for uttering words against Master Bourne, for his sermon at St. Paul's Cross.

On the 16th of August, Humfrey Palden was committed to the Compter, for words against Bourne's sermon at St. Paul's Cross.

A letter was sent to the sheriffs of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, to apprehend Fisher, parson of Ammersham, a preacher.

Another letter was sent to the bishop of Norwich, not to allow any preacher or other to preach or expound the Scriptures openly without special license from the queen.

The same day, Master Bradford, Master Vernon, and Master Beacon, preachers, were committed to the charge of the lieutenant of the Tower.

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The same day also, Master John Rogers, preacher, was commanded to keep himself prisoner in his own house at St. Paul's, without having any conference with any others than those of his own household.

On the 22nd of August, two letters were directed to Master Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, and Master Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, to immediately repair to the court, and there attend the council's pleasure.

The same day, Fisher, parson of Ammersham, made his appearance before the council, according to their letter of the 16th of August, and was appointed the next day to bring in a note of his sermon.

On the 24th of August, one John Melvin, a Scotchman and preacher, was sent to Newgate, in London, by the council.

On the 28th of August, a letter was sent to the mayor of Coventry and his brethren, for the apprehension of one Sanders, then vicar of St. Michael's in Coventry, and to send him up to the council, with his examinations and other matters they could charge him with; and with a commission to punish all those who had, by means of his preaching, used any talk against the queen's proceedings.

On the 26th of August, Master Hooper, bishop of Worcester, made his personal appearance before the council, according to their letters of the 22nd of August.

On the 31st of August, Master Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, made his appearance before the council, according to their letters of the 22nd of August.

On the 1st of September, Master Hooper and Master Coverdale appeared again before the council. Master Hooper was committed to the Fleet, and Master Coverdale commanded to attend the lords' pleasure.

On the 2nd of September, Master Hugh Sanders, vicar of St. Michael's in Coventry, was before the council for a sermon, and was commanded to appear again on the Monday following.

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The 4th of September, a letter was directed from the council to Master Hugh Latimer for his appearance before them.

About the 5th of September, Peter Martyr came to London from Oxford, where for a time he had been commanded to keep to his house, and found there the archbishop of Canterbury, who offered to defend the doctrine of the book of Common Prayer, both by the scriptures and the doctors, assisted by Peter Martyr and a few others, as you will hear later. But while they were in hope of coming to disputations, the archbishop and others were imprisoned; Peter Martyr was allow to return.

The same day a letter was sent to the mayor of Coventry to set Hugh Symonds at liberty, if he would recant his sermon, or if not, to detain him in prison.

On the 13th of September, Mr. Hugh Latimer appeared before the council, according to their letter of the 4th of September, and was committed as a close prisoner to the Tower.

The same day, the archbishop of Canterbury appeared before the council, and was commanded to appear the next day before them in the star-chamber.



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On the 14th of September, the archbishop of Canterbury made his appearance before the lords in the star-chamber; where they charged him with treason and spreading abroad seditious bills to the disquieting of the state. They committed him to the Tower of London, there to remain till further sentence, or order, at the queen's pleasure.

On the 15th of September, a letter was sent to Master Horn, dean of Durham, for his appearance before them; another was sent to him on the 7th of October, for his speedy appearance.

On the 16th of September, letters were sent to the mayors of Dover and Rye, to permit all French protestants to pass out of this realm, except those who were signified to them by the French ambassador.

### **Queen Mary's Coronation**

On the first day of October, queen Mary was crowned at Westminster, and on the tenth day of the same month the parliament began with the solemn mass of the Holy Spirit, in the popish manner, which was celebrated with great pomp in the palace of Westminster. According to the custom, the bishops should have come to this mass, among the other lords. Those bishops who remained undeposed were the archbishop of York; Doctor Taylor, bishop of Lincoln; and John Harley, bishop of Hereford. Of these bishops, Taylor and Harley presented themselves according to their duty. They took their places among the lords. But after they saw the mass begin, and not being able to bear the sight, they withdrew. For this, the bishop of Lincoln being examined, and protesting his faith, he was commanded to attend; but not long afterwards he died by sickness. Harley, because he was married, was excluded both from the parliament and from his bishopric.

Mass being done, the queen, accompanied by the estates of the realm, was brought into the parliament house, to enter and begin the consultation. At this consultation or parliament, all statutes were repealed that were made in the time of king Henry VIII for *praemunire*, and statutes made by king Edward VI for the administration of common prayer and the sacrament in the English tongue. And further, the attainder of the duke of Northumberland was confirmed by this parliament. In the meantime, many men were forward in erecting altars and masses in churches. And of those persons who would adhere to the laws made in king Edward's time, till others were established, some were marked and some apprehended. Among them was Sir James Hales, a knight of Kent and justice of the Common Pleas. Although he had risked his life in queen Mary's cause — in that he would not subscribe to disinheriting her by the king's will — yet because at a quarter sessions he charged people upon the statutes made in the time of king Henry VIII and Edward VI for the supremacy and religion, he was imprisoned. He was so cruelly handled and put in fear by the talk that the warden of the Fleet used to have in his hearing, of the torments being prepared for heretics (or for what other cause God knows), he sought to rid himself of this life by wounding himself with a knife. Afterwards he was content to say whatever they desired of him. Upon this he was discharged; but he never rested till he had drowned himself in a river, half a mile from his house in Kent.

During the time of this parliament, the clergy likewise held a convocation, with a disputation also appointed by the queen's command, at St. Paul's church in London. In the convocation, Master John Harpsfield, bachelor of divinity, gave a sermon to the clergy. After the sermon, it was agreed by the bishops, that those of the clergy-house, to avoid confusion of words, should choose a prolocutor. Doctor Weston, dean of Westminster, was named to this office by common assent, and presented to the bishops with an oration by Master Pye,

dean of Chichester, and Master Wimbisley, archdeacon of London. Doctor Weston being chosen and brought to the bishops, he made his oration to the house, with a response by Bishop Bonner.

***Disputations at London about the Sacrament***

After these things were arranged in the convocation-house, they proceeded next to the disputation appointed by the queen's command, about the matter of the sacrament. This disputation lasted six days. In this, Doctor Weston was chief on the pope's part. He behaved himself outrageously in taunting and checking. Some of those who disputed on the other side were compelled to flee, some to deny, and some to die, though to most men's judgments who heard the disputation, they had the advantage. This may appear by the report of the disputation, a copy of which we annex here:

*The true Report of the Disputation had and begun in the  
Convocation-house at London, the 18th of Oct. A.D. 1553,  
written by one who was present at it.*

*Act of the First Day.*

First, on Wednesday, the 18th of October, Doctor Weston the prolocutor certified to the house, "that it was the queen's pleasure, that they, being learned men, should debate on matters of religion, and constitute laws which her grace and the parliament would ratify. And as there is a book recently set forth, called *the Catechism* bearing the name of this honorable synod, and yet put out without your consent as I have learned, being a very pestiferous book, and full of heresies, and likewise a very abominable Book of Common Prayer, I thought it therefore best to begin with the articles of the catechism concerning the sacrament of the altar, to confirm the natural presence of Christ in the same, and also transubstantiation. Therefore, it shall be lawful on Friday next ensuing for all men to freely speak their conscience on these matters, so that all doubts may be removed, and they be fully satisfied in them."

*Act of the Second Day,*

On Friday, the 20th of October, when men thought they should have entered upon the disputation of the questions proposed, the prolocutor exhibited two bills to the house. One was for the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar; the other concerned the catechism, that they did not agree to it. He required all to subscribe to the bills, as he himself had done. The whole house immediately assented, except six, who were Philips, dean of Rochester; Haddon, dean of Exeter; Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester; Cheyney, archdeacon of Hereford; Ailmer, archdeacon of Stow; and Young, chanter of St. David's. While the rest were about to subscribe these two articles, John Philpot stood up and spoke concerning the articles of the catechism, that it bears the title of the synod of London last before this, even though many of them who were then present, were never made privy to it in setting it forth. That was because this house had granted authority to make ecclesiastical laws to certain persons appointed by the king's majesty. Therefore it might well be said to be done in the synod of London, even if those who are of this house now, had no notice of it before its promulgation.

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And he said, concerning the article of the natural presence in the sacrament, that it was against order, and also very prejudicial to the truth, that men should be moved to subscribe before the matter was thoroughly examined. He therefore made this request to the prolocutor; that as there were so many learned men present on that side, and as on the other side there were no more than five or six who had not subscribed, and so that equality might therefore be

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had in this disputation, he desired that the prolocutor would arrange that some of those who set forth the catechism, might be brought to the house to show what moved them to set it forth; also that Doctor Ridley and Master Rogers, with two or three more, might have leave to be present at this disputation, and be associated with them. This request was thought reasonable, and was proposed to Bishop Bonner, but he refused to allow it.

### *The Act of the Third Day.*

On Monday the 23rd of October, at the time appointed, in the presence of many earls, lords, knights, gentlemen, and others of the court and of the city, the prolocutor made a protestation, that the house had appointed this disputation, not to call the truth into doubt, but that these challengers might be resolved of their argument.

Then he demanded of Master Haddon, whether he would reason against the questions proposed or not. He answered that he had certified before in writing, that he would not, since the request of such learned men as were demanded to assist them would not be granted. Master Ailmer likewise was asked, who gave the prolocutor the same answer. He added that they had already done too much prejudice to the truth, to subscribe before the matter was discussed: and that it would avail little or nothing to reason for the truth, since they were now determined to the contrary. After this, he demanded of Master Cheyney whether he would propose his doubts concerning transubstantiation or not. "Yes," he said, "I would gladly have my doubts resolved, which do not move me to believe transubstantiation.

"The first is out of St. Paul to the Corinthians, who, speaking of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, often calls it 'bread' *after* the consecration.

"The second is out of Origen, who, speaking of this sacrament, says that, 'the material part goes down to the excrements.'

"The third is out of Theodoret, who, mentioning the sacramental bread and wine *after* the consecration, says that, 'they do not go out of their former substance, form, and shape.'"

Then the prolocutor assigned Doctor Moreman to answer him. As to St. Paul, he answered that, "The sacrament is indeed called *bread* by him; but it is to be understood thus: that it is the *sacrament* of bread, that is, the *form* of bread."

Then Master Cheyney alleged that Hesychius called the sacrament both bread and flesh.

"Yes," said Moreman, "Hesychius calls it bread, because it was bread, and not because it is so." And passing over Origen, he came to Theodoret, and said, "Men mistook his authority, by interpreting a general into a special, as Peter Martyr has done, interpreting *ousia* as substance, which is a special signification of the word; whereas *ousia* is a general word, referring to accidents as well as substance. And therefore I answer thus to Theodoret: that the sacramental bread and wine do not go out of their former substance, form, and shape; that is to say, not out of their accidental substance and shape."

After this Master Cheyney sat down, and Master Ailmer stood up as one who could not bear to hear such an answer to so grave an authority. He reasoned upon the authority of Theodoret alleged before by Master Cheyney, and declared that, "Moreman's answer to Theodoret was not a just or sufficient answer, but an illusion and subtle evasion, contrary to Theodoret's meaning. For, if *ousia*, 'substance,' signified an accident in the place alleged, then it was a superfluous word there, as there two other words follow which sufficiently signify the accidents of the bread, which are 'shape' and 'form.'

After this John Philpot stood up and said that, "Doctor Moreman's interpretation was incorrect, and that it could not be taken to signify an accidental substance, as he would interpret it. For the occasion of Theodoret's writing plainly showed that was a vain cavil; for

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the dispute was with Eutyches, a heretic, whether the body and human nature of Christ had an existence distinct from the divine nature? Eutyches said that Christ, in his human nature, having ascended into heaven, and being joined there to the divinity, was absorbed or swallowed up, so that Christ became of one divine substance only. Theodoret writes against this opinion, and by the similitude of the sacrament, he proves the contrary against the heretic. He proves that, just as in the sacrament of the body of Christ, after the consecration, there is the substance of Christ's humanity, with the substance of bread, remaining as it was before, not being absorbed by the humanity of Christ, but joined by the divine operation. Even so in the person of Christ, now being in heaven, of whom this sacrament is a representation, there are two substances, that is, his *divinity* and *humanity* united in one person, which is Christ, the humanity not being absorbed by the conjunction of the divinity, but remaining in his former substance.

“And this similitude,” said Philpot, “brought in by Theodoret to confound Eutyches, would have proved nothing at all, if the very substance of the sacramental bread did not remain as it did before. But if Doctor Moreman's interpretation for transubstantiation took its place, then the heretic would have made a strong argument to maintain his heresy, and to prove himself a good Christian man. He might well say to Theodoret, that just as after the consecration in the sacrament, the substance of the bread is transubstantiated into the human body of Christ, so in the sacrament it is now but the one substance of humanity, and not the substance of bread as it was before. Even so, Christ's humanity ascending up by the power of God into heaven, and joined to the Deity, was likewise turned into one substance with the Deity; so that now there remains but one divine substance in Christ. This is no more than saying in the sacramental signs of the Lord's Supper, after the consecration, there remains but one substance, according to that construction.”

In answering this, Doctor Moreman staggered. Philpot perceiving his defect, said, “Well, Master Moreman, if you have no answer ready at present, I pray you devise one, if you can conveniently, against our next meeting here again.”

The prolocutor was grievously offended by that, telling him that he should not boast there; but that he would be fully answered. Then Philpot said, “It is the thing that I desire, to be answered directly in this behalf; and I desire of you, and of the whole house, that I may be sufficiently answered, which I am sure you are not able to do.” No other answer was then made to Philpot's argument, except that he was commanded to silence. Then the dean of Rochester stood up, offering to argue against the natural presence, wishing that the Scriptures, and the ancient doctors, might be weighed and followed in this point. And against this natural presence, he thought the saying of Christ, in St. Matthew, was sufficient. He said of himself, “The poor you will always have with you, but me you will not always have.” <sup>Mat 26.11</sup> This,” he said, “was spoken concerning the natural presence of Christ's body. Therefore we should believe as he taught, that Christ is not naturally present on earth in the sacrament of the altar.”

To this it was answered by the prolocutor that, “we would not always have Christ present to bestow alms upon him, but upon the poor, which is all that was intended there.”

But the dean prosecuted his argument, and further showed it out of St. Augustine, that this interpretation of the Scriptures was not a sufficient answer. Augustine writes in his fiftieth Treatise upon St. John, in this way, on the same sentence: “When Jesus said, ‘Me you will not always have with you,’ he spoke of the presence of his body. For by his *majesty*, by his *providence*, by his unspeakable and invisible *grace*, that is fulfilled which is said by him, ‘Behold I am with you until the consummation of the world.’” <sup>Mat 28.20</sup>

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But in the *flesh* which the Word took upon himself, in that which was born of the Virgin, in that which was apprehended by the Jews, which was crucified on the cross, which was let down from the cross, which was wrapped in grave clothes, which was hid in the sepulcher, which was manifested in the resurrection, 'You will *not* always have me with you. Why? For he was conversant with his disciples in a bodily presence for forty days, and they accompanying him, seeing and not following him, He ascended, and is not here. <sup>Act 1.9</sup> For *there* he sits at the right hand of the Father; and yet *here* he is, because he is not departed in the presence of his majesty. In another manner, we always have Christ by the presence of his majesty, but in the presence of his flesh it is rightly said, 'You shall not truly have me always with you.' For the church had him in the presence of his flesh a few days; and now it apprehends him by faith, and does not see him with eyes."

Doctor Watson took it upon himself to answer to this authority, and said he would answer St. Augustine by St. Augustine. Having a book of notes in his hand, he alleged out of the seventieth Treatise upon St. John, that we do not now have Christ on earth in that mortal condition and manner, as he was before his passion."

Against his answer John Philpot replied, and said that, "Master Watson had not fully answered St. Augustine by St. Augustine, as he would seem to have done; for in the place mentioned above by the Dean of Rochester, he not only teaches the mortal state of Christ's body before his passion, but also the immortal condition of that body after his resurrection. St. Augustine plainly seems to affirm that Christ is not present on the earth in this mortal body, neither in visible form, nor invisibly in corporal substance."

Nothing else being answered to this, the dean of Rochester proceeded in his argument, and read out of a book of annotations, sundry authorities to confirm it. Moreman, who was appointed to answer him in this, gave no direct answer, but bid him to make an argument, saying, "The Dean recited many words of doctors, but he has not made one argument."

Then the dean said, "The authorities of the doctors recited by me, are sufficient arguments to prove my intent; my desire is to be answered by you." But still Moreman cried out to make an argument, to shift away from the authority which he could not answer. After this, the dean made this argument out of the institution of the sacrament: "'Do this in remembrance of me: and thus you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes.' <sup>1Cor 11.25-26</sup> The sacrament is the remembrance of Christ; and therefore the sacrament is not truly Christ; for he has not yet come — for these words, 'Until he comes,' plainly signify the absence of Christ's body." Then the prolocutor went about to show that these words, "Until he comes," did not import any absence of Christ on the earth; but he answered nothing directly to the purpose.

In conclusion, the dean fell to questioning with Moreman, whether Christ ate the paschal lamb with his disciples or not? Moreman answered, "Yes." Further, the dean demanded whether he likewise ate the sacrament with them, as he instituted it? Moreman answered, "Yes." Then he asked what he ate, and whether he ate his own natural body, as they imagine it or not? When Moreman had affirmed this, the dean then said, "It is a great absurdity;" and so he sat down. Philpot stood up and argued against this absurdity, saying that he could prove by good reason deduced out of the Scriptures, that Christ did not eat his own natural body at the institution of the sacrament. And the reason is this: receiving Christ's body has a promise of remission of sins annexed to it; but Christ's own eating of the sacrament had no promise of remission of sin; and therefore, in the sacrament Christ did not eat his own body.

Moreman denied this reasoning, that the sacrament had a promise of remission of sins annexed to it.

Then Philpot showed the promise in the sacrament, "Which is given for you, which is shed for you, for the remission of sins." But Moreman would not acknowledge that this was any

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promise. He drove Philpot to the sixth of St. John, to confirm his saying with these words: "The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world."

Moreman answering nothing directly to this argument, Harpsfield stood up in his behalf, to supply what was lacking. Thinking to answer Philpot, he confirmed his argument more strongly, saying, "You mistake the promise which is annexed to the body of Christ in the sacrament. For it did not pertain to Christ, but to his disciples, to whom Christ said, 'This is my body which is broken for you,' and not broken for Christ himself."

"You have said well in my favor," replied Philpot, "for *that* is my argument. The promise of the body of Christ had no effect in Christ. I therefore conclude, Christ did not eat his own body."

Then the prolocutor said the argument was null. For by a like argument he might go about to prove that Christ was not baptized, because the remission of sin, which is annexed to baptism, had no effect in Christ. To which Philpot replied, that as Christ was baptized, so he ate the sacrament; but he took baptism on himself, not that he needed it, or that it had any effect on him, but that our Master gave the church an example to follow him in the administration of the sacrament, and thereby to exhibit himself *to us*, and not to give himself *to himself*.

No more was said in this point. But afterwards the prolocutor demanded of Philpot, whether he would argue against the natural presence or not? He answered, "Yes, if he would hear his argument without interruption. and assign some *one* to answer him, and not *many*, which is a confusion to the opponent, especially for him who had a bad memory." By this time the night had come on. Therefore the prolocutor broke up the disputation for that time, and appointed Philpot to be the first who would begin the disputation the next day, concerning the presence of the sacrament.

### *The Act of the Fourth Day.*

On Wednesday, the 20th of October, John Philpot was ready for the disputation, intending first to make a certain oration, and a true declaration in Latin, of the matter of Christ's presence, which was then in question. The prolocutor perceiving this, forbade Philpot to make any oration or declaration of any matter, commanding him also that he should make no argument in Latin, but to conclude his argument in English.

Then Philpot said. "This is contrary to your order taken at the beginning of this disputation. For then you appointed that all the arguments should be made in Latin, and upon that I have drawn and devised all my arguments in Latin." But the prolocutor still bid him to form an argument in English, or else hold his peace.

Then Philpot said, "You have sorely disappointed me, to go thus suddenly from your former order. But I will comply with your command, leaving my oration apart; and I will come to my arguments. But before I submit any argument, I will in one word declare what manner of presence I disallow in the sacrament, so that the hearers may better understand to what end and effect my arguments will tend — not to utterly deny the presence of Christ in his sacrament, truly ministered according to his institution; but only to deny that gross and carnal presence, which you of this house have already subscribed to, is in the sacrament of the altar, contrary to the true and manifest meaning of the Scriptures; that by transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine, Christ's natural body should, by virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, be contained and included under the forms or accidents of bread and wine. I deny this kind of presence imagined by men," continued Philpot, "and I will reason against it." But before he could make an end of what he would have said, he was interrupted by the prolocutor, and commanded to come to his argument.

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Philpot being offended, fell down upon his knees before the earls and lords who were present there, some of whom were of the queen's council, beseeching them that he might have liberty to prosecute his arguments without interruption by any man. This was gently granted him by the lords. But the prolocutor would not permit him, and still cried, "Hold your peace, or else make a short argument." "I am about it," said Philpot; "if you will let me alone. But first I must ask a question of my respondent (who was Doctor Chedsey) concerning a word or two of your supposition, that is, of the sacrament of the altar — what he means by it, and whether he takes it as some of the ancient writers do, terming the Lord's Supper *the sacrament of the altar*; partly because it is a sacrament of that lively sacrifice which Christ offered for our sins upon the altar of the cross, and partly because Christ's body, crucified for us, was that bloody sacrifice which the blood-shedding of all the beasts offered upon the altar in the old law, prefigured and signified to us. Or whether you take it otherwise, such as for the sacrament of the altar, which is made of lime and stone, over which the sacrament hangs, and to be all one with the sacrament of the mass, as it is at present in many places. This done, I will direct my arguments accordingly, as your answer gives me occasion.

Then Chedsey made this answer, that it is their supposition they took the sacrament of the *altar*, and the sacrament of the *mass*, to be all one.

"Then," said Philpot, "I will speak plain English, as Master Prolocutor wishes me to, and make a short resolution about it — that the sacrament of the altar, which you reckon to be all one with the mass, once justly abolished, and now put in full use again, is no sacrament at all; nor is Christ in any way present in it." He offered to prove this statement before the whole house, if they chose to call him to it. Likewise he offered to confirm the same before the queen's grace, and her most honorable council, before the face of six of the best learned men of the house of the contrary opinion, and would except none. "And if I am not be able," he said, "to maintain by God's word what I have said, and to confound those who will take it upon themselves to withstand me in this point, let me be burdened with as many faggots as are before the court gates in London." He uttered this with great vehemency of spirit.

The prolocutor, with others, were very much offended at this, demanding of him whether he knew what he said, or not? "Yes," said Philpot, "I know well what I say," desiring no man to be offended with his saying; for he spoke no more than he was able to prove by God's word. "And praised be God," he continued, "that the queen's grace has granted us this house (as our prolocutor has informed us) so that we may *freely utter* our consciences in these matters of controversy in religion. And therefore I will freely speak my conscience here, grounded upon God's holy word, for the truth, even if some of you here present dislike it."

Then several of the house, beside the prolocutor, taunted and reprehended him for speaking this way against the sacrament of the mass; and the prolocutor threatened him, that he would send him to prison if he would not cease speaking in that manner.

Philpot seeing himself thus abused, and not permitted to declare his mind with free liberty, fell into an exclamation, casting his eyes up towards heaven, and said, "O Lord, what a world is this, that the truth of your holy word may not be spoken and adhered to?" And for very sorrow and heaviness, the tears trickled from his eyes.

After this, the prolocutor being moved by some who were about him, was content that Philpot should make an argument, provided he would be brief. "I will be as brief," said Philpot, "as I may conveniently be in uttering all that I have to say. And I will begin to ground my arguments upon the authority of the Scriptures, upon which all the building of our faith ought to be grounded; and I shall confirm the same by ancient doctors of the church. I take the first argument out of the 28th chapter of St. Matthew, from the saying of the angel at the sepulcher,

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saying, 'He is risen, he is not here;' and in St. Luke, in the 23rd chapter, the angel asks why they sought the living among the dead?

Likewise the scripture testifies that Christ is risen, ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father: all of which is spoken of his natural body; and therefore his natural body is not included in the sacrament on earth.

"I will confirm this yet more effectually, by the saying of Christ in the sixteenth chapter of St. John; 'I came from the Father, and have come into the world.' Again, 'I leave the world, and go to the Father.' <sup>Joh 16.28</sup> By this coming and going he meant of his natural body. Therefore we may affirm that his body is not found in the world.

"But here I expect," he continued, "to be answered with a distinction of visibly and invisibly; that he is visibly departed in his humanity, but notwithstanding, he remains invisibly in the sacrament. I will prove that no such distinction ought to take away the force of that argument, by the answer which Christ's disciples gave to him, speaking these words; 'Now you speak plainly and utter no proverb.' <sup>Joh 16.29</sup> St. Cyril interpreting these words, said that, 'Christ spoke without any manner of ambiguity or obscure speech.' And therefore I conclude that if Christ spoke plainly, and without parable, saying, 'Again, I leave the world and go to the Father;' then that obscure, dark and imperceptible presence of Christ's natural body in the sacrament upon earth invisibly, *contrary* to the plain words of Christ, should not be allowed. For nothing can be more uncertain or more parabolical and insensible, than to say so."

Then Doctor Chedsey took it upon himself to reply. First, to the saying of the angel, "That Christ is not here;" <sup>Mat 28.6</sup> and, "Why do you seek the living among the dead?" <sup>Luk 24.5</sup> He said that these sayings did not pertain to the presence of Christ's natural body in the sacrament, but that they were spoken of Christ's body in the sepulcher, when they thought he was still in the grave. And therefore the angel said: "Why do you seek the living among the dead?" And as to the authority of the sixteenth chapter of St. John, where Christ says, "Now I leave the world and go to the Father;" he meant that of his ascension. And so likewise did Cyril, interpreting the saying of the disciples, who knew plainly that Christ would visibly ascend into heaven; but that does not exclude the *invisible* presence of his natural body in the sacrament. For St. Chrysostom, writing to the people of Antioch, affirms the same, comparing Elijah and Christ, and Elijah's cloak and Christ's flesh. "Elijah," he said, "when he was taken up in the fiery chariot, left his cloak behind him, for his disciple Elisha. Christ, ascending into heaven, took his flesh with him, and also left his flesh behind him." Whereby we may right well gather that Christ's flesh has visibly ascended into heaven, and still invisibly abides in the sacrament of the altar.

To this Philpot replied, "You have not directly answered the saying of the angel: 'Christ is not here, but is risen,' because you have omitted what was the chief point of it all. For I proceed further, as thus: He is risen, ascended, and sits at the right hand of God the Father, <sup>Col 3.1</sup> and therefore he is not remaining on the earth. Neither is your answer to Cyril sufficient. But by and by I will return to your interpretation of Cyril, and more plainly declare it, after I have first disposed of the authority of Chrysostom. His is one of the chief arguments that you allege, to affirm your gross carnal presence in the sacrament — being well weighed and understood, it does not pertain to it at all."

The prolocutor startled at this, that one of the chief pillars in this point should be overthrown. And therefore he recited the authority in Latin first, and afterwards in English, willing that all who were present, should note that saying of Chrysostom, which he thought invincible on their side. "But I will make it appear," said Philpot, "that it does little for your purpose." And as he was about to declare his mind, the prolocutor interrupted him, as he did almost continually. Philpot, not being content, said; "Mr. Prolocutor thinks that he is in a sophistry school, where



he knows right well the manner is that, when the respondent perceives that he is likely to be forced with an argument to which he is not able to answer, he does what he can with cavil and interruption to drive him from it.”

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Philpot’s statement was badly taken by the prolocutor and his adherents. The prolocutor said that Philpot could bring nothing to avoid that authority, but his own vain imagination. “Hear,” said Philpot, “and afterwards judge. For I will do with this, as in all other authorities with which you charge me, in refuting any of my arguments, answering either by sufficient authorities of Scripture, or else by some other testimony with yours, and not of my own imagination. And concerning the saying of Chrysostom, I have two ways to drive him from your purpose — the one out of the Scriptures, the other out of Chrysostom himself, in the place alleged by you.

“First, where he seems to say that Christ ascending took his flesh with him, and also left his flesh behind him, it is truth. For we all confess and believe that Christ took on him our human nature in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and through his passion he has united us to his flesh. And thereby we have become one flesh with him, so that Chrysostom might right well say that Christ ascending took his flesh away with him, which he received from the Virgin Mary; and also left his flesh behind him, His flesh is we who are his elect in this world; we who are the members of Christ, and flesh of his flesh. St. Paul, in the fifth chapter to the Ephesians, testifies of this saying, ‘We are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones.’ <sup>Eph 5:30</sup> If any man replies that he treats the *sacrament* there, so that this interpretation cannot so aptly be applied to him in that place, then I will interpret Chrysostom yet another way, by himself. For in that place, a few lines before those words recently read here, are these words: ‘that after Christ ascended into heaven, he left his flesh to us, indued with his sacraments in mysteries, that is, *sacramentally*.’ And Christ leaves that mystical flesh to his church in the sacrament of baptism, as well as in the sacramental bread and wine. St. Paul justly witnesses to this, saying; ‘As many of us as are baptized into Christ have put on Christ.’ <sup>Gal 3:27</sup> And thus you may understand that St. Chrysostom does nothing for your carnal and gross presence in the sacrament, as you wrongfully take him.”

Now, in the meanwhile Master Pye whispered to the prolocutor in the ear, to silence Philpot, and to appoint some other, lest he shake their carnal presence if he held on long, seeing that in the beginning he gave one of their chief foundations such a blow. Then the prolocutor said to Philpot that he had reasoned enough, and that some other should now take his place. But Philpot was not well content, saying, “Why, sir, I have a dozen arguments concerning this matter to be proposed, and I have scarcely gone over my first argument.”

“Well,” said the prolocutor, “you will speak no more now; and I command you to hold your peace.” “You perceive,” replied Philpot, “that I have stuff enough for you, and am able to withstand your false supposition, and therefore you command me to silence.” “If you will not give way,” said the prolocutor, “I will send you to prison.” “This is not,” answered Philpot, “according to your promise made in this house; nor yet according to your boast made at St. Paul’s Cross, that men would be answered in this disputation, with whatever they can say, since you will not allow me to prosecute one out of a dozen arguments.”

Then Master Pye took it upon himself to promise that he might answer another day. Philpot, seeing that he might not proceed in his purpose, and being justly offended, ended. He said, “A number of you here, who up to now have lurked in corners, and dissembled with God and the world, are now gathered together to suppress the sincere truth of God’s holy word, and to set forth every false device, which you are not able to maintain by the catholic doctrine of the Scriptures.”

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Then Master Ailmer stepped forward, chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, whom Master Moreman took it upon himself to answer. Master Ailmer objected several authorities to confirm the argument he took in hand the day before, to prove that “substance” in the sentence of Theodoret, brought in by Master Cheyney, must signify ‘substance,’ and not ‘accidents.’ His reasons, because they were all grounded and brought out of the Greek, I pass over, because they lack their grace in English, and also their proper understanding. But his allegations so encumbered Doctor Moreman, that he desired a day to reply to them; for at that instant he was without a convenient answer.

Then the prolocutor called Master Haddon, dean of Exeter, and chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, who prosecuted Theodoret’s authority in confirming Master Ailmer’s argument. Doctor Watson took it upon himself to give an answer. He was confounded that he was not able to answer to the word ‘Mysterium.’ But as he seemed to have doubts in this, Master Haddon took out of his bosom a Latin author to confirm his saying, and showed it to Master Watson, asking him whether he thought that translation was true, or that the printer was in any fault. “There may be a fault in the printer,” said Watson, “for I do not remember this word.” Then Master Haddon took out of his bosom a Greek book, in which he showed with his finger the same words, which Master Watson could not deny.

Then Mr. Perne stepped forth, and declared his mind against transubstantiation, whom the prolocutor answered, saying, “I much marvel, Mr. Perne, that you will say thus; for on Friday last you subscribed to the contrary.” Master Palmer disliked this, saying to the prolocutor that “he was to blame to so reprehend any man, partly because this house is a house of free liberty for every man to speak his conscience, and partly because you promised yesterday, that notwithstanding what any man had subscribed, he would have free liberty to speak his mind.”

### *The Act of the Fifth Day.*

On Friday, the 27th of October, Dr. Weston, the prolocutor, first propounded the matter, showing that the convocation had already spent two days in disputation about one only doctor (who was Theodoret), and only about one word, which was “substance.” Yet they had come the third day to answer all things that could be objected, so that they would shortly put together their arguments. So Master Haddon, dean of Exeter, desired leave to oppose Master Watson who, with two others (that is, Morgan and Harpsfield), was appointed to answer. Master Haddon demanded this of him, whether any substance of bread or wine remained after the consecration? Then Master Watson asked him again, whether he thought there was a real presence of Christ’s body or not? Master Haddon said, “It was not fitting or order-like that the one appointed to be respondent should be opponent, and he whose duty was to object should answer.” Yet Master Watson for a long while would not agree to answer. But that being granted, at last an order was set, and Master Haddon had leave to proceed with his argument.

Then he proved by Theodoret’s words, that the substance of bread and wine remained. For these are his words, “They were the same before the sanctification, which they are after.” Master Watson said that Theodoret did not mean the same substance, but the same essence. Whereupon they were driven again to discussing the Greek word “substance.” Then Master Watson answered that it did not have that signification only. But Master Haddon proved that it must signify so in that place. Then he asked Master Watson, when did the bread and wine become symbols? He answered, “after the consecration, and not before.” Then Master Haddon argued that Theodoret says, that what the bread and wine were before they were symbols, they remain the same in nature and substance after they are symbols; and as they were bread and wine before, therefore they are still bread and wine afterwards.

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Then Mr. Watson fell to the denial of the author, and said he was a Nestorian. He desired that he might answer Master Cheyney who stood by, because he was more fit to dispute in the matter, because he had granted and subscribed to the real presence.

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Master Cheyney desired patience of the honorable men to hear him, trusting that he would so open the matter, that the truth would appear; that he would be no author of schism, nor hold anything contrary to the holy mother church, which is Christ's spouse. Doctor Weston liked this well, and commended him highly, saying that he was a well-learned and sober man, and well exercised in all good learning and in the doctors; and finally, a man fit for his knowledge to dispute in that place. "I pray you hear him," he said. Then Master Cheyney desired those who were present to pray two words with him to God, and to say, *vincat Veritas*, "may truth prevail," and have the victory. And all who were present cried with a loud voice, "*Vincat Veritas, vincat Veritas.*"

Then Doctor Weston said to him, that it was hypocritical. Men may better say, *vicit Veritas*, "truth has got the victory." Master Cheyney said that if he would give him leave, he would bring it to that point, that he might well say so.

Then he began with Master Watson in this way: "You said that Master Haddon was unfit to dispute, because he does not grant the natural and real presence. But I say you are much more unfit to answer, because you take away the substance of the sacrament"

Master Watson said. "He had subscribed to the real presence, and would not go away from that." So Weston said also, and the rest of the priests. So that for a great while he could have no leave to say any more, till the lords spoke, and desired that he should be heard.

Then he told them what he meant by his subscribing to the real presence, far otherwise than they supposed. So then he went forward, and prosecuted Master Haddon's argument, and said that when they could not answer, they went to deny the author; and therefore he proved the author to be a catholic doctor; and that being proved, he further confirmed what was said of the nature and substance.

Then Master Watson was forced to say that the substance of the body, in the former part of the similitude of Theodoret, signified quantity, and other *accidents* of sacramental tokens, and not the very *substance* of the same. For according to philosophy, the accidents of things are seen, and not their substances.

Then Master Cheyney appealed to the honorable men, and desired that they would give no credit to them in so saying. For if they were to think as they teach, after their lordships had rode forty miles on horseback, they would not be able to say at night, that they saw their horses all day, but only the *color* of their horses. And by this reasoning, Christ must go to school, and learn from Aristotle to speak. For when he saw Nathanael under the fig-tree, if Aristotle had stood by, he would have said, "No, Christ, you did not see him, but only *the color of him.*"

Then it was said by Watson: "Suppose that Theodoret is with you, who is someone that we never heard of till two or three years ago. Yet he is only one, and what is one against the whole consent of the church?" After this, Master Cheyney inferred that not only Theodoret was of that mind (that the substance of bread and wine remain), but others also.

Then Master Harpsfield was called in to see what he could say in the matter. He told a fair tale of the omnipotence of God, and of the imbecility and weakness of man's reason. He said that "it was convenient, whatever we saw, felt, or tasted, not to trust our senses." And he told a tale out of St. Cyprian, how a woman saw the sacrament burning. "And that which burned there," said Harpsfield, "burns here, and becomes ashes; but what was burnt he could not tell." But

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Master Cheyney continued and forced them with this question: "What was burnt? It was either the substance of bread, or else the substance of the body of Christ, which was too great an absurdity to grant." At length they answered, "it was a miracle." Master Cheyney smiled and said, "he could at that rate say no more."

Then Master Weston asked of the company present whether those men were sufficiently answered or not? Certain priests cried, "Yes;" but they were not heard at all for the great multitude, who cried "No, no." This cry was heard almost to the end of St. Paul's. Doctor Weston being much moved, answered bitterly that, "he did not ask for the judgment of the rude multitude and unlearned people, but of those who are of the house. Then he asked of Master Haddon and his fellows, whether they would answer them three other days? Haddon, Cheyney, and Ailmer said, "No." But Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, stood up and said that they should not say so, for they should be answered. And though all others refused to answer them, yet he would not. He offered to answer them all, one after another. The prolocutor was not content with his proffer, but railed on him, saying "he should go to Bedlam." The archdeacon soberly answered him that, "he was more worthy to be sent there, who used himself so ragingly in that disputation." Then Dr. Weston rose and said,

"All the company have subscribed to our article, except these men. What their reasons are you have heard. We have answered them for three days, on the promise (it pleased him to descant, without truth, for no such promise was made) that they would answer us as long as the order of disputation requires, and if they are able to defend their doctrine, let them do so,"

Then Master Ailmer stood up, and proved how vain a man Weston was; for he affirmed that they never promised to dispute, but only to open and testify to the world what they believed in their consciences. For when they were required to subscribe, they refused, and said that they would show good reasons which moved them, as they had done partly already, and were still able to do more sufficiently, so that they could not in their consciences subscribe. "Therefore," he said, "it has been wrongly called a disputation, and they were worthy to be blamed who were the authors of that name. For we did not mean to dispute, nor do we now mean to answer, till our arguments which we have to propound, are solved as it was appointed. For by answering, we would but encumber ourselves, and profit nothing; since the matter is already decreed upon and determined, whatever we prove to the contrary."

### *The Act of the Sixth Day.*

On Monday following, the 30th of October, the prolocutor demanded of John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, whether he would answer to the questions previously propounded to their objections or not? He gave this answer, that he would willingly do so, if according to their former determination, they would first answer some of his arguments, as they promised to do, of which he had a dozen, not half of which had yet been decided. And if they would answer fully and sufficiently to one of his arguments, he promised that he would answer all the objections that they might bring forth.

Then the prolocutor bade him to propound his argument, and it would be answered by one of them. Master Morgan was appointed to this. "On last Wednesday," he said, "I was forced to silence before I had prosecuted half my argument. The sum of it was this (as was gathered by the just context of the Scripture), that the human body of Christ had ascended into heaven, and placed at the right hand of God the Father. Therefore it could not be situated upon earth in the sacrament of the altar, invisible, according to the imagination of man." The argument was denied by Morgan. Philpot said this was the one with which he had to confirm his first argument, if they would have allowed him the other day, as he now trusted they would. It was to this effect: that to be bodily present, and to be bodily absent; to be on earth, and to be in heaven; and all at one and the same time, are things contrary to the nature of a human body.

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And therefore it cannot be said of the human body of Christ, that the self-same body is both in heaven and also on earth at one instant, either visibly or invisibly.

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In his answer, Morgan denied the first part of the argument. Philpot said that one of our bodies cannot receive in itself anything contrary to the nature of a body, such as to be in St. Paul's Church and at Westminster at one instant, or to be at London visibly and at Lincoln invisibly, at one time — for that is contrary to the nature of a body. So too, he concluded that the body of Christ could not be in more places than one; it is in heaven, and therefore it cannot be contained in the sacrament of the altar.

Philpot added that St. Peter in the sermon that he made in the third chapter of the Acts, mentioning Christ, used these words, "Whom the heavens must receive until the restitution of all things," etc. <sup>Act 3.21</sup> These words are spoken of his humanity. If heaven must hold Christ, then he cannot be here on earth, in the sacrament, as it is pretended.

Morgan laughed at this, and gave no answer. Harpsfield stood up, one of the bishops of London's chaplains, and took it upon himself to answer to the statement of St. Peter, and demanded of Philpot, whether he would of necessity force Christ to any place, or not?

Philpot said, that he would not otherwise force Christ of necessity to any place, than he is taught by the words of the Holy Spirit, which say that Christ's human body must abide in heaven until the day of judgment.

"Why," said Harpsfield, "do you not know that God is omnipotent?" "Yes," said Philpot, "I know that right well; nor do I doubt anything at all of his omnipotence. But of Christ's omnipotence. what he *may* do is not our question, but rather what he *does*. I know he may make a stone in the wall into a man, if he will, and also that he may make more worlds, but does he therefore do so? It would not be a good consequent to so conclude, that he may do this or that, and therefore he does it."

"Why," said the prolocutor, "then you would put Christ in prison in heaven." To which Philpot answered, "Do you reckon heaven to be a *prison*? God grant us all to come to that prison."

After some further arguing, Morgan asked Philpot whether he would be ruled by the universal church, or not?

"Yes," he said, "if it is the true catholic church. And since you speak so much of the church, I would be glad if you would declare what the church is."

"The church," replied Morgan, "is diffused and dispersed throughout the whole world." "That is a diffuse definition," said Philpot, "for I am as uncertain as I was before, what you mean by *the church*. I acknowledge no church but that which is grounded and founded on God's word, as St. Paul said, "Upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets," and upon the scriptures of God."

"What," asked Moreman, "was the Scripture before the church?" "Yes," said Philpot. "But I will prove no," replied Moreman. "The church of Christ was before any Scripture was written."

Philpot said that, "All prophecy uttered by the Spirit of God, was counted to be Scripture before it was written in paper and ink, because it was written in the hearts, and graven in the minds — yes, and inspired in the mouths of good men, and of Christ's apostles by the Spirit of Christ; just as the salutation of the angel was the Scripture of Christ, and the word of God, before it was written." At that Moreman cried, "Fie, fie!" wondering that the Scripture of God should be considered Scripture before it was written, and affirmed that he had no knowledge who could speak so.

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Philpot answered that, "Concerning knowledge for the testing of the truth about the questions in controversy, he would wish himself no worse matched than with Moreman."

The prolocutor was grievously offended at this, saying that it was arrogantly spoken by Philpot, to compare himself with such a worshipful learned man as Moreman, being himself an unlearned man, indeed a madman, more fit to be sent to Bedlam than to be among such learned and grave men as were assembled there, and a man who would never be answered, and one that troubled the whole house. And therefore he commanded him to come into the house no more, demanding of the house whether they would agree to this. A great company answered, "Yes." Then Philpot said again, that he might think himself a happy man who was out of this company.

After this Morgan rose up and whispered to the prolocutor in the ear. And then the prolocutor spoke to Philpot, and said, "Lest you slander the house, and say that we will not allow you to declare your mind, we are content that you should come into the house as you have done before, provided you are apparelled with a long gown and a tippet, as we are, and that you shall not speak but when I command you." "Then," Philpot said. "I would rather be absent altogether." Weston concluded all by saying, "You have the *word*, but we have the *sword*;" which showed the opinion in which this disputation was carried on.

They carried on reasoning in this manner until at length, about the 13th of December, queen Mary sent her commands to Bonner bishop of London, that he should dissolve and break up the convocation.

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During the time of this disputation, on the 20th of November, the mayor of Coventry sent up to the lord's of the council, Baldwin Clarke, J. Carelesse, Thomas Wilcocks, and Richard Estelin, for their behavior upon Allhallows-day. Carelesse and Wilcocks were committed to the Gatehouse, and Clarke and Estelin to the Marshalsea.

On the same day, a letter was directed to Sir Christopher Heydon, and Sir William Farmer, knights, for the apprehension of John Huntington, preacher, for making a rhyme against Dr. Stokes and the sacrament. Appearing before the council on the 3rd of December, he was again allowed to depart, upon his humble submission and promise to amend himself in doctrine as well as in living.

In the days of king Henry VIII, and also king Edward VI after him, some noblemen, bishops, and others, were cast into the Tower. Some were charged with treason, such as Lord Courtney and the Duke of Norfolk; some for the pope's supremacy, and suspicious letters tending to sedition, such as Tunstall, bishop of Durham; and others for other things, all of whom continued prisoners till queen Mary ascended the throne. The queen granted their pardon, and restored them to their former dignities. Gardiner bishop of Winchester, she not only delivered out of captivity, but also advanced to be high chancellor of England. To the lord Courtney she showed such favor, that she made him Earl of Devonshire, so that there was a suspicion that she would marry him; but that proved otherwise.

At the same time, Bonner also had been prisoner in the Marshalsea; Queen Mary likewise delivered him, and restored him to the bishopric of London, displacing Dr. Ridley, with other good bishops, as is mentioned above; namely, Cranmer, from Canterbury; the archbishop of York; Poinet from Winchester; John Hooper from "Worcester; Barlow from Bath; Harley from Hereford; Taylor from Lincoln; Ferrar from St. Davids; Coverdale from Exeter; Scory from Chichester, etc., with a great number of archdeacons, deans, in brief, all such beneficed men who were married, or adhered to their profession. All were removed

from their livings, and others of the contrary sect were placed in them; such as Cardinal Pole, who was then sent for; Gardiner, Heath, White, Day, Troublefield, etc.

As for Cranmer, rumor was spread about him in London, that he had recanted, and caused mass to be said at Canterbury. To clear himself, he published a declaration of his constancy, protesting that he neither had done so, nor intended to do so. He added that if it would so please the queen, he, with Peter Martyr and others, would in open disputation sustain the cause of the doctrine taught and set forth in the days of king Edward VI, against all persons. But while he was in expectation to have this disputation, he was laid fast in the Tower with other bishops, and Peter Martyr was permitted to depart the realm.

After this, in the month of November, archbishop Cranmer, though he had refused to subscribe to the king's will in disinheriting Mary (alleging many grave reasons for her legitimacy), was arraigned in the Guildhall of London, and attainted of treason, with the lady Jane Grey, and three of the duke of Northumberland's sons.

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At the entreaty of certain persons, they were again taken to the Tower, and kept there. Cranmer being pardoned of the treason, stood only in the action of doctrine, which they called heresy, of which he was right glad.

This being done in November, the people, and especially the churchmen, perceiving the queen so eagerly set upon her old religion, likewise began in their quires to set up the pageant of St. Catharine, and of St. Nicholas, and of their processions in Latin, in all their old solemnity.

When the month of December had come, the parliament broke up. In this parliament, the queen's marriage with king Philip, the emperor's son, had been moved.

In the meanwhile, cardinal Pole being sent for by queen Mary, was requested by the emperor to stay with him, so that his presence in England would not be a hindrance to the marriage which he intended between his son Philip and queen Mary. For this marriage, he sent a most ample embassy, with full power to contract the marriage.

On the 13th of January, A.D. 1554, Dr. Crome, for preaching on Christmas-day without a license, was committed to the Fleet.

On the 21st of January, Master Thomas Wootton, for matters of religion, was committed a close prisoner to the Fleet.

### ***The Death of Lady Jane Grey.***

The death of the lady Jane Grey had now been determined. Two days before her death, the queen sent Master Fecknam, afterwards abbot of Winchester, to commune with her, and to turn her from the doctrine of Christ to queen Mary's religion, the effect of which follows:

#### *The Communication had between the Lady Jane and Fecknam.*

Fecknam. — Madam, I lament your heavy case, and yet I do not doubt that you bear out this sorrow of yours with a constant and patient mind.

Jane. — You are welcome to me, sir, if your coming is to give Christian exhortation. And as for my heavy case (I thank God) I do so little lament it, that I rather account it a more manifest declaration of God's favor to me, than He ever showed me at any time before. And therefore

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there is no cause why either you, or others who bear me good will, should lament or be grieved with my case, being a thing so profitable for my soul's health.

Fecknam. — I have come to you, sent from the queen and her council, to instruct you in the true doctrine of the right faith; although I have such great confidence in you, that I will have, I trust, little need to labor with you much in this.

Jane. — I heartily thank the queen's highness, who is not unmindful of her humble subject. And I hope likewise that you will no less do your duty both truly and faithfully, according to what you were sent for.

Fecknam — What is then required of a Christian man?

Jane. — That he should believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, three persons in one Godhead.

Fecknam. — What? Is there nothing else to be required or looked for in a Christian, but to believe in Him?

Jane. — Yes, we must love Him with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind, and our neighbor as ourself.

Fecknam. — Why, then faith does not justify nor save.

Jane. — Yes, truly, faith alone justifies (as St. Paul says).

Fecknam. — Why, St. Paul says, If we have all faith without charity, it is nothing.

Jane. — It is true; for how can I love him whom I do not trust? or, how can I trust him whom I do not love? Faith and love go together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.

Fecknam. — How shall we love our neighbor?

Jane. — To love our neighbor is to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and give drink to the thirsty, and to do to him as we would do to ourselves.

Fecknam. — Why, then it is necessary to salvation to do good works also, and it is not sufficient only to believe.

Jane. — I deny that, and I affirm that faith alone saves. But it is fit for a Christian, in token that he follows his Master, Christ, to do good works; yet we may not say that they profit to our salvation. For "when we have done all, yet we are all unprofitable servants," and faith alone in Christ's blood saves us.

Fecknam. — How many sacraments are there?

Jane. Two. The one is the sacrament of baptism, and the other is the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

Fecknam. — No, there are seven.

Jane. — By what Scripture do you find that?

Fecknam. — Well, we will talk of that later. But what is signified by your two sacraments?

Jane. — By the sacrament of baptism I am washed with water, and regenerated by the Spirit, and that washing is a token to me that I am the child of God. The sacrament of the Lord's supper offered to me, is a sure seal and testimony that I am, by the blood of Christ, which he shed for me on the cross, made partaker of the everlasting kingdom.

Fecknam. — Why, what do you receive in that sacrament? Do you not receive the very body and blood of Christ?



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Jane. — No, surely, I do not believe so. I think that at the supper I neither receive flesh nor blood, but bread and wine, which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is drunk, puts me in remembrance that the body of Christ was broken for my sins, and his blood shed on the cross, and with that bread and wine I receive the benefits that come by the breaking of his body, and shedding of his blood for our sins on the cross.

Fecknam. — Why, does Christ not speak these words, “Take, eat, this is my body?” Do you require you any plainer words? Does he not say it is his body?

Jane. — I grant that he says so; and so he says, “I am the vine,” “I am the door:” but he is never the more the door nor the vine. Does not St. Paul say, “He calls things that are not as though they were?” God forbid that I should say that I eat the very natural body and blood of Christ. For then either I would pluck away my redemption, or else there were two bodies, or two Christs. One body was tormented on the cross, and if they ate another body, then he had two bodies. Or if his body were eaten, then it was not broken upon the cross, or if it was broken upon the cross, then it was not eaten by his disciples.

Fecknam. — Why, is it not just as possible that Christ by his power could make his body to be both eaten and broken, and to be born of a woman without the seed of a man, as to walk upon the sea, and other such miracles as he wrought by his power only?

Jane. — Yes, if God wished to have performed any miracle at his supper, he might have done so. But I say that then he intended no work nor miracle, but only to break his body, and to shed his blood on the cross for our sins. But I pray you to answer me this one question — Where was Christ when he said, “Take, eat, this is my body?” Was he not at the table when he said so? He was alive at that time, and did not suffer till the next day. What did he take but bread, what did he break but bread ‘And what he give but bread? Look, what he took, he broke; and look, what he broke, he gave; and look, what he gave, they ate. And yet all this while he himself was alive, and at supper before his disciples, or else they were deceived.

Fecknam. — You ground your faith upon those authors who say and unsay both in a breath, and not upon the church, to which you ought to give credit.

Jane. — No, I ground my faith on God’s word, and not upon the church. For if the church is a good church, the faith of the church must be tried by God’s word, and not God’s word by the church, nor yet my faith. Shall I believe the church because of antiquity? Or shall I give credit to the church that takes away from me half of the Lord’s supper, and will not let any man receive it in both kinds?

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If they refuse these things to us, then they refuse to us part of our salvation. And I say that it is an evil church, and not the spouse of Christ, but the spouse of the devil, that alters the Lord’s supper, and both takes from it, and adds to it. To that church say, God will add plagues, and from that church He will take their part out of the book of life. (Rev 22.18-19) Do they learn that from St. Paul, when he administered both kinds to the Corinthians? Shall I believe this church? God forbid.

Fecknam. — That was done with a good intent for the church, to avoid a heresy that sprung up from it.

Jane. Why, shall the church alter God’s will and ordinance for good intent? What did king Saul do? The Lord God forbids it.

With these and such like persuasions he would have had her lean to the church of Rome, but he could not prevail. There were many more things of which they reasoned, but these were the chief.

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After this, Fecknam took his leave, saying that he was sorry for her: “For I am sure,” he said, “that we two shall never meet.”

“It is true,” she said, “that we shall never meet, unless God turns your heart. For I am assured, unless you repent and turn to God, you are in an evil case. And I pray God, in his infinite mercy, to send you his Holy Spirit. For he has given you His great gift of utterance, if it pleased Him also to open the eyes of your understanding.”

### *A Letter of the Lady Jane sent to her Father.*

“Father, although it has pleased God to hasten my death by you, by whom my life should rather have been lengthened, yet I can so patiently take it, as I yield God more hearty thanks for shortening my woeful days, than if all the world had been given to my possession with life lengthened at my own will. And although I am well assured of your impatient temper, redoubled manifold ways, both in bewailing your own woe, and especially (I hear) my unfortunate state, yet, my dear father (if I may, without offense, rejoice in my own misfortunes), I think I may account myself blessed in this, that washing my hands with the innocence of my fact, my guiltless blood may cry before the Lord, “Mercy to the innocent.” And yet, though I must acknowledge that being constrained, and as you know well enough, continually assayed, I seemed to consent in taking it upon me, and in this I grievously offended the queen and her laws. Yet I assuredly trust that my offense towards God is so much the less, in that, being in so royal estate as I was, my forced honor never blended with my innocent heart. And thus, good father, I have opened to you the state in which I stand at present. Though death is at hand, which to you, perhaps, it may seem right woeful, to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, than from this vale of misery to aspire to that heavenly throne of all joy and pleasure with Christ our Savior. In his steadfast faith (if it may be lawful for the daughter to so write to the father) the Lord who up to now has strengthened you, so continue you, that at the last we may meet in heaven with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.”

### *A Letter written by the Lady Jane, in the end of the New Testament in Greek, which she sent to her sister, the Lady Catharine, one night before she suffered.*

“I have here sent to you, good sister Catharine, a book, which although it is not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth than precious stones. It is the book, dear sister, of the law of the Lord. It is his testament and last will which he bequeathed to us wretches. It will lead you to the path of eternal joy. And if with a good mind you read it, and with an earnest mind purpose to follow it, it will bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It will teach you to live, and learn you to die. It will win you more than you would have gained by the possession of your woeful father’s lands. For as, if God had prospered him, you would have inherited his lands, so if you diligently apply this book, seeking to direct your life after it, you shall be an inheritor of such riches, as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, nor thief shall steal, nor yet the moths corrupt. Desire with David, good sister, to understand the law of the Lord God. Live still to die, so that by death you may purchase eternal life. And do not trust that the tenderness of your age will lengthen your life; for if God calls, the young go as soon as the old; and labor also to learn to die. Defy the world, deny the devil, and despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord. Be penitent for your sins, and yet do not despair; be strong in faith, and yet do not presume; and desire with St. Paul to depart, and to be with Christ, with whom even death is life. Be like the good servant, and wake even at midnight, lest when death comes and steals upon you as a thief in the night, you are, with the evil servant, found sleeping; and lest for lack of oil, you be found like the five foolish virgins; and like the one who did not wear the wedding garment, and then you are cast out from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I do. Follow the steps of your Master, Christ, and take up your

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cross. Lay your sins on his back, and always embrace him. And as to my death, rejoice as I do, good sister, that I shall be delivered from this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am assured, that for losing a mortal life, I shall win an immortal life, which I pray to God to grant to you, and to send you of His grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true Christian faith, from which, in God's name, I exhort you, that you never swerve, neither for hope of life, nor for fear of death. For if you will deny his truth to lengthen your life, God will deny you, and yet shorten your days. But if you will cling to him, he will prolong your days to your comfort and his glory. To this glory God brings me now, and you hereafter, when it pleases him to call you. Fare you well, good sister, and put your only trust in God, who alone must help you."

We give here a certain prayer, made by the lady Jane, in the time of her trouble:

"O Lord, you God and Father of my life, hear me, a poor and desolate woman, who flies to you alone, in all troubles and miseries. You, O Lord, are the only defender and deliverer of those who put their trust in you. And therefore, being defiled with sin, encumbered with affliction, unquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with miseries, vexed with temptations, and grievously tormented with the long imprisonment of this vile mass of clay, my sinful body, I come to you, O merciful Savior, craving your mercy and help, without which so little hope of deliverance is left, that I may utterly despair of any liberty. Although it is expedient, seeing that our life stands upon trying, we should be visited sometime with some adversity, whereby we might both be tried whether we are of your flock or not, and also know you and ourselves the better. Yet you who say you would not suffer us to be tempted above our power, be merciful to me now, a miserable wretch, I beseech you; who with Solomon cries to you, humbly desiring you, that I may neither be too much puffed up with prosperity, nor too much pressed down with adversity, lest being too full, I might deny you my God, or being brought too low, I might despair, and blaspheme you my Lord and Savior. O merciful God, consider my misery, best known to you; and now be to me a strong tower of defense, I humbly request of you. Suffer me not to be tempted above my power; but either be a deliverer to me out of this great misery, or else give me grace to patiently bear your heavy hand and sharp correction. It was your right hand that delivered the people of Israel out of the hands of Pharaoh, which for four hundred years oppressed them, and kept them in bondage. Let it therefore likewise seem good to your Fatherly goodness, to deliver me, a sorrowful wretch, for whom your Son Christ shed his precious blood on the cross, out of this miserable captivity and bondage in which I am now. How long will you be absent? forever?

[687] A.D. 1554.

"Lord, have you forgotten to be gracious, and have you shut up your loving-kindness in displeasure? Will you no longer be entreated? Has your mercy clean gone forever, and your promise come utterly to an end forevermore? Why do you make so long tarrying? Shall I despair of your mercy, O God? Far be that from me. I am your workmanship created in Christ Jesus; give me grace therefore to tarry your time, and to patiently bear your works, assuredly knowing that as you *can*, so you *will* deliver me when it pleases you, not at all doubting or mistrusting your goodness towards me; for you know better what is good for me than I do. Therefore do with me in all things what you will, and plague me whatever way you will. Only in the meantime arm me, I beseech you, with your armor, that I may stand fast, my loins being girded about with truth, having on the breastplate of righteousness, and shod with the shoes prepared by the gospel of peace; above all things, taking to myself the shield of faith, with which I shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked; and taking the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is your most holy word; praying always with all manner of prayer and supplication, that I may refer myself wholly to your will, abiding your pleasure, and comforting myself in those troubles that it pleases you to send me. Seeing such troubles are profitable for me, and seeing I am assuredly persuaded that all that you do cannot

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be but well. Hear me, O merciful Father, for His sake, whom you would be a sacrifice for my sins. To whom with you, and the Holy Spirit, be all honor and glory. Amen. “

It remains now to describe the manner of her execution, with her words and behavior at the time of her death.

When she ascended the scaffold, she said to the people standing thereabout; “Good people, I have come here to die, and by a law I am condemned to the same. The fact against the queen’s highness was unlawful, and consenting to it by me. But regarding the procurement and desire of this by me or on my behalf, I wash my hands of it in innocence before God, and the face of you, good Christian people, this day.” And with that she wrung her hands, in which she had her book. Then she said, “I pray you all, good Christian people, to bear me witness that I die a true Christian woman, and that I look to be saved by no other means than by the mercy of God in the blood of his only Son Jesus Christ. And I confess, that when I knew the word of God, I neglected it, loved myself and the world, and therefore this plague and punishment has happily and worthily happened to me for my sins. And yet I thank God, that of his goodness he has thus given me a time and respite to repent. And now, good people, while I am alive, I pray you to assist me with your prayers.” And then kneeling down, she turned her to Fecknam, saying, “Shall I say this psalm?” And he said, “Yes.” Then she repeated the psalm “Have mercy on me, O God,” etc., in English, in the most devout manner throughout to the end; and then she stood up, and gave her maiden Mistress Ellen her gloves and handkerchief, and her book to Master Bruges; after which she untied her gown, and the hangman pressed upon her to help her off with it. But desiring him to let her alone, she turned towards her two gentlewomen, who helped her off with it; and also with her frowes, paaft, and neckerchief, giving to her a fair handkerchief to fold about her eyes.

Then the hangman knelt down and asked her forgiveness, whom she forgave most willingly. Then he desired her to stand upon the straw; which doing so, she saw the block. Then she said, “I pray you dispatch me quickly.” Then she knelt down, saying, “Will you take it off before I lay me down?” And the hangman said, “No, madam.” Then she tied the handkerchief about her eyes, and feeling for the block, she said, “What shall I do? Where is it? Where is it? One of the bystanders guiding her, she laid her head down upon the block, and then stretched forth her body, and said, “Lord, into your hands I commend my spirit,” and so finished her life, in the year 1554, on the 12th of February.

Thus the lady Jane was beheaded, and with her also the lord Guilford her husband, one of the duke of Northumberland’s sons, two innocents in comparison with those who sat in judgment upon them. For they ignorantly accepted what the others had willingly devised, and by open proclamation, they consented to take from others, and give to them.

Not long after the death of the lady Jane, on the 21st of the same month, Henry Duke of Suffolk was also beheaded at Tower Hill, on the 4th day after his condemnation. About this time also were condemned for this conspiracy, many gentlemen and yeomen, some of which were executed at London, and some in the country. Among their number was also the lord Thomas Grey, brother to the duke. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton barely escaped.

### ***Queen Mary Assails the Reformation***

The 24th of the same month (A.D. 1554) Bonner, bishop of London sent down a commission, directed to all the curates and pastors of his diocese, for taking the names of those who would not come during the following Lent to auricular confession, and to the receiving at Easter. A copy of this monition follows here:

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*A Monition of Bonner Bishop of London, sent down to all and singular Curates of his Diocese, for certifying the Names of those who would not come to Confession in Lent, and receiving at Easter.*

“Edmund by the permission of God, bishop of London, to all parsons, vicars, curates, and ministers of the church within the city and diocese of London, sends grace, peace, and mercy, in our Lord everlasting. Because by the order of the ecclesiastical laws and constitutions of this realm, and the laudable usage and custom of the whole catholic church, by many hundreds of years ago, duly and devoutly observed and kept, all faithful people being of lawful age and discretion, are bound once a year at least, unless reasonable cause excuses them, to be confessed to their own proper curate, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, with due preparation and devotion. And also because we are credibly informed, that sundry evil-disposed and undevout persons, given to sensual passions and carnal appetites, following the lusts of their body and utterly neglecting the health of their souls, forbear to come to confession according to the said usage, and to receive the sacrament of the altar accordingly, thereby giving a pernicious and evil example to the younger sort, to neglect and contemn the same. Minding the reformation of this for our own discharge, and desirous of good order to be kept, and good example to be given, we will and command you by virtue of this, that immediately upon the receipt of this our commandment, you and every one of you within your cure and charge, use all your diligence and dexterity to declare the same, straitly charging and commanding all your parishioners, being of lawful age and discretion, to come to confession before next Easter, according to the said ordinance and usage, with due preparation and devotion to receive the said sacrament of the altar; and that you note the names of all those who are not confessed to you, and do not receive from you the said sacrament, certifying to us or our chancellor or commissary of this, before the 6th of April next ensuing from the date of this. So that knowing thereby who did not come to confession, and receiving the sacrament accordingly, we may proceed against them, as being culpable persons, and transgressors of the said ecclesiastical law and usage. Further, also certifying us, our said chancellor, or commissary, before the aforesaid day, whether you have your altars set up, chalice-book, vestments, and all things necessary for mass, and the administration of sacraments and sacramentals, with procession, and all other divine service prepared and in readiness, according to the order of the catholic church, and the virtuous and godly example of the queen’s majesty.

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And if you have not, then you with the churchwardens, cause the same to be provided for signifying by whose fault and negligence the same lack or fault proceeded, and generally of your parishioners not coming to church, undue walking, talking, or being irreverent during divine service, and of all other open faults and misdemeanors, not omitting to do this, and certify as before, as you will answer upon your peril for the contrary.

“Given at London, 23rd of February, in the year 1554.”

The month following, which was the month of March, on the 4th day of the month, a letter was sent from the queen to Bonner, bishop of London, with certain articles annexed, to be put into speedy execution, requiring among other things, that all the clergy who had married should be removed from their parishes, unless they abandoned their wives and did penance for their marriage, as may appear by these articles:

“Every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, proceeding summarily, and with all celerity and dispatch, may and shall deprive, or declare deprived, and remove, according to their learning and discretion, all such persons from their benefices and ecclesiastical promotions, who contrary to the state of their order, and the laudable custom of the church, have married and used women as their wives, or otherwise notably and slanderously disordered or abused

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themselves — sequestering also, during the said process, the fruits and profits of the said benefices and ecclesiastical promotions.

“The said bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, shall use more lenity and clemency with those who have married, whose wives are dead, than with others whose wives remain alive. And likewise, those priests are to be used more favorably who, with the consent of their wives or women openly in the presence of the bishop, profess to abstain. In this case, after the penance is effectually done, the bishop may, according to his discretion and wisdom, upon just consideration, receive and admit them back to their former administration, if it is not in the same place, appointing them such a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their benefice of which they are deprived, by discretion of the said bishop or his officer, as he shall think may be spared of the said benefice.

“Every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, shall foresee that they do not allow any religious man, having solemnly professed celibacy, to continue with his woman or wife, but that all such persons after deprivation of their benefice or ecclesiastical promotion, also be divorced every one from his said woman, and due punishment otherwise taken for the offense in this.”

The queen also sent her rescript to the lord mayor of London to the same effect, who issued the following letter accordingly to the aldermen, etc.:

“On the queen’s behalf, our most gracious and most benign sovereign, we most straitly charge and command you, that you, the said aldermen, do not fail to personally call before your own person in such a place within your said ward, as seems to you most convenient and fitting, upon next Wednesday, which shall be the 7th day of this present month, at seven o’clock in the morning of the same day, all and each of the householders both poor and rich of your said ward, and then and there openly and plainly for your own discharge, and for eschewing the perils that might otherwise be justly imputed and laid to you, not only straitly admonish, charge, and command, in the queen our said sovereign lady’s name and behalf, all and each of the said householders, that both in their own persons, and also their wives, children, and servants, being of the age of twelve years and upwards, and every one of them, at all and every time and times from now on, and namely at the holy time of Easter now approaching, honestly, quietly, obediently, and catholicly, use and behave themselves like good and faithful Christian people, in all and every thing and things touching and concerning the true faith, profession, and religion of his catholic church, both according to the laws and precepts of Almighty God, and also their bounden duty of obedience towards our sovereign lady the queen, her laws, and statutes, and her highness’ most good example and gracious proceeding according to the same, and according to the right, wholesome, charitable, and godly admonition, charge, and exhortation, recently set forth and given by the right reverend father in God, the bishop of London, our diocesan and ordinary, to all the parsons, vicars, and curates within his diocese, but also that they and every one of them truly, without delay, notify you of the names and surnames of all and every person and persons that they or any of them can or may at any time hereafter know, perceive, or understand to transgress or offend in any point or article concerning the premises at their utmost perils. That you immediately after such notice of this given to you, immediately notify us of it. Do not fail to do this with all circumspection and diligence, as you will answer to our said most dread sovereign lady the queen for the contrary, at your peril.

“Given at the Guildhall of the city of London, the 5th of March in the first year of the reign of our said sovereign lady and queen.

“And likewise give to each of the said house-holders straitly in commandment, that they or their wives not depart from the said city, until this holy time of Easter is past.

“BLACKWELL.”

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About the same time, when Doctor Bonner set forth this prescript, another proclamation came from the queen, against strangers and foreigners within this realm.

Upon this proclamation, not only the strangers in king Edward's time received into the realm for religion — among whom was Peter Martyr and John Alasco, uncle to the king of Poland — but also many Englishmen fled, some to Friesland, some to Cleveland, some to Germany, where they were scattered into companies and congregations at Wesel, Frankfort, Embden, Markpurgh, Transborough, Basel, Arow, Zurich, Geneva, and other places. There, by the providence of God, they were all sustained, and there they were entertained with greater favor among strangers abroad, than they could be in their own country at home, amounting to nearly 800 persons, students, and others together.

In the month of March, the lord Courtney, earl of Devonshire, whom the queen had delivered from the Tower, and the lady Elizabeth also, the queen's sister, were both apprehended and committed to the Tower, on suspicion of having consented to Wyatt's conspiracy a short time before.<sup>528</sup>

Touching the imprisonment of the lady Elizabeth and lord Courtney, note here for your learning, good reader, a politic point of practice in Steven Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, not unworthy to be considered. Gardiner, who was always an enemy to the lady Elizabeth, thought now by the occasion of Master Wyatt's disturbance in Kent, to pick out some matter against the lord Courtney, and thus in the end to entangle the lady Elizabeth. So he devised a pestilent practice of conveyance,<sup>529</sup> as may appear in the following history.

The story is this. The same day that Sir Thomas Wyatt died, he desired the lieutenant to bring him into the presence of the lord Courtney. There before the lieutenant and the sheriffs kneeling down, Wyatt besought the lord Courtney to forgive him, for he had falsely accused both the lady Elizabeth and him. And so, being brought from there to the scaffold to suffer there openly in the hearing of all the people, he cleared the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney, to be free and innocent from all suspicion of that commotion. At this confession, Doctor Weston, standing by, cried out to the people, "Do not believe him, good people, for he previously confessed otherwise to the council.

Not long after this, Queen Mary, partly fearing the Londoners on account of Wyatt's conspiracy, and partly perceiving that most of the city, for religion's sake, did not greatly favor her proceedings, summoned a parliament to be held at Oxford, as if to gratify that city. There the university, town, and country had shown themselves very obedient, especially in restoring the popish religion.

[689] A.D. 1554.

For this purpose, great provision was made, both by the queen's officers, as well as by the townsmen and inhabitants of Oxford, and the surrounding countryside.

But the queen's mind soon changed, and the parliament was held at Westminster the following April. Then the queen proposed her marriage with king Philip; and restoring the pope's supremacy. Her marriage was agreed upon; but the other request could not then be obtained.

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<sup>528</sup> Wyatt's Rebellion in early 1554, was sparked by opposition to Mary's marriage to Philip II of Spain. Thomas Wyatt the Younger led a force from Kent to depose Mary in favor of her half-sister, Elizabeth, as part of a wider conspiracy that also involved the Duke of Suffolk, father of Lady Jane Grey.

<sup>529</sup> *Conveyance*: a manner of conveying one's thoughts, a style of communication, or of interrogation.

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When this parliament was summoned, she also summoned a convocation of the bishops, and of the clergy, writing to Bonner (whom she had made vicegerent in place of Cranmer, who was then in the Tower). The tenor and form of a new style, differed from the old style of king Henry and king Edward, in the omission of the title of "Supreme Head" of the church of England and Ireland.

In this convocation, **Bonner**, Catholic bishop of London, being vicegerent and president, made an oration to the clergy, in which he seems to show a piece of profound and deep learning, in setting forth the most incomparable and super-angelical order of priesthood, as may appear by this parcel or fragment of his oration:

"Therefore it is to be known, that priests and elders are worthy to be worshipped by all men, for the dignity which they have from God; as in Matthew 16, 'Whatever you loose upon earth,' etc.; and 'whatever you bind,' etc. For a priest by some means is like the Virgin Mary, and this is shown 'by three points. As the blessed Virgin conceived Christ by five words, as it is said, *fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum*; that is, 'Be it unto me according to your word' (Luk 1.38), so the priest by five words makes the very body of Christ. Even as immediately after the consent of Mary, Christ was all whole in her womb, so immediately after the speaking of the words of consecration, the bread is transubstantiated into the very body of Christ. *Secondly*, as the Virgin carried Christ in her arms, and laid him in an ox-stall after his birth; even so the priest after the consecration lifts up the body of Christ, and places it, and carries it, and handles it with his hands. *Thirdly*, as the blessed Virgin was sanctified before she had conceived, so the priest is ordained and anointed before he consecrates; because without orders, he could consecrate nothing. Therefore the layman cannot do that thing, however holy he is, and even if he speaks the self-same words of consecration. Therefore, here it may be seen that the dignity of priests, by some means, surpasses the dignity of angels, because there is no power given to any of the angels to make the body of Christ. Thereby the least priest on earth may do that which the greatest and highest angel in heaven cannot do. As St. Bernard says, 'O worshipful dignity of priests, in whose hands the Son of God is, as in the womb of the Virgin he was incarnate.' St. Augustine says that angels in the consecration of the sacred host serve him, and the Lord of heaven descends to him. Whereupon St. Ambrose says, upon Luke, 'Do not doubt the angels to be where Christ is present upon the altar.' Therefore priests are to be honored before all kings of the earth, princes, and nobles. For a priest is higher than a king, happier than an angel, maker of his Creator," etc.

On the 10th of March, a letter was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower to deliver the bodies of Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and bishops Ridley and Latimer, to Sir John Williams, to be conveyed by him to Oxford.

On the 26th of March, a letter was directed to Sir Henry Doell, and one Foster, to attach the bodies of Taylor, parson of Hadley, and of Henry Askew, and to send them up to the council.

About the 10th of April, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley, bishop of London; and Hugh Latimer, sometime bishop of Worcester, were conveyed as prisoners from the Tower to Windsor; and from there to the University of Oxford. They were to dispute with the divines and learned men of both the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, about the presence, substance, and sacrifice of the sacrament. The names of the doctors and graduates appointed to dispute against them, were these: from Oxford, Weston, prolocutor, Tresham, Cole, Oglethorpe, Pye, Harpsfield, and Fecknam; from Cambridge, Young, vice-chancellor, Glin, Seaton, Watson, Sedgewick, Atkinson, etc. The articles or questions upon which they would dispute were these:



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1. Whether the natural body of Christ was really in the sacrament, after the words were spoken by the priest, or not?
2. Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, any other substance remained than the substance of the body and blood of Christ?
3. Whether in the mass, there was a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead?

After those from Cambridge were incorporated into the University of Oxford on the 12th, and after a convocation on the 14th, and a solemn mass, they signed the articles.

The mass being done, they went in procession: First, the choir in their surplices followed the cross; then the first-year regents and proctors; then the doctors of law, and their beadles<sup>530</sup> before them; then the doctors of divinity of both universities intermingled, the divinity and arts-beadles going before them; the vice-chancellor and prolocutor going together. After them the bachelors of divinity, regents and non-regents, in their array; and last of all, the bachelors of law and art. After whom followed a great company of scholars and students who had not graduated. And thus they proceeded through the street to Christ's church; and there the choir sang a psalm, and after that a collect was read.<sup>531</sup> This being done, the commissioners, doctors, and many others, departed to Lincoln college, where they dined with the mayor of the town, one alderman, four beadles, Master Say and the Cambridge notary. After dinner they went all back to St. Mary's church. There, after a short consultation in a chapel, all the commissioners came into the choir, and sat on seats before the altar, numbering thirty-three persons. They sent to the mayor, that he should bring in Cranmer, who was brought to them by a number of billmen.<sup>532</sup>

Thus the reverend archbishop Cranmer, when he was brought before the commissioners, revered them with much humility, and stood with his staff in his hand; a stool was offered him, but he refused to sit. Then the prolocutor, sitting in the midst in a scarlet gown, began with a short oration in praise of unity, and especially in the church of Christ. He spoke of Cranmer's upbringing, and of his taking degrees in Cambridge, and also how he was promoted by king Henry VIII, and had been his counsellor and a catholic man — one of the same unity, and a member of it in times past. But in recent years he had separated and cut himself off from it, by teaching and setting forth erroneous doctrines, making a new faith every year. And therefore it pleased the queen's grace, to send those of the convocation and other learned men, to bring Cranmer to this unity again, if possible. Then the prolocutor informed him how those of the convocation-house had agreed upon certain articles to which they wished him to subscribe.

The archbishop answered to the preface very ably, modestly, and learnedly, showing that he was very glad of a unity, because it was "the preserver of all commonwealths, of the heathen as well as of the Christians," And so he dilated the matter with one or two stories of the Roman commonwealth. When he had done this, he said that he was very glad to come to a unity, provided it were in Christ, and agreeable to his holy word.

When he had thus spoken, the prolocutor had the articles read to him, and asked him if he would subscribe to them. The archbishop of Canterbury, after having read them over three or four times, and touching the first article, he asked what they meant by the term, "natural

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<sup>530</sup> *Beadle*: A minor church official, especially one who serves a ceremonial function.

<sup>531</sup> *Collect*: A short prayer preceding the lesson in the Church of Rome or Church of England.

<sup>532</sup> *Billmen*: English infantry soldiers who used the bill, a polearm weapon.

body," "Do you not mean," he says, "a *sensible* body." Some answered, "The same that was born of the Virgin," but they said it very confusedly; some saying one thing, some another.

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Then the archbishop denied it utterly. And when he had looked upon the other two articles, he said they were false, and against God's holy word; and therefore he could not agree in a unity with them. The prolocutor assigned him to answer the articles on Monday next (April 16th), and so he committed him to the mayor again, permitting him to name whatever books he wished for, and he would have them brought to him. The archbishop was greatly commended by everybody for his modesty: so that some masters of art of the university were seen to weep for him, even though they were contrary to him in judgment.

Then Dr. Ridley was brought in. Hearing the articles read, he answered without any delay, saying, "They were all false; and they sprang out of a bitter and sour root." His answers were sharp, witty, and very earnest. Then they laid to his charge a sermon that he gave when he was bishop of Rochester, in which (they said) he spoke in favor of transubstantiation. He denied it utterly, and asked whether they could bring anyone who heard him, who would say and affirm it; but they could bring no proof of it at all.

Then he was asked whether he would dispute or not. He answered that as long as God gave him life, he would not only have his heart, but also his mouth and pen to defend God's truth; but he required time and books. They said he would dispute on Tuesday, and till that time he would have books. He said it was not reasonable that he should not have his *own* books, and also time to look for his [prior] disputations. Then they gave him the articles, and bade him write his mind about them that night.

Last of all, Latimer came in, with a handkerchief, and two or three caps on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staff in his hand; he was sat in a chair. And after his denial of the articles, Wednesday was appointed for his disputation, but he alleged age, sickness, disease, and lack of books, saying that he was almost as fit to be a captain of Calais as to dispute. But he would, he said, declare his mind, either by writing or by word of mouth, and would stand to all they could lay upon his back. He complained that he was permitted to have neither pen nor ink, nor books, except the New Testament there in his hand, which he said he had read over seven times deliberately; and yet could not find the mass in it; nor the marrow-bones or sinews of it. At these words, the commissioners were not a little offended. Dr. Weston said that he would *make* him grant that the mass had both marrow-bones and sinews in the New Testament. Master Latimer said, "That you will never do, Master Doctor." Immediately they silenced him; so that when he desired to tell what he meant by those terms, he was not allowed.

### ***Archbishop Cranmer Disputes at Oxford.***

On Monday, the 16th of April, 1554, Doctor Weston, with the visitors, censors, and opponents, repairing to the divinity school, installed themselves in their places. Doctor Cranmer was brought there, and set in the answerer's place, with the mayor and aldermen sitting by him. Doctor Weston, prolocutor, following the custom of the university, began the disputation with an oration. His words were these: "You are assembled here, brethren, this day, to confound the detestable heresy of the truth of the body of Christ in the sacraments," etc. At these words, thus pronounced by the prolocutor unawares, many of the learned men there present burst out into laughter, as even in the entrance of the disputations, he had betrayed himself and his religion, in calling the opinion of the truth of Christ's body in the sacrament a detestable heresy. The rest of his oration tended all to this effect, that it was not

lawful by God's word to call these questions into controversy. Doctor Cranmer answered in this way: "We are assembled to discuss these doubtful controversies, and to lay them open before the eyes of the world, of what you think it is unlawful to dispute. It is indeed not reasonable to dispute about that which is determined *before* the truth is tried. And if these questions are not called into controversy, surely my answer is looked for in vain."

Then Chedsey, the first opponent, began to dispute in this way:

"Reverend Master doctor, these three conclusions are put forth to us at present to dispute upon:

"1. In the sacrament of the altar, is the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and also his blood present really under the forms of bread and wine by virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest.

"2. There remains no substance of bread and wine after the consecration, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and man.

"A. The lively sacrifice of the church is in the mass propitiatory, for the living as well as for the dead.

"These are the conclusions propounded, upon which our controversy rests. Now, so that we might not doubt how you take them, you have already given us your opinion. I term it your *opinion*, because it disagrees from the catholic opinion. I argue that as your opinion differs from the Scripture, you are therefore deceived."

Cranmer. — "I deny that my opinion differs from scripture."

Chedsey. — "Christ, when he instituted his last supper, spoke to his disciples, saying, 'Take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you.' This is his true body."

Cranmer. — "His true body is truly present to those who truly receive him; but *spiritually*. And so it is taken in a *spiritual* way. For when he said, 'This is my body, it is the same as if he had said, 'This is the breaking of my body; this is the shedding of my blood. As often as you do this, it will put you in remembrance of the breaking of my body, and the shedding of my blood. So that, as truly as you receive this sacrament, so truly you shall receive the benefit promised by receiving the same worthily.'

Chedsey. — "Your opinion differs from the church, which says that the true body is in the sacrament, and therefore your opinion is false."

Cranmer. — "I say and agree with the church, that the body of Christ is in the sacrament effectually, because the passion of Christ is effectual."

Chedsey. — "Christ, when he spoke these words, 'This is my body,' spoke of the *substance*, but not of the *effect*."

Cranmer. — "I grant that he spoke of the substance, and in a way not of the effect. And yet it is most true that the body of Christ is effectually in the sacrament. But I deny that he is truly present there in bread, or that his organic body is under the bread. It is still that bread which is taken out of the fruit of the ground, and brought to that visible shape by man's hand, being round in form and without sense or life, nourishing the body, and strengthening the heart of man. The old fathers say of this bread, and not of any uncertain and wandering substance, as you say, that Christ spoke these words, 'Eat, this is my body,' and likewise of the wine, which is the fruit of the vine pressed out of grapes, making man's heart merry — of the very same wine, I say, Christ said, 'Drink, this is my blood.' And so the old doctors call

this speaking of Christ tropical, figurative, anagogical, allegorical. They interpret it thus: that although the substance of bread and wine remain, and are received by the faithful, yet notwithstanding, Christ changed the name of it, and called the bread by the name of his flesh, and the wine by the name of his blood, ‘Not that it is so in very deed, but *signified in a mystery.*’ So that we should consider, not what they are in their own nature, but what they import to us and signify. We should not understand the sacrament carnally, but spiritually, and should not attend to the visible nature of the sacraments, nor have respect only to the outward bread and cup, but that lifting up our minds, we should look up to the blood of Christ with our faith, touch him with our mind, and receive him with our inward man. And being like eagles in this life, we should fly up into heaven in our hearts, where that Lamb is resident at the right hand of his Father, ‘who takes away the sin of the world;’

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‘by whose stripes we are healed,’ by whose passion we are filled at his table, and whose blood, receiving it out of his holy side, we live forever, being made the guests of Christ, “having him dwelling in us through the grace of his true nature, and through the virtue and efficacy of his whole passion. We are no less assured and certified that we are fed spiritually unto eternal life by Christ’s flesh crucified, and by his blood shed — the true food of our minds — than our bodies are fed with food and drink in this life. And this mystical bread on the table of Christ, and the mystical wine, being administered and received after the institution of Christ, are a memorial, a pledge, a token, a sacrament, and a seal to us.

“As for your third article, which declares the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice or oblation, I do not hold it to be an oblation of Christ. He offered himself to God the Father, once to death upon the altar of the cross for our redemption, which was of such efficacy, that there is no more need of any sacrifice for the redemption of the whole world. For he took away all the sacrifices of the old law, performing in himself that in very deed, which they only signified and promised. Whoever, therefore, fixes the hope of his salvation in any other sacrifice, he falls from the grace of Christ, and is disrespectful against the blood of Christ. For ‘He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed.’ <sup>Isa 53.5</sup> ‘Neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us.’ <sup>Heb 9.12</sup> ‘For Christ has not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us. Nor yet that he should offer himself often, as the high priest enters into the holy place every year with blood of others; For then he must often have suffered since the foundation of the world; but now once, in the end of the world, has he appeared, to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. And as it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment; so Christ was offered once to bear the sins of many; and to those who that look for him, he shall appear the second time, without sin, unto salvation.’ <sup>Heb 9.24-28</sup> ‘Who, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, forever sat down at the right hand of God. For by one offering he has perfected forever those who are sanctified. Now, where remission of these is, there is no more offering for sin.’ <sup>Heb 10.12,14,18</sup>

“Whoever seeks any other propitiatory sacrifice for sin, than this one sacrifice of Christ, makes the sacrifice of Christ of no validity, force, or efficacy. For if it is sufficient to remit sins, what need is there of any other? For the necessity of another argues and declares that this is insufficient. Almighty God grant that we may truly trust in one sacrifice of Christ, and that we again may repay to him our sacrifices of thanksgiving, of praise, of confessing his name, of true amendment, of repentance, of mercifulness towards our neighbors, and of all

other good works of charity! For by such sacrifices we will declare ourselves neither ungrateful to God, nor altogether unworthy of this holy sacrifice of Christ. And thus you have the true and sincere use of the Lord's holy supper, and the fruit of the true sacrifice of Christ. However, through captious or wrested interpretations, or by men's traditions, whoever goes about otherwise than Christ ordained them, to alter or transubstantiate, he shall answer to Christ in the latter day, when he will understand (but then too late) that he has no participation with the body and blood of Christ; but that out of the supper of eternal life, he has eaten and drank eternal condemnation unto himself."

Chedsey. — "The Scriptures in many places affirm, that Christ gave his natural body, Matthew 26, Mark 14, Luke 22."

Cranmer. — "If you understand by the natural body, one that has such proportion and members as he had when living here, then I answer in the negative."

Chedsey. — "The Scripture makes against you, for the circumstance teaches us not only that there is the body, but it also teaches us what manner of body it is, and so it says, 'The body shall be given which was not bread, but that which was crucified.'" <sup>Luk 22.18</sup>

Cranmer — "I grant he said it was his body, which would be given. 'The body,' he says, 'that will be given for you.' It was as if he said, 'This bread is the breaking of my body, and this cup is the shedding of my blood.' What will you say then? is the bread *the breaking of his body*, and the cup *the shedding of his blood* really?"

After some further disputation Chedsey withdrew, and Oglethorpe began in his stead to question Cranmer.

Oglethorpe. — "Your judgment differs from all churches."

Cranmer. — "No, I disagree with the papistical church."

Oglethorpe. — "This you do through ignorance of logic."

Cranmer. — "No, this you say through the ignorance of the doctors."

Weston. — "I will go plainly to work by the Scriptures. What did he take?"

Cranmer. — "Bread."

Weston. — "What did he give?"

Cranmer. — "Bread."

Weston. — "What did he break?"

Cranmer. — "Bread."

Weston, — "What did he eat?"

Cranmer. — "Bread."

Weston. — "He gave bread, therefore he did not give his body."

Cranmer. — "I deny the argument."

Cole. — "This argument holds good: It is bread, therefore it is not the body."

Cranmer. — "The same argument may be made, He is a Rock; therefore he is not Christ."

There was much further disputation on this question, chiefly confined to the ascertaining the opinions of the primitive church, which would be too long to insert here.

This disorderly disputation, sometimes in Latin, sometimes in English, continued almost till two o'clock. When it was finished, and the arguments written and delivered to Master Say, the prisoner was taken away by the mayor, and the doctors dined together at the university college.

***Bishop Ridley Disputes at Oxford.***

*Disputation at Oxford between Doctor Smith, with his other  
Colleagues and Doctors, and Bishop Ridley.*

The following day (April 17) Doctor Ridley was brought forth to dispute, with Doctor Smith for his principal opponent.

Besides this Smith, there was Weston, Tresham, Oglethorpe, Glin, Seaton, Cole, Ward, Harpsfield, Watson, Pye, Harding, Curton, and Fecknam. Ridley answered all these opponents very learnedly. He made a preface to the questions, but they would not let him go on with it, saying it was blasphemy; and they would not allow him to speak his mind. Smith could get nothing at his hands; so that others took his arguments and prosecuted them. He showed himself to be learned, and a great divine. They could bring nothing but what he knew as well as they.

Weston, prolocutor. — “Good Christian people and brethren, we have begun our school this day, by God’s good speed I trust, and are entering into a controversy, of which no question ought to be raised concerning the truth of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ in the eucharist. Christ is true, who said the words. The words are true, which he spoke; indeed, truth itself, which cannot fail. Let us therefore pray to God to send down to us his Holy Spirit, which is the true interpreter of his word; which may purge away errors, and give light, that truth may appear.”

Smith. — “This day three questions are propounded, of which no controversy among Christians ought to be raised, to wit:

“1. Whether the natural body of Christ our Savior, which was conceived of the Virgin, and offered for man’s redemption upon the cross, is truly and really in the sacrament by virtue of God’s word spoken by the priest, etc.

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“2. Whether, in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, there is any other substance. etc.

“3. Whether there is in the mass a propitiatory sacrifice, etc.

“Touching these questions, you have publicly and partly professed your judgment. Yet not being satisfied with your answer, I will demand your opinion on the first question, whether the true body of Christ, after the words are pronounced, are really in the eucharist, or only the figure.”

*The Answer of Ridley.*

“In matters pertaining to God we may not speak according to the sense of man, nor of the world. This first proposition is framed in another manner of phrase or kind of speech than the Scripture uses; and it is very obscure and dark, by means of words that are of doubtful signification.

“First, there is a double sense in these words: ‘by virtue of God’s word;’ for it is doubtful what word of God this is.

“Again, there is a doubtfulness in these words: ‘of the priest;’ whether any man may be called a priest, but someone who has authority to make a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead.”

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Weston. — “Let this be sufficient.”

Ridley. — “If we lack time at present, there is time enough hereafter.”

Weston. — “These are but evasions; you consume the time in vain.”

Ridley. — “I cannot start far from you, I am captive and bound.”

Weston. — “Fall to it, my masters.”

Smith. — “That which you have spoken may suffice at present.”

Ridley. — “Let me alone, I pray you, for I do not have much to say.”

Weston. — “Go forward.”

Ridley. — “Moreover, there is ambiguity in this word ‘really,’ which may be variously interpreted, so that the whole proposition is formed of phrases that are not scriptural, but are of doubtful signification.

“Now the error and falseness of the proposition, in the sense in which the Romish church takes it, may appear in that they affirm the bread to be transubstantiated and changed into the flesh assumed by the word of God, and that too is by virtue of a phrase which they have devised themselves, and which cannot be found in any of the Scriptures. This position is the foundation of transubstantiation, a monstrous foundation, and against reason, and destroying the analogy of the sacraments. Therefore this proposition also, which is built upon this rotten foundation, is false, erroneous, and a detestable heresy.”

Weston. — “We lose time.”

Ridley. — “You shall have time enough.”

Weston. — “Fall to reasoning. You shall have some other day for this matter.”

Ridley. — “I have no more to say concerning my explication. If you will give me leave and let me alone, I will only speak a word or two in confirmation of this.”

Weston. — “Go to; say on.”

Ridley. — “No doctrine ought to be established in the church of God, which dissents from the word of God, from the rule of faith, and draws with it many absurdities that cannot be avoided.

“Yet the doctrine of transubstantiation maintains a real, corporeal, and carnal presence of Christ’s flesh, assumed and taken by the word, to be in the sacrament of the Lord’s supper, and that is not by virtue and grace only, but also by the whole essence and substance of the body and flesh of Christ. Now, such a presence disagrees with God’s word, and from the rule of faith, and cannot but draw with it many absurdities.”

Weston. — “You consume time which might be better bestowed on other matters. Master opponent, I pray you, to your argument.”

Smith. — “I will here reason with you upon transubstantiation, which you say is contrary to the rule and analogy of faith. I prove the contrary by the scriptures and the doctors. But before I enter into argument with you, I demand first, whether in the sixth chapter of St. John there is any mention made of the sacrament, or of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament?”

Ridley. — “It is against reason that I should be prevented from prosecuting what I have to say in this assembly, not being so long that it will not be comprehended in a few words.”

Weston. — “Let him go on.”

Ridley. — “This carnal presence is contrary to the word of God, as it appears in Joh 16.7, ‘I tell you the truth. It is expedient for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come to you.’ Act 3.21. ‘Whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things which God has spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets.’ Mat 9.15. ‘Can the children of the bridegroom mourn as long as the bridegroom is with them? But the days will come, when the bridegroom will be taken from them, and then they will fast.’ Joh 16.22, ‘But I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice.’ Mat 24.23, 28, ‘If any man says to you, behold, here is Christ, or there; do not believe them... For wherever the carcass is, there the eagles will be gathered together.’

“*It differs from the articles of faith: ‘He ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of God the Father, from whence he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead.’*”

“*It destroys the institution of the Lord’s supper, which was commanded only to be used and continued until the Lord himself would come. If therefore he is really present in the body of his flesh, then the supper must cease. For a remembrance is not of a thing present, but of a thing absent. And there is a difference between remembrance and presence, and (as one of the fathers says) a figure is in vain where the thing figured is present.*”

“*It makes precious things common to profane and ungodly persons, and constrains men to confess many absurdities.* For it affirms that wicked and ungodly persons, yes (and as some of them hold), the wicked and faithless mice, rats, and dogs also may receive the very real and corporeal body of the Lord, in which the fulness of the Spirit of light and grace dwells; contrary to the manifest words of Christ in six places and sentences in the sixth of St. John.

“*It also confirms and maintains that beastly kind of cruelty of the Anthropophagi, that is, the devourers of man’s flesh. For it is a crueller thing to devour a living man, than to slay him.*”

Pye. — “He requires time to speak blasphemies! Leave your blasphemies!”

Ridley. — “I little thought to have such reproachful words at your hands.”

Weston. — “All is quiet. Go to your arguments.”

Ridley. — “I do not have many more words to say.”

Weston. — “You utter blasphemies with a most impudent face. Leave off, and get to the argument.”

Ridley. — “It forces men to maintain many monstrous miracles, without any necessity and authority from God’s word. For at the coming of this presence of the body and flesh of Christ, they thrust away the substance of bread, and affirm that the accidents remain without any subject. And instead of it, they place Christ’s body without his qualities and the true manner of a body. If the sacrament is reserved so long until it molds, and worms breed in it, some say that the substance of bread miraculously returns again; and some deny it. Others affirm that the real body of Christ goes down into the stomach of the receivers, and there abides only so long as they continue to be good; but others hold that the body of Christ is carried into heaven as soon as the forms of bread are bruised with the teeth! O workers of miracles! Truly, and most truly, I see that fulfilled in these men, of which St. Paul prophesied in 2The 2.10-12. ‘Because they did not receive the truth, that they might be saved ... God will send them a strong delusion, that they should believe a lie, that they all might be damned who do not believe the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.’

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This gross presence has brought forth that foolish fantasy of concomitance, by which the commandment of the Lord is broken at this day and abrogated for distributing the Lord's cup to the laity.

*“It gives occasion to heretics to maintain and defend their errors; such as to Marcion, who said that Christ had but a phantasmic body; and to Eutyches, who wickedly confounded the two natures in Christ.*

*“Finally, It falsifies the sayings of the godly fathers and the catholic faith of the church, which Vigilus, a martyr and grave writer, says was taught by the apostles, confirmed with the blood of martyrs, and was continually maintained by the faithful until his time. By ‘the sayings of the fathers,’ I mean of Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Emisene, Athanasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, Vigilus, Fulgentius, Bertram, and other most ancient fathers. As I am sure that all those places I have read, make for my purpose, so I am well assured that I could show the same, if I might have the use of my own books, which I will undertake to do, even upon the peril of my life and loss of all that I may lose in this world.*

“But now, my brethren, do not think that because I disallow that presence which the **first proposition** maintains, as a presence which I take to be forged, fantastical, contrary to God's word, and perniciously brought into the church by the Romanists, that I therefore go about to take away the true presence of Christ's body in his supper rightly and duly administered, and which is grounded upon the word of God, and made more plain by the commentaries of the faithful fathers. Those who think thus of me, the Lord knows how far they are deceived. And to make the same evident, I will declare in a few words what true presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the Lord's supper I hold and affirm.

“I say and confess with the evangelist Luke, and with the apostle Paul, that the bread on which thanks are given, is the body of Christ in *remembrance* of him and his death, is to be set forth perpetually by the faithful until his coming again.

“I say and confess that the bread which we break, is the communion and partaking of Christ's body.

“I say and believe that there is not only a signification of Christ's body set forth in the sacrament, but also that there is given to the godly and faithful, the grace of Christ's body — that is, the food of life and immortality.

“I also say with St. Augustine, that we eat life and we drink life; — with Emisene, that we feel the Lord to be present in grace; — with Athanasius, that we receive celestial food, which comes from above; — with Hilary, the propriety of natural communion; — with Cyril, the nature of flesh and benediction which gives life in bread and wine; — and with the same Cyril, the virtue of the very flesh of Christ, the life and grace of his body, the property of the only begotten, that is to say, *life*, as he himself expounds it in plain words.

“I confess also with Basel, that we receive the mystical advent and coming of Christ, grace and virtue of his very nature; — with Ambrose, the sacrament of his very flesh;— with Epiphanius, the body by grace; — with Jerome, spiritual flesh, but not that which was crucified;— with Chrysostom, grace flowing into a sacrifice, and the grace of the spirit; — with Augustine, grace and invisible verity, grace and communion of the members of Christ's body.

“Finally, with Bertram, who was the last of all these, I confess that Christ's body is in the sacrament in this respect: namely, as he writes, because there is in it the spirit of Christ, that

is, the power of the word of God, which not only feeds the soul, but also cleanses it. But of these I suppose it may clearly appear to all men, how far we are from that opinion of which some go about falsely to slander us, saying we teach that the godly and faithful receive nothing else at the Lord's table, but a figure of the body of Christ.

“As to the **second proposition**, which asserts that ‘After the consecration there remains no substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance than the substance of God and man,’ I answer that it is manifestly false, directly against the word of God, the nature of the sacrament, and the most evident testimonies of the godly fathers. And it is the rotten foundation of the other two conclusions propounded by you, both of the first, and also of the third. Therefore I will not now tarry upon any further explanation, being content with that which is already given to the answer of the first proposition.

“The circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy and proportion of the sacraments, and the testimony of the faithful fathers, ought to rule us in taking the meaning of the holy Scriptures regarding the sacrament. Now, the words of the Lord's supper, the circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy of the sacraments, and the sayings of the fathers, most effectually and plainly prove it is figurative speech in the words of the Lord's supper.

“*The circumstances of the Scriptures:* ‘Do this in remembrance of me.’ ‘As often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you show the Lord's death till he comes.’ ‘Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup.’ <sup>1Cor 11.24-28</sup> ‘They came together to break bread;’ and they ‘continued in the breaking of bread.’ <sup>Act 20.7,42</sup> ‘The bread which we break,’ etc. ‘For we being many, are one bread and one body,’ etc., <sup>1Cor 10.16-17</sup>.

“*The analogy of the sacraments* is necessary: for the sacraments must have some similitude or likeness of the things of which they are sacraments.

“*The sayings of the fathers* declare it to be figurative speech, as it appears in Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Augustine, Ambrose, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Hilary, and most plainly of all in Bertram, The sayings and places of all the fathers, whose names I have recited before against the assertion of the first proposition, quite overthrow transubstantiation. But of all, most evident and plain, are Irenaeus, Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostom *To Caesarius the monk*, Augustine *Against Adamantus*, Gelasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Chrysostom; again, Rabanus, Damascene, and Bertram on Matthew 20.

“I have for the proof of what I have spoken whatever was written by Bertram, a learned man, of sound and upright judgment, and ever counted a catholic for these seven hundred years until our age. Whoever reads and weighs his treatise, considering the time of the writer, his learning, godliness of life, the allegations of the ancient fathers, and his manifold and well-grounded arguments, I cannot but marvel, if that reader has any fear of God at all, how he can with good conscience speak against him in this matter of the sacrament. This Bertram was the first person who arrested my attention, and first brought me from the common error of the Romish church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly both the Scriptures and the writings of the old ecclesiastical fathers in this matter. And this I protest before the face of God, who knows I do not lie in the things I now speak.

“As to the **third proposition**, which is that, ‘In the mass is the lively sacrifice of the church, propitiatory and available for the sins of the quick as well as of the dead.’

“I answer this third proposition as I did the first. And moreover I say that being taken in such a sense as the words seem to import, it is not only erroneous, but so much to the derogation and nullifying of the death and passion of Christ, that I judge it may and ought to

be most worthily counted wicked and blasphemous against the most precious blood of our Savior Christ.

“Concerning the Romish mass used at this day, or the lively sacrifice, being propitiatory and available for the sins of the living and the dead, the holy Scripture has not so much as one syllable.

“As to these words, ‘The lively sacrifice of the church,’ there is a doubt whether they are to be understood figuratively and sacramentally.

“Moreover, in these words ‘as well as,’ it may be doubted whether they are spoken in mockery, as men usually say in sport about a foolish or ignorant person, that he is apt in conditions as well as in knowledge — being apt indeed in neither of them.

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“There is also a doubt in the word ‘propitiatory,’ whether it signifies here, ‘that which takes away sin,’ or ‘that which may be made available for the taking away of sin;’ that is to say, whether it is to be taken in the active or in the passive signification.

“Now the falseness of the proposition, according to the meaning of the Romish Church, and the impiety in that sense which the words seem to import, is this: that leaning to the foundation of their fond transubstantiation, they would make the quick and lively body of Christ’s flesh, united and knit to the Divinity, to lie hidden under the accidents and outward shows of bread and wine, which is very false, as I have said before. And building upon this foundation, they hold that the same body is offered to God by the priest in his daily masses to put away the sins of the living and the dead. Whereas by the words of the apostle to the Hebrews, it is evident that there is but one oblation, and one true and lively sacrifice of the church offered upon the altar of the cross, which was, is, and shall be forever, the propitiation for the sins of the whole world. And where there is remission of the same, ‘there is,’ says the apostle, ‘no more offering for sin.’

“No other priest but Christ can sacrifice for sin; and it is evident that no man is called to this degree of honor but Christ alone. For there are only but two orders of priesthood allowed in the word of God: namely, the order of Aaron, and the order of Melchizedek. But now the order of Aaron has come to an end, and of the order of Melchizedek there is but one priest alone, even Christ the Lord, who has a priesthood that cannot pass to any other.

“Again, after eternal redemption is obtained, there is no more need of a daily offering for it. And Christ having obtained for us this eternal redemption by the offering of himself, there is no more need of a daily oblation for the living and the dead.

“Again, all remission of sins comes only by the shedding of blood; but in the mass, which they call an *unbloody* sacrifice, there is no shedding of blood. And therefore, in the mass there is no remission of sins; and consequently there is no propitiatory sacrifice.

“Again, where Christ does not suffer, he is not truly offered; for the apostle says, ‘Not that he might offer up himself often (for then he must have often suffered since beginning of the world).’ <sup>Heb 9.25-26</sup> Now, where Christ is not offered, there is no propitiatory sacrifice; and therefore, in the mass there is no propitiatory sacrifice. ‘But now once, at the end of the world, he has appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. And as it is appointed unto men once to die, and after this the judgment, so Christ was offered once to bear the sins of many; and to those who look for him, he shall appear the second time, without sin, unto salvation.’ <sup>Heb 9.26-28</sup>

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“By that will [of God],’ says the apostle. ‘we are sanctified, through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all.’ <sup>Heb 10.10</sup> And in the same place, ‘But this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins forever, sat down at the right hand of God. For by one offering he has perfected forever those who are sanctified;’ <sup>Heb 10.10-14</sup> and ‘when he had by himself purged our sins, he sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high.’ <sup>Heb 1.3</sup> I beseech you to mark these words ‘by himself,’ which, if well weighed, will without doubt put an end to all controversy.

“He has reconciled us in the body of his flesh.’ <sup>Col 1.22</sup> Mark, I beseech you, he does not say, in the mystery of his body; but in the body of his flesh.

“If any man sins, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation of our sins, and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world.’ <sup>1Joh 2.1</sup>

“I know that all these places of the Scriptures are avoided by two manners of subtle shifts: the one is by the distinction of the bloody and unbloody sacrifice; as if our unbloody sacrifice of the church were anything else than the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; a commemoration; a showing forth; and a sacramental representation of that one unique bloody sacrifice offered up once for all. The other is by depraving and twisting the sayings of the ancient fathers to such a strange kind of sense, as the fathers themselves never meant. For the meaning of the fathers was evidently that the redemption once made for the salvation of man, continues in full effect forever, and works without ceasing to the end of the world, so that the sacrifice once offered cannot be consumed; that the Lord’s death and passion is as effectual, the virtue of that blood once shed is as fresh at this day for the washing away of sins, as it was even the same day that it flowed out of the blessed side of our Savior; and finally, that the whole substance of our sacrifice, which is frequented by the church in the Lord’s supper, consists in prayers, praise, and giving of thanks, and in remembering and showing forth that sacrifice once offered upon the altar of the cross.

“These are the things which I could answer to your three propositions, though I am destitute of all help in this shortness of time, and lack of books. And because you have lately given most unjust and cruel sentence against me, I here appeal to a more just judgment of some other competent and lawful judge, according to the approved state of the church of England. If this appeal may not be granted to me upon earth, then I fly (even as to my only refuge and sole haven of health) to the sentence of the Eternal Judge — that is, of the Almighty God, to whose most merciful justice towards us, and most just mercifulness, I wholly commit myself and all my cause. I am not at all despairing of the defense of my advocate and only Savior Jesus Christ, to whom, with the everlasting Father, and the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier of us all, now and forever be all honor and glory. Amen.”

Smith. — “You have occasioned me to go otherwise to work with you than I had thought to have done. You abuse the testimonies of Scripture concerning the ascension of Christ, in order to take away his presence in the sacrament, as if this were a strong argument to enforce your matter.”

Ridley. — “If you take the real presence of Christ according to the real and corporeal substance which he took from the Virgin, that presence being in heaven cannot be on the earth also. But if you mean a real presence of some property or attribute of his body, the ascension and abiding in heaven are no hindrance to that presence.”

Weston. — “I will cut off all equivocation and doubt. For whenever we speak of Christ’s body, we mean that which he took from the Virgin.”

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Ridley. — “Christ’s ascension and abiding in heaven cannot consist with such a presence.”

Smith. — “His ascension and abiding in heaven was no hindrance to his having visited the earth corporeally, and therefore is now no hindrance to his real presence in the sacrament.

Ridley. — “I would not have you think that I imagine or dream of any such manner of sitting, as these men here sit in the school.”

Smith. — “It is lawful for Christ, then, to be here present on the earth, when he himself chooses.”

Ridley. — “Yes, when he chooses.”

Smith. — “Therefore, his ascending into heaven, does not restrain his real presence in the sacrament.”

Ridley. — “I do not challenge that it is lawful for him to appear on the earth when he chooses; but you must prove that he chooses it.”

Smith. — “Then your answer depends upon the will of Christ, I perceive. Therefore I will join with you in that argument. Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporeally upon the earth; and therefore, notwithstanding his ascension and abiding with his Father, he may be corporeally in the sacrament.”

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Ridley. — “I grant that he was seen on earth, but I deny that he may therefore be in the sacrament. I grant this, because I know that there are certain ancient fathers of that opinion; so that I am content to let you use that proposition as true. But let us first agree about the continual sitting at the right hand of the Father.”

Smith. — “Does he so sit at the right hand of his Father, that he never forsakes the same?”

Ridley. — “No, I do not bind Christ in heaven so strictly. If you mean by his sitting in heaven, *to reign with his Father*, he may be both in heaven and also on earth. But if you understand his sitting to be *in a corporeal manner of sitting*, then he is always in heaven. For Christ to be corporeally here on earth, when corporeally he is resident in heaven, is contrary to the holy scriptures.”

Smith. — “In Acts 3 we read that Christ shall sit perpetually at the right hand of God, until the consummation of the world.”

Weston. — “I perceive you have come to this issue: whether the body of Christ may be both on earth and in heaven together. I tell you that Christ is both on earth and in heaven together, and at one time, both one and the same natural Christ, in the truth and substance of his very body.”

Ridley. — “I deny that.”

Smith. — “I will prove that he appeared here on earth after his ascension.”

Ridley. — “He appeared, I grant; but how he appeared, whether being then *in heaven* or *on earth*, is uncertain. He appeared to Stephen, being then corporeally sitting in heaven. For, speaking according to the true manner of man’s body, when he is in heaven, he is not at the same time on earth; and when he is on earth, he is not at the same time corporeally in heaven.”

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Smith. — “Christ has been both in heaven and on earth all at one time. He was seen by St. Paul, after his ascending to heaven.” 1Cor 15.8.

Ridley. — “He was seen really and corporeally indeed; but whether being *in heaven or earth*, is a doubt. And of doubtful things we must judge doubtfully. You should prove that he was in heaven at the same time, that he was corporeally on earth.”

Tresham. — “He was seen so, that he might be heard, and therefore he was corporeally on the earth, or how else could he be heard?”

Ridley. — “He who enabled Stephen to behold him in heaven, even He could bring to pass that Paul might hear him out of heaven.”

Smith. — “Others as well as Paul saw him visibly and corporeally.”

Ridley. — “I grant that he was seen visibly and corporeally; but you have not proved that he was seen on earth.

After this. Doctor Glin began to reason. He made a very contemptuous preface against Ridley, notwithstanding that Ridley had always taken Glin for his old friend. Master Ridley therefore took his preface more to heart, because it proceeded from him. However, he thought that Doctor Glin’s mind was to serve the time. For afterwards he came to the house in which Master Ridley was kept, and as far as Master Ridley could call to remembrance, before Doctor Young and Doctor Oglethorpe, Glin desired Ridley to pardon his words. Master Ridley did this, even from the very heart, and wished earnestly that God would give not only to Glin, but to all others, the true and evident knowledge of God’s evangelical sincerity, so that all offenses being put aside, and being perfectly and fully reconciled, they might agree and meet together in the house of the heavenly Father.

Glin. — ”I see that you elude or shift away all scripture and the fathers: I will go to work with you in another way. Christ has here his church known on earth, of which you were once a child, although now you speak contemptuously of the sacraments.”

Ridley. — “This is a grievous insult, that you call me a shifter away of the scripture, and of the doctors. As to the sacraments, I never yet spoke contemptuously of them. I grant that Christ has here his church on earth; but that church ever received and acknowledged the eucharist to be a *sacrament* of the body of Christ, yet not the body of Christ really, but the body of Christ by grace.”

Glin. — “Then I ask this question; whether the Catholic church has ever or at any time been idolatrous?”

Ridley. — “The church is the pillar and ground of truth, and has never yet been idolatrous in respect to *the whole church*, but perhaps in respect to *some part* of it, which sometimes may have been seduced by evil pastors, and through ignorance.”

Glin. — “That church has ever worshipped the flesh of Christ in the eucharist, and according to you, must therefore have been idolatrous.”

Ridley. — “And I also worship Christ in the sacrament, but not because he is included in the sacrament — just as I also worship Christ in the scriptures, not because he is really included in them. Notwithstanding, I say that the body of Christ is present in the sacrament, yet it is sacramentally and spiritually, according to his grace-giving life, and in that respect it is really; that is, according to his benediction giving life.

“Furthermore, I gladly acknowledge the true body of Christ to be in the Lord’s supper, in such a way as the church of Christ acknowledges (which is the spouse of Christ, and is taught by the Holy Ghost, and guided by God’s word). But the true church of Christ acknowledges a presence of Christ’s body in the Lord’s supper to be communicated to the godly by grace, and spiritually, and as I have often shown, by a sacramental signification; but not by the corporeal presence of the body of his flesh.”

Glin. — “But all the church adores Christ truly, and really in the sacrament.”

Ridley. — “You know yourself that the eastern church would not acknowledge transubstantiation, as it appears in the council of Florence.”

Cole. — “That is false. For they acknowledged transubstantiation, although they would not address the matter, for they did not have in their commission to do so.”

Ridley. — “No, they would determine nothing of the matter when the article was propounded to them.”

Cole. — “It was not because they did not acknowledge it, but because they had no commission to do so.”

Watson. — “Good sir, I have determined to have respect of the time, and therefore I ask this question: when Christ said in the sixth of John, ‘He that eats my flesh, etc.’ does he signify in those words the eating of his true and natural flesh, or else of the bread and symbol?”

Ridley. — “I understand that place of the very flesh of Christ to be eaten, *spiritually*. And further, I say that the sacrament also pertains to spiritual eating. For to eat the sacrament without the spirit, is to eat it unprofitably. For whoever does not eat spiritually, eats to his own condemnation.”

Watson. — “I ask, then, whether the eucharist is a sacrament?”

Ridley. — “The eucharist, taken as a sign or symbol, is a sacrament.”

Watson. — “Is it instituted by God?”

Ridley. — “It is.”

Watson. — “Where?”

Ridley. — “In the supper.”

Watson. — “With what words is it made a sacrament?”

Ridley. — “By the words and deeds which Christ said and did, and commanded us to say and do.”

Watson. — “It is commonly received, that the sacraments of the new law give grace to those who worthily receive them.”

Ridley. — “It is true that grace is given by the sacrament, as by an instrument. The inward virtue, and Christ, give grace through the sacrament.”

Watson. — “What is a sacrament?”

Ridley. — “I remember there are many definitions of a sacrament in Augustine: but I will take that which seems most fit for our present purpose. *A sacrament is a visible sign of invisible grace.*”

Watson. — “Grace is given to the receivers.”

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Ridley. — “The fellowship or communion with Christ through the Holy Ghost is grace, and by the sacrament we are made the members of the mystical body of Christ; for by the sacrament, the part of the body is grafted in the head.”

Watson. — “But there is a difference between the mystical body, and natural body.”

Ridley. — “There is a difference, but the head of them both is one.”

Watson. — “But no promise of grace is made to bread and wine.”

Ridley. — “I grant that grace belongs to the eucharist, according to this saying, ‘The bread which we break, is it not the communication or partaking of the body of Christ?’ <sup>1Cor 10.16</sup> And just as whoever eats and drinks the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord unworthily, eats and drinks his own damnation; <sup>1Cor 11.29</sup> even so, whoever eats and drinks worthily, eats life, and drinks life. I also grant that there is no promise made to bread and wine. But inasmuch as they are sanctified, and made the sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, they have a promise of grace annexed to them; namely, of spiritual partaking of the body of Christ — to be communicated and given, not to the bread and wine, but to those who worthily receive the sacrament.”

After much more disputation of this kind, Doctor Tresham began to speak with zeal, and desired that he might be in the stead of John the Baptist, in converting the hearts of the fathers, and in reducing bishop Ridley again to the mother church. Now at first, not knowing the person, Ridley thought he had been some good old man, who had the zeal of God, although not according to knowledge, and he began to answer Tresham with kindness and reverence. But afterwards, he smelled a fox under sheep’s clothing.

Tresham. — “God Almighty grant that it may be fulfilled in me, that which was spoken by the prophet Malachi of John Baptist, that I may turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to their father, that at length you may be converted. The wise man says, ‘Son, honor your father, and reverence your mother.’ But you dishonor your Father in heaven, and pollute your mother the holy church here on earth, while you do not sit by it.”

Ridley. — “These by-words pollute your school.”

Tresham. — “If there were an Arian who had that subtle wit that you have, he might soon shift off the authority of the scriptures and fathers.”

Weston. — “Either dispute, or else hold your peace, I pray you.”

Tresham. — “I bring a place here out of the council of Lateran, which council represented the universal church, in which were congregated three hundred bishops, and seventy metropolitans, besides a great multitude of others. They decreed that bread and wine, by the power of God’s word, was transubstantiated into the body and blood of the Lord. Therefore whoever says contrary, cannot be a child of the church, but a Heretic.”

Ridley. — “Good sir, I have heard what you have cited out of the council of Lateran, and remember that there was as great a multitude of bishops and metropolitans, as you say. But yet, you have not numbered how many abbots, priors, and friars were in that council, who numbered eight hundred.”

A notary said here, “What! Will you then deny the authority of that council, on account of the multitude of those priors?”



Ridley. — “No, sir, not so much for that cause, as because the doctrine of that council did not agree with the word of God, as it appears by the acts of that council, which was held under Innocent the Third, a man (if we believe the histories) who was most pernicious to the church and commonwealth of Christ.”

Tresham. — “What! Do you not receive the council of Lateran?” Then he with others cried out, “Write, write that down!”

Ridley. — “No, sir, I do not receive that council; so write, and write it again.”

Smith. — “I bring a canon out of the council of Nice: ‘None of the apostles said, this is a figure of the body of Christ. None of the reverend elders said the unbloody sacrifice of the altar was a figure.’”

Ridley. — “This canon is not in the council of Nice. For I have read over this council many times.”

Then another came in, whom Master Ridley did not know, and said, “The universal church, both of the Greeks and Latins, of the East and the West, have uniformly agreed in the council of Florence, in the doctrine of the sacrament, that in the sacrament of the altar there is the true and real body.”

Ridley. — “I deny that the Greek and the Eastern church have agreed either in the council at Florence, or at any other time, with the Romish church, in the doctrine of transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ. For there was nothing in the council of Florence, in which the Greeks would agree with the Romanists; although up to now it was left free for every church to use, as they usually did, leavened or unleavened bread.”

Here Doctor Cole cried out, and said, “they agreed together concerning transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ?” Master Ridley said that could not be.

Here another person started up, unknown to Master Ridley, who affirmed with him, that there was nothing decreed concerning transubstantiation. The council left that, as a matter not fit nor worthy to disturb the peace and concord of the church. Master Ridley answered him, saying, that he told the truth.

After some further disputation, Weston as prolocutor, dissolved the meeting, saying, “Here you see the stubborn, the boasting, the crafty, the inconstant mind of this man. Here you see this day, that the strength of the truth is without foil. Therefore I beseech you all most earnestly to blow the note.” He began, and they followed, “Truth has the victory; Truth has the victory!”

***Master Hugh Latimer Disputes at Oxford.***

*The Disputation had at Oxford, on Wednesday the 18th of  
April 1554, between Master Hugh Latimer answerer,  
and Master Smith, and other opposers.*

On the next day after these disputations with bishop Ridley, Master Hugh Latimer was brought out to dispute.

There to reply to him were Smith, Cartwright, and Harpsfield; some others had snatches at him, and gave him bitter taunts. He did not escape hissings and scornful laughings, any more than those who went before him. He was very faint, and desired that he might not be kept long. He could not drink for fear of vomiting.

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Weston. — “Men and brethren, we have come together this day (by the help of God) to vanquish the arguments and opinions of adversaries, against the truth of the real presence of the Lord’s body in the sacrament. And therefore, you, father, if you have anything to answer, I admonish you to answer in short and few words.”

Latimer. — “I pray you, good Master Prolocutor, do not exact that from me, which is not in me. I have not used the Latin tongue much these twenty years.”

Weston. — “Take your ease, father.”

Latimer. — “I thank you, sir, I am well. Let me here protest my faith, for I am not able to dispute. And afterwards, do your pleasure with me.”

*The Protestation of Master Hugh Latimer,  
given up in writing to Doctor Weston.*

“The conclusions to which I must answer, are these:

“**The first is**, That in the sacrament of the altar, by virtue of God’s word pronounced by the priest, there is really present the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, under the kinds of the appearance of bread and wine; and in the like manner, his blood.

“**The second is**, That after consecration there no substance of bread and wine remain, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and man.

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“**The third is**, That in the mass there is the lively sacrifice of the church, which is propitiatory, for the sins of the quick, as well as of the dead.

“*Concerning the first conclusion*, I think it is set forth with new-found terms that are obscure, and do not sound according to the words of the Scripture. However, I answer plainly, that as to the right celebration of the Lord’s supper, there is no other presence of Christ required than a spiritual presence. And this presence is sufficient for a Christian man, as a presence by which we abide in Christ, and Christ abides in us, to the obtaining of eternal life, if we persevere. And this same presence may most fitly be called a real presence, that is, not feigned a presence, but a true and faithful presence. I state this here, lest some scorner suppose that I make nothing else of the sacrament, but a naked and a bare sign.

“*Concerning the second conclusion*, I dare be bold to say, that it has no ground in God’s word, but is something invented and found out by man; and therefore it is to be regarded as foolish and false — and I had almost said, as the mother and nurse of the other errors. It would be good for my lords and masters of transubstantiation, to take heed lest they conspire with the Nestorians, for I do not see how they can avoid it.

“*The third conclusion* seems to sow sedition against the offering which Christ himself offered for us in his own proper person, according to that pithy place of St. Paul, where he says that, ‘Christ, when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high.’ (Heb 1.3) And afterwards, ‘Therefore in all things it behooved him to be made like his brethren; that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people.’ (Heb 2.17) So that the expiation or taking away of our sins may be thought to depend on this, that Christ was an offering bishop, rather than being offered, were it not that he was offered by himself. And therefore it is needless for him to be offered by any other. I will say nothing of the wonderful presumption of man, to dare to attempt this without a manifest calling, especially as it tends to overthrow and make fruitless the cross of Christ (if not wholly, yet partly); for truly it is

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no base or mean thing to offer Christ. And therefore, a man may say worthily to my lords and masters the offerors, 'By what authority do you do this? And who gave you this authority? Where? When?' A man cannot (says John the Baptist) take anything unless it is given him from above. <sup>Joh 3.27</sup> Much less, then, may any man presume to usurp any honor, before he is called to it. Again, St. John says, 'If any man sins, we have' — not a master or offeror at home, who can sacrifice for us at mass; but 'an advocate, Jesus Christ,' <sup>1Joh 2.1</sup> who offered up himself once. The efficacy and effect of this offering is endurable forever, so that it is needless to have such offerors.

"I have taken more pains to write, because I refuse to dispute, in consideration of my debility, so that all men may know how I have done so, not without pain, though having no man to help me, as I have never before been debarred from having. O, sir, you may chance to live till you come to my age and weakness. I have spoken in my time before two kings more than once, two or three hours together, without interruption: But now that I may speak the truth (by your leave), I could not be allowed to declare my mind before you, no, not for a quarter of an hour, without snatches, revilings, checks, rebukes, and taunts, such as I have not felt the like, in such an audience, all my life long. Surely it cannot be but a heinous offense that I have given. But what was it? Truly, I had spoken of the four marrow-bones of the mass. This kind of speaking I never read to be a sin against the Holy Spirit.

"I was not allowed to show what I meant by my metaphor: But, sir, now by your favor I will tell your mastership what I mean.

"The first is the popish consecration, which had been called 'God's body-making.'

"The second is transubstantiation.

"The third is massal oblation.

"The fourth is adoration.

"These chief and principal portions, parts, and points belonging to the mass, I call the marrow-bones of the mass — which you, by force, might, and violence, intrude as parts of the Scriptures, with racking and cramping, injuring and wronging the same.

"There are some persons who speak many false things more probable, and more likely to the truth, than the truth itself."

Someone interrupted, asking "But what do you mean by this talk, so far from the matter?"

"Well, I hope, good masters, you will allow an old man to play the child a little, and to speak one thing twice. You have changed the most holy communion into a private action; and you deny to the laity the Lord's cup, contrary to Christ's commandment: and you blemish the annunciation of the Lord's death till he comes. For you have changed the common prayer (called the divine service) with the administration of the sacraments, from the common and known language, into a strange tongue, contrary to the will of the Lord revealed in his word. God open the door of your hearts, to see the things you should see in this! I would as gladly obey my sovereign as anyone in this realm. But in these things I can never do it with an upright conscience. God be merciful to us. Amen! "

Weston. — "Then do you refuse to dispute? Will you subscribe?"

Latimer. — "No, good Master; I pray, be good to an old man. May you once, if it pleases God, be old as I am — may you come to this age, and to this debility."

Weston. — "You said, on Saturday last, that you could not find the mass, nor the marrow-bones of it in your book. But we will find a mass in that book."

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Latimer. — “No, good Master doctor, you cannot.”

Weston. — “What do you find there, then?”

Latimer. — “I find a communion there.”

Weston. — “Which communion, the first or the last?”

Latimer. — “I find no great diversity in them. They are one supper of the Lord; but I like the last very well.”

Weston. — “The first was nothing alike.”

Latimer. — “I do not well remember in what they differ.”

Weston. — “Then cake bread, and loaf bread, are all one with you. You call it the supper of the Lord; but you are deceived in that. For they had done the supper before, and therefore the Scripture says, ‘After they had supped.’ <sup>1COR 11.25</sup> For you know that St. Paul finds fault with the Corinthians, for some of them were drunk at this supper; and you know no man can be drunk at your communion.”

Latimer. — “The first was called The Jewish Supper, when they ate the paschal lamb together; the other was called The Lord’s Supper.”

Weston. — “That is false.”

Smith. — “I will propose three questions as they are put to me. And first I ask this question of you, although it should not be called into question; but such is the condition of the church, that it is always vexed by the wicked. I ask, I say, whether Christ’s body is really in the sacrament?”

Latimer. — “I trust I have obtained from Master Prolocutor that no man will exact of me that which is not in me. And I am sorry that this worshipful audience should be deceived of their expectation. I have given up my mind in writing to Master Prolocutor.”

Smith. — “Whatever you have given up, it shall be registered among the acts.”

Latimer. — “Disputation requires a good memory: my memory is clean gone, and marvellously weakened, and never the better for the prison.”

Weston. — “How long have you been in prison?”

Latimer. — “Three quarters of a year.”

Weston. — “And I was in prison six years.”

Latimer. — “The more pity, sir.”

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Weston. — “How long have you been of this opinion?”

Latimer. — “It is not long, sir, that I have been of this opinion.”

Weston. — “The time has been when you said mass fully devoutly.”

Latimer. — “Yes, and I heartily cry for God’s mercy for it.”

Weston. — “Where did you learn this new-fangledness?”

Latimer. — “I have long sought for the truth in this matter of the sacrament, and have not been of this mind past seven years; and my lord of Canterbury’s book has especially confirmed my judgment in it. If I could remember all that was contained in it, I would not fear to answer any man.”

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Tresham. — “There are six hundred errors in that book.”

Weston. — “You were once a Lutheran.”

Latimer. — “No; I was a papist; for I could never perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without transubstantiation.”

Weston. — “Luther said that the devil reasoned with him, and persuaded him that the mass was not good; so that Luther said mass, and the devil dissuaded him from it.”

Latimer. — “I do not take in hand here to defend Luther’s sayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himself well enough, I know.”

Weston. — “Do you believe this, as you have written?”

Latimer. — “Yes, sir.”

Weston. — “Then you have no faith.”

Latimer. — “Then would I be sorry, sir.”

Tresham. — “It is written (Joh 6.53), ‘Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you.’ Which when the Capernaïtes and many of Christ’s disciples heard it, they said, ‘This is a hard saying,’ etc. Now, that the truth may better appear, I ask of you here, whether Christ, speaking these words, meant his flesh to be eaten with the mouth, or of the spiritual eating of the same.”

Latimer. — “I answer (as St. Augustine understands it) that Christ in that passage meant of the spiritual eating of his flesh.”

Tresham. — “Of what flesh did Christ mean? His true flesh, or not?”

Latimer. — “Of his true flesh, to be eaten spiritually in the supper by faith, and not corporeally.”

Tresham. — “Of what flesh did the Capernaïtes mean?”

Latimer. — “Of his true flesh also; but to be eaten with the mouth; not the bodily mouth; but the mouth of the spirit, mind, and heart.”

Weston. — “You will see what worshipful men you hang upon. One who has been of your mind, will dispute with you. Master Cartwright, I pray you dispute.”

Cartwright. — “Reverend father, because I am commanded to dispute with you, I will do it gladly. But first understand before we go any further, that I was in the same error that you are in. But I am sorry for it, and I confess myself to have erred. I acknowledge my offense, and I wish and desire God that you may also repent with me.”

Latimer. — “Will you give me leave to tell what has caused you to recant? It is the pain of the law, which has brought you back, and converted you, and many more, which hinders many from confessing God. And this is a great argument: there are few here who can solve it.”

Cartwright. — “That is not my case; but I will give you this short argument by which I was converted from my errors; namely, that if the true body is Christ be not really in the sacrament, the whole church has erred from the apostles’ time.”

Latimer. — “The popish church has erred, and still errs. I think for six or seven hundred years, there was no mention made of any eating, except spiritually. For, before these five hundred years, the church ever confessed a spiritual eating. But the Romish church begat

the error of transubstantiation. My lord of Canterbury's book handles that very well, and I could answer you by him if I had it."

Cartwright. — "Linus, and all the rest, confess the body of Christ to be in the sacrament; and St. Augustine grants that it is to be worshipped."

Latimer. — "We worship Christ in the heavens, and we worship him in the sacrament; but the mass-worship is not to be used."

Cole. — "Is it not a shame for an old man to lie? You say you are of the old fathers' faith where they say rightly; and yet you are not."

Latimer. — "I am of their faith when they say rightly; I refer myself wholly to my lord of Canterbury's book in this."

Smith. — "Then you are not of Chrysostom's faith, nor of St. Augustine's faith."

Latimer. — "I have said, when they say rightly, and bring Scripture for their beliefs, I am of their faith; and further St. Augustine does not require it to be believed. Where do you have authority given to you, to offer sacrifice?"

Weston. — "*Hoc facite*, do this; for *facite* in that place is taken for *offerte*, that is, offer you."

Latimer. — "Is *facere* nothing but *sacrificare* to sacrifice? Why, then, no man must receive the sacrament except priests; for no other may offer a sacrifice but priests."

Weston. — "Your argument is to be denied."

Latimer. — "Did Christ then offer himself at his supper?"

Pye. — "Yes, he offered himself for the whole world." ' "

Latimer. — "Then if this word *facite*, 'do you,' signifies *sacrificate*, sacrifice, it follows, as I said, that none but priests should receive the sacrament, to whom alone it is lawful to sacrifice; and where do you find that, I pray you?"

Weston. — "Forty years ago, where could you have gone to find your doctrine?"

Latimer. — "The more cause we have to thank God, that He has now sent the light into the world."

Weston. — "The light! No light, and wicked preachers, You so often altered and changed your communions and altars, and all for this one end: to spoil and rob the church."

Latimer. — "These things do not pertain to me at all; I must not answer for other men's deeds, but only for my own."

Weston. — "Well, Master, this is our intention, to wish you well, and to exhort you to come to yourself, and remember that without Noah's Ark there is no health. Remember what those have been who were the beginners of your doctrine; none but a few flying apostates, running out of Germany for fear of the faggot. Remember what they have been who have set forth the same in this realm: a sort of fling-brains and light heads, who were never constant in any one thing, as it was seen in the turning of the table, where, like a sort of apes, they could not tell which way to turn their tails, looking one day west, and another day east, one that way, and another this way. They say they will be like the apostles; they will have no churches; a hovel is good enough for them. They come to the communion with no reverence. They get a tankard, and one says, 'I drink, and I am thankful;' 'the more joy for you,' says another. And it was true in them, what Hilary says: 'We make a faith every year and every

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month,' A renegade Scot took away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the sacrament, by whose 'procurement that heresy was put into the last communion book — so much did that one man's authority prevail. Your stubbornness comes from vain glory, which is to no purpose. For it will do you no good when a faggot is in your beard. And we all see by your own confession, how little cause you have to be stubborn. The queen's grace is merciful, if you will turn."

Latimer. — "You will have no hope of my turning. I pray for the queen daily, even from the bottom of my heart, that she may turn from this religion."

Weston. — "Here you all see the weakness of heresy! Against the truth; he denies all truth, and all the old fathers."

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And thus you have, reader, the whole action of this disputation against these three worthy confessors and martyrs of the Lord. In this you may behold that disordered usage of the university men, the unmannerly custom of the school, the rude tumult of the multitude,

[699] A.D. 1554.

the fierceness and interruption of the doctors, the full ground of all their arguments, the censures of the judges, the railing language of the prolocutor, being himself both the actor, the moderator, and also the judge.

Such disturbance and confusion, more like a conspiracy than any disputation, without any form and order, was in the schools during the time of their answering, so that neither could the answerers utter their minds, nor would the opponents be satisfied with any reasons.

Concerning this misruled disputation, Ridley himself reports as follows:

*The Report and Narration of Bishop Ridley, concerning  
the Disputation against him and his fellow-prisoners at Oxford.*

"I never yet, since I was born, saw or heard anything done or handled more vainly or tumultuously, than the disputation held with me in the schools at Oxford. Yes, truly, I could never have thought that it would have been possible to find among men accounted as men of knowledge and learning in this realm, any so brazenfaced and shameless, so disorderly and vainly to behave more like stage-players in interludes to set forth a pageant, than grave divines in school, to dispute about religion. The clamors of the Sorbonne, which I have seen at Paris in times past, when popery most reigned, might be worthily thought to have much modesty in comparison with this boastful ostentation. And no great marvel, seeing that those who should have been moderators and overseers of others, and who should have given good examples in words and gravity above all others, gave the worst example, and as it were, blew the trumpet to the rest, to rave, roar, rage, and cry out. Because of this, it manifestly appears that they never sought any truth or verity, but only the glory of the world, and their own bragging victory. But lest by the innumerable railings and reproachful taunts with which I was baited on every side, our cause — yes, rather God's cause and his church's cause — should be spoken evilly of, and slandered to the world through false reports given out concerning our disputation. And that the truth might sustain some damage, I thought it no less than my duty to write my answers, that whoever is desirous to know the truth may perceive by this, those things which were chiefly objected, as well as a summary of that which was answered by me to them. However, I confess this to be most true: that it is impossible to set forth either all that was tumultuously and confusedly objected on their parts — there being so many speaking at one time, and so fast, that one could not very well hear another; nor could all that was answered on my behalf to so many opponents, be heard.

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“A great part of the time appointed for the disputations was vainly consumed in opprobrious checks and reviling taunts, with hissing and clapping of hands; using the English tongue to procure the people’s favor. All of which, when I beheld it with great grief of heart, protesting openly that such excessive and outrageous disorder was unseemly for those schools, and for men of such learning and gravity, and that those who were the doers and stirrers of such things did nothing but betray the slenderness of their cause and their own vanities — I was so far off from doing any good by my humble complaint, that I was forced to hear such rebukes, checks, and taunts for my labor, as no person of any honesty could abide to hear without blushing the like if spoken by a most vile knave, against a most wretched ruffian.

“At the beginning of the disputation, when I should have confirmed my answer to the first proposition in a few words, in the manner and law of schools, before I could make an end of my first proof (which was not very long), even the doctors themselves cried out, ‘He speaks blasphemies, he speaks blasphemies!’ And when I besought them on my knees that they would grant to hear me to the end, at which the prolocutor being moved, cried out, ‘Let him read it, let him read it’ — yet, when I began to read, there immediately followed such shouting, such noise, and tumult, such confusion of voices, crying ‘Blasphemies, blasphemies!’ as I never heard or read the like, to my remembrance, unless it was that one which was, in the acts of the apostles, stirred up Demetrius the silversmith, and others of his occupation, crying out against Paul, ‘Great is Diana of the Ephesians! great is Diana of the Ephesians!’ Or unless it was a certain disputation which the Arians had against the orthodox, and those who were of godly judgment in Africa, where it is said (according to Victor) that such were the president and rulers of the disputation, such was the end of the disputations — all were in a hurly-burly, and so great were the slanders which the Arians cast out — that nothing could be heard quietly.

“The cries and the tumults against me so prevailed, that I was forced to quit reading my proofs, even though they were short. If any man doubts the truth of this, let him ask anyone who was there, and not utterly perverted in popery, and I am assured he will say I fall far short of the facts in my statement. But I will cease to further complain of these things.”

He concludes his report with these words:

“And thus was ended this most glorious disputation of the most holy fathers, sacrificers, doctors, and masters, who fought most manfully, as you may see, for their God and goods, for their faith and felicity, for their country and kitchen, for their beauty and belly, with triumphant applauses and the favor of the whole university.”

The disputation of Master Latimer being ended on the 18th of April, the commissioners sat on the 20th, in St. Mary’s church. Doctor Weston used dissuasions with every one of them, and would not allow them to answer unless directly and peremptorily, as his words were, to say whether they would subscribe or not. He said to the archbishop of Canterbury that he was overcome in disputation. The archbishop answered that, “Where Doctor Weston said he had answered and opposed, and could neither maintain his own errors, nor impugn the truth, all that he thus said was false. For he was not allowed to oppose as he wished, nor could he answer as he was required, unless he would have brawled like them. Four or five continually interrupted him, so that he could not speak.” Master Ridley and Master Latimer were asked what they would do. They replied that, “They would stand to what they had said.” Then they were all called together, and the sentence was read over them, declaring they were no longer members of the church; and also that their favorers and patrons were condemned as heretics. In reading the sentence, they were asked whether they would turn or not; and they bade them to read on in the name of God, for they were not minded to turn. So all three were condemned.



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After this sentence of condemnation was awarded against them, they answered again, each one in his turn as follows; the archbishop first beginning thus:

*The Archbishop of Canterbury.* “From this your judgment and sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of Almighty God, trusting to be present with him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned.”

*Doctor Ridley.* “Although I am not of your company, yet I do not doubt that my name is written in another place, where this sentence will send us sooner than we should have come by the course of nature.”

*Master Latimer.* “I thank God most heartily, that he has prolonged my life to this end, that in this cause I may glorify God by that kind of death.”

*Doctor Weston’s Answer to Latimer.* “If you go to heaven in this faith, then I will never come there, as I am persuaded at present.”

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After the sentence pronounced, they were separated one from another. The archbishop was returned to Bocardo;<sup>533</sup> Ridley was carried to the sheriff’s house; Latimer to the bailiff’s.

On the Saturday following, they had a mass, with a general procession and great solemnity. Doctor Cranmer was forced to behold the procession out of Bocardo; Doctor Ridley out of the sheriff’s house. Latimer also, being brought to see it from the bailiff’s house, thought that he was going to be burnt, and spoke to one Augustine Cooper, a catchpole, to make a quick fire. But when he came to Carfox, and saw the matter, he ran as fast as his old bones would carry him, to one Spencer’s shop, and would not look towards it. Last of all, Doctor Weston carried the sacrament, and four Doctors carried the canopy over him.

Immediately after the sentence was given, Dr. Ridley writes to the prolocutor as follows:

“Doctor Ridley to the Prolocutor.

“Master prolocutor, you remember, I am sure, how you promised me openly in the schools, after my protestation, that I would see how my answers were taken and written there by the notaries whom you appointed to write what should be said, that I would have leave to add to them, or to alter them, as might have seemed best upon more deliberation. You granted me also, at the delivery of my answer to your first proposition, a copy of the same. These promises are not performed. If your sudden departure is any part of the cause of this, I pray you to remember that they may be performed; for performance of a promise is to be looked for at a righteous judge’s hands. Now here I send you my answers, in writing, to your second and third propositions, and I desire and require earnestly a copy of the same; and I will by God’s grace procure the pains of the writer to be paid for, and satisfied accordingly. Master Prolocutor, in the time of my answer in the schools, when I would have confirmed my sayings with authorities and reasons, you said then openly, that I would have a time and place to say and bring whatever I could another time; and your statement was then and there confirmed by others of the commissioners. Indeed, I dare say that the audience also thought then that I should have had another day, to bring and say what I could of the declaration and confirmation of my assertions. Now, I cannot but marvel that this was not done, and sentence was so suddenly given before the cause was perfectly heard,” etc.

On Monday, the 23d of April, Doctor Weston, prolocutor, took his journey to London, with the letters certificatory from the university to the Queen, by whom the archbishop of

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<sup>533</sup> Bocardo: a prison or place of confinement historically used in Oxford.

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Canterbury directed his letters supplicatory to the council. After the prolocutor had received these, and carried them well-near half-way to London, he opened them. And seeing the contents, he sent them back again, refusing to carry them, etc.

### *The Archbishop of Canterbury's Letter to the Council.*

“In right humble ways, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, shows to your honorable lordships, beseeching the same to be a means for me to the queen’s highness for her mercy and pardon. Some of you know by what means I was brought and trained to the will of our late sovereign lord king Edward VI, and what I spoke against the same, in which I refer to the reports of your honors and worships. Furthermore, this is to signify to your lordships, that on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday past, there were open disputations here in Oxford against me, Master Ridley, and Master Latimer, in three matters concerning the sacrament. First, of the real presence: Secondly, of transubstantiation: and Thirdly, of the sacrifice of the mass. On Monday against me; on Tuesday against doctor Ridley; and on Wednesday against Mr. Latimer. How the other two were ordered, I do not know; for we were separated, so that none of us knew what the other said, nor how they were ordered. But, I can report concerning myself. Doctor Chedsey was appointed to dispute against me, but the disputation was so confused that I never knew the like. Every man brought forth what he liked without order; and such haste was made, that no answer was allowed to be fully given to any argument. before another brought forward a new argument. And in such weighty matters, the disputation must be ended in one day, which could scarcely be ended in three months. And when we had answered them, they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our proofs, so that they might answer us, being requested by me to do so; whereas I myself have more to say than can well be discussed, I suppose, in twenty days. The right means to resolve the truth had been to have allowed us to answer fully to all that they could say, and then they again to answer us fully to all that we can say. But why they would not answer us, what other cause can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to answer us, or else for some consideration they made such haste not to seek the truth, but to condemn us, that it must be done in post haste before the matters could be thoroughly heard. For in haste all three of us were condemned of heresy. This much I thought it good to signify to your lordships, that you may know the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the judgment of it to your wisdom. And I beseech your lordships to remember me, a poor prisoner, to the queen’s majesty; and I shall pray unto God, as I do daily, for the long preservation of your lordships in all godliness and felicity.” April 23.

### ***Queen Mary Purges Her Opponents***

Now let us return for a little to our history, as regards other things that happened in other parts of the realm, in this tumultuous time of queen Mary. As events in that time were so numerous, it is hard to keep a perfect order in reciting them. Therefore, to insert things that were left out before, we thought to interrupt the order of time a little here, returning again to the month of July, the year before, viz. 1553, at which time I showed before how the duke of Northumberland was apprehended by the guard, and brought to London by the earl of Arundel and other lords and gentlemen who had been appointed for that purpose on the 25th July, being St. James’ day. The duke was sent to the Tower, where he remained.

The earl of Warwick, his eldest son, lord Ambrose and lord Henry Dudley, two of his younger sons, the earl of Huntington, lord Hastings, sir John Gates, sir Henry Gates, sir Andrew Dudley, sir Thomas Palmer, and Dr. Sands, chancellor of Cambridge, were all sent to the Tower at the same time.

On the 26th, the lord marquis of Northampton, the bishop of London, lord Robert Dudley, and sir Richard Corbes were committed to the Tower.

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On the 27th, the lord chief justice of England, and the lord Mountacute, chief justice of the common pleas, were committed to the Tower.

On Friday the 28th, the duke of Suffolk, and sir John Cheek were committed to the Tower.

On the 30th, the lord Russel was committed to the sheriff of London's custody.

On the 31st, the earl of Rutland was committed to the Fleet; and the same day the duke of Suffolk was delivered out of the Tower again.

On Thursday the 3d of August, the queen entered into the city of London at Aldersgate, and so visited the Tower, where she remained seven days, and then removed to Richmond.

On Saturday the 5th the Lord Ferris was committed to the Tower, and on the same day Doctor Bonner was delivered out of the Marshalsea. At night, Doctor Cocks was committed to the Marshalsea, and one Master Edward Underbill to Newgate. Also the same day, Doctor Tunstall and Stephen Gardiner were delivered out of the Tower, and Gardiner was received into the queen's privy council, and made lord chancellor.

On Sunday the 6th, Henry Dudley, captain of the guard at Guisnes, who had earlier been sent by his cousin the duke of Northumberland to the French king, after the dispatch of his embassy to the French king, returned to Guisnes, and was taken, and this day brought to the Tower.

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On Monday the 7th, a dirge in Latin was sung within the Tower by all the king's chapel. The bishop of Winchester was chief minister; the queen was present, and most part of the council.

On Tuesday the 8th, king Edward's body was brought to Westminster Abbey, and buried there; doctor Day, bishop of Chichester, preached. The same day, a mass of requiem was sung within the Tower by the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner), who had on his miter, and did all things as it was done in times past. The queen was present.

On Thursday the 10th, the Duke of Norfolk came out from the Tower, with whom the Duchess of Somerset was also delivered.

On Sunday the 13th, doctor Bourne preached at St. Paul's Cross.

In the week following, a command was given throughout the city that no apprentices should come to the sermon, nor bear any knife or dagger.

On Wednesday, the 16th of August, Master Bradford, Master Beacon, and Master Vernon, were committed to the Tower. Master Sampson should also have been committed with him, and was sought for at the same time at Master Elsing's house in Fleetstreet, where Master Bradford was taken. Because he was not found, the bishop of Winchester fumed like a prelate with the messenger.

On Friday the 18th, the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick, were arraigned at Westminster, and condemned there the same day, the duke of Norfolk that day being the high judge.

On the Saturday the 19th, sir Andrew Dudley, sir John Gates, sir Henry Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, were arraigned at Westminster, and condemned the same day, the marquis of Winchester being high judge. The same day a letter was sent to sir Henry Tyrrell, Antony Brown, and Edmund Brown, esquires, asking them to commit to the ward all those who

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would contemn the queen's order of religion, or keep themselves from church, there to remain until they were conformable, and to signify their names to the council.

On Sunday the 20th, Dr. Watson, the bishop of Winchester's chaplain, preached at St. Paul's Cross. At his sermon were present the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Bedford, the earl of Pembroke, the lord Rich, and two hundred of the guard with their halberds, lest the people make any stir against the preacher.

On Monday the 21st, the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, sir Andrew Dudley, sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, heard a mass within the Tower, and after mass all five received the sacrament in one kind only, as done in the popish time. On this day also, Queen Mary set forth a proclamation, signifying to the people, that she could not hide any longer the religion which she had professed from her infancy, etc. In the proclamation she inhibiting printing and preaching.

On Tuesday the 22d, the duke of Northumberland, sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, were beheaded on Tower-hill. The same day certain noble personages had mass within the Tower, and likewise after mass received the sacrament in one kind.

On Sunday the 27th, Doctor Chedsey preached at St. Paul's Cross. And on the same day, the archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Smith, and the dean of St. Paul's, were cited to appear the week following before the queen's commissioners in the bishop's consistory within St. Paul's.

About this time it was falsely and craftily rumored abroad — either to establish the credit of the mass, or else to bring Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury into discredit — that to curry favor with Queen Mary, Cranmer had promised to say dirge mass in the old custom for King Edward, and that he had already said mass at Canterbury, etc. Therefore, to stop these slanders, Cranmer, on the 7th of September, set forth the following letter, which was printed.

### *A Purgation of Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, against certain Slanders falsely raised against him.*

“Just as the devil, Christ's ancient adversary, is a liar and the father of lies, even so he has stirred up his servants and members to persecute Christ and his true word and religion with lying. This he does not cease to do most earnestly at this present time. The prince of famous memory, King Henry VIII, seeing the great abuses of the Latin mass, reformed some things in it in his lifetime. Afterwards, our late sovereign lord, King Edward VI, took the same wholly away, for the manifold and great errors and abuses of the same, and restored in its place Christ's holy supper, according to Christ's own institution, and as the apostles used the same in the primitive church. The devil now goes about by lying to overthrow his Lord's Supper again, and to restore his Latin satisfactory mass, a thing of his own invention and device. And to bring the same to pass more easily, some have abused my name, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, spreading abroad, that I have set up the mass at Canterbury, and that I offered to say mass at the burial of our late sovereign prince King Edward VI, and that I offered to say mass before the queen's highness, and at St. Paul's church, and elsewhere. Although I have been well exercised these twenty years to suffer and bear evil reports and lies, and have not been much grieved at this, but have borne all things quietly; yet when untrue reports and lies turn to the hindrance of God's truth, they are in no way to be suffered. Therefore these are to signify to the world, that it was not I that set up the mass at Canterbury, but it was a false, flattering, lying, and dissembling monk, who caused mass to be set up there without my advice or counsel; *Reddat illi Dominus in die illo* (may the Lord repay him on that day). And as for offering myself to say mass before the queen's highness, or in any other place, I never did it, as

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her grace well know. But if her grace will give me leave, I will be ready to prove against all who will say the contrary, that all that is contained in the holy communion, set out by the most innocent and godly prince King Edward VI, in his high court of parliament, is conformable to that order which our Savior Christ both observed and commanded to be observed, and which his apostles, and the primitive church used for many years. Whereas the mass, in many things, not only has no foundation from Christ, his apostles, nor the primitive church, but is manifestly contrary to the same, and contains many horrible abuses in it. Although many, either unlearned or malicious, report that Peter Martyr is unlearned, yet if the queen's highness will grant it, I, with the said Peter Martyr, and four or five others whom I will choose, shall by God's grace take it upon us to defend not only the common prayers of the church, the ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but also all the doctrine and religion set out by our sovereign lord King Edward VI, to be purer, and more according to God's word, than any other that has been used in England these thousand years. So that God's word may be the judge, and that the reasons and proofs of both parties may be set out in writing, to the intent that all the world may examine and judge it, and that no man will turn back from his writing. And where they boast of the faith that has been in the church these fifteen hundred years, we will join with them in this point; and that the same doctrine and usage is to be followed which was in the church fifteen hundred years past; and we shall prove that the order of the church, set out at this present time, in this realm by act of parliament, is the same that was used in the church fifteen hundred years past, and so they shall never be able to prove theirs."

On Thursday, the 7th of September, Lord Mountacute, chief justice, and the lord chief baron were delivered out of the Tower.

On the 15th of September, the reverend father, master Hugh Latimer was committed to the Tower.

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On the 14th of September, the archbishop of Canterbury was committed to the Tower.

On the 26th of September, one Master Gray, of Cambridge, called before him one Master Garth, so that he would not suffer a boy of Peter-house to help him to say mass in Pembroke-hall, which was before any law was established for that.

### **Queen Mary's Coronation.**

The queen came to the Tower of London on Thursday, the 28th of September, and on the following Saturday she rode from the Tower through the city of London, where many pageants were made to receive her; and so she was triumphantly brought to Whitehall, in Westminster.

On Sunday, the 1st day of October, the queen's highness went from Whitehall to Westminster-abbey, accompanied with most of the nobility of this realm, namely these: the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Shrewsbury, the marquis of Winchester, the earls of Derby, Bedford, Worcester, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Oxford, Sussex, Devonshire, Pembroke, the lord Dacres of the north, lord Ferris, lord Cobham, lord Abergavenny, lord Wentworth, lord Scroop, lord Rich, lord Vaux, lord Howard, lord Conias, lord Morley, lord Paget, and the lord Willoughby; with other nobles, and all the ambassadors of diverse countries, the mayor of London, with all the aldermen. Also out of the abbey, three silver crosses came to receive her, and nearly eighty singing men, all in very rich and gorgeous copes. Among them was the dean of Westminster, and several of her chaplains. Every one of them bore some ensign in their hands; and after them followed ten

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bishops all mitred, with their crosier staves in their hands, and rich copes upon every one of them. And in this order they returned from Westminster-hall before the queen to the abbey, where she was crowned by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester and lord chancellor of England. At the time of the coronation. Doctor Day, bishop of Chichester, made a sermon to the queen's majesty, and to the rest of the nobility.

Also there was a general pardon proclaimed within the abbey at the time of her coronation, out of which proclamation all the prisoners of the Tower and of the Fleet were excepted, and sixty-two more.

On the Tuesday (the 3rd), the vice-chancellor of Cambridge challenged one Mr. Pierson, because he still ministered the communion in his own parish, and received strangers from other parishes to the communion, and would not say mass. Upon which, within two days after, he was dismissed from further administering in his cure.

On the Wednesday, the archbishop of York was committed to the Tower.

On that Thursday, the queen rode to the parliament in her robes, and all the nobility with her. When they were met in the parliament-house, the bishop of Winchester made a solemn oration, and serjeant Pollard was chosen speaker of the parliament. The same day, the bishops of Lincoln, Hereford, and Westchester, were dismissed from the parliament and convocation.

On Tuesday (the 10<sup>th</sup>), the earl of Huntington was also delivered out of the Tower.

On the Sunday after, being the 15th, Lawrence Saunders preached at Allhallows in Breadstreet in the morning, where he very notably and godly declared the abomination of the mass, with diverse other matters. More will be said of this when we come to his history. As he showed himself to be God's faithful minister, so is he sure not to be defrauded of God's faithful promise, who says, "Whoever, therefore, confesses me before men, him I will also confess before my Father who is in heaven." (Mat 10.32) But about noon of the same day he was sent for by the bishop of London, and then committed to the Marshalsea.

On the Sunday following, being the 22nd, Doctor Weston preached at St. Paul's Cross. In the beginning of his sermon he desired the people to pray for the souls departed: "You shall pray for all those who are departed, who are neither in heaven, nor in hell, but in another place, not yet being sufficiently purged to come to heaven, so that they may be relieved by your devout prayers." He called the Lord's table, where we celebrate our communion, an oyster-board! He said that the catechism in Latin, recently set out, was abominable heresy, and likened the compilers of the catechism to Julian the Apostate, and likened the book to a dialogue set out by Julian, in which Christ and Pilate were the speakers, with many other things. Master Coverdale, at the time, learnedly confuted this sermon in writing.

In the week following, the disputations began in the convocation-house in St. Paul's church, of which sufficient was declared earlier (p. 678 ff).

On the 26th of October, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge went to Clare-hall, and in the presence of Doctor Walker displaced Doctor Madew, and placed Master Swyborne in the mastership there, by the lord chancellor's letters, because he was (as they termed it) *uxoratus*, that is, "married."

On the 28th, the papists in King's college, Cambridge, had their whole service again in the Latin tongue, contrary to the law then in force.

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On the 3d of November the vice-chancellor sent for 'the curate of the Round parish in Cambridge, commanding him not to officiate any more in the English tongue, saying he would have one uniform order of service throughout the town, and that was to be in Latin, with mass, which was established on the 12th of that month.

On the 28th of November the archdeacon's official visited Hinton, where he gave charge to present all those who disturbed the queen's proceedings, in hindering the Latin service, the setting up of their altars, and saying mass. It was easy to see how these fellows meant to proceed, once they had the law on their side; against a manifest law, they would thus attempt the punishment of any man.

On the 15th of December there were two proclamations at London: the one for repealing certain acts made by King Edward, and setting up the mass on the 20th of December; the other was that no man should interrupt any of those who would say mass.

The parliament began about the 5th of October, and continued till the 6th of December 1553. In this parliament, they repealed all the statutes of *praemunire*, passed in the time of King Henry VIII, etc., and also other laws and statutes concerning religion and the administration of sacraments, decreed under King Edward VI. In this parliament it was appointed that on the 20th of December 1553, all the old form and manner of church-service, used in the last year of King Henry, should again be restored.

About this time a priest of Canterbury said mass on one day, and the day after he came into the pulpit, and desired all the people to forgive him; for he said he had betrayed Christ, not as Judas did, but as Peter did, and there he made a long sermon against the mass.

About this time a great number of new bishops, deans, etc., were chosen — more than were made at one time since the Conquest. Their names are these:

Holyman, bishop of Bristol.  
Coatts, bishop of Westchester.  
Hopton, bishop of Norwich.  
Bourne, bishop of Bath.  
White, bishop of Lincoln.  
Mores, bishop of Rochester.  
Morgan, bishop of St. David's.  
Poole, bishop of St. Asaph.  
Brookes, bishop of Gloucester.  
Moreman, coadjutor to the bishop of Exeter.  
Glin, bishop of Bangor.  
Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's.  
Rainolds, dean of Bristol; with others.

On the 12th of January 1554, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge called a general congregation where, among other things, he showed that the queen would there have a mass of the Holy Spirit on the 18th of February, for it was her birthday.

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On Saturday the 13th, Doctor Crome was committed to the Fleet. Also on the Sunday following, Mr. Addington was committed to the Tower; and information was also given in the court publicly by the bishop of Winchester, that the marriage between the queen's majesty and the king of Spain was concluded. The next day, Monday, the mayor, with the aldermen and certain commons, were at the court. They were commanded by the lord

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chancellor to prepare the city to receive the king of Spain, declaring to them what a catholic, mighty, prudent, and wise prince the said king was.

On the following Saturday, the 20th of January, the court of the first fruits and tenths was dissolved.

On Thursday the 25th, the lord marquis of Northampton was again committed to the Tower, and Sir Edward Warner with him.

On Saturday the 27th, Justice Hales was committed to the Marshalsea, and on the same day Mr. Rogers was committed to the Newgate. On that Saturday, and on Sunday and Monday, the Londoners prepared a number of soldiers (by the queen's command) to go into Kent against the commons. These soldiers, when they came to Rochester-bridge, where they should have set upon their enemies, most of them left their own captains and came over to the Kentish men. And so the captains returned to the court without men or victory, leaving behind them six pieces of ordnance and treasure. About the latter end of January, the duke of Suffolk departed into Leicestershire. The earl of Huntington was sent to take him and bring him to London, who by the way proclaimed the duke a traitor.

On Friday, the 23rd of February 1554, about nine o'clock in the morning, the lord Henry Grey, duke of Suffolk, was brought from the Tower to the scaffold on Tower Hill. Doctor Weston accompanied him as his spiritual father, against the will of the duke. When the duke went up to the scaffold, Weston being on the left hand, pressed to go up with him. The duke, with his hand, pushed him down again off the stairs. And Weston, taking hold of the duke, forced him down likewise. As they ascended a 2nd time, the duke again pushed him down.

Then Weston said, that it was the queen's pleasure that he should do so. At this the duke casting his hands abroad, ascended the scaffold, and paused a while. And then he said, "Masters, I have offended the queen and her laws, and thereby am justly condemned to die, and am willing to die, desiring all men to be obedient, and I pray God that this my death may be an example to all men, beseeching you all to bear me witness, that I die in the faith of Christ, trusting to be saved by his blood only, and by no trumpery ceremonials. He died for me, and for all them that truly repent, and steadfastly trust in him. And I do repent, desiring you all to pray t ) God for me; and that when you see my breath depart from me, you will pray to God that he may receive my soul." And then he desired all men to forgive him, living, that the queen had forgiven him.

Then Dr. Weston declared with a loud voice, that the queen's majesty had forgiven him. With that the bystanders said, with good and audible voices, "Such forgiveness God send you!" meaning Dr. Weston. Then the duke kneeled down and said the psalm, "O God be merciful unto me," etc. to the end, holding up his hands, and looking up to heaven. And when he had ended the psalm, he said, "Into your hands I commit my spirit," etc. Then he arose and stood up, and delivered his cap and his scarf to the executioner.

Then the executioner kneeled down, and asked the duke forgiveness. And the duke said, "God forgive you, and I do: and when you do your office, I pray you do it well, and send me out of this world quickly, and God have mercy upon you." Then a man stood up and said, "My lord, what shall I do for the money that you owe me?" And the duke said, "Alas good fellow, I pray you do not trouble me now, but go your way to my officers." Then he knit a handkerchief about his face, and kneeled down and said, "Our Father which art in heaven," etc., to the end. And then he said, "Christ have mercy upon me." He laid down his Head on the block. The executioner took the axe, and at the first chop struck off his head, and held it up to the people, etc.



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On this same day a number of prisoners had their pardon, and came through the city with their halters around their necks. They numbered over two hundred.

In this week, all those priests within the diocese of London who were married, were divorced from their livings, and commanded to bring their wives within a fortnight, so that they might be likewise divorced from them. The bishop did this of his own power.

On Tuesday, in the same week, being the 27th of February, certain gentlemen of Kent were sent into Kent, to be executed there. Their names were these: the two Mantels, two Knevets, and Bret. With these, also Mr. Rudston and others were condemned, and would have been executed, but they had their pardon.

As to Mr. Mantel the elder, here it is to be noted that as he was led to execution, and at his first casting under the gallows, the rope broke. At this, they wanted him to recant the truth, and receive the sacrament of the altar (as they term it), and then they said he would have the queen's pardon. But Mr. Mantel, like a worthy gentleman, refused their insidious counsel, and chose to die rather than to live to the dishonoring of God. As he was falsely reported to have fallen from the constancy of his profession; to clear himself, and to reprove the sinister surmial of his recantation, he wrote this brief apology:

*The Apology of Master Mantel.*

“Perceiving that already certain false reports are raised concerning my answer in the behalf of my belief, while I was prisoner in the Tower of London, and considering how sore a matter it is to be an occasion of offense to any of those little ones who believe in Christ, I have thought it the duty of a Christian man, as near as I can (with the truth) to take away this offense. It pleased the queen's majesty to send me Doctor Bourne, to whom at the first meeting I acknowledged my faith in all points to agree with the four creeds; that is, the Apostle's Creed, the Nicene Creed, the Athanasian Creed, and the *Te Deum*.

“Further, as concerning confession and penance, I declare that I could be content to show to any learned minister of Christ's church anything that troubled my conscience, and of such a man I would most willingly hear absolution pronounced.

“Touching the sacrament of the altar (as he termed it), I said that I believed Christ to be there present as the Holy Spirit meant, when these words were written, “This is my body.”

“Further, when this would not satisfy, I desired him to consider that I was a condemned man to die by law, and that it was more fitting for me to seek a readiness and preparation to death. And insomuch as I did not dissent from him in any article of the Christian faith necessary to salvation, I desired him, for God's sake, to trouble me no more with such matters, to believe which is neither salvation; nor is not to believe, damnation. He answered, that if I dissented but in the least matter from the catholic church, my soul was in great danger; therefore much more in this great matter, alleging this text, ‘He that offends in the least of these, is guilty of them all.’ ‘Yes,’ said I, ‘this is true of the commandments of God.’ To this I desired him to consider it was not my matter, nor could I keep disputing these matters, nor did I intend to do so; and therefore to take these few words for a full answer: that I, not only in the matter of the sacrament, but also in all other matters of religion, believe as the holy catholic church of Christ believes (grounded upon the prophets and apostles). But upon this word ‘church’ we did not agree; for I took exception at the antichristian popish church.

“Then we fell into talk about the mass, in which we did not agree. For I thought it false, both for the occasion of idolatry, and also the clear subversion of Christ's institution; and he, upon certain considerations, supposed it true.

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“I found fault that it was accounted a propitiatory sacrifice for sin, and at certain other applications about it. But he said that it was not a propitiatory sacrifice for sin (for the death of Christ alone was the sacrifice, and this sacrament was but a commemoration of the same. ‘Then,’ I replied, ‘if you think so (certain blasphemous prayers left out) I could be content (if it were not for offending my poor brethren who believe in Christ, who do not know so much) to hear your mass.’ ‘See,’ he said, ‘how vainglory touches you.’ ‘Not so, sir,’ replied I, ‘I am not now, I thank God, in a situation to be vainglorious.’

“Then I found further fault with it, that it was not a communion. ‘Yes,’ he says, ‘one priest saying mass here, and another there, and the third in another place, etc. is a communion.’ ‘This scarcely agrees with these words of St. Paul,’ I said, ‘You come together not for the better, but for the worse.’ ‘Yes, and it is a communion too,’ he said, ‘when they come together. Now the time draws on’ (he continued) ‘that I must depart from you to the court, to say mass before the queen, and I must signify to her in what case I find you, and I think I find you sorely seduced.’ Then I said, ‘I pray you report the best; for I trust you do not find me obstinate.’ ‘What shall I say? are you content to hear mass, and to receive the sacrament of the mass?’ ‘I beseech you,’ I said, ‘signify to her majesty, that I am neither obstinate nor stubborn; for time and persuasion may alter me; but as yet, my conscience is such that I can neither hear mass, nor receive the sacrament in that way.’ Thus, after certain requests made to the queen’s majesty concerning other matters, he departed.

“On the next day he came to me again, and brought with him St. Cyprian’s works; for so I had requested him to do the day before, because I would see his sermon *De Mortalitate*. He had marked and underlined certain places in this book, concerning both the church and the sacrament, which he wished me to read. I read as much as my time would serve, and at his next coming I said that I was wholly of Cyprian’s mind in the matter of the sacrament. Doctor Weston and Doctor Mallet then came to me, whom I answered in much the way as I did the other. Doctor Weston brought in the place of St. Cyprian, ‘*Panis iste non effigie, sed natura mutatus,*’ etc. (*This bread has been changed not in form, but in nature.*) I asked of him how *natura* was taken in the convocation-house, in the disputation on the place in Theodoret.

“To be short, Dr. Bourne came often to me, and I always said to him, that I was not minded nor able to dispute in matters of religion. But I believed as the holy catholic church of Christ believes, grounded upon the prophets and apostles: and in the matter of the sacrament, as the holy fathers, St. Cyprian and St. Augustine wrote and believed; and they had this answer and no other from me in effect. Whatever words have been spread abroad about me, that I would be conformable to all things, etc., the truth is, I never heard mass, nor received the sacrament during the time of my imprisonment.

“One time he wished me to be confessed. I said, ‘I am content.’ We kneeled down to pray together in a window. I began without the ‘Benedicite,’ desiring him not to look at my hand for any superstitious enumeration of my sins. Then he was called away to the council. Thus much I bear only for my life, as God knows. If in this I have offended any Christian, from the bottom of my heart I ask them forgiveness. I trust Christ has forgiven me, who knows that I dared never deny him before men, lest he deny me before his Heavenly Father.

“Thus I have left behind me, written with my own hand, the substance of all the talk, especially of the worst that ever I granted, to the utmost I can remember, as God knows. I have not written the whole communication, for it would be both too long and too foolish to do so. Now I beseech the living God, who has received me to his mercy, and brought to pass, that I die steadfast and undefiled in his truth, at utter defiance and detestation of all papistical and antichristian doctrine. I beseech him (I say) to keep and defend all his chosen for his name’s sake, from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome — that antichrist — and from the assault of all his satellites. God’s indignation is known. He will try and prove who are his. Amend your lives.

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Do not deny Christ before men, lest he deny you before his heavenly Father. Do not fear to lose your lives for him; for you shall find them again. May God hold his merciful hand over this realm, and avert the impending plagues from the same! May God save the queen, and send her knowledge in his truth. Amen. Pray, pray, pray, you Christians, and comfort yourselves with the Scriptures.

“Written the 2d of March A.D. 1554, by me, Walter Mantel, prisoner, whom both God and the world have forgiven his offenses. Amen.”

In London, on the 17th of March, every householder was commanded to appear before the aldermen of their ward. They were enjoined that they, their wives and servants, should prepare themselves to go to confession, and receive the sacrament at Easter, and that neither they, nor any of them, should depart out of the city until Easter was past.

On the 18th, being Sunday, the lady Elizabeth, the queen’s sister, was brought to the Tower.

On the 25th (being Easter day), in the morning, at St. Pancras in Cheapside, the crucifix with the pix were taken out of the sepulcher before the priest rose to the resurrection. So that when he put his hand into the sepulcher in his accustomed manner, and said very devoutly, “He has risen, he is not here,” he found his words true, for he was not there indeed! Being dismayed, they consulted among themselves as to whom they thought to be likeliest to have done this thing. They remembered one Marsh, who a little earlier had been put from his parsonage because he was married, and they laid that to his charge. But when they could not prove it, they charged him with having kept company with his wife since they were divorced. He answered that, “He thought the queen had done him wrong to take from him both his living and his life.” These words were taken very grievously, and he and his wife were both committed to prison.

On the 8th of April, a cat was hanged on a gallows at the cross in Cheapside, apparelled like a priest ready to say mass, with a shaven crown. Her two forefeet were tied over her head, with a round paper like a wafer-cake put between them. The queen and the bishops were very angry. And therefore, on the same afternoon, there was a proclamation issued, that whoever could bring forth the party that hanged the cat, would have twenty nobles. This reward was afterwards increased to twenty marks,<sup>534</sup> but none could or would earn it.

As to first setting up a gallows in Cheapside, we may observe that after the sermon of the bishop of Winchester before the queen, for the execution of Wyatt’s soldiers on the Kith of February, there were immediately set up a great number of gallows in different places of the city; namely, two in Cheapside, one at Leaden-hall, one at Billingsgate, one at St. Magnus church, one in Smithfield, one in Fleet-street, four in Southwark, one at Aldgate, one at Bishopsgate, one at Aldersgate, one at Newgate, one at Ludgate, one at St. James’s Park Corner, and one at Cripplegate. All of these gibbets and gallows, totaling twenty in all, remained there from the 13th of February till the 4th of June. And then, at the coming in of King Philip, they were taken down.<sup>535</sup>

On the 11th of April, Sir Thomas Wyatt was beheaded and quartered at the Tower-hill, where he uttered these words regarding the lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire: “Concerning what I have said of others in my examination, to charge any others as partakers of my doings, I accuse neither my lady Elizabeth’s grace, nor my lord of Devonshire. I

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<sup>534</sup> *Noble*: a gold coin worth 10 shillings — enough for 12 pounds of mutton, or 40 loaves of bread in 1550; a mark was equivalent to 2/3 of a pound, or roughly 13.2 shillings.

<sup>535</sup> King Phiip II of Spain married Queen Mary I on 25 July 1554.

cannot accuse them, nor am I able to say that, to my knowledge, they knew anything of my rising.” And when Doctor Weston told him that his confession was otherwise before the council, he answered, “That which I said then, I said; but that which I say now, is true.”

We have already said enough concerning the condemnation of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, of Doctor Ridley, and Master Latimer, which took place on the 20th of April.

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On Friday the 27th of April, Lord Thomas Grey, the late duke of Suffolk’s brother, was beheaded at Towerhill.

***Declaration by Bradford, et al, regarding Disputation at Cambridge***

In the month of May it was proclaimed that a solemn disputation would be held at Cambridge between Bradford, Sanders, Rogers, and others of that side, and the doctors of both universities on the other side, as there had been in Oxford before. Upon this, the godly preachers who were in prison having word of it, though destitute of their books, they were not ignorant of the purpose of the adversaries, and how the cause was prejudiced; also how the disputations were confusedly handled at Oxford. Nevertheless, they resolved not to refuse the offer of disputation, provided they might be quietly heard. And therefore, wisely pondering the matter with themselves, and by public consent, a written declaration of their mind was directed out of prison on the 8th of May. First, as regarded the disputation, even though they knew it would do no good because all things were determined beforehand, yet they would not decline to dispute, provided that the disputation might take place either before the queen, or before the council, or before either house of parliament; or else that they might dispute in writing. For if the matter were brought to the doctors, they had sufficient proof, they said, by the experience of Oxford, that little good would be done at Cambridge. And so declaring the faith and doctrine of their religion, and exhorting the people to submit themselves with all patience and humility to the higher powers, they appealed from them as their judges.

*Copy of a Declaration drawn up and sent out of Prison by Bradford,  
Sanders, and other godly Preachers, concerning their  
Disputation, and the Doctrine of their Religion.*

“Because we hear that it is determined by the magistrates, and those who are in authority, especially of the clergy, to send us speedily out of the prisons of the King’s Bench, the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and Newgate, where we are at present, and where some of us have been for a long time — not as rebels, traitors, seditious persons, thieves, or transgressors of any laws of this realm, inhibitions, proclamations, or commandments of the queen’s highness, or of any of the council’s (God’s name be praised therefore), but only for the conscience we have to God, and his most holy word and truth, upon most certain knowledge — because, we say, we hear that it is determined that we will be sent to one of the universities of Cambridge or Oxford, there to dispute with those who are appointed; and as we purpose not to dispute otherwise than by writing, unless it may be before the queen’s highness and her council, or before the parliament houses; and it will therefore perhaps be rumored abroad, that we are not able to maintain, by the truth of God’s word, and by the consent of the true and catholic church of Christ, the doctrine we have generally and severally taught, and that some of us have written and set forth, by which the godly and simple may be offended and somewhat weakened, we have thought it our bounden duty now, while we may, to publish and notify by writing, the reasons why we will not dispute otherwise than as said above, to prevent the offense which might come thereby.

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“1. Because it is evidently known to the whole world, that the determinations of both the universities in matters of religion, especially in which we should dispute, are directly against God’s word, indeed, against their own determinations in the time of our late sovereign lord and most godly prince, King Edward; and further, it is known that they are our open enemies, and have already condemned our causes, before any disputation is had of the same.

“2. Because the prelates and clergy do not seek either us or the truth, but our destruction and their glory. For if they had sought us (as charity requires) then they would have called us forth before their laws were so made, so that frankly and without peril we might have spoken our consciences. Again, if they had sought the truth, they would not have concluded controversies before they had been disputed. So that it easily appears, they seek their own glory and our destruction, and not us and the truth. And therefore we have good cause to refuse disputation, as a thing which will not further prevail than to set forth their glory, and the suppression of the truth.

“3. Because the censors and judges (as we hear who they are) are manifest enemies to the truth, and what is worse, obstinate enemies, before whom pearls are not to be cast, by the commandment of our Savior Jesus Christ, and by his own example. That they are such, their recent doings at Oxford, and in the convocation house last October, most evidently prove.

“4. Because some of us have been in prison these eight or nine months, where we have had no books, no paper, no pen, no ink, nor a convenient place for study, we think we should do wrong, to thus suddenly descend into disputation with those who may allege, as they chose, the fathers and their testimonies, because our memories do not so readily have that which we have read, as to reprove when they report and twist the authors to their purpose, or to bring forth what we may have there for our advantage.

“5. Because in disputation we will not be permitted to prosecute our arguments, but be stopped when we would speak; one saying this, another that, the third his mind, etc. — as was done to the godly learned fathers, especially to Doctor Ridley, at Oxford, who was not permitted to declare his mind and meaning of the propositions, and oftentimes had half a dozen at once speaking against him, always preventing him from prosecuting his argument, and answering accordingly. We will not speak of the hissing, scoffing, and taunting, which was then notoriously used. If in this way, and much worse, they handled these fathers, much more will they be shamelessly bold with us, if we were to enter into disputation with them.

“6. Because the notaries, who will receive and write the disputations, will be appointed by the censors and judges, and those who either do not, or dare not, favor the truth, and therefore must write either to please them, or else they themselves (the censors and judges we mean) at their pleasure will add to, and take from that which is written by the notaries — they cannot, or must not have in their custody that which they write, longer than the disputation endures, as their doings at Oxford declare. No man could have a copy or scroll by their good will. For the censors and judges will have them all delivered into their hands. Yes, if any man was seen to write there, as the report is, the same man was sent for, and his writings taken from him. So the disputation must serve only for the glory, not of God, but of the enemies of his truth.

“For these reasons we all think it so necessary not to dispute with them; because, if we did dispute, we would do that which they desire and purposely seek, to promote the kingdom of antichrist, and to suppress the truth (as much as possible). We will not speak of the offense that might come to the godly, when they might hear, by the report of our enemies, our answers and arguments framed (you may be sure) for their fantasies, to the slandering of the truth.

“Therefore we publish, and by this writing notify to the whole congregation and church of England, that for these causes we will not dispute with them, other than with the pen, unless it is before the queen’s highness and her council, or before the houses of the parliament. If they

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will write, we will answer, and by writing we will confirm and prove — out of the infallible truth, even the very word of God, and by the testimony of the good and most ancient fathers in Christ's church — this our faith and every piece of it, which hereafter we collectively write and send abroad purposely, so that our good brethren and sisters in the Lord may know it. And to seal up the same, we are ready, through God's help and grace, to give our lives to the halter or fire, or otherwise; as God shall appoint, humbly requesting, and in the compassion of our Savior Jesus Christ, beseeching all who fear God, to behave themselves as obedient subjects to the queen's highness and the superior powers, which are ordained by God under her, following our example, to give their heads to the block, rather than to rebel in any point, or even once to mutter against the Lord's anointed —

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“we mean our sovereign lady Queen Mary, into whose heart we beseech the Lord of mercy plentifully to pour the wisdom and grace of his Holy Spirit, now and forever, Amen.

“1. We confess and believe all the canonical books of the Old Testament, and all the books of the New Testament, to be the very true word of God, and to be written by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and are therefore to be heard accordingly, as the judge in all controversies and matters of religion.

“2. We confess and believe that the catholic church, which is the spouse of Christ, as a most obedient and loving wife, embraces and follows the doctrine of these books in all matters of religion, and therefore she is to be heard accordingly. So that those who will not hear this church thus following and obeying the word of her husband, we account as heretics and schismatics, according to this saying, ‘If he will not hear the church, let him be to you like a heathen.’ Mat 18.17

“3. We believe and confess all the articles of faith and doctrine set forth in the symbol of the apostles, which we commonly call the creed, and in the symbols of the councils of Nice, kept A.D. 325; of Constantinople, A.D. 381; of Ephesus, kept A.D. 431; of Chalcedon, kept A.D. 451; of Toledo, first and fourth. Also in the symbols of Athanasius, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and of Damascenus, who died about the year 760 — we confess and believe (we say) the doctrine of these symbols generally and particularly; so that whoever does otherwise, we hold them to err from the truth.

“4. We believe and confess concerning justification, that as it comes only from God's mercy through Christ, so it is perceived and had by none who are of years of discretion, otherwise than by faith alone. This faith is not an opinion, but a certain persuasion wrought by the Holy Spirit in the mind and heart of man, whereby as the mind is illuminated, so the heart is inclined to submit itself to the will of God unfeignedly, and so it displays an inherent righteousness, which is to be discerned in the article of justification, from the righteousness which God endues us with, justifying us, although they go together inseparably. And we do this not for curiosity or contention's sake, but for conscience's sake, that it might be quiet, which it can never be if we confound without distinction forgiveness of sins, and Christ's righteousness imputed to us, with regeneration and inherent righteousness. By this we disallow the papistical doctrine of free will, of works of supererogation, of merits, of the necessity of auricular confession and satisfaction towards God.

“5. We confess and believe concerning the exterior service of God, that it ought to be according to the word of God; and therefore in the congregation, all things public ought to be done in such a tongue as may most edify, and not in Latin, where the people do not understand it.

“6. We confess and believe that God alone, by Christ Jesus, is to be prayed to and called upon; and therefore we disallow invocation or prayer to saints who have departed this life.

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“7. We confess and believe, that just as a man departs this life, so he shall be judged in the last day generally; and in the meantime, he has entered either into the state of the blessed forever, or damned forever; and therefore he is either past all help, or else he needs no help of anyone in this life. Because of this, we affirm purgatory, masses of the ladder of heaven, trentals, and such suffrages as the popish church obtrudes as necessary, to be the doctrine of antichrist.

“8. We confess and believe that the sacraments of Christ, which are baptism and the Lord’s supper, ought to be ministered according to the institution of Christ, concerning the substantial parts of them; and that they are sacraments no longer than they are had in use, and used to the end for which they were instituted.

“And here we plainly confess that the mutilation of the Lord’s supper, and the subtraction of the one kind from the lay people, is antichristian; and so is the doctrine of transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine after the words of consecration, as they are called; also the adoration of the sacrament with honor due to God; the reservation and carrying about of the same; also the mass as a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and dead, or a work that pleases God.

“All these we believe and confess to be antichrist’s doctrine, as is the inhibition of marriage, as unlawful to any state. And we do not doubt, by God’s grace, that we shall be able to prove all our confessions here to be most true by the truth of God’s word, and the consent of the catholic church, which follows and has followed the government of God’s Spirit, and the judgment of his word.

“And this we will do through the Lord’s help, in disputation by word before the queen’s highness and her council, either before the parliament houses, of whom we do not doubt it will be impartially heard, or else with our pens, whenever we will be required and commanded by those who have authority.

“In the meantime, as obedient subjects, we shall humble ourselves towards all who are in authority, and not cease to pray to God for them, that He would govern them all, generally and particularly, with the spirit of wisdom and grace. And so we heartily desire, and humbly pray all men to do, in no point consenting to any kind of rebellion or sedition against our sovereign lady the queen’s highness. But where they cannot obey without disobeying God, there they are to submit themselves with all patience and humility to suffer, as the will and pleasure of the higher powers shall adjudge — even as we are ready, through the goodness of the Lord, to suffer whatever they adjudge us to, rather than consent to any doctrine contrary to this which we confess here, unless we are justly convinced of it, either by writing or by word, before such judges as the queen’s highness and her council, or the parliament houses shall appoint. For the universities and clergy have condemned our cause already by the greater part, but now by the better part, without any disputation of the same. And therefore we most justly may and do appeal from them as our judges in this behalf, unless it may be in writing, that the matter may appear to all men. The Lord of mercy endue us all with the Spirit of his truth and grace of perseverance in this unto the end. Amen.

“The 8th day of May A.D. 1554,

Robert Menaven, alias Robert Ferrar.  
Rowland Taylor.  
John Philpot.  
John Bradford.  
Glouc. Episcopus, alias John Hooper  
John Wigorne.

Edward Crome.  
John Rogers.  
Lawrence Sanders.  
Edmund Lawrence, J. P.  
T. M.

“To these things above said, I, Miles Coverdale, late of Exon, consent and agree, with these my afflicted brethren, being prisoners, signed with my own hand.”

## Bk. X. The Entrance of Queen Mary to the Crown

On the 19th day of May, the lady Elizabeth, sister to the queen, was brought to the Tower, and committed to the custody of Sir John Williams, afterwards lord Williams, of Tame, of whom her highness was gently and courteously treated. Afterwards she was taken to Woodstock, and there committed to the keeping of Sir Henry Benifield, knight, of Oxborough, in Norfolk.<sup>536</sup> On the other side, both forgetting her estate and his own duty, he showed himself harder and stricter towards her, than right.

On the Friday following, being the 20th of July and St. Margaret's day, the prince of Spain landed at Southampton. The prince himself was the first that landed. He immediately as he set foot upon the land, drew out his sword, and carried it naked in his hand a good way.

Then the mayor of Southampton met him, a little outside the town, with certain commoners, who delivered the keys of the town to the prince. He removed his sword, (naked as it was) out of his right hand into his left, and received the keys of the mayor without speaking any word, or any appearance of thankfulness.

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After a while, he delivered the keys to the mayor again. At the town gate, the earl of Arundel and the lord Williams met him, and so he was brought to his lodging.

### ***Marriage of Philip to Queen Mary***

On the Wednesday following, being St. James's day, and the 25th of July, Philip, prince of Spain, and Mary, queen of England, were married together solemnly in the cathedral church at Winchester, by the bishop of Winchester, in the presence of a great number of noblemen of both the realms. At the time of this marriage, the emperor's ambassador being present, he openly pronounced that in consideration of that marriage, the emperor had granted and given to his son the kingdom of Naples, etc.

Whereupon, on the first day of August following, there was a proclamation that from that time forward, the style of all manner of writings would be altered, and the following should be used:

“Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland; defenders of the faith, princes of Spain and Sicily, archdukes of Austria, dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, Counts of Hapsburgh, Flanders, and Tyrol.”

After the marriage, they removed from Winchester to other places, and by easy journeys came to Windsor Castle, where he was installed in the order of the garter, on Sunday, the 12th of August. At that time a herald took down the arms of England at Windsor, and in their place would have set up the arms of Spain; but he was commanded by certain lords to set them up again. From there they both removed to Richmond, and from there by water to London, and landed at the bishop of Winchester's house (Stephen Gardiner), through which they passed into Southwark park, and so to Southwark house, called Suffolk place, where they lay that night, August 17th.

The next day, being Saturday, the 18th of August, the king and queen's majesties rode from Suffolk place (accompanied with a great number of noblemen, as well as gentlemen) through the city of London to Whitehall. At London bridge, as the king entered at the draw-

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<sup>536</sup> That is, Sir Henry Bedingfeld (1505–1583), also spelled Bedingfield, of Oxburgh Hall, King's Lynn, Norfolk, was a Privy Councillor to King Edward VI and Queen Mary I, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and (in 1557) Vice-Chamberlain of the Household and Captain of the guards. With Henry Jerningham he was among the principals who rallied to Mary's cause following the death of Edward VI in 1553 and helped to set her on the throne.



bridge, there was a great spectacle set up; two images, presenting two giants, one named Corineus, and the other Gogmagog, holding between them certain Latin verses, which I pass over for their vain ostentation of flattery.

As they rode over the bridge, a number of ordnance were shot off at the Tower, such as by old men's report, the like had not been heard or seen for a hundred years past.

From London Bridge they passed the Conduit in Gracechurch street, which was finely painted, with among other things, the Nine Worthies, of which King Henry VIII was one. He was painted in armor, having a sword in one hand, and in the other a book upon which was written *Verbum Dei*, i.e. The Word of God, delivering the book to his son King Edward, who was painted in a corner nearby him.

But there was no small contention raised upon this: for the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, sent for the painter, and not only called him a knave for painting a book in King Henry's hand, and especially for writing on it *Verbum Dei*, but he also called him a rank traitor and villain, saying to him that he should rather have put the book into the queen's hand (who was also painted there), for she had reformed the church and religion, with other things, according to the pure and sincere word of God.

The painter answered and said that if he had known that was the matter for which his lordship had sent for him, he could have remedied it, and not have troubled his lordship.

The bishop answered and said, that it was the queen's majesty's will and command that he should send for him. And so commanding him to wipe out the book and *Verbum Dei* too, he sent him home. So the painter departed. But fearing lest he leave some part either of the book, or of *Verbum Dei* in King Henry's hand; he wiped away a piece of his fingers with it!

I pass over other pageants and pastimes, displayed to Philip in passing through London, with the flattering verses set up in Latin, in which were emblazoned in one place the five Philips, as the five worthies of the world: Philip of Macedon, Philip the emperor, Philip the bold, Philip the good, and Philip of Spain, now king of England.

In another piece of poetic art, King Philip was represented by an image of Orpheus, and all English people likened to brute and savage beasts following Orpheus' harp, and dancing after King Philip's pipe!

But one thing I cannot pass over, regards the young flourishing shrine, newly set up at this time to welcome King Philip into St. Paul's church.

Bonner was there in his royalty, and all his prebendaries about him in St. Paul's choir. The shrine was laid along upon the pavements, and the doors of St. Paul's were shut. The bishop with others said and sung diverse prayers by the shrine. That being done, they anointed it with oil in several places, and after the anointing, they crept to it, and kissed it.

After that they took it, and set it in its old accustomed place, and all the while the whole choir sang *Te Deum*. When that was ended, they rang the bells, not only for joy, but also for the notable and great feat they had done.

Not long after this, a merry fellow came into St. Paul's and spied the shrine with Mary and John newly set up. Among a great assemblage of people, he made a low courtesy to it, and said, "Sir, your mastership is welcome to town. I had thought to talk further with your mastership, except that here you are clothed in the queen's colors. I hope that you are but a summer's bird, as you are dressed in white and green."

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The prince was in the church of St. Paul's, after Doctor Harpsfield had finished his oration in Latin. He set forward through Fleet-street, and so he came to Whitehall, where he remained with the queen four days; and from there they removed to Richmond.

After this, all the lords had leave to depart into their counties, with a commandment to bring all their arms and artillery into the Tower of London. No English lord remained at the court, except the bishop of Winchester. From Richmond the king and queen removed to Hampton Court, where the hall door within the court was continually shut, so that no man might enter unless his errand was first known. This seemed strange to Englishmen, who had not been used to this.

About the 8th of September, Bishop Bonner began his visitation. He charged six men in every parish to inquire (according to their oath) and to present before him, the day after St. Matthew's day, which was the 23rd of September, all those persons who had or would offend in any of his thirty-seven articles he had set forth.

On the 17th of September, there was a proclamation in London, that all vagabonds and masterless men, strangers as well as Englishmen, should depart the city within five days. It strictly charged all innholders, victuallers, taverners, and alehouse keepers, with all others who sell victuals, that (after the said five days) they should not sell any food, drink, or any kind of victual to any serving man whatever, unless he brought a testimonial from his master to declare whose servant he was, and was in continual household with his master, upon pain of running in danger of the law, if they offended.

On *Corpus Christi* day, a procession was made in Smithfield, where the priest with his box went under the canopy. By chance a simple man came there, named John Street. Having some haste in his business, and finding no other way to pass through, he went under the canopy past the priest. The poor man, being immediately apprehended, was sent to prison, the priest accusing him to the council, as if he had come to slay him. Then he was taken to Newgate, where he was cast into a dungeon, chained to a post, cruelly and miserably handled, and so extremely dealt with, that being but simple before, he was now frightened out of his wits altogether, and so he was taken to Bedlam.<sup>537</sup>

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Bishop Bonner, passing through the county of Essex on his visitation, and being attended with diverse worshipful residents of the shire (for so they were commanded) arrived at Stertford in Hertfordshire. There he rested a number of days, solacing himself after that painful journey, with no small feasting and banqueting, with his attendants, at the house of one Parsons, his nephew. His wife he commonly called his fair niece (and fair she was indeed). There he took such great pleasure hearing her play upon the virginals<sup>538</sup> (in which she excelled), that every dinner (sitting by his side) she arose and played three separate times at his request, for his good and spiritual devotion towards her. He next proceeded in his popish visitation towards Hadham, his own house and parish, not more than two miles from Stertford. The bells there were most solemnly rung out, as in all other places where he passed. At length drawing near to Hadham, he heard no stirring in honor of his holiness. He grew into some anger, and the nearer he approached, the hotter his anger was lit; the quieter the bells were, the unquieter was his mood. Thus he rode on, chafing and fuming with himself. "What does that knave the clerk mean, that he does not ring? And the parson

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<sup>537</sup> That is, the Bethlem Royal Hospital in London, an insane asylum, commonly known as *Bedlam*.

<sup>538</sup> *Virginals*: A legless rectangular harpsichord.

that he does not meet me?” with many other furious words. Coming to the town, this patient prelate alighted, calling for the key of the church, which was then all unready because (they pretended) he had arrived two hours early. Upon this he grew from anger to melancholy, so that no man would willingly deal with him to moderate his mood. At last, the church door being opened, the bishop entered, and finding no sacrament hanging up, nor shrine-loft decked in the popish precept (which had commanded about the same time a well-favored shrine, and of tall stature, to be set up universally in all churches) curtailed his small devotions. He fell from all anger and melancholy into flat madness, swearing and raging with an oath or two, that in his own church, where he hoped to have seen the best order, he found the most disorder, to his honor’s most heavy discomfort, he said, calling the parson (whose name was Doctor Bricket) “Knave, and heretic.” The parson there humbled himself, and yielded, as it were, to his fault, saying he was sorry his lordship had come before he and his parish looked for him, and therefore could not do their duties to receive him accordingly. And as for those things which were lacking, he trusted that in a short time he would compass that which he could not bring about before. Therefore, if it pleased his lordship to come to his poor house (where dinner was prepared) he would satisfy him in those things which his lordship thought amiss. Yet this reasonable answer could not satisfy nor assuage Bonner’s passion. For the prelate utterly defied him and his cheer, commanding him out of his sight, saying, “Before God, you are a knave; away, heretic!” And then thrusting or striking at him, his hand gave Sir Thomas Josselin, knight (who stood next the bishop) a good blow full upon the ear. He was somewhat astonished. “What is your lordship doing? Have you been trained in Will Sommers’ school,<sup>539</sup> to strike him who stands next you?”

Then Master Fecknam, dean of St. Paul’s, seeing the bishop still in this bitter rage, said, “O Master Josselin, you must bear with my lord, for truly his long imprisonment in the Marshalsea, and his misuse there has altered him, so that in these passions he is not ruler of himself, nor does it serve any man to give him counsel until his heat is past. And then assure yourself, Master Josselin, my lord will be sorry for those abuses that now he cannot see in himself.” He merrily replied and said, “So it seems, Master Fecknam, now that he has come forth out of the Marshalsea, he is ready to go to Bedlam.” At this merry conceit some laughed, and more smiled, because the nail was so truly hit upon the head. The bishop, not at all embarrassed at his own folly, gave a deaf ear.

After this worthy combat thus finished and achieved, this martial prelate presently mounted his horse again, although he had purposed to tarry at Hadham three or four days, and so he had made provision in his own house. But leaving his dinner he rode that night with a small company to Ware, where he was not looked for till three days later, to the great wonder of all the countryside, why he so preceded his expected day.

At this hasty posting away of this bishop, his whole train of attendants left him. Also his doctors and chaplains, except for a few, tarried behind, and dined as merrily at Doctor Bricket’s, as the bishop all chaffingly rode towards Ware.

*A Story of a Shrine set up in Lancashire.*

We mentioned the precept which commanded that in every parish a shrine or image was to be erected, both well-favored and of a tall stature. This brings to mind what happened in a town in Lancashire called Cockerham. There the parishioners and churchwardens, having a like charge for erecting an image in their parish church, had made their bargain and agreed upon a price with someone who could craftily carve and paint such idols, for framing their

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<sup>539</sup> Will Sommers was a court jester serving King Henry VIII.

shrine. According to his promise, he made them one, and set it up in their church. This done, he demanded his money; but disliking his workmanship, they refused to pay him, whereupon he arrested them, and the matter was brought before the mayor of Lancaster. He was a very appropriate man for such a purpose, and an old favorer of the gospel, which was rare in that country. Then the carver began to declare how they covenanted with him for making a shrine and image, ready carved and set up in their church, which he had done according to his promise. And now demanding his money, they refused to pay him. The mayor asked the wardens, "Is this true?" "Yes, sir," they said. "And why do you not pay the poor man his due?" he asked. "If it please you, master mayor," they said, "it is because the one we had before was a well-favored man, and he promised to make us another such man. But this one that he has now set up is the worst-favored thing that you ever set your eyes on, gaping and grinning in such a way that none of our children dare to once look him in the face, or come near him." The mayor, thought that it was good enough for that purpose even if it had been worse. "My masters," he said, "however it may please you, the poor man's labor has been never the less, and it is a pity that he should have any hindrance or loss by this. Therefore I will tell you what you will do. Pay him the money you promised him, and go your ways home and look at it. And if it will not serve for a god, do no more than clap a pair of horns on his head, and so he will make an excellent devil." The parishioners took this well; the poor man had his money, and many laughed well at it; but the Babylonish priests did not do so.

This mayor above-mentioned continued a protestant almost fifty years, and was the only reliever of March, the martyr (whose history follows later), with food, drink, and lodging, while he lay in Lancaster castle, for three quarters of a year, before he was sent to Chester to be burned, etc.

About this time a precept or mandate came from Bonner, bishop of London, to all bishops and curates within his diocese, for abolishing those Scriptures and writings which had been painted on church walls in king Edward's days. We thought it good to provide a copy of this precept or mandate here, so that the world might see the wicked proceedings of their impious zeal, or rather their malicious rage against the Lord and his word, and against the edifying of Christian people. By this it may appear, by this blotting out of Scripture, not only how blasphemously they spoke against the holy Scriptures of God, but also how studiously they sought by all manner of means to keep the people in ignorance.

*A Mandate of Bonner, Bishop of London, to abolish the Scriptures  
and Writings painted upon the Church Walk.*

"Edmund (Bonner), by God's permission bishop of London, to all and each of the parsons, vicars, clerics, and lettered within the parish of Hadham, or within the precinct of our diocese of London, wherever they are, sends greeting, grace and benediction.

[709] A.D. 1554.

"Because some children of iniquity, given up to carnal desires and novelties, have by many ways enterprised to banish the ancient manners and orders of the church, and to bring in and establish sects and heresies; taking from there the picture of Christ, and many things besides, laudably instituted and observed from ancient time in them, placing in their stead such things as it behooved them not to do in such a place; and they have also procured as support for their heresies, as they thought, certain Scriptures wrongly applied, to be painted upon the church walls. All these persons tend chiefly to this end: that they might uphold the liberty of the flesh, and marriage of the priests, and destroy, as much as it lay in them, the reverent sacrament of the altar, and might extinguish and enervate holydays, fasting days, and other laudable

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discipline of the catholic church, opening a window to all vices, and utterly closing up the way to virtue. Therefore, being moved with a Christian zeal, judging that these premises are not to be long endured, for the discharge of our duty, we commit to you jointly and severally, and by the tenor of this, we straitly charge and command you, that upon receipt of this, with all convenient speed, you warn, or cause to be warned a first, second, and third time, and peremptorily, all and singular churchwardens and parishioners whosoever within our foresaid diocese of London, wherever any such Scriptures or paintings have been attempted, that they abolish and extinguish such manner of Scriptures, so that by no means may they either be read or seen. And moreover, they are to proceed in this as they see good and laudable in this behalf. And if after the said monition, the said churchwardens and parishioners are found remiss or negligent, or culpable, then you jointly and severally shall see that the aforesaid Scriptures are razed, abolished and extinguished immediately — citing all and singular, those churchwardens and parishioners (whom we also cite here for the same by the tenor of this), that all and singular of the churchwardens and parishioners who are slack, negligent, and culpable in this, shall appear before us, our vicar-general and principal official, or our commissary special in our cathedral church of St. Paul at London, in the consistory there, at the hour appointed for the same, the sixth day next after their citation, if it is a court-day. Or else at the next court-day ensuing thereafter, where either we or our official or commissary will sit. There they are to say and allege for themselves some reasonable cause, if they have or can tell of any, why they should not be excommunicated, or otherwise punished for such negligence, slackness, and fault, to say and to allege, and further to do and receive, as law and reason requires. And what you have done in the premises, certify to us, or to our vicar, principal official, or our commissary, diligently and duly in all things, and through all things, or let him among you thus certify to us, who has taken upon him to execute this mandate. In witness of which we have set our seals to these presents. — Dated in the bishop's palace at London, the 25th day of October, A.D. 1554, and of our translation the 16th.”

In the university of Cambridge, and also of Oxford, because of bringing in these things, and especially for the alteration of religion, many wise and learned men departed the universities. Of these, some gave up of their own accord, some were thrust out of their fellowships, some were miserably handled. It went so far that in Cambridge, in the college of St. John, twenty-four places were voided together, in whose place twenty-four others were taken, who neither in virtue nor in religion seemed equal to their predecessors.

About the 5th of October, and within a fortnight following, several householders, and their servants and apprentices, were apprehended and committed to prison, for having and selling certain books sent into England by the preachers who fled into Germany and other countries. Within a fortnight, a little less than sixty were imprisoned for this matter.

On Sunday the 4th of November, five priests did penance at St. Paul's Cross, who were content to put away their wives. Every one of them had a taper in his hand, and a rod with which the preacher struck them.

On Friday the 9th of November, Barlow late bishop of Bath, and Master Cardmaker, were brought before the council in the Star Chamber, and were committed to the Fleet.

Cardinal Pole landed at Dover on the 21st of Nov., on which day one act passed in the parliament for his restitution in blood, utterly repealing as false and most slanderous that act made against him in Henry VIII's time. The next day, both the king and the queen came to the parliament-house to give their royal assent, and to establish this act.

On Saturday the 24th of Nov., the cardinal came by water to London, and so to Lambeth-house.

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On the Wednesday following, there was a general procession in St. Paul's for joy that the queen was likely to become a mother, as it was declared in a letter sent from the council to the bishop of London.

The same day, at this procession ten bishops were present, with all the prebendaries of St. Paul's, and also the lord mayor with the aldermen, and a great number of commons of the city in their best array. A copy of the council's letter follows here:

*Copy of a Letter from the Council to Edmund Bonner,  
Bishop of London, concerning Queen Mary's pregnancy.*

“Our hearty commendations to your good lordship. It has pleased Almighty God, who among other of his infinite benefits of late most graciously poured upon us and this whole realm, to extend his benediction upon the queen's majesty in such a way that she is conceived and quick of child. Whereby (her majesty being our natural liege lady, queen, and undoubted inheritor of this imperial crown) good hope of certain succession in the crown is given to us, and consequently the great calamities, which for lack of such succession might otherwise have fallen upon us and our posterity, shall by God's grace be well avoided, if we thankfully acknowledge this benefit of Almighty God, endeavoring ourselves with earnest repentance to thank, honor, and serve Him as we are most bounden. These are not only to notify you of this good news, to be published by you in all places within your diocese, but also to pray and request of you, that you both give God thanks with us for this especial grace, and also give order that thanks may be openly given by the singing of *Te Deum* in all the churches within your said diocese; and that likewise all priests and other ecclesiastical ministers, in their masses and other divine services, may continually pray to Almighty God to so extend his holy hand over her majesty, the king's highness, and this whole realm, that this thing, being thus graciously begun by his omnipotent power, may be well continued by the same, and brought to good effect, to the glory of His name. Even though we do not doubt that you would, of yourself, have had special regard to this without these letters, yet for our earnest desire to have this thing done out of hand, and diligently continued, we have also written these letters to put you in remembrance; and so we bid your lordship most heartily, well to fare.

“From Westminster the 27th of November 1554.”

Consequent upon this, certain prayers were commanded to be publicly offered up for the safe delivery of the queen, and for the child to be a male, handsome and well-favored — so general was the expectation of a child.

### ***Absolution of England by the Pope's Legate.***

That same day, cardinal Pole came to the parliament house, which was then kept in the great chamber of the court at Whitehall — for the queen was then sick, and could not go abroad: There the king and the queen's majesty, sitting under the cloth of state, and the cardinal sitting at the right hand, with all the other estates of parliament being present, the bishop of Winchester being lord chancellor, began in this manner:

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“My lords of the upper house, and you, my masters of the nether house, here is present the right reverend father in God my lord cardinal Pole, come from the apostolic See of Rome, as ambassador to the king and queen's majesties, upon one of the weightiest causes that ever happened in this realm, and which pertains to the glory of God, and your universal benefit. By this embassage, their majesties' pleasure is to be signified to you all by his own mouth, trusting that you will receive and accept it in as benevolent and thankful way as their highnesses have done, and that you will give an attentive and inclinable ear to him.”

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When the lord chancellor had ended, the cardinal began his oration, in which he declared the causes of his coming, and what were his desires and requests, setting forth how he possessed power from the pope to absolve them all of their sins.

The next day the three estates assembled again in the great chamber of the court at Westminster. There, the king and queen's majesties and the cardinal being present, they exhibited (all kneeling down) a supplication to their highnesses, the tenor of which ensues.

"We, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons assembled in this present parliament, representing the whole body of the realm of England and dominions of the same, in our own names particularly, and also of the said body universally, in this supplication directed to your majesties with most humble suit, that it may by your gracious intercession and means, be exhibited to the most reverend father in God, the lord cardinal Pole, legate, sent specially here by our most holy father pope Julius III, and the apostolic see of Rome, we declare ourselves very sorry and repentant for the schism and disobedience committed in this realm and dominions of the same, against the said apostolic see, either by making, agreeing, or executing any laws, ordinances, or commandments against the supremacy of the said see, or otherwise doing or speaking, that might impugn the same. We offer ourselves, and promise by this our supplication, that for a token and knowledge of our said repentance, we are, and shall always be ready, under and with the authority of your majesties, to the uttermost of our power, to do that which shall be in us for the abrogation and repealing of the said laws and ordinances in this present parliament; for ourselves, as well as for the whole body whom we represent.

"Whereupon we most humbly beseech your majesties, as persons undefiled in the offense of this body towards the said see, which nevertheless God by his providence has made subject to your majesties, to so set forth this our most humble suit, that we may obtain from the apostolic see, by the said most reverend father, particularly as well as universally, absolution, release, and discharge from all danger of such censures and sentences, as by the laws of the church we have fallen in, and that we may as repentant children, be received into the bosom and unity of Christ's church, so as this noble realm, with all the members of it, may in unity and perfect obedience to the apostolic see, and pope for the time being, serve God and your majesties, to the furtherance and advancement of his honor and glory. Amen."

The supplication having been read, the king and queen delivered it to the cardinal, who received it most gladly from their majesties. After he had in few words given thanks to God, and declared what great cause he had to rejoice that his coming from Rome into England had taken most happy success, by the pope's authority, he then gave them this absolution:

*An Absolution pronounced by Cardinal Pole to the whole Parliament  
of England, in the Presence of the King and Queen.*

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, who, with his most precious blood has redeemed and washed us from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase for himself a glorious spouse without spot or wrinkle, and whom the Father has appointed head over all his church, he by his mercy absolves you. And we, by apostolic authority given to us (by the most holy lord Pope Julius III, his vicegerent on earth) absolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole realm and its dominions, from all heresy and schism, and from all and every judgment, censures, and pains, for that cause incurred; and also we restore you again to the unity of our mother the holy church, as it shall appear more plainly in our letters. In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."

When all this was done, they went into the chapel, and there singing *Te Deum* with great solemnity, they declared the joy and gladness that was pretended for this reconciliation.

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The report of this was sent to Rome with great speed by the king's and the cardinal's letters, as well as otherwise. Whereupon the pope caused processions to be made at Rome, and thanks to be given to God with great joy for the conversion of England to his church; and praising the cardinal's diligence, and the devotion of the king and queen, on Christmas eve, by his bulls, he set forth a general pardon to all those who truly rejoiced for the same.

About this time, a messenger was sent from the parliament to the pope, to desire him to confirm and establish the sale of the abbey-lands and chantry-lands. For the lords and the parliament would grant nothing in favor of the pope till their purchases of those lands were fully confirmed.

On Thursday the 6th of December, the whole convocation, both bishops and others, were sent for to Lambeth to the cardinal, who forgave them all their perjuries, schisms, and heresies, and there they all kneeled down and received his absolution. After an exhortation and gratulation for their conversion to the catholic church by the cardinal, they departed.

### ***Persecution of Protestants Continues.***

On new-year's day, A.D. 1555, in the evening, certain honest men and women of the city, thirty in number, and a minister with them named Master Rose, were taken as they were in a house in Bow-churchyard at the communion, and all were committed to prison.

As to the taking of this Master Rose and his fellows, word was brought to Master Hooper, then in the Fleet. Upon which Master Hooper sent a letter of consolation to the prisoners.

#### *A Letter of Consolation sent from Master Hooper to the Godly Brethren taken in Bow Churchyard in Prayer.*

“The grace, favor, consolation, and aid of the Holy Spirit, be with you now and ever. So be it,

“Dearly beloved in the Lord, ever since your imprisonment I have been marvellously moved with great affections and passions, of mirth and gladness, as well as of heaviness and sorrow. Of gladness in this: that I perceived how you are bent and given to prayer and invocation of God's help in these dark and wicked proceedings of men against God's glory. I have been sorry to perceive the malice and wickedness of men to be so cruel, devilish, and tyrannical to persecute the people of God for serving God, for saying and hearing the holy psalms, and the word of eternal life. These cruel doings declare that the papists' church is more bloody and tyrannical than the sword of the heathens and gentiles ever was.

“When I heard of your arrest, what you were doing, and why, and by whom you were taken, I remembered how the Christians in the primitive church were used by the cruelty of unchristened heathens in the time of Trajan the emperor, about 77 years after Christ's ascension into heaven — and how the Christians were persecuted very sorely as though they had been traitors and movers of sedition. Whereupon the gentle emperor Trajan required to know the true cause of Christian men's trouble.

[711] A.D. 1555.

“A very learned man named Pliny wrote to him, and said: ‘It was because the Christians said certain psalms before daylight, to one called Christ, whom they worshipped as God.’ When Trajan the emperor understood it was for nothing but for conscience and religion, he caused by his commandments everywhere, that no man should be persecuted for serving God. But the pope and his church have cast you into prison, being taken even doing the work of God, and one of the most excellent works that is required of Christian men; that is, while you were in prayer, and not in such wicked and superstitious prayers as the papists use, but in the same prayer that Christ has taught you to pray. And in His name alone you gave God thanks for



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what you have received, and for his sake you asked for such things as we lack, O, may you be glad that you were ever born, to be apprehended while you were so virtuously occupied! Blessed are those who suffer for righteousness' sake. For if God had allowed those who took your bodies, to then have taken your life also, now, you would have been following the Lamb in perpetual joys, away from the company and assembly of wicked men. But the Lord would not have you depart so suddenly, but reserves you, to gloriously speak and maintain his truth to the world.

“Do not be careful what you will say, for God will go out and in with you, and will be present in your hearts and in your mouths to speak His wisdom, even though it seems foolishness to the world. May He who has begun this good work in you, continue you in the same to the end; and pray to Him that you may fear him alone, who has power to kill both body and soul, and to cast them into hell-fire. Be of good comfort. All the hairs of your head are numbered, and there is not one of them that can perish, unless your heavenly Father allows it to perish. Now you are in the field, and placed in the fore-front of Christ's battle. Doubtless it is a singular favor of God, and a special love of him towards you, to give you this forward station and pre-eminence, as a sign that He trusts you before others of his people. Therefore, dear brethren and sisters, continually fight this fight of the Lord. Your cause is most just and godly; you stand for the true Christ (who is in the flesh in heaven), and for this true religion and honor, which is amply, fully, sufficiently, and abundantly contained in the holy Testament, sealed with Christ's own blood. How much are you bound to God who trusts you with so holy and just a cause!

“Remember what onlookers you have, to see and behold you in your fight — God and all his angels, who are always ready to take you up into heaven if you are slain in his fight. Also you have standing at your backs all the multitude of the faithful, who will take courage, strength, and desire to follow such noble and valiant Christians as you are. Do not be afraid of your adversaries; for He that is in you is stronger than he that is in them. Do not shrink back, even though it is painful to you; your pains are not now so great as hereafter your joys shall be. Read the comfortable chapters to the Romans 8.10, 15, Hebrews 11.12. And upon your knees, thank God that you were ever accounted worthy to suffer anything for His name's sake. Read the second chapter of St. Luke's gospel, and there you will see how the shepherds who watched their sheep all night, as soon as they heard that Christ was born at Bethlehem, they went to see him. They did not reason or debate with themselves, who would keep the wolf from the sheep in the meantime, but did as they were commanded; they committed their sheep to Him, whose pleasure they obeyed. So let us do now that we are called; commit all other things to Him who calls us. He will take heed that all things shall be well. He will help the husband; he will comfort the wife; he will guide the servants; he will keep the house, he will preserve the goods; indeed, rather than it let be undone, He will wash the dishes, and rock the cradle. Therefore, cast all your care upon God, for He cares for you,

“Besides this, you may perceive by your imprisonment, that your adversaries' weapons against you are nothing but flesh, blood, and tyranny. For if they were able, they would maintain their wicked religion by God's word. But for lack of that, they would violently compel us, as they cannot persuade us by holy Scripture, because the holy word of God, and all Christ's doings, are contrary to them. I pray you, pray for *me*, and I will pray for *you*. And although we are apart in the world, yet I trust in Christ, we are forever joining in the spirit, and so we shall meet in the palace of the heavenly joys, after this short and transitory life is ended. God's peace be with you. Amen. The 14th of January 1555.”

On the Tuesday following, the 22nd of January, all the preachers who were in prison were called before the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, and others. After being asked whether they would recant and enjoy the queen's pardon, or else stand to what they had

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taught, they all answered that they would stand to what they had taught, and were committed to closer prison than before, with the charge that none would be allowed to speak with them.

On the 25<sup>th</sup>, there was a general and solemn procession through London, to give God thanks for their conversion to the Romish church. To set out their glorious pomp, there were ninety crosses, a hundred and sixty priests and clerics, who had every one of them copes upon their backs, singing very lustily. There also followed eight bishops, and last of all came Bonner, the bishop of London, carrying the popish pix, containing the host, under a canopy.

Besides these, there were also present the mayor, aldermen, and all the livery. And the king also, and the cardinal, came to St. Paul's Church on the same day. After the procession, there was also a commandment given to make bonfires at night.

On the following Monday, the 28<sup>th</sup> of January, the bishop of Winchester, and the other bishops, had a commission from the cardinal to sit upon, and order, according to the laws, all those preachers and heretics (as they termed them) who were in prison, and according to this commission, on the same day the bishop of Winchester and the other bishops, with certain of the council, called before them these three: Master Hooper, Master Rogers, and Master Cardmaker. They were brought there by the sheriffs. After some communication, they were committed to prison till the next day; but Cardmaker submitted himself to them.

On the 29<sup>th</sup>, Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, and Bradford were brought before them, when a sentence of excommunication and ecclesiastical judgment was pronounced upon Hooper and Rogers by the bishop of Winchester, who sat as judge. He who drove them out of the church, according to their law and order. Taylor and Bradford were committed to prison till the next day.

On the 30<sup>th</sup>, Taylor, Crome, Bradford, Sanders, and Ferrar, sometime bishop of St. David's, were brought before the bishops. Taylor, Sanders, and Bradford were likewise excommunicated, and sentence was pronounced upon them; and so they were committed to the sheriffs. Crome desired two months' respite, and it was granted to him. Ferrar was again committed to prison till another time. All these men showed themselves to be learned, as indeed they were. But what does either learning, reason, or truth itself avail, where human will bears the rule?

After the examination and condemnation of these good men and preachers, commissioners and inquisitors were sent abroad into all parts of the realm. Because of this, a great number of most godly and true Christians (especially out of Kent, Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk) were apprehended, brought up to London, cast into prison, and afterwards most of them were either cruelly consumed by fire, or else died in the prisons, and were buried on the dung-hills in the fields abroad, or in the prison.

In another book, we will relate the tragic proceedings against the blessed martyrs and witnesses of Jesus Christ, in the bloody persecution of this time. We will first recite a general supplication, given up in the name of the preachers lying in prison, to the king and queen during the time of the parliament.

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To the king and queen's most excellent majesties,  
and to their most honorable and high court of parliament:

"In a most humble and lamentable way, your poor desolate, and obedient subjects, H.F., T.B. P. R. S., etc. complain to your majesties, and to your high court of parliament, that whereas

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your said subjects, living under the laws of God, and of this realm, in the days of the late most noble King Edward VI, in all things showed themselves true, faithful, and diligent subjects according to their vocation, in the sincere ministering of God's most holy word, as well as in due obedience to the higher power, and in the daily practice of such virtues and good demeanor as the laws of God at all times, and the statutes of the realm then allowed. Your said subjects, nevertheless, contrary to all laws of justice, equity, and right, are in a very extreme manner, not only cast into prison (where they have remained now these fifteen or sixteen months) but their livings also, their houses and possessions, their goods and books are taken from them, and they are slandered to be most heinous heretics, their enemies themselves being both witnesses, accusers, and judges, belying, slandering, and misreporting your said subjects at their pleasure. Whereas your said subjects, being strictly kept in prison, cannot yet be allowed to come out and give an answer accordingly.

“In consideration of this, it may please your most excellent majesties, and this your high court of parliament, to graciously tender the present calamity of your said poor subjects, and to call them before your presence, granting them liberty, either by mouth, or writing in the plain English tongue, to answer before you, or before unbiased arbiters to be appointed by your majesties, to such articles of controversy in religion as their said adversaries have already condemned them of, such as heinous heresies — provided that all things may be done with such moderation and quiet behavior, as becomes subjects and children of peace, and that your said subjects may have the free use of all their own books, and conference together among themselves.

“This thing being granted, your said subjects do not doubt that it will plainly appear, that your said subjects are true and faithful Christians, and neither heretics nor teachers of heresy, nor cut off from the true catholic universal church of Christ. Indeed, rather that their adversaries themselves are to your majesties, as the charmers of Egypt were to Pharaoh, Zedekiah and his adherents to the king of Israel, and Bar-Jesus to the proconsul Sergius Paulus. And if your said subjects are not able by the testimony of Christ, his prophets, apostles, and the godly fathers of his church, to prove that the doctrine of the church, homilies, and service taught and set forth in the time of our late most godly prince and king, Edward VI, is the true doctrine of Christ's catholic church, and most agreeable to the articles of the Christian faith, then your said subjects offer themselves to the heaviest punishment it shall please your majesties to appoint.

“Therefore, for the tender mercy of God in Christ (which you look for at the day of judgment) your said poor subjects in bonds most humbly beseech your most excellent majesties, and this your high court of parliament, to benignly and graciously hear and grant this petition of theirs, tending so greatly to the glory of God, to the edifying of his church, to the honor of your majesties, to the commendation and maintenance of justice, right, and equity, before both God and man. And your said subjects, according to their bounden duty, shall not cease to pray to Almighty God for the gracious preservation of your most excellent majesties long to endure.”

THE END OF THE TENTH BOOK.

# ACTS AND MONUMENTS

## BOOK XI.

COMPRISING

### *The history of those who suffered martyrdom and persecutions under Queen Mary*

#### *The History and Martyrdom of John Rogers*

On the 4th of February, the constant martyr of God, Master John Rogers, suffered death. Concerning his life, examinations, and sufferings, we give the following account:

John Rogers was brought up in the University of Cambridge, where he was profitably exercised in learning, and at length was chosen by the merchants adventurers, to be their chaplain at Antwerp, in Brabant. There he happened to fall into company with that worthy servant and martyr of God, William Tyndale, and with Miles Coverdale, both of whom, for the hatred they bore to popish superstition and idolatry, and for their love of true religion, had forsaken their native country. In conferring with them on the Scriptures, Rogers came to a great knowledge in the gospel of God. So that, he cast off the heavy yoke of popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy idolatry, and joined himself with them in that painful and most profitable labor of translating the Bible into the English tongue. Knowing by the Scriptures, that unlawful vows may lawfully be broken, and that matrimony is both honest and honorable among all men, joined himself in lawful matrimony, and so he went to Wittenberg, in Saxony, where with much soberness of living, he not only greatly increased in all good and godly learning, but also profited so much in the knowledge of the Dutch tongue, that the charge of a congregation was committed to his care.

He diligently and faithfully served in this ministry for many years, until it pleased God, by the faithful labors of his chosen and dear servant, King Edward VI, to utterly banish all popery out of England, setting God's gospel at liberty. Having a conscience and a ready will to help forward the work of the Lord in his native country, Rogers then came to England to preach the gospel. After he had diligently and faithfully labored for a time, Ridley, then bishop of London, gave him a prebend in the cathedral church of St. Paul; and the dean and chapter chose him to be the reader of the divinity lesson there. He diligently exercised himself until such time as Queen Mary obtaining the crown, banished the gospel and true religion, and brought back in the antichrist of Rome, with its idolatry and superstition.

#### **The First Examination of John Rogers.**

After the queen had come to the Tower of London, Rogers being called there, made a godly and vehement sermon at St. Paul's Cross, confirming such true doctrine as he and others had taught in King Edward's days, exhorting the people to remain constant in it, and to beware of all pestilent popery, idolatry, and superstition. The council then being overmatched with popish and bloody bishops, called him to account for his sermon. He gave a stout, witty, and godly answer to them, and yet in such a sort as to demean himself; at that time he was clearly dismissed. But after proclamation was set forth by the queen to prohibit true preaching, he was called again before the council, for the bishops thirsted after his blood. The council quarrelled with him concerning his doctrine, and in conclusion commanded him as a prisoner to keep to his own house. He did so, although by fleeing he might easily have escaped their cruel hands. He saw the recovery of religion in England. Desperate for the present, he knew he would not lack a living in Germany, and he could not forget his wife and ten children. But all these things were set aside. After he was called to

answer in Christ's cause, he would not depart, but stood in defense of the same, and for that truth he was content to risk his life.

Thus he remained in his own house as a prisoner a long time, till at length, through the uncharitable procurement of Bonner, bishop of London, he was removed from his own house to the prison called Newgate, where he was lodged among thieves and murderers. During that time, whatever communication he had with the adversaries of Christ is not known, nor any certainty of his examinations beyond what he himself left in writing.

*The Examination and Answer of John Rogers made to the Lord Chancellor, and to the rest of the Council on the 2nd of January A.D. 1555.*

First, the Lord Chancellor Gardiner said to me: "Sir, you have heard the state of the realm, in which it stands now."

Rogers. — "No, my lord, I have been kept in close prison, and unless there has been some general thing said at the table when I was at dinner or supper, I have heard nothing upon which any special thing might be grounded."

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Then the lord chancellor said mockingly, "General things! general things! You have heard of my lord cardinal's coming, and that the parliament has received his blessing, not one resisting it, but one man who spoke against it. Such a unity and such a miracle has not been seen. And all those, of whom there are 160 in one house (said someone nearby, whose name I do not know), have with one assent and consent received pardon of their offenses, for the schism that we have had in England, in refusing the holy father of Rome to be the head of the catholic church. What do you say? Are you content to unite and knit yourself to the faith of the catholic church with us, in the state in which it is now in England? Will you do that?"

Rogers. — "I never did nor will dissent from the catholic church."

Ld. Chan. — "No, but I speak of the state of the catholic church, in that way in which we stand now in England, having received the pope as supreme head."

Rogers. — "I know no other head of his catholic church but Christ, nor will I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to have any more authority than any other bishop has, by the word of God and the doctrine of the old and pure catholic church, 400 years after Christ."

Ld. Chan. — "Why then did you acknowledge King Henry VIII to be the supreme head of the church, if Christ is the only head?"

Rogers. — "I never granted him to have any supremacy in spiritual things, such as the forgiveness of sins, giving of the Holy Spirit, or having authority to be a judge above the word of God."

Ld. Chan. — "Indeed, if you had said so in the days of Tunstall, bishop of Durham" (and they nodded their heads at me with a laugh) "You would not have been alive now."

This I denied, and I would have told him how Christ was said and meant to be the supreme head. But they looked and laughed one upon another, and made such a business of it, that I was constrained to let it pass. There also lies no great weight upon it; for all the world knows what the meaning was. The lord chancellor also said to the lord William Howard, that there was no inconvenience in having Christ as supreme head, and the bishop of Rome also. When I was ready to answer that there could not be two heads of one church, and to have more plainly declared the vanity of his reason, the lord chancellor said, "What do you say?"

Give us a direct answer whether you will be one of this catholic church or not, with us in that state in which we are now?"

Rogers. — "My lord, I cannot believe that you yourselves think in your hearts that he is supreme head in forgiving of sin, etc., seeing that you and all the bishops of the realm have now for twenty years preached, and some of you also written, to the contrary; and the parliament has so long ago condescended to it." There he interrupted me thus:

Ld. Chan. — "Tush! Parliament was with great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the primacy from the bishop of Rome."

Rogers. — "With cruelty? Why, then, I perceive that you take a wrong way when you try to persuade men's consciences with cruelty. For it would appear by your doings now, that the cruelty then used has not persuaded your consciences. How would you then have our consciences persuaded with cruelty?"

Ld. Chan. — "I talk to you of no cruelty, but that they were so often and so cruelly called upon in that parliament to let the act go forward; yes, and even driven to it with force, whereas in this parliament it was uniformly received."

Here my lord Paget told me more plainly what my lord chancellor meant. I answered: "My lord, what then, will you conclude that the first parliament was of less authority, because only a few yielded to it? And this last parliament is of great authority, because more have yielded to it? It does not go, my lord, by the greater or lesser part, but by the wiser, truer, and godlier part." I would have said more, but the lord chancellor interrupted me, desiring me once again to answer him. "For," he said, "we have more to speak with than you, who must come in after you." And so there were indeed ten persons more from Newgate, besides two who were not called. Of these ten, one was a citizen of London, who submitted to them, and nine refused. They all came back to prison, and refused the cardinal's blessing, and the authority of his church, except that one of the nine was not asked the question, otherwise than, "Whether he would be an honest man as his father was before him;" and answering, "Yes," he was discharged. The chancellor bade me tell him what I would do; whether I would enter into the one church with the whole realm or not? I said, "No, I will first see it proved by the Scriptures. Let me have pen, ink, and books, etc., and I will take it upon myself to plainly set out the matter, so that the contrary will be proved to be true; and then let any man who chooses, confer with me by writing."

Ld. Chan. — "No that will not be permitted to you. You will never have so much offered you as you have now, if you refuse it and will not now yield and agree to the catholic church. Here are two things: mercy and justice. If you refuse the queen's mercy now, then you will have justice administered to you."

Rogers. — "I never offended, nor was disobedient to her grace, and yet I will not refuse her mercy. But if it will be denied me to argue by writing, and to search out the truth, then it is not well, but too far out of the way. You yourselves (all the bishops of the realm) brought me to the knowledge of the pretended primacy of the bishop of Rome when I was a young man, twenty years past. And will you now, without confidence, have me say and do the contrary? I cannot be so persuaded."

Ld. Chan. — "If you will not receive the bishop of Rome as supreme head of the catholic church, then you shall never have her mercy, you may be sure of that. And as regards conference and examination, I am forbidden by the Scriptures to use any conference and examination with you. For St. Paul teaches me that I should shun and eschew a heretic after

one or two admonitions, knowing that such a one is perverted and faulty, as he is condemned by his own judgment.”

Rogers. — “My lord, I deny that I am a heretic; prove that first, and then allege the text.”

Ld. Chan. — “If you will enter into one church with us, etc., tell us so, or else you will never have so much offered you again as you have now.”

Rogers. — “I will find it first in the Scripture, and see it tried by that, before I receive him to be supreme head.”

Worcester. — “Why, do you not know what is in your creed — ‘I believe in the holy catholic church?’ “

Rogers. — “I do not find the bishop of Rome there. For *catholic* does not signify the Romish church. it signifies the consent of all true teaching churches of all times and all ages. But how should the bishop of Rome’s church be one of them, who teaches so many doctrines that are plainly and directly against the word of God? Can that bishop be the true head of the catholic church that does so? That is not possible.”

Ld. Chan. — “Show me one, — let me hear one.”

Rogers. — “Among so many I can easily show you one.”

Ld. Chan. — “Let me hear that, let me hear that.”

Rogers. — “The bishop of Rome and his church say to read and sing, and all that they do in their congregations, in Latin, which is directly and plainly against the fourteenth chapter of the first of Corinthians, which says, ‘For he that speaks in an unknown tongue does not speak to men, but to God: for no man understands him,’” etc. <sup>1Cor 14.2</sup>

Ld. Chan. — “I deny that, I deny that it is against the word of God. Let me see you prove that; how do you prove that?”

Rogers. — “To speak in a strange tongue, such as in Latin or Greek, etc., is not to speak to men but to God; and as you speak in Latin, which is a strange tongue, you therefore speak not to men, but to God.”

Ld. Chan. — “Well, then, it is in vain to men.”

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Rogers. — “No, not in vain. For one man speaks in one tongue, and another in another tongue, and all speak well.”

Ld. Chan. — “No, I will prove, then, that he speaks neither to God nor to man, but to the wind.”

I was willing to declare how these two texts I agreed (for they must agree, both being the sayings of the Holy Spirit), that is, to speak not to men but to God, and to speak to the wind. I would have gone forward with the proof of my matter, but noise and confusion arose.

Ld. Chan. — “To speak to God, and not to God, is impossible.”

Rogers. — “I will prove them possible.” “No,” said my lord William Howard to my lord chancellor; “Now, I will bear witness that he is out of the way: for he granted first, that those who speak in a strange tongue speak to God; and now he says the contrary, that they speak neither to God nor to man.”

Rogers. — “I have not granted nor said,” turning me I to my lord Howard, “as you report. I have alleged one text, and now I come to the other. They must agree, and I can make them agree. But as for you, you do not understand the matter.”

Ld. Howard. — “I understand thus much, that this is not possible.”

“This is a point of sophistry,” said Secretary Bourne. Then the lord chancellor told the lord Howard, that when he was in High Dutchland, those at Halle, who before had prayed and done their service all in Dutch, began to turn part into Latin, and part into Dutch.

Worcester. — “Yes, and at Wittenberg too.”

Rogers. — “Yes,” (but I could not be heard above the noise) “in a university, where men for the most part understand the Latin, and yet not all in Latin.” I would have told the order, and gone forward, both to have answered my lord, and to have proved the thing I had taken in hand. But perceiving that their talk and noise were too great, I was glad to think this in my heart, allowing them in the meanwhile to talk, one of them one thing, and another something else. Alas! neither of these men will hear me if I speak, nor will they allow me to write. There is no remedy, except to let them alone, and commit the matter to God. Yet I began to go forward, and said that I would make the texts agree, and prove my purpose well enough.

Ld. Chan. — “No, no, you can prove nothing by the Scripture. The Scripture is dead: it must have a lively expositor.”

Rogers. — “No, the Scripture is alive. But let me go forward with my purpose.”

Worcester. — “All heretics have alleged the Scriptures for them, and therefore we must have a lively expositor for them.”

Rogers. — “Yes, all heretics have alleged the Scriptures for them: but they were confuted by the Scriptures, and by no other expositor.”

Worcester. — “But they would not confess that they were overcome by the Scriptures, I am sure of that.”

Rogers. — “I believe that; and yet they were overcome by them, and in all councils they were disputed with and overthrown by the Scriptures.”

Here I would have declared how they should proceed in these days, and so have come again to my purpose, but it was impossible; for one asked one thing, another said another, so that I was glad to hold my peace, and let them talk. And even when I would have taken hold on my proof, the lord chancellor remanded me to prison again. “Away, away,” he said, “we have more persons to talk with: if you will not be reformed.” (so he termed it), “Away, away!” Then up I stood, for I had knelt all the while.

Then Sir Richard Southwell, who stood by in a window, said to me, “You will not burn in this cause when it comes to the purpose, I know that well.” To this I replied, “Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust in my Lord God, that I shall.”

Then my lord of Ely told me much about the queen’s majesty’s pleasure, and set it out with fine words, saying that, “She took those who would not receive the bishop of Rome’s supremacy, to be unworthy to have her mercy,” etc.

I said I would not refuse her mercy, and that I had never offended her in all my life: and that I now besought her grace, and all their honors to be good to me, reserving my conscience.



Diverse persons spoke at once. “No!” they cried; and especially Secretary Bourne; “A married priest, and yet he has not offended the law?”

I said I had not broken the queen’s law, nor the law of the realm: for I married when it was lawful.

Various ones at once cried, “Where was that?” thinking that it was unlawful in all places.

Rogers. — “In Holland: and if in England you had not made a public law that priests might have wives, I would never have come home again; for I brought a wife and eight children with me: which you might be sure I would not have done if the laws of the realm had not permitted it.”

Then there was a great noise, some saying that I had come too soon. I would find a sad coming of it. Some said one thing, and some another. One said that there was never a catholic man or country that allowed a priest to have a wife.

I said, “The catholic church never denied marriage to priests, nor yet to any other man.” This I said as I was going out of the chamber, along with the sergeant who brought me there.

The bishop of Worcester turned his face towards me, and said that he did not know where that church was or is. I said, “Yes, I could tell where it was,” — but the sergeant took me out at the door.

This was the purport of all that was spoken to me, and all that I answered.

And here I would gladly give a more perfect answer to all the objections, and also a full proof of what I had taken in hand; but I was informed that I would come to further answer tomorrow. Therefore I am compelled to leave out that which I would most gladly have done, desiring the hearty and unfeigned help of the prayers of all Christ’s true members, the true children of the true unfeigned catholic church, that the Lord God of all consolation may now be my comfort, aid, strength, buckler, and shield — and also of all my brethren who are in the same distress. So that I and all of them may despise all manner of threats and cruelty, and even the bitter burning fire, and the dreadful dart of death, and stick like true soldiers to our dear and loving Captain, Christ, our only Redeemer and Savior, and the only true head of the church, who works all in us all, which is the very property of a head (and is a thing that all the bishops of Rome cannot do). And that we do not traitorously run out of his tents, or run out of the plain field from him, in the jeopardy of the battle, but that we may persevere in the fight (if he will not otherwise deliver us), till we are most cruelly slain by his enemies. For this I most heartily, and at present, with weeping tears most instantly and earnestly desire and beseech you all to pray. And also if I die, to be good to my poor and most honest wife, being a poor stranger, and all my little souls, hers and my children — whom, with all the whole faithful and true catholic congregation of Christ, the Lord of life and death save, keep, and defend in all the troubles and assaults of this vain world, and bring at the last to everlasting salvation on the true and sure inheritance of all crossed Christians. Amen, amen.

“The 27th of January at night.”

*The Second Confession of John Rogers.*

First, I was asked again by the lord chancellor, whether I would come into one church along with the bishops and the whole realm, as it was now converted to the catholic church of Rome, and confirmed by parliament, and so receive the mercy proffered to me before, arising again with the whole realm out of the schism and error in which we had long been, with a recantation of my errors, etc.

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I answered that previously I could not tell what his mercy meant, but now I understand that it was the mercy of the antichristian church of Rome, which I utterly refused, and that the rising which he spoke of was indeed a fall into error and false doctrine. Also that I had and would be able, by God's grace, to prove that all the doctrine which I had ever taught was true and catholic, and do that by the Scriptures and the authority of the fathers, who lived four hundred years after Christ's death. He answered that this should not, might not — nor should it be granted to me; for I was but a private man, and should not be heard against the determination of the whole realm. "When a parliament," he said, "has concluded a thing, should any private person have authority to discuss whether they had done right or wrong? No, that cannot be."

I answered shortly, that all the laws of men could not rule the word of God, but that they all must be discussed and judged by it, and obey it; and that neither my conscience, nor any Christian man's, could be satisfied with those laws which disagree with that word. I was willing to have said much more, but the lord chancellor began a long speech to very little purpose concerning my answer — that there was nothing in me for which I should be heard, except arrogance, pride, and vainglory. I granted my ignorance was greater than I could express, or than he took it. But I declared that I did not fear to be able, by writing, to perform my word, by God's assistance and strength. Nor was I (I thanked God) so utterly ignorant as he would have me; but all was of God, to whom thanks be rendered. I denied I was a proud man, or yet vainglorious. All the world knew well, where and on which side pride, arrogance, and vainglory was. It was a poor pride that was or is in us, God knows.

Then he said that at the first dash I condemned the queen and the whole realm as of the church of antichrist, and burdened me highly with this. I answered that the queen's majesty (God save her grace!) would have done well enough, if it had not been for his counsel. He said the queen went before him, and it was her own motion. I said that I neither could, nor would I ever believe it.

Then Doctor Aldrife, the bishop of Carlisle, said that the bishops would bear him witness. "Yes," I said, "that I believe well," and the people laughed. For that day there were many there; but on the morrow they kept the doors shut, and would let no one in but the bishops' adherents and servants. Then master comptroller and secretary Bourne would also have stood up to bear witness, and he did so.

I said it was no great matter: and to say the truth, I thought that they were good helpers themselves. But I ceased to say any more in this, knowing that they were too strong and mighty of power, and that they would be believed before me — yes, and before our Savior Christ, and all his prophets and apostles too, in these days.

Then after many words, he asked me what I thought concerning the blessed sacrament. He stood up and put off his cap, and all his fellow bishops (of whom there were a great number, new men, of whom I knew few), and asked whether I believed that in the sacrament there was the very body and blood of our Savior Christ, that was born of the Virgin Mary, and hanged on the Cross, really and substantially.

I answered, I had often told him that it was a matter in which I was no meddler, and therefore I was suspected by my brethren to be of a contrary opinion. "Notwithstanding, as most of your doctrine in other points is false, and its defense comes only by force and cruelty, so in this matter I think it to be as false as the rest. For I cannot understand "*really* and *substantially*," to signify anything other than corporeally. But corporeally, Christ is only

in heaven, and so Christ cannot also be corporeally in your sacrament.” And here I upbraided his lack of charity in this manner: “My lord,” I said, “you have dealt with me most cruelly. For you have put me in prison without law, and kept me there now almost a year and a half. For I was almost half a year in my house, where I was obedient to you, God knows, and spoke with no man. And now I have been a full year in Newgate at great costs and charges, having a wife and ten children to support, and I never had a penny out of my livings — all of which was against the law.”

He answered that Ridley, who had given them to me, was a usurper, and therefore I was the unjust possessor of them.

“Was the king then an usurper,” I asked, “who gave Ridley the bishopric?”

“Yes,” he replied; and he began to set out the wrongs that the king had done to the bishop of London, and to himself also. “But yet, I misuse my terms,” he said, “to call the king a usurper.” But the word had proceeded from the abundance of the heart, before: and I think that he was not very sorry for it in his heart. I might have said more concerning that matter, but I did not.

I asked him why he put me in prison? He said it was because I preached against the queen. I answered, that it was not true: and I would be bound to prove it, and to stand to the trial of the law — that no man would be able to disprove it, and I would set my life on it. I said, I preached a sermon at the cross, after the queen came to the Tower; but there was nothing said against the queen, I take all the audience to witness, which was not a few in number.” I also alleged that, after examination, he had let me go at liberty after preaching that sermon.

“Yes, but you read your lectures after,” he said, “against the commandment of the council.”

“That I did not,” I replied; “let that be proved, and let me die for it. Thus you have now wronged me, against the law of God and man, and never sent for me, never conferred with me, never spoke of any learning, till now that you have a whip to whip me with, and a sword to cut off my head, if I will not condescend to your mind. All the world understands this charity.”

I would have added, if I had been allowed to speak, that it was time enough to take away men’s livings, and to imprison them, after they had offended the laws; and that those were good citizens who do not break laws, and they are worthy of praise, and not of punishment. But their purpose was to keep men in prison until they made laws to catch them, and so to kill them. I could and would have added the example of Daniel, who by a craftily devised law, was cast into the lion’s den. I would have declared that I had most humbly desired to be set at liberty, and had sent my wife to him with a supplication, when she was great with child, and with her, eight honest women (or thereabouts) to Richmond, at Christmas, while I was still in my own house.

I wrote two supplications to him out of Newgate, and sent my wife to him many times. And also Master Gosnold, that worthy man who has now departed in the Lord, labored for me, and so did other worthy men also take pains in the matter. These things declare my lord chancellor’s antichristian charity, which is, that he has and does seek my blood, and the destruction of my poor wife and my ten children.

This is a short sum of the words which were spoken on the 28th of January, in the afternoon, after Master Hooper had been the first, and Master Cardmaker the second in examination before me. The Lord grant us grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in his cause, till we are struck down together, if the Lord’s will so permits it. For not a hair of our

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heads shall perish against His will, but only with His will. The Lord grant us to be obedient to the end, and in the end, Amen! Sweet, mighty, and merciful Lord Jesus, Son of David and of God. Let every true Christian say and pray, Amen! Amen!

It then being, I guessed, about four o'clock, the lord chancellor said that he and the church must yet use charity with me (what manner of charity it is, all true Christians well understand — to wit, the same that the fox has for the chickens, and the wolf for the lamb). He gave me respite till the next day, to see whether I would remember myself well, and whether I would return to the catholic church (for so he calls his antichristian church), and repent, and they would then receive me to mercy.

717] A.D. 1555.

I said that I was never out of the true catholic church, nor would I be; but by God's grace, I would never come into his church.

"Well," he said, "then our church is false and antichristian."

"Yes," replied I.

"And what is the doctrine of the sacrament?"

"False," I said, and cast my hands abroad.

Then someone said that I was a player (stage actor), to whom I did not answer.

"Come again tomorrow," said the lord chancellor, "between nine and ten."

"I am ready to come again, whenever you call," I replied.

And thus I was brought up by the sheriffs to the Compter in Southwark, Master Hooper going before me, a great multitude of people being present, so that we had much difficulty to pass in the streets.

Thus much was done on the 28th day of January.

On the third day, which was the 29th of January, we were sent for in the morning about nine o'clock, and fetched by the sheriffs from the Compter in Southwark to the church again, where we were the day before. When Master Hooper was condemned, as I understood afterward, they sent for me. Then my lord chancellor said to me:

"Rogers, here you were yesterday, and we gave you then a night to remember yourself, whether you would come to the holy catholic church of Christ again or not. Tell us now what you have determined, whether you will be repentant and sorry, and will return again and take mercy."

"My lord," I said, "I have considered right well, what you said to me yesterday, and I desire you to give me leave to declare my mind, what I have to say about it; and that being done, I will answer to your demanded questions."

"When I desired yesterday that I might be allowed to defend my doctrine in writing, by the Scriptures and the authority of the first, best, and purest church" (meaning not only the primacy, but also all the doctrine that I had ever preached) "you answered me that it might not, nor should it be granted to me, for I was a private person; and that the parliament was above the authority of all private persons. And therefore the sentence might not be found faulty and valueless by me, being but a private person. And yet my lord," I continued, "I am able to show examples, that one man has come into a general council, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an act or article, some man coming in afterwards, has by the word of God declared so pithily that the council had erred in decreeing the said article,

that he caused the whole council to change and alter their act or article determined before. And I am able to show two of these examples,” I said. “I can also show the authority of St. Augustine; that when he disputed with a heretic, he would neither himself, nor yet the heretic, lean to the determination of two former councils, of which the one supported him, and the other the heretic who disputed against him; but said that he would have the Scriptures be their judge, which was common and unbiased for them both, not favoring either of them.

“I could also show” I said, “the authority of a learned lawyer, Panormitan, who says that to a simple layman who brings the word of God with him, more credit ought to be given, than to a whole council gathered together. By these things I will prove that I should not be denied to say my mind, and to be heard against a whole parliament, bringing the word of God for me, and the authority of the old church four hundred years after Christ, even if every man in the parliament had willingly and without respect of fear and favor agreed to it, which I doubt not a little — especially seeing the like had been permitted in the old church, even in general councils, yes, and that was in one of the greatest councils ever held, to which neither any acts of this parliament, nor yet any of the recent general councils of the bishops of Rome ought to be compared. For,” I said, “if Henry VIII were alive, and were to call a parliament, and begin to determine a thing” (and here I would have alleged the example of the act of making the queen a bastard, and of making himself the superior head; but I could not, being interrupted by someone, whom God forgive) “then you will,” (pointing to my lord chancellor), “and you, and you, and so you all” (pointing to the rest of the bishops) “say, Amen.”

Here my lord chancellor would not allow me to speak more; but bade me sit down, mockingly saying, “that I was sent for, to be instructed by them, and I would take it upon myself to be *their* instructor.”

“My lord,” I cried, “I stand, and do not sit. Will I not be allowed to speak for my life?”

“Shall we allow you to tell a tale, and to prate?” he asked.<sup>540</sup> And with that he stood up, and began to face me, in his old arrogant proud fashion, for he perceived that I had in a way touched them somewhat, which he thought to hinder by dashing me out of my argument; and so he did. For I could never be allowed to return to my vindication, not one word of it. But he had much similar communication with me as he had the day before, and as is his manner, with taunt upon taunt, and check upon check. For in that case, this being God’s cause, I told him that he should not make me afraid to speak.

Lord Chancellor. — “See what a spirit this fellow has,” he said, “finding fault at my accustomed earnestness, and hearty manner of speaking.”

Rogers. — “I have a true spirit,” I replied, “agreeing with and obeying the word of God,” and I would further have said that I was never the worse, but the better, to be earnest in a just and true cause, and in matters of my Master, Christ; but I could not be heard. At length he proceeded towards the excommunication and condemnation, after I told him that his church of Rome was the church of antichrist, meaning the false doctrine and tyrannical laws, maintaining them by cruel persecutions used by the bishops of the church (of which the bishop of Winchester and the rest of his fellow bishops, now in England, are the chief members.) “Of late, I mean, and not all men and women who are in the pope’s church.” Likewise, when I was said to have denied their sacrament (which he made his usual reverent

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<sup>540</sup> *Prate*: To talk much and to little purpose.

mention of, more to maintain his kingdom than for true reverence of Christ's institution — more for his own and his popish generation's sake, than for religion or God's sake) I told him in what context I spoke of it (for the manner of his speaking did not apply to my words, which were recited before in the communication that we had on the 28th of January). He was not content with this, but he asked the audience whether I had not simply denied the sacrament. They would have said, and did say, what he chose; for most of them were his own servants on that day, the 29th of January I mean. At last I said, "I will never deny what I said — that is, that your doctrine of the sacrament is false; but yet I tell you in what context I said it."

To be short, he read my condemnation before me, particularly mentioning in it only two articles: first, that I affirmed the Romish catholic church is the church of antichrist; and that I denied the reality of their sacrament. He caused me to be degraded and condemned, and put into the hands of the laity. And so he gave me over into the sheriffs hands, which were much better than his.

*The Sentence condemnatory against John Rogers.*

"In the name of God, Amen. We Stephen by the permission of God bishop of Winchester, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favor by authority and virtue of our office, against you, John Rogers priest, alias called Matthew, before us personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of heresy, having heard, seen, and understood, and with all diligent deliberation, weighed, discussed, and considered the merits of the cause, all things observed,

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"which ought to be observed by us in behalf of the order of law, sitting in our judgment-seat, the name of Christ first being called upon, and having only God before our eyes, because by the acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by your own confession judicially made before us, we find that you have taught, held, and affirmed, and obstinately defended diverse errors, heresies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy church, such as namely these:

"That the catholic church of Rome is the church of antichrist; also, that in the sacrament of the altar, there is not substantially nor really the natural body and blood of Christ. These aforesaid heresies and damnable opinions being contrary to the law of God, and the determination of the universal and apostolical church, you have arrogantly, stubbornly, and wittingly maintained, held, and affirmed, and also defended before us in this judgment, as well as otherwise, and with the same obstinacy, stubbornness, malice, and blindness of heart, you have affirmed both wittingly and willingly, that you will believe, maintain, hold, affirm and declare the same. We therefore — Stephen Winchester, bishop, ordinary, and diocesan aforesaid — by the consent and assent of our reverend brethren, the lord bishops here present and assistant, as well as by the counsel and judgment of diverse worshipful lawyers and professors of divinity with whom we have communicated in this behalf, declare and pronounce you, the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, through your demerits, transgressions, obstinacies, and willfulness (which you have incurred through manifold ways, by your own wicked and stubborn obstinacy) to have been and to be guilty of the detestable, horrible, and wicked offenses of heretical pravity, and execrable doctrine; and that you have before us sundry times spoken, maintained, and wittingly and stubbornly defended the said cursed and execrable doctrine in the sundry confessions, assertions, and recognitions here judicially before us oftentimes repeated, and yet still maintain, affirm, and believe the same, and that you have been and are lawfully and ordinarily convicted in this behalf. We therefore, I say, though following the example of Christ, who does not desires the death of a sinner, but rather

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that he should be converted and live; we have gone about oftentimes to correct you, and by all lawful means that we could, and by all wholesome admonitions that we knew, to reduce you again to the true faith and unity of the universal catholic church — notwithstanding, we have found you obstinate and stiff-necked, willingly continuing in your damnable opinions and heresies, and refusing to return again to the true faith and unity of the holy mother church, and as the child of wickedness and darkness, to have so hardened your heart, that you will not understand the voice of your shepherd, which with a fatherly affection seeks after you, nor will you be allured with his fatherly and godly admonitions. We, therefore, Stephen, the bishop aforesaid, not willing that you who are wicked, should now become more wicked, and infect the Lord's flock with your heresy, which we are greatly afraid of, with sorrow of mind and bitterness of heart judge you and definitively condemn you, the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, your demerits and faults being aggravated through your damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate impenitent sinner, refusing penitently to return to the lap and unity of the holy mother church, and that you have been and are by law excommunicated, and we pronounce and declare you to be an excommunicate person. Also we pronounce and declare you, being a heretic, to be cast out from the church, and left to the judgment of the secular power, and now presently so leave you as an obstinate heretic, and a person wrapped in the sentence of the great curse, to be worthily degraded for your demerits (requiring them, notwithstanding, in the compassion of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment to be done worthily upon you, may be so moderated, that the rigor of it is not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it be to the salvation of your soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of the heretics, to the unity of the catholic faith), by this our sentence definitive which we here lay upon and against you, and with sorrow of heart promulgate in this form aforesaid."

After this sentence had been read, he sent us (I mean Master Hooper and me) to the Clink (prison), there to remain till night. And when it was dark, they carried us, Master Hooper going before with one sheriff, and I following with the other, with bills and weapons. They led us through the bishop's house, and so through St. Mary Overy's church-yard, into Southwark, and over the bridge in procession to Newgate through the city. But I must show you this also, that when he had read the condemnation, he declared that I was in the great curse, and that it was a dangerous matter to eat and drink with us who were accursed, or to give us anything; for all who did so, would be partakers of the same great curse.

"Well, my lord," I said, "here I stand before God and you, and all this honorable audience. I take Him to witness that I never wittingly or willingly taught any false doctrine; and therefore I have a good conscience before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a judge who is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you. And I do not doubt at all, that there I shall be found a true member of the true catholic church of Christ, and everlastingly saved. And as for your false church, you do not need to excommunicate me from it. I have not been in it these twenty years, the Lord be thanked for that. But now that you have done what you can, my lord, I pray you grant me yet one thing."

"What is that?" he asked.

"That my poor wife, being a stranger, may come and speak with me so long as I live. For she has ten children that are hers and mine, and I would somewhat counsel her, what would be best for her to do."

"No," he said, "she is not your wife."

"Yes, my lord," I rejoined, "and she has been these eighteen years."

"Should I grant her to be your wife?" he asked.

“Choose whether you will or not,” I said, “she shall be so nevertheless.”

“She shall not come to you,” he said.

“Then I have tried out all your charity,” I said, “You make yourself highly displeased with the matrimony of priests, but you maintain open concubinage — as in Wales, where every priest has his concubine openly dwelling with him, even as your holy father allows all the priests in Holland and France to do the same.” To this he did not answer, but looked asquint at it, as it were. And thus I departed, and saw him for the last time.

After John Rogers had been long imprisoned, lodged in Newgate among thieves, often examined, and very uncharitably treated, and at length unjustly and most cruelly condemned by wicked Winchester, on the 4th of February 1555, being a Monday, in the morning, he was warned suddenly by the keeper’s wife of Newgate, to prepare himself for the fire. Being sound asleep, he could scarcely be awakened. At length being awake, and bid to make haste, he said, “then if it is so, I need not tie my points.” And so he was taken first to Bonner to be degraded. That done, he craved from Bonner one petition. And Bonner asking what that would be, he said, “Nothing that he might talk a few words with his wife before his burning.” But that could not be obtained from him! Now when the time came, having been delivered to the sheriffs, he was brought out of Newgate to Smithfield, the place of his execution. Master Woodroofe, one of the sheriffs, calling Master Rogers to him, asked him if he would revoke his abominable doctrine, and his evil opinion of the sacrament of the altar. Master Rogers answered, “That which I have preached I will seal with my blood.” “Then,” said Master Woodroofe, “You are a heretic.” “That shall be known,” replied Rogers, “at the day of judgment.” “Well,” said Master Woodroofe, “I will never pray for you.” “But I will pray for you,” rejoined Rogers.

[719] A.D. 1555.

And so on Monday, the 4th of February, he was brought by the sheriffs, towards Smithfield, repeating the 51st psalm along the way,<sup>541</sup> all the people wonderfully rejoicing at his constancy, with great praises and thanks to God for it. And there, in the presence of Rochester, comptroller of the queen’s household, Sir Richard Southwell, the sheriffs, and a wonderful number of people, he was burned to ashes, washing his hands in the flame as he was burning. A little before his burning at the stake, his pardon was brought, if he would recant; but he utterly refused it. He was the first martyr of all the blessed company that suffered in Queen Mary’s time at the fire. His wife and children, eleven in number, ten able to walk, and one sucking on her breast, met him along the way as he went towards Smithfield. This sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood could not move him, but he constantly and cheerfully took his death with wonderful patience, in the defense of Christ’s gospel.

### ***The History and Martyrdom of Lawrence Sanders.***

*The History and Martyrdom of Lawrence Sanders,  
burned for the defense of the Gospel, at Coventry,  
February 8, A.D. 1855*

After Queen Mary, by public proclamation in the first year of her reign, had prohibited the sincere preaching of God’s holy word, several godly ministers of the word, who had the cure and charge of souls committed to them, notwithstanding, and according to their bounden

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<sup>541</sup> Psa 51.1, “Have mercy upon me, O God, According to Your lovingkindness; According to the multitude of Your tender mercies Blot out my transgressions. Wash me thoroughly from my iniquity, And cleanse me from my sin...”



duty,<sup>542</sup> fed their flock faithfully, not as preachers authorized by public authority, as the godly order of the realm was in the happy days of blessed King Edward, but as the private pastors of particular flocks, among whom Lawrence Sanders was one, a man of honorable parentage. His bringing up was in the school of Eton; from where he was chosen to go to the King's College in Cambridge. There he continued scholar of the college three whole years. Shortly after, he forsook the university, and went to his parents, upon whose advice he intended to become a merchant — for his mother, who was a gentlewoman of good estimation, being left a widow, and having a good portion for him among his other brothers, she thought to set him up wealthily. And so, coming up to London, he was bound apprentice to a merchant, named Sir William Chester. But Almighty God, who has his secret working in all things, saw better for his servant. For the Lord so wrought inwardly in his heart, that Lawrence could find no liking in that vocation.

It happened that his master, being a good man, and hearing in Lawrence's private prayers, that he inwardly mourned his apprenticeship, called Lawrence to himself, to know what was the cause of his solitariness and lamentation. Perceiving his mind not to fancy that kind of life (for so Sanders declared to him), and that his whole purpose was bent toward the study of his book and spiritual contemplation, like a good man, Chester directed his letters to his friends, and set Lawrence free. And thus Lawrence Sanders, being delighted with the love of learning, and especially with the reading of God's word, shortly returned to Cambridge and to his study. Then he gave himself wholly to the study of the holy Scriptures, to qualify himself for the office of a preacher.

In the beginning of King Edward's reign, when God's true religion had begun to be restored, Lawrence began to preach. He was so well liked by those who had authority, that they appointed him to read a divinity lecture in the college at Fotheringay, where he edified the godly, drew many to God's true knowledge, and stopped the mouth of the adversaries. He married about that time, and led an unblameable life before all men. The college of Fotheringay being dissolved, he was placed to be reader in the minster at Lichfield, where he so behaved himself in teaching and living, that even the adversaries gave him a full report of his learning as well as much godliness. After a time, he departed from Lichfield to a benefice in Leicestershire, called Churchlangton, where he taught diligently. Then he was called to take a benefice in the city of London, named Allhallows, in Bread-street. Then he resolved to give up his cure in the country. And therefore, after he had taken possession of his benefice in London, he departed from London into the country, to discharge himself from it. About that time the broil began about the claim that Queen Mary made to the crown; and because of this, he could not accomplish his purpose.

In this disturbance, he preached at Northampton, not meddling with the state, but he boldly spoke his conscience against popish doctrine and antichrist's damnable errors, which were likely to spring up again in England, as a just plague for the little love which the English nation bore toward the blessed word of God. The queen's men who were there and heard him, were highly displeased with him for his sermon; and for that they kept him among them as a prisoner. But partly for the love his brethren and friends felt towards him, who were the chief doers for the queen among them, and partly because no law was broken by his preaching, they dismissed him. Seeing the dreadful days at hand, and inflamed with the fire of godly zeal, Sanders preached with diligence at both those benefices, as time could serve him, seeing that he could resign neither of them now, except into the hand of a papist.

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<sup>542</sup> *Bounden*: morally obligatory.

Thus he passed to and fro preaching, until that proclamation was published, which was mentioned in the beginning. At this time he was at his benefice in the country, where (notwithstanding this proclamation) he taught diligently God's truth, confirming the people in it, and arming them against false doctrine, until he was not only commanded to cease, but he was also resisted with force, so that he could not proceed in preaching. Some of his friends, perceiving such fearful menacing, counselled him to flee out of the realm, which he refused to do. But seeing that he was kept by violence from doing good in that place, he returned towards London to visit the flock of which he had charge there.

On Saturday, the 14th of October, as he was coming to the city of London, Sir John Mordant, a counsellor to Queen Mary, overtook him and asked him where he was going. "I have," said Sanders, "a cure in London, and now I go to instruct my people according to my duty." "If you will follow my counsel," said Master Mordant, "let them alone, and do not go to them." To this Sanders answered, "How then shall I be discharged before God, if any are sick and desire consolation, if any lack good counsel and need instruction, or if any were to slip into error and receive false doctrine?" "Did you not," said Mordant, "preach on such a day (naming the day) in Bread-street in London?" "Yes, truly," said Sanders, "that same place is my cure." "I heard you myself," said Master Mordant. "And will you now preach there again?" "If it please you," said Sanders, "tomorrow you may hear me again in that same place, where I will confirm, by the authority of God's word, all that I said then, and whatever I taught them before that time."

"I would counsel you," said Master Mordant, "not to preach." Sanders said, "If you can and will forbid me by lawful authority, then I must obey." "No," replied Master Mordant, "I will not forbid you; but I do give you counsel." And thus they both entered the city, and departed from each other. Master Mordant, of an uncharitable mind, went to warn Bonner, bishop of London, that Sanders would preach in his cure the next day. Sanders resorted to his lodging, with a mind bent on doing his duty. There, because he seemed somewhat troubled, one of those around him asked how he was doing. "Indeed," he said, "I am in prison, till I am in prison;" meaning that his mind was unquiet until he had preached, and that he desired to have quietness of mind, even if he were put in prison.

The next day, which was Sunday, in the forenoon, he gave a sermon in his parish, treating that place which St. Paul writes to the Corinthians, 2Cor 11.2, "I have betrothed you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ. But I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtlety, so your minds might be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ." He recited that true Christian doctrine, through which they were coupled to Christ, to receive from him free justification through faith in his blood.

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The papistical doctrine he compared to the serpent's deceiving; and lest they be deceived by it, he made a comparison between the voice of God, and the voice of the popish serpent. He descended to a more particular declaration of it, as it were, to let them plainly see the difference between the order of the church service set forth by King Edward in the English tongue, and the popish service then used in the Latin tongue.

The first he said was good, because it was according to the word of God (1Cor 14) and the order of the primitive church. The other he said was evil; and even though some good Latin words are intermingled in that evil, yet it was like a little honey or milk mingled with a great deal of poison, to make them drink it all. This was the sum of his sermon.

In the afternoon he was ready in his church to have given another exhortation to his people. But the bishop of London interrupted him by sending an officer for him. This officer charged him, upon the pain of disobedience and noncompliance, to immediately come to the bishop his master. Thus, just as the apostles were brought out of the temple where they were teaching, to the rulers of the priests, so Lawrence Sanders was brought before this bishop who had in his company the aforementioned Sir John Mordant and some of his chaplains. The bishop laid no less to Lawrence Sanders's charge, than treason for breaking the queen's proclamation, and heresy and sedition for his sermon.

After much talk, the bishop desired him to write what he believed about transubstantiation. Lawrence Sanders did so, saying, "My lord, you seek my blood, and you shall have it: I pray God that you may be so baptized in it, that you may thereafter loath blood-sucking, and become a better man." The bishop kept this writing for his purpose, even to cut the writer's throat, as it will appear hereafter. The bishop sent Lawrence Sanders to the lord chancellor, just as Annas had sent Christ to Caiaphas; and Sanders found like favor, as Christ his Master had found before him. But the chancellor not being at home, Sanders was constrained to wait for him in the outer chamber for four hours. There he found a chaplain of the bishop's very merrily disposed with certain gentlemen playing at the tables, with others of the same family or house, who were occupied there in the same exercise.

All this time Sanders stood very modestly and soberly at the screen or cupboard bare-headed. Sir John Mordant, his guide or leader, walked up and down by him; he was then one of the council. At last the bishop returned from the court. As soon as he entered, he met and received a great many suitors; so that before he could get out of one house into another, half an hour had passed. At last he came into the chamber where Sanders was, and went through into another chamber where, as he passed by, Sanders' leader gave him a writing, containing the cause, or rather the accusation against Sanders. When the bishop had perused it he asked, "Where is the man?" Then Sanders, being brought to the place of examination, first most lowly and meekly kneeled down, and made curtesy before the table where the bishop sat. The bishop spoke to him in this manner:

"How does it happen that, notwithstanding the queen's proclamation to the contrary, you have continued to preach?"

Sanders did not deny that he had preached, saying that because he saw the perilous times now at hand, he only exhorted his flock and parishioners (as he was admonished and warned by Ezekiel the prophet) to persevere and stand steadfastly in the doctrine which they had learned. He also said that he was moved and pricked forward to it by that place of the apostle, in which he was commanded to obey God rather than man; and moreover, that nothing more moved or stirred him to this than his own conscience.

"A goodly conscience, surely!" said the bishop. "Your conscience would make our queen a bastard or misbegotten, would it not, I pray you?"

Then Sanders said, "We do not declare or say that the queen is base, or misbegotten, nor go about any such matter. But let those take care whose writings are still in the hands of men, witnessing to the same." He was taunting the bishop himself who, to get the favor of Henry VIII, had written a book on true obedience, in which he had openly declared Queen Mary to be illegitimate. Then Master Sanders going forwards in his purpose said, "We only profess and teach the sincerity and purity of the word which, although we are now forbidden to preach it with our mouths, yet notwithstanding, I do not doubt that our blood shall manifest it hereafter." The bishop being touched, said, "Carry away this frenzied fool to prison."

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Sanders answered that he gave God thanks who had given him at last “a place of rest and quietness, where he might pray for the bishop’s conversion.”

Sanders continued in prison a whole year and three months. During that time he sent letters to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; to his wife, and also to others, certifying to them both the public calamity of the times, and also of his private afflictions, and of his conflicts with his adversaries. In writing to his friends, he speaks of Weston conferring with him in prison. The chancellor sent him to the prison of the Marshalsea. We will now see what Sanders himself wrote about his cause and estate.

### *Part of a Letter of Lawrence Sanders, sent to the Bishop of Winchester.*

“Touching the cause of my imprisonment, I doubt whether I have broken any law or proclamation. In my doctrine I did not, because at that time it was permitted by the proclamation to use, according to our consciences, the service as it was then established. My doctrine was then agreeable to my conscience and the service then used. The act which I did (he means the public teaching of God’s word in his own parish, called Allhallows, in Breadstreet, in the city of London) “was such that, being fairly weighed, sounded no breaking of the proclamation, or at the least no willful breaking of it, because I caused no bell to be rung, nor did I occupy any place in the pulpit according to the order of sermons or lectures. But if I did break the proclamation, surely this long time of continuance in prison may be thought to be more than a sufficient punishment for such a fault.

“Touching charging me with my religion, I say with St. Paul, Act 24.14-16, “This I confess to you, that according to the way which they call heresy, so I worship the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and in the prophets. And I have hope towards God ... And in this I study to always have a clear conscience towards God and men;” So that I call God to witness that I have a clear conscience; and my conscience is not grounded upon vain fantasy, but upon the infallible truth of God’s word, with the witnessing of his chosen church agreeable to the same.

“It is an easy thing for those who take Christ for their true pastor, and are the very sheep of his pasture, to discern the voice of their true Shepherd from the voice of wolves, hirelings, and strangers. For as Christ says, ‘My sheep hear my voice;’ yes, and thereby they will have the gift to know the right voice of the true Shepherd, and so to follow him and avoid the contrary. As he also says, ‘The sheep follow the Shepherd; for they know his voice: a stranger they will not follow, but will flee from him; for they do not know not the voice of a stranger.’<sup>Joh 10.4-5</sup> The Holy Spirit puts such inward inspiration into the children of God, indeed being taught by God, who are otherwise unable to understand the true way of their salvation. Although the wolf (as Christ says) comes in sheep’s clothing, yet ‘by their fruits you will know them.’<sup>Mat 7.15-16</sup> For there are certain fruits by which the wolf is betrayed, notwithstanding that otherwise he seems ever so simple a sheep, in outward show, in various parts of devout holiness. It is apparent that the Romish religion is ravenish and wolfish, in three principal points:

“First, it robs God of his true and only honor.

“Secondly, it takes away the true comfort of conscience, in obscuring, or rather in burying Christ and his office of salvation.

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“Thirdly, it spoils God of his true worship and service in spirit and in truth, appointed in his written commandments, and it drives men to that inconvenience, against which Christ, with the prophet Isaiah, speaks sharply: “This people honors me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me.”<sup>Isa 29.13</sup> “In vain they worship me, ‘teaching for doctrines the commandments of

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men.’ <sup>Mat 15.8-9</sup> And in another place, ‘You reject the commandment of God, that you may keep your own tradition.’ <sup>Mar 7.9</sup>

“Therefore, weighing the Romish religion in my conscience, and by impartially discussing it, finding its foundation unsteadfast and the building but in vain — and on the other side, having my conscience framed according to a right and uncorrupt religion, ratified and fully established by the word of God, and the consent of his true church, I neither may nor do intend, by God’s gracious assistance, to be pulled one jot from it — no, not even if an angel out of heaven were to preach another gospel than what I have received from the Lord.” <sup>Gal 1.8</sup>

The above will enable us to understand how good was the cause and the state of mind of this blessed child of God, now suffering imprisonment for the cause of Christ, and for the defense of which he wholly resigned himself, so that he forbade his wife to sue for his delivery. And when other friends of his had almost obtained it by suit, he discouraged them, as it may appear by his letter set forth here:

### *A Letter of Lawrence Sanders to his Wife.*

“Grace, mercy, and peace in Christ our Lord, entirely beloved wife, even as to my own soul and body, so I wish to you daily in my hearty prayer, for I daily remember you, twice at least, in this way. And I do not doubt, dear wife, but that both I and you, as we are written in the book of life, so we shall together enjoy the same everlastingly, through the grace and mercy of God our dear Father, in his Son our Christ. And for this present life, let us wholly devote ourselves to the will of our good God, to glorify him either by life or by death; and may that same merciful Lord make us worthy to honor him either way as pleases him, Amen. I am happy, I thank my God and my Christ, in whom and through whom I shall, I know, be able to fight a good fight, and finish a good course, and then receive the crown which is laid up in store for me, and all the true soldiers of Christ. Therefore, wife, let us, in the name of our God, fight lustily to overcome the flesh, the devil, and the world. What our arms and weapons should be in this kind of fight, look into the 6th chapter to the Ephesians, and pray, pray, pray. I would that you make no suit for me in any way. Thank, you know whom, for most sweetly and comfortably putting me in remembrance of my journey, to where I am passing. God send us all good speed, and joyful meeting. I have too few such friends to further me in that journey, which is indeed the greatest friendship. The blessing of God be with you all. Amen. A prisoner in the Lord,” — L. SANDERS.”

This constancy of his is sufficiently commended and declared by his valiant confronting of two mighty enemies, antichrist and death. He gave way to neither of these, but by suffering their malice, he got the victory over them both. One of the conflicts which he had with antichrist and his members, I have gathered out of a letter in his own handwriting. It was with Doctor Weston., Sanders writes of this in a letter which he sent to one of his friends, who had written to him to know what Doctor Weston did at the Marshalsea.

“Master Weston came to confer with Master Grimoald. What he has concluded with him I do not know. I wish it may be to God’s glory. Amen, Amen. Master Weston out of his gentleness visited me, and offered me friendship in his worldly and wily way, etc. I did not have such good manners as to receive it at his hands; for I said that I was well enough, and ready to cheerfully abide the extremity, thereby to keep a good conscience.

“You are asleep in sin,’ he said. ‘I would awake,’ I replied, ‘and not forget to watch and pray.’ ‘What church was there thirty years past?’ ‘What church,’ I rejoined, ‘was there in Helias’ time?’ He said, ‘Joan of Kent was of your church.’ ‘No,’ I said, ‘we condemned her as a heretic.’

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“Who then was of your church,’ he asked, ‘thirty years past?’ ‘Those,’ I replied, ‘who the Romish antichrist and his rabble have reputed and condemned as heretics.’ ‘Wycliffe,’ he said, ‘Thorp, Oldcastle, etc.’ ‘Yes,’ I said, ‘with many more, as histories tell.’

“The bishop of Rome,’ he said, ‘has for a long time played a part in your railing sermons: but now, you may be sure, he will play another part.’ ‘The more pity,’ I replied, ‘and yet it is some comfort to see how the best learned, wisest, and holiest of you all, have up to now had him play a part likewise in your sermons and writings, though now, to please the world, you turn with the weather-cock.’ ‘Did you ever,’ he asked, ‘hear me preach against the bishop of Rome?’ ‘No,’ I replied, ‘for I never heard you preach. But I know you have been no wiser than others,’ etc., with more about the sacrament. Pray, pray. God keep your family, and bless it.”

What a blessed taste this good man has of God’s Holy Spirit may appear by his letters.

*“To the Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley,  
and Master Latimer, now imprisoned in Oxford.*

“In my most humble way I salute you, most reverend fathers in Christ Jesus our Lord. Immortal thanks and everlasting praises be given to the Father of mercies, ‘who has made us fit to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light; who has delivered us from the power of darkness, and has transferred us into the kingdom of his dear Son; in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins.’ <sup>Col 1.12-14</sup> O most happy estate, that in an unspeakable manner our life is hid with Christ in God. But whenever Christ, who is our life, shows himself, then we will also appear with him in glory. <sup>Col 3.4</sup> In the mean season, as our sight is only as in a mirror, even in a dark saying, so we walk in faith, not in outward appearance. This faith, though reason reputes it as but vain, for lack of outward appearance, yet the chosen of God know its effect: to bring a more substantial state and lively fruition of true felicity and perfect blessedness than reason can reach, or senses receive. By this faith we have in our possession all good things, yes even those ‘which the eye has not seen, and the ear has not heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man,’ etc. <sup>1Cor 2.9</sup> Then, if hereby we enjoy all good things, it follows that we must possess, have, and enjoy you, most reverend fathers, who are no small part of the joy and good things given to us by God. We have up to now had the fruition of you by bodily presence to our inexplicable benefit, praise be to our most gracious God therefore. And now in spirit we have the experience of unspeakable comfort by your reverend fatherhoods, for in this so glorious way you become a town set on a hill, a candle on a lampstand, a spectacle to the world, both to the angels and to men. So that, as we feel to our great comfort, you also may assuredly say with St. Paul, that the things which happen to us, fall out to the furtherance of the gospel. So that our bonds in Christ are manifest not only throughout all the judgment-hall, but in all Europe; insofar that many of the brethren in the Lord, being encouraged through our bonds, dare more boldly to speak the word without fear. And in this, just as with St. Paul you have greatly to rejoice, so we rejoice with you, and we do indeed give thanks with you for this worthy excellent favor of our God towards you, that Christ is thus magnified in you. Yes, and hereafter it shall be magnified in your bodies, whether it is through life or death. We are truly assured of this in our prayers for you, and by the ministering of the Spirit. And though for our own parts, Christ is an advantage to you in life and death, and seeing that your desire is (as indeed it would be better for you) to be loosed, and to be with Christ, yet for the church of Christ it would be much more needful that you remain in the flesh. <sup>Phi 1.23-24</sup>

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“Yes, that merciful God, even for his Christ’s sake, grant that you may abide and continue for the furtherance of the church, and the rejoicing of faith, so that rejoicing for this may be more abundant through Christ by your restoring. Amen, Amen.

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“But if it seems otherwise better to the divine wisdom, that by speedy death he has appointed you to glorify him, the Lord’s will be done! Yes, even as we rejoice both on your behalf, and also on our own behalf, that God is magnified by life, and might be more abundantly glad for the continuance of it, so we will no less rejoice to have the same wrought by death. We will give thanks for this honor given to you, rejoicing that you are accounted worthy to suffer for the name of Christ, and that ‘it is given to you by God, not only that you should believe in him, but also that you should suffer for his sake.’ <sup>Phi 1.29</sup> And in this we will have to rejoice in behalf of the church of Christ, whose faith may be faster fixed upon God’s truth, being confirmed with three such worthy witnesses. O thanks be to God for this his unspeakable gift!

“And now most reverend fathers, that you may understand the truth about us, and our estate, how we stand in the Lord. I assure your reverences, partly by what I perceive by those of your brethren who are here in bonds with me, partly by what I hear from those who are in other places, and partly by that inward experience which I most unworthily have from God’s good comfort (of which I know there is more abundance in others), you may be assured (I say) by God’s grace, that you will not be frustrated of your hope of our constant continuance in the cheerful confession of God’s everlasting truth. For even as we have received the word of truth, even the gospel of our salvation, believing in this, we are sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance, (which spirit certifies our spirit, that we are the children of God, and therefore God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father). <sup>Rom 8.16</sup> So after such a portion as God measures to us, we with the whole church of Christ, and with you reverend fathers, receiving the same spirit of faith, as it is written, ‘I believed, and therefore I have spoken,’ we also believe, and therefore speak. For which we, in this dangerous bondage and other afflictions, have even such a sight as we have seen in you, and have heard of you, are in no way afraid of our adversaries.

“And because we have such an office, even as God has had mercy on us, we do not go out of kind, but even with you, according to our little power, we labor to maintain the faith of the gospel, knowing most certainly that though ‘we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us;’ yet we shall not be dashed in pieces. For the Lord will put his hand under us, as St. Paul says in his second epistle to the Corinthians. ‘We are troubled on every side, yet not depressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed.’ (2Cor 4.7-10) But to commune with our sweet Savior Christ in bearing the cross, it is appointed to us, that even with Him we shall also be glorified. For it is a true saying; ‘If we died with him, we shall also live with him; If we suffer, we shall also reign with him: If we deny him, he will also deny us.’ <sup>2Tim 2.11-12</sup> Therefore we are of good cheer, ‘Always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life of Jesus also might be made manifest in our body:’ <sup>2Cor 4.10</sup> ‘Knowing that He who raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise up us also by Jesus, and shall present us with you... For this cause we do not faint; but even though our outward man perishes, yet the inward man is renewed day by day. For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, works for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory, while we do not look at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen — for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal.’ <sup>2Cor 4.14-18</sup>

“We testify to you, reverend fathers, that we draw these matters with joy out of the wells of the Savior. And I trust we shall continually, with you, bless the Lord, and give thanks to the Lord out of the wells of Israel. We trust to be happy together at that great supper of the Lamb, whose spouse we are by faith, and to sing there that song of everlasting Hallelujah, Amen. Yes, come, Lord Jesus. <sup>Rev 22.20</sup> The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen.”

Here we add another letter, written to his wife, in which it is to be seen how this worthy warrior prepared himself for the appointed fight, and to keep his standing in Christ’s camp.

*Lawrence Sanders to his Wife,*

“Grace and comfort in Christ Jesus, our only comfort in all extreme assaults, Amen.

“Gladly would this flesh make strange, that which the spirit embraces. Oh! Lord, how loath is this loitering sluggard to pass forth in God’s path! Were it not for the force of faith which pulls it forward by the rein of God’s most sweet promise, and of hope which pricks on behind, there would be a great chance of fainting by the way. But blessed, and everlastingly blessed, be that heavenly Father of ours who in his Christ, our sufficient Savior, has granted to shine in our hearts, such that he gives us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. And ‘having this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us.’ ‘We are (according to his good will) ‘troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed; always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our body.’ Therefore by the grace of our Christ we shall not be wearied, nor be dismayed by this, our probation through the fire of affliction, ‘as though some strange thing had happened to us.’ But by his power we shall rejoice, inasmuch as we are partakers of Christ’s passion, so that when he does appear, we may be merry and glad, knowing that ‘our light affliction, which is but for a moment, works for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory; while we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal.’ ‘Those who sow in tears shall reap in joy. He who goes forth and weeps, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.’ Then, then the Lord shall wipe away all tears from our eyes. Then, then shall be brought to pass that saying which is written; ‘Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is your sting? O grave, where is your victory?’ ‘But thanks be to God, who gives us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.’

“In the meantime it remains for us to follow St. Peter’s bidding; ‘Let those,’ he says, ‘who suffer according to the will of God, commit the keeping of their souls to Him in doing good, as to a faithful Creator.’ He is our Maker; we are his handy-work and creatures, whom now when He has made us, He does not leave and forsake, as the shipwright does the ship, leaving it at all risks to be tossed in the tempest. But he comforts us his creatures, and in Him we live, move, and have our being. Yes, and not only that, but now in Christ he has repaid us, being utterly decayed before. He has redeemed us, purging us for himself as a peculiar people by the blood of his Son. He has put on a most tender good will and fatherly affection towards us, never to forget us. By such promises to us, He has plighted such faith that even if it were possible that the mother could forget her infant, and not be tender-hearted to the child of her womb, yet it may not be that His faithful believers should be forgotten by Him. He bids us to cast our cares on him, and he says that assuredly he cares for us. And what if for a season He allows us to be turmoiled in the troublous tempests of temptation, and it seems like in much anger he has given us over, and forgotten us?

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“Let us not for all that, abandon putting our trust in Him. But let us with godly Job conclude in ourselves and say, ‘Even though He slay me, yet I will put my trust in Him.’ Let us with the blessed Abraham, in hope, even contrary to hope, by belief lean unto our loving Lord, who though for our probation he allows us to be afflicted, yet ‘He will not always chide; nor will he keep his anger forever. For he knows our frame: he remembers that we are dust.’ Therefore, ‘As the heaven is high above the earth, so great is his mercy toward those who fear him. As far as



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the east is from the west, so far has he removed our transgressions from us. Like a father pities his children, so the Lord pities those who fear him.' Oh! what great cause for rejoicing we have in our most gracious God! We cannot help but burst forth in praising such a bountiful benefactor, and say with the same Psalmist; 'Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me praise his holy name. Praise the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits.'

"Dear wife, I have no riches to leave behind me, with which to endow you in the worldly manner. But that treasure of tasting how sweet Christ is to hungry consciences (of which I thank my Christ, I feel in part, and would feel more), that I bequeath to you, and to the rest of my beloved in Christ, to retain these always in sense of heart. Pray, pray. I am happy, and I trust I shall be, in spite of the teeth of all the powers of hell. I utterly refuse myself, and resign myself to my Christ, in whom I know I shall be strong, as he sees needful. Pray, pray, pray!

"LAWRENCE SANDERS."

And now, to come to the examination of this good man, after the bishops had kept him one whole year and a quarter in prison, at length they called him, as they did the rest of his fellows, to be examined openly. The effect and purport of this examination was as follows:

*The Examination of Lawrence Sanders  
(as he recorded it).*

Praised be our gracious God, who preserves His from evil, and gives them grace to avoid all such offenses as might hinder his honor, or hurt his church, Amen.

Being brought before the queen's most honorable council, and sundry bishops being present, the lord chancellor began to speak as follows:

Lord Chancellor. — "It is not unknown that you have been a prisoner for such abominable heresies and false doctrine as has been sown by you; and now it is thought good that mercy be shown to those who seek it. Therefore, if you will now show yourself conformable, and come home again, mercy is ready. We must say that we all have fallen, but now have risen again, and returned to the Catholic church. You must rise with us, and come home to it. Give us immediately a direct answer."

Sanders. — "My lord, and my lords all, may it please your honors to give me leave to answer with deliberation."

Ld. Chan. — "Leave your painting and pride of speech; for such is the fashion of you all, to please yourselves in your glorious words. Answer yes, or no."

Sanders. — "My lord, it is no time for me now to paint. And as for pride, there is no great cause why it should be in me, my learning I confess to be but small. And as for riches or worldly wealth I have none at all. Notwithstanding, I am ready to answer to your demand circumspectly, considering that one of these two extreme perils are likely to fall upon me: the losing of a good conscience, or the losing of my body and life. And I tell you in truth, I love both life and liberty, if I could enjoy them without the hurt of my conscience."

Ld. Chan. — "Conscience! You have none at all, but pride and arrogance."

Sanders. — "The Lord is the knower of all men's consciences. And where your lordship lays to my charge this dividing of myself from the church, I assure you, that I live in the faith in which I have been brought up since I was fourteen years old; being taught that the power of the bishop of Rome is but usurped. Yes, this I have received even at your hands who are here present, as a thing agreed upon by the catholic church and public authority."

Ld. Chan. — "Yes, but I pray you, have you received by consent and authority all your heresies of the blessed sacrament of the altar?"

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Sanders. — “My lord, it is a lesser offense to cut off an arm, hand, or joint of a man, than to cut off the head. For the man may live even if he lacks an arm, hand, or joint; but he cannot without his head. But you, the whole sort of you, had agreed to cut off the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom now you would have to be the head of the church again.”

Bp. of Lond. — “I have his hand-writing against the blessed sacrament. What do you say to that?”

Sanders. — “What I have written, that I have written; and further, I will not accuse myself. You have nothing to burden me with, for breaking your laws since they were in force.”

Ld. Chan. — “Well, you *are* obstinate, and you refuse liberty.”

Sanders. — “My lord, I cannot buy liberty at such a price. But I beseech your honors to be a means to the queen’s majesty for such a pardon for us, that we may live and keep our consciences unclogged, and we will live as most obedient subjects. Otherwise I must say for myself, that by God’s grace, I will abide the utmost extremity that man may do against me, rather than act against my conscience.”

Ld. Chan. — “Ah sir, you will live as you wish. The Donatists desired to live in singularity; but they were not fit to live on earth: No more are you, and you shall understand that within these seven days; and therefore away with him!”

Sanders. — “I welcome it, whatever the will of God shall be, either life or death. And I tell you truly, I have learned to die. But I exhort you to beware of shedding innocent blood. Truly it will cry out. The Spirit of God rest upon all your honors. Amen.”

This is the sum and form of my first examination. Pray, etc.

This examination having ended, the officers led him out of the place, until the rest of his fellows were likewise disposed of, so that they might convey all of them together to prison. Sanders standing among the officers, and seeing a great multitude of people there, opened his mouth and spoke freely, warning them all of that which they deserved by their falling from Christ to antichrist, and therefore exhorting them by repentance to rise again, and to embrace Christ with stronger faith, to confess him to the end, in the defiance of antichrist, sin, death, and the devil. So they would retain the Lord’s favor and blessing.

After he was excommunicated and delivered to the secular power, he was brought by the sheriff of London to prison.

On the 4th of February, the bishop of London came to the prison where he was, to degrade him. When he had done this, Sanders said to him, “I thank God I am not of your church.”

On the following morning, the sheriff of London, delivered him to the queen’s guard, who were appointed to carry him to the city of Coventry to be burned.

After they had come to Coventry, a poor shoemaker came to him and said; “O my good master, God strengthen and comfort you.” “Good shoemaker,” cried Master Sanders, “pray for me; for I am the unfittest man for this high office, who was ever appointed to it. But my gracious God and dear Father is able to make me strong enough.” That same night he was put into the common jail among other prisoners, where he slept little, but spent the night in prayer and instructing others.

On the next day, which was the 8th of February, he was led to the place of execution in the park outside the city. He went in an old gown and shirt, and barefoot; he often fell flat on the ground and prayed.

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When he had come near to the place, the officer who was appointed to see the execution done, said that he was one of those who marred the queen's realm with false doctrine and heresy, "Therefore you have deserved death," he said; "Yet, if you will revoke your heresies, the queen has pardoned you; if not, yonder fire is prepared for you." Sanders answered him, "It is not I, nor my fellow preachers of God's truth, who have hurt the queen's realm, but it is yourself, and those like you, who have always resisted God's holy word. It is you who have and still mar the queen's realm. I hold no heresies, but the doctrine of God, the blessed gospel of Christ. What I hold, that I believe, that I have taught, and that I will never revoke." With that, this tormentor cried, "Away with him!" And away from him went Master Sanders, with courage toward the fire. He fell to the ground, and prayed. And when he rose up again, he took the stake to which he was to be chained, in his arms, and kissed it, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life." And being fastened to the stake, and the fire put to him, he sweetly slept in the Lord.

And thus have you the full history of Lawrence Sanders, whom I may well compare to any of the old martyrs of Christ's church. This is both for his fervent zeal for the truth and gospel of Christ, and the most constant patience in his suffering, and also for the cruel torments that he sustained in the flame of fire. For his cruel enemies so treated him, that they burned him with green wood, and other smothering rather than burning fuel. This put him to much more pain. But that the grace and most plentiful consolation of Christ, who never forsakes his servants, gave patience above all that his torments could work.

This blessed man of God, when in prison, did not pass his time in unfruitful idleness, but from time to time edified his friends, and especially his wife, with many letters full of godly instruction and consolation. We insert three of these here.

*Two letters from Lawrence Sanders to his Wife after his  
condemnation, written on the last day of January,  
A.D. 1555, out of the Compter in Bread-street.*

"The grace of Christ, with the consolation of the Holy Spirit, to the keeping of the faith and a good conscience, confirm and keep you forever as a vessel to God's glory, Amen.

"Oh! what worthy thanks can be given to our gracious God for his immeasurable mercies plentifully poured upon us? And I, a most unworthy wretch, cannot but pour forth at this present, even from the bottom of my heart, the bewailing of my great ingratitude and unkindness towards so gracious and good a God and loving Father. I beseech you all — just as for my other many sins, so especially for that sin of my unthankfulness — crave pardon for me in your earnest prayers, commending me to God's great mercies in Christ.

"To number these mercies in particular, would be to number the drops of water which are in the sea, the sands on the shore, or the stars in the sky. O my dear wife, and you, the rest of my friends, rejoice with me, I say rejoice with thanksgiving for my present probation, in that I am made worthy to magnify my God, not only in my life and my slow mouth and uncircumcised lips bearing witness to His truth, but also to seal the same by my blood, to the glory of my God, and the confirming of his true church. And yet I testify to you, that the comfort of my sweet Christ drives from my mind the fear of death. But if my dear husband Christ, for my trial, leaves me a little to myself alone, alas, I know in what case I will then be. But if for my proof, he does so, yet I am sure he will not be long or far from me. Though he stands behind the wall and hides himself (as Solomon says in his mystical song), yet he will peep in by a crevice to see how I am doing. <sup>Sol 2.9</sup> He is a very tender-hearted Joseph; though he speaks roughly to his brothers, and handles them harshly — yes, even threatening grievous bondage to his best beloved brother Benjamin — yet he cannot contain himself from weeping with us and upon us,

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with falling on our necks, and sweetly kissing us. Such, such a brother is our Christ to all. Therefore hasten to go to him, as Jacob did with his sons and family, leaving their country and acquaintance. Yes, this is what our Joseph has obtained for us, that Pharaoh the infidel shall afford chariots to us, in which we may be carried at ease to come to him — experiencing how our very adversaries help us to our everlasting bliss by their speedy dispatch — yes, and how all things have been helping toward this; blessed be our God! Do not be afraid of terrors which lie in the way. Fear rather the everlasting fire; fear the serpent which has that deadly sting of which those who are not grafted in Christ, shall be brought to taste by bodily death, lacking faith and good conscience, and who are not acquainted with Christ, the killer of death. But oh, my dear wife and friends! we, whom God has delivered from the power of darkness, and has transferred us into the kingdom of his dear Son, by putting off the old man, and by faith putting on the new, even our Lord Jesus Christ — His wisdom, holiness, righteousness, and redemption — I say, we have to triumph against the terribly spiteful serpent the devil, sin, hell, death, and damnation. For Christ our bronze serpent has pulled away the sting of this serpent, so that now we may, in beholding it spoiled of its sting, boldly triumph. And with our Christ, and all his elect, we say, ‘O death, where is your sting? O grave, where is your victory? But thanks be to God, who gives us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.’

“Therefore be happy, my dear wife; and all my dear fellow heirs of the everlasting kingdom, always remember the Lord. Rejoice in hope; be patient in tribulation; continue in prayer, and pray for us now appointed to the slaughter, that we may be a fit offering and an acceptable sacrifice to our heavenly Father. I can hardly write to you. Therefore, let these few words be a witness of my commendations to you and all those who love us in the faith; and namely, to my flock, among whom I am resident by God’s providence, as but a prisoner.

“And although I am not so among them, as I have been, to preach to them out of a pulpit, yet God now preaches to them by me, by this my imprisonment and captivity, which now I suffer among them for the sake of Christ’s gospel, bidding them to beware of the Romish antichristian religion and kingdom, requiring and charging them to abide in the truth of Christ, which is shortly to be sealed with the blood of their pastor — who, though he is unworthy of such a ministry, yet Christ their high pastor is to be regarded, whose truth has been taught to them by me, is witnessed by my chains, and shall be by my death, through the power of that high pastor. Do not be full of care, good wife; cast your care upon the Lord, and commend me to him in repentant prayer, as I do you and our Samuel; even at the stake, I will offer myself to God. Fare all of you well in Christ, in the hope of being joined with you in joy everlasting. This hope is put up in my bosom, Amen, Amen, Amen! Pray, pray.”

### *Another Letter to his Wife,*

“Grace and comfort, etc. Wife, you would do best not to come often to the grate where the porter may see you. Do not put yourself in danger where it is not needed. You will, I think, shortly come far enough into danger by keeping faith and a good conscience; which (dear wife) I trust you do not hesitate to reckon and count upon, by exercising your inward man in meditation of God’s most holy word, being the sustenance of the soul, and also by giving yourself to humble prayer. For these two things are the very means to be made members of our Christ, fit to inherit his kingdom.

“Do this, dear wife, in earnest, not abandoning this; and so we two, with our Christ and all his chosen children, shall enjoy the blessed world in that everlasting immortality — whereas here nothing else will be found but extreme misery, even by those who most greedily seek this world’s wealth.

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“And so, if we continue as God’s children grafted in our Christ, the same blessing of God which we receive will also settle upon our Samuel. Though we shortly depart from here and leave (it seems) the poor infant at all risks, yet he will have our gracious God to be his God; for so He has said, and He cannot lie: ‘I will be your God,’ he says, ‘and the God of your seed.’ <sup>Gen 17:7</sup> Yes, if you leave him in the wilderness destitute of all help, being called by God to do his will, either to die for the confession of Christ, or any work of obedience — that God who heard the cry of the poor little infant of Hagar, Sarah’s hand-maiden, and succored it, will do the same for your child, or any others who fear Him, and who put their trust in Him.

“And if we lack faith, as we do indeed many times, let us call for it, and we shall have the increase both of it and also of any other good grace which is needful for us. And be joyful in God, in whom I am also very joyful. O Lord, what great cause for rejoicing we have, to think upon that kingdom which he granted for Jesus Christ’s sake to freely give us, forsaking ourselves and following him! Dear wife, this is truly to follow him: even to take up our cross and follow him. And then, as we suffer with him, so shall we shortly reign with him everlastingly. Amen.”

*Letter to Messrs. Robert and John Glover,  
written the same morning that he was burnt.*

“Grace and consolation in our sweet Savior Christ. Oh my dear brethren, whom I love in the Lord, being loved by you also in the Lord, be merry and rejoice for me, who am now ready to go up to my inheritance, which I myself indeed am most unworthy of. But my dear Christ is worthy, who has purchased the same for me with so dear a price. Make haste, my dear brethren, to come to me, that we may be merry with that joy which no man shall take from us. O wretched sinner that I am, not thankful to this my Father, who has granted me worthy to be a vessel to his honor. But, O Lord, now accept my thanks, though they proceed out of a heart not circumcised enough. Salute my good sisters your wives; and good sisters, fear the Lord. Salute all others who love us in the truth. God’s blessing be with you always. Amen. Even now towards the offering of a burnt sacrifice, O my Christ, help, or else I perish.

“LAWRENCE SANDERS.”

### ***The History and Martyrdom of John Hooper***

*The Life and Martyrdom of John Hooper, bishop of Worcester and Gloucester,  
burnt for the defense of the gospel, at Gloucester, Feb. 9, 1555.*

John Hooper, a student and graduate in the University of Oxford, through God’s secret calling, was stirred with a fervent desire, to the love and knowledge the Scriptures. In reading and searching them, just as diligence joined with earnest prayer was not lacking in him, so neither did the grace of the Holy Ghost fail to satisfy his desire, and to open to him the light of true divinity.

Thus Master Hooper grew more and more, by God’s grace, in the ripeness of spiritual understanding. He showed some signs of his fervent spirit, about the time of the beginning of the Six Articles, in the reign of King Henry VIII. He soon fell under the displeasure and hatred of certain scholars in Oxford, who began to stir up strife against him. By this, and especially by the procurement of Doctor Smith,<sup>543</sup> he was compelled to leave the university. And so removing from there, he was retained in the house of Sir Thomas Arundel, and there he was his steward till Sir Thomas, receiving intelligence of Hooper’s opinions (which he did not favor) sent a private message about him to the bishop of Winchester.

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<sup>543</sup> Doctor Smith was then reader of the divinity lecture, a senior academic (see pp. 596, 691).

Winchester, after long conference with Master Hooper, over four or five days, when he perceived that he could not do what he thought to him, sent Hooper home, commending his learning and knowledge, yet bearing in his breast a bad feeling against Master Hooper. It followed not long after this, as malice always works mischief, that intelligence was given to Master Hooper to provide for himself, for danger was working against him. Upon which, Hooper left Arundel's house. Borrowing a horse from a friend (whose life he had saved from the gallows a little before) took his journey to the sea-coast to go to France. He sent back the horse by someone who did not deliver it to the owner. Hooper being at Paris, did not tarry there long, but in a short time returned to England, and was retained by Master Sentlow, till he was again molested. He was compelled (under the pretense of being captain of a ship going to Ireland) to take to sea; and so he escaped through France to the higher parts of Germany. When there, he made acquaintance with learned men. He was friendly and lovingly entertained by them, both at Basel, and especially at Zurich, by his particular friend, Master Bullinger. There also he married his wife, and applied himself very studiously to the Hebrew tongue.

At length, God saw it good to stay the bloody time of the Six Articles, and to give us King Edward to reign over this realm, with some peace and rest for the gospel. Hooper, along with many other English exiles, prepared to return homeward, so that they might help forward the Lord's work to the uttermost of their ability. And so coming to Master Bullinger, and others of his acquaintance in Zurich, he thanked them for their kindness and humanity toward him, and took his leave of them.

When Master Hooper had taken his farewell from Master Bullinger and his friends in Zurich, he repaired to England. Coming to London, he continually preached at least once every day, and generally twice.

In his sermons, according to his manner, he corrected sin, and sharply inveighed against the iniquity of the world, and corrupt abuses of the church. The people and companies came daily in great flocks to hear his voice; insomuch that oftentimes when he was preaching, the church would be so full, that none could enter further than the doors. In his doctrine he was earnest, in tongue eloquent, in the Scriptures perfect, in pains indefatigable.

Moreover, besides his other gifts and qualities, this is to be marvelled in him, that even as he began, so he continued to his life's end. For his labor and pains-taking could not break him, nor promotion change him, nor dainty fare corrupt him. His life was so pure and good, that no kind of slander could fasten any fault upon him (although various men went about to reprove his conduct). He was of a strong body, his health whole and sound, his wit very pregnant, his invincible patience able to sustain whatever sinister fortune and adversity could do to him. He was constant of judgment, a good justice, spare of diet, sparer of words, and sparest of time. In house-keeping he was very liberal, and sometimes freer than his living would extend to. Briefly, of all those virtues and qualities required in a good bishop by St. Paul, in his epistle to Timothy, I know not one that was lacking in this good bishop. He always bore in his countenance and talk, a certain severe and grave grace, which might perhaps be wished sometimes to have been a little more popular in him; but he knew best what he had to do himself.

After he had thus practiced himself in this popular and common kind of preaching, at length, and not without the great profit of many, he was called to preach before the king's majesty. Soon after he was made bishop of Gloucester by the king's command. He continued in that office two years, and behaved himself so well, that even his enemies could find no

fault with him (unless it was for his good doings, and sharp correcting of sin). Afterwards he was made bishop of Worcester.

But I cannot tell what sinister and unlucky contention concerning the ordering and consecration of bishops, and of their apparel, with other such trifles, began to disturb the good beginning of the godly bishop.

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For notwithstanding the godly reformation of religion that began in the church of England, besides other ceremonies more ambitious than profitable, or tending to edification, they used to wear such garments and apparel as the popish bishops usually did: first a chymere, and under that a white rochet, then a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. These trifles, tending more to superstition than otherwise, because he could never abide them, so in no way could he be persuaded to wear them. For this reason he petitioned the king's majesty, most humbly desiring his highness, either to discharge him of the bishopric, or else to dispense with him for such ceremonial orders. The king granted his petition immediately, permitting him to dispense with such ceremony.

But notwithstanding this grant of the king, the bishops still stood earnestly in the defense of these ceremonies, saying it was but a small matter, and that the fault was in the abuse of the things, and not in the things themselves. They added, moreover, that Hooper should not be so stubborn in so slight a matter, and that his willfulness was not to be endured.

To be short, while both parties thus contended about this matter more than they should, occasion was given to true Christians to lament, and to the adversaries to rejoice. In conclusion, this theological contention came to this end: that the bishops having the upper hand, Master Hooper was glad to agree to this condition, that sometimes he would during his sermon, show himself apparelled as the other bishops were. Therefore, being appointed to preach before the king, he came apparelled as desired.

Hooper, after all these vexations about his vestures, at length entered into his diocese. There he employed his time under King Edward's reign, with such diligence as may be an example to all bishops who will ever after succeed him, not only in that place, but in every diocese throughout the realm of England. So careful was he in his cure, that he left neither pains untaken, nor ways unsought, to train up the flock of Christ in the true word of salvation. Other men commonly aspire to bishoprics for lucre or promotion's sake. Some hunt for them, and some purchase or buy them, as men used to purchase lordships; and when they have them, they are loath to leave them.

Hooper was very different from this sort of men. He abhorred nothing more than gain, laboring always to save and preserve the souls of his flock. Being bishop of two dioceses, he so ruled and guided each of them, and both together, as though he had in his charge but one family. No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard, was more or better occupied than he was in his diocese among his flock, going about his towns and villages in teaching and preaching to the people.

Everywhere he kept one religion and one uniform doctrine and integrity. So that if you entered into the bishop's palace, you would suppose yourself to have entered into some church or temple. In every corner of it there was some savor of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of the holy Scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly rioting or idleness; no pomp at all, no dishonest word, no swearing could be heard there.

As for the revenues of his bishoprics, he pursed nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. I was twice in his house in Worcester, as I remember, where in his common hall I saw a table spread with good store of food, and beset full of beggars and poor folk. Asking his servants what this meant, they told me that every day their lord and master's manner was to have to dinner a certain number of poor folk of the city in turns, who were served by four at a mess, with wholesome foods. And when they were served (being previously examined by him or his deputies in the Lord's prayer, the articles of their faith, and the ten commandments) he then sat down to dinner himself, and not before.

In this manner Hooper executed the office of a most careful and vigilant pastor, for the space of two years and more, so long as religion safely flourished in King Edward's time. And I would to God that all other bishops would use the same diligence, care, and observance in their function. After this, King Edward being dead and Mary being crowned queen of England, religion being subverted and changed, this good bishop was one of the first who was sent for to come to London. On the 19th of March 1554, he was called before the bishops of Winchester, London, Durham, Landaff, Chichester, and others of the queen's commissioners. Not being permitted to plead his cause, he was then deprived of his bishoprics. In what order this was done may be seen by the report of someone, who being present, committed it to writing.

"At Master Hooper's coming in, the lord chancellor asked whether he was married?

"Hooper. — 'Yes, my lord, and I will not be unmarried, till death unmarries me.'

"Durham. — 'That is cause enough to deprive you.'

"Hooper. — 'That it is not, my lord, unless you act against the law.'

"The matter concerning marriage was no more talked of then for some time; but the commissioners, and some who stood by, began to make such outcries, and laughed, and used such gestures as were unseemly for the place, and for such a matter. Doctor Day, bishop of Chichester, called Hooper a 'hypocrite,' with vehement words and scornful countenance. Tunstall called him a 'beast,' so did Smith, one of the clerics of the council, and others who stood by. At length, the bishop of Winchester said that all men might live chaste who would, and brought in the text, Mat 19.12. 'For there are some eunuchs, who were born so from their mother's womb; and there are some eunuchs, who were made eunuchs by men; and there are eunuchs, who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.'

"Hooper said that text did not prove that all men could live chaste, but such those to whom it was given; and he read the preceding verse. But there was a clamor and cry, mocking and scorning, with calling him a 'beast,' so that the text could not be examined. Then Hooper said that it appeared by the old canons, that marriage was not forbidden to priests, and he named the decrees. But the bishop of Winchester sent for another part, namely, the Clementines, or the Extravagants. But bishop Hooper said that this book was not the one he named. "Then the bishop of Winchester said, \*You shall not have any other, until you are first judged by this.' And then there began such a noise, tumult, and speaking together, that nothing was done, nor spoken in an orderly, or charitable way. Afterwards judge Morgan began to rail at Hooper a long time, with many opprobrious and foul words. After that, Doctor Day, bishop of Chichester, said that the Council of Ancyra, which was held before the Council of Nice, was against the marriage of priests.

"Then my lord chancellor, and many with him, cried out that Hooper had never read the councils.



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“Yes, my lord,’ said Hooper, ‘and my lord of Chichester, Doctor Day, knows that the great Council of Nice, by means of Paphnutius, decreed that no minister should be separated from his wife.’ But such clamors and cries were used, that the Council of Nice was not considered.

“After this, Tunstall, bishop of Durham, asked Hooper whether he believed in the corporeal presence in the sacrament. And Master Hooper said plainly that there was no such thing, nor did he believe any such thing.

“Then the bishop of Durham would have read out of a book (what book it was, I cannot tell) but there was such noise and confused talk on every side, that he did not read it. Then Winchester asked Hooper what authority induced him not to believe in the corporeal presence? He said, the authority of God’s word, and he alleged this text: “Whom the heavens must receive until the time of the restitution of all things.” <sup>Act 3.21</sup>

“Then the bishop of Winchester said Christ might be in heaven, and in the sacrament also.

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“Hooper would have said more to open the text, but those who stood about the bishop so disturbed him with clamors and cries, that he was not permitted to say any more against the bishop. Upon which they bade the notaries write that he was married, and said that he would not separate from his wife, and that he did not believe in the corporeal presence in the sacrament; therefore he was worthy to be deprived of his bishopric.

“This is the truth of the matter (as far as I can truly remember) of the confused and troublesome talk that was between them.”

*The true Report of Hooper’s treatment in the Fleet,  
written with his own hand, the 7th of January 1551.*

“On the first of September 1553, I was committed to the Fleet from Richmond, to have the liberty of the prison. Within six days, I had paid five pounds sterling for my liberty to the warden of fees. Immediately upon the payment, he complained to Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and so I was committed to close prison one quarter of a year in the tower chamber of the Fleet, and used very extremely. Then by means of a good gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, though I was not allowed to speak with any of my friends; as soon as dinner and supper were done, I repaired to my chamber again. Notwithstanding, while I thus came down to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly about me to their great friend the bishop of Winchester.

“After one quarter of a year, and somewhat more, Babington the warden and his wife fell out with me for the wicked mass. Thereupon the warden resorted to the bishop of Winchester, and obtained leave to put me into the wards. There I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed but a little pad of straw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers in it, the chamber being vile and stinking. By God’s means, good people sent me bedding to lie in. On one side of this prison is the sink and filth of the house, and on the other side is the town ditch, so that the stench of the house has infected me with sundry diseases.

“During all the time I have been sick, and the doors, bars, hasps, and chains all being closed and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called, and cried for help. But the warden — when he has known me many times to be ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me — he has commanded the doors to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come to me, saying, ‘Let him alone, it would be a good riddance of him.’ Among many other times, he did thus on the 18th of October 1553, as many can witness.

“I always paid like a baron to the said warden, in fees as well as for my board, which was twenty shillings a week, besides my man’s table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my

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bishopric. Since that time, I have paid him as the best gentleman does in his house; yet he has used me worse, and more vilely than the lowest slave who ever came to the hall commons.

“The said warden has also imprisoned my man William Downton, and stripped him of his clothes to search for letters. He could find none except a little remembrance of good people’s names, who gave me their alms to relieve me in prison. And to undo them also, the warden delivered the same bill to the said Stephen Gardiner, God’s enemy and mine.

“I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen months, with my goods, living, friends, and comfort taken from me; the queen owes me by just account eighty pounds or more. She has put me in prison, and gives nothing to support me. Nor is anyone allowed to come to me by which I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy (saving God’s help), but to be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be by life or death.”

Thus much he wrote himself.

### *Another Examination of Bishop Hooper.*

On the 22nd of January 1555, Babington, the warden of the Fleet, was commanded to bring Hooper before the bishop of Winchester, with other bishops and commissioners at Winchester’s house, at St. Mary’s Overbury (St. Savior’s), where in effect the following was done.

The bishop of Winchester, in the name of himself and the rest, moved Hooper to earnestly forsake the evil and corrupt doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the days of King Edward VI, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, and to acknowledge the pope’s holiness to be head of the same church, according to the determination of the whole parliament. He promised that because he himself, with others his brethren, had received the pope’s blessing, and the queen’s mercy, even so mercy was ready to be shown to him and others, if he would arise with them, and condescend to the pope’s holiness.

Hooper answered that because the pope taught doctrine altogether contrary to the doctrine of Christ, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of Christ’s church, much less to be head of it. Therefore he would in no way condescend to any such usurped jurisdiction, nor did he esteem the church of which they call him head, to be the catholic church of Christ. For the church alone hears the voice of her spouse Christ, and flees strangers. “However,” he says, “if in any point unknown to me, I have offended the queen’s majesty, I will most humbly submit myself to her mercy, if mercy may be had with safety of conscience, and without the displeasure of God.”

The answer was made that the queen would show no mercy to the pope’s enemies, whereupon Babington was commanded to take Hooper back to the Fleet.

On the 28th of January, Winchester and others of the commissioners sat in judgment at St. Mary’s Overbury, where Hooper again appeared before them in the afternoon. And there, after much reasoning and disputation, he was commanded to step aside till Rogers had been likewise examined. The examinations being ended, the two sheriffs of London were commanded, about four o’clock, to carry them to the Compter in Southwark, there to remain till the morrow at nine o’clock, to see whether they would relent and come home again to the catholic church. So Hooper went beforehand with one of the sheriffs, and Rogers came after with the other. Being out of the church-door, Hooper looked back and stayed a little till Rogers drew near. He said to him, “Come, brother Rogers, must we two take this matter in hand first, and begin to fry these faggots?” “Yes, sir,” said Master Rogers,

“by God’s grace.” “Do not doubt,” said Hooper, “that God will give strength.” So going forward, there was a great press of people in the streets, who rejoiced at their constancy.

The next day, the 29th of January, they were again brought by the sheriffs before the bishop and commissioners. After long and earnest talk, when they perceived that Hooper would by no means yield to them, they condemned him to be degraded, and read to him his condemnation. That done, Rogers was brought before them, and treated in like manner. And so they delivered both of them to the secular power, the two sheriffs of London, who were ordered to carry them to prison.

When it was dark, Hooper was led by one of the sheriffs, with many weapons, first through the bishop of Winchester’s house, and so over London bridge, through the city to Newgate. Some of the sergeants were ordered to go before them, and remove the costermongers’ candles, who used to sit with lights in the streets. They either feared that the people would make some attempt to take him away from them by force if they saw him go to that prison; or else, being burdened with an evil conscience, they thought darkness was more fitting for such a business.

But notwithstanding this device, the people had some foreknowledge of his coming. Many of them came out at their doors with lights, and saluted him, praising God for his constancy in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and desiring God to strengthen him in the same to the end.

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Hooper passed by, and requested the people to make their earnest prayers to God for him, and so he went through Cheapside to the place appointed, and was delivered as a close prisoner to the keeper of Newgate. There he remained six days, nobody being permitted to come to him, or talk with him except his keepers, and those appointed to that duty.

During this time, Bonner, bishop of London, and others at his appointment, such as Feckenham, Chedsey, and Harpsfield, etc., resorted to him to try if by any means they could persuade him to relent, and become a member of their antichristian church. When they perceived that they could not reclaim him with such offers as they used for his conversion, they went about by false rumors of recantation to bring him and the doctrine of Christ which he professed, out of credit with the people. The report being spread abroad, and believed by some of the weaker sort, it at last came to Hooper’s ears. He was not a little grieved that the people would give credit to such rumors, as appears by a letter he wrote on that occasion.

*A Letter of Hooper for stopping certain false rumors  
spread abroad of his Recantation.*

“The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all those who unfeignedly look for the coming of our Savior Christ. Amen.

“Dear brethren and sisters in the Lord, and my fellow prisoners for the cause of God’s gospel, I much rejoice and give thanks to God for your constancy and perseverance in affliction, to whom I wish continuance to the end. And as I rejoice in the faith and constancy in affliction, of those who are in prison, even so I mourn and lament to hear of our dear brethren who have not yet felt such dangers for God’s truth as we have, and feel and are likely to suffer more daily, yes, the very extreme and vile death of the fire — yet such is the report abroad (as I am credibly informed) that I, John Hooper, a condemned man for the cause of Christ, now after the sentence of death (being a prisoner in Newgate, and looking daily for execution) recanted and abjured that which I have preached up to now. And this talk arises from the fact that the bishop of

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London and his chaplains resort to me. Doubtless, if our brethren were as godly as I could wish them to be, they would think that in case I refused to talk with them, they might have just occasion to say I was unlearned, and dared not speak with learned men, or else I was proud, and disdained to speak with them. Therefore to avoid just suspicion of both, I have and I do daily speak with them when they come, not doubting that they report that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wish all men to do as I do in this point. For I do not fear their arguments, nor is death terrible to me, praying you to make a true report of the same, as occasion serves; and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have preached up to now, by their coming.

“Therefore, you who may send to the weak brethren, pray them that they do not trouble me with such reports of recantations as they do. For I have up to now felt all the things of the world, and suffered great pains and imprisonment, and I thank God I am as ready to suffer death as a mortal man can be. It would be better for them to pray for us, than to credit or report such rumors that are untrue. We have enemies enough of those who do not know God truly. Yet the false report of weak brethren is a double cross. I wish you eternal salvation in Jesus Christ, and also request your continual prayers, that He who has begun in us, may continue it to the end.

“I have taught the truth with my tongue, and with my pen up to now, and hereafter I shall confirm it by God’s grace with my blood. Newgate, 2nd of Feb. A.D. 1554. Your brother in Christ,  
“John Hooper.”

On Monday morning (February 4th) the bishop of London came to Newgate, and there he degraded Hooper. He was ordered to be taken to Gloucester, to be burned there. Accordingly, he was removed to that place under a guard.

Many persons came there to speak with him. Among others was Sir Anthony Kingston, knight. Having formerly been his friend, he was on this occasion appointed by the queen’s letters to be one of the commissioners, to see him executed. Kingston being brought into the chamber, found him at his prayers. As soon as he saw Hooper, he burst out in tears. Hooper at first blush did not know him. Then Kingston said, “Why, my lord, do you not know me, an old friend of yours, Anthony Kingston?”

“Yes, Master Kingston, I do now know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and I praise God for the same.”

“But I am sorry,” said Kingston, “to see you in this case. For as I understand it, you have come here to die. But, alas! consider that life is sweet, and death is bitter. Therefore, seeing that life may be had, desire to live; for life hereafter may do good.”

“Indeed,” said the bishop, “it is true. Master Kingston, I have come here to end this life, and to suffer death here, because I will not deny the truth that I have up to now taught among you in this diocese, and elsewhere. And I thank you for your friendly counsel, although it is not so friendly as I could have wished. It is true, Master Kingston, that death is bitter and life is sweet. But, alas! consider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is sweeter. Therefore for the desire and love I have for the one, and the terror and fear I have of the other, I do not so much regard this death, nor esteem this life, but have settled myself, through the strength of God’s Holy Spirit, to patiently pass through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, rather than deny the truth of His word, desiring you and others, in the meantime, to commend me to God’s mercy in your prayers.”

“Well, my lord,” said Kingston, “I perceive there is no remedy; and therefore I will take my leave of you. I thank God that I have known you; for God appointed you to call me, being a lost child. And by your good instructions, where previously I was both an evil liver and an immoral man, God has brought me to forsake and detest my sins.”

“If you have had the grace to do so,” said Hooper, “I highly praise God for it: and if you have not, I pray God you may have it, and that you may continually live in His fear.” After these and many other words they took leave of each other; Kingston with bitter tears, Hooper with tears also trickling down his cheeks. At his departure Hooper told him that all the troubles he had sustained in prison, had not caused him to utter so much sorrow.

On the same day, in the afternoon, a blind boy, after long intercession made to the guard, obtained leave to be brought to Hooper’s presence. The same boy not long before had suffered imprisonment at Gloucester for confessing the truth. Hooper, after he had examined him concerning his faith, and the cause of his imprisonment, beheld him steadfastly and (the water appearing in his eyes) said to him, “Ah, poor boy! God has taken from you your outward sight, for what reason He best knows. But he has given you another sight much more precious, for he has endued your soul with the eyes of knowledge and faith. God give you grace to pray to him continually, that you lose not that sight, for then you would be blind both in body and soul.”

On the same night he was committed to the custody of the sheriffs of Gloucester. The name of the one was Jenkins, and of the other Bond. They, with the mayor and aldermen, repaired to Hooper’s lodging, greeted him, and took him by the hand. Hooper spoke in this manner:

“Master Mayor, I give most hearty thanks to you, and to the rest of your brethren, that you have granted to take me, a prisoner and a condemned man, by the hand. By this, to my rejoicing, it is apparent that your old love and friendship towards me is not altogether extinguished; and I also trust that all those things are not utterly forgotten which I taught you in times past, as your bishop and pastor, appointed by the late godly king.

[729] A.D. 1555.

“For this most true and sincere doctrine, because I will not now account it falsehood and heresy, as many other men do, I am sent here by the queen’s commandment to die; and I have come where I taught it, to confirm it with my blood. And now, Master sheriffs, my request to you shall be only that there may be a quick fire; and in the meantime I will be as obedient to you, as yourselves would wish. If you think I do anything amiss, hold up your finger, and I will be done with it. For I have not come here as one enforced or compelled to die; for it is well known, I might have had my life with worldly gain. But I come as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than consent to the wicked papistical religion of the bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates of England, to God’s high displeasure and dishonor. And I trust by God’s grace tomorrow, to die a faithful servant of God, and a true obedient subject to the queen.”

These and such words Master Hooper said to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, at which many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding, the two sheriffs were determined to lodge him in the common jail, if the guard had not made earnest intercession for him. He declared how quietly, mildly, and patiently he had behaved himself on the way; adding that any child might keep him well enough, and that they themselves would rather take pains to watch with him, than that he should be sent to the common prison. So it was determined that he should still remain in Robert Ingram’s house; and the sheriffs and the sergeants and other appointed officers, watched with them that night themselves. Hooper’s desire was that he might go to bed early that night, saying that he had many things to remember; and so he did at five o’clock, and slept one sleep soundly. He bestowed the rest of the night in prayer. After he got up in the morning, he desired that no man should be allowed to come into the chamber, so that he might be solitary till the hour of execution. At nine o’clock, Hooper was

to prepare himself, for the time was at hand. Immediately he was brought down from the chamber by the sheriffs. When he saw the multitude of weapons, he spoke to the sheriffs to this effect: "Master Sheriffs," he said, "I am no traitor; nor did you need to make such preparation to bring me to the place where I must suffer. For if you had desired me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and have troubled none of you all." Afterwards looking upon the multitude that were assembled, numbering seven thousand, he spoke to those who were about him, saying;

"Alas! why have these people assembled and come together? Perhaps they think to hear something from me now, as they have in times past. But alas! speech is prohibited to me. Notwithstanding, the cause of my death is well known to them. When I was here appointed to be their pastor, I preached true and sincere doctrine to them, from the word of God. Because I will not now account the same to be heresy and untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me."

So he went forward, led between the two sheriffs (as it were, a lamb to the place of slaughter) in a gown of his host's, his hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand to support himself with. For the pain of the sciatica, which he had taken in prison, caused him to halt somewhat. All the way, being straitly charged not to speak, he could not be perceived once to open his mouth, but beholding the people all the way, who mourned bitterly for him, he would sometimes lift up his eyes towards heaven, and look very cheerfully upon those he knew. And he was never known, during the time of his being among them, to look with so cheerful and ruddy a countenance as he did then. When he came to the place appointed, where he was to die, he smiled beholding the stake and the preparation made for him, which was near the great elm tree, over against the college of priests, where he usually preached. The place round about the houses, and the boughs of the trees were filled with people; and in the chamber over the college gate stood the priests of the college. Then he kneeled down to prayer (as he was not allowed to speak to the people), and beckoned six or seven times to someone he knew well, to hear the prayer, so as to make a report of it in time to come, the tears falling upon his shoulders and on his bosom. This prayer he made upon the whole creed, and he continued in it for half an hour. After he was some time in prayer, a box was brought and laid before him upon a stool, with his pardon from the queen (or at least it was said to be his pardon), if he would recant. He cried, "If you love my soul, away with it! If you love my soul, away with it!" The box being taken away, the lord Chandos said, "Seeing there is no remedy, dispatch him quickly." Hooper said, "Good, my lord, I trust your lordship will give me leave to make an end of my prayers."

Then the lord Chandos said to Sir Edmund Bridges' son, who was listening to Hooper's prayer at his request: "Edmund, take heed that he does nothing else but pray. If he does, tell me, and I will quickly dispatch him." While this was going on, one or two stepped forward uncalled, who heard him speak these words:

"Lord, I am hell, but you are heaven; I am a sink of sin, but you are a gracious God and a merciful Redeemer. Have mercy therefore upon me, a most miserable and wretched offender, after your great mercy, and according to your inestimable goodness. You have ascended into heaven; receive me, a hell as I am, to be partaker of your joys, where you sit in eternal glory with your Father. For well you know, Lord, why I have come here to suffer, and why the wicked persecute this your poor servant — not for my sins and transgressions committed against you, but because I will not allow their wicked doings, to the contamination of your blood, and to the denial of the knowledge of your truth, with which it pleased you by your Holy Spirit to instruct me; and which, with as much diligence as a poor wretch might, I have set forth to your glory. And well you see, my Lord and God, what terrible pains and cruel torments are prepared for your creature — such, Lord, that without your strength, none is able to bear

or to patiently pass. But all things, that are impossible with man, are possible with you. Therefore strengthen me out of your goodness, that in the fire I do not break the rules of patience; or else assuage the terror of the pains, as seems most to your glory.”

As soon as the mayor had espied these men who were listening to the prayer, they were commanded away, and were not allowed to hear any more. Prayer being done, Master Hooper prepared himself for the stake. He put off his host's gown, and delivered it to the sheriffs, requiring them to see it restored to the owner; then he put off the rest of his gear, down to his doublet and hose, in which he wished to be burned. But the sheriffs would not permit that, and his doublet, hose, and waistcoat, were taken off. Then, being in his shirt, he took a point from his hose himself, and trussed his shirt between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity delivered to him by the guard. So desiring the people to say the Lord's Prayer with him, and to pray for him, who performed it with tears during the time of his pains, he went up to the stake. Now when he was at the stake, three irons were brought to bind him to the stake: one for his neck, another for his middle, and the third for his legs. But refusing them, he said, “You have no need to thus trouble yourselves. For I do not doubt that God will give me strength sufficient to abide the extremity of the fire, without bands. Notwithstanding, suspecting the frailty and weakness of the flesh, but having assured confidence in God's strength, I am content that you do as you think good.”

So the hoop of iron prepared for his middle was brought. Being made somewhat too short, he shrank himself and put in his belly with his hand, until it was fastened: and when they offered to bind his neck and legs with the other hoops of iron, he refused them, and would have none, saying, “I am well assured, I shall not trouble you.”

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Thus being ready, he looked upon the people, by whom he might be well seen, for he was both tall, and also stood on a high stool, and beheld all round about him. In every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful people. Then lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, he prayed to himself. By and by, the one who was appointed to make the fire, came to him, and asked him forgiveness. He asked the man why he should forgive him, saying, that he did not know of any offense that he had committed against him. “O sir,” said the man, “I am appointed to make the fire.” Hooper said, “You do not offend me; God forgive you your sins, and do your office, I pray you.”

Then commandment was given that the fire should be kindled. But no more green faggots were brought than two horses could carry upon their backs; so it was a good while before it burned. At length it burned about him, but the wind blew the flame from him, so that he was only touched by the fire.

A few dry faggots were then brought, and a new fire kindled, and that burned at the lower parts, but had little power above, because of the wind, except that it burned his hair, and scorched his skin a little. While he was thus suffering, he prayed, saying mildly and not very loud, “O Jesus, you Son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul.” He wiped both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, said with a loud voice, “For God's love, good people, let me have more fire,” and all this while his lower parts burned: for the faggots were so few, that the flame did not burn strongly at his upper parts.

A third fire was shortly after kindled, which was more extreme than the others: and then the bladders of gunpowder broke, but this did him little good, because they were misplaced, and the wind had such power. In this fire he prayed with a loud voice, “Lord Jesus have mercy

upon me! Lord Jesus have mercy upon me! Lord Jesus receive my spirit!” And these were the last words he was heard to utter. But even when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue swollen, so that he could not speak, his lips yet moved till they were shrunk to the gums: and he knocked his breast with his hands, until one of his arms fell off. Then he still knocked with the other, when the fat, water, and blood dropped out at his fingers’ ends. He did so, until by renewing the fire, his strength was gone, and his hand clung fast in knocking to the iron upon his breast. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yielded up his spirit.

He was three-quarters of an hour or more in the fire. Even as a lamb, he patiently bore the extremity of it, neither moving forwards, backwards, or to any side: but having his lower parts burned, and his bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a child in his bed. He now reigns as a blessed martyr in the joys of heaven prepared for the faithful in Christ, before the foundation of the world — for whose constancy all Christians are bound to praise God.

***The History and Martyrdom of Rowland Taylor.***

*The History of Doctor Rowland Taylor, who suffered  
for the truth of God’s Word, under the Tyranny  
of the Roman Bishop Gardiner,  
on the 9th of February 1555.*

The town of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, was one of the first that received the word of God in all England, by the preaching of Master Thomas Bilney. By his industry, the gospel of Christ had such gracious success, and took such root, that a great number in that parish became well-learned in the holy Scriptures, women as well as men, so that among them there were many who had often read the whole Bible through, and who could have recited a great part of St. Paul’s epistles by heart, and very well and readily given a godly judgment in any matter of controversy. Their children and servants were also brought up and trained so diligently in the right knowledge of God’s word, that the whole town seemed a university of the learned, rather than a town of clothmaking or laboring people. And what is more to be commended, they were for the most part faithful followers of God’s word in their living.

Doctor Rowland Taylor, doctor in both the civil and canon law, and a right perfect divine, was parson of this town of Hadleigh. At his first entering into his benefice, he did not, as the common sort of beneficed men do, let out his benefice to a farmer, in order to gather up the profits, and put in an ignorant unlearned priest to serve the cure — so that they have the fleece, caring little or nothing for the flock. Rather, he made his abode and dwelling in Hadleigh among the people committed to his charge. There, as a good shepherd, abiding and dwelling among his sheep, he gave himself wholly to the study of the holy Scriptures, most faithfully endeavoring to fulfill that charge which the Lord gave to Peter saying, ‘Peter, do you love me? Feed my sheep.’ This love of Christ so worked in him, that no Sunday or holiday passed, nor any other time when he could get the people together, without him preaching to them the word of God, and teaching them the doctrine of their salvation.

Not only was his preaching a blessing to them, but all his life and conversation was an example of unfeigned Christian life and true holiness. He was void of all pride; humble and meek as any child. So that none were so poor that they might not boldly resort to him, as to their father. And none was so rich that he would not tell him plainly his fault, with such earnest and grave rebukes as became a good curate and pastor. He was very mild, void of all rancor, grudge, or ill-will. He was ready to do good to all men, readily forgiving his enemies, and never seeking to do evil to any.



## Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

To the poor who were blind, lame, sick, or had many children, he was a very father, a careful patron and diligent provider; so that he caused the parishioners to make a general provision for them. And he himself (beside the continual relief that they always found at his house) gave a portion yearly to the common alms-box.

Thus dwelt this good shepherd among his flock, governing and leading them through the wilderness of this wicked world, all the days of the most innocent and holy king of blessed memory, Edward VI. But after it pleased God to take King Edward from this vale of misery to his most blessed rest, the papists who ever dissembled, both with King Henry VIII and King Edward, now seeing the time was convenient for their purpose, uttered their false hypocrisy. They openly refused all reformation made by these two kings, violently overthrew the true doctrine of the gospel, and persecuted with sword and fire all those who would not agree to receive again the Roman bishop as supreme head of the universal church, and to allow all the errors, superstitions, and idolatries that were disproved and justly condemned by God's word, as if now they were good doctrine and true religion.

In the beginning of this reign of antichrist, a certain gentleman, a lawyer, called Foster, being a steward and keeper of courts (a man of no great skill, but a bitter persecutor), with one John Clerk, conspired to bring the pope and his mummery (meaningless ceremonies) back into Hadleigh church. Doctor Taylor, as a good shepherd, had retained and kept in his church the godly church service and reformation made by King Edward, and he most faithfully and earnestly preached against the popish corruptions which had infected the whole country round about.

Therefore, Foster and Clerk hired John Averth, a veritable mammonist, a blind leader of the blind, a popish idolater, and an openly immoral man, to come to Hadleigh, and there to begin again the popish mass.

For this purpose, about Palm Monday, they built the altar with all possible haste. But their device had no effect; for in the night the altar was beaten down. So they built it up a second time, and laid diligent watch, lest anyone should again break it down.

On the following day Foster and John Clerk came, bringing with them their popish sacrificer, who brought with him all his implements and garments to play his popish pageant. They and their men guarded him with swords and bucklers, lest any man should disturb him in his missal sacrifice.

When Doctor Taylor, who (according to his custom) sat at his book studying the word of God, heard the bells ring, he arose and went to the church, supposing that there was something to be done in his pastoral office.

[731] A.D. 1555.

Coming to the church, he found the church doors fast barred, except for the chancel door, which was only latched. On entering, he saw a popish sacrificer in his robes, with a broad, new-shaven crown, ready to begin his popish sacrifice, beset round about with drawn swords and bucklers, lest any man approach to disturb him.

Then Doctor Taylor said, "You devil! Who made you so bold as to enter into this church of Christ to profane and defile it with this abominable idolatry?" With that, up started Foster, and with an angry and furious countenance said to Doctor Taylor, "You traitor! What do you do here, to disturb the queen's proceedings?" Doctor Taylor answered, "I am no traitor, but I am the shepherd that God my Lord Christ has appointed to feed this His flock. Therefore I

have good authority to be here; and I command you, you popish wolf, in the name of God, to go from here, and not to presume to poison Christ's flock here with such popish idolatry."

Then Foster said, "Will you, heretic, traitorously make a commotion, and violently resist the queen's proceedings?"

Doctor Taylor answered, "I make no commotion, but it is you papists who make commotions and tumults. I resist only with God's word against your popish idolatries, which are against God's word, the queen's honor, and tend to the utter subversion of this realm of England. And further, you act against the law, which commands that no mass be said but at a consecrated altar."

When the parson of Aldham heard that, he began to shrink back, and would have left his mass, but then up started John Clerk, and said, "Master Averth, do not be afraid. You have a super-altar; go on with your business." Then Foster, with his armed men, took Taylor and led him by force out of the church; then the popish priest proceeded in his Romish idolatry. Taylor's wife, who followed her husband into the church, when she saw her husband thus violently thrust out of his church, kneeled down and held up her hands, and with a loud voice said, "I beseech God, the righteous Judge, to avenge this injury that this popish idolater does to the blood of Christ." Then they thrust her out of the church also, and shut the doors; for they feared that the people would have torn their sacrificer in pieces. Notwithstanding, one or two threw great stones through the windows.

Thus you see how, without consent of the people, the popish mass was again set up with battle array, with swords and bucklers, with violence and tyranny. This is the practice that the papists have ever used. As for reason, law, or Scripture, they have none.

Within a day or two after, Foster and Clerk made a complaint against Taylor, by a letter written to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. When the bishop heard this, he sent a letter to Taylor, commanding him to appear before him upon his allegiance, to answer the complaints which were made against him.

When Doctor Taylor's friends heard of this, they were exceedingly sorry. And foreseeing to what end the matter would come, and seeing also that all truth and justice were trodden underfoot, and falsehood with cruel tyranny were set up, his friends, I say, came to him and earnestly counselled him to flee. They declared that he would neither be heard to speak his conscience and mind, nor could he look for justice or favor at the chancellor's hands, who was most fierce and cruel. He must expect only imprisonment and a cruel death at his hands.

Then Taylor said to his friends, "Dear friends, I most heartily thank you for your tender care over me. And although I know that there is neither justice nor truth to be expected at my adversary's hands, but rather imprisonment and a cruel death. yet I know my cause to be so good and righteous, and the truth so strong upon my side, that by God's grace, I will go and appear before them. Then his friends said, 'Doctor, we think, it not best to do so. You have sufficiently done your duty, and testified the truth both by your godly sermons, and also in resisting the parson of Aldham, with others who came here to bring in the popish mass. And as our Savior Christ bids us, that when they persecute us in one city, we should flee into another, we think in fleeing at this time, you would do best, keeping yourself against another time when the church will have great need of such diligent teachers and godly pastors.'"

“Oh,” said Taylor, “what will you have me to do? I am old, and have already lived too long to see these terrible and most wicked days. You flee, and do as your conscience leads you. I am fully determined (with God’s grace) to go to the bishop, and to tell him to his beard (face) that he acts wickedly. God will hereafter raise up teachers for his people, who will teach them with much more diligence than I have done. For God will not forsake his church, though now for a time he tries and corrects us.

“As for me, I believe before God, I shall never be able to do God so good a service, as I may do now. What Christian man would not gladly die against the pope and his adherents? I know that the papacy is the kingdom of antichrist, altogether full of lies, altogether full of falsehood, so that all their doctrine is nothing but idolatry, superstition, errors, hypocrisy, and lies.

“Therefore, I beseech you, and all my other friends, to pray for me. And I do not doubt not that God will give me strength and his Holy Spirit, so that all my adversaries will have shame from their doings.”

When his friends saw him so constant, and fully determined to go, with weeping eyes they commended him unto God. And within a day or two he prepared himself for his journey, leaving his cure with a godly old priest named Richard Yeoman, who for God’s truth, was afterwards burnt at Norwich.

There was also in Hadleigh one Alcocke, a very godly man, well-learned in the holy Scriptures. After Richard Yeoman was driven away, he used to read a chapter daily, and to say the English litany in Hadleigh church. But they took him up to London, and cast him into prison in Newgate, where he died after a year’s imprisonment.

But let us return to Doctor Taylor again. Being accompanied with a servant of his own, named John Hull, he took his journey towards London. Along the way, this John Hull labored to counsel and persuade him very earnestly to flee, and not come to the bishop. He offered himself to go with him to serve him, and to risk his life for him and with him in all perils.

But in no way would Doctor Taylor consent, but said, “Oh John, will I give way to your counsel and worldly persuasion, and leave my flock in this danger? Remember the good shepherd, Christ, who not only fed his flock, but also died for his flock. Him I must follow, and with God’s grace I will.”

Thus they came up to London, and shortly after Taylor presented himself to the bishop of Winchester, then lord chancellor of England. Now when Gardiner saw Taylor, according to his common custom, he reviled him, calling him “knave, traitor, heretic,” with many other villainous reproaches, all of which Taylor heard patiently. At last he said to the bishop, “My lord, I am neither traitor nor heretic, but a true subject, and a faithful Christian man, and I have come according to your command, to know what is the reason that your lordship has sent for me.”

Then said the bishop, “Have you come, you villain? How dare you look me in the face for shame? Do you not know who I am?”

“Yes,” said Taylor, “I know who you are. You are Doctor Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, and yet but a mortal man. But if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why do you not fear God, the Lord of us all? How dare you for shame look any Christian man in the face, seeing that you have forsaken the truth, denied our Savior Christ and his word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing?”

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“With what countenance will you appear before the judgment seat of Christ, and answer to your oath made first to that blessed King Henry VIII, of famous memory, and afterwards to blessed King Edward VI?”

The bishop answered, “Tush! tush! That was Herod’s oath, unlawful; and therefore worthy to be broken. I have done well in breaking it; and I thank God, I have come home again to our mother the catholic church of Rome, and I wish you should do so also.”

Taylor answered, “Should I forsake the church of Christ, which is founded upon the true foundation of the apostles and prophets, to approve those lies, errors, superstitions and idolatries that the popes and their company at this day so blasphemously approve? No, God forbid. Let the pope and his followers return to our Savior Christ and his word, and thrust out of the church such abominable idolatries as he maintains, and then Christian men will turn to him. You wrote truly against him, and were sworn against him.”

“I tell you,” cried the bishop of Winchester, “it was Herod’s oath, unlawful; and therefore it ought to be broken, and not kept; and our holy father the pope has discharged me of it.”

Then Taylor said, “But you shall not so be discharged before Christ, who doubtless will require it at your hands, as a lawful oath made to our liege and sovereign lord the king, from whose obedience no man can absolve you, neither the pope nor any of his.”

“I see,” said the bishop, “You are an arrogant knave and a real fool.”

“My Lord,” replied Taylor, “leave your unseemly railing at me, which is not fitting for someone in authority, as you are. For I am a Christian man, and you know that ‘Whoever says to his brother, Raca, is in danger of the council, and whoever says, you fool, is in danger of hell fire.’”

The bishop answered, “You are false, and liars all of you.” “Nay,” said Taylor, “We are true men, and know that it is written, ‘The mouth that lies, slays the soul.’ And again, ‘Lord God, you shall destroy all who speak lies.’ And therefore we abide by the truth of God’s word, which you all, contrary to your own consciences, deny and forsake.”

“You are married,” cried the bishop. “Yes,” replied Taylor, “that I am, thank God, and I have had nine children, all in lawful matrimony. And blessed be God who ordained matrimony, and commanded that every man, who does not have the gift of continency, should marry a wife of his own, and not live in sin.”

Then the bishop said, “You have resisted the queen’s proceedings, and would not permit the parson of Aldham, a very virtuous and devout priest, to say mass in Hadleigh.” Taylor answered, “My lord, I am parson of Hadleigh, and it is against all right, conscience, and laws, that any man should come to my charge, and presume to infect the flock committed to me, with the venom of the popish idolatrous mass.”

With that, the bishop grew very angry and said, “You are a blasphemous heretic indeed, who blasphemes the blessed sacrament, and” (putting off his cap) “speak against the holy mass, which is a sacrifice for the quick and the dead.” Taylor answered, “No, I do not blaspheme the blessed sacrament which Christ instituted, but I reverence it as a true Christian man ought to do. And I confess that Christ ordained the holy communion in remembrance of his death and passion, which when we keep it according to his ordinance, (through faith) we eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood, giving thanks for our redemption. This is our

sacrifice for the quick and the dead, to give thanks for his merciful goodness shown to us, in that he gave his Son Christ unto death for us.”

“You say well,” rejoined the bishop. “It is all as you have said, and more too; for it is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.” Then Taylor answered, “Christ gave himself for our redemption upon the cross, whose body offered there was the propitiatory sacrifice —full, perfect, and sufficient unto salvation for all those who believe in him. And our Savior Christ offered this sacrifice in his own person once for all; nor can any priest offer him any more, nor do we need any more propitiatory sacrifice. And therefore I say with Chrysostom, and all the doctors, our sacrifice is only commemorative in the remembrance of Christ’s death and passion, a sacrifice of thanksgiving. Therefore the fathers called it the *eucharist*.<sup>544</sup> And the church of God has no other sacrifice.”

“It is true,” said the bishop, “the sacrament is called the eucharist, a thanksgiving, because there we give thanks for our redemption. And it is also a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead, which you will confess before you and I are done.” Then the bishop called his men and said, “Take this fellow from here, and carry him to the King’s Bench, and charge the keeper that he is to be strictly kept.”

Then Taylor kneeled down, and held up both his hands, and said, “Good Lord, I thank you; and good Lord, deliver us from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable errors, idolatries, and abominations,. And God be praised for good King Edward.” So they carried him to prison, where he lay a prisoner for almost two years.

While in prison, Doctor Taylor spent all his time in prayer, reading the holy Scriptures, and writing, preaching, and exhorting the prisoners, and those who resorted to him, to repentance and amendment of life.

A few days later, many other learned and godly men in sundry counties of England were committed to prison for religion’s sake, so that almost all the prisons in England had become schools and churches. There was no greater comfort for Christian hearts, than to come to the prisons to behold their virtuous conversation, and to hear their prayers, preachings, most godly exhortations, and consolations.

At this time, blind and ignorant mass mongers were placed in churches, with their Latin babblings and foolish ceremonies. Like cruel wolves, they did not spare to put to death all those who even once whispered against popery. As for the godly preachers who were in King Edward’s time, they had either fled the realm, or else, as the prophets did in King Ahab’s days, they were secretly concealed. As many as the papists could lay hold on, were sent to prison, and there remained as lambs waiting for the butchers to call them to the slaughter.

When Doctor Taylor had come into the prison, he found Master Bradford there, the virtuous and vigilant preacher of God’s word. This man, for his innocent and godly living, his devout preaching, was worthily accounted a miracle of our time, as even his adversaries must confess. Finding this man in prison, he began to exhort him to faith, strength, and patience, and to remain constant to the end. Bradford hearing this, thanked God that he had provided him such a comfortable fellow prisoner. And so together they lauded God, and continued in prayer, reading, and exhorting one another, insomuch that Taylor told his friends who came to visit him, that God had most graciously provided for him, sending him to that prison where he found such an angel of God to comfort him.

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<sup>544</sup> From the Latin *eucharistia*, from Ancient Greek εὐχαριστία (*eukharistia*), “gratitude, giving of thanks.”

After Doctor Taylor had lain in prison a while, he was cited to appear in the arches at Bow church, to answer to such matters as might be objected against him. At the day appointed he was led there. When he came, he stoutly defended his marriage, affirming by the Scripture of God, by the doctors of the primitive church, by both civil and canon laws, that it is lawful for priests to marry. He so plainly proved this, that the judge could give no sentence of divorce against him, but sentenced him to be deprived of his benefice, because he was married.

“You do me wrong, then,” said Doctor Taylor. He alleged many laws and constitutions for himself, but all did not prevail. For he was again carried to prison, and had his livings taken away and given to others. As for Hadleigh benefice, it was given or sold to one Master Newall, whose qualifications were altogether unlike Doctor Taylor’s, his predecessor, as the poor parishioners have full well found.

After a year and three quarters, the papists had gotten certain old tyrannical laws, which were repealed by King Henry VIII and King Edward, to be revived again by parliament. So that now they might, *ex officio*, cite whomever they would, upon their own suspicion, and charge him with whatever articles they chose, and burn them.

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Once these laws were re-established, they sent for Taylor, with other prisoners, who were again brought before the chancellor and other commissioners about the 22nd of January. The purport and effect of what took place is sufficiently described in his own letter.

*A Letter of Doctor Taylor reporting the words which passed between him and the Lord Chancellor and other Commissioners, on the 22d of January.*

“As you would have me write the conversation between the king and the queen’s most honorable council and me, on Tuesday, the 22d of January, so far as I remember: first, my lord chancellor said, ‘You, among others, are at this present time sent for, to enjoy the king and queen’s majesties favor and mercy, if you will now rise again with us from the fall which we generally have received in this realm, from which (God be praised!) we are now clearly delivered, miraculously. If you will not rise with us now, and receive the mercy now offered, you shall have judgment according to your demerit.’ To this I answered, ‘To so rise, would be the greatest fall that I could ever receive; for I would then fall from my dear Savior Christ to antichrist. For I believe that the religion set forth in King Edward’s days, was according to the meaning of the holy Scripture, which contains fully all the rules of our Christian religion, from which I do not intend to depart so long as I live, by God’s grace.’

“Then Master Secretary Bourne asked, ‘Which of the religions do you mean? For you know there were diverse books of religion set forth in King Edward’s days. There was a religion set forth in a catechism by my lord of Canterbury. Do you mean that you will stick to that?’

“I answered, ‘My lord of Canterbury made a catechism to be translated into English; This book was not of his own making, yet he set it forth in his own name; and truly, that book did much good for the time. But after that there was set forth by the most innocent King Edward (for whom God be praised everlastingly) the whole church service, with great deliberation, and the advice of the best learned men in the realm, authorized by the whole parliament, and received and published gladly by the whole realm. This book was reformed only once, and yet by that one reformation it was so fully perfected in every behalf, according to the rules of our Christian religion, that no Christian conscience could be offended with anything contained in it; I mean of that reformed book.’

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“Then my lord chancellor said, ‘Did you never read the book that I set forth on the sacrament?’”

“I answered, that I had read it.

“Then he said, ‘How did you like that book?’ — With that, one of the council (whose name I do not know) said, ‘My lord, that is a good question; for I am sure that book stops all their mouths.’ Then I said, ‘My lord, I think many things are wide from the truth of God’s word in that book.’”

“Then my lord said, ‘You are a true varlet.’<sup>545</sup> To that I answered, ‘That is as bad as *Raca*.’ Then my lord said, ‘You are an ignorant beetle-brow.’<sup>546</sup> “To that I answered, ‘I have read over and over again the holy Scriptures, and St. Augustine’s works through with St. Cyprian, Eusebius, Origen, Gregory Nazianzen, and other books. Therefore, I thank God, I am not utterly ignorant. Besides these, my lord, I professed the civil law, as your lordship did; and I have read over the canon law also.’”

“Then my lord said, ‘You read all things with a corrupt judgment. Touching my profession, it is divinity, in which I have written several books.’ Then I said, ‘My lord, you wrote one book on true obedience. I wish you had been constant in that, for you never showed a good conscience that I heard of, except in that one book.’”

“Then my lord said, ‘Tut, tut, tut! I wrote against Bucer on priests’ marriages. But such books do not please such wretches as you are, who have been married many years.’”

“To that I answered, ‘I am married indeed, and I have had nine children in holy matrimony, I thank God. And this I am sure of, that your proceedings now against priests’ marriages, is the maintenance of the doctrine of devils, against natural law, civil law, canon law, general councils, canons of the apostles, ancient doctors, and God’s law.’”

“Then my lord chancellor said, ‘You say that priests may be married by God’s law. How do you prove that?’”

“I answered, ‘By the plain words and sentences of St. Paul, both to Timothy and to Titus, where he speaks most evidently of the marriage of priests, deacons, and bishops. And Chrysostom writing upon the epistle to Timothy, says ‘It is a heresy to say a bishop may not be married.’”

“Then my lord chancellor said, ‘You lie about Chrysostom. But you do as all your companions do, belie without shame both the Scriptures and the doctors. Did you not also say that by the canon law priests may be married? This is most untrue, and the contrary is most true.’”

“I answered, ‘We read in the decrees, that the four general councils — Nicene, Constantinopolitan, Ephesian, and Chalcedon — have the same authority that the four evangelists have. And we read in the same decrees (which is one of the chief books of the canon law) that the Council of Nice, by means of one Paphnutius, allowed priests’ and bishops’ marriages: Therefore, by the best part of the canon law, priests may be married.’”

“Then my lord chancellor said, ‘You falsify the general council. For there is express mention in the said decree, that priests should be divorced from their wives.’”

“Then I said, ‘If those words are there, as you say, then I am content to lose this head of mine; let the book be fetched.’”

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<sup>545</sup> *Varlet*: A deceitful and unreliable scoundrel.

<sup>546</sup> *Beetle-brow*: refers to someone with a sullen, grim, or scowling appearance (a sourpuss).

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“Then my lord of Durham spoke. ‘Though they are not there, yet they may be in the ecclesiastical history, which Eusebius wrote, out of which book the decree was taken.’

“To that I said, ‘It is not likely that the pope would leave out any such sentence, having such authority, and making so much for his purpose.’

“Then my lord chancellor said, ‘Gratian was but a patcher, and you are glad to snatch up such a patch as makes for your purpose.’

“I said, ‘By God’s grace I will never depart from Christ’s church.’ Then I requested that I might have some of my friends come to me in prison. My lord chancellor said, ‘You will have judgment within this week.’ And so I was delivered again to my keeper. My lord of Durham wished that I should believe as my father and my mother did. I alleged from St. Augustine, that we ought to prefer God’s word before that of all men.”

Besides this letter Dr. Taylor directed another writing to another friend of his concerning the reasons why he was condemned.

*Another Letter relating to his Assertions concerning the Marriage of Priests, and other causes for which he was condemned.*

“It is heresy to defend any doctrine against the holy Scriptures. Therefore the lord chancellor and bishops consenting to his sentence against me, are heretics. For they have given sentence against the marriage of priests, knowing that St. Paul writes plainly to Timothy and Titus that bishops, priests, and deacons may be married — knowing also that by St. Paul’s doctrine, it is the doctrine of devils to inhibit matrimony. And St. Paul desires every faithful minister to teach the people so. (1Tim 4.1-6)

“These bishops are not ignorant that it is not only St. Paul’s advice, but also God’s commandment to marry, for those who otherwise cannot live chastely.

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“They know that those who marry do not sin.

“They know that God, before sin entered the world, ordained matrimony in paradise, between man and woman.

“They know what spirit they have who say it is evil to marry (seeing that God said it is not good for man to be alone without a wife), having no special gift, contrary to the general commandment and ordinance in the book of Genesis, to increase and multiply.

“They know that Abraham carried into the land of Canaan his old and yet barren wife, the virtuous Sarah with him, leaving father, and mother, and country, at God’s commandment. For though father, and mother, and other friends are dear and near, yet none are so dearly and nearly joined together as min and wife in matrimony. This must be holy, for it is a figure and similitude of Christ and his church.

“They know that St. Paul greatly praises matrimony, calling it honorable, and that was not only to and among many, but to and among all men without exception, whoever needs God’s remedy for man’s or woman’s infirmity.

“They know that having a wife was not an impediment for Abraham, Moses, Isaac, Jacob, David, etc., to talk with God, nor to the Levites’, bishops’, and priests’ offices in the time of the old testament or the new.

“They know that Christ was not conceived, or born of his blessed mother, the Virgin Mary, until she was espoused in marriage, according to his own ordinance.



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“They know that Christ with his blessed mother and the apostles were at a marriage, and beautified and honored it with his presence, and first miracle. To be short, they know that all that I have written here regarding the marriage of priests is true. And they know that the papists themselves do not observe their own laws and canons as to that matter, and yet they continue seared in conscience with a hot iron, as detestable heretics in this behalf. The Lord give them grace to repent, if it is his good will. Amen.

“My second reason why I was condemned as a heretic, is that I denied transubstantiation and concomitance, two juggling words of the papists, by which they believe and compel all others to believe that ‘Christ’s natural body is made out of bread, and that the godhead is joined to it. So that immediately after the words (called the words of consecration) bread and wine are no longer in the sacrament, but only the substance of the body and blood of Christ, together with his godhead. So that it now being Christ, both God and man, it ought to be worshipped with godly honor, and offered to God, both for the quick and the dead, as a propitiatory and satisfactory sacrifice for the same!’ This matter was not long debated. But because I denied the papistical doctrine (which, indeed, is rather plain and most wicked idolatry, blasphemy and heresy) I was judged a heretic.

“I also affirmed the pope to be antichrist, and popery to be antichristianity.

“And I confessed the doctrine of the Bible to be sufficient doctrine, touching all matters of Christian religion, and of salvation.

“I also alleged that the oath against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, was a lawful oath, and so was the oath made by us all, touching the king’s or queen’s pre-eminence. For Chrysostom says that apostles, evangelists, and all men in every realm were ever, and ought to be ever, in subjection to the kingly authority, who has the sword in his hand, as God’s principal officer and governor in every realm. I desired the bishops to repent for bringing the realm from Christ to antichrist, from light to darkness, and from truth to vanity.

“Thus you know the sum of my last examination and condemnation.. Pray for me, and I will pray for you.

“God be praised, since my condemnation I was never afraid to die; God’s will be done. If I shrink from God’s truth, I am sure of another manner of death than judge Hales had. But God be praised, even from the bottom of my heart, I am immovably settled upon the Rock, not at all doubting that God will perform and finish the work he has begun in me and others. To him be all honor both now and ever, through Christ our only and whole Savior. Amen.”

And thus much wrote Taylor, concerning this matter to his friend.

About the end of January 1555, Taylor, Bradford, and Sanders, were again called before the Bishops of Winchester, of Norwich, of London, of Salisbury, and of Durham, and there they charged with heresy and schism. Therefore a determinate answer was required, whether they would submit themselves to the Roman bishop, and abjure their errors, or else they would, according to their laws, proceed to their condemnation.

When Taylor, Bradford, and Sanders heard this, they answered stoutly and boldly, that they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in King Edward’s days, nor would they submit themselves to the Romish antichrist. But they thanked God for such great mercy, that he would call them to be worthy to suffer for his word and truth.

When the bishops saw them so boldly, constantly, and immovably fixed in the truth, they read the sentence of death upon them, which when they had heard it, they most joyfully gave God thanks, and stoutly said to the bishops, “We do not doubt that God the righteous

judge will require our blood at your hands, and the proudest of you all shall repent of this receiving again of antichrist, and the tyranny that you now show against the flock of Christ.”

When the keeper brought Taylor towards the prison, the people flocked about to gaze upon him. He said to them, “God be praised, good people, I have come away from them undefiled, and will confirm the truth with my blood.”

When Taylor had lain for some days a prisoner in the Compter in the Poultry, on the 4th of February 1555, Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, with others, came to degrade him, bringing with them such ornaments as pertain to their mass-mummery. He called for Taylor to be brought to him. At his coming, the bishop said, “Master Doctor, I would have you remember yourself, and turn to your holy mother church; thus you may do well enough, and I will sue for your pardon.” Taylor answered, “I would have you and your fellows turn to Christ. As for me, I will not turn to antichrist.” “Well,” said the bishop, “I have come to degrade you. Therefore put on these vestures.” “No,” replied Taylor, “I will not.” “Will you not?” said the bishop; “I shall make you, before I go.” To which Taylor retorted, “You shall not, by the grace of God.” Then the bishop charged him upon his obedience to do it, but he would not do it for him. So the bishop desired them to be forced upon Taylor; and then he degraded him in the usual way.

The night after he was degraded, his wife and his son came to him, and by the gentleness of the keepers they were permitted to sup with him. For this difference was ever found between the keepers of the bishops’ prisons, and the keepers of the king’s prisons — that the bishops’ keepers were ever cruel, blasphemous, and tyrannical like their masters; but the keepers of the king’s prisons showed, for the most part, as much favor as they possibly could. At their coming to sup with him, they kneeled down and prayed, saying the litany.

After supper, walking up and down, he gave God thanks for his grace that had so called him, and given him strength to abide by his holy word. Turning to his son Thomas he said, “My dear son. Almighty God bless you, and give you his Holy Spirit, to be a true servant of Christ, to learn his word, and to constantly stand by his truth all your life long. And my son, see that you fear God always. Flee from all sin, and wicked living. Be virtuous, serve God with daily prayer, and apply to your book. In any way, see that you are obedient to your mother; love her and serve her; be ruled by her now in your youth, and follow her good counsel in all things.

[755] A.D. 1555.

“Beware of vicious company, of young men who do not fear God, but follow their lusts and vain appetites. Flee from immorality, and hate all filthy living, remembering that I, your father, died in the defense of holy marriage. When God blesses you, love and cherish the poor people, and count that your chief riches are to be rich in alms. And when your mother has grown old, do not forsake her, but provide for her up to your power; and see that she lacks nothing. For so God will bless you, and give you long life upon earth and prosperity — which I pray God to grant you.”

Then turning to his wife, he said, “My dear wife continue steadfast in the fear and love of God; keep yourself undefiled from their popish idolatries and superstitions. I have been a faithful yoke-fellow to you, and so you have been to me, for which I pray God to reward you; and do not doubt, dear wife, that God will reward it. Now the time has come that I will be taken from you, and you will be discharged of the wedlock-bond towards me. Therefore I will give you my counsel, of what I think is most expedient for you. You are still a childbearing woman, and therefore it will be most convenient for you to marry. For

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doubtless you will never have a convenient stay for yourself and our poor children, nor be out of trouble till you are married. Therefore as soon as God will provide it, marry with some honest, faithful man who fears God. Do not doubt, God will provide an honest husband for you, and he will be a merciful father to you and to my children, whom I pray you to bring up in the fear of God, and in learning, to the uttermost of your power, and keep them from this Romish idolatry.”

When he had said this, they prayed together with weeping tears, and kissed each other. And he gave to his wife a book of the church service, set out by King Edward, which he daily used in the time of his imprisonment. And to his son Thomas he gave a Latin book containing the notable sayings of the old martyrs; and in the end of that book he wrote his testament and last farewell, as follows:

*The last Will and Testament of Doctor Rowland Taylor,  
Parson of Hadleigh.*

“I say to my wife, and to my children; the Lord gave you to me, and the Lord has taken me from you, and you from me: blessed be the name of the Lord. I believe they are blessed who die in the Lord. God cares for sparrows, and for the hairs of our heads. I have ever found him more faithful and favorable than any father or husband. Therefore trust in him by the means of our dear Savior Christ’s merits. Believe, love, fear, and obey him: pray to him, for he has promised to help. Do not count me dead, for I shall certainly live, and never die. I go before, and you shall follow after, to our long home. I go to the rest of my children, Susan, George, Ellen, Robert, and Zachary: I have bequeathed you to the only Omnipotent.

“I say to my dear friends of Hadleigh, and to all others who have heard me preach, that I depart from here with a quiet conscience as regards my doctrine, for which I pray you thank God with me. For I have, with my little talent, declared to others those lessons that I gathered out of God’s book, the blessed Bible. Therefore if I or an angel from heaven should preach to you any other gospel than what you have received, God’s great curse be upon that preacher.

“Beware, for God’s sake, that you do not deny God, nor decline from the word of faith, lest God decline from you, and so you everlastingly perish. For God’s sake beware of popery; for though it appears to have unity in it, yet it is vanity and antichristianity, and not in Christ’s faith and truth.

“Beware of the sin against the Holy Spirit, now after such a light has opened so plainly and simply, truly, thoroughly and generally to all England.

“The Lord grant all men his good and Holy Spirit, increase of his wisdom, despising the wicked world, and a hearty desire to be with God and the heavenly company, through Jesus Christ, our only mediator, advocate, righteousness, life, sanctification, and hope. Amen, Amen. Pray, pray!

“Rowland Taylor, departing from here in sure hope, without any doubt of eternal salvation, I thank God my heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ my certain Savior, Amen. The 5th of February A.D. 1555.

“The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear? Psalm 27.1.

“It is God who justifies: who is he that condemns? Romans 8.33.

“In you, O Lord, I put my trust; let me never be ashamed. Psalm 31.1.”

On the morrow, the sheriff of London with his officers came at two o’clock in the morning, and brought out Taylor, whose wife, suspecting that her husband would be carried away that night, watched all night in St. Botolph’s church porch. She had two children with her, the one named Elizabeth, thirteen years of age (who being left without father or mother, Taylor

had brought up through charity from three years old), the other named Mary, his own daughter.

Now, when the sheriff and his company came to St. Botolph's church, Elizabeth cried out, saying, "O my dear father! Mother, mother, here is my father led away." Then his wife cried, "Rowland, Rowland, where are you?" for it was a very dark morning, so that the one could not see the other. Taylor answered, "Dear wife, I am here," and he stopped. The sheriff's men would have led him forth, but the sheriff said, "Stay a little, masters, I pray you, and let him speak to his wife," and so they stayed.

Then she came to him, and he took his daughter Mary in his arms. He, his wife, and Elizabeth kneeled down, and said the Lord's prayer. At this sight, the sheriff wept apace, and so did others of the company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, and said, "Farewell my dear wife. Be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God will stir up a father for my children." And then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said "God bless you, and make you his servant." And kissing Elizabeth, he said, "God bless you. I pray you all stand strong and steadfast to Christ and his word, and beware of idolatry." Then his wife said, "God be with you, dear Rowland, I will, with God's grace, meet you at Hadleigh."

And so he was led forth to the inn, called the Woolpack, and his wife followed him. As soon as they came there, he was put into a chamber, where he was kept with four yeomen of the guard and the sheriff's men. As soon as he came into the chamber, he fell down on his knees and gave himself wholly to prayer. The sheriff then seeing Taylor's wife there, would not let her speak anymore with her husband, but gently desired her to go to his house and take it as her own. He promised her the her husband would lack nothing, and sent two officers to conduct her there. Notwithstanding, she desired to go to her mother's, where the officers led her, and they charged her mother to keep her there till they came back.

Thus Taylor remained at the Woolpack, kept by the sheriff and his company, till eleven o'clock. At that time the sheriff of Essex was ready to receive him. And so they set him on horseback inside the inn, the gates being shut.

On coming out of the gates, John Hull, spoken of before, stood at the rails with Thomas, Taylor's son. 'When Taylor saw them, he called to them, saying, "Come here, my son Thomas." John Hull lifted the child up, and set him on the horse before his father. Taylor put off his hat, and said to the people who stood there looking at him, "Good people this is my own son, begotten of my body in lawful matrimony; and God be blessed for lawful matrimony."

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Then he lifted up his eyes towards heaven and prayed for his son, laid his hand upon the child's head and blessed him. And so he delivered the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand and said, 'Farewell, John Hull, the most faithful servant that man ever had.'" And so they rode forth, the sheriff of Essex, with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men leading him.

When they had come almost to Brentwood, one Arthur Faysie, a man of Hadleigh, met them, and supposing Taylor to have been at liberty, he said, "Master Doctor, I am glad to see you again." He came to him and took him by the hand. "Soft sir," the sheriff said, "he is a prisoner; what have you to do with him?" "I cry mercy," said Arthur, "I did not know so much, and I thought it was no offense to talk to a true man." The sheriff was very angry at

this, and threatened to carry Arthur with him to prison. Notwithstanding, he bade him get away quickly, and so they rode forth to Brentwood. There they had a close hood made for Taylor, with two holes for his eyes to look out at, and a slit for his mouth to breathe at. They did this so that no man would know him, nor he speak to any man. They used this practice with others also. Their own consciences told them that they led innocent lambs to the slaughter. Therefore they feared that if the people heard these men speak, or saw them, they might have been much more strengthened by their godly exhortations, to stand steadfast in God's word, and to flee the superstitions and idolatries of the papacy.

All the way, Taylor was joyful and happy, like someone who accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet, or bridal. He spoke many notable things to the sheriff and yeomen of the guard who conducted him, and often moved them to weep through his earnest calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evil and wicked living. He also caused them to often wonder and rejoice to see him so constant and steadfast, void of all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to die.

At Chelmsford the sheriff of Suffolk met them, to carry him into Suffolk. At supper, the sheriff of Essex very earnestly labored to have him return to the Popish religion. He said, "Good master doctor, we are right sorry for you. God has given you great learning and wisdom. Therefore you have been in great favor and reputation in times past with the council and his highness of this realm. Besides this, you are a man of goodly personage, in your best strength, and by nature likely to live many years. And without doubt, you should in times to come be in as good a reputation as you ever were, or even better. For you are well beloved by all men, for your virtues as well as for your learning: and it would be a great pity if you willingly cast yourself away, and so come to such a painful and shameful death. You would do much better to revoke your opinions, and return to the catholic universal church of Rome, acknowledge the pope's holiness to be the supreme head of the church, and reconcile yourself to him. You may do well yet, if you will. Do not doubt that you will find favor at the queen's hands, I and all these your friends will be suitors for your pardon.

Taylor paused awhile, as if thinking what to answer. At last he said, "Master Sheriff, and my masters all, I heartily thank you for your good will; I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your counsels. And to be plain with you, I perceive that I have been deceived myself, and am likely to deceive a great many of Hadleigh of their expectation." With that word they all rejoiced. "Yes, good master doctor," cried the sheriff, "God's blessing on your heart! It is the most comfortable word that we have heard you speak yet. What! Should you cast yourself away in vain? Play a wise man's part, and I dare warrant it, you will find favor." Thus they rejoiced very much at the word.

At last the sheriff asked, "Good doctor, what did you mean by this, that you think you have been deceived yourself, and think you will deceive many in Hadleigh." "Would you know my meaning plainly?" Taylor asked. "Yes." replied the sheriff. "Good doctor, tell it to us plainly."

Then Taylor said, "I will tell you how I have been deceived, and how I think I will deceive a great many. I am, as you can see, a man who has a very great carcass, which I thought would have been buried in Hadleigh church-yard, if I had died in my bed, as I hoped I might have done. But I see I was deceived in this; and there are a great number of worms in Hadleigh church-yard, which would have had a jolly feeding upon this carrion, which they looked for many a day. But now I know we are deceived, both I and they, for this carcass must be burnt to ashes. And so they will lose their bait and feeding that they expected to have of it."

When the sheriff and his company heard him say so, they were amazed and looked at one another, marvelling at the man's constancy of mind, that thus without fear, he made but a jest at the cruel torment and death which was now at hand and prepared for him. Thus was their expectation disappointed. In this it appears what his meditation was in his greatest wealth and prosperity; namely, that he would shortly die, and feed worms in his grave. If all our bishops and spiritual men had used this meditation, they would not have forsaken the word of God and truth for a little worldly glory, which they had preached and set forth in King Edward's days, nor yet would they have committed so many to the fire as they did to maintain the bishop of Rome's authority.

Taylor was delivered to the sheriff of Suffolk, and conducted by him to Hadleigh, where he suffered. When they had come to Lavenham, the sheriff stayed there two days. A great number of gentlemen and justices on horses came to him, appointed to aid the sheriff. These gentlemen labored to reduce Taylor to the Romish religion, promising him his pardon "which," they said, "we have here for you." They promised him great promotions, indeed, a bishopric if he would take it. But all their labor and flattering words were in vain. For he had not built his house upon the sand in peril of falling at every puff of wind, but upon Christ, the sure and immoveable rock.

When they reached Hadleigh, and came riding over the bridge, at the foot of the bridge waited a poor man with five small children. When he saw Doctor Taylor, he and his children fell down on their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a loud voice, and said, "O dear father and good shepherd. Doctor Taylor, God help and succor you, as you have many a time succored me and my poor children!" Such a witness did the servant of God have of his virtuous and charitable alms given in his life-time. For God would now have the poor testify of his good deeds, to his singular comfort, to the example of others, and to the confusion of his persecutors and tyrannous adversaries. For the sheriff and others who led him to death, were wonderfully astonished at this. And the sheriff rebuked the poor man for so crying. The streets of Hadleigh were beset on both sides of the way with men and women of the town and country, who waited to see Taylor. When they beheld him led to death, they cried with weeping eyes and lamentable voices, saying to one another, "Ah, good Lord! there goes our good shepherd from us, who has so faithfully taught us, so fatherly cared for us, and so godly governed us. O merciful God! what will we poor scattered lambs do? What will come of this most wicked world? Good Lord, strengthen him, and comfort him!" with other such lamentable and piteous exclamations. Therefore the people were sorely rebuked by the sheriff and his men who led him. And Taylor evermore said to the people, I have preached to you God's word and truth, and have come this day to seal it with my blood."

Coming opposite the almshouses, he cast to the poor people the money which remained of what good people had given him during his imprisonment. As for his living, they took it from him upon his first going to prison, so that he was sustained all the time of his imprisonment by the charitable alms of good people who visited him.

Therefore the money that now remained he put in a glove ready for the purpose, and gave it to the poor almsmen standing at their doors to see him. Coming to the last of the almshouses, he did not see the poor who dwelt there, ready at their doors as the others were. He asked "Are the blind man and blind woman who dwelt here, alive?" It was answered, "Yes, they are there within." Then he threw the glove and all in at the window, and so he rode onward.

[737] A.D. 1555.

At last, coming to Aldham common, the place where he was to suffer, and seeing a great multitude of people gathered there, he asked, "What place is this, and what does it mean that so many people are gathered here?" It was answered, "It is Aldham Common, the place where you must suffer: and the people have come to look upon you." Then Taylor said, "Thanked be God, I am even at home." And so he alighted from his horse, and with both his hands he rent the hood from his head.

When the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burst out weeping, and cried, saying, "God save you, good Doctor Taylor, Jesus Christ strengthen you, and help you! The Holy Spirit comfort you!" with other such godly wishes. He would have spoken to the people then, but the yeomen of the guard were so busy about him, that as soon as he opened his mouth, one or other thrust a tipstaff into his mouth, and would in no way permit him to speak.

Then he desired license from the sheriff to speak; but the sheriff denied it to him, and bade him remember his promise to the council.

"Well," said Doctor Taylor, "a promise must be kept." What this promise was, is unknown: but the common rumor was that after he and others were condemned, the council sent for them, and threatened them that they would cut their tongues out of their heads, unless they would promise that at their deaths they would keep silence, and not speak to the people. Therefore, desirous to have the use of their tongues, to call upon God as long as they might live, they promised silence. For the papists feared much, lest this change of religion — from truth to lies, from Christ's ordinances to the popish traditions — might not have been so quietly received as it was, especially this burning of the preachers. But measuring others' minds by their own, they feared lest any tumult or uproar might have been stirred, the people having so just a cause not to be contented with their doings; or else, what they most feared, the people might have been confirmed by their godly exhortations to stand steadfast against their vain popish doctrine and idolatry. But thanks be to God, who gave faith and patience to his witnesses, with stout and manly hearts to despise all torments. Nor was there so much as one man who showed any sign of disobedience towards the magistrates. They shed their blood gladly in the defense of the truth, so leaving an example to all men of true and perfect obedience — which is to obey God more than men, and if need requires it, to shed their own blood rather than depart from God's truth.

Doctor Taylor perceiving that he would not be allowed to speak, sat down. Seeing someone named Soyce, he called him, and said, "Soyce, I pray you come and pull off my boots, and take them for your labor. You have long looked for them; now take them." Then he rose up and put off his clothes down to his shirt, and gave them away. This done, he said with a loud voice, "Good people, I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the Holy Bible. I have come here this day to seal it with my blood." With that word, Homes, yeoman of the guard, who had used Doctor Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head with a club, and said, "Is that keeping your promise, you heretic?" Then, seeing they would not permit him to speak, he kneeled down and prayed. A poor woman who was among the people, stepped in and prayed with him. But they pushed her away, and threatened to tread her down with horses: notwithstanding, she would not leave, but remained and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the stake, and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch-barrel, which they had prepared for him to stand in. And so he stood with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes toward heaven; so he continually prayed. The faggots were brought, and the fire kindled. One man cruelly threw a faggot at him, which

lighted upon his head, and broke his face, so that the blood ran down his visage. Then Taylor said, "O friend, I have harm enough, what need was there of that?"

Sir John Shelton standing by, as Doctor Taylor was speaking and saying the fifty-first psalm, "Have mercy upon us," struck him on the lips; "You knave," he said, "speak in Latin, or I will make you." Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and said, "Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Savior's sake, receive my soul into your hands." So he stood still without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce struck him in the head with a halberd, spilling the brains; the dead corpse fell into the fire.

Thus the man of God rendered his blessed soul into the hands of his merciful Father, and his most dear and certain Savior Jesus Christ, whom he most entirely loved, faithfully and earnestly preached, obediently followed in living, and constantly glorified in death.

### **Many Others Condemned by Gardiner.**

After Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had gotten the law and the secular arm on his side, with full power and authority, he had these godly bishops and reverend preachers brought under foot; namely, Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley bishop of London, Latimer, Hooper bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, Rogers, Sanders, Taylor, and Bradford, all of whom he had condemned, and some of them he had burned. He now supposed that all had been made sure, and that Christ had been conquered forever, so that the people, being terrified by the example of these learned men, never would, nor dared again to stir against their violent religion. This was not unlike the manner of the Turks, who when they cannot maintain their sect by good learning and the truth of God's word, think to force whomever they can to their belief, by the violence of the sword. And that being done, they afterwards make laws that no man, under pain of heresy, may dispute, or once call into question any of their proceedings. Even so, Gardiner and his fellows, when they see they cannot prevail by the trial of God's word, and by discourse of learning, nor disposed to seek truth where it is to be found, take exception to God's word. They claim it is intricate, obscure, and insufficient, and therefore it must by necessity be judged by the pope's church. And so, having kings and queens on their side, they do not seek to persuade by the word of God, nor to win by charity. Instead of the law of God, they use death, fire, and sword, as the Turks do, to make men believe what indeed they will not believe. Thus they condemned these godly and learned preachers and bishops, supposing that all the rest would soon be overawed by their example. But they were deceived. For within eight or nine days after Gardiner had sentenced Hooper, Rogers, Sanders, Taylor, and Bradford, being the 8th of February, six other good men were likewise brought before the bishops for the same cause of religion. Their names were William Pygot, Stephen Knight, Thomas Tomkins, Thomas Hawkes, John Lawrence, a priest, and William Hunter.

Gardiner thus seeing his device disappointed, and that cruelty in this case would not serve his expectation, he gave up the matter, utterly discouraged, and from that day meddled no more in such condemnations. He referred the whole to Bonner, bishop of London. Bishop Bonner taking the matter in hand on the 8th of February, called those six persons before him in his consistory at St. Paul's, with the lord mayor, and certain aldermen. The next day, he read the sentence of condemnation upon them, as it appears in Bonner's own registers. Such quick speed these men made in dispatching their business at once.

Notwithstanding, the death of these condemned martyrs did not follow immediately. I cannot say precisely what the reason was that their execution was deferred, unless perhaps the sermon of Alphonsus, the Spanish friar and the king's confessor, did some good.



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For I find that though these six persons were sentenced on Saturday the 9th of February, on Sunday the 10th, the said Alphonsus, a Grey friar, preached before the king. In this sermon he earnestly inveighed against the bishops for burning men, saying plainly that they did not learn it in Scripture, to burn anyone for conscience' sake; but on the contrary, they should live and be converted, with many other things more to the same purport. But regarding the deferral of these men's deaths, because I cannot certainly affirm it, so I let it pass.

On the 14th of February, Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was sent to St. David's, to be condemned and executed there. Regarding his martyrdom, as it did not happen before the month of March, we will defer the history of it till we come to the time of his suffering.

On this 14th of February, the lord chancellor, and his fellow bishops, had the image of Thomas Becket, that old Romish traitor, set up over the Mercer's chapel door in Cheapside in London, in the form and shape of a bishop, with miter and crosier. However, within two days after its erection, his two blessing fingers were broken off, and on the next day (the 17th of February) his head was also struck off. Upon this, great trouble arose, and many were suspected. Among them was one Master John Barnes, a mercer, dwelling opposite the chapel. He was charged with it, as he was a professor of the truth. Therefore he and three of his servants were committed to prison. At his delivery (even though it could not be proved against him) he was bound to a great sum of money to rebuild it as often as it might be broken down, and also to watch and keep the same. Therefore, at his charge, the image was again set up on the 2nd of March. But on the 14th of that month, in the night, the head was broken off for the second time. This was so heinously taken, that the next day, being the 15th, there was a proclamation made in London, that whoever would tell who struck off his head, would have not only his pardon, but also one hundred crowns of gold, with hearty thanks. But it was never known who did it.

On the 18th of February, Queen Mary, after a long delay, answered the King of Denmark's letters, who had before written two letters to the queen, in behalf of Master Coverdale, for his deliverance. He was in great danger, if he had not been rescued by the great suit and letters of the King of Denmark.

On the 19th of February, a certain intimation was set forth and printed in the name of Bonner, which contained a general monition and strict charge given to every man and woman within his diocese, to prepare themselves for Lent, which was then approaching, in order to receive the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation sent from Pope Julius III by Pole, his cardinal and *legate de latere*. And so they would also receive the joyful benefit of absolution. It would first be sent from the cardinal to Bonner, and from him to every one of his archdeacons, to be administered to every private person within his diocese, if they would come at the holy time of Lent, to his pastor or curate to be confessed, and to receive from him wholesome counsel, penance, and absolution.

Therefore, all manner of doubts and obstacles set aside, Bonner commanded every man and woman to come to confession, and to enjoy this benefit of reconciliation and absolution, against the first Sunday ensuing after Easter, and not to fail. For this purpose he had especially commanded the pastors and curates of every parish to certify in writing the names of every man and woman so reconciled, and so forth.

*The Form of Absolution to be kept by the pastors and curates  
in private confessions, concerning this reconciliation.*

“Our Lord Jesus Christ absolve you, and by the apostolic authority granted and committed to me, I absolve you from the sentences of excommunication, and from all other censures and pains into which you have fallen because of heresy, or schism, or any other ways. And I restore you to the unity of our holy mother the church, and the communion of all sacraments, dispensing with you for all manner of irregularity; and by the same authority I absolve you from all your sins. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.”

***The History and Martyrdom of Six Prisoners***

Mention was made earlier of six prisoners, brought and examined before bishop Bonner on the 8th of February. Their names were Tomkins, Hunter, Pygot, Knight, Lawrence, and Hawkes. It now remains to severally treat the martyrdom of these six persons.<sup>547</sup>

The first was **Thomas Tomkins**, burned in Smithfield, the 16th of March A.D. 1555.

*The History of Thomas Tomkins, burned by Bishop Bonner,  
for the constant testimony of Christ's true profession.*

Thomas Tomkins, a weaver by occupation, dwelled in Shoreditch. He was of such a godly conversation and disposition, that if any woman had come to him with her web, as they sometimes did, three or four in a day, he would always begin with prayer. Or if any other had come to talk of any matter, he would likewise first begin with prayer. And if any went to him to borrow money, he would show him whatever money he had in his purse, and bid him to take it. And when they came to pay it back, he was so far off from seeking any usury at their hand, or from exaction of his due, that he would bid them keep it longer, until they were better able to pay it back.

Bonner had kept Tomkins in prison about half a year, during which time the bishop was so rigorous with him, that he beat him bitterly about the face. He was a prisoner with him at Fulham in the month of July, and set him to make hay with his other workmen. Seeing him to labor so well, the bishop sat down, said, “Well, I like you well, for you labor well. I trust you will be a good catholic.” “My lord,” Tomkins said, “St. Paul says that whoever does not labor, is not worthy to eat.” Bonner said, “Ah, St. Paul is a great man with you.” After other talk, the bishop wished his beard shaved off, saying that he would then look like a catholic. “My lord,” Tomkins said, “before my beard grew I was, I trust, a good Christian; and so I trust to be one with my beard on.” But Bonner sent for the barber, and had his beard shaved off. The real reason was that Bonner had plucked out a piece of his beard before.

The rage of this bishop was great against him, but the constancy of the man was much greater, with patience to bear it. Although he did not have the learning others have, yet he was so endued with God's mighty Spirit, and so constantly planted in the perfect knowledge of God's truth, that he could by no means be moved from the confession of truth. Upon this, Bonner being greatly vexed against the poor man, when he saw that he could not prevail with him by persuasion, he devised another practice to try his constancy. Seeing that he could not otherwise convince him by doctrine of Scripture, he thought to overthrow him by some terror of death. So having with him Harpsfield, Pembleton, Chedsey, Willerton, and others, he called for Thomas Tomkins. Coming before the bishop, and standing as usual in defense of his faith, the bishop fell from beating to burning. Having a taper of wax candle of three or four wicks sitting on the table, this popish bishop took Tomkins by the fingers, and

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<sup>547</sup> Foxe will not get to the martyrdom of Thomas Hawkes (p. 762) until he first catalogs a dozen other martyrs.

held his hand directly over the flame, supposing that, being terrified by the smart and pain of the fire, he would abandon the defense of his doctrine.

Tomkins thinking that he was about to die, began to commend himself to the Lord, saying, "O Lord, into your hands I commend my spirit," etc. During the time that his hand was burning, he never moved till the veins burst and the sinews shrunk, and the water spurted in Master Harpsfield's face. Harpsfield, moved with pity, desired the bishop to stop, saying that he had tried him enough. This burning was in the hall at Fulham.

[739] A. D. 1555.

But before we come to his final suffering, we will give some part of his examination, with his answers, as recorded in the register.

Thomas Tomkins, after he had remained half a year in prison, was brought with others before Bonner about the 8th of February, to be examined.

The bishop wished to persuade him to relinquish his opinions, and to return to the unity of the catholic church. promising if he would so do, he would remit all that was past. But he constantly refused so to do. When the bishop saw he could not convince him, he read to him certain articles and interrogatories, to which he would answer the next day:

*Articles objected against Thomas Tomkins,  
which he subscribed with his own hand.*

"You believe that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed, the very true and natural body of our Savior Jesus Christ, regarding the substance of it, which was conceived in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and hanged upon the cross, suffering passion and death there for the life of the world."

"I do so believe."

"You believe that after the consecration of the bread and wine prepared for the use of the sacrament of the altar, there remains the substance of material bread and material wine, not changed nor altered in substance by the power of Almighty God, but remaining as it did before."

"I do so believe."

"You believe that it is an untrue doctrine and false belief, to think or say that in the sacrament of the altar, there is, after consecration of the bread and wine, the substance of Christ's natural body and blood, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word "

"I do so believe."

"You believe that your parents, kinfolk, friends, and acquaintances, and also your godfathers, and godmother, and all people erred and were deceived if they believed that in the sacrament of the altar there was, after the consecration, the body and blood of Christ, and that there did not remain the substance of material bread and wine."

"I do so believe."

"THOMAS TOMKINS."

The next day, the 9th of February, Tomkins was again brought before the bishop and his assistants, where these articles were proposed to him, and he subscribed his name to them. The bishop drawing out of his bosom another confession subscribed with Tomkins's own

hand, had it openly read, and commanded him to revoke his opinions, which he refused to do. And therefore he was ordered to appear before the bishop again, in the afternoon.

This second confession was as follows:

“I, Thomas Tomkins, of the parish of Shoreditch, in the diocese of London, having confessed before and declared openly to Edmund, bishop of London, my ordinary, that my belief has been many years past, and is at this present, that the body of our Savior Jesus Christ is not truly and in very deed in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven; and ;it is so in heaven, that it cannot now indeed be really and truly in the sacrament of the altar:

“And moreover, having likewise openly confessed and declared to my said ordinary, many times, that although the church, called the catholic church, has allowed, and does allow the mass and sacrifice made and done in this way, as a wholesome, profitable, and a godly thing, yet my belief has been for many years past, and is at this present, that the said mass is full of superstition, plain idolatry, and unprofitable for my soul, and so I have called it many times, and take it at this present time.

“Having also likewise confessed and declared to my said ordinary, that the sacrament of baptism ought to be only in the vulgar tongue, and not otherwise ministered, and also without any such ceremonies as are customarily used in the Latin church, and otherwise not to be allowed:

“Finally, being many times and often called openly before my ordinary, and talked with regarding all my confessions and declarations, both by my ordinary and other learned men, as well as his chaplains, and others, and counselled by all of them to embrace the truth, and to recant my error in the premises, which they told me was plain heresy, and manifest error, I testify and declare hereby, that I do and will continually stand to my confession, declaration, and belief, in all the premises and every part of them, and in no way recant or go from any part of the same. In witness of this, I have subscribed and passed this writing, the 26th of September, the year aforesaid.

“THOMAS TOMKINS.”

The same day and place, in the afternoon, he was brought before the bishops of London, Bath, and St. David’s, with others. There he was earnestly exhorted by the bishop of Bath, to revoke his opinions. He answered, “My Lord, I was born and brought up in ignorance until now, in recent years. Now I know the truth, and I will continue in it unto death.”

Then Bonner had all his articles and confession openly read again, and tried to persuade him to recant. Tomkins finally answered, “My lord, I cannot but see that you would have me forsake the truth, and fall into error and heresy.” The bishop seeing he would not recant, gave the sentence of condemnation upon him.

Then he delivered him to the sheriff of London, who carried him to Newgate. There he remained until the 16th of March. On that day, he was conveyed by the sheriff to Smithfield, and there sealed his faith in the flaming fire, to the glory of God’s holy name, and the confirmation of the weak.

### **The History of William Hunter.**

On the 26th of March 1555, came the martyrdom of William Hunter, a right godly young man, nineteen years of age, and born of godly parents. He was not only instructed in true religion and godliness by them, but in a rare and strange example, he was also confirmed by them unto death, worthy to be held in admiration by all parents. In this, a singular spectacle may appear, not only of a marvellous fortitude in one so young, but also in his parents, to

behold their nature striving with religion, and being overcome by it. By this, Christian parents may learn what is to be done, not only in their children, but also in themselves, if need at any time requires, or godliness should demand the duty of a Christian man against natural affection. This account was faithfully drawn out by Robert Hunter, his own brother, who was present with his brother William till his death, and who sent the account to us, as we have recorded it here.

William Hunter, an apprentice in London in the first year of Queen Mary, was commanded at Easter to receive the communion at a mass, by the priest of the parish where he dwelt, called Coleman-street. Because he refused to do so, he was threatened that he would be brought before the bishop of London. William Hunter's master, Thomas Taylor, a silk-weaver, required William Hunter to depart from him, lest he come into danger on account of him if he continued in his house. So William took leave of his master, and came to Brentwood, where his father dwelt, with whom he remained a few weeks.

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It happened within five or six weeks, that going into the chapel of Brentwood, and finding there a bible lying on a desk, he read it. In the meantime one father Atwell, who hearing William read in the Bible, came in and said to him, "What, do you meddle with the Bible? Do you know what you read, and can you expound the Scriptures?"

William answered, "I do not take it upon myself to expound the Scriptures; but finding the Bible here when I came, I read in it to my comfort." Father Atwell said, "It has not been a merry world since the Bible came abroad in English."

William answered, "Say it is not so, for God's sake. For it is God's book, out of which every one who has grace may learn to know both what pleases God, and also what displeases him." Then father Atwell said, "Could we not tell before this time, as well as now, how God was served?" William answered, "No, not so well as we can now, if we still have His blessed word among us as we had it."

William Hunter added, "I pray God that we may have the blessed Bible among us continually." Father Atwell said, "I perceive your mind well enough; you are one of those who dislike the queen's laws, and therefore you came from London. You learned these ways at London. But you must turn over another leaf, or else you and a great number more heretics will broil for this."

William said, "God give me grace, that I may believe his word, and confess his name, whatever comes."

"Confess his name," said old Atwell. "No, no, you will go to the devil, all of you, and confess his name."

With these words he went out of the chapel in a great fury, saying, "I am not able to reason with you: but I will fetch one who shall talk with you, I warrant you, you heretic." And, leaving William Hunter reading in the Bible, he brought the vicar of Southwell. Finding him reading in the Bible, the vicar took the matter very heinously, saying, "Sirrah,<sup>548</sup> who gave you leave to read in the Bible, and to expound it?"

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<sup>548</sup> *Sirrah*: Formerly a contemptuous term of address to an inferior man or boy; often used in anger.

Hunter answered, "I do not expound the scriptures, sir, but read them for my comfort." "Why do you meddle with them at all," asked the vicar? "It does not become such as you to meddle with the Scriptures."

Hunter answered, "I will read the Scriptures (God willing) while I live; and you ought not, Master Vicar, to discourage any man in that manner, but rather exhort men to diligently read the Scriptures for your discharge and their own."

The vicar answered, "It becomes you well to tell me what I have to do! I see you are a heretic by your words." William said, "I am no heretic for speaking the truth." But the vicar said, "It is a queer world when such as you will teach us what is the truth. You are meddling, father Atwell tells me, with the sixth of John, in which you may perceive how Christ says, 'Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you.'"

Then father Atwell said, "When you read it, I said that you might understand there, how Christ's very natural body and blood is in the sacrament of the altar."

"Ah," said the vicar, "what do you say to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Do you not believe in it, and that the bread and wine is substantiated into the very body and blood of Christ?" William answered, "I learn no such thing in the sixth of John." And added "You understand Christ's words much like the carnal Capernaïtes, who thought that Christ would have given them his flesh to feed upon. This opinion our Savior Christ corrected when he said, 'The words that I speak to you, they are *spirit*, and they are *life*.'" "

"Now," said the vicar, "I have found you out. Now I see that you are a heretic indeed, and that you do not believe in the sacrament of the altar."

Hunter answered, "I wish that you and I were now tied fast to a stake, to prove whether I or you would stand strongest to our faith." But the vicar answered, "It shall not be so tried." "No," replied Hunter, "for I think I know who would recant the soonest. For I dared set my foot against yours, even to the death." "That we shall see," said the vicar, and so they departed, the vicar threatening Hunter that he would complain of him.

Immediately after, the vicar told Master Brown (the local justice) of the communication which Hunter and he had together. Brown immediately sent for Hunter's father, and the constable. For immediately after Hunter and the vicar had reasoned together, William took his leave of his father and fled, because the vicar threatened him. Now when the constable and Hunter's father had come before Master Brown, he asked where his son was. His father answered, "If it please you, sir, I do not know." Master Brown said, "I will make you tell where he is, and fetch him here also, before I am done with you."

Justice Brown then threatened to send the old man to prison unless he promised to seek his son and bring him there. After the old man had ridden two or three days' journey to satisfy Brown's expectation, it happened that William met his father, and told him he thought that he was seeking him. And then his father, confessing it, wept sorely and said that Master Brown charged him to seek him, and to bring him to him. But, he said, "I will return home again, and say I cannot find you." But William said, "Father, I will go home with you, and keep you harmless, whatever comes of it."

And thus they came home together; but William, as soon as he had come home, was taken by the constable, and laid in the stocks, and afterwards brought to Brown.

When Hunter had come, Brown commanded the Bible to be brought and opened it, and then he began to reason with Hunter, saying, "I hear say you are a Scripture-man, and can reason on the sixth of John, and expound it as it pleases you." He turned to the sixth of

John, and then laid to his charge the exposition that he made when the vicar and he had talked together. Hunter said, "He urged me to say so much as I did."

"Well," (said Master Brown) "as you can expound so well; what do you say to the 22nd of St. Luke? Look here, for Christ says, That the bread is his body."

Hunter answered, "The text says, that Christ took bread, but not that he changed it into another substance. Rather, he gave what he took, and broke what he gave, which was bread, as is evident by the text. For otherwise, he would have had two bodies, which I see no reason to affirm."

At this answer Brown was very angry, and took up the Bible and turned the leaves, and then flung it down again, in a fury.

Then Brown said, "You naughty boy. Will you not take things as they are, but expound them as you will? Does not Christ plainly call the bread his body, and you will not believe that the bread is his body after the consecration? You set about to make Christ a liar."

But Hunter answered, "I do not mean so, sir; but I mean rather more earnestly to search what is the mind of Christ in that holy institution in which he commends to us the remembrance of his death, passion, resurrection, and coming again, saying, 'Do this in remembrance of me.' And also, though Christ calls the bread his body, he also says that he is a vine, a door, etc. yet his body is not turned into bread, any more than he is turned into a door or a vine. Therefore Christ called the bread his *body* by a figure."

Then Brown said, "You are a villain, indeed! Will you make Christ a liar still?" He was in such a fury with Hunter, and so enraged, that Hunter could not speak a word without being crossed and scoffed by him at every word. Therefore, seeing him in such fury, Hunter desired that he would either hear him quietly, and allow him to answer for himself, or else send him away. Brown answered, "Indeed I will send you, tomorrow, to my lord of London, and he shall have you under examination." He wrote a letter immediately, and sent Hunter with the constable to Bonner.

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The bishop began to reason with him in this manner:

"I understand, William Hunter, that you have had certain communication with the vicar, about the blessed sacrament of the altar, and that you could not agree; upon which Master Brown sent for you to bring you to the catholic faith. If you will be ruled by me, you shall have no harm for anything that you have said or done in this matter."

Hunter answered, "I am not fallen from the catholic faith of Christ (I am sure) but I believe it, and confess it with all my heart."

"Why," said the bishop, "what do you say to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Will you not recant your saying, how Christ's body is not in the sacrament of the altar, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary?"

Hunter answered, "My lord, I understand that Master Brown has notified you of the talk which he and I had together, and you know what I said to him, which by God's help, I will not recant." Then the bishop said, "I think you are ashamed to bear a faggot, and recant openly. But if you will recant, I will promise you that you will not be put to open shame. But speak the word here, now, between me and you, and I will promise you it shall go no further, and you shall go home again without any hurt."

## Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

Hunter answered, "My lord, if you will let me alone, and leave me to my conscience, I will go to my father and dwell with him, or else with my master again, and so, if nobody will disquiet or trouble my conscience, I will keep my conscience to myself."

Then the bishop said, "I am content, if you will go to the church, and receive and be shriven (confessed), and so continue a good catholic Christian." "No," replied William, "I will not do so for all the world."

"Then," rejoined the bishop, "if you *will* not do so, I will *make* you, sure enough, I warrant you." "Well," said Hunter, "you can do no more than God will permit you."

Then the bishop commanded his men to put Hunter in the stocks in his gatehouse, where he sat two days and nights, with only a crust of brown bread and a cup of water.

At the end of two days, the bishop came to him, and finding the cup of water and the crust of bread still by him lying upon the stocks, he said to his men, "Take him out of the stocks, and let him break his fast with you." Then they let him out of the stocks, but they would not allow him to eat with them, but called him a heretic.

After breakfast, the bishop demanded whether he would recant. But Hunter answered that he would never recant what he had confessed before men, concerning his faith in Christ.

The bishop said that he was no Christian, but he denied the faith in which he was baptized. Hunter answered, "I was baptized in the faith of the Holy Trinity, which I will not go from, God assisting me with his grace."

The bishop then sent him to the convict prison, and commanded the keeper to lay irons upon him, as many as he could bear. He asked him how old he was; and Hunter said that he was nineteen years old.

"Well," said the bishop, "you will be burned before you are twenty years old, if you will not yield yourself better than you have done yet." Hunter answered, "God strengthen me in his truth."

He continued in prison three quarters of a year, and was before the bishop five times, besides the time when he was condemned, which was on the 9th of February, when his brother Robert Hunter was then present.

The bishop, sending for William, asked him if he would recant. And then, remarking how William confessed that he believed that he received Christ's body *spiritually* when he received the communion, he asked, "Do you mean that the bread is Christ's body *spiritually*?"

William answered, "I do not mean so; rather, when I receive the holy communion rightly and worthily, I feed upon Christ *spiritually* through faith in my soul, and I am made partaker of all the benefits which Christ has brought to all faithful believers through his precious death, passion, and resurrection."

Then the bishop said, "Do you not think that, for example, here you may see the squareness and color of my cap, and yet that is not the substance, which you judge by the accidents?"

William answered, "If you can separate the accidents from the substance, and show me the substance without the accidents, I could believe it." Then the bishop said, "Will you not believe that God can do anything above man's capacity?" "Yes," said William, "I must believe that; for daily experience plainly teaches that thing to all men. But our question is not what God can do, but what He would have us learn in his holy supper."



Then the bishop said, "I have always found you sticking at this point, and I see no hope to reclaim you to the catholic faith, but you will continue corrupt." Then he pronounced sentence upon William, that he should go from that place to Newgate for a time, and from there to Brentwood, "where," he said, "You shall be burned."

Then the bishop called for another prisoner. And so, when he had condemned them all, five in number, he called for William Hunter, and argued with him, saying, "If you will yet recant, I will make you a free man in the city, and give you forty pounds in good money to set up your trade with. Or I will make you steward of my house, and set you in office, for I like you well. You have wit enough, and I will prefer you if you recant."

But William answered, "I thank you for your great offers. Notwithstanding, my lord, if you cannot persuade my conscience by Scripture, I cannot find in my heart to turn from God for the love of the world, for I count all worldly things but loss and dung, in respect of the love of Christ."

Then said the bishop, "If you die in this mind you are condemned forever." William answered, "God judges righteously, and justifies those whom man condemns unjustly."

Thus Hunter and the bishop parted. Hunter and the rest to Newgate, where they remained about a month. Afterwards they were sent down: Hunter to Brentwood, and the others into other places of the country. Now, when Hunter had come down to Brentwood, the Saturday before the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (25th of March), he remained till the day after. They would not put him to death then, because of the holiness of the day.

In the meantime, Hunter's father and mother came to him, and desired heartily of God that he might continue to the end in that good way which he had begun. His mother said to him that she was glad to bear such a child who could find it in his heart to lose his life for Christ's name's sake.

Then William said to his mother, "For my little pain which I will suffer, which is but short, Christ has promised me, mother, a crown of joy. May you not be glad of that, mother?" With that his mother kneeled down, saying, "I pray God strengthen you, my son, to the end. Yes, I think you as well bestowed as any child that ever I bore."

At these words, Mr. Higbed took her in his arms saying, "I rejoice to see you in this mind, and you also have good cause to rejoice." And so said the others. His father and mother both said that they were never of any other mind, but prayed for him, that as he had begun to confess Christ before men, he might so continue to the end. William's father said, "I was afraid of nothing but that my son might have been killed in the prison by hunger and cold, the bishop was so hard to him."

Now when it was day, the sheriff set forward to the burning of William Hunter. Then the sheriff's son came to him, and took him by his right hand, saying, "William, do not be afraid of these men who are present here with bows, bills, and weapons, prepared to bring you to the place where you will be burned." William answered, "I thank God I am not afraid; for I have already laid to my account what it will cost me." At this, the sheriff's son could speak no more to him for weeping.

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Then William Hunter plucked up his gown, and went forward cheerfully, the sheriff's servant taking him by one arm, and his brother by the other. While on his way he met his father, who spoke to his son, weeping and saying, "God be with you, son William;" and William said, "God be with you, good father, and be of good comfort; for I hope we shall

meet again, when we shall be happy." His father said, "I hope so, William." So William went to the place where the stake stood, but the things were not ready. Then William took a wet broom faggot, and kneeled down, and read the 51st Psalm, till he came to these words, "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, you will not despise."

Then Master Tyrill said, "You lie; you read falsely; for the words are a humble spirit." But William said, "The translation says, a contrite heart." Master Tyrill replied, "The translation is false. You translate books as you like yourselves, like heretics." "Well," said William, "there is no great difference in these words." Then the sheriff said, "Here is a letter from the queen. If you will recant, you shall live; if not, you shall be burnt." "No," answered William, "I will not recant, God willing." Then William rose and went to the stake, and stood upright to it. Then one Richard Ponde came, a bailiff, and made fast the chain about him.

Master Brown said, "There is not enough wood to burn a leg of him." Then William said, "Good people pray for me; and make speed and dispatch me quickly: and pray for me while you see me alive, good people, and I will pray for you likewise."

"Now," said Master Brown, "pray for you? I will pray no more for you than I would pray for a dog." William answered, "Now you have that which you sought, and I pray God it is not laid to your charge in the last day. I forgive you." Then Master Brown said, "I ask no forgiveness of you." "Well," said William, "If God forgives you, I will not require my blood at your hands."

Then William seeing the priest, and perceiving how he would have shown him the book, said, "Away, you false prophet! Beware of them, good people, and come away from their abominations, lest you be partakers of their plagues." Then the priest said, "As you burn here, so you shall burn in hell." William answered, "You lie, you false prophet; away, you false prophet, away!"

Then a gentleman who was present said, "I pray God have mercy upon his soul." The people said, "Amen, amen." Immediately a fire was made.

Then William flung his psalter into his brother's hand, who said, "William, think on the holy passion of Christ, and do not be afraid of death." William answered, "I am not afraid." Then he lifted up his hands to heaven, and said, "Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit;" and casting his head down again into the smoke, he yielded up his life for the truth, sealing it with his blood to the praise of God.

*An Account of Thomas Higbed and Thomas Causton.*

This Master Higbed and Master Causton, two worshipful gentlemen in the county of Essex, the one residing at Horndon on the Hill, the other in the parish of Thundersley, being zealous and religious in the true service of God. Just as they could not dissemble with the Lord their God, nor flatter with the world, so in this time of blind superstition and wretched idolatry, they could not long lie hidden and obscure among such a number of malignant adversaries, accusers, and servants of this world. But at length they were perceived and detected to Bonner, bishop of London.

Bonner, perceiving these two gentlemen were of worshipful estate, and of great estimation in that country, lest any tumult should arise, came there himself, accompanied with Mr. Fecknam and others, thinking to reclaim them. They used great labor and diligence, both by terrors, and threatenings, and flattering promises, and all other means to reduce them again to the unity, as they termed it, of the mother church.

In brief, when nothing could prevail to make these godly men assent to their dogmas, they came to this point, that they required time to consult with themselves what was best to be done. This time of deliberation having expired, and these men remaining constant and immovable — and moreover, having given out their confession in writing — the bishop saw no good to be done in tarrying there any longer. He departed, and carried them both with him to London, and with them other prisoners also, who were apprehended in those quarters (areas) about the same time.

They were brought out to open examination in St. Paul's on the 17th of February A.D. 1555. It was demanded whether they would recant their errors, and come into the unity of the popish church. When they refused to do this, the bishop assigned them the day to appear again.

On that day he read to them certain articles, and gave them respite till the next day to answer to them; and so he committed them to prison. Having then answered the articles, they were again remanded to prison.

On the 8th of March, Thomas Causton was first called to examination before the bishop, and there had read to him the articles with his answers. After certain exhortations to recant, and to be conformable to the unity of their church, they promised to receive him back into their communion. He answered, "You go about to catch us in snares and gins. But mark, by what measure you measure us, you will be measured with the same again at God's hands." The bishop still persuaded him to recant, but he answered, "No, I will not abjure. You said that the bishops who were recently burnt were heretics: but I pray God may make me such a heretic as they were."

The bishop then leaving Causton, called for Thomas Higbed, and tried with him the same persuasions. But he answered, "I will not abjure. For I have been of this mind and opinion that I am now these sixteen years. Do what you can, you can do no more than God will permit you to do; and with what measure you measure us, look for the same again at God's hands."

They were then removed. On the following day they were both again brought before Bonner. The bishop had Thomas Causton's articles and answers be read openly. He tried to persuade him to recant and abjure his heretical opinions, and to come home now at last to their mother the catholic church, and save himself. But Causton answered, "No, I will not abjure; for I did not come here for that purpose." Then he exhibited to the bishop in writing, in his own name as well as in Thomas Higbed's name, a confession of their faith, to which they would stand. He requested leave to read it. This being granted, he read it openly in the hearing of the people, as follows:

*"The Confession and Faith of Thomas Causton  
and Thomas Higbed.*

"1. We believe and profess in baptism to forsake the devil and all his works, and the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, with all the sinful lusts of the flesh.

"2. We believe all the articles of our Christian faith.

"3. We believe that we are bound to keep God's holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of our life.

"4. We believe, that there is contained in the Lord's prayer all things necessary both for body and soul, and that we are taught thereby to pray to our heavenly Father, and not to either saint or angel.

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“5. We believe that there is a catholic church, even the communion of saints, ‘Built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone.’ For which church ‘Christ gave himself, that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish.’— Eph 2.20, and 25-27.

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“6. We believe, that this church of herself, and by her own merits, is sinful, and must say, Father forgive us our sins: but through Christ and his merits, she is freely forgiven. ‘For he gave himself for it,’ says St. Paul, ‘that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word; that he might present it a glorious church.’ ‘Besides whom there is no Savior,’ says the prophet; ‘Nor is there salvation,’ says St. Peter, ‘in any other name.’

“7. We believe, as he is our only Savior, so he is our only Mediator. For the apostle St. Paul says, ‘There is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the Man Jesus Christ.’ Therefore, seeing that no one has this name *God and Man*, but Jesus Christ, there is no mediator but Jesus Christ.

“8. We believe that this church of Christ is and has been persecuted, according to the words of Christ, ‘As they have persecuted me, so shall they persecute you:’ ‘For the disciple is not above his master.’ ‘For it is not only given to you to believe in Christ,’ says St. Paul, ‘but also to suffer for his sake.’ All who will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution.

“9. We believe that the church of Christ teaches the word of God truly and sincerely, adding nothing to, nor taking anything from it; and it also administers the sacraments according to the primitive church.

“10. We believe that this church of Christ allows all men to read the Scriptures, according to Christ’s commandment, saying, ‘Search the Scriptures; for it is they which testify of me.’ We read also in the Acts, that when St. Paul preached, the audience searched the Scriptures daily, whether he preached truly or not. Also the prophet David teaches all men to pray with understanding: ‘For how will the unlearned,’ says St. Paul, ‘say Amen, at the giving of thanks,’ when they do not understand what is said? And what is more allowed than true faith, which St. Paul says, ‘comes by hearing of the word of God?’

“11. We believe, that the church of Christ teaches that God ought to be worshipped according to his word, and not according to the doctrine of men. ‘For in vain,’ says Christ, ‘you worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.’

“Also we are commanded of God by his prophet, saying, ‘Do not walk in the traditions and precepts of your elders; but walk in my precepts; do what I command you; add nothing to it, neither take anything from it.’ Likewise says Christ, ‘You shall forsake father and mother, and follow me.’ By this we learn that if our elders teach otherwise than God commanded, in that point we must forsake them.

“12. We believe that the supper of the Lord should not be altered and changed, because Christ himself, being the wisdom of the Father, instituted it. For it is written, ‘Cursed is he that changes my ordinances, and departs from my commandments, or takes anything from them.’

“Now we find by the Scriptures, that this holy supper is much abused.

“First, In that it is given in one kind, where Christ gave it in both (bread and wine).

“Secondly, In that it is made a private mass, where Christ made it a communion. For he gave it not to one alone, but to all the apostles in the name of the whole church.

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“Thirdly, In that it is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead, whereas Christ ordained it as a remembrance of the everlasting sacrifice, which was his own body offered on the altar of the cross once for all, as the holy apostle says, ‘For by one offering he has perfected forever those who are sanctified.’ ‘Now where there is remission of sins, there is no more offering for sin.’ <sup>Heb 10.14,18</sup>

“Fourthly, In that it is worshipped contrary to the commandment, saying, ‘You shall not worship anything that is made with hands.’

“Fifthly, In that it is given in an unknown tongue, whereby the people are ignorant of the right use of it, how Christ died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, by whom we are set at peace with God, and received to his favor and mercy by his promise, of which this sacrament is a sure seal and witness.

“Besides this, it is hung up, and shut in a box, yes, many times for so long that worms breed in it, and so it putrefies. By this, the common people have occasion to speak irreverently of it, who otherwise would speak reverently. Therefore, those who thus abuse it, cause the slander, and not we, who pray daily to God to restore it to right use, according to Christ’s institution.

“Now, concerning Christ’s words, ‘This is my body,’ we do not deny them; but we say that the mind of Christ in them must be searched out by other Scriptures, by which we may come to the spiritual understanding of them which will be most to the glory of God. For as the apostle says, ‘No Scripture is of any private interpretation.’ <sup>2Pet 1.20</sup> Besides this, the Scriptures are full of like figurative speeches. For example, Christ says, ‘This cup is the New Testament in my blood.’ ‘The Rock is Christ,’ says St. Paul. ‘Whoever receives a child in my name,’ says our Savior Jesus Christ, ‘receives me.’ These sentences must not be understood according to the letter, lest we err, as the Jews did, who thought that Christ’s body would be eaten with their teeth, when he spoke of eating it. Christ taught them that such a fleshly eating of his body profited nothing, saying, ‘It is the spirit that quickens; the flesh profits nothing: the words that I speak to you are spirit, and they are life.’ <sup>Joh 6.63</sup>

“Thus we see that Christ’s words must be understood spiritually, and not literally. Therefore whoever comes to the supper of the Lord, must not prepare his jaw, but his heart; neither tooth nor belly; but ‘believe,’ says St. Augustine, ‘and you have eaten it.’ So that, we must bring with us a spiritual hunger, and as the apostle says, ‘Let a man examine himself,’ whether our conscience testifies to us, that we truly believe in Christ, according to the Scriptures. If we are truly certified of being born again from our old conduct in heart, mind, will, and deed, then we may boldly come to the feast with this marriage-garment of our faith.

“In confirmation of which we have numerous Scriptures, such as from Christ himself, ‘Do this in remembrance of me.’ And St. Paul, ‘As often,’ he says, ‘as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you show the Lord’s death till he comes.’ There is no change here, but it is still bread. And St Luke affirms the same. Also Christ has made a promise, saying, ‘Yet a little while I am with you, and then I go to Him who sent me.’ <sup>Joh 7.33</sup> ‘It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come to you. But if I depart, I will send him to you.’ <sup>Joh 16.7</sup> So according to his promise he is ascended, as the evangelists testify. Also St. Peter says, ‘Whom the heaven must receive until the time of restitution of all things.’ <sup>Act 3.21</sup>

“Now as regards his omnipotent power, we confess and say with St. Augustine, that Christ is both God and man. In that he is God, he is everywhere; but in that he is man, he is in heaven, and can occupy but one place, with which the Scriptures agree. For his body was not in all places at once when he was here. For it was not in the grave when the woman sought it, as the angel says; nor was it at Bethany when Lazarus died, by Christ’s own words, saying, ‘I am glad I was not there.’ And thus we conclude with the Scriptures, that Christ is in his holy supper

sacramentally and spiritually in all those who worthily receive it, and corporeally in heaven, both God and man.

“And further, we make here our protestation before God, whom we call to record in this matter, that what we have said, is neither from stubbornness, nor from a willful mind, as some judge of us, but even of our very conscience, truly (we trust) grounded on God’s holy word. For before we took this matter in hand, we sought God from the bottom of our hearts, that we might do nothing contrary to his holy and blessed word. And as he has thus shown his power in our weakness, we cannot worthily praise him, to whom we give hearty thanks, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.”

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When Causton had thus delivered and read their confession, the bishop asked them whether they would stand to their confession and other answers? Causton said, “Yes, we will stand to our answers written with our hands, and to our belief contained in it.” After this answer the bishop proceeded to pronounce sentence against him.

Then Causton said that it was rashness, and without love and mercy to give judgment without answering their confession by the truth of God’s word.

Smith said that he would answer their confession. But the bishop would not allow him, and desired Harpsfield to speak on account of the people; but he neither touched nor answered one sentence of it.

This done, the bishop pronounced sentence, first against Thomas Causton. And then calling Thomas Higbed, he likewise had his articles and answers read. In their reading, Higbed said, “You speak blasphemy against Christ’s passion, and you go about to trap us with your subtleties and snares. And though my father and mother, and other of my kinsfolk believed as you say, yet they were *deceived* in so believing. And where you say that my Lord, named Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, and others specified in the articles, are heretics, I wish that I were such a heretic as they were.” Then the bishop asked him again, whether he would turn from his error, and come to the unity of their church? He said, “No; I would that *you* should recant; for I am in the truth, and you are in error.”

“Well,” said the bishop, “if you will return, I will gladly receive you.”

“No,” replied Higbed, “I will not return as you wish, to believe in the sacrament of the altar, your God.”

Upon this the bishop proceeded, and gave judgment upon him. When all this was thus ended, they were both delivered to the sheriffs, and sent to Newgate, where they remained fourteen days, not so much in afflictions as in consolations, praised be God! They earnestly desired all their good brethren and sisters in Christ to pray for the increase of this: that God, for his Son’s sake, would go forth with that great mercy which he had already begun in them, so that they might persevere to the end, to the praise of the eternal God, and comfort of all their brethren.

These fourteen days being expired, on the 23d of March they were brought from Newgate at four o’clock in the morning, and led through the city to Aldgate, where they were delivered to the sheriff of Essex. There being fast bound in a cart, they were shortly after brought to the appointed places of burning; that is to say, Thomas Higbed to Horndon on the Hill, and Thomas Causton to Rapley, both in the county of Essex, where on the 26th of the month, they most constantly sealed their faith with their blood by most cruel fire, to the glory of God, and the great rejoicing of the godly.

**William Pygot, Stephen Knight, and John Laurence.**

In the history of Thomas Tomkins and his companions, mention was made of six who were examined and condemned together by bishop Bonner, on the 9th of February. Of these six condemned persons, two were executed, namely Tomkins and William Hunter; one was pardoned;<sup>549</sup> two, William Pygot and Stephen Knight, suffered on the 28th; and the other, John Lawrence, suffered on the 29th of March.

Regarding these three martyrs, we have something to say now about their examinations. It was first demanded of them, what their opinion was of the sacrament of the altar. They severally answered and subscribed that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very substance of the body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ, but a special partaking of the body and blood of Christ, the very body and blood of Christ being only in heaven and nowhere else. The bishop had certain articles read to them, tending to the same effect as the articles against Tomkins and Causton; and they were answered in the same constant way.

The next day, the 10th of February, before their public appearance, the bishop had William Pygot and Stephen Knight brought into his great chamber in his palace, where he tried to persuade them to recant, and deny their former profession. They answered that they were not persuaded in their consciences to return and abjure their opinions. Shortly after this, all three (with Thomas Tomkins and William Hunter) were brought openly into the consistory. There they had the same articles propounded to them which were propounded before to Thomas Tomkins.

The bishop also talked to John Lawrence alone. He said that he was a priest who was consecrated and made a priest about eighteen years past, that he was at some time a professed black friar, and he was also betrothed to one whom he intended to have married. His opinion being demanded respecting the sacrament, he said that it was a remembrance of Christ's body, and that many have been deceived in believing the true body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar. After other fair words and threatenings, all of them were commanded to appear again in the afternoon.

At that hour they came back, and were exhorted to recant and revoke their doctrine. But they again constantly answered that they would not, but would stick to that faith which they had declared and subscribed, for they believed it was truth, and that the contrary was heresy.

When the bishop saw that neither his fair flatterings, nor his cruel threatenings would prevail, he gave judgment. Then they were committed to the custody of the sheriffs of London, who sent them to Newgate, where they remained until they were carried down into Essex. There, on the 28th of March, William Pygot was burned at Braintree. Stephen Knight was burned at Maldon. At the stake, kneeling upon the ground, he made the following prayer:

“O Lord Jesus Christ, for whose love I willingly leave this life and desire the bitter death of your cross, with the loss of all earthly things, rather than to abide the blasphemy of your most Holy Name, or to obey men in breaking your holy commandment. You see, O Lord, that where I might live in worldly wealth to worship a false God, and honor your enemy, I rather choose the torment of the body, and the loss of this life, and I have counted all things but vile dust and dung, that I might win you. Such death is dearer to us than thousands of gold and silver. Such

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<sup>549</sup> The one pardoned was *not* Hawkes, for he was martyred with them on the 9th of February (p. 762).

## Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

love, O Lord, you have laid up in my breast, so that I hunger for you as the deer that is wounded desires the ground. Send your holy comforter, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is empty of all strength of itself. You remember, O Lord, that I am but dust, and able to do nothing that is good. Therefore, O Lord, just as you have bidden me to this banquet out of your accustomed goodness and love, and accounted me worthy to drink of your own cup among your elect, even so give me strength, O Lord, against this your element. Just as to my sight it is most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may at your commandment (as an obedient servant) be sweet and pleasant, that through the strength of your Holy Spirit, I may pass through the rage of this fire into your bosom, according to your promise — and for this mortal body receive an immortal, and for this corruptible body put on incorruption. Accept this burnt sacrifice and offering, O Lord, not for the sacrifice, but for your dear Son's sake, my Savior, for whose testimony I offer this free-will-offering with all my heart and with all my soul. O, Heavenly Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive all the world. O, sweet Son of God, my Savior, spread your wings over me. O, blessed and Holy Spirit, through whose merciful inspiration I have come here, conduct me into everlasting life. Lord, into your hands I commend my spirit. Amen.”

### *The Death and Martyrdom of John Lawrence, Priest.*

The next day, John Lawrence was brought to Colchester. Not being able to walk (for his legs were sorely worn with heavy irons in prison, and his body weakened with wants) he was brought to the fire in a chair; and so sitting, he was in constant faith consumed.

[745] A.D. 1555.

At the burning of this Lawrence, as he was sitting in the fire, the young children came about the fire, and cried out, as well as young children could speak, saying, “Lord, strengthen your servant, and keep your promise; Lord, strengthen your servant, and keep your promise.” This thing, as it is rare, so it is no small manifestation of the glory of God, who wrought this in the hearts of these little ones. Nor yet is it a little commendation to their parents who, from their youth, brought them up in the knowledge of God and his truth.

### ***The History of Dr. Robert Farrar, Bishop of St. David's.***

The day after, which was the 30th of March, followed the martyrdom of the bishop of St. David's in Wales, called Robert Farrar. He was the next bishop in this catalogue of Christian martyrs, who suffered after Hooper. This Farrar, by the favor and good will of the lord protector, was first called and promoted to that dignity. I may well call him twice a martyr, not only for the cruel death of the fire, which he suffered most constantly in the days of Queen Mary, to the shedding of his blood, but also for other injuries and troubles in King Edward's time, which he no less firmly than undeservedly sustained at the hands of his enemies after the fall of the Duke of Somerset (see p. 518).

Through the contrivance of his adversaries, one Hugh Rawlins, priest, and Thomas Lee, brother-in-law to George Constantine, exhibited to the king's most honorable council certain articles and information to blemish the bishop's credit, in order to pull him down from his bishopric, and bring him under a *praemunire*. Because of this, upon the unfortunate fall of the duke of Somerset, by whom Ferrar had been promoted and maintained before, he was detained in prison till the death of King Edward. At the coming in of Queen Mary and the popish religion, by which new troubles rose upon him, he was now accused and examined for his faith and doctrine.

The bishop of St. David's had long been detained in custody in the reign of King Edward — not for any just cause deserved on his part, but because he had been promoted by the duke



of Somerset. And now, after his fall, he found fewer friends to support him against those who hunted after his bishopric. By the coming in of Queen Mary, the state of religion began to be changed and altered. He was now accused and examined, not for any matter of *praemunire*, but for his faith and doctrine. He was called before the bishop of Winchester, with Hooper, Rogers, Bradford, Sanders, and others, on the 4th of Feb. On that day, he would have been condemned with them. But because leisure did not serve the bishop so well then, his condemnation was deferred. He was sent back to prison, where he continued till the 14th of February. His examinations and answers before the bishop of Winchester (as much as remained and came into our hands), I have annexed here.

At his first coming and kneeling before the lord chancellor, the bishop of Durham, and the bishop of Worcester, who sat at the table — and Rochester, Southwell, Bourne, and others standing at the table's end — the lord chancellor spoke to him.

Winchester. — “Now, sir, have you heard how the world goes here?”

Farrar. — “If it please your honor, I do not know.”

Winchester. — “What do you say? Do you not know things abroad, notwithstanding that you are a prisoner?”

Farrar. — “No, my lord, I do not know.”

Winchester. — “Look! what a froward fellow this is!”

Farrar. — “If it please your lordship, how might I know anything abroad, being a prisoner?”

Winchester. — “Have you not heard of the coming in of the lord cardinal?”

Farrar. — “I do not know my lord cardinal; I heard that a cardinal had come in, but I did not believe it, and I do not believe it still.”

Worcester. — “I pray your lordship tell him yourself, so that he may know what is done.”

Winchester. — “The queen's majesty and the parliament have restored religion to the same state it was in at the beginning of the reign of our King Henry VIII. You are in the queen's debt, and her majesty will be good to you, if you will return to the catholic church.”

Farrar. — “In what state I am, concerning my debts to the queen's majesty in the court of Exchequer, my lord treasurer knows. And the last time that I was before your honor, and the first time also, I showed you that I had made an oath never to consent to or agree that the bishop of Rome should have any power or jurisdiction within this realm. And further, I need not repeat this to your lordship; you know it well enough.”

Bourne. — “You once abjured for heresy in Oxford.”

Farrar. — “I did not.”

Bourne. — “You did.”

Farrar. — “Never! it is not true.”

Bourne. — “You went from St. David's to Scotland.”

Farrar. — “I did not.”

Bourne. — “You did.”

Farrar. — “I never did, but I went from York into Scotland.”

Bourne. — “Ah, so I said; you went with Barlow.”

Farrar. — “That is true, but never from St. David's.”

Bourne. — “You carried books out of Oxford, to the archbishop of York.”

Farrar. — “I did not.”

Bourne. — “You did.”

Farrar. — “I did not, but I carried old books from Oswald’s to the bishop of York.”

Bourne. — “You supplanted your master.”

Farrar. — “I never did that in my life.”

Bourne. — “By my faith you did.”

Farrar. — “I did not, never in my life. But I did shield and save my master from danger, and I obtained it from King Henry VIII for my true service; I thank God for it.”

Bourne. — “My lord, he has as bad a name in Wales as ever any man had.”

Farrar. — “That is not so. Whoever says so will never be able to prove it.”

Bourne. — “He has defrauded the queen in several sums of money.”

Farrar. — “That is utterly untrue, I never defrauded king nor queen of one penny in my life, and you shall never be able to prove what you say.”

Winchester. — “You are a false knave.”

Then Farrar stood up (for previously he had kneeled) and said, “No, my lord, I am a true man, I thank God for it. I was born under King Henry VII, I served King Henry VIII and King Edward VI truly, and I have served the queen’s majesty, truly with my poor heart and word. More I could not do, and I was never false, nor shall I be, by the grace of God.”

Winchester. — “What do you say, will you be reformable?”

Farrar. — “My lord, if it please your honor, I have made an oath to God, and to King Henry VIII, and also to King Edward, and to the queen’s majesty, which I can never break while I live, even if I were to die for it.”

Durham. — “You have made another oath before.”

Farrar. — “No, my lord, I never made another oath before.”

Durham. — “You made a vow.”

Farrar. — “I did not.”

Winchester. — “You made a profession to live without a wife.”

Farrar. — “No, my lord, if it please your honor, I never did; I made a profession to live chaste, but not without a wife.”

Worcester. — “You were sworn to him that was head of your house.”

Farrar. — “I never was.”

Winchester. — “Well, you are a froward knave. We will have no more to do with you; we will be short with you, and you shall know that within this week.”

Farrar. — “I am as it pleases your honor to call me; but I cannot break my oath, which your lordship yourself made before me, and gave an example, which confirmed my conscience. I can never break that oath while I live.”

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Durham. — “Well, he stands upon his oath: call another.”

My lord chancellor then rang a little bell, and Farrar said, "I pray God save the king and queen's majesties long to continue in honor to God's glory and their comfort, and to the comfort of the whole realm; and I pray God save all your honors;" and so he departed.

After these examinations. Bishop Farrar remained in prison uncondemned till the 14th of February; then he was sent into Wales. There it was proposed to him, that if he would submit himself to the laws of this realm, and conform himself to the unity of the universal catholic church, he would be received and pardoned. When Farrar would give no answer, the bishop ministered to him these articles:

"1. Whether he believed the marriage of priests to be lawful by the laws of God and holy church, or not?

"2. Whether he believed that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration are duly pronounced by the priest, the very body and blood of Christ is really and substantially contained, without the substance of bread and wine?"

The bishop required Farrar to answer these articles upon his allegiance.

He said he would answer them when he saw a lawful commission, and would make no further answer at that time. The bishop then committed him to the keeper, to be kept in prison.

On the 28th of February, Morgan, the pretended bishop of St. David's sitting as judge, ministered to bishop Farrar certain articles and interrogatories in writing, which he refused to answer till he might see a lawful commission and authority. Then the pretended bishop of St. David's pronounced him insubordinate, and accounted him as one confessed, and so he pronounced him in writing. This done, he committed him to custody until the 4th of March.

On the day appointed, bishop Farrar appeared again before the pretended bishop Morgan, humbly submitting himself as ready to answer the articles. He gently requested the copy of the articles, and a competent term to answer for himself. This being granted, and the Thursday next being assigned to him to answer, he was committed again to custody.

On Thursday, as it was appointed, he again appeared. He exhibited in writing, his answer. Then the pretended bishop of St. David's again offered him the articles. The tenor of them was to this effect:

"1st. That he required him, being a priest, to renounce matrimony.

"2nd. To grant the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine.

"3rd. That the mass is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

"4th. That the general councils lawfully congregated never did, nor can they err.

"5th. That men are not justified before God by faith alone, but that hope and charity are also necessarily required to justification.

"6th. That the catholic church, which alone has authority to expound the Scriptures, and to define controversies of religion, and to ordain things pertaining to public discipline, is visible, and is like a city set on a mountain, for all men to understand."

Ferrar refused to subscribe to these articles, affirming that they were invented by man, and did not pertain to the catholic faith. After this, the bishop delivered to him the copy of the

articles, assigning him until the following Monday to answer and subscribe to the same, either affirmatively or negatively.

On that Monday, the 11th of March, appearing again before the bishop, he exhibited in a written paper his answer to the articles. The bishop assigned the next Wednesday, to hear his final and definitive sentence.

On that day this good bishop and true servant of God, was demanded by Henry Morgan, the pretended bishop of St. David's, whether he would renounce and recant his heresies, schisms, and errors, as he called them, and subscribe to the catholic articles.

After this, the godly bishop, Farrar, exhibited a schedule written in English, appealing by express word of mouth from the bishop, as from an incompetent judge, to cardinal Pole.

Notwithstanding this, Bishop Morgan, proceeding in his rage, pronounced the definitive sentence against him. By this sentence he pronounced him an excommunicated heretic, to be given up immediately to the secular power, namely, to the sheriff of the town of Carmarthen.

Being condemned and then degraded, Ferrar was committed to the secular power. Not long after, he was brought to the place of execution in the town of Carmarthen where, in the marketplace at the south side of the market cross, the 30th of March, being the Saturday before passion Sunday, he most constantly sustained the torments of the fire.

To show the constancy of this blessed martyr, this may be added, that one named Richard Jones, a knight's son, coming to Farrar a little before his death, seemed to lament the painfulness of the death he had to suffer. The bishop answered, saying that if he saw him once stir in the pains of his burning, he should then give no credit to his doctrine. Accordingly, he stood so patiently, that he never moved, but continued still, till one Richard Gravell, with a staff, dashed him upon the head, and so struck him down.

### ***The History and Martyrdom of Rawlins White.***

Because we have given the history of Farrar, burned at the town of Carmarthen in Wales, I also adjoin the history of Rawlins White, who in the same cause, and in the same country of Wales, and about the same month of March, gave his life like a valiant soldier of Jesus Christ to martyrdom, and was burned at Cardiff.

This Rawlins was a fisherman for twenty years at least, in the town of Cardiff, being a man of a very good name, and well accounted among his neighbors. As to his religion, he was a great partaker of the superstition and idolatry of the times, I mean in the reign of King Henry VIII. But after God, of his mercy, had raised up the light of his gospel through the blessed government of King Edward VI. Rawlins began to be a diligent hearer, and a great searcher out of the truth.

But because the good man was altogether unlearned, and very simple, he knew no ready way by which he might satisfy his great desire. At length it came into his mind to take a special remedy to supply his necessity. He had a little boy, his own son, whom he sent to school to learn to read English. After the little boy could read well, his father would have the boy read to him every night after supper, summer and winter, a piece of the holy Scripture, and now and then some other good book. In this virtuous exercise, the old man had such a delight and pleasure, that he practiced himself in the study of the Scriptures, rather than in the trade which he had followed. So that within a few years, through the help of his little son, a special minister appointed by God for that purpose, and through much conference besides, Rawlins so profited, that he was able not only to resolve himself, regarding his own former

blindness and ignorance, but he was also able to admonish and instruct others. And therefore, when occasion served, he would go from one place to another visiting others. By this, he became both a notable and open professor of the truth in that country. At all times and in all such places, he was not without the company of his little boy, whom he used as an assistant to this good purpose. To his great industry in the holy Scriptures, God also added a singular gift of memory.

[747] A.D. 1555.

So that in declaring and reciting the text, he could do that which men of riper and more profound knowledge, by their notes and other helps of memory, could not easily accomplish. Upon alleging from Scripture, he very often would cite the book, the leaf, yes and the very sentence; such was the wonderful working of God in this simple and unlearned father.

When he had thus continued in his profession for five years. King Edward died. Upon his decease, Queen Mary succeeded; and with her, all kinds of superstition and papistry returned. Once this was perceived, Rawlins did not altogether use open instruction and admonition, as he did before. And therefore, oftentimes in some private place, he would call his trusty friends together, and pass away the time with earnest prayer and great lamentation. So that, by his virtuous instructions, he converted a great number — this number, no doubt, would have greatly increased, had not the cruel storm of persecution come on.

The force of this at last so pursued this good father Rawlins, that he expected every hour to go to prison. Many of those who had received comfort by his instructions, resorted to him, and by all means possible, began to persuade him to shift for himself, and to dispose of his goods to the use of his wife and children, and by that means escape the danger.

But Rawlins, not abashed through the iniquity of the time, and not at all moved by their fleshly persuasions, thanked them most heartily for their good will, and told them plainly that he had learned one good lesson as to the confession and denial of Christ. He told them that if he, by their persuasions, should deny his master Christ, Christ in the last day would deny and utterly condemn him. And therefore, he would by grace confess and bear witness of him before men, that he might find in Him everlasting life.

At last he was taken by the officers of the town, as a man suspected of heresy. Upon which he was brought before the bishop of Llandaff, by whom after many conflicts with him and his chaplains, this good father Rawlins was committed to prison in Chepstow. At last he was removed from Chepstow to the castle of Cardiff, where he continued one whole year. During that time, although he was thus troubled to his own undoing in this world, and to the utter decay of his poor wife and children, his heart was so set on the instruction and furtherance of others in the way of salvation, that he was never quiet except when he was persuading or exhorting those of his familiar friends who commonly came to him. So that on Sundays and other times of leisure, when his friends came to visit him, he would pass away the time in prayer and exhortations, admonishing them always to beware of false prophets, which come in sheep's clothing.

When he had continued in Cardiff Castle one year, the time of his trial was at hand. The bishop of Llandaff had him brought from the castle to his own house, near Chepstow; the bishop tried various ways to reduce him to conformity. But when threatening words, and flattering promises, were to no purpose, the bishop advised him to recant his opinions, and gave him a day for determination. That day having come, the bishop with his chaplains went into his chapel, with a great number of others. When the bishop with his retinue were placed

in order, poor Rawlins was brought before them. The bishop long talked to him, declaring the cause of his sending for him, which was that he was a man well known to hold heretical opinions, and that through his instruction many were led into blind error.

When the bishop had made an end, Rawlins spoke boldly to him, and said, "My lord, I thank God I am a Christian man, and I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God. And if I do, I desire to be reformed out of the word of God, as a Christian man ought to be." After much contention of a like nature, when Rawlins would in no way recant his opinions, the bishop told him plainly, that he must proceed against him by the law, and condemn him as a heretic.

"Proceed in your law, in God's name," said Rawlins. "But you shall never condemn me as a heretic while the world stands." "But," said the bishop to his company, "before we proceed any further with him, let us pray to God that he would send some spark of grace upon him; and it may so chance, that through our prayer God will here turn and convert his heart." When Rawlins heard the bishop say so: "Ah, my lord," he cried; "now you deal well, and like a goodly bishop. And I thank you most heartily for your great charity and gentleness. Christ says: 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them;' and there are more than two or three of you. Now, if your request is godly and lawful, and you pray as you should pray, without doubt God will hear you. And therefore, my lord, go on; pray to your God, and I will pray to my God: I know that my God will both hear my prayer, and perform my desire."

By and by, the bishop, with his company, fell to prayer. And Rawlins, turning himself to a pew that stood near him, fell down upon his knees, covering his face with his hands; and when they had prayed a while, the bishop, with his company, arose from prayer. And then Rawlins also arose, and came before the bishop.

Then said the bishop: "Now, Rawlins, how is it with you? Will you revoke your opinions, or not?" Rawlins said, "Surely, my lord, Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you find me; and by God's grace, Rawlins I will continue. Certainly if your petitions had been just and lawful, God would have heard them. But you honor a false God, and do not pray as you should pray. And therefore God has not granted your desire. But I am one poor, simple man, as you see, and God has heard my complaint, and I trust he will strengthen me in his own cause."

The bishop, when he perceived that this hypocrisy of theirs had no effect, reproved him with angry words, and was immediately ready to read the sentence. However, upon some advice given to him by his chaplains who were present, he thought it best to have a mass first, thinking that by so doing some wonderful work might be wrought in Rawlins. And thereupon a priest began a mass.

In the meantime, poor Rawlins took himself to prayer in a secret place, until such time as the priest came to the elevation, as they term it, which is a principal point of their idolatry. When Rawlins heard the elevation bell ring, he rose out of his place, and came to the choir door. Standing there a while, he turned himself to the people, speaking these words: "Good people, if there are any brethren among you, or at least, if there is but one brother among you, let him bear witness at the day of judgment, that I do not bow to this idol," — meaning the host that the priest held over his head.

The mass being ended, Rawlins was called for again. The bishop used many persuasions; but the blessed man continued so steadfast, that the bishop's talk was altogether in vain. Upon which, the bishop caused the definitive sentence to be read. This being done, Rawlins

was dismissed, and by the bishop's commandment he was carried back to Cardiff, there to be put into the prison of the town — a very dark, loathsome, and most vile prison.

Rawlins in the meantime passed the time in prayer, and chiefly in singing psalms. He always used this kind of godly exercise, both at Cardiff castle, and in all other places.

When he perceived his time was near, he sent to his wife, that she should make ready and send him his wedding garment, meaning a shirt, which he was afterwards burned in. This request, or rather commandment of his, his wife performed with great sorrow and grief of heart; early in the morning she sent it to him. He received it most gladly and joyfully.

When the hour of his execution had come, this good and constant father Rawlins was brought out of prison, having on his body the long shirt, which he called his wedding garment, and an old russet coat, which he usually wore. Besides this, he had an old pair of leather buskins (half-boots) on his legs, which he had used long before.

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Thus being brought out of prison, he was guarded with a great company of bills and gleaves (short swords). When he beheld them, he said, "Alas! What does all this mean? All this was not needed. By God's grace I will not start away; but with all my heart and mind I give to God most hearty thanks that he has made me worthy to abide all this for his holy Name's sake."

Coming to a place on his way, where his poor wife and children stood weeping and making great lamentation, the sudden sight of them so pierced his heart, that tears trickled down his face. But soon after, as if he had disliked this infirmity of his flesh, he began to be angry with himself. And striking his breast with his hand, he said, "Ah, flesh, you check me so! Would you gladly prevail? Well, I tell you, do what you can, you shall not, by God's grace, have the victory." By this time, this poor innocent came to the very altar of his sacrifice, and there he found a stake ready set up, with some wood for making the fire. When he beheld this, he went forward very boldly; but in going toward the stake, he fell down upon his knees, and kissed the ground; and in rising again, the earth sticking on his nose a little, he said these words: "Earth to earth, and dust to dust: you are my mother, and to you I shall return." Then he went cheerfully and very joyfully, and set his back close to the stake. When he had stood there a while, he cast his eye upon the person who gave this account of his martyrdom, and called him to him, and said, "I feel a great fighting between the flesh and the spirit, and the flesh would very gladly have his swing; and therefore I pray you, when you see me tempted in anything, hold your finger up to me, and I trust I will remember myself."

As he was thus standing with his back close to the stake, a smith came with a great chain of iron. When Rawlins saw him, he lifted up his hand with a loud voice, and gave God thanks. Then the smith put a chain about him. As he was making it fast, Rawlins said to him: "I pray you, good friend, knock in the chain fast; for it may be that the flesh would strive mightily, but God of his great mercy, give me strength and patience to abide the extremity."

Now, when the smith had made him fast to the stake, the officers began to lay on more wood, with a little straw and reeds, in which the good old man was no less occupied than the rest; for as far as he could reach his hands, he would pluck the straw and reeds, and lay them about him in places most convenient for his speedy dispatch. He did this with such a cheerful countenance, that all men there present were in a manner astonished.

Thus when all things were ready, so that nothing was lacking but the fire, a stand was erected directly against the stake, in the face of Rawlins, on which a priest stepped up. He addressed himself to the people who were assembled in great numbers, as if it was market day. Then the priest went on in his sermon, and spoke of many things about the authority of the church of Rome. Rawlins gave such good attention, that he seemed not at all moved or disquieted. At last, the priest came to the sacrament of the altar, and there he began to inveigh against Rawlins' opinions, and cited the usual place of Scripture, in support of his dogmas.

Rawlins perceived that he went about not only to teach and preach the people false doctrine, but also to confirm it by Scripture. So he suddenly started up and beckoned his hands to the people, saying twice, "Come here, good people, and do not hear a false prophet preaching." And then he said to the preacher, "Ah, you naughty hypocrite, do you presume to prove your false doctrine by Scripture? Look in the text that follows. Did not Christ say, "Do this in remembrance of me? After these words, the priest being amazed, immediately held his peace.

Then some who stood by cried out, "Put fire, set to fire!" This being done, the straw and reed cast up both a great and sudden flame. This good and blessed man kept his hands in it till the sinews shrunk, and the fat dropped away, except that once he wiped his face, as it were, with one of them. All this while, which was somewhat long, he cried with a loud voice, "O Lord, receive my soul; O Lord, receive my spirit!" until he could not open his mouth. At last the fire burned so vehemently against his legs, that they were consumed almost before the rest of his body was burned. This made the whole body fall over the chain into the fire sooner than it would have done. Thus died this godly old man, Rawlins, for the testimony of God's truth, now being rewarded, no doubt, with the crown of eternal life.

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Before I pass over the month of March, I cannot help but leave a little memorandum of the words or consultation of Queen Mary to certain of the council on the 28th, about restoring back the abbey lands. She had called into her presence four of the privy council, viz. William, lord marquess of Winchester, high treasurer of England; Sir Robert Rochester, knight, the queen's comptroller; Sir William Peter, knight, secretary; and Sir Francis Inglefield, knight, master of the wards. Queen Mary then said, "You are here of our council, and we have desired you to be called to us so that you might hear my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the lands and possessions of monasteries, and of other churches now in my possession.

*The sum of the words spoken by Queen Mary  
to certain of the Councillors, March 28, 1555,  
regarding the restitution of Abbey Lands.*

"First I consider, that the lands were taken away from the churches in the time of schism, and by unlawful means, which are contrary both to the law of God and of the church. For this cause my conscience does not allow me to detain them. And therefore I here expressly refuse either to claim or to retain the lands, but with all my heart freely and willingly, here and before God, I surrender and relinquish the lands and possessions, or inheritances, and renounce them with this purpose: that order and disposition of them may be taken as will seem best to our most holy lord the pope, or else his legate, the lord cardinal, to the honor of God, and wealth of this our realm.

"And although you may object that considering the state of my kingdom, and the dignity of it, my imperial crown cannot be honorably maintained and furnished without these possessions;



yet I set more by the salvation of my soul, than by ten kingdoms. And therefore these possessions I utterly refuse to hold here, and give most hearty thanks to Almighty God, who has given me a like-minded husband, with no less good affection in this behalf, than I am myself.

“Therefore I charge and command that my chancellor (with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter before) and you four, tomorrow, resort together to the most reverend lord legate, and signify to him this matter in my name, and give your attendance upon him for the fuller declaration of the state of my kingdom and of these possessions, as you yourselves understand the matter, and can inform him in the same.”

This intimation being given by the queen, first to the councilors, and then to the cardinal, he drew out a copy in Latin, and sent it to the pope. This copy coming afterwards to my hand, I have thus translated it into English.

In the preceding month, the bishop of Ely, with the lord Montacute and one hundred and forty horse, were sent as ambassadors from the king and queen, to the pope of Rome. The reason is not expressed; but it maybe supposed to be about the abbey lands, as it may appear by the sequel.

It was not long after that the pope set forth in print a bull of excommunication for all those persons, without exception, who kept any of the church or abbey lands, by virtue of which bull, the pope excommunicated not only those who had any of the church or abbey lands, but also all princes, bishops, and noblemen, justices of peace and others in office, who had not, or did not, immediately put the same bull into execution. Although this execution (God be thanked) was never put into practice to this day.

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Here again is to be observed another popish device, not unworthy of being noted. For where the papists may overmaster by force, they spare no cost. This well appeared, and still appears, in burning the poor patient Christians who, because they are destitute of power and strength to resist them, and content with patience to receive whatever is put upon them, play the lion, <sup>1Pet 5.8</sup> and make no end of burning and persecuting. But where they find themselves overmatched, or fear to receive a defeat in presuming too far, there they hold off, and can stay the execution of their laws and bulls, however so apostolical they may be, till they perceive a convenient time for their purpose, as in this case.

For notwithstanding that the pope's bull came with full authority for the restitution of the abbey lands, and it thundered out his most terrible excommunication not only against those who retained any such lands, but also against all others who did not see the pope's commandment executed. Yet neither Winchester nor any of the pope's clergy, would greatly stir in that matter, perceiving the nobility was too strong for them. Therefore they were content to let the matter fall, or at least to wait till circumstances might better serve them.

Yes, and under a crafty pretense that the nobility and men of landed property at the first publishing of the bull, might not be exasperated too much against them, they subtly abused the pulpits, and dissembled with the people. They affirmed that the pope's bull, set forth in print for the restitution of abbey lands, was not meant for England, but for other foreign countries! But it is evident that the bull was meant only for England, and no other country, both by the above intimation of queen Mary, as well as by many other causes. So that it is easy to understand what the purpose of those men was, if the time had served them.

### **Persecution of Other Protestants**

In the beginning of April, **John Awcock** died in prison. He was buried in the fields, as was the manner of the papists to deny their Christian burial to those who died outside of their popish antichristian church. On the first of April 1555, a letter was sent to the sheriff of Kent, to apprehend **Thomas Wodgat** and **William Maynard** for preaching secretly.

On the 7th, another letter was sent to the sheriff for the apprehension of one **Harwick**, who went about from place to place with a boy with him, preaching.

On the 15th, a letter was directed to Sir Nicolas Hare and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, desiring them to examine **Master Flower**, alias Branch, as to what he meant by wearing around his neck the words, "Fear God, flee idols." They also asked them to speak to Bonner, Bishop of London, to proceed against him for his religion, and that the Justice of peace of Middlesex should likewise proceed against him for shedding blood in the church. So that if he continued in his opinion, he might be executed by the latter part of this week, and his right hand, the day before his execution, or the same day, would be stricken off.

On the 22d there was a letter sent to the justices of peace of Middlesex, with a writ for the execution of Flower, commanding them to see his hand stricken off before he was burnt.

On the 29th, Master **Robert Horneby**, a servant to the lady Elizabeth, was brought before the council for his religion. Standing constantly to the truth, notwithstanding their threats and other persuasions, he was committed to the Marshalsea.

### *The History and Martyrdom of George Marsh.*

George Marsh was burnt in the parish of Deane, in the county of Lancaster. He was well brought up by his parents in learning and trade, and afterwards, about the 25th year of his age, he married a young woman belonging to the county. He lived with her for many years on a farm, and had several children. upon the death of his wife, he went into the University of Cambridge, where he studied and increased greatly in learning and godly virtues, and became a minister of God's holy word and sacraments. For a while he was curate to Lawrence Sanders. He continued in this condition of life for a time, earnestly setting forth God's true religion, to the overthrowing of antichrist's false doctrine by his godly readings and sermons, both there and in the parish of Deane, and elsewhere in Lancashire.

At length he was apprehended by his adversaries, and kept in prison four months by the bishop of Chester, not being permitted to have relief and comfort from his friends. But the porter was charged to mark who asked for Marsh, and to signify their names to the bishop. This appears by an account written by himself, as follows:

#### *The Handling, Entreating, and Examination of George Marsh.*

"On the Monday before Palm Sunday, which was the 12th of March, I was told at my mother's house, that Roger Wrinstone with others of Master Barton's servants, made diligent search for me in Bolton. When they perceived that I was not there, they gave strict charge to Robert Ward and Robert Marsh to find and bring me to Master Barton on the following day, with others, to be brought before the honorable earl of Derby, there to be examined in matters of religion, etc.

"Knowing this by means of several of my friends, I was variously affected. My mother, and others of my friends, advised me to flee, and to avoid the peril, as I had intended to do after the week next ensuing, if this had not happened in the meanwhile. Seeing that if I were taken, and would not recant in matters of religion (as they thought I would not, and as I never will, God strengthening and assisting me with his Holy Spirit), it would not only have put them to

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great sorrow, heaviness and losses, with costs and charges to their shame and rebuke in this world, but also put myself to shameful death, after troubles and painful imprisonment.

“This considered, they advised me and counselled me to depart and flee the country, as I had intended to have done, if this had not happened. My weak flesh would gladly have consented to their counsel, but my spirit did not fully agree. Thinking and saying this to myself, that if I fled it would be thought, reported, and said that I not only fled the country and my nearest and dearest friends, but that I fled from Christ’s holy word, as these past years I had professed with my heart, or at least with my outward living, and with my mouth and word taught, according to the small talent given to me by the Lord. Having their counsel and advice, and the cogitations and counsels of my own mind, and being drawn in diverse ways, as it were, I went from my mother’s house saying that I would come again at evening.

“In the meantime I did not cease by earnest prayer to ask and seek counsel from God (who is the Giver of all good gifts) and from others of my friends, whose godly judgments and knowledge I much trusted. After this, I met with one of my said friends on Deane Moor, about sunset. We departed after we had consulted together about my business, not without hearty prayer, kneeling on our knees. Not fully determining what to do, but taking my leave of my friend, I said I did not doubt that God (according to our prayer and trust) would give me such wisdom and counsel that would be most to His honor and glory, the profit of my neighbors and brethren in the world, and to obtaining my eternal salvation by Christ in heaven.

“This done, I returned to my mother’s house again, where several of Master Barton’s servants had been seeking me. When they could not find me, they strictly charged my brother and William Marsh to seek me that night, and to bring me to Smithy-hills the next day.

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“Being so charged, they had gone to seek me in Adderton, or elsewhere. I intended before to have been all night with my mother. But then considering that my tarrying there would disquiet her, I departed and went beyond Deane church, and there tarried all night with an old friend.

“At my first awaking, someone came to me from a faithful friend of mine with letters which I never read nor yet looked at. He said my friend’s advice was that I should in no way flee, but abide and boldly confess the faith of Jesus Christ. At his words I was so confirmed and established in my conscience, that from then on I considered no more whether it was better to flee or tarry. I was at a point with myself, that I would not flee, but go to Master Barton who sought me, and there present myself, and patiently bear whatever cross it might please God to lay upon my shoulders. Thereupon my mind and conscience which were much disquieted and troubled before, was now merry and in quiet estate.

“So early in the morning I arose, and after I had said the English Litany (as was my custom) with other prayers, kneeling on my knees by my friend’s bedside, I prepared myself to go towards Smithy-hills. As I was going there, I went into the houses of Henry Widdowes, of my mother-in-law, of Ralph Yeton, and of the wife of Thomas Richardson. I desired them to pray for me, and to have me commended to all my friends, to comfort my mother, and to be good to my little children. For I supposed they would not see my face anymore before the last day. And so took my leave of them, not without tears shed on both parts, and came to Smithy-hills about nine o’clock, and presented myself before Master Barton.

“He charged my brother and William Marsh to bring and deliver me the next day by ten o’clock, before the earl or his counsel.

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“So we went to my mother’s, and praying there, I took my leave of my mother, the wife of Richard Marsh, and both their households, they and I both weeping, and so I departed from them, and came to Lathum early the next day.

“Then I was called to my lord and his council, and brought into the chamber of presence, where there were present Sir William Nores, Sir Pierce Alee, Master Sherburn, the parson of Grapnal, and Master More, with others. My lord turned himself toward me, and asked what was my name; I answered, *Marsh*.

“Then he asked whether I was one of those who sowed evil seed and dissension among the people. I denied this, desiring to know my accusers, and what could be laid against me.

“Then he said he with his council would examine me themselves, and asked me whether I was a priest; I said, no. Then he asked me, what had been my living. I answered I was a minister, served a cure, and taught a school. Then my lord said to his council, this is a wonderful thing. He said he was no priest, and now he confesses himself to be one. I answered that ‘by the laws now used in this realm (as far as I know) I am no priest.’

“Then they asked me who gave me orders, or whether I had taken any at all. I answered, I received orders from the bishop of London and Lincoln.

“They asked me how long I had been a curate, and whether I had ministered with a good conscience. I answered that I had been a curate but one year, and had ministered with a good conscience, I thanked God. And if the laws of the realm would have allowed me, I would have ministered still; and if the laws at any time hereafter would allow me to minister in that way, I would minister again.

“At this they murmured, and the parson of Grapnal said this last communion was the most devilish thing that was ever devised! Then they asked me what my belief was.

“I answered, I believed in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, according to what the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments teach, and according to what the four symbols or creeds teach; that is to wit, the creed commonly called the Apostles’ creed, the creed of the Nicene council, the creed of Athanasius, of Austin, and of Ambrose.

“After a few words, the parson of Grapnal said ‘But what is your belief in the sacrament of the altar?’ “I answered, ‘I believe that whoever, according to Christ’s institution, received the holy sacrament of Christ’s body and blood, ate and drank Christ’s body and blood with all the benefits of his death and resurrection to their eternal salvation. For Christ,’ I said, ‘is ever present with his sacrament.’

“Then they asked me, whether the bread and wine, by virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, were changed into the flesh and blood of Christ, and that the sacrament, whether it was received or reserved, was the very body of Christ?’

“I answered, ‘I knew no further than I had shown already. For my knowledge is imperfect,’ I said, ‘desiring them not to ask me such hard and unprofitable questions by which to bring my body into danger of death, and to suck my blood. At this they were not a little offended, saying they were no blood-suckers, and intended nothing but to make me a good Christian.

“So after many other questions, which I avoided as well as I could — remembering the saying of St. Paul to ‘avoid foolish and unlearned questions, knowing they only gender strife,’ Tit 3:9 — my lord commanded me to come to the table. He gave me pen and ink in my hand, and commanded me to write my answers to the questions about the sacrament. I wrote as I had answered before. Being much offended at this, he commanded me to write a more direct answer, saying that I should not choose to do otherwise.

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“Then I took the pen and wrote that I did not know more. Being sorely grieved at this, and after many threatenings, he said that I would be put to shameful death like a traitor, with other such words. Sometimes giving me fair words, he said how glad he would be if I would turn and be conformable.

“In conclusion, after much ado, he commanded me to prison in a cold, windy, stone-house, where there was little room. There I lay for two nights without any bed except a few canvass tent-clothes, and a pair of sheets, but no woollen clothes. So I continued till Palm Sunday, occupying myself as well as I could in meditation, prayer, and study; for no man was allowed to come to me but my keeper, who came twice a-day when he brought me food and drink.

“On Palm Sunday I was sent for to appear before my lord and his council, among whom was Sir John Beram and the vicar of Prescot. So they examined me again about the sacrament. And after I had communed apart with the vicar of Prescot concerning that matter, he returned to my lord and his council, saying that the answer which I had made before, and then made, was sufficient for a beginner, and as one who did not profess a perfect knowledge in that matter, until such time as I had learned further. The Earl was very well pleased with this, saying he did not doubt that by the means and help of the vicar of Prescot I would be conformable in other things. So after many fair words he commanded I should have a bed, with fire, and liberty to go among his servants, as long as I would do no harm among them.

“And so after much other communication I departed, much more troubled in my spirit than before, because I had not confessed Christ with more boldness, but had done so in such a manner that my adversaries thought they might prevail against me. I was therefore much grieved, and I cried more earnestly to God by prayer, desiring him to strengthen me with his Holy Spirit with boldness to confess him, and to deliver me from their enticing words, so that I might not be ‘spoiled through their philosophy and vain deceit according to the traditions of men and the rudiments of the world, and not according to Christ.’<sup>Col 2.8</sup>

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“And so after a day or two I was sent for to the vicar of Prescot and the parson of Grapnal; where our communication was concerning the mass. He asked what offended me in the mass. I answered, the whole mass offended me, first, because it was in a strange language whereby the people were not edified, contrary to St. Paul’s doctrine in 1Corinthians 14, and because of the manifold and intolerable abuses and errors contained in it, contrary to Christ’s priesthood and sacrifice. I also named some parts which they set about to mitigate with gentle and far-sought interpretations, saying those were understood far otherwise than the words purported, or than I took them. I answered that I understood them as they purported, and as their own books commented upon them.

“They said *sacrifice* or *oblation* did not signify anything else in the mass, than either a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or else a memorial of a sacrifice or oblation. So they sent for a mass-book, and showed me where in some places of the mass it was written ‘a sacrifice of praise.’ I answered that it did not follow from that, that in all places it signified a sacrifice or oblation of praise or thanksgiving; and even if it did, a sacrifice of praise or thanksgiving was not to be offered for the sins of the people, for Christ by his own passion was once offered on the cross. Whereas the words of the mass were that the priest offered an oblation and sacrifice for the sins and offenses both of himself and of the people — for the dead and for the salvation of the living.

“After much exhortation to me that I should be conformable to the true catholic church, by which they meant the Romish church, I departed, not consenting to them.

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“Within a day or two, Master More came, bringing with him certain articles to which Doctor Crome had subscribed in the days of king Henry VIII, and asked me whether I would consent and subscribe to those articles. I confessed plainly I would in no way consent and subscribe to those articles; and so he departed.

“Shortly after, the parson and vicar sent for me again, saying that if I would not consent and subscribe, I must go to prison. Those articles were as follows:

“1. Whether the mass now used in the church of England was according to Christ’s institution, and to be heard and seen with faith, reverence, and devotion?

“2, Whether the Almighty, by the words pronounced by the priest, changed the bread and wine after the words of consecration, into the body and blood of Christ, whether it was either received or reserved?

“3. Whether lay people ought to receive the sacrament under the form of bread only, and that the one kind was sufficient for them?

“4. Whether confession to the priest, now used in England, was godly and necessary?

“They delivered these four questions or articles to me in writing, and bade me go to my chamber and subscribe my answers with my own hand, and come back. So within half an hour I came back to them, and delivered to them the questions with my answers. The first I denied. The second I answered as I did before. To the third I answered that the lay people, by Christ’s institution, ought to receive under both kinds (bread and wine), and that it does not suffice to receive the one kind only. To the fourth I replied that, though auricular confession is a convenient means to instruct ignorant people, yet it was not necessary nor commanded by God.

“They urgently exhorted me then to leave my opinions, saying that I was much deceived, understanding the Scriptures amiss; and they counselled me to follow the catholic church of Christ, and to do as others did. I answered that my faith in Christ was derived from his holy word, and that I neither could nor would deny, alter, or change my belief for any living creature. I desired them to speak to my lord, so that during my life and imprisonment my poor friends might be allowed to relieve me with necessary things according to their power. And so after exhorting me again to do and believe as the church did, we departed.

“On one of the Easter holydays, Master Sherburn and Master More sent for me, and tried to persuade me to leave my opinions. They said all the bringers up and favorers of that religion had bad luck, and were either put to death, or else in prison and in danger of their lives. Again, the favorers of the religion now used had wondrous good luck and prosperity in all things — with many other worldly reasons from man’s wisdom. But as for the Scriptures, Master Sherburn confessed himself entirely ignorant.

“I answered, that I believed and leaned only to the Scriptures, not judging things by prosperity or adversity. But they earnestly advised me to recant my opinions, and not to be prevented by any worldly shame.

“I replied that what I did was not to avoid any worldly shame, saying that my soul and life were dearer to me than avoiding any worldly shame. Nor yet did I do it for any vain praise of the world, but in the reverend fear of God.

“Then More questioned me about receiving the sacrament under the one kind. I said, Christ’s institution was plain, that all men should drink of the cup. Then he told me of the 24th chapter of Luke, and the 20th chapter of the Acts, where mention was made of breaking bread only. From this he gathered that they received the sacrament under one kind only.

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“I denied that, saying those places either did not speak of the celebration of the Lord’s supper, or else the phrase “breaking bread” signified and meant receiving the sacrament, both of the body and blood of Christ, according to His institution. So after much communication on this subject, Sherburn said it was a great pity that I, being a well-favored young man, and one who might have a good living and do good, would so foolishly throw myself away, sticking so hard to such foolish opinions.

“I answered as I had done to my lord and to his council: that my life, mother, children, brethren, sisters, and friends, with other delights of life, were as dear and sweet to me as to any other man. And that I would be as loath to lose them as another would, if I might hold them with a good conscience, and without dishonoring the cause of Christ. But seeing that I could not do that, my trust was that God would strengthen me with his Holy Spirit to lose them all for His sake. ‘For I take myself,’ I said, ‘as a sheep appointed to be slain, and to patiently suffer whatever cross it pleases my merciful Father to lay on me.’ And so, after I requested that if I were committed to prison, my friends might be allowed to relieve me, they departed.”

Such is the account which Marsh himself gives, under his own hand, of his troubles. He adds many other things, among which is the following:

“While I was in ward at Lathum, a number of persons at sundry times came to me. Some said to me that all my companions had recanted, and had gone home, whereas indeed that was not so; for I saw several of them afterwards. Others said that it was reported among my lord’s household, that I had consented and agreed in all things with my lord and his council.

“While I was at Lancaster, many came to talk with me, some of good will towards me. But being without knowledge, they gave me such counsel as Peter gave Christ as he went up to Jerusalem, when he took him aside and began to rebuke him, saying, ‘Lord, this shall not happen to you.’ But I answered with Christ’s sharp reply to Peter, who turned about and said to Peter, ‘Get behind me, Satan!’ Perceiving that they were a hindrance to me, and that they did not savor the things which are of God, but the things that are of men, I gave them a plain answer, that I neither could nor would follow their counsel. Rather, by God’s grace I would both live and die with a pure conscience, according to what I had believed and professed up to now. For we should in no way flatter and bear with those, however well they love us, who go about to turn us away from the obedience that we owe to God and to his word. But following Christ’s example, we should sharply rebuke them for their counsel.

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“Some others, yes, even strangers came to me, far unlike these. After sober communication, they consented with me in all things, much lamenting my troubles, giving me comfortable words, and some money too; and they resorted to me often, for the space of two, three, or four days. Many priests also came to me — two, three, four, five, or six at once — whose mouths it was easy enough to stop; for the priests (which is much to be lamented) are not always the greatest clerics, nor best learned in the law of God. At their departing, they either consented with me, or else they had nothing to say against me, saying that they could find no fault with my words. My communication with them was about the sacrament. Master Westby, Master Ashton of Hill, Master Ashton of Chatterton, and many more, both gentlemen and others, also came to me in the prison, to my great comfort. I had good opportunity to utter a great part of my conscience to them. For God so strengthened me with his spirit of boldness, according to my humble request and prayer (everlasting thanks be given to Him), that I was not afraid to speak to any who came to me — no, not even to the judges themselves, before whom I was three times arraigned at the bar, among thieves, with irons on my feet. Yet with boldness I spoke to them so long as they would allow me.

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“They also sent for me the fourth time to come into their chamber where, among other things, they laid it straitly to my charge, that I reported that I knew a whole mess of good gentlemen in Lancashire of my opinion, and straitly charged me, upon pain of allegiance to the queen’s grace, to show who they were. But I denied that I had spoken any such thing (as indeed it was a false forged lie of some wicked wretches). After that, they threatened and rebuked me for my preaching to the people out of the prison, as they called it, and for my praying and reading so loudly that the people in the streets might hear. The truth is, every day on our knees I and my fellow prisoner Warburton read morning and evening prayers with the English Litany, twice every day, both before noon and after, with other prayers. Every day we also read certain chapters of the Bible, commonly towards night; and we read with such a loud voice that the people outside in the streets might hear us; and they would often come in the evenings, and sit down in our sight under the windows and hear us read.”

After this, Marsh was brought several times before Dr. Cotes, the bishop, and examined. He answered to every article very modestly, according to the doctrine received by public authority, and taught in this realm at the death of King Edward. After this, he was returned to his prison again.

At last, after some weeks, the bishop and others being assembled in the chapel, Marsh was brought before them by the keeper, and others with bills and weapons. When the chancellor, by way of an oration, declared to the people who were present, the bishop’s concern and charity. He said that as a good shepherd watches over his flock to see that none of his sheep have any disease for infecting other clean sheep, but would save and cure the diseased sheep, so his lordship had sent for Marsh as a diseased sheep. He had weeded him out for corrupting others, and had done what he could in showing his charitable disposition towards him, to reduce him from his naughty heresies. But all that he could do would not avail. So that he was now determined, if Marsh would not relent and abjure, to pronounce and give sentence definitive against him. Therefore he bade George Marsh to be well advised now of what he would do, for it stood upon his life. And if he would not at that present time forsake his heretical opinions, it would (after the sentence was given) be too late.

Then the chancellor read all his answers that Marsh made at his former examination, and at every one he asked him whether he would stick to the same or not? To which Marsh answered again, ‘Yes, yes.’

“What do you say then to this?” asked the chancellor. “In your last examination, among many other damnable and schismatical heresies, you said that the church and doctrine taught and set forth in king Edward’s time, was the true church, and the doctrine of the true church, and that the church of Rome is not the true and catholic church.”

“I said so, indeed,” replied Marsh, “and I believe it to be true.” Here others also took occasion to ask him, because he denied the bishop of Rome’s authority in England, whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, who were bishops of Rome, were not good men. Marsh answered, “Yes, and some others; but they claimed no more authority in England, than the bishop of Canterbury does at Rome. And I do not strive with the place, nor do I speak against the person of the bishop, but against his doctrine, which in most points is repugnant to the doctrine of Christ.”

“You are an arrogant fellow, indeed,” said the bishop. “In what article is the doctrine of the church of Rome repugnant to the doctrine of Christ?”

George Marsh answered and said, “Oh, my lord, I pray you, do not judge so of me. I stand now upon the point of my life and death; and a man in my case has no cause to be arrogant,



nor am I, God is my record. And as concerning the disagreement of the doctrine, among many other things, the church of Rome errs in the sacrament. For Christ in its institution delivered the cup as well as the bread, saying, 'Drink you all of this;' and Mark reports that they drank of it; in like manner St. Paul delivered it to the Corinthians. And in the same way also, it was used in the primitive church for many hundreds of years. Now the church of Rome takes away one part of the sacrament from the laity. Therefore, if I could be persuaded in my conscience by God's word that this was done rightly, I could gladly yield in this point.

Then the bishop said, "There is no disputing with a heretic." And therefore when all his answers were read, the bishop asked whether Marsh would stand to them, or forsake them.

He said that, "he held no heretical opinions, but utterly abhorred all kinds of heresy, even if they so untruly slandered him." And he desired all the people present to bear witness that in all articles of religion he held no other opinion than was established by law, and publicly taught in England at the death of king Edward VI, and that he would, by God's grace, live and die in the same pure religion and doctrine.

The bishop then took a writing out of his breast pocket, and began to read the sentence of condemnation. But when he had read almost half of it, the chancellor said, "Good, my lord, stay, stay; for if you proceed any further, it will be too late to recall it;" so the bishop stayed. Then his popish priests, and others of the ignorant people, called upon Marsh to recant. They bade him kneel down and pray, and they would pray for him. So they knelt down, and he desired them to pray for him, and said that he would pray for them.

The bishop then asked him again, whether he would not accept the queen's mercy in time? He answered that, "he loved her grace as faithfully as any of them; yet he dared not deny his Savior Christ, so as to lose his everlasting mercy, and so win everlasting death."

Then the bishop put his spectacles upon his nose, and read his sentence about five or six lines, before the chancellor again, with a smiling countenance, called to the bishop, and said, "Yet good, my lord, once again stop, for if that word is spoken, all is past, and no relenting will then serve." And the bishop, pulling off his spectacles, said, "I would stay, if it might be so."

"How do you say?" he asked, "Will you recant?" Many of the priests and poor people urged Marsh to do so, and to call to God for grace. They pulled him by the sleeve, and bade him recant and save his life. He replied, "I would as gladly live as you, if in so doing I might not deny my master Christ, and He deny me before his Father in heaven."

So the bishop read out his sentence to the end, and said, "Now I would no more pray for you, than I would for a dog." And Marsh answered, that notwithstanding, he would pray for his lordship. After this, the bishop delivered him to the sheriffs.

[753] A.D. 1555.

Being in a dungeon or dark prison, no friend was allowed to speak with him. But some of the citizens who loved him for the gospel's sake, would call to him in the evening, through a hole in the wall of the city belonging to the prison, and ask how he did. He would answer them most cheerfully, that he did well, and thanked God for granting His mercy to appoint him to be a witness of his truth, and to suffer for the same, at which he rejoiced. He besought God that He would give him grace not to faint under the cross, but patiently bear it to His glory and the comfort of His church, with many other godly sayings, as one who desired to be with Christ.

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When the appointed time came that he was to suffer, the sheriffs of the city brought out Marsh. He came with them most humbly and meekly, with a lock upon his feet. As he came towards the place of execution, some folks proffered him money, and expected that he would have gone with a little purse in his hand, as was the custom of felons in that city in times past, at their going to execution. It was to give to a priest to say trentals or masses for them after their death, by which they might, they thought, be saved. But Marsh said he would not then be troubled with money, but desired some good man to take the money, if the people were disposed to give any, and to give it to the prisoners or poor people. So he went all the way to his death with his book in his hand, looking upon it. And many of the people said, "This man does not go to his death as a thief or one who deserves to die."

When he came to the place of execution outside the city, near to Spittle-Boughton, one Cawdrey, the deputy Chamberlain of Chester, showed Marsh a writing under a great seal, saying that it was a pardon for him if he would recant. Marsh answered that he would gladly accept it, and said further that he loved the queen; but as it tended to pluck him from God, he would not receive it upon that condition.

After that, he began to speak to the people, showing the cause of his death, and exhorting them to hold fast to Christ. One of the sheriffs said, "We must have no sermoning now." He said, "Master, I cry for mercy." And so kneeling down, he made his prayers, and then put off his clothes down to his shirt. He was chained to the post, having a number of faggots under him, and something like a keg over his head, filled with pitch and tar. The fire was not made skillfully, so he suffered great extremity in his death; but he endured it very patiently.

When he had been tormented a long time in the fire, without moving, his flesh broiled and puffed up, so that those who stood before him could not see the chain with which he was fastened. Therefore they supposed he was dead. However he suddenly spread abroad his arms, saying, "Father of heaven have mercy upon me," and so he yielded his spirit into the hands of the Lord. Upon this, many of the people said that he was a martyr, and died marvelously patient and godly. This caused the bishop shortly after to preach a sermon in the cathedral church. He affirmed in his sermon, that Marsh was a heretic, burnt like a heretic, and was a firebrand in hell.

### *Letters of George Marsh.*

This good man wrote sundry letters out of prison, besides reports of his examinations. The first in order, concerning his examinations, is as follows:

"Here you have, dearly beloved friends in Christ, the chief and principal articles of Christian doctrine briefly enumerated, which up to now I have both believed, professed, and taught, and still believe, profess, and teach, and am surely purposed by God's grace to continue in the same until the last day. I lack both time and opportunity to write out at large the proofs, causes, parts, effects, and contraries or errors of these Articles which whoever desires to know, let them read over the commonplaces of the godly learned men, Philip Melancthon, Erasmus, and Sarcerius, whose judgment in these matters of religion I chiefly follow and lean to. The Lord give us understanding in all things, and deliver us from this present evil world, according to His will and pleasure, and bring us back out of this hell of affliction into which it has pleased the merciful Lord to throw us down; and deliver us out of the mouth of the lion, and from all evil-doing, and keep us unto His everlasting and heavenly kingdom. Amen.

"Though Satan is permitted to sift us as wheat for a time, yet our faith does not fail, through Christ's aid. Rather, we are at all times able and ready to confirm the faith of our weak brethren, and always ready to give an answer to every man that asks us a reason for the hope that is in us, and we do that with meekness and reverence, having a good conscience. When

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they backbite us as evil-doers, they should be ashamed, because they have falsely accused our good conduct in Christ. In recent years I thought of myself, regarding the cares of this life, as well-settled with my loving and faithful wife and children, and also well-quieted in the peaceable possession of that pleasant Euphrates; <sup>Jos 1.3-4</sup> I confess this. But the Lord, who works all things for the best to those who love him, <sup>Rom 8.28</sup> would not leave me there, but took my dear and beloved wife from me; her death was a painful cross to my flesh.

“Also recently, I thought myself well-placed under my most loving and most gentle Master Lawrence Sanders in the cure of Langton. But of his great mercy, the Lord would not allow me to continue there long, although for the small time that I was in his vineyard, I was not an idle workman. But he has provided me, as I perceive it, the taste of a far different cup. For my violence He has yet once again driven me out of that glorious Babylon, so that I would not taste too much of her wanton pleasures, but with his dearly beloved disciples, I would have my inward rejoicing in the cross of his Son Jesus Christ. The glory of His church, I see well, does not stand in the harmonious sound of bells and organs, nor yet in the glistening of miters and copes, nor in the shining of gilt images and lights, as the blind papists judge it — but in continual labors and daily afflictions for His name’s sake.

“God at this present time in England has his winnowing fork in his hand. <sup>Mat 3.12</sup> And after his great harvest, into which for years past He has sent his laborers, He is now sifting the corn from the chaff, and purging his threshing floor, making ready to gather the wheat into his garner, and burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.

“Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Scribes and of the Sadducees. I mean the erroneous doctrine of the papists, who deprave the Scriptures with their glosses. For as the apostle Peter teaches us, ‘there shall be false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who shall secretly bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord who bought them, and bring swift destruction upon themselves. Many shall follow their pernicious ways; because of them, evil shall be spoken of the way of truth; and through covetousness they shall with feigned words make merchandise of you.’ <sup>2Pet 2.1-3</sup> And Christ earnestly warns us to ‘beware of false prophets, who come to us in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. By their fruits you shall know them.’ <sup>Mat 7.15-16</sup> The fruits of the prophets are their doctrine. In this place we Christians are taught that we should test the preachers, and others who come under color to set forth true religion to us, according to the saying of St. Paul, ‘Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.’ <sup>1The 5.21</sup> Also the evangelist St. John says, ‘Do not believe every spirit, but test the spirits whether they are from God; because many false prophets have gone out into the world.’ <sup>1Joh 4.1</sup> Therefore, if you would know the true prophets from the false, test their doctrines by the true touchstone, which is the word of God. And like the godly Bereans ‘searched the Scriptures daily,’ <sup>Act 17.11</sup> whether those things which are preached to us are so or not; or else you may be easily deceived by their outward conversation.”

### *An Exhortational Letter of George Marsh to the faithful Professors of Langton.*

“Grace be to you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of Jesus Christ our Lord,  
Amen.

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“I thought it my duty to write to you, my beloved in the Lord at Langton, to stir up your minds, and to call to your remembrance the words which have been told to you before, and to exhort you (as that good man, and full of the Holy Spirit, Barnabas exhorted the Antiochians) that with purpose of heart you continually cling to the Lord, and that you stand fast. Do not be moved away from the hope of the gospel, of which, God be thanked, you have had plenteous

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preaching to you by your late pastor, Master Sanders, and other faithful ministers of Jesus Christ. Now when persecution arises because of the word, they do not fall away like shrinking children, and forsake the truth, being ashamed of the gospel, of which they have been preachers. But they are willing and ready for your sakes (who are Christ's mystical body) to forsake not only the chief and principal delights of this life — I mean their native countries, friends, livings, etc. — but also to fulfill their ministry to the utmost; that is, with their painful imprisonments and blood sheddings, if need requires, to confirm and seal Christ's gospel, of which they have been ministers. And as St. Paul says, they are ready not only to be cast into prison, but also to be killed for the name of the Lord Jesus.

“Whether these are to be believed, being that good salt of the earth (that is, true ministers of God's word, by whose doctrine, being received through faith, men are made savory unto God, and who themselves do not lose their saltness, now when they are proved with the boisterous storms of adversity and persecution); or others are to be believed, being that unsavory salt which has lost its saltness (that is, those ungodly ministers, who fall from the word of God into the dreams and traditions of antichrist) — which of these, I say, are more to be credited and believed, let all men judge.

“Therefore, my dearly beloved, receive with meekness the word of God that is grafted in you, which is able to save your souls. And see that you are not forgetful hearers, deceiving yourselves with sophistry, but be doers of the word. Christ likens these to a wise man, who builds his house on a rock, so that when the great rain descended, and the floods came, and beat upon the house, it did not fall, because it was founded upon a rock. That is, when Satan, with all his legion of devils with all their subtle suggestions, and the world with all its mighty princes, and with their crafty councils, furiously rage against us, we do not faint, but abide constant in the truth, being grounded upon a most sure rock, which is Christ, and upon the doctrine of the gospel, against which the gates of hell, *i.e.*, the power of Satan, cannot prevail.

“And be followers of Christ and his apostles, and receive the word in much affliction, as the godly Thessalonians did. <sup>Rev 2.9</sup> For the true followers of Christ and the apostles, are those who receive the word of God. They only receive the word of God who both believe it, and also frame their lives after it, and are ready to suffer all manner of adversity for the name of the Lord, as Christ and all the apostles did, and as all those who live godly in Christ Jesus must do. <sup>2Tim 3.12</sup> For there is no other way into the kingdom of heaven, but through much tribulation. And if we suffer anything for the kingdom of heaven's sake, and for righteousness' sake, we have the prophets, Christ, the apostles, and martyrs, as an example to comfort us. For they all entered into the kingdom of heaven at the strait gate and narrow way that leads unto life, which few find. <sup>Mat 7.14</sup> And unless we are content to deny ourselves, and take up the cross of Christ, and [be] his saints, it is an evident argument that we shall never reign with Him.

“And again, if we can find it in our hearts to patiently suffer persecution and tribulations, it is a sure token of the righteous judgment of God, that we are counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which we also suffer. As the apostle says, ‘Seeing it is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to those who trouble you — and to you who are troubled, rest with us when the Lord Jesus is revealed from heaven with his mighty angels.’ <sup>2The 1.6-7</sup> For after this life, the godly being delivered from their tribulations and pains, shall have a most quiet and joyful rest. Whereas the wicked and ungodly contrariwise shall be tormented forevermore with intolerable and unspeakable pains, as Christ plainly declares and teaches by the parable of the rich glutton and the wretched Lazarus. These we ought to have before our eyes always, so that in the time of adversity and persecution (of which all that are the children of God shall be partakers, and with which it has pleased God to put some of us in practice already) we may stand steadfast in the Lord, and endure even to the end, so that we may be saved. For unless, like good warriors of Jesus Christ, we will endeavor to please Him, who has chosen us to be

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soldiers, and fight the good fight of faith even to the end, we shall not obtain that crown of righteousness which the Lord, who is a righteous judge, shall give to all those who love his coming. <sup>2The 4.8</sup>

“Let us therefore receive with meekness the word that is grafted in us, which is able to save our souls, <sup>Jas 1.21</sup> and ground ourselves on the sure rock Christ. As the apostle says, ‘For no other foundation can any man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ. Now if any man builds upon this foundation with gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble, every man’s work will be made manifest; for the day will declare it, because it will be revealed by fire; and the fire will test every man’s work, of what sort it is. If any man’s work abides which he has built upon it, he will receive a reward. If any man’s work is burned, he will suffer loss; but he himself will be saved; yet as through fire.’ <sup>1Cor 3.11-15</sup>.

“By fire here, the apostle means persecution and trouble. For those who truly preach and profess the word of God, which is called the word of the Cross, will be railed upon and abhorred, hated, thrust out of company, persecuted and tested in the furnace of adversity, as gold and silver are tested in the fire.

“By gold, silver, and precious stones, are meant those who in the midst of persecution abide steadfast in the word. By timber, hay, and stubble, are meant those who in time of persecution fall away from the truth. And when Christ purges his floor with the wind of adversity, these scatter away from the face of the earth like light chaff, which will be burned with unquenchable fire. If then, in time of persecution, those who believe stand steadfast in the truth, the builder (I mean the preacher of the word) will receive a reward, and the work shall be preserved and saved. But if they turn back and swerve when persecution arises, the builder will suffer loss, that is to say, he will lose his labor and cost, yet he will be saved if, being tested in the fire of persecution, he abides fast in the faith.

“Therefore, my beloved, give diligent heed that you, as living stones, are built upon this sure rock, and are made a spiritual house and a holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. <sup>1Pet 2.5</sup> For we are the true temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwells in us, if we continue in the doctrine of the gospel. We are also a holy and royal priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices and oblations. <sup>1Pet 2.9</sup> For the sacrifices of the New Testament are spiritual and of three kinds.

“The first is the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, which St. Paul calls the fruits of those lips which confess the name of God. <sup>Heb 13.15</sup>

“The second is mercy towards our neighbor, as the prophet Hosea says, ‘I will have mercy and not sacrifice.’ <sup>Hos 6.6</sup> Read the 25th chapter of Matthew.

“The third is when we make our body a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God; <sup>Rom 12.1</sup> that is, when we mortify and kill our fleshly concupiscence and carnal lusts, and so bring our flesh, through the help of the Spirit, under the obedience of God’s holy law. <sup>Rom 8.13</sup> This is a sacrifice most acceptable to God, which the apostle calls our reasonable serving of God. And let us be sure that unless now, at this present time, we take better heed to ourselves, and use thankfully the grace of God offered to us by the gospel preached these years past, whereby we are induced and brought to the knowledge of the truth — unless, I say, we keep Christ and his holy word dwelling by faith in the house and temple of our hearts, the same thing that Christ threatens to the Jews will happen to us.

[755] A.D. 1555.

“That is, the unclean spirit of ignorance, superstition, idolatry, infidelity, and unbelief — the mother and head of all vices, which was cast out of us by the grace of God— brings in with him seven other spirits worse than himself; it will return again to us, to our utter destruction. And

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so we will be in a worse case than we ever were before. <sup>Mat 12.44-45</sup> 'For,' says St. Peter, 'if after they have escaped the pollutions of the world through the knowledge of the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, they are again entangled in them, and overcome, the latter end is worse with them than the beginning. For it would have been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than after they have known it, to turn from the holy commandment delivered to them. But it has happened to them according to the true proverb, The dog returns to its own vomit; and the sow that was washed, to her wallowing in the mire.' 2Pet 2.20-22.

"And thus to continue and persevere in infidelity, and to kick against the manifest and known truth, and so to die without repentance, and despairing of the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, is to sin against the Holy Spirit, which shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in the world to come. <sup>Mat 12.32</sup> 'For it is impossible,' says St. Paul, 'for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Spirit, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they fall away, to renew them again unto repentance: seeing that they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame.' Heb 6.4-6. <sup>550</sup>

"St. Paul's meaning in this place, is that those who believe God's word truly and unfeignedly, will continue and abide steadfast in the known truth.

"If any therefore fall away from Christ and his word, it is a plain token that they were but dissembling hypocrites for all their fair faces outwardly, and they never believed truly — as Judas, Simon Magus, Demas, Hymeneus, Philetus, and others were, who all fell away from the truth, and made a mockery of Christ. Here St. Paul calls this crucifying Christ anew, because, turning back to their old vomit, they most blasphemously tread the benefits of Christ's death and passion under their feet. Those who are such, can in no way be renewed by repentance. For their repentance is fleshly, as was the repentance of Cain, Saul, and Judas, which being without godly comfort, breeds desperation unto death. These are not of the number of the elect. And as St. John says, 'They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us: but they went out, that they might be made manifest, that they were not all of us.' 1Joh 2.19. Also the apostle Paul says in another place, 'For if we sin willfully after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there no longer remains a sacrifice for sins, but only a certain fearful expectation of judgment and fiery indignation, which will devour the adversaries.' Heb 10.26-27.

"Those sin willingly, who out of a set malice and purpose, hold the truth in unrighteousness and lying, kicking against the manifest and open known truth, even though they perfectly know that in all the world there is no other sacrifice for sin, except that all-sufficient sacrifice of Christ's death. Yet they will not wholly commit themselves to it, but rather despise it, allowing other sacrifices for sin, invented by the imagination of man (as we see by daily experience), if they abide still in their wickedness and sin, there remains a most horrible and dreadful judgment. This is that sin unto death, for which St. John would not have a man pray.

<sup>1Joh 5.16</sup>

"Therefore, my beloved in Christ, let us (on whom the ends of the world have come) take diligent heed to ourselves, that now in these last and perilous times (in which the devil has come down, and has great wrath because he knows his time is but short, and of which the prophets, Christ, and the apostles have spoken so much, and given us an earnest forewarning) we do not hold the truth in unrighteousness, believing, doing, or speaking anything against our knowledge and conscience, or without faith. For if we so do, for whatever cause it may be, it is a willful and obstinate infidelity, and a sin unto death. As our Savior Christ says, 'If you do not believe, you shall die in your own sins.' <sup>Joh 8.24</sup> For unless we hold fast the word of life, both

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<sup>550</sup> Most reformers believed Paul was the author of Hebrews.

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believing it, and also bringing forth fruit worthy of repentance, <sup>Luk 3.8</sup> we will be cut down with the unprofitable fig-tree, which only encumbered the ground, <sup>Luk 13.7</sup> and our talent will be taken from us and given to another who will put it to a better use. <sup>Mat 25.28</sup> And we, through our own unthankfulness, put from the mercy of God, will never be able to pay our debts — that is to say, we will be altogether lost and undone. For the earth that drinks in rain that comes often upon it, and brings forth herbs fit for those who cultivate it, receives blessing from God. But that ground that bears thorns and briars is reprov'd, and is near to being cursed, whose end is to be burned. <sup>Heb 6.7-8</sup>

“Nevertheless, dear friends, we trust to see better things from you, things which accompany salvation; and that you being the good ground, watered with the moistness of God’s word plenteously preached among you, will hear the word of God with a good heart and keep it, bringing forth fruit with patience. <sup>Luk 8.15</sup> Be none of those forgetful and hypocritical hearers who, although they hear the word, yet the devil comes, and snatches away that which was sown in their heart. Having no root in themselves, they endure but a season; as soon as tribulation or persecution arises because of the word, by and by they are offended; or else the cares of this world, and deceitfulness of riches choke the word, and so they are unfruitful. <sup>Mar 4.15,17,19</sup> Read the parable of the Sower. Among other things, note and mark that most of the hearers of God’s word are but hypocrites, and hear the word without any fruit or profit; indeed, it is only to their greater condemnation. For only a fourth of the seed brings forth fruit. Therefore, let us not be discouraged, who are ministers, or professors, and followers of God’s word, if very few give credit, and follow the doctrine of the gospel, and are saved.

“Therefore, whoever has ears to hear, let him hear: ‘for whoever has, to him more will be given, and he shall have abundance; but whoever does not have, even what he has will be taken away from him.’ <sup>Mat 13.12</sup> That is to say, those who have a desire for righteousness, and for the truth, will be more and more illuminated by God. And on the contrary, those who do not covet righteousness and truth, are even more hardened and blinded, though they seem most wise to themselves. For God here follows an example of a loving father, who when he sees that fatherly love and correction does not help towards his children, uses another way. He ceases to be beneficial to them, and to minister fatherly correction to them. He gives them over to themselves, allowing them to live as they please themselves.

“But we trust to see better things from you, my dearly beloved, and that, for fear of losing your worldly substance or other delights of this life, you will not banish away Christ and his gospel from among you, as the Gadarenes did. <sup>Luk 8.37</sup> But rather, with all diligence of mind you will receive the word of God taught to you by such ministers as now, when persecution arises because of the word, are not ashamed of the testimony of our Lord Jesus. But they are content to suffer adversity with the gospel, and in this to suffer trouble as evil-doers, even unto bonds. If you refuse to do this, your blood will be upon your own heads. As you have had plenteous preaching of the gospel, more than others have had, so if you do not repent and bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, you will be sure to be sorer plagued, and to receive greater vengeance than others at God’s hand; and the kingdom of God will be taken from you, and be given to another nation which will bring forth its fruits.

“Therefore, my dearly beloved in Christ, take good heed to yourselves, and ponder well in your minds, how fearful and horrible a thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God. <sup>Heb 10.31</sup> And see that you do not receive the word of God in vain, but continually labor in faith, and declare your faith by your good works, which are infallible witnesses of true justifying faith, which is never idle, but works by charity.

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“And see that you continually give yourselves to all manner of good works. Among these, the most important are to be obedient to the magistrates (since they are the ordinance of God, whether they are good or evil), unless they command idolatry and ungodliness, *i.e.* things contrary to true religion. For then we ought to say with St. Peter, ‘We ought to obey God rather than man.’ But in any way, we must beware of tumult, insurrection, rebellion, or resistance.

“The weapon of a Christian in this matter ought to be the sword of the Spirit, which is God’s word, and prayer, coupled with humility and due submission, and with readiness of heart, to die rather than do any ungodliness. Christ also teaches us that all power is of God, yes, even the power of the wicked whom God oftentimes causes to reign for our sins and disobedience towards Him and His word. Whoever then resists any power, resists the ordinance of God, and so he purchases for himself utter destruction and undoing.

“We must also by all means be promoters of unity, peace, and concord. We must honor and reverence princes, and all who are in authority, and pray for them, and be diligent to set forth their profit and commodity.

“*Secondly*, we must obey our parents, or those who are in their places, and be careful for our households, that they are provided for and fed, not only with bodily food, but much more with spiritual food, which is the word of God.

“*Thirdly*, we must serve our neighbors by all means we can, remembering well the saying of Christ, ‘Whatever you would have men do to you, do you likewise to them, for this is the law and the prophets.’ <sup>Mat 7.12</sup>

“*Fourthly*, we must diligently exercise the necessary work of prayer for all estates, knowing that God has therefore so much commanded it, and has made such great promises for it, and so well accepts it. After these works, we must learn to know the cross, and what affection and mind we must bear towards our adversaries and enemies, whatever they may be, to suffer all adversities and evils patiently, to pray for those who hurt, persecute, and trouble us. And by thus ordering ourselves, we will obtain a hope and certainty of our vocation, that we are the elect children of God.

“And thus I commend you, brethren, to God, and to the word of His grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all those who are sanctified, <sup>Act 20.32</sup> — beseeching you to help Master Sanders and me, your late pastors, and all those who are in bonds for the gospel’s sake, with your prayers to God for us, that we may be delivered from all those who do not believe, and from unreasonable and froward men; and that this, our imprisonment and affliction, may be to the glory and profit of our Christian brethren in the world; and that Christ may be magnified in our bodies, whether it is by death or by life. Amen.

“Greet for me all the faithful brethren; and because I do not write separate letters to them, let them either read or hear these letters of mine. The grace of our Lord be with you all. Amen. The 28th of June, by the unprofitable servant of Jesus Christ, and now also His prisoner,

“GEORGE MARSH.”

“Save yourselves from this untoward generation. Pray, pray, pray: never more need.”

*A Prayer of George Marsh, which he used to say daily.*

“O Lord Jesus Christ, who is the only physician of wounded consciences, we miserable sinners, trusting in your gracious goodness, briefly open to you the evil tree of our heart, with all the roots, boughs, leaves, and fruits, and with all the crooks and knots, all of which you know; for you thoroughly perceive the inward lusts, doubts, and denying of your providence which we commit inwardly, as well as those gross outward sins, and deadly. Therefore we beseech you, according to the little measure of our infirmity, although we are far unable and unapt to pray,



that you would mercifully circumcise our stony hearts; and for these old hearts, create new ones within us; and replenish us with a new spirit; and water us, and moisten us with the juice of heavenly grace, and wells of spiritual waters, whereby the inward venom and foul juice of the flesh may be dried up, and the custom of the old man changed; and that our hearts, always bringing forth thorns and briars to be burned with fire, from now on may bear spiritual fruits in righteousness and holiness, unto life everlasting. Amen.”

***The History and Martyrdom of William Flower***

Being apprehended for striking a priest, William Flower first had his hand cut off, and was afterwards martyred.

William Flower, otherwise named Branch, was born at Snowhill, in the county of Cambridge, and then came to the abbey of Ely, where he was a professed monk, bearing the habit of a monk, and observing the rules and order of the house, until he was twenty-one years of age. Before then, he was made also a priest in the house, and there he celebrated mass. After that, he forsook the house, cast off the monk’s habit and religion, took upon himself the habit of a secular priest, and returned to Snowhill, where he was born. There he celebrated mass, and taught children for about half a year.

After some time, he moved to other places, and at last to Gloucestershire, where after he had made his abode in the country a while, he at length in Tewkesbury, according to God’s holy ordinance, married a wife, with whom he ever after faithfully and honestly continued. After this, he settled in London, and on Easter he came over the water from Lambeth to St. Margaret’s church at Westminster. There, seeing a priest ministering and giving the sacrament of the altar to the people, and being greatly offended in his conscience with the priest for doing so, he struck him with his woodknife, wounding him on the head, and also on the arm and hand. The priest had a chalice in his hand at the same time, with some consecrated hosts, which were sprinkled with the blood of the priest.

In so doing, Flower acted neither well nor Christian-like. And therefore afterward, being examined before Bishop Bonner, he confessed to it, submitting himself willingly to punishment. However, regarding his belief in the sacrament and the popish ministration of it, he neither would nor did submit himself. Being examined before Bishop Bonner, the following articles were objected against Flower:

*Articles objected against William Branch, alias Flower.*

“First, that you being of a lawful age and discretion, at least seventeen years old, were professed a monk in the late abbey of Ely, in which after your profession you remained until the age of twenty-one, using in the meantime the habit and religion of the same house, and you were reputed and well-known for being such a person.

“Also, that afterwards you were ordained and made priest, according to the laudable custom of the catholic church; afterward you ministered as a priest, and were commonly reputed, named, and taken for a priest.

“Also, that afterwards, forgetting God, your conscience, honesty, and the laudable order of the catholic church, and contrary to your profession and vow, you took as your wife, one woman, commonly called Alice Fulton, in the parish church of Tewkesbury in the diocese of Gloucester.

“Also, that being a religious man and a priest, and contrary to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, you took it upon yourself to practice medicine and surgery in diverse places within the diocese of London, when you were not admitted, expert, nor learned.

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“Also, that upon Easter day last past, that is to say, the 14th of this present month of April, within the parish church of St. Margaret’s at Westminster, within the county of Middlesex and diocese of London, you maliciously, outrageously, and violently pulled out your weapon, that is, to wit, your woodknife or hanger.<sup>551</sup> And whereas the priest and minister there, called John Chelton, was executing his cure and charge, especially in doing his service and ministering the sacrament of the altar to communicants, you then wickedly and abominably struck the said priest with your weapon —

[757] A.D. 1555.

“first upon the head, very sorely, and afterwards upon his hands or other parts of his body, drawing blood abundantly from him. The said priest was then holding the said sacrament in his hand, and gave no occasion why you should so hurt him. The people were grievously offended with this, and the said church was polluted by it, so that the inhabitants were compelled to repair to another church to communicate, and to receive the said sacrament.

“Also, that by reason of the premises, you were and are by the ecclesiastical laws of the church, among other penalties, excommunicated and accursed, *ipso facto*, and not to be associated with, neither in the church nor otherwise, except in special cases.

“Also, that you, concerning the verity of Christ’s natural body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, have been for these twenty years, and still are at this present time, of this opinion — that is to say, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed contained (under the forms of bread) the very true and natural body of our Savior Jesus Christ.

“Also, that you for the hatred and disdain that you had and bore against the said sacrament, and the virtue of it, and against the said priest ministering the same (as said before) struck, wounded, and hurt him in the manner and form as declared before.

“Also, that over and besides the pains due to you for that cruel act, you are also by the order of the ecclesiastical laws of the church, and the laudable custom and ordinance of the same, to be reputed, taken, and adjudged (as you are indeed) a true heretic, and to be punished by and with the pains due for heresy, because of the said heresy and damnable opinion.

“Also, that all the premises are true, manifest, notorious, and famous, and that upon the same, and every part of it, there was and is within the said parish of St. Margaret’s, and other places thereabout, a public voice and fame.”

After his examination, the bishop began to instruct him with his fine divinity, and to exhort him to return to the unity of his mother the catholic church, with such reasons as he commonly used with others, promising many fair things if he would do so, besides remitting what was past.

William Flower thanked him for his offer. And where it was in his power to kill or not to kill his body, he was content to let him do what he chose. Yet he had no such power over his soul, which once it is separated from the body, is in the hands of no man, but only of God, either to save or destroy.

In the afternoon, William Flower appeared again before the bishop. The bishop, sitting in his consistory, spoke these words:

“You were here before me this forenoon, and answered to certain articles, and I respited you till now, that you should consider and weigh with yourself your state; and remember, while

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<sup>551</sup> *Hanger*: short and broad backsword (it has only one cutting edge), that hangs at the side.

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you have time, both your abominable act, and also that evil opinion which you have conceived regarding the verity of Christ's true natural body in the sacrament of the altar."

Flower answered, "That which I have said, I will stand to; and therefore I request that the law may proceed against me." Upon this, the bishop commanded his notary to read his articles again; which being read, William Flower answered to all parts of the articles, confessing, that whereas he struck the priest on Easter day last past, in St. Margaret's church in Westminster, he has since that time, and still does dislike himself in that act, and now judges and believes that the act was evil and naughty.

On the 20th of April 1555, William Flower was brought by the keeper of the Fleet, before Bonner, who in his usual manner of persuasion, went about to reduce Flower to his catholic church, that is, from Christ to antichrist — sometimes with fair and alluring promises, sometimes with menaces and terrors, frightening him. To this Flower answered, "Do what you will, I am determined; for the heavens will as soon fall. as I will forsake my opinion," etc. The bishop, after he had commanded these words to be registered, called for the depositions of certain witnesses. And thus speaking to Flower, he asked him if he knew any matter or cause why his sentence should not be read, and he be pronounced as a heretic? The martyr of God answered, "I have nothing at all to say, for I have already said all that I have to say; and what I have said I will not go from: and therefore do what you will."

When he had thus spoken, the bishop proceeded to the sentence, condemning and excommunicating him as a heretic. Afterwards he also pronounced him to be degraded; and so he committed Flower to the secular power. On the 24th of April, he was brought to the place of martyrdom, which was in St. Margaret's churchyard at Westminster where the act was committed. And coming to the stake there, he made his prayer to Almighty God, with a confession of his Christian faith.

### *A Prayer and Confession of William Flower.*

"O eternal God, most mighty and merciful Father, who has sent down your Son upon the earth to save me and all mankind, who ascended up into heaven again, and left his blood upon the earth behind him, for the redemption of our sins, have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me, for your dear Son our Savior Jesus Christ's sake, in whom alone I confess to be all salvation and justification; and that there is no other means, nor way, nor holiness, in which or by which any man can be saved in this world. This is my faith, which I beseech all men here to bear witness of."

Then he said the Lord's Prayer, and so he made an end.

His hand being held up against the stake, was struck off, his left hand being tied behind him. At the striking off of his hand, some who were present observed that he in no part of his body shrunk at the striking of it, except that once he stirred his shoulders a little.

Then fire was set to him. As he burned, he cried with a loud voice, "O Son of God have mercy upon me, O Son of God receive my soul," three times; and so he spoke no more, lifting up his stump with his other arm as long as he could.

### **The Martyrdom of John Cardmaker and John Warne.**

On the 30th of May, these men suffered together at Smithfield: **John Cardmaker**, otherwise called Taylor, prebendary of the church of Wells; and **John Warne**, upholsterer, of the parish of St. John in Wallbrook. It now remains to give an account of them, beginning with Master Cardmaker, who was an observant friar before the dissolution of the abbeys. Afterwards, he was a married minister, and in King Edward's time he was appointed to be a

reader in St. Paul's, where the papists were so aggrieved with him for his doctrine's sake, that in his reading they cut and mangled his gown with their knives. This Cardmaker, being apprehended at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, along with Barlow, bishop of Bath, was brought to London, and laid in prison in the Fleet, though King Edward's laws were still in force. But after the parliament was ended, in which the pope was again admitted as supreme head of the church, and the bishops had gotten power and authority, *ex-officio*, to exercise their tyranny, these two men were brought before Winchester (Stephen Gardiner), and others who were appointed by commission, to examine the faith of those who were then prisoners.

To this they both gave an answer, that the chancellor with his fellow commissioners reported them as Catholics. Whether they so answered in weakness, or he so understood their answer in subtlety, that he might have some forged example of a shrinking brother to mention to those who were yet to be examined, may be perceived by this: that to all who followed in examination, he objected the example of Barlow and Cardmaker, commending their soberness, discretion, and learning.

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But whatever their answer was, Barlow was led back to the Fleet, from where he constantly bore witness by his exile, to the truth of Christ's gospel. Cardmaker was conveyed to the Compter in Bread-street, the bishop of London having it published that he would shortly be delivered from there, after he had subscribed to transubstantiation and certain other articles. Lawrence Sanders was brought to the same prison where Cardmaker was (after the sentence of excommunication and condemnation was pronounced against him), where these two prisoners had such Christian conference, that in the end they both showed themselves constant confessors and worthy martyrs of Christ.

*Articles objected by Bonner against John Taylor,  
alias Cardmaker, with his Answers to the same.*

"First, I, Edmund bishop of London, object against you John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, that you were and are of the city and diocese of London, and so of the jurisdiction of me, Edmund, bishop of London.

"Also, that in times past you professed the rule of St. Francis, and by vow promised to keep poverty, chastity, and obedience, according to the rule of St. Francis.

"Also, that in times past you received all the orders of the church then used.

"Also, that after your entry into religion, and profession, and orders, you took to wife a widow, thereby breaking your vow and order, and also the ordinance of the church."

The remaining articles relate to his denial of transubstantiation.

Cardmaker calling to mind afterwards the ready cavillings of the papists, and thinking himself not to have fully answered the latter part of the eighth article, according to his true meaning, the next day he answered these articles severally; and afterwards he exhibited to the bishop in a schedule this which follows:

"Where in my answer to your articles I deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament, I do not mean his *sacramental* presence, for that I confess; but my denial is of his *carnal* presence in the same. But yet further, because this word is oftentimes taken by the holy fathers, not only for bread and wine, but also for the whole administration and receiving of the same, according to Christ's institution, so I say that Christ is present *spiritually* too, and in all those who

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worthily receive the sacrament. So that my denial is still of the real, carnal, and corporeal presence in the sacrament, and not of the sacramental nor spiritual presence.

“This have I thought good to add to my former answer, because no man should misunderstand it.

“JOHN CARDMAKER.”

*Articles ministered against John Warne, Upholsterer.*

“First, that you, John Warne, being of the age of twenty-nine, and of the parish of St. John, of Walbrook, in London, have believed, and do believe firmly and steadfastly, that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is not the very true and natural body of our Savior Christ in substance, under the forms of bread and wine.

“2. That you have believed, and do believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there is not (as the church of England believes and teaches) the body of Christ; but that there only remains the substance of material bread, as it is before the consecration, or speaking the words of consecration; and that the bread is in no way altered or changed.

“3. That you have said and do believe, that if the catholic church believes and teaches that there is in the mass, now used in England and in other places of Christendom, a sacrifice in which there is a sacrament containing the body and blood of Christ really and truly, then that belief and faith of the church is naught,<sup>552</sup> and against God’s truth and the Scriptures.

“4. That you have said about twelve months ago and more, that where a great rough water spaniel of yours was shorn on the head, and has a crown made like a priest’s, you laughed at it and the like, though you did not do it yourself, nor knew who did it.

“5. That you have not come into the church, heard mass, been confessed nor received the sacrament of the altar, neither at Lent past, nor at any time since the queen’s majesty’s reign; and you have said you are not sorry that you have not done so, but are glad, because you have not defiled your conscience with it, which otherwise you would have done.”

John Warne being examined upon these articles by the bishop, answered them, confessing and granting the articles to be true. Such strength and fortitude had God’s Holy Spirit worked in him, to stand valiantly and confidently to the defense of the sincere doctrine of his Son.

After the bishop had exhorted him with many words to leave his heresies (as he called them) and to return to the bosom of his mother the holy church, he commanded him to appear again the next day.

On that day the bishop, seeing that notwithstanding all his fair promises, and terrible threatenings, he could not prevail, finished this examination by pronouncing the definitive sentence of condemnation against John Warne.

On the 30th of May, the day appointed for their execution, John Cardmaker and John Warne were brought by the sheriffs to the place where they were to suffer. Having come to the stake, the sheriffs called Cardmaker aside, and talked with him secretly for so long that in the meantime Warne had made his prayers, was chained to the stake, and had wood and reeds set about him, so that nothing was lacking but the torch. But still Cardmaker continued talking with the sheriffs.

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<sup>552</sup> *Naught*: this can be taken two ways: either amounting to nothing; or else naughty (evil, sinful).

The people who had heard that Cardmaker would recant, and beholding this conversation, were in a great sadness, thinking indeed that Cardmaker would now recant at the burning of Warne. At length Cardmaker departed from the sheriffs, and came towards the stake. In his garments as he was, he kneeled down and made a long prayer in private. The people, seeing him in his garments, praying secretly, and no appearance of any burning, were confirmed in their opinion that he would recant.

His prayers being ended, he rose up, put off his clothes down to his shirt, went with courage to the stake, and kissed it sweetly. He then took Warne by the hand, and comforted him, and so he gave himself to also be bound to the stake most gladly. The people seeing this done so suddenly, contrary to their expectations, cried out for joy, saying, "God be praised, the Lord strengthen you, Cardmaker, the Lord Jesus receive your spirit." And this continued while the executioner put fire to them. And thus these godly men passed through the fire to the blessed rest and peace among God's holy saints and martyrs, to enjoy the crown of triumph and victory prepared for the elect soldiers and warriors of Christ Jesus in his blessed kingdom. To whom be glory and majesty forever. Amen.

*The Confession of the Faith of John Warne,  
Citizen of London, which he wrote the day before he was burned,  
on the 30th of May A.D. 1555.*

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, and maker of heaven and earth."

"A Father, because he is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the everlasting Word, whom before all worlds he has begotten of himself. This Word was made flesh, and in this was also manifested to be his Son; in whom he has adopted us to be his children, the inheritors of his kingdom. And therefore he is our Father; an Almighty God, because he has of nothing created all things visible and invisible, both in heaven and on earth, even all creatures contained in it, and he governs them."

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"And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord."

"The eternal Word, perfect God with his Father, of equal power in all things, of the same substance, of like glory, by whom all things were made, and have life, and without whom nothing lives. He was made also perfect man, and so being very God and very man in one person, he is the only Savior, Redeemer, and Ransomer of those who were lost in Adam, our forefather. He is the only means of our deliverance, the hope of our health, the surety of our salvation."

"Who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary."

"According to the Father's most merciful promise, this eternal Son of God, forsaking the heavenly glory, humbled himself to take flesh from a virgin, according to the Scriptures, uniting the substance of the Godhead to the substance of the manhood, which he took from the substance of that blessed Virgin Mary in one person, to become in this the very Messiah, the anointed King and Priest, forever appointed to pacify the Father's wrath, which was justly gone out against us all, for our sin."

"Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and descended into hell."

"He was arraigned before Pontius Pilate, the ruler of Judea, and unjustly accused of many crimes, of which the ruler judged him innocent, and sought means to deliver him. But contrary to known justice, he let Barabbas go, who had deserved death, and delivered Christ to be crucified, who deserved no death; who declares to us manifestly, that he suffered for our sins,

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and was buffeted for our offenses, as the prophets witness, thereby to have it manifested to all men, that he is that Lamb of God that takes away the sins of the world. Therefore suffering for our sins, he received and bore our deserved condemnation, the pains of death, the state of abjection, the very terror of hell, yielding his spirit to his Father, his body to be buried on earth.”

“The third day he rose again from death to life.”

“To make full and perfect the whole work of our redemption and justification, the same crucified body which was laid in the grave, was raised up again the third day from death, by the power of his Father, and glory of his Godhead. He became the first fruits of the resurrection, and got the victory over death, that by him all might be raised up from death. Through whom all true penitent sinners may now boldly come unto the Father, and have remission of their sins.”

“He ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty.”

“After he had conquered sin, death, and the devil, in his death and resurrection, and had been conversant forty days on the earth, being seen by the apostles and more than five hundred brethren at once, in the same body in which he wrought the work of our salvation, he ascended into heaven with eternal triumph, for the victory over death, sin, and hell, leaving the passage open, by which all true believers may and shall enter into his kingdom, where he now sits at his Father’s right hand, that is, equal in power and glory, co-eternal in majesty.”

“From there he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.”

“He shall appear again in great glory to receive his elect to himself, and to put his enemies under his feet, changing all living men in a moment, and raising up all who are dead, that all may be brought to his judgment. Then he shall give to each man according to his deeds. Those who have followed him in regeneration, who have their sins washed away in his blood, and are clothed with his righteousness, shall receive the everlasting kingdom, and reign with him forever; and those who according to the race of the corrupt generation of Adam have followed flesh and blood, shall receive everlasting damnation with the devil and his angels.”

“I believe in the Holy Spirit.”

“I believe that the Holy Spirit is God, the third person in the Trinity; in unity of the Godhead equal with the Father and the Son, given through Christ to inhabit our spirits, by which we are made to feel and understand the great power, virtue, and loving kindness of Christ our Lord. For he illuminates, quickens, and certifies our spirit, that by him we are sealed up until the day of redemption, by whom we are regenerate and made new creatures; so that by him and through him we receive all the abundant goodness promised to us in Jesus Christ.”

“The holy catholic church.”

“This is a holy number of Adam’s posterity, elected, gathered, washed, and purified by the blood of the Lamb from the beginning of the world, and is dispersed through the same by the tyranny of Gog and Magog; that is to say, the Turk and his tyranny, and antichrist, otherwise named the bishop of Rome, and his angels, as this day also teaches.”

“The Communion of Saints.”

“This most holy congregation (being, as St. Paul teaches, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head corner-stone), though it is persecuted by the tyranny of Satan and his ministers — some by imprisonment, some by death, and some by other afflictions and painful torments — yet it remains in one perfect unity, both in faith and fellowship. This unity is knit in an unspeakable knot, of those who are departed from this mortal life, as well as of those who are now living, and hereafter shall be in the same, and so

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they shall continue until they all meet in the kingdom, where the head, Jesus Christ, with all his holy members, of which number, through Christ, I assuredly believe I am one, shall be fully complete, knit, and united together forevermore.”

“The forgiveness of sins.”

“I believe that my sins, and all their sins who rightly believe the Holy Scriptures, are forgiven only through Jesus Christ, from whom alone I profess that I have my whole and full salvation and redemption, which St. Paul says comes not through our works and deservings, but freely by grace, lest any man should boast. <sup>Eph 2.8,9</sup> Through the blood of the cross, all things in heaven and earth are reconciled, and set at peace with the Father; without Him no heavenly life is given, nor sin forgiven.”

“The resurrection of the body.”

“I believe that by the same, my Savior Christ, I and all men shall rise again from the dead; for as St. Paul says, ‘He is risen from the dead, and has become the first-fruits of those who slept. For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead.’ <sup>1Cor 15.20-21</sup> This man is Christ, through the power of whose resurrection I believe that we shall all rise again in these our bodies; the elect clothed with immortality to live with Christ forever; the reprobate also shall rise immortal to live with the devil and his angels in death everlasting.”

“And the life everlasting.”

“Through the same Jesus, and by none other, I am sure to have life everlasting. He alone is the way and entrance into the kingdom of heaven. ‘For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whoever believes in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.’ This life I am sure to possess as soon as I am dissolved and departed out of this tabernacle. And in the last day, both my body and soul shall possess the same forever, to which God grant that all men may come.

“I believe that the sacraments, that is to say, of baptism and of the Lord’s Supper, are seals of God’s most merciful promises towards mankind. In baptism, just as by the outward creature of water I am washed from the filthiness which hangs on my flesh, so I assuredly believe that I am washed clean from my sins by Christ’s blood, through which I have sure confidence of my salvation. In partaking of the Lord’s Supper, as I receive the substance of bread and wine — the nature of which is to strengthen the body — so by faith I receive the redemption wrought in Christ’s body broken on the cross, life by his death, resurrection by his resurrection, and in brief, all that Christ in his body ever suffered for my salvation — to the strengthening of my faith in the same.

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“And I believe that God has appointed the eating and drinking of the creatures of bread and wine in his holy supper according to His word, to move and to stir up my mind to believe these articles above written.

“This is my faith; this I believe; and I am content by God’s grace to confirm and seal the truth of the same with my blood.

“JOHN WARNE.”

***The History of John Ardeley and John Simson.***

On the same day, and in the same company, and for the same cause, John Ardeley and John Simson were also condemned. But before we come to their history, we will give **a letter of**



**the king and queen**, directed from the court the same day, and sent to the bishop by a post early in the morning, which in tenor and form is as follows:

“To the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved, the bishop of London. “Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And where of late we addressed our letters to the justices of the peace within every of the counties of this our realm; whereby, among other instructions given in it for the good order and quiet government of the country round about them, they are directed to have a special regard to such disorderly persons as lean to any erroneous and heretical opinions (forgetting their duties towards God and us), refusing to show themselves conformable to the catholic religion of Christ’s church; whom if they cannot by good admonitions and fair means reform them, they are directed to deliver them to the ordinary, to be charitably dealt with by him, and removed, it may be, from their naughty opinions; or else if they continue obstinate, to be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf. Understanding now, to no little marvel by us, that many of the said disorderly persons, being brought to the ordinaries by the justices of peace for their contempt and obstinacy, to be used as aforesaid, they either refused to be received at their hands, or if they are received, they are neither so dealt with as Christian charity requires, nor yet proceeded with according to the order of justice, but are allowed to continue in their errors, to the dishonor of Almighty God, and the dangerous example to others. Just as we find this matter very strange, so we have thought it convenient both to signify our knowledge of it, and with this also to admonish you in this behalf, to have such regard from here on to the office of a good pastor and bishop, as when any such offenders are brought to you by the said officers or justices of peace, you use your good wisdom and discretion in procuring to remove them from their errors, if it may be; or else, in proceeding against them, if they continue obstinate, then proceed according to the order of the laws; so that, through your good furtherance, both God’s glory may be better advanced, and the commonwealth be more quietly governed.

“Given under our signet at Hampton Court,  
the 24th of May, in the first and second years of our reigns.”

This letter thus coming from the Court to the bishop, made him more earnest and hasty to condemn others as well as these men, of whom we will now presently treat, namely, John Simson and John Ardeley. Both being husbandmen in the town of Wigborough in Essex, and also both being almost of one age — for Simson was thirty-four, and Ardeley thirty — they were brought up together by the under-sheriff of Essex, to Bonner, bishop of London, upon the accusation of heresy.

As the order and manner of their examinations before the bishop, as well as the articles laid against them, were much alike, so their answers were not much discrepant in manner and form. We find them in the bishop’s own registers as follows:

*Articles objected against John Simson and John Ardeley.*

“First, that you John Simson (or John Ardeley), husbandman, aged thirty-four or thereabout, were and are of the parish of Great Wigborough, within the diocese of London, and you have not believed nor do believe, that there is here on earth one catholic and universal whole church, which holds and believes all the faith and religion of Christ, and all the necessary articles and sacraments of the same.

“2. That you have not believed, nor do believe, that you are necessarily bound, under the pain of damnation of your soul, to give full faith and credence to the said catholic and universal church, and to the religion of the same, in all necessary points in the said faith and religion, without wavering or doubting in the said faith or religion, or in any part of it.

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“3. That you have not believed, nor do believe, that that faith and religion, which both the churches of Rome, Italy, Spain, England, France, England, Scotland, and all other churches in Europe, being the members and parts of the said catholic and universal church, believe and teach, both agrees with the said catholic and universal church, and the faith and religion of Christ, and is also the very true faith and religion which all Christian people ought to believe, observe, follow, and keep. But contrariwise, you have believed, and do believe, that that faith and religion which the said church of Rome, and all the other churches aforesaid have up to now believed, and now believe, is false, erroneous, and naught, and in no way ought to be believed, observed, kept, and followed by any Christian man.

“4. That although it is true that in the sacrament of the altar there is in substance, the very body and blood of Christ under the forms of bread and wine; and although it is so believed, taught, and preached undoubtedly in the said church of Rome, and in all other of the aforesaid churches, yet you have not so believed, nor do so believe. But contrariwise, you have and do believe firmly and steadfastly that in the said sacrament of the altar, under the said forms of bread and wine, there is not the very substance of Christ’s body and blood, but that there is only the material substance of common bread and wine, with the forms of it; and that the said material and common bread and wine, are only the signs and tokens of Christ’s body and blood, and are to be received by faith, only for a remembrance of Christ’s passion and death, without any such substance of Christ’s body and blood at all.

“5. That you have believed and taught, and you have openly spoken, and maintained and defended to your power, and so believe, think, maintain, and defend that the very true receiving and eating of Christ’s body and blood, is only to make material and common bread, and to break it, and to distribute it among the people, remembering thereby only the passion and death of Christ.

“6. That you have likewise believed, taught, and spoken that the mass now used in this realm of England, and in the other churches aforesaid, is abominable and naught, and full of idolatry, and is of the ordinance of the pope, and not of the institution of Christ, and has no goodness in it, except the Gloria in Excelsis, and the epistle and the gospel; and that therefore you have not, nor will come to be present at the mass, nor receive the sacrament of the altar, or any other sacrament of the church, as they are now used in this realm of England, and in the other churches aforesaid.

“7. That you have in times past believed precisely, and obstinately affirmed and said, and so you now believe and think, that auricular confession is not needful to be made to the priest, but that it is a superfluous and vain thing, and should only be made to God, and to no other person. And likewise, you have condemned as superfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the ceremonies of the church and the service of the same, and have said that no service in the church ought to be said but in the English tongue, and if it is otherwise said, it is unlawful and naught.”

They answered to these articles with constancy and Christian boldness; and then the bishop endeavored to induce them to recant. John Ardeley answered Bonner as follows:

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“My lord, neither you, nor any other of your religion, is of the catholic church. For you are of a false faith: and I have no doubt that you will be deceived at length. You will shed innocent blood, and you have killed many, and yet you go about to kill more,” etc.

He added further, saying, “If every hair of my head were a man, I would suffer death in the opinion and faith that I am now in.” He spoke these, with many other words. Then the bishop still demanded if he would relinquish his erroneous opinions (as he called them) and

be reduced again to the unity of the church. He answered, “No, God forbid that I should so do, for then I would lose my soul.”

After this, the said bishop asked John Ardeley if he knew any reason why he should not have sentence condemnatory against him. And then he read the condemnation; as he also did against John Simson, who stood with the same constancy as John Ardeley. They both were committed to the secular power — that is, to the hands of the sheriffs — to be conveyed to the place where they would be executed.

At the time of the examination of this Simson and John Ardeley, it happened that the bishop, being in a heat with the stout and bold answers of the two prisoners, burst out in a loud and angry voice, and said, “Have him away, have him away!”

The people in the church, who were assembled in great numbers, hearing these words, and thinking that the prisoners had received judgment, desiring to see the prisoners, severed themselves, some running one way, others another way, which caused such a noise in the church, that those in the consistory were all amazed. And the bishop being afraid of this sudden stir, asked what it was. The bystanders answered, saying that there was likely to be some tumult. When the bishop heard this, his heart failed him. Leaving his seat he and the rest of the court took to their legs, hastening with all possible speed to get back to the door that went into the bishop’s house. But the rest being somewhat lighter of foot than my lord, reached the door sooner, and thronging hastily to get in, they kept the bishop out. They cried, “Save my lord, save my lord!” but they meant first to save themselves, by which they gave the bystanders good matter to laugh at.

John Simson and John Ardeley being delivered to the sheriffs, they were shortly after sent down from London to Essex, where they were both put to death on one day (June 10, 1555). John Simson suffered at Rochford, John Ardeley at Railey.

### **The Martyrdom of John Tooly**

*The ridiculous handling and proceeding of Bishop Bonner  
and his fellows against John Tooly.*

In the same month that the two godly men mentioned above were burned, a solemn process was made about the pope’s spirituality against John Tooly, in a case of heresy. The history is this:; about the time that the Spaniards first began to make a stir in England, there was one John Tooly, a citizen and poulterer in London. He conspired with certain others of his society, to rob a Spaniard at St. James’s.<sup>553</sup> Although the deed was heinous and wicked of itself, yet it was aggravated and made greater than it was, by being committed against such a person, and against such a country, which both the queen and her whole court highly favored.<sup>554</sup> The robbery being known and brought into judgment, Tooly was found guilty and judged to be hanged.

Tooly was led to the gallows. A little before he died, standing on the cart, he read a certain prayer in a printed book, and two other prayers written in two papers. Then, having the halter about his neck, he desired the people present to pray for him, and to bear him witness that he died a true Christian man, and that he trusted to be saved only by the merits of Christ’s passion and shedding of his precious blood, and not by any masses, or trentals, images, or saints, which were (as he said) mere idolatry and superstition, devised by the

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<sup>553</sup> St James's is a district within the City of Westminster in central London, west of Whitehall and northeast of Buckingham Palace.

<sup>554</sup> Recall that Queen Mary was married to King Philip of Spain in 1554.

bishop of Rome. Tooly said, just as and his fellows who were hanged with him there, stole and robbed for covetousness, so the bishop of Rome sold his masses and trentals, with such other peltry, for covetousness. He spoke with a loud voice these words: "From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from false doctrine and heresy, and from the contempt of your word and commandment, good Lord deliver us!" He then spoke to the people. "All you who are true Christian men, say with me. Amen." And immediately about three hundred persons or more, to the judgment and estimation of those who were present there, answered and said, "Amen," three times.

As soon as the account of this fact came to the ears of the priests and mitered prelates, they were not a little mad, thinking it intolerable that so great a reproach should be done against the holy father. At last they all agreed that violating the pope's holiness should be revenged with fire and faggot. I easily believe that cardinal Pole was no small doer in this sentence.<sup>555</sup> For just as Winchester and Bonner always thirsted after the blood of the living, so Pole's lightning was for the most part kindled against the dead; and he reserved this charge only to himself. I do not know for what purpose, except that perhaps, being loath to be so cruel as the others, he nevertheless thought by this means to discharge his duty towards the pope. By the same cardinal, the bones of Martin Bucer and Paul Phagius, who had lain almost two years in their graves, were taken up and burned in Cambridge, just as Tooly's dead body was here at London. And besides this, so that he might show some token of his diligence in both universities, he had Peter Martyr's wife, a woman of worthy memory, to be dug out of the churchyard and buried on the dunghill. We will say more about these two acts later. But now to our purpose concerning Tooly, having ended his prayer, he was hanged and put into his grave, out of which he was dug back up by the commandment of the bishops. And because he was so bold as to derogate the authority of the bishop of Rome at the time of his death, it pleased them to judge and condemn him as a heretic. This may further appear as follows:

*The Writ or Mandate of Bonner, Bishop of London,  
set up at Charing Cross, on St. Paul's Church-door,  
and at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, to cite and  
further inquire into the case of John Tooly.*

"Edmund, by the sufferance of God, bishop of London, to all and singular parsons, vicars, curates, and others, clerics and learned men being within our diocese of London, and especially to Richard Clonic, our sworn sumner, greeting, salutation, and benediction. Because it has come to our hearing by common fame, and the declaration of sundry credible persons, that one John Tooly, late citizen and poulterer of London, the sou of perdition and iniquity, coming to the profundity of malice in the self-same time in which he went to hanging, according to the laws of the realm, for the great theft recently committed by him, at which time chiefly he should have cared for the wealth of his soul, and have died in the unity of the catholic church, he uttered diverse and sundry damnable, blasphemous, and heretical opinions and errors, utterly contrary and repugnant to the truth of the catholic faith and unity of the same; and he exhorted, stirred up, and encouraged the people, standing there in great multitudes, to hold and defend the same errors and opinions. And moreover, certain of the people standing there, as it appeared, affected with errors and heresies, as abettors and defenders of the said John, confirmed and gave express consent to the aforesaid words, propositions, and affirmations, which we utter with sorrow and bitterness of heart.

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<sup>555</sup> Cardinal Pole was the *legate de latere* of Pope Julius III.

“We, therefore, the aforesaid Edmund and bishop, not being able, nor daring to pass over in silence, nor wink at the aforesaid heinous act, lest by our negligence and slackness, their blood might be required at our hands at the most terrible Day of Judgment, and desiring to be certified and informed whether the premises declared to us are true, and lest any scabbed sheep lurking among the simple flock of our Lord, infect them with pestiferous heresy —

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“To you, therefore, we straitly charge and command that you cite, or cause to be cited, all and singular persons, having or knowing the truth of the premises, by setting up this citation on the church-door of St. Martin’s-in-the-Fields, being within our diocese of London, and also upon the cathedral church-door of St. Paul’s in London, leaving the copy of it there; or by other means or ways, the best you can, that this citation and monition may come to their knowledge.

“All and singular of whom, by the tenor of these presents, we cite and admonish that they appear, and every one of them appear before us, our vicar-general, or commissary, whatever he is in that behalf, in our cathedral church of St. Paul’s in London, in the consistory place, on Thursday, the 2nd of May next ensuing, between the hours of nine and ten o’clock in the forenoon of the same day, to bear witness of the truth in this behalf, and to depose and declare faithfully the truth that they know or have heard of the premises; and moreover, to do and receive what law and reason require.

“Further, we commit to you, as before, and straitly enjoining you, command that you will generally cite the wife of the said Tooly, who is dead, and his children, and his kindred by father and mother, his friends and his familiars specially, and all other and every of them, if there are any who desire to defend and purge the remembrance of the person in the premises, that you admonish them in the aforesaid manner and form; whom we likewise, by the tenor of these presents, in such a way cite and admonish that they all appear, and that every one of them appear before us (under pain to be compelled to keep silence forever hereafter in this behalf), or before our vicar-general in spiritual matters, or such our commissary, at the day, hour, and place aforesaid, to defend the good name and remembrance of him that is dead, and to say, allege, and propose in due form of law, a reasonable cause if they have or can tell of any, why the said John Tooly, who is dead, should not be determined and declared as such a heretic and excommunicate person, and his remembrance condemned, in the detesting and condemning of so heinous a deed and crime, and his body or carcass to lack church burial, like a rotten member cut off from the church, and the same to be committed to the secular arm and power, and they be compelled hereafter to forever hold their peace.

“And furthermore, to do, receive, and suffer, as law and reason have it, and as the quality of such a matter and the nature of themselves constrain and require; and moreover that you cite and admonish, in the manner aforesaid, all and every one of the receivers, abettors, and creditors of the said John Tooly who is dead, especially if any of them incline and give consent to those wicked and detestable affirmations, propositions, and rehearsals aforesaid, so that on this side, the said Thursday, they return and submit themselves to us, and to the lap of the mother holy church. If they do this thing, trusting upon the mercy of Almighty God, we promise that we will receive them, being penitent for their errors and faults, with thanks, benignity, mercy, and favor, to the comfort and health of their own souls, and in that behalf save their persons to the uttermost of our power. Otherwise, if they will not provide thus to come of their own accord, but to abide the ordinary process of the law, let those men know that we will punish this offense more severely, according to the uttermost of the law, and as far as the law will bear it. And what you do in the premises, let him among you, who will execute this present mandate of ours, certify to us, or to our vicar-general in spiritual matters, either by his own person, or by his letters patents, together with these authentically sealed.

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“Dated at London, under our seal, the last day of April 1555, and the eleventh year of our translation.”

When the time of this citation had expired, and Tooly being cited did not appear, next in order of time came the suspension (whereas one suspension would have been enough for him), and after that, the excommunication — that is, that no man should eat and drink with him; or if anyone met him by the way, he should not bid him good-morrow; and besides that, he should be excluded from the communion of the church. These things being prepared in such a manner as they used to do in such cases, at length someone stood out for the purpose, who gave his answer to certain articles, recited openly in judgment, and that was on behalf of the dead man. But when the poor dead man could neither speak for himself, nor sufficiently answer them to avoid the name of a heretic, then he was condemned as a heretic, and so he was committed to the secular power, namely, to the sheriffs of London, who went about to execute their charge with diligence. Therefore, taking the man, being previously suspended, excommunicated, condemned as a heretic, and besides that, *dead*, they laid him on the fire to be burned as a continual remembrance of it. This was done on the 4th of June.

### ***The History and Martyrdom of Thomas Hawkes.***

Immediately after the history of Doctor Taylor, mention was made of six men who were brought before Bishop Bonner on the 8th of February. The names of these martyrs were Thomas Tomkins, William Hunter, Stephen Knight, William Pygot, John Lawrence. In their number was Thomas Hawkes, who was also condemned with them on the 9th of February.

As to his education and order of life, he was born of honest parents, in Essex; in calling and profession, a courtier — brought up daintily from his childhood, and like a gentleman. He was handsome, tall of stature, and endued with excellent qualities. But his gentle behavior toward others, and especially his fervent study and singular love for true religion and godliness, surmounted all the rest. In these, as God singularly adorned him, even so, being such a valiant martyr of God, he may seem to ennoble the whole company of other holy martyrs.

This Hawkes, following the fashion of the court, as he grew in years, he entered into the service of the lord of Oxford. There he remained for some time, being well-esteemed there and loved by all the household, so long as Edward VI lived. But the king dying, all things began to go backward — religion to decay, godliness not only to wax cold, but also to be in danger everywhere, and chiefly in the houses of good men. Hawkes disliked this state of things. Rather than change the profession of true godliness which he had made, thought to change the place. And so, forsaking the nobleman's house, he departed to his own home, where he might more freely give himself to God, and use his own conscience.

Shortly after this, Hawkes had a son born to him, whose baptism he deferred to the third week, because he would not allow him to be baptized in the papistical manner. So his adversaries, laying hands on him, brought him to the earl of Oxford, as being not sound in religion, in that he seemed to despise the sacraments of the church.

The earl, either intending not to trouble himself in such matters, or else seeing himself not able to argue with him in matters of religion, sent him up to London with a messenger and letters. And so he put Hawkes in the hands of Bonner, bishop of London.

Then the bishop began to enter into communication with Thomas Hawkes, first asking what would move him to leave his child unchristened so long?

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Hawkes. — “Because we are bound to do nothing contrary to the word of God.”

Bonner. — “Why, baptism is commanded by the word of God.?”

Hawkes. — “I do not deny His institution in this.”

Bonner. — “What do you deny then?”

Hawkes. — “I deny all things invented and devised by man.”

Bonner. — “What things are those that are devised by man, that you are so offended with?”

Hawkes. — “Your oil, cream, salt, spittle, candle, and conjuring of water,” etc.

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Bonner. — “Will you deny that which the whole world and your father have been contented with?”

Hawkes. — “What my father and the whole world have done, I have nothing to do with; but what God has commanded me to do, to that I will stand.”

Bonner. — “Would not you be contented that your child should be christened according to the book that was set out by King Edward?”

Hawkes. — “Yes, with a good will; it is a thing that I desire.”

Bonner. — “I thought so; you would have the same thing. The principle is in the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and in the necessity it may serve.”

Hawkes. — “Christ used it without any such necessity; and yet we lack the most important point.”

Bonner. — “What is that?”

Hawkes. — “‘Go teach all nations, baptizing them,’ etc.”

Bonner. — “You say that because I am no preacher.”

Hawkes. — “I quote the text; I do not mean you.”

Bonner. — “Will you be content to wait here, and your child be baptized?”

Hawkes. — “If I would have done so, I need not have come to you.”

Bonner. — “You seem to be a stout young man; you will not give your head for the washing; you will stand in the defense of it for the honor of your country. Do you think that the queen and I cannot command it to be done in spite of your teeth?”

Hawkes. — “What the queen and you can do I will not say, but you will never get my consent any the sooner.”

Bonner. — “Well, you are a stubborn young man; I perceive I must work another way with you.”

Hawkes. — “You are in the hands of God, and so am I.”

Bonner. — “Whatever you think, I will not have you speak such words to me.”

*A Dialogue between Harpsfield and Thomas Hawkes.*

Then the bishop brought Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, to talk with him.

Harpsfield. — “Christ used ceremonies. Did he not take clay from the ground, and took spittle, and made the blind man to see?”

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Hawkes. — “I know that well; but Christ never used it in baptism. If you need to have it, put it to the use that Christ put it to.”

Harpsfield. — “Suppose your child dies unchristened; how heavy a case do you stand in?”

Hawkes. — “I admit that if it does, what then?”

Harpsfield. — “Why, then you are damned, and your child too.”

Hawkes. — “Judge no further than you may by the Scriptures.”

Harpsfield. — “Do you not know that your child is born in original sin?”

Hawkes. — “Yes, that I do.”

Harpsfield. — “How is original sin washed away?”

Hawkes. — “By true faith and belief in Christ Jesus.”

Harpsfield. — “How can your child, being an infant, believe?”

Hawkes. — “The deliverance of it from sin stands in the faith of his parents.”

Harpsfield. — “How can you prove that?”

Hawkes. — “By St. Paul; in 1Cor 7.14, where he says, ‘For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband: otherwise your children would be unclean; but now they are holy.’ “

Harpsfield. — “I will prove that those whom you put your trust in are against you in this opinion.”

Hawkes. — “Who are those?”

Harpsfield. — “Your great learned men in Oxford.”

Hawkes. — “If they do it by the Scriptures, I will believe them.”

Bonner. — “Recant, recant; do you not know that Christ said, ‘Unless you are baptized you cannot be saved?’ “

Hawkes. — “Does Christianity stand in outward ceremonies or not?”

Bonner. — “Partly it does. What do you say to that?”

Hawkes. — “I say as St. Peter says, ‘It is not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God.’” <sup>1Pet 3.21</sup>

Harpsfield. — “Beware of pride, brother, beware of pride.”

Hawkes. — “It is written, ‘Pride does not serve for men, nor yet for the sons of men.’” <sup>556</sup>

Bonner. — “Let us make an end here. What do you say to the mass, sirrah?”

Hawkes. — “I say it is detestable, abominable, and profitable for nothing.”

Bonner. — “What, nothing profitable in it! What do you say to the epistle and gospel?”

Hawkes. — “It is good, if it be used as Christ left it to be used.”

Bonner. — “Well, I am glad that you somewhat recant: recant all, recant all.”

Hawkes. — “I have recanted nothing, nor will I.”

Bonner. — “What do you say to the confessional?”

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<sup>556</sup> He may be quoting one of the church fathers, or perhaps Aquinas.



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Hawkes. — “I say it is abominable and detestable, yes, and a blasphemy against God and his son Christ, to call upon any, to trust to any, or to pray to any, except to Christ Jesus.”

Bonner. — “We do not bid you to trust to any, but to call upon them; and we bid you to pray to them. Do you not know when you come into the court you cannot speak with the king and the queen, unless you call to some of the privy chamber who are next to the king and queen?”

Hawkes. — “Those who choose may receive your doctrine. You teach me that I should not believe nor trust in any, but to call on them; and St. Paul says, ‘How will they call upon him in whom they have not believed?’” *Rom 10.14*

Bonner. — “Will you have nobody to pray for you when you are dead?”

Hawkes. — “No, surely, unless you can prove it by the Scriptures; a man’s prayers, once you are dead, profit nothing at all.”

Bonner. — “Will you grant the prayer of the righteous man to prevail?”

Hawkes. — “I grant it does for the living, but not for the dead.”

Bonner. — “Not for the dead?”

Hawkes. — “No; for David says, ‘None of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him: for the redemption of their souls is precious, and it will cease forever.’” *Psa 49.7* Also Ezekiel says, “Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, says the Lord God.” *Eze 14.14*

Harpsfield. — “What books do you have?”

Hawkes. — “The New Testament, Solomon’s Books, and the Psalter.”

Harpsfield. — “Will you read any other books?”

Hawkes. — “Yes, if you will give me such books as I request.”

Harpsfield. — “What books do you request?”

Hawkes. — “Latimer’s books, my Lord of Canterbury’s book, Bradford’s Sermons, Ridley’s books.”

Bonner. — “Away, away! He will have no books but those which maintain his heresies.”

The next day an old bishop attended, who had a pearl in his eye. He brought with him for my lord a dish of apples and a bottle of wine; for he had lost his living, because he had a wife. Then the bishop called me back into the orchard, and said to the old bishop, “This young man has a child, and will not have it christened.”

Hawkes. — “I do not deny baptism.”

Bonner (speaking in much anger). — “You are a fool; you cannot tell what you would have.”

Hawkes. — “A bishop must be blameless or faultless, sober, discreet, not quarrelsome, nor given to anger.” *Tit 1.7*

Bonner. — “You judge me to be angry; no, by my faith I am not. What do you say to holy water?”

Hawkes. — “I say to it as to the rest, and to all that are of his making who made them.”

Bonner. — “The Scriptures allow it.”

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Hawkes. — “Where do you prove that?”

Bonner. — “In the book of Kings, where Elisha threw salt into the water.”

Hawkes. — “You say the truth; the children of the prophets came to Elisha, saying, ‘The dwelling of the city is pleasant, but the waters are corrupted.’ This was the cause that Elisha threw salt into the water, and it became sweet and good; and so when our waters be corrupted, if you can, by putting in of salt, make them sweet, clear, and wholesome, we will the better believe your ceremonies.” <sup>2Kng 2.19-21</sup>

Bonner. — “We believe no doctrine but that which is wrought by miracles.”

Hawkes. — “No, truly, for Christ says, ‘And these signs shall follow those who believe; in my name will they cast out devils; they will speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink anything deadly, it will not hurt them.’” <sup>Mar 16.17-18</sup>

Bonner. — “With what new tongues do you speak?”

Hawkes. — “Truly, before I came to the knowledge of God’s word, I was a foul blasphemer and filthy talker. But since I came to the knowledge of it, I have lauded God, praised God, and given thanks to God, even with the same tongue — and is this not a new tongue?”

Bonner. — “How do you cast out devils?”

Hawkes. — “Christ cast them out by his word, and he has left the same word, that whoever credits and believes it, will cast out devils.”

Bonner. — “Did you ever drink any deadly poison?”

Hawkes. — “Yes, truly, that I have done. For I have drunk of the pestilent traditions and ceremonies of the Bishop of Rome.”

Bonner. — “Now you show yourself to be a right heretic.”

Hawkes. — “I pray you, what is heretic?”

Bonner. — “All things that are contrary to God’s word.”

Hawkes. — “If I stand in anything contrary to that word, then I am worthy to be called such.”

Bonner. — “You are one, and you shall be burned if you stand and continue in this opinion. Yes, yes, there is a brotherhood of you, but I will break it, I warrant you.”

Hawkes. — “Where do you prove that Christ or his apostles killed any man for his faith?”

Bonner. — “Did not St. Paul excommunicate?”

Hawkes. — “Yes, my lord; but there is a great difference between excommunicating and burning.”

Bonner. — “Have you not read of the man and the woman in the Acts of the Apostles, whom Peter destroyed?”

Hawkes. — “Yes, truly, I have read of one Ananias, and Sapphira his wife, who were destroyed for lying against the Holy Spirit.”

The next day Fecknam came to converse with him, and asked “Are you the one who will have no ceremonies?”

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Hawkes. — “What do you mean by that?”

Fecknam. — “You will not have your child christened, unless in English, and you will have no ceremonies.”

Hawkes. — “Whatever the Scripture commands to be done I do not refuse.”

Fecknam. — “Ceremonies are to be used by the Scriptures.”

Hawkes. — “Which are those?”

Fecknam. — “What do you say of St. Paul’s breeches?”

Hawkes. — “I have read no such thing. “

Fecknam. — “Have you not read in the Acts of the Apostles, how things were brought from St. Paul’s body, and they received health thereby?”

Hawkes. — “I have read in the nineteenth of the Acts, how handkerchiefs or aprons were brought from St. Paul’s body. Is that what you mean?” <sup>Act 19.12</sup>

Fecknam. — “Yes, it is the same. What do you say to those ceremonies?”

Hawkes. — “I say nothing to the ceremonies. For the text says that God so worked by the hands of St. Paul, that handkerchiefs or aprons were brought from him, etc. So that it seems by the text, that it was God who wrought, and not the ceremonies.”

Fecknam. — “What do you say to the woman who came behind Christ, and touched the hem of his vesture? Did her disease not depart from her by that ceremony?”

Hawkes. — “No, truly: for Christ turned around and said to St. Peter, ‘Who touched me?’ And St. Peter said, ‘Master, the multitude surround you, and press you, and you ask, Who touched me? And Jesus said, Somebody has touched me: for I perceive that virtue (power) has gone out from me.’ I pray you, whether it was the virtue that healed this woman, or his vesture?”

Fecknam. — “Both.”

Hawkes. — “Then is Christ not true? For he said, ‘Go your way, your *faith* has made you whole.’” <sup>Luk 8.43-48</sup>

Bonner. — “Away, away to the sacrament, for these are but mere trifles compared to that.”

Fecknam. — “What do you say, sirrah? Christ took bread and broke it, and said, ‘Take, eat, this is my body.’”

Hawkes. — “I grant Christ said so.”

Fecknam. — “And is it not so?”

Hawkes. — “No, truly, I do not understand it so.”

Fecknam. — “Why, then is Christ a liar?”

Hawkes. — “I think you will prove him so.”

Fecknam. — “Will I? Why I have spoken the words that Christ spoke.”

Hawkes. — “Is every word to be understood as Christ spoke it? Christ said, I am a door, a vine, I am a king, a way, etc.”

Fecknam. — “Christ spoke these words in parables.”

Hawkes. — “And why does he speak this in parables when he said, I am a door, a vine, a king, a way, etc., more than when he said, ‘This is my body?’ For in the same phrase of

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speech, as he says, 'This is my body,' so he says, I am a door, a vine, a king, a Way; He does not say, I am *like* a door, *like* a vine, etc."

The next day Doctor Chedsey came to Hawkes, and he, as well as Bonner, entered into the following argument with him.

Bonner. — "He thinks that there is no church except in England and in Germany."

Hawkes. — "And you think that there is no church, but the church of Rome."

Chedsey. — "What do you say to the church of Rome?"

Hawkes. — "I say it is a church of vicious cardinals, priests, monks, and friars, which I will never credit nor believe."

Chedsey. — "What do you say to the bishop of Rome?"

Hawkes. — "From him and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us."

Chedsey. — "My, so may we say from King Henry VIII and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us."

Hawkes. — "Where were you, while he lived, that you would not say so?"

Chedsey. — "I was not far."

Hawkes. — "Where were you in his son's days?"

Chedsey. — "In prison."

Bonner. — "He will by no means come within my chapel, nor hear mass. For he cannot abide either the mass, or the sacrament of the altar, nor will he have any service but in English.\*"

Chedsey. — "Christ never spoke in English."

Hawkes. — "Nor did he ever speak any Latin, but always in such a tongue as the people might be edified by him. St. Paul says that 'tongues profit us nothing.' He makes a similitude between the pipe and the harp; and unless it is understood what the trumpet means, who can prepare for the battle? <sup>1COR 1:4.6-8</sup> So if I hear the tongue which I do not understand, what profit do I have by it? No more than he has by the trumpet, who does not know what it means."

Bonner. — "The order was taken in the catholic church that the Latin tongue should serve throughout the world; that they should all pray generally together in one tongue, to avoid all contention and strife, and to have one universal order throughout the world."

Hawkes. — "Your councils of Rome settled this."

Bonner. — "Do you understand what the general councils of Rome meant?"

Hawkes. — "Indeed; all your general councils of Rome are in Latin. I am an Englishman; therefore I have nothing to do with them."

[765] A.D. 1555.

Chedsey. — "You are blameworthy, being an unlearned man, to reprove all the councils throughout the world."

Hawkes. — "I do not reprove them, but St. Paul rebukes them, saying, 'If any man preaches any other gospel to you than what you have received, let him be accursed.'" <sup>GAL 1.8</sup>

Chedsey. — "Has any man preached any other doctrine to you?"

Hawkes. — "Yes, I have been taught another gospel since I came into this house."

Chedsey. — “What gospel have you been taught?”

Hawkes. — “Praying to saints, and to our Lady, and to trust in the mass, holy bread, holy water, and in idols.”

Chedsey. — “Whoever teaches you so, does not teach you amiss.”

Hawkes. — “Cursed be the one who teaches me so: for I will not trust him nor believe him.”

Bonner. — “You speak of idols, and you do not know what they mean.”

Hawkes. — “God has taught us what they are: for whatever is made, graven, or devised by man’s hand, contrary to God’s word, the same is an idol. What do you say to that?”

Chedsey. — “What are those that you are so offended with?”

Hawkes. — “The cross of wood, silver, copper, or gold, etc.”

Bonner. — “What say you to that?”

Hawkes. — “I say it is an idol. What do you say to it?”

Bonner. — “I say every idol is an image; but every image is not an idol.”

Hawkes. — “I ask, what difference is there between an idol and image?”

Bonner. — “If it is a false god, and an image made of him, that is an idol; but if an image is made of God Himself, it is no idol, but an image, because he is a true God.”

Hawkes. — “Lay your image of your true God and of your false god together, and you will see the difference. Do your images have feet and do not go, eyes and do not see, ears and do not hear, hands and do not feel, mouths and do not speak? Even so have your idols.”

Chedsey. — “‘God forbid,’ says St. Paul, ‘that I should glory, except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.’” <sup>Gal 6.14</sup>

Hawkes. — “Do you understand St. Paul so?”

Bonner. — “Where can we have a godlier remembrance when we ride by the way, than to see the cross?”

Hawkes. — “If the cross were such a profit to us, why did Christ’s disciples not take it up and set it on a pole, and carry it in procession with a salutation?”

Chedsey. — “It *was* taken up.”

Hawkes. — “Who took it up? Helen, as you say.<sup>557</sup> For she sent a piece of it to a monastery, where I was with the visitors when that house was suppressed, and the piece of the holy cross (which the monks held in such estimation, and which had robbed many a soul, committing idolatry to it) was called for. And when it was proved that it was but a piece of a lath covered over with copper, double gilded as if it had been clean gold.”

Chedsey. — “It is a pity that you should live, or any who are like you.”

Hawkes. — “In this case, I do not desire to live, but rather to die.”

Chedsey. — “You die boldly, because you would glory in your death.”

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<sup>557</sup> Tradition says that Helena, the mother of Emperor Constantine, sent pieces of the True Cross to Rome after her pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the early 4th century.

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After all these and other private conferences, persuasions, and long debates with Hawkes in the bishop's house, the bishop seeing no hope to win him over, was fully set to proceed openly against him in the ordinary course of his popish law.

After the bill of confession was read, and he adhered to it, the bishop assigned him, with five others, to appear before him again the 9th of February, to give a final answer. This day having come, and the prisoners severally called before the bishop, at the appearing of Thomas Hawkes, the bishop desired him to remember what was said to him yesterday — and now, to advise with himself what he would answer while he still had time; for he stood upon life and death. “Well,” said Hawkes again, “I will willingly receive whatever will be put upon me.” Then certain other interrogatories or articles were objected to him. Being exhorted by the bishop with many fair words, to return to the bosom of the mother church, he said, “No, my lord. That I will not do. For if I had a hundred bodies, I would suffer them all to be torn in pieces, rather than abjure or recant.” Whereupon Bonner at last read the sentence of death upon him, and he was condemned on the 9th of February. His execution was postponed, and he remained in prison till the 10th of June.

A little before his death, some of his familiar acquaintances and friends seemed to be not a little confirmed both by the example of his constancy, and by his talk. Yet being frightened with the sharpness of the punishment, they desired that in the midst of the flame he would show them some token, if he could, by which they might be more certain whether the pain of such burning was so great that a man might not keep his mind quiet and patient in it. This he promised them to do. And so it was agreed secretly between them, that if the rage of the pain was tolerable and might be suffered, then he should lift up his hands above his head toward heaven, before he gave up the ghost.

Not long after, when the hour had come, Hawkes was led away to the place appointed for the slaughter, by the lord Rich and his assistants. At the stake, Hawkes mildly and patiently addressed himself to the fire, having a chain cast about his middle amid a great multitude of people assembled. After he had spoken many things to them, especially to the lord Rich, reasoning with him about the innocent blood of saints, at length, after he had made fervent prayers and poured out his soul to God, the fire was set to him.

When he had continued a long while in the fire, and when his speech was taken away by the violence of the flame, his skin also drawn together, and his fingers consumed, so that all thought certainly he had been gone, suddenly and contrary to all expectation, this blessed servant of God, being mindful of his promise made before, reached up his burning hands over his head to the living God, and with great rejoicing, as it seemed, struck or clapped them three times together. At the sight of this, there followed such applause and outcry from the people, and especially from those who understood the matter, that the same has not commonly been heard. And so the blessed martyr of Christ, straightway sinking down into the fire, gave up his spirit, June 10th A.D. 1555.

*A Letter to the Congregation,  
by Thomas Hawkes.*

“Grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, always be with you all, my dear brethren and sisters in the Lord Jesus Christ, forever; and his Holy Spirit conduct and lead you in all your doings, that you may always direct your deeds according to his holy word; that when he appears to reward every man according to his works, you may as obedient children be found watching, ready to enter into his everlasting kingdom, with your lamps burning; and when the Bridegroom shows himself, you need not be ashamed of this life which God has lent you, which is but transitory, vain, and like a vapor, that for a season

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appears and vanishes away, so soon pass away all our terrestrial honor, glory, and felicity. 'All flesh is grass (says the prophet), and all its goodness is like the flower of the field. The grass withers, the flower fades; because the spirit of the Lord blows upon it. Surely the people are grass.' Isaiah 40.6, 7. For in this transitory and dangerous wilderness, we are like pilgrims and strangers following the footsteps of Moses, among many unspeakable dangers, beholding nothing with our outward man except all vain vanities and vexation of mind — subject to hunger, cold, nakedness, bonds, sickness, loss, labors, banishment, in danger of that dreadful dragon and his sinful seed, to be devoured, tempted, and tormented;

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“who does not cease to lay a bait behind every bush, when we walk awry, to have his pleasure upon us — casting abroad his apples in all places, times, and seasons, to see if Adam will be allured and enticed to leave the living God and his most holy commandments, whereby he is assured of everlasting life — promising the world at will, to all who will fall down in all ages, and for a bowl of stew to sell and set at naught the everlasting kingdom of heaven. So frail is flesh and blood. 'And especially Israel is most ready to walk awry, when he is filled with all manner of riches,' as the prophet says.

“Therefore I am bold in bonds, as entirely desiring your everlasting health and felicity, to warn you and most heartily desire you to watch and pray. For our state is dangerous, and it requires continual prayer. For the most plentiful grass does not grow on the high mountains; nor are the highest trees farthest from danger, but they are seldom sure, and always shaken by every wind that blows. Such a deceitful thing, says our Savior, is honor and riches, that without grace it chokes the good seed sown in his creatures, and so blinds their seeing, that they go groping at noon-day in darkness. It makes a man think himself to be something, who is nothing at all. For though, for our honor, we esteem ourselves and stand in our own light, when we stand before the living God, there will be no respect of persons. For riches do not help in the day of vengeance, nor can we make the Lord partial for money. But as we have ministered to the saints, so we will receive the reward, which I am fully persuaded and assured will be plenteously poured upon all, for the great goodness shown to the servants of the living God. And I most heartily beseech Almighty God to pour forth a plenteous reward upon you for the same, and that he will assist you with his Holy Spirit in all your doings, that you may grow, as you have begun, to such a perfection that it may be to God's honor, your own salvation, and the strengthening of the weak members of Christ. For though the world rages, and blasphemes the elect of God, you know that it did so to Christ, to his apostles, and to all who were in the primitive church, and so he will do unto the world's end.

“Therefore believe in the light while you have it, lest it be taken away from you. If you neglect the great mercy of God that has been opened to you, and your hearts consent that it is the very and only truth pronounced by God's only Son Jesus Christ, by the good will of our heavenly Father. Therefore I say in the bowels of my Lord Jesus Christ, stick fast to it. Never let it depart out of your hearts and conversation, so that you with us and we with you at the great day, being one flock, as we have one Shepherd, may rise to life immortal, through Jesus Christ our only Savior. Amen.

“Yours, in him that lives for ever,  
“THOMAS HAWKES.”

### ***The History and Martyrdom of Thomas Watts.***

Thomas Watts, of Billericay, in Essex, was a linen draper. Being in continual fear of seizure, he sold his cloth in his shop, disposed his things to his wife and children, and gave away much to the poor.

On the 26th of April, he was apprehended and brought before the lord Rich and other commissioners. There, being accused of not coming to church, he was examined before the lord Rich and the others.

At the sessions at Chelmsford, the lord Rich said to him, "You are brought here, because of disobedience to the laws of the queen. You will not come to the church, you will not hear mass, etc., contrary to the king's and queen's proceedings."

Watts answered, "My lord, if I have offended a law, I am subject here to the law." Then Anthony Brown, justice, said to him, "I pray you tell me, who has been your schoolmaster to teach you thus; or where did you first learn this religion?" Watts answered, "Even from you, sir. You taught it to me, and none more than you. For in King Edward's days, in open session, you spoke against this religion now in fashion; no preacher could say more. You then said the mass was abominable, and all their trumpery besides, earnestly exhorting that none should believe in them, and that our belief should be only in Christ. And you said then that whoever were to bring in any foreign power to rule here, it would be treason, and not to be allowed." Then Brown said to my lord Rich, "He belies me, my lord. What a knave is this? He will soon belie me behind my back, when he does it before my face." My lord Rich said, "I dare say he does."

In conclusion, the commissioners being weary of him, sent him to the bishop of London.

*Articles objected against Thomas Waits, of Billericay,  
in the county of Essex, by Bishop Bonner.*

"1. That the said Thomas Watts was of Billericay, and so of the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

"2. Also, that he did not believe in the sacraments of the holy and catholic church, as the catholic church of Rome and all other churches, members of the same, have ever believed up to now, and which is taught by all good and faithful people, nor has allowed the sacraments, rites, usages, or ceremonies of the said church, but has despised the same.

"3. Also, that he believes, and has also taught others, that the substance of material bread and wine remain in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration, and that the said material bread and wine are the signs and tokens of Christ's body hanged upon the cross, and of his blood shed there, and that in the said sacrament there is only a memory or remembrance of Christ's body and blood, and nothing else.

"4. Also, that he believes and precisely affirms that the very true presence of Christ's body and blood in substance, is not in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven, and nowhere else.

"5. Also, that he believes, affirms, and says, that the mass now used in the church of Rome, here in England and other places, is full of idolatry, abomination, and wickedness, and that Christ never instituted it, nor ordained it, nor yet allowed that it is a good and laudable thing to be used in his church.

"6. Also, that he believes and affirms that auricular confession to the priest is not necessary, but superfluous: and that it is enough for a man only to believe, and to confess himself to God, without any priest or minister at any time, though he may have the priest to confess to.

"7. Also, that he believes that Luther, Wycliffe, Barnes, and all others who have held against the sacrament of the altar, and suffered death by fire or otherwise for the maintenance of



the said opinion, were good men and faithful servants and martyrs of Christ in so believing and dying.

“8. Also, that he has and does believe, that to fast, pray, or to do alms-deeds, is an utterly unprofitable thing; for if a man will be saved, he will be saved without doing them; and if he will be damned, they will not help him or do him any good at all.

“9. Also, that the said Watts recently coming into open court at the sessions before the lord Rich, Sir Henry Tyrel, knight, Anthony Brown, Esquire, and others, and being examined then and there, openly confessed that he had refused to come to the church, and to hear there the divine service, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, according to the order of the church — because, just as the service of the church set out in the days of the late King Edward VI was said and alleged to be abominable, heretical, schismatical, and all naughty, so Thomas Watts then and there said openly before the said commissioners, that all that is now used and done in the church, is abominable, heretical, schismatical, and altogether naughty. And he also then uttered before the said commissioners other erroneous and arrogant words, to the hurt of his soul, and to the evil example of the people there present.

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“10. Also, that the said Thomas, because of the premises, was and is to be taken, had, reputed, and judged as a manifest and open heretic, and for the same, by the order of ecclesiastical laws, he is to be declared accursed; and being obstinate and incorrigible, he is to be delivered to the secular power, there to be punished as a heretic.

“11. Also, that over and besides all these offenses and trespasses aforesaid, he had also added this trespass: that is, that he had believed and deliberately said that the church of Rome in her rites, ceremonies, sacraments constitutions, and traditions, is the synagogue of Satan; and therefore that he had consented and agreed in opinion and belief with one John Tooly, recently hanged at Charing Cross, who, at the time of his execution, desired the people to pray to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, with all his enormities; as if to say that his authority and doings were tyranny, and he had all enormities and iniquities in them.

“12. Also, that the premises and every part of them are true, notoriously, manifestly, and openly spoken of and talked about among the honest and credible persons in great multitude; and that within the aforesaid Billericay and other places thereabout, being of the diocese of London, there is a common-voice and notoriety about it.”

*The answer of Thomas Waffs to the aforesaid Articles.*

To the first, he confessed the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the second article he answered that he believes in all the sacraments according to Christ's institution, and the catholic church; but not according to the bishop of Rome's church. And he further said that he does not believe now as he had done in times past; for in times past he believed as the church then believed, but now he does not so believe. For the church of Rome had deceived us, and therefore he said he did not believe as the church of Rome believes, but as Christ has taught him. And further, he said that he was so taught to believe by the preaching of one Master Alvey, and others, whose names he did not remember; this Alvey, he said, preached the word of God truly and sincerely.

To the third he answered, that he has and does believe, that Christ's body is in heaven, and nowhere else: and further, that he will never believe that Christ's body is in the sacrament.

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To the fourth he answered, confessing and firmly believing the same to be true.

To the fifth, that he believed that the mass is abominable, and that he will not go one jot from his belief.

To the sixth, that he neither did, nor yet still believes, that the priest can absolve him of his sins: however, he does not deny that it is good to ask counsel at the priest's mouth.

To the seventh he said, that he did not know what the opinions of the said persons named in the said article were; and in case the said persons believed that the body and blood of Christ were really and in very deed in the sacrament of the altar, then they were not good men. But in case they did believe that the body and blood of Christ were not in the sacrament of the altar really and truly, then he believed that they were good Christian men.

To the eighth, that he had not spoken as is contained in this article, but said that he has and does believe that fasting, prayers, and alms-deeds are works of a lively faith.

To the ninth he confessed, that he uttered and spoke as is contained in this article, and further he desires of God that he might die in that faith and belief in which he now is.

To the tenth he answered and said, that he would submit himself in this to the order of the law: and he further said, that he trusted that with God he would be blessed, even though with men he would be accursed.

To the eleventh he said, that he believed that the bishop of Rome is a mortal enemy to Christ and his church. And as for Tooly he said, he never saw or knew him. But in case the said Tooly wished and prayed as is contained in the article, than he likewise wished and consented with him in that.

To the twelfth he answered, that all of which he confessed to be true before, is also true: and all that he has denied to be true, he denies again to be true, and he believes the same to be according to such things as he has confessed.

These articles thus propounded and answered, the bishop at another appearance of Watts in the consistory began with him in this way: "You know what I said to you today. The time has now come. Weigh and consider with yourself, that you are but a man, and though you willfully cast away your body, yet do not cast away your soul, but while you have time, return and confess the truth."

Watts answered, "I am weary of living in such idolatry as you would have me live in."

The bishop after many persuasions to recant, desired Watts to depart, and to come back on Saturday, when the bishop was absent. Doctor Nicholas Harpsfield, his deputy, earnestly exhorted Watts to renounce his opinions. In the end, he answered,

"Well, you have a law to condemn me, and I submit myself to the law; but not to the laws of the church, as you call it."

On the 10th of May, the bishop privately sent for Watts into his chamber, and there with many fair promises he tested him, whether he would revoke his "errors," as he termed them. But Watts answered, "I will not believe your church, nor the Romish church, and therefore you but labor in vain with me." Hereupon he was again dismissed until Friday the 17th, and then he was commanded to appear in the consistory.

Thus being tossed to and fro from day to day, and from hour to hour, he was at last, on the 15th of May, brought into the consistory. And there, being desired to renounce his profession, he gave this final answer, "God keep me from the doctrine that you would have

me come to, which you have now declared. And I beseech God that I may persevere in that which I have done. For I will stand to my answers.”

The bishop perceiving his fair flattering promises to be useless, proceeded to pass sentence of condemnation. This being ended, Watts was delivered to the sheriffs of London, and sent by them to Newgate, where he remained until the 9th of June, or (as some record) to the 22nd of May. At that time he was carried to Chelmsford, and there he was brought to an inn in Chelmsford, where, as they were eating meat with Hawkes and the rest who came down to be burned, they prayed together, both before and after their meal.

Then Watts went and prayed privately. Afterward he came to his wife and six children, and said, “Wife, and my good children, I must now depart from you. Therefore from here on I will know you no more; but as the Lord has given you unto me, so I give you back to the Lord, whom I charge you to obey and fear him. And beware that you not turn to this abominable papistry, against which I will soon, by God’s grace, give my blood. Do not let not the murdering of God’s saints cause you to relent, but take occasion thereby to be stronger in the Lord’s cause, and I have no doubt that he will be a merciful Father to you.” In this manner he spoke to them, and they to him. Two of them offered to be burnt with him. In the end he bade them farewell, and kissed them all, and was carried to the fire.

At the stake, after he had kissed it, he spoke thus to Lord Rich, “My lord, beware! beware! for you act against your own conscience in this. And unless you repent, the Lord will revenge it. For you are the cause of my death.”

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*An Account of the supposed pregnancy of Queen Mary.*

A persuasion had been in England, for half a year or more, that the queen was pregnant. This report was made by the queen’s physicians, and others around the court, so that several were punished for saying the contrary.

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Commandment was given that in all churches, supplication and prayer should be made for the queen’s good delivery. And also, provision was made in an act of parliament for the child.

In the beginning of June, about Whitsuntide,<sup>558</sup> the time was thought to be near that this young master would come into the world, and that midwives, rockers, nurses, with the cradle and all, should be prepared and in readiness. Suddenly, upon what cause or occasion it is uncertain, a rumor was spread in London of the prosperous deliverance of the queen, and the birth of the child. So that, the bells were wrung, bonfires and processions were made, not only in the city of London and in most other parts of the realm, but also at the town of Antwerp, guns were fired upon the river by the English ships, and the mariners were rewarded with a hundred pistolets (or Italian crowns) by the lady regent, who was queen of Hungary. Such was the great rejoicing and triumph for the queen’s delivery, and that a prince was born. Some preachers, such as the parson of St. Anne, within Aldersgate, after the procession and *Te Deum*, took it upon himself to describe the proportions of the child, how fair, how beautiful, and great a prince it was.

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<sup>558</sup> *Whitsunday: the 7th Sunday after Easter, commemorating Pentecost; Whitsuntide is the week following.*

In the end, all proved clean contrary, and the joy and expectations of men were much deceived. For the people were notified that the queen was then neither delivered, nor in hope of having any child.

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***Restraining Books against Popish Doctrine***

About this time, a certain English book was brought over into England, warning Englishmen of the Spaniards, and disclosing certain secretive practices for the recovery of abbey lands. This book was called ‘A Warning for England.’ More will be said about this when we come to the Spanish inquisition. So that by the occasion of this book, on the 13th of June, a certain proclamation was set forth in the name of the king and queen, repealing and disannulling all manner of books written or printed, which tended to the disparagement of the pope’s dignity. The proclamation follows here:

*A Proclamation of the King and Queen, for the restraining  
of all Books and Writings, tending against the  
doctrine of the Pope and his Church.*

“Whereas by the statute made in the second year of King Henry IV, concerning the repressing of heresy, there is ordained and provided a great punishment, not only for the authors, makers, and writers of books containing wicked doctrine, and erroneous and heretical opinions, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the holy church, and likewise for their favorers and supporters, but also for those who have or keep any such books or writings, and do not deliver them to the ordinary of the diocese or his ministers, within a certain time limited in the said statute, which act or statute being recently revived by authority of parliament, was also openly proclaimed with the intent that the subjects of the realm upon such proclamation should rather eschew the danger and penalty of the said statute; and yet nevertheless, in most parts of the realm, the same is neglected and little regarded. The king and queen our sovereign lord and lady, therefore straitly charge and command that no person or persons, of whatever estate, degree, or condition he or they may be, from now on presume to bring or convey, or cause to be brought or conveyed into this realm, any books, writings, or works hereafter mentioned — that is to say, any book or books, writing or works, made or set forth by, or in the name of, Martin Luther, or any book or books, writings or works, made and set forth by, or in the name of Oecolampadius, Zuinglius [Zwingli], John Calvin, Pomerane, John Alasco, Bullinger, Bucer, Melancthon, Bernardinus, Ochinus, Erasmus, Sarcerius, Peter Martyr, Hugh Latimer, Robert Barnes, otherwise called friar Barnes, John Bale, otherwise called friar Bale, Justus, Jonas John Hooper, Miles Coverdale, William Tyndale, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, William Turner, Theodore Basel, otherwise called Thomas Beacon, John Frith, Roy, and the book commonly called ‘Hall’s Chronicle,’ or any of them in the Latin tongue, Dutch tongue, English tongue, Italian tongue, or French tongue, or any other like book, paper, writing, or work that is made, printed, or set forth by any other person or persons, containing false doctrine contrary to and against the catholic faith, and the doctrine of the catholic church.

“And also that no person or persons presume to write, print, utter, sell, read, or keep or cause to be written, printed, uttered, or kept, any of the said books, papers, works, or writings, or any book or books written or printed in the Latin or English tongue, concerning the common service and administration set forth in English to be used in the churches of this realm, in the time of King Edward VI, commonly called the communion book, or book of common service, and ordering of ministers, otherwise called ‘The book set forth by authority of parliament, for common prayer and administration of the sacraments, or to be used in the mother tongue within the church of England,’ but shall within fifteen days next after the publication of this

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proclamation, bring or deliver, or cause the said books, writings, and works, and every one of them remaining in their custody and keeping, to be brought and delivered to the ordinary of the diocese where such books, works, or writings are or remain, or to his chancellor or commissaries, without fraud, color or deceit, at the said ordinaries' will and disposition, to be burnt, or otherwise to be used or ordered by the said ordinaries, as by the canons or spiritual laws it is in that case limited and appointed, upon pain that every offender, contrary to this proclamation, shall incur the danger and penalties contained in the said statute, and as they will avoid their majesties' high indignation and displeasure, and further answer at their uttermost perils.

“And their majesties, by this proclamation, give full power and authority to all bishops and ordinaries, and all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs of cities and towns corporate, and other head officers within this realm and its dominions, and expressly command and will the same and every one of them, that they and every one of them, within their several limits and jurisdictions, shall in the default and negligence of the said subjects, after the said fifteen days have expired, inquire and search out the said books, writings, and works. And for this purpose they shall enter into the house or houses, closets, and secret places of every person, of whatever degree, being negligent in this behalf, and suspected of keeping any such book, writing, or works, contrary to this proclamation; and that the said justices, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other head officers above specified, and every one of them within their said limits and jurisdictions finding any of the said subjects negligent and faulty in this behalf, shall commit every such offender to ward, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till the same offender or offenders have received such punishment as the said statute limits and appoints in this behalf.

“Given under our manual signatures, at our Honor of Hampton Court, the 13th of June, the first and second years of our reigns.

“Imprinted by JOHN CAWOOD, A.D. 1555.”

*Articles to be inquired into by the Wardens of every Company,  
touching Seditious Books, especially touching  
the Book called, 'A Warning for England.'*

“1. Whether they have seen any of the aforesaid books.

“2. Whether they have heard of any of the said books.

“3. Where they were, and in what place they have seen them.

“4. Whom they know to have recently come from beyond the sea, especially from Zurich, Strasburg, Frankfort, Wesel, Emden, and Disburgh.

“5. Whom they know or vehemently suspect to be common carriers of letters, or money, to there from here.

“6. That they bring to my lord mayor all such seditious books which they have, or will have found hereafter.”

In this proclamation you have heard, Christian reader, the profound and learned censure of the popish church of England, of whatever books they dislike and reject as heretical, schismatical, and pernicious.

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I do not now argue against this censure. Only that it may please the reader to allow me to set before him a balance in which to weigh the books condemned on one side, with the books

allowed on the other side, so that weighing the one with the other, we may better discern between them, as to which part weighs best with God's holy truth and true catholic church, against manifest idolatry and palpable abomination. And now, therefore, just as they have in this present proclamation given their condemnation of these books recited above, so I desire you to give your censure of the books allowed by them, and of the matter contained in them.

### **Our Lady's Matins and Our Lady's Psalter**

I begin first with the Primer in English, for children, following the use of Salisbury, printed with a privilege according to the king and queen's majesties' letters patent in the reign of Queen Mary. Let us survey some part of the Primer, beginning with the first lesson of our Lady, in these words:

“Holy Mary; mother most pure of virgins all;  
Mother and daughter of the king celestial.  
So comfort us in our desolation,  
That by your prayer and special mediation.  
We enjoy the reward of your heavenly reign,” etc.

Compare this with the Scriptures, good reader, and judge rightly whether this doctrine is tolerable in the church or not. It follows further in the second lesson:

“Holy Mary, of all godly the godliest,  
Pray for us, of all holy the holiest;  
That he may accept our prayers in good wise,  
Who was born of you, and reigns above the skies,” etc.

In the third lesson:

“Your Son beseech with humble intercession,  
To purge us clean of our transgression;  
That so being redeemed we may the place ascend,  
Where you dwell with him, world without end.”

The versicle: <sup>559</sup>

“Pray for the people, entreat for the clergy, make intercession for the devout woman-kind; let all feel your help, who worthily solemnize your memorial,” etc.

Another versicle:

“Holy mother of God, make your petition, that we may deserve Christ's remission,” etc.

And in the anthem after Benedictus, it thus follows:

“We beseech you of your pity to have us in remembrance, and to make means for us unto Christ, that being supported by your help, we may deserve to attain the kingdom of heaven.”

Furthermore in the collect afterward, it follows:

“And grant, that through the gracious intercession of the Virgin your mother, we may be delivered from this present heaviness, and have the fruition of eternal gladness.”

Moreover, it thus follows in the said primer, concerning the material cross:

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<sup>559</sup> *Versicle*: a short verse said or sung by a priest or minister, followed by a response from the congregation.

## Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

“O God, who have ascended your most holy cross, and have given light to the darkness of the world, grant by the virtue of your cross to illumine, visit, and comfort both our hearts and bodies,” etc.

Moreover, in the name of St. John Baptist, thus it prays:

“O Lord, defend us always through the continual succors of St. John the Baptist. For the frailer we are, the more need we have to be relieved with necessary prayers,” etc.

In these words note, good reader, not only the absurdity of doctrine, but also the folly of the reason. For where their doctrine pretends that St. John the Baptist should pray for us, here we pray to God for St. John the Baptist, that he will hear his prayer praying for us. It follows further in the name of Peter and Paul:

“Hear us mercifully, and grant that through the merits of them both, we may obtain the glory everlasting,” etc.

Of St. Andrew:

“So let him, O Lord, be a continual petitioner for us to you,” etc.

Of St. Lawrence, thus:

“St. Lawrence, the deacon, did work a great work.  
For by virtue of the holy cross he gave sight to the blind,” etc.

And how can this be true, when the holy cross was not yet found in the time of St. Lawrence? For Helen who first found the cross, as they say, came more than forty years after St. Lawrence!

To Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury:

“By the blood of Thomas, which he for you did spend,  
Make us, Christ, to climb, to where Thomas did ascend.”

Of St. Nicholas.

“O God, which have glorified blessed Nicholas, your holy bishop, with innumerable miracles, grant, we beseech you, that by his merits and prayers we may be delivered from the fire of hell.”

Of Mary Magdalen.

“Grant, we beseech you, through your mercy, to let her purchase for us the bliss everlasting.”

Another prayer to our Lady.

“The dolorous compassion of God’s sweet mother, Bring us to the bliss of Almighty God the Father,” etc.

Another prayer in the said primer, to our Lady.

“Establish us in peace and tranquility.  
And change the name of sinful Eva:  
Loose your prisoners from captivity.  
Unto the blind give sight again.  
Deliver us from malignity.  
To the end we may some grace attain.  
Show yourself to be a mother:  
So that he accepts our petition.  
Deliver us from bondage of sin,” etc.

Also,

“Holy mother succor the miserable, comfort the weak-spirited, give courage to the desperate, pray for the people, make intercession for the clergy, and be a mean for the devout woman-kind,” etc.

Another blasphemous prayer.

“O you meek mother, have mercy therefore  
On wretches, for whom you had these pains all,  
Seeing your Son that vine cluster pressed sore:  
And from the pestilence of death eternal,  
Keep us by voiding the fiend infernal.  
And join us with those who rewarded be  
With eternal life, seeing the Deity.”

Another blasphemy in the said primer:

“Hail queen, mother of mercy, our life, our sweetness, our hope. To you do we cry and sigh, weeping and wailing. Come off therefore our patroness, cast upon us your pitiful eyes, and after this our banishment, show to us the blessed fruit of your womb. O gate of glory, be for us a reconciliation to the Father and the Son. From the wretched their faults expel: wipe the spots of sins unclean,” etc.

Also to our Lady,

“The fruit of your womb everlasting,  
May we behold through your deserving,” etc.

Also,

“Grant we beseech you, that by her merits and prayers we may attain to that unspeakable joy. whereas she being assumed, now rejoices with you in heaven forever.”

And thus much for this popish primer, called “Our Lady’s Matins.” To this, though tedious for the reader, we would also add “Our Lady’s Psalter.” Thus all impartial readers, having seen what books these popish fathers have condemned and do condemn as heretical, they may also see and judge what books on the other side, they approve as lawful and catholic. As perhaps it is not known to everyone what “Our Lady’s Psalter” is, and some perhaps will deny that “Our Lady’s Psalter” was approved, we will therefore first produce the name of the author, who was Bonaventure, a “seraphic doctor,”<sup>560</sup> also bishop and cardinal, canonized by pope Sixtus IV, A.D. 1482, as a saint in the Calendar. In his book, he has taken every psalm of David’s psalter, which was peculiarly made and referred to Almighty God, and has in several psalms and verses pulled out the name of the Lord, and inserted in its stead the name of “Our Lady.” This being done through the whole psalms, it is called “Our Lady’s Psalter,” which used to be sung and spoken in the praise and service of our Lady.

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For example’s sake, we thought to exhibit a little of it here to the reader.

*The Title in English of the Psalter.*

“Here begins the Psalter of the blessed Virgin, made by the seraphic Doctor St. Bonaventure, the bishop of Alban, and Cardinal of the holy church of Rome.”

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<sup>560</sup> *The Seraphic Doctor* was a title given to the Italian medieval theologian Bonaventure (c.1221-1274).



## Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

Psalm 1. — “Blessed is the man who understands your name, O Virgin Mary, your grace shall comfort his soul. You shall bring forth in him the most plentiful fruit of Justice, being watered as it were with fountains of water. All women you surpass in the beauty of your body; all angels and archangels in the excellency of your holiness. Your mercy and your grace is magnified everywhere,” etc. “Glory be to the Father,” etc.

Psalm 2. — “Why do our enemies fret and imagine vain things against us? Let your right hand defend us, O mother of God, terribly confounding and destroying them as a sword. Come to her all you who labor and are troubled, and she will give rest for your souls. Come to her in your temptations, and her loving countenance shall establish and comfort you. Bless her with all your heart; for the earth is full of her mercy. Glory be to the Father,” etc.

Psalm 3. — “Why are they so many, O Lady, that trouble me? In your fury you shall persecute and destroy them. Loose the bonds of our impiety, and take away the burden of our sins. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, and heal my infirmity. Take away my sorrow and the anguish of my heart. Deliver me not into the hands of my enemies, and in the day of my death comfort my soul. Bring me to the haven of salvation, and restore my spirit to my Maker and Creator. — Glory be to the Father,” etc.

Psalm 4. — “When I called to you, you heard me, O my Lady, and out of your high throne you granted to think upon me. From the roaring of those who prepare themselves to devour me, and out of the hands of those who seek my life, your grace shall deliver me. Because your mercy and your pity are great towards all those who call upon your holy name. Blessed be you, O Lady, forever, and your majesty for ever and ever. Glorify her all nations of the earth,” etc.

Psalm 5. — “Hear my words, O Lady,” etc. “Turn our mourning into gladness, and our trouble into rejoicing. Let our enemies fall before our feet, and with your power dash their heads in pieces.”

Psalm 6. — “O Lady, suffer me not to be rebuked in God’s anger, nor to be chastened in his heavy displeasure,” etc. “From the gate and deep pit of hell, with your holy prayers, deliver us. Let the everlasting gates be opened, that we may show forth your marvellous works forever. Because the dead shall not praise you, O Lady, nor those who are in hell, but only those who shall obtain by your grace life everlasting.”

Psalm 7. — “O my Lady, in you I will put my trust; deliver me from my enemies, O Lady. Stop the mouth of the lion, and bind the lips of the persecutors. Make no tarrying for your name’s sake, to show your mercy upon me. Let the brightness of your countenance shine upon us, that our conscience may be saved before the most high. If the enemy persecutes my soul, O Lady, help me, that he does not destroy me.”

Psalm 9. — “I will give thanks to you, O Lady, with my whole heart, and I will show forth among the nations your praise and glory, etc. They shall find grace through you, the finder out of grace and salvation, the humble and penitent groan for pardon and forgiveness; heal the sores of their hearts.” etc.

Psalm 11. — “In you, O Lady, I put my trust,” etc. “Seek her even from your youth, and she shall glorify you, etc. Her mercy take from us the multitude of our sins, and give us plenteousness of merits,” etc.

Psalm 12. — “Save me, O mother of love, and fountain of mercy, etc. You yourself alone have gone about the compass of the earth, to help those who call upon you.”

Psalm 13. — “How long do you forget me, O Lady, and do not deliver me in the day of my trouble? How long shall my enemy triumph over me? With your mighty power destroy him,” etc. “We magnify you the finder and the author of grace, by whom the world is repaired,” etc.

## Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

Psalm 16. — “Preserve me, O Lady, for in you have I put my trust, etc. Blessed be your breasts, with which your deifying milk nourished the Savior,” etc.

Psalm 18. — “I will love you, O Lady of heaven and earth; I will call upon your name among the nations. Confess yourselves to her, you who are troubled in heart, and she shall strengthen you against your enemies, etc. All you cloisterers honor her, for she is your helper and special advocate. Be our refreshing and rest, for you are the marvellous foundation of all religion.”

Psalm 20. — “Hear us, O Lady, in the day of trouble, etc. Do not cast us away in the time of our death, but succor our soul when it forsakes the body. Send an angel to meet it, that it may be defended from the enemies, etc. In torments and pain let it feel your comfort, and grant to it a place among the elect of God.”

Psalm 25. — “To you, O Lady, I lift up my soul, etc. Let not the snares of death prevail against me,” etc. “Be my guide to the heavenly rest, and to the company of angels associate me.”

Psalm 26. — “Judge me, O Lady, for I have fallen from my innocency: but because I put my trust in you, therefore I shall not fall,” etc.

Psalm 27. — “O Lady, let the brightness of your face be my sight, and let the clearness of your grace shine unto my mind,” etc.

Psalm 28. — “To you, O Lady,” etc. “Have mercy upon me in the day of my trouble, and in the light of your truth deliver me,” etc.

Psalm 31. — “In you, O Lady, I put my trust; let me not be confounded forever; in your glory receive me. You are my strength and my refuge, my consolation and protection, etc. Deliver me from the snare that they have laid for me, because you are my helper. Into your hands I commend my spirit,” etc.

Psalm 34. — “I will always praise our Lady,” etc. “In perils, in adversity, call upon her, and in time of need you will find succor. Let her conversation be an example to you, and follow the virtue of her humility. Because, therefore, O Lady, you were humble and lowly, you compelled the Word uncreate to take flesh from you.”

Psalm 36. — “The wicked man said, etc. Let him depart from his evil purpose; O mother of God, turn the countenance of God towards us. Compel him to be merciful to sinners. Blessed be your empire and dominion in heaven, and blessed be your magnificence upon the earth.”

Psalm 45. — “My heart is inditing a good matter, O Lady,” etc. “By your holiness let my sins be purged, by your integrity let me obtain incorruption,” etc.

Psalm 47. — “Clap your hands, all you people,” etc. “For she is the gate of life, the door of salvation, the reconciler of our life; the hope of the penitent, the comfort of the sorrowful, the blessed peace of hearts, and salvation. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, have mercy upon me; for you are the light and hope of all who put their trust in you.”

Psalm 51. — “Have mercy upon me, O Lady, who are called the Mother of Mercy, and in the bowels of your great compassion cleanse me from my iniquities.”

Psalm 54. — “O Lady, in your name save me, and from my unrighteousness deliver me,” etc.

Psalm 70. — “Make haste, O Lady, to help me,” etc. “Have mercy on your servants, upon whom your name is invoked,” etc.

Psalm 71. — “In you, Lady, I have put my trust: lei me not be confounded forever, in your mercy deliver me,” etc.

Psalm 79. — “O Lady, the Gentiles have come into the inheritance of God, whom you joined to Christ by your merits,” etc.

Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

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Psalm 80. — “You who rule Israel,” etc. “The savor of life comes from her, and all health flows out of her heart,” etc.

Psalm 91. — Whoever dwells in the help of the Mother of God, shall dwell in the shadow of her protection, etc. Cry to her in your dangers, and the scourge shall not come near your tabernacle. The fruit of grace shall be to him who trusts in her, and the gate of paradise shall be open to him.”

Psalm 95. — “Come, let us rejoice to our Lady, etc. Receive our souls at our last end, and bring them into everlasting rest,” etc.

Psalm 105. — “Praise our Lady, and call upon her name,” etc. “Everlasting salvation is in your hand, O Lady,” etc.

Psalm 110. — “The Lord said to our Lady, ‘Sit here, my mother, at my right hand,’” etc.

Psalm 119. — “The whole earth is full of your mercies, and therefore I will search out the way of your justifications, etc. I will covet forever to praise you, O Lady, when you teach me your justifications,” etc.

Psalm 125. — “Those who put their trust in you, O Mother of God, shall not be afraid of the face of their enemy,” etc.

Psalm 127. — “Unless our Lady builds the house of our heart, the building of it shall not continue.”

Psalm 128. — “Blessed is everyone who fears our Lady, and blessed be all those who know to do her will,” etc.

Psalm 130. — “Out of the deep I called have to you, O Lady; O Lady, hear my voice,” etc.

Psalm 132. — “O Lady, remember David, and all those who call upon your name,” etc.

Psalm 134. — “Behold and bless now our Lady, all you who put your trust in her holy name.”

Psalm 136. — “At the floods of Babylon,” etc. “There is no propitiation to be found without her,” etc.

Psalm 140. — “Deliver me, O Lady, from all evil, and defend me from the infernal enemy,” etc.

Psalm 145. — “Our eyes look up and trust in you. Send us meat and food convenient,” etc. “My tongue will speak your praise, and bless you forever.”

Psalm 148. — “Praise our Lady, O Jerusalem, and glorify her also, O Sion; for she builds up your walls, and blesses your children. Her grace makes you fat, and gives peace to your coasts,” etc.

I could recite much more of such blasphemy in this “Psalter of our Lady,” by the seraphic doctor, St. Bonaventure.

Is good popish stuff not found here, Christian reader?, I beseech you, compare this doctrine with the doctrine of the apostles, who teach us that we are fully complete in Christ, and I will refer you to no better judge than your own conscience. And now, if any man has been in doubt in times past of the doctrine of the Church of Rome, whether or not it is rightly charged with blind errors, with intolerable blasphemy and abominable idolatry, he may now be fully certified and resolved. For where was idolatry or blasphemy ever to be found, if not here in this “Matins” and “Psalter of Our Lady?” If idolatry is the making an idol to be worshipped as God, which is no god, what do we have here if not to make an idol of “our

Lady,” to be worshipped with no less dignity, glory, authority, reverence, and service, than the Lord God himself? And as He is called *our Lord*, so she is called *our Lady*. And if he is king, she is the queen of heaven. And though he has the name of God, yet she bears the title of the Mother of God — that just as mothers have authority over their children, so she is to show herself to be His mother, to cause him to grant our petitions. Finally, if he is our patron, yet she is our patroness. The commandment says, “You shall worship the Lord your God, and him only shall you serve.”<sup>Mat 4.10</sup> And what worship, or service, can we give to God more than all this ascribes to *her*? And what benefit is to be asked at the hands of Christ, our Savior, which is not equally asked of *her*? To save our souls, to give us peace, to grant grace, to comfort the desperate, to loose our captivity, to release our sins, to deliver from the fiend, to bring to heaven, etc. To her we pray, we cry, weep, we sigh, we groan, we knock, and kneel; to her we trust, and if we do not believe also in our Lady, we are immediately denounced as heretics.

Further, just as Christ, our only Lord and Savior, has his church and congregation which profess his name, of whom we are called Christians, so neither is she likewise without her chapels, her cloisters, her chapters, fraternities and brotherhoods, which, professing her name in like manner, are called *our Lady’s brethren*, or *White friars*, besides an innumerable sort of other patrons of churches. Each one of these has his peculiar church and religion by himself, and yet all these together are included under the general devotion of our Lady, their supreme patroness and governess.

Now, to proceed further to the other part of the commandment which says, “Him only shall you serve.” What service does the Lord have in all the church of Rome, that our Lady does not have jointly with him? Her mass, her matins, her even-song, her hours and complin, her rosaries, her anthems, her collects, her primer, her psalter, her holidays likewise, indeed, five to one. Finally, just as the Lord has his prayer called the Lord’s Prayer, so has she her ‘Hail Mary,’ indeed, ten *Hail Marys* to one *Our Father*. And read further in Bonaventure, and you will see her ‘We praise you,’ her ‘Blessed,’ her ‘My soul does magnify,’ and also her ‘Whoever will be saved,’ etc.

If the Lord our God had not expressed to us his will by plain words, limiting us by express injunction, what to believe, what to follow, and how to worship and serve Him, and how to receive our salvation from him, but had left us to the imagination of our own minds, every man shifting for himself, then perhaps this way taken by the pope’s church might have some reason — to make friends and mediators between God and us, for reconciliation, remission, and salvation. But now God’s word binds us, precisely prescribes and limits us, in every point regarding salvation, what to believe, and what to do. It shows us plainly that we cannot be saved but by the blood of his Son alone, nor can we be justified but by faith alone in the same Christ his Son. Therefore, not to believe that which he has promised, is infidelity; and to follow any other belief than he has sent us is plain idolatry. These two special errors most commonly follow the doctrine of the Romish church, as may well appear not only in this primer and psalter of our Lady, but also in all their proceedings, teaching and preaching besides. For the Scripture perfectly promises and pronounces us to be justified through our faith in Christ, and allows us to seek our salvation nowhere else, but only in the merits of Jesus. But the institution of the church of Rome will not receive that which God has freely given (in which infidelity stands). Nor yet will they seek the same where they should, but instead, in the merits and prayers of our Lady, of St. John Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and by the worthiness of the material cross, and other such unlawful means, in which plain idolatry stands. And yet books such as these can be allowed among the papists to be accepted as

good, wholesome, and lawful books. Whereas, the others can in no way be allowed — those which lead us the true way from infidelity and blind idolatry, to true Christianity. But it is vain to complain of this. We will now proceed in our history.

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**The History of Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, and Thomas Osborne.**

Mention was made before in the account of Thomas Hawkes, of six prisoners who were sent down with him to Essex at the same time that he went to execution. Three were sent to be burned, and the other three to recant and do penance. It now follows to address them.<sup>561</sup> The names of the six were, Thomas Osmond, *fuller*; William Bamford, alias Butler, *weaver*; Thomas Osborne, *fuller*; Nicholas Chamberlam, *weaver*; Thomas Brodehill, *weaver*; Richard Webb, *weaver*. All of them were from the town of Coxhall. All six of these Coxhall men, after the examinations of Thomas Hawkes and Thomas Watts, were sent up to Bonner to be examined by the Earl of Oxford and Sir Philip Paris, knight.

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The prisoners were brought before the bishop on the 17th of the month, to be examined on some articles objected against them, and compelled to answer. The articles were similar to those so frequently objected to other godly martyrs, and they were answered in like manner.

The articles being propounded and answered, the men were dismissed until the afternoon, when they again appeared. They were examined, and with fair and flattering speeches by the bishop and his assistants, they were urged to recant their opinions. Notwithstanding, they remained firm in their opinions, and therefore, following the common usage of the ecclesiastical laws of the papal church, they were sent away again until the next day, the 18th of May. In the forenoon, according to his accustomed manner of proceeding, the bishop again dismissed them. At last in the afternoon he condemned them as heretics. And so he delivered them to the sheriffs, in whose custody they remained until they were delivered to the sheriff of Essex, and executed by him: Chamberlain at Colchester, on the 14th of June; Thomas Osmond at Manningtree, on the 15th; and William Bamford, alias Butler, at Harwich, on the same day.

***The History and Martyrdom of John Bradford.***

*The History of the worthy Martyr and Servant of God,  
Master John Bradford.*

John Bradford was born at Manchester. His parents brought him up in learning from his infancy, until he attained such knowledge in the Latin tongue, and skill in writing, that he was able to gain his own living. He continued some years in an honest and good life, following the course of this world. Then the Lord, who had elected him to a better function, and preordained him to preach the gospel of Christ, in that hour of grace which He had appointed in His secret counsel, called his chosen child to the understanding and partaking of the gospel of life. He was so truly taught in it, that his effectual call was perceived by its fruits. For Bradford forsook his worldly affairs and worldly wealth, and gave himself wholly to the study of the holy Scriptures. To better accomplish his purpose, he departed from the Temple at London, where the temporal law is studied, and went to the University of Cambridge, to learn by God's law how to further the building of the Lord's temple. At Cambridge, his diligence in study and his profiting in knowledge and godly conversation so

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<sup>561</sup> None of these men was among the six previously named with Hawkes (see p. 762).

pleased all men, that within one year after he had been there, the university gave him the degree of a master of arts.

Immediately after, the master and fellows of Pembroke hall gave him a fellowship in their college. That man of God, Martin Bucer, so liked him, that he held him not only most dear to him, but also often exhorted him to direct his talent to preaching. He always answered that he was unable to serve in that office, through lack of learning. Bucer usually replied to this, saying, "If you do not have fine manchet bread, you still give the poor people barley bread, or whatever else the Lord has committed to you." While Bradford was thus persuaded to enter into the ministry, Doctor Ridley, that worthy bishop of London, and glorious martyr of Christ, called him to take the degree of a deacon. He obtained for him a license to preach, and gave him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul's.

Many parts of England can testify how faithfully Bradford walked in this office for three years, and how diligently he labored. He sharply exposed and reproved sin; he sweetly preached Christ crucified; he pithily impugned heresies and errors, and earnestly persuaded the people to live godly lives. After the death of our blessed young King Edward VI, when Queen Mary had gotten the crown, Bradford still continued diligent in preaching, until he was unjustly deprived both of his office and liberty by the queen and her council.

The fact was this: on the 13th of August, in the first year of the reign of Queen Mary, Master Bourne, then bishop of Bath, gave a sermon at St. Paul's Cross in London, to push popery abroad. This moved the people to no small indignation, almost being ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Nor could the reverence of the place, nor the presence of Bishop Bonner, nor yet the commandment of the Mayor of London, whom the people should have obeyed, stay their rage. But the more these men spoke, the more the people were incensed. At length Bourne, seeing the people in such a mood, and himself in such peril, ended his sermon, fearing lest he end his wretched life there. And he desired Bradford, who stood in the pulpit behind him, to come forward, and to stand in his place and speak to the people. Good Bradford at his request spoke to the people, and exhorted them to godly and quiet obedience. As soon as the people saw him begin to speak to them, they were so glad to hear him, that they cried with a great shout: "Bradford! Bradford! God save your life, Bradford!" showing not only what affection they bore toward him, but also what regard they gave to his words. For after he preached to them, and exhorted them to be quiet and patient, soon all the raging ceased, and in the end each man departed quietly to his house. Yet Bourne thought himself not yet fully sure of his life till he was safely housed — notwithstanding that the mayor and sheriffs of London were at hand to help them. Therefore he desired Bradford not to depart from him till he was in safety; which Bradford performed, according to his promise. For while the mayor and sheriffs led Bourne to the school-master's house, Bradford went at his back, shadowing him from the people with his gown, and so he set him safely there.

Within three days, Bradford was sent for to the Tower of London, where the queen then was, to appear before the council. There he was charged with this act of saving of Bourne, which they called seditious, and they also objected against him for preaching. He was then committed first to the Tower, then to other prisons, out of which neither his innocence, godliness, nor charitable dealing could purchase to him liberty of body, till by death (which he suffered for Christ's cause), he obtained the heavenly liberty, of which neither pope nor papist shall ever deprive him. From the Tower he was sent to the King's Bench in Southwark; and after his condemnation, he was sent to the Compter, in the Poultry, in London. In these two places he preached twice a day continually, unless sickness hindered

him. The sacrament was often administered there; and through the kindness of the keeper toward him, there was such a resort of good people to his lecture daily, and to the ministrations of the sacrament, that commonly his chamber was nearly filled. Preaching, reading, and praying occupied his whole life. He did not eat more than one meal a day; which was but very little when he took it; and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of dinner he often used to muse with himself, having his hat over his eyes, from where there usually came plenty of tears. He was very gentle to man and child, and in such good credit with his keeper, that at his desire in an evening, being prisoner in the King's Bench in Southwark, he had license upon his promise to return that night, to go into London without any keeper, to visit someone who was sick. Neither did he fail in his promise, but he returned to his prison, rather anticipating his hour, than breaking his fidelity, so constant was he in word and in deed.

In person he was somewhat tall and slender, spare in body, of a faint sanguine color, with auburn beard. He commonly did not sleep over four hours in the night; and in his bed, till sleep came, his book was not out of his hand. His chief recreation was not in gaining, or other pastime, but only in honest company, and profitable talk, in which he would spend a little time after dinner. Then he went to prayer and his book again. He counted that hour not well spent, in which he did not do some good, either with pen, study, or in exhorting others, etc. He was not sparing with his purse, but would liberally share what he had with his fellow prisoners.

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And commonly, once a week he visited the thieves, pick-pockets, and such others who were with him in prison where he lay, to whom he would give godly exhortation, to amend their lives by repentance, and afterwards distribute among them some portion of money to their comfort.

While he was in the King's Bench, and Master Sanders in the Marshalsea prison, they met many times at the rear of those two prisons, and conferred together, so mercifully did the Lord work for them, even in the midst of their troubles. Bradford was so trusted by his keeper, and had such liberty, that there was no day that he might not have easily escaped if he would; but the Lord had other work for him. In the summer, while he was in the King's Bench, he had liberty from his keeper to ride into Oxfordshire, to a merchant's house of his acquaintance. Horse and all things were prepared for his journey, and the party was in readiness who would ride with him; but God prevented him by sickness, so that he did not go at all.

One of his old friends and acquaintance came to him while he was prisoner. He asked him, if he sued to get Bradford out, what he would do, or where would he go? He answered as if not caring whether he went out or not; but if he did, he said he would marry, and still abide in England secretly, teaching the people, and occupying himself in that way. He was held in such great reverence and admiration with all good men, that a multitude who never knew him but by fame, greatly lamented his death; yes, and also a number of the papists themselves wished heartily that his life might be spared.

One afternoon as he was walking in the keeper's chamber, the keeper's wife suddenly came to him, as one seeming in much trouble, and said: "Oh, Master Bradford, I come to bring you heavy news." "What is that?" he asked "Goodness," she said; "tomorrow you are to be

burned; and your chain is now being bought, and soon you must go to Newgate.”<sup>562</sup> With that, Master Bradford took off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, he said: “I thank God for it; I have looked for this a long time, and therefore it does not come to me suddenly now, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy.” So thanking her for her gentleness, he departed to his chamber, and called his friend with him. When he came there, he went secretly by himself alone a long time, and prayed. This done, he came back to his friend and gave him several writings and papers, and showed him his mind in those things which he wished to have done. They then continued together all evening, when half a dozen more of his friends came to him, with whom he spent the time in prayer and other good exercise, as they wondered to hear and see his doings.

A little before he went out of the Compter, he made a notable prayer at his farewell, with such humility and holy unction, that it ravished the minds of the hearers. Also, when he put on the shirt that was made for his burning, he made such a prayer concerning the wedding garment, that some of those present were in such great admiration, that their eyes were as thoroughly occupied in looking at him, as their ears gave way to hear his prayer. At his departing out of the chamber, he likewise made a prayer, and gave money to every servant and officer of the house, with an exhortation to them to fear and serve God, continually laboring to shun all manner of evil. That done, he turned himself to the wall and prayed vehemently, that his words might not be spoken in vain, but that the Lord would work the same in them effectually, for Christ’s sake. When he was in the court, all the prisoners cried out to him, and bade him farewell, as the rest of the house had done before with tears.

The time they carried him to Newgate was about eleven or twelve o’clock at night, when it was thought that none would be stirring abroad. And yet contrary to their expectation, in Cheapside and other places between the Compter and Newgate, a great multitude of people came to see him, who most gently bade him farewell, praying for him with most lamentable and pitiful tears. And he as gently bade them farewell, praying most heartily for them. Now, whether it was a commandment from the queen and her council, or from Bonner and his adherents; or whether it was devised by the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, or not, I cannot tell; but there was a great noise overnight around the city, that Bradford was to be burnt the next day in Smithfield, by four o’clock in the morning, before it would be widely known. Some thought the fear of the people was the cause of this; others thought it was rather because the papists judged his death would convert many to the truth. So some thought one thing, and some another. But this was certain: the people prevented the suspected device. For the next day, at four o’clock in the morning, there was a great multitude of men and women in Smithfield.

However, it was nine o’clock before Master Bradford was brought into Smithfield. He was led forth with a great company of armed men, as the like was not seen at any man’s burning. Bradford, having come to the place, fell flat to the ground, secretly making his prayers to Almighty God. Then rising again, and putting off his clothes down to his shirt, he went to the stake, and there he joyfully and constantly suffered with a young man, twenty years of age, whose name was John Leaf.

*Communication between John Bradford, and the Lord Chancellor  
and others in Commission with him, on the 22d of January A.D. 1555.*

After the lord chancellor (Stephen Gardiner), and the residue of the queen’s council in commission with him, had ended their talk with Farrar, late bishop of St. David’s, the

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<sup>562</sup> Bradford was burned on July 1, 1555. What follows in the Commission, took place the previous January.



under-marshal of the King's Bench was commanded to bring in John Bradford. Having come into the presence of the council, he knelt down; but he was immediately bid by the lord chancellor to stand up.

When he had risen, the lord chancellor earnestly looked at him, but he gave no way; that is, he did not cease in like manner to look at the lord chancellor, except that once he cast his eyes heavenward and sighed for God's grace.

Then the lord chancellor, somewhat troubled, spoke to him to this effect: "That for a long time he had been imprisoned justly for his seditious behavior at St. Paul's cross on the 13th of August 1553, for his false preaching and arrogance, taking it upon himself to preach without authority. But now," he added, "the time of mercy has come, and therefore the queen's highness, willing to offer mercy, has sent to declare and give the same, if you will return. And if you will do as we have done, you will find as we have found, I warrant you." This was the sum of his words, and in manner, the same words which he spoke.

To these words John Bradford replied, "My lord, and lords all, I confess that I have been long imprisoned, and (with humble reverence let it be spoken) unjustly, for I did nothing seditiously, falsely, or arrogantly, in word or deed, by preaching or otherwise; but rather sought truth, peace, and all godly quietness, both as an obedient and faithful subject in going about to save Master Bourne, now the bishop of Bath, who was then preaching at St. Paul's Cross."

At these words, or rather before he had fully finished, the lord chancellor said that "the act was seditious, as you, my lord of London, can bear witness."

Bonner. — "You say true, my lord. I saw him with my own eyes, when he took it on himself to rule and lead the people impudently, thereby proving he was the author of the sedition."

Bradford — "My lords, notwithstanding my lord bishop's seeing and saying, yet I have told the truth, as one day my Lord God Almighty will reveal to all the world, when we will all come and appear before him: In the meantime, as I cannot be believed by you, I must and am ready to suffer."

Lord Chancellor. — "I know you have a showy and glorious tongue, but all you speak are lies. I have not forgotten how stubborn you were when you were before us in the Tower, whereupon you were committed to prison concerning religion.

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I have not forgotten your behavior and talk, for which you have worthily been kept in prison, as one who would have done more hurt than I will speak of."

Bradford. — "My lord, as I said before, so I say again, that as I stand before you, so before God, and one day we will all stand before him. The truth will then be the truth, though now you will not so take it. Yes, my lord, I dare say that my lord of Bath (Master Bourne) will witness with me, that I sought his safety at the peril of my own life."

Bonner. — "That is not true; for I myself saw you take too much upon yourself."

Bradford. — "No, I took nothing upon myself that was not desired, and that too by Master Bourne himself, as I dare say he would affirm what I say, if he were here present. For he desired me both to help him to pacify the people, and also not to leave him till he was in safety. If I said anything before your honors, in the Tower, that did not beseem me, if your lordships would tell me what it was, I should and would shortly give you an answer."

Chancellor. — “Well, leave this matter. Will you return again, and do as we have done, and receive the queen’s mercy and pardon?”

Bradford. — “My lord, I desire mercy with God’s mercy; but may God keep me from mercy with God’s wrath. My conscience does not accuse me. All that I ever did or spoke, was both agreeable to God’s laws, and the laws of the realm.”

Chancellor. — “Well, if you make this babbling rolling in your eloquent tongue, and yet being altogether ignorant and vainglorious,<sup>563</sup> and will not receive mercy offered to you, know for truth, that the queen is minded to make a ‘purgation of all who are such as you.’”

Bradford. — “The Lord, before whom I stand, as well as before you, knows what I have sought. His mercy I desire, and I would also be glad of the queen’s favor, to live as a subject without a clog of conscience. But otherwise, the Lord’s mercy is better to me than life. And I know to whom I have committed my life, even into his hands who will keep it, so that no man may take it away before it is His pleasure. Therefore His good will be done; life in his displeasure is worse than death; and death with His true favor, is true life.”

Chancellor. — “I know well enough, that we will have glorious talk enough from you. Be assured, therefore, that as you have deceived the people with false and devilish doctrine, so you shall receive.”

Bradford. — “I have not deceived the people, nor taught any other doctrine, than by God’s grace I am, and hope shall be, ready to confirm with my life. And as for the devilishness and falseness in the doctrine, I would be sorry if you could so prove it.”

Durham. — “Why, tell me, what do you say about the ministration of the communion?”

Bradford. — “My lord, here I must desire a question of your lordship, and of all your honors, before I dare give you an answer to any interrogatory or question. I have been sworn six times that I will in no case consent to the practicing of any jurisdiction, or any authority, on the bishop of Rome’s behalf within this realm of England. Now, before God, I humbly pray your honors tell me whether you ask me this question by his authority, or not? If you do, I dare not, nor may I answer you anything which you demand of me in his authority, unless I would be forsworn, which God forbid.”

Secretary Bourn. — “Have you been sworn six times? What office have you borne?”

Bradford. — “I was thrice sworn in Cambridge: when I was admitted master of arts; when I was admitted fellow of Pembroke Hall; and when I was there, the visitors came there, and swore the university. Again, I was sworn when I entered into the ministry, when I was given a prebend, and when I was sworn to serve the king, a little before his death.”

Chancellor. — “Tush! A man should have no conscience at Herod’s oaths.”

Bradford. — “But, my lord, these were no Herod’s oaths, nor unlawful oaths, but oaths according to God’s word, as you yourself have well-affirmed in your book ‘De vera Obedientia.’”

Rochester. — “My lords, I never knew why this man was in prison before now. But I see that it would not have been good for this man to be abroad. For what cause he was put in prison, I do not know. But now I well know that it is not without cause that he was and is to be kept in prison.”

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<sup>563</sup> *Vainglorious*: feeling self-importance.

Bourn. — “Yes, it was reported this parliament-time by the earl of Derby, that he has done more hurt by letters, and exhorting those who have come to him, in religion, than he ever did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters, he curses all who teach any false doctrine (for so he calls that which is not according to what he taught) and most heartily exhorts those to whom he writes to continue in what they have received from him.”

Bradford. — “I have not written or spoken anything seditiously, nor I trust, will I ever.”

Bourn. — “Yes, you *have* written letters.”

Chancellor. — “Why do you not speak? Have you not written as he says?”

Bradford. — “What I have written, I have written.”

Southwell. — “Lord God! what an arrogant and stubborn boy this is, that he thus stoutly behaves himself before the queen’s council!”

Chancellor. — “We will never be done with you, I perceive now. Be short, be short: will you have mercy?”

Bradford. — “I pray God to give me His mercy, and if you will extend yours with this, I will not refuse it; but otherwise I will have none.”

Here now there was much ado, one speaking this, and another that, about his arrogance in refusing the queen’s pardon.

He was again brought before them on the 29th of July, when he was again offered mercy and pardon if he would recant. After the lord chancellor’s long talk about the queen’s pardon, Bradford began to speak,

Bradford. — “My lord, and my lords all, as I now stand before you, so I humbly beseech your honors to consider that you sit in the seat of the Lord, who (as David witnesses) is in the congregation of judges, and sit in the midst of them. And as you would now have your place regarded as God’s place, so demonstrate yourselves to follow Him in your sitting. That is, seek no guiltless blood, nor hunt by questions to bring into the snare, those who are out of it. At present I stand before you guilty or guiltless. So then, proceed and give sentence accordingly. If I am guiltless, then give me the benefit of a subject, which up to now I could not have.”

Here the lord chancellor made much ado to purge himself, as if he did not seek guiltless blood. And so began a long process, how Bradford’s act at St. Paul’s Cross was presumptuous, arrogant, and showed that he took it upon himself to lead the people. And he charged Bradford with writing seditious letters.

Bradford. — “I have written no seditious letters; I have not perverted the people; but that which I have written and spoken, I will, by God’s grace, never deny. And where your lordship says that I dare not answer you, so that all men may know that I am not afraid, except for my oath, ask me what you will, and I will plainly answer you, by God’s grace, though I now see my life lies upon it. But, O Lord, into your hands I commit it, come what will; only sanctify Your name in me, as in an instrument of your grace. Amen. Now ask what you will, and you will see I am not afraid, by God’s grace, to plainly answer.”

Ld. Chanc. -” Well, then, what do you say to the blessed sacrament? Do you not believe Christ is present there concerning his natural body?”

Bradford. — “My lord, I do not believe that Christ is corporeally present at and in the due administration of the sacrament. By this word ‘corporeally,’ I mean that Christ is present there corporeally unto faith.”

Ld. Chanc — “Unto faith? We must have many more words to make it plain.”

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Bradford. — “You shall have it: but first give me leave to speak two words.”

Ld. Chanc. — “Speak on.”

Bradford. — “I have now been a year and almost three quarters in prison, and all this time you never questioned me about this, when I might have spoken my conscience frankly without peril. But now you have a law to hang and put to death, if a man answers freely, and not according to your wishes. And so *now* you come to demand this question! Ah, my lord, Christ did not use this way to bring men to faith.”

Here the lord chancellor was appalled, it seems, and said most gently that he did not use this means. “It was not my doing,” he said. “For my part, I have been challenged for being too gentle.”

Bradford. — “My lord, I pray you stretch out your gentleness, that I may feel it, for up to now I never felt it. I was three-quarters of a year in the Tower, and you forbade me paper, pen, and ink. And never in all that time, nor since, did I feel any gentleness from you. I have rather found extremity up to now, just as I looked for.”

Here several persons were telling my lord it was dinner-time. And so he rose up, leaving Bradford speaking, and saying that in the afternoon he would speak more with him. Bradford was then brought into the vestry and kept there till night, when he was conveyed back to prison.

The next day, a gentleman called Master Thomas Hussey, came into the chamber in which John Bradford lay, and he began a long oration, how he came to him out of love and old acquaintance. “You,” he said, “so wonderfully behaved yourself before the lord chancellor and other bishops yesterday, that even the truest enemies you have, saw that they have no matter against you. And therefore, I advise you to desire a time, and men to confer with. And thus all men will think there is a wonderful wisdom, gravity, and godliness in you. And by this means you will escape present danger.”

John Bradford answered, “I neither can, nor will make such a request. For then I will give occasion to the people, and to all others, to think that I doubt the doctrine which I confess, which I do not.”

As they were thus talking, the chamber-door was unlocked, and Doctor Seton came in, with the very same insidious design to deceive and entrap this godly man.

This Doctor Seton, after some talk of Bradford’s age, his country, and such, began a long sermon about my lord of Canterbury, Master Latimer, and Master Ridley, and how those at Oxford were not able to answer anything at all. And therefore my lord of Canterbury desired to confer with the bishop of Durham and others. All this talk tended to this end, that Bradford should make a similar request for a conference. But to this, Bradford briefly answered as he had done before to Hussey. Neither Seton nor Hussey were content with this answer, After many attempted persuasions, Seton said, “I have heard much talk from you, and last night a gentleman reported about you at the lord chancellor’s table, that you were able to persuade as much as anyone he knew. I thought your modesty was such before the

bishops, your behavior and talk were so without malice and impatience, that I would be sorry if you did worse than myself. And I tell you further, I perceive my lord chancellor has a regard for you. Therefore, do not be so obstinate, but desire respite and some learned man to confer with," etc.

But Bradford kept to his one answer: "I cannot, nor will I so offend the people. I have no doubts. I am most certain of the truth of the doctrine I have taught."

Here Doctor Seton grew heated, and called Bradford arrogant, proud, and vainglorious.

Then Bradford asked them both to give him leave to talk with God, and to beg wisdom and grace from Him. "For," he said, "otherwise I am helpless." And so, with much ado, they departed. Then Bradford prayed to God, which the Lord of his goodness graciously accepted in his need, praised be His holy name! Shortly after they were gone, Bradford was led to the church, and there he tarried till eleven o'clock.

After the excommunication of Lawrence Sanders, John Bradford was called in. And being brought before the lord chancellor and the bishops, the lord chancellor said that if Bradford would answer with modesty and humility, and conform himself to the catholic church with them, he might yet find mercy, because they would be loath to use extremity. Therefore he concluded with an exhortation, urging Bradford to recant his doctrine. After the lord chancellor ended, Bradford spoke thus:

Bradford. — "Just as yesterday I besought your honors to set in your sight the majesty and presence of God, so that you might follow Him who does not seek to subvert the simple by subtle questions, so I humbly beseech every one of you to do this day. For you know well enough that guiltless blood will cry for vengeance. And this I pray your lordships to do, not as one who it takes upon myself to condemn you, but that you might be more admonished to do that which none does so much as he should. For our nature is so corrupt, that we are very forgetful of God. Again, just as yesterday I alleged my oath and oaths against the bishop of Rome, that I would never consent to the practicing of any jurisdiction for him, or on his behalf in the realm of England, so I do again today. And last of all, just as yesterday the answers that I made were by protestation and saving my oath, so I would have your honors know that my answers will be so today. And I do this, so that when death comes (which I look for at your hands), I may not be troubled with the guiltiness of perjury."

The lord chancellor was angry at these words, and said that they had given him respite to deliberate till this day, whether he would recant his errors of the blessed sacrament, "which, yesterday," he said, "you uttered."

Bradford. — "My lord, you gave me no time for any such deliberation. Nor did I say anything about the sacrament which you disallowed. For when I declared there was a presence of Christ to faith, you went from that matter to purge yourself, that you were not cruel, and so you went to dinner."

Ld. Chanc. — "What? I perceive that we must begin it all over again with you. Did I not plainly tell you yesterday, that you had a conscience (scruple) where none should be? Did I not make it plain that the oath against the bishop of Rome was an unlawful oath?"

Bradford. — "No, indeed, my lord. You *said* so, but you did not prove it."

Ld. Chanc. — "O Lord God, what kind of fellow are you? You would bring into the people's heads, that we — all the lords of the parliament house, the knights and burgesses, and all the whole realm — are perjured! O what a heretic this is! Here, good people, you may see what a senseless heretic this fellow is. If I were to make an oath that I would never help my brother,

nor lend him money in his need, would this be a good answer, to tell my neighbor desiring my help, that I had made an oath to the contrary? or that I could not do it?"

Bradford. — "O, my lord, discern between oaths that are against charity and faith, and oaths that are according to faith and charity, as this is against the bishop of Rome."

Here the lord chancellor made much ado, and a long time was spent talking about oaths, which ones were good and which were evil. But Bradford proved that obedience in this point to the queen, if she were to demand an oath to the bishop of Rome, denying it was not a general denial of her authority and of obedience to her. "No more," he said, "than the sale, gift, or lease of a piece of a man's inheritance, proves it to be a sale, gift, or lease of the whole inheritance."

Thus a great discussion was made about this matter, the lord chancellor speaking much. Bradford replied to him that, "It was a wonder his honor did not weigh conscience more in this; yet he would be so earnest in vows of priests' marriages made to bishops, and be careless about solemn oaths made to God and to princes." The lord chancellor said the queen might dispense with it, and did so to the whole realm.

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But Bradford said that the queen's highness could do no more than remit her own right. As for the oath made to God, she could never remit it, because it was made to God."

At these words the lord chancellor chafed remarkably, and said that in plain sense Bradford slandered the realm of perjury. "Therefore," he observed to the people, "you may see how this fellow takes it upon himself to have more knowledge and conscience than all the wise men of England, and yet he has no conscience at all."

Here the chamberlain of Woodstock came forward, and spoke to my lord chancellor, how Bradford had been a serving-man, and was with Master Harrington.

Ld. Chanc. — "True, and he deceived his master of 140 pounds. Because of this, he became a gospeller and a preacher; and yet you see how he pretends to have a conscience."

Bradford. — "My lord, I set my foot by his, whoever he is that comes forth and vouches to my face, that I ever deceived my master. And as you are chief justice by office in England, I desire justice upon those who so slander me, because they cannot prove it."

Here my lord chancellor and the chamberlain were struck blank, and said they heard it. "But," said my lord chancellor, "we have another matter than this against you: for you are a heretic."

"Indeed," said the bishop of London, "he wrote letters to Master Pendleton, who knows his hand as well as his own; your honor saw the letters."

Bradford. — "This is not true; I never wrote to Pendleton since I came to prison."

London. — "Yes, but you penned it."

Bradford. — "I did not, nor do I know what you mean."

Here one of the clerics of the council came, putting the lord chancellor in remembrance of letters written into Lancashire.

Ld. Chanc. — "You say true: for we have his handwriting to show."

Bradford. — “I deny that you have my handwriting to show of letters sent into Lancashire, other than those which I will stand to, and prove them to be good and lawful.”

Here all was answered. Then the lord chancellor began a new matter. “Sir,” he said, “in my house the other day you most contemptuously despised the queen’s mercy, and further said that you would maintain against all men, the erroneous doctrine in King Edward’s days.”

Bradford. — “Well, I am glad that all men now see that you have had no matter to justly imprison me before this day. Now I say that I did not contemptuously despise the queen’s mercy, but would have received it, if I might have had it with God’s mercy; that is, without doing or saying anything against God and his truth. And as for maintenance of doctrine, I said I was more confirmed in the religion set forth in King Edward’s days, than I ever was. And if God would have it, I trust I would declare it by giving my life for the confirmation and testification of it. So I said then, and so I say now.”

Ld. Chanc. — “Well, yesterday you maintained false heresy concerning the blessed sacrament, and therefore we gave you respite till this day to deliberate.”

Bradford. — “My lord, I said nothing of the sacrament, but that which you allowed and did not reprove, nor did you give me anything to deliberate on.”

Ld. Chanc. — “Why, did you not deny Christ’s presence in the sacrament?”

Bradford. — “No, I never denied nor taught anything but that *to faith*, a whole Christ — body and blood — was as present as the bread and wine, to the due receiver.”

Ld. Chanc. — “Yes, but do you not believe that Christ’s body is naturally and really there, under the forms of bread and wine?”

Bradford. — “My lord, I believe Christ is present there to the faith of the due receiver. As for transubstantiation, I plainly and flatly tell you, I do not believe it.”

Here Bradford was called a devil, a slanderer. “For we ask no question,” said my lord chancellor, “about transubstantiation, but of Christ’s presence.”

Bradford. — “I do not deny His presence to the faith of the receiver, but I deny that he is included in the bread, or that the bread was transubstantiated.”

Another bishop asked, “Whether the wicked man received Christ’s very body or not?” And Bradford answered plainly, “No.” At this the lord chancellor made a long oration, how it could not be that Christ was present, unless the evil man received it. But Bradford pushed aside his oration in few words, saying that grace at that time was offered to his lordship, even though he did not receive it. So that (Bradford said) the receiving does not make the presence, as your lordship infers; but God’s grace, truth, and power is the cause of the presence. The wicked who lack faith cannot receive this grace. Here Bradford asked my lord not to separate that which God had coupled together. He has coupled all these together: “Take, eat, this is my body.” He does not say, “See, person, this is my body,” but “Take, eat.” So that it appears this is a promise dependent on the condition that we take and eat.

Here the lord chancellor and other bishops exclaimed that Bradford had made a ploy of the condition. But Bradford said, “My lord, are not these words, ‘Take, eat,’ a commandment? And are not these words, ‘This is my body,’ a promise? If you challenge the promise, and do not challenge the commandment, may you not deceive yourself?”

Here the lord chancellor denied that Christ commanded the sacrament, and the use of it.

“Why, my lord,” said Bradford, “I pray you tell the people what mood ‘Take, eat,’ is; is it not plain to children that Christ, in saying so, commands it?”

At these words the lord chancellor began trifling about the imperative mood, and fell to parsing, or examining, as he should teach a child, and so he concluded that it was no commandment.

But Bradford prayed him to leave trifling, and said, “My lord, if it is not a commandment of Christ to take and eat the sacrament, why would anyone dare take it upon themselves to command and make of necessity, that which God leaves free, as you do in making it a necessary commandment once a year for all who are of the age of discretion, to receive the sacrament?”

After much more examination and questioning, which would be too long to detail, the lord chancellor began to read the excommunication. And in the excommunication, when he came to the name of John Bradford, *layman*, he asked “Why, are you no priest?”

Bradford. — “No, nor was I ever either priest, or beneficed, or married, or any preacher, before public authority had established religion, or preacher in public authority had altered religion. And yet I am thus handled at your hand. But God, I do not doubt, will give his blessing where you curse.” And so he fell down on his knees, and heartily thanked God that he counted him worthy to suffer for his name’s sake. And so praying God to give him repentance and a good mind, after the excommunication was read, he was delivered to the sheriff of London, to be delivered from there to the Earl of Derby, to be conveyed into Lancashire, and there to be burned in the town of Manchester, where he was born. But their purpose concerning the place was afterward altered, for they burned him in London.

#### **Private Conferences with Bradford in Prison**

After the condemnation of John Bradford, which was on the last day of January, being sent to prison, he remained there until the 1st of July, during all which time he sustained other conferences with sundry adversaries, who repaired to him in the prison. Of these, Bishop Bonner, first coming to the Compter to degrade Dr. Taylor on the 4th of February, entered into talk with Bradford. In effect, it was as follows:

[771] A.D. 1555.

*Private conferences with John Bradford, by the Prelates sent to him,  
in the time of his condemnation; from his own writing.*

On the 4th of February, that is, the same day on which Master Rogers was burned, Bonner, bishop of London, came to degrade Dr. Taylor. But before he spoke to Master Taylor, he called for John Bradford. When he saw him, he took off his cap, and gave him his hand, saying, “Because I perceive that you are desirous to confer with some learned men, I have therefore brought Archdeacon Harpsfield to you: and I tell you, act like a wise man.”

Bradford. — “My lord, I never desired to confer with any man; however, if you will have one to talk with me, I am ready.”

“What,” said Bonner in a passion to the keeper, “did you not tell me that this man desired conference?”

Keeper. — “No, my lord; I told you that he would not refuse to confer with anyone, but I did not say that it was his desire.”



Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

Bonner. — “Well, Mr. Bradford, you are well-beloved. I pray you consider yourself, and do not refuse charity when it is offered.”

Bradford. — “Indeed, my lord, this is small charity, to condemn a man as you have condemned me, who never broke your laws.”

Bonner. — “Well, well.” And so he called for Doctor Taylor, and Bradford went his way.

On another day, Mr. Willerton, chaplain of the bishop of London, came to confer with Bradford. But when he perceived that Bradford did not desire to see him, he said “Well, Mr. Bradford, I pray you let us confer a little, for perhaps you may do me good, if I can do you none.” At these words Bradford consented, and they entered into conversation about the doctors, the fathers, and the sixth chapter of St. John. He then departed. In the afternoon he came back, and they had a long talk to little effect. At length, Willerton began to talk of the church, saying that Bradford swerved from the church.

Bradford. — “No, I do not, but you do; for the church is Christ’s spouse, and Christ’s obedient spouse, which your church is not. It robs the people of the Lord’s cup, and of service in the English tongue.”

Willerton. — “Why, it is not profitable to have the service in English.”

Bradford. — “Should the people not have the Scriptures? To what end, then, does this saying of Christ serve, ‘Search the Scriptures?’”

Willerton. — “This is not spoken to the people, but to the scribes and learned men.”

Bradford. — “Then the people must not have the Scriptures?”

Willerton. — “No; for it is written, ‘They shall be all taught of God.’”

Bradford. — “And must we learn everything from the priests?”

Willerton. — “Yes.”

Bradford. — “Then I see you would bring the people to hang Christ and let Barabbas go, as the priests persuaded the people then.”

On the 12th of February, one of the Earl of Derby’s servants came to Bradford, saying, “My lord has sent me to you; he wishes you to tender yourself, and he will be a good lord to you.”

Bradford. — “I thank his lordship for his good will towards me, but in this I cannot tender myself more than to God’s honor.”

Servant. — “Ah, Mr. Bradford, consider your mother, sisters, friends, kinsfolk, and country; what a great discomfort it will be to them to see you die as a heretic.”

Bradford. — “I have learned to forsake father, mother, brother, sister, friend, and all that ever I have; yes, even my own self. For otherwise I cannot be Christ’s disciple.”

Servant. — “If my lord might obtain for you, that you might depart the realm, would you not be content to be at the queen’s appointment, where she would appoint you beyond the sea?”

Bradford. — “No, I would rather be burned in England than be burned beyond the seas. For I know that if she were to send me to Paris, Louvain, or some such place, they would immediately burn me.”

On the 14th of February, Percival Cresswell, an old acquaintance of Bradford’s, came to him and said, “Mr. Bradford, tell me what suit I should make for you?”

Bradford. — “What you do, do not do it at my request, for I desire nothing at your hands. If the queen will give me life, I will thank her; if she will banish me, I will thank her; if she will burn me, I will thank her; if she will condemn me to perpetual imprisonment, I will thank her.”

Cresswell went away. About eleven o'clock, he and the other man came back, and brought a book of More's making,<sup>564</sup> desiring Bradford to read it over. Bradford, taking the book, said, “Good Percival, I am fixed in this article.”

Cresswell. — “Oh, if ever you loved me, do one thing for me.”

Bradford. — “What is it?”

Cresswell. — “Desire and name what learned man, or men, you would have come to you. My lord of York, my lord of Lincoln, my lord of Bath, and others, will gladly come to you.”

Bradford. — “No, I will never desire them, or any other, to come to confer with me. For I am as certain of my doctrine as I am of anything. But for your pleasure, and so that all men may know that I am not ashamed to have my faith sifted and tried, bring whom you will, and I will talk with them.”

On the 15th of February, after a fruitless conference with Harding on a previous day, Percival Cresswell came with Harpsfield, archdeacon of London. After formal salutations, he said that all men, even the infidels, Turks, Jews, anabaptists, and libertines, desire felicity as well as the Christians, and that everyone thinks they will attain it by their religion. To which Bradford answered briefly, that he had spoken not far amiss.

Harpsfield. — “But the way there is not all alike; for the infidels come to heaven by Jupiter and Juno, the Turk by his Al-Qur'an, the Jew by his Talmud.”

Bradford. — “You speak truly.”

Harpsfield. — “Well, then, here is the matter, to know the way to this heaven.”

Bradford. — “We may not invent any ways. There is but one way, and that is Jesus Christ, as he himself witnesses, ‘I am the way.’”

After some further conference on the church and succession of bishops, and on baptism, they departed.

On the 16th of February, in the morning, the archdeacon, and two others with him, came again, and after a few words they sat down.

The archdeacon began a very long oration, first repeating what they had said, and how far they had gone over before, and began to prove the succession of bishops here in England for eight hundred years: in France, at Lyons, for twelve hundred years: in Spain, at Seville, for eight hundred years: in Italy, at Milan, for twelve hundred years, laboring by this to prove his church. He used the entire succession of bishops in the eastern church to confirm his words. And he concluded with an exhortation and an interrogation. The exhortation, that Bradford would obey this church; the interrogation, whether Bradford could show any such succession for the demonstration of his own church (for so he called it) which followed.

To this long oration, Bradford gave this short answer: “My memory is bad, so that I cannot answer your oration particularly. Therefore I will do it generally. If Christ or his apostles here on earth, had been required by the prelates of the church then existing, to have made a

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<sup>564</sup> Presumably Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), a staunch Roman Catholic (p. 578).

demonstration of that church by a succession of those high priests who had approved the doctrine which he taught, then I think that Christ would have done as I do; that is, he would have alleged that which upholds the church, even the truth, the word of God taught and believed, not by the high priests, who had persecuted it a long time, but by the prophets and other good men who perhaps were counted as heretics of the church. This church was not tied to succession, but to the word of God.”

Harpsfield. — “I can gather and prove succession in Jerusalem.”

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Bradford. — “I grant that, but not such a succession as allowed the truth.”

Harpsfield. — “Did they not allow Moses’ law?”

Bradford — “Yes, and kept it, as regards the books of it, as you do the bible and holy Scriptures. But they corrupted the true interpretation and meaning of it, as you have done and do. And therefore the persecution which they stirred up against the prophets and Christ, was not because of the law, but for the interpretation of it. For they taught, as you do now, that we must receive the interpretation of the Scriptures at your hands. But to conclude, I look daily for death, indeed, hourly; and I think my time is but very short. Therefore, I need to spend as much time with God as I can, while I have it, to pray for his help and comfort. And therefore, I pray you, bear with me, that I do not now answer your long talk particularly and in more words. If I saw death not so near me as it is, I would then weigh every piece of your oration. But because I dare not, nor will I, leave off preparing for that which is at hand, I desire you to hold me excused, even though I do as I do; and I heartily thank you for your gentle good will. I will heartily pray God our Father to give you the same light and life I wish for myself.”

Then the archdeacon began to tell him he was in a very perilous case, and that he was sorry to see him so settled.

Bradford. — “I do not doubt that I will die well; for just as I hope and am certain that my death will please the Lord, so I trust I will die cheerfully to the comfort of his children.”

Harpsfield. — “But what if you are deceived?”

Bradford. — “What if you were to say the sun did not shine now?” (The sun was shining through the window where they sat.)

Harpsfield. — “Well, I am sorry to see you so secure and careless.”

Bradford. — “Indeed, I am more carnally secure and careless than I should be. God make me more vigilant. But in this case I cannot be too secure, for I am most assured I am in the truth.”

Harpsfield. — “You are not; for you are out of the catholic church.”

Bradford. — “No, though you have excommunicated me out of your church, I am in the catholic church of Christ, and I am, and by God’s grace I shall be a child and an obedient child of it forever. I hope Christ will have no less care for me, than he had for the blind man excommunicated by the synagogue. And I am sure that the necessary articles of the faith — I mean the twelve articles of the creed — I confess and believe that which you call the holy church. So that, even your church has taken too much upon herself to excommunicate me for that which, by the testimony of my lord of Durham, in the book of the sacrament recently published, was free many hundreds of years after Christ, to believe or not believe.”

Harpsfield. — “What is that?”

Bradford. — “Transubstantiation.”

Harpsfield. — “Why, you are not condemned for that alone.”

Bradford. — “For that and because I deny that wicked men receive Christ’s body.”

After some further conference on transubstantiation, they departed.

On the 23d of the same month, the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Chichester came to speak with Bradford. When he had come before them, they both, and especially the archbishop of York, used him very gently. They would have him to sit down, and because he would not, they also would not sit; so they all stood. And whether he would or not, they insisted that he put on not only his nightcap, but his upper cap also, saying to him that obedience was better than sacrifice.

Now thus standing together, my lord of York began to tell Bradford that they were not sent to him, but they came to him out of love and charity; and after commending Bradford’s godly life, he concluded with this question, “How was he certain of salvation and of his religion?”

After thanks for their good will, Bradford answered, “By the word of God, even by the Scriptures, I am certain of my salvation and religion.”

York. — “Very well said. But how do you know the word of God and the Scriptures, except by the church?”

Bradford. — “Indeed, my lord, the church was and is a means to bring a man more speedily to know the Scriptures and the word of God, as the woman of Samaria was a means that the Samaritans knew Christ. But when they heard him speak, they said, ‘Now we know that he is Christ, not because of your words, but because we ourselves have heard him.’ So too, after we come to hearing and reading the Scriptures shown to us by the church, we believe them, and know them as Christ’s sheep — not because the church says they are the Scriptures, but because they *are* so, being assured by the same Spirit who wrote and spoke them.”

York. — “You know that, in the apostles’ time the word was not written at first.”

Bradford. — “True, if you mean that for some books of the *New Testament*: but for the *old Testament*, Peter tells us, ‘We have a more sure word of prophecy.’”

York. — “That place in Peter is not to be understood of the written word.”

Bradford. — “Yes, sir, it is, and of no other.”

Chichester. — “Yes, indeed Mr. Bradford tells you truly in that point.” And then he added, “I pray you tell me where was the church which allowed your doctrine, these four hundred years?”

Bradford. — “I will tell you, my lord, or rather you will tell yourself, if you will tell me this one thing: where was the church in Elijah’s time, when Elijah said that he was left alone?”

Chichester. — “That is no answer.”

Bradford. — “I am sorry that you say so: but I will tell your lordship this, that if you had the same eyes with which a man might have espied the church then, you would not say it was no answer. The fault why the church is not seen by you, is not because the church is not visible, but because your eyes are not clear enough to see it.”

Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

Here my lord of York took a book of paper of common places, and read a piece of St. Augustine, how there were many things that held him in the bosom of the church: consent of people and nations; authority confirmed with miracles, nourished with hope, increased with charity, established with antiquity. "Besides this, what holds me in the church," said St. Augustine, "is the succession of priests from Peter's seat until this present bishop. Last of all, the very name of *catholic* holds me," etc.

Bradford. — "My lord, these words of St Augustine make as much for me as for you. Although I might answer that all this, if they had been so urgent as you make them out to be, might have been alleged against Christ and his apostles. For there was the law and the ceremonies consented to by the whole people, confirmed with miracles, antiquity, and a continual succession of bishops from Aaron's time till then."

York. — "But what do you say to St. Augustine? Where is your church that has the consent of people and nations?"

Bradford. — "Even all people and nations that are God's people have consented with me, and I with them in the doctrine of faith."

York. — "St. Augustine here talks of succession, even from St. Peter's seat."

Bradford. — "Yes, that seat then was not so corrupt as it is now."

York. — "Well, you always judge the church."

Bradford. — "No, my lord. As Christ's sheep discern Christ's voice but do not judge it, so they discern the church but do not judge her."

York. — "Yes, that they do."

Bradford. — "No; and yet full well one may not only doubt, but also judge about the Romish church; for she does not obey Christ's voice, as Christ's *true* church does."

York. — "In what?"

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Bradford. — "In Latin service, and robbing the laity of Christ's cup in the sacrament, and in many other things in which it commits most horrible sacrilege."

Chichester. — "Why? Latin service was in England when the Pope was gone."

Bradford. — "True. There was a time in England when the pope was away, but not all popery; as in King Henry's days."

Chichester. — "You are too ready to blame, in saying that the church robs the people of the cup."

Bradford. — "Well, my lord, term it as you may please; all men know that the laity have none of it."

Chichester. — "Indeed, I wish the church would define it again, that they might have it, for my part."

Bradford. — "If God makes it free, who can define to make it binding?"

And so after more conversation of this kind, the bishop left him.

On the 25th of February, two Spanish friars came to Bradford. One of them, who was the king's confessor, asked him in Latin (for all their talk was in Latin) whether he had seen or heard of one Alphonsus, who had written against heresy?

Bradford. — "I do not know him."

Confessor. — "Well, this man (pointing to Alphonsus) is he. We have come to you out of love and charity, because you desire to confer with us."

Bradford. — "I never desired your coming, nor to confer with you or any other. But as you have come out of charity, as you say, I cannot but thank you. And regarding a conference, though I do not desire it, I will not refuse to talk with you, if you will."

Alphonsus. — "It would be requisite that you prayed to God, that you might follow the direction of God's Spirit, that he would inspire you, so that you are not addicted to your own self-will or wisdom."

Upon this Bradford offered up a prayer, and sought God to direct all their wills, words, and works, as the wills, words, and works of his children forever.

Alphonsus. — "Indeed, you must pray with your heart. For if you speak only with your tongue, God will not give you his grace."

Bradford. — "Sir, do not judge, lest you be judged. You have heard my words, now charity would have you leave the judgment of the heart to God."

Alphonsus. — "You must not be wedded to yourself, but as one standing in doubt: pray, and be ready to receive what God will inspire."

Bradford. — "Sir, my conviction of religion must not be doubting or uncertain, and I thank God I am certain in that for which I am condemned. I have no cause to doubt it, but rather to be more certain of it. And therefore I pray God to confirm me more in it. For it is His truth, and because it is so certain and true, that it may abide the light. I dare behold to have it looked at, and to confer about it with you, or with any man."

Alphonsus. — "Do you not believe that Christ is really and corporeally present in the form of bread?"

Bradford. — "No, I believe that Christ is present to the faith of the worthy receiver, as bread and wine are present to the senses and outward man."

Alphonsus. — "I am sure you believe Christ's natural body is circumscribable."<sup>565</sup>

And here he made a long harangue about two natures of Christ, how the one is everywhere, and the other is in his proper place, asking such questions as no wise man would have spent time about. He then said, "Will you believe nothing but that which is expressly spoken in the Scriptures?"

Bradford. — "Yes, sir, I will believe whatever you will declare to me by demonstration out of the Scriptures."

"He is obstinate," said Alphonsus to his companion; and then turning to Bradford, he said, "Is God not able to do it?"

Bradford. — "Yes, but here the question is of God's *will*, and not of his *power*."

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<sup>565</sup> *Circumscribable*: capable of being limited or confined within boundaries.

Alphonsus. — “Why? Does he not say plainly, ‘This as my body?’ “

Bradford. — “Yes; and I do not deny that it is so, *to the faith of the worthy receiver.*”

Alphonsus. — “To the faith? How is that?”

Bradford. — “Truly, sir, as I have no tongue to express it, so I know you have no ears to hear and understand it. For faith is more than man can utter.”

Alphonsus. — “But I can tell all that I believe.”

Bradford. — “You do not believe much then. For if you believe the joys of heaven, and believe no more of it than you can tell, you will not desire to go there. For as the mind is more capable than the mouth, so it conceives more than the tongue can express.”

Alphonsus. — “Christ says it is his body.”

Bradford. — “And so say I, in a certain manner.”

Alphonsus. — “In a certain manner — that is, in another manner than it is in heaven.”

Bradford. — “Augustine tells it more plainly, that it is Christ’s body in the same manner as circumcision was the covenant of God, and the sacrament of faith is faith. Or to make it plainer, as baptism and the water of baptism is regeneration.”

Alphonsus. — “Very well said. Baptism and the water is a sacrament of God’s grace and Spirit in the water cleansing the baptized.”

Bradford. — “No, sir, away with your enclosing. But this I grant, that in the same way as Christ’s body is in the bread, so the grace and Spirit of God is in the water.”

Alphonsus. — “In water is God’s grace by signification.”

Bradford. — “So is the body in the bread in the sacrament.”

Here the friar was in a remarkable rage, and spoke so loudly that the whole house rang with it. He had a great name for learning, but surely he had little patience. For if Bradford had been hot, one house could not have held them. At length he came to this point, that Bradford could not find in the Scripture, that baptism and the Lord’s supper bear any similitude together. And here he gloated over it, saying that these men would receive nothing but Scripture, and yet they were able to prove nothing by the Scripture.

Bradford. — “Be patient, and you will see that by the Scriptures I will find baptism and the Lord’s supper coupled together.”

Alphonsus. — “No, that you can never do. Let me see a text of it.”

Bradford. — “St. Paul says, ‘By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body; and have all been made to drink into one Spirit,’ (1Cor 12.13) meaning the cup in the Lord’s supper.”

Alphonsus. — “St. Paul has no such words.”

Bradford. — “Yes, he has.”

Confessor. — “He has not.”

Bradford. — “Give me a Testament, and I will show you.”

So a priest that sat by them gave him his Testament, and he showed them the plain text. Then they looked at one another.

Alphonsus, who had the Testament in his hand, desirous to suppress this defeat, turned the leaves of the book from leaf to leaf, till he came to 1Cor 11.29. And there he read how he was guilty, who did not distinguish the Lord's body.

Bradford. — "Yes, but with that he says, 'Whoever eats of the bread:' calling it bread still; and that was after consecration (as you call it) — as in 1Cor 10.16 he says, 'The bread which we break,'" etc.

Alphonsus. — "Oh how ignorant you are, who do not know that things after their conversion retain the same names which they had before, as with Moses' rod." <sup>Exo 7.12</sup>

Calling for a Bible, after he had found the place, he began to gloat. But Bradford cooled him quickly, saying,

Bradford. — "Sir, there mention is made of the conversion in that case, and it appeared so to the senses. But *here* you cannot find it so. Find me one word as to how the bread is converted, and I will then admit that you bring some matter that makes for you."

At these words the friar was troubled. At length he said that Bradford depended on his own sense (understanding).

Bradford. — "No, I do not; for I will bring you the fathers of the church for 800 years after Christ, to confirm what I say."

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Alphonsus. — "No, you have the church against you."

Bradford. — "I do not have Christ's church against me. "

Alphonsus. — "Yes, you have. What is the church?"

Bradford. — "Christ's wife, the chair and seat of truth."

Alphonsus. — "Is she visible?"

Bradford. — "Yes, that she is to those who will put on the spectacles of God's word to look at her."

After much more passed between them, the friars departed.

*Certain reasons against Transubstantiation, gathered by John Bradford,  
and given to Doctor Weston and others.*

"1. That which is former (says Tertullian) is true; that which is later is false. And the doctrine of transubstantiation is a late doctrine: for it was not defined generally before the Council of Lateran, about 1215 years after Christ's coming, under Pope Innocent III of that name. For before that time it was free for all men to believe it, or not to believe it, as the bishop of Durham witnesses in his book of the 'Presence of Christ in his Supper' recently published. Ergo, the doctrine of transubstantiation is false.

"2. That the words of Christ's supper are figurative, as the circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy or proportion of the sacraments, and the sentences of all the holy fathers teach, who wrote for a thousand years after Christ's ascension Whereupon it follows that there was no transubstantiation.

"3. The Scriptures witness that the Lord gave bread to his disciples, and called it his body. For he gave that, and called it his body; which he took in his hands, whereupon he gave thanks. This bread also he broke, and gave to his disciples; that is to say, *bread*, as the fathers



## Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Augustine, and all the rest who are of antiquity affirm. But in as much as the substance of bread and wine is something other than the substance of the body and blood of Christ, it plainly appears that there is no transubstantiation.

“4. The bread is no more transubstantiated than the wine; and St. Matthew and St. Mark teach us that the wine is not transubstantiated. For they witness that Christ said that he would drink no more of the fruit of the vine — which was not blood, but wine. And therefore it follows that there is no transubstantiation. Chrysostom writing upon St. Matthew, and St. Cyprian, affirm this reason.

“5. Just as the bread in the Lord’s supper is Christ’s *natural* body, so it is his *mystical* body. For the same Spirit who spoke of it, ‘This is my body;’ also said, ‘For we, being many, are one bread, and one body,’ etc. <sup>1Cor 10.17</sup> But now, it is not the *mystical* body by transubstantiation, and therefore it is not his *natural* body by transubstantiation.

“6. The words spoken over the cup in Luke <sup>Luk 22.20</sup> and in Corinthians, <sup>1Cor 11.25</sup> are not so mighty and effectual as to transubstantiate it. For then it, or that which is in it, would be transubstantiated into the New Testament. Therefore the words spoken over the bread are not so mighty as to make transubstantiation.

“7. All that doctrine which agrees with those churches which are apostolic mother churches, or original churches, is to be counted for truth, in that it holds what these churches received from the apostles, the apostles of Christ, the Christ of God. But it is manifest that the doctrine taught at this present time by the church of Rome, concerning transubstantiation, does not agree with the apostolic and mother churches of Greece, Corinth, Philippi, Colossae, Thessalonica, or Ephesus, who never taught transubstantiation. Indeed, it does not agree with the doctrine of the church of Rome taught in times past. For pope Gelasius, setting forth the doctrine which that See then held, manifestly confutes the error of transubstantiation, and reproves of sacrilege those who divided the mystery, and kept the cup from the laity. Therefore the doctrine of transubstantiation does not agree with the truth.”

These arguments were written out by Bradford, and handed to Weston, who expressed a desire to confer with him. But the conference, like all the others, ended in nothing but confirming Bradford in the true faith which he had professed.

Thus Bradford continued in prison until the month of July, in labors and sufferings. But when the time appointed for his death had come, he was suddenly conveyed in the night to Newgate; and from there he was carried on the following morning to Smithfield. There, as narrated before, he firmly adhered to the truth of God which he had confessed, earnestly exhorting the people to repent, and to turn to Christ. Sweetly comforting the godly young man, aged nineteen or twenty years, who was burned with him, he cheerfully ended his painful life, to live with Christ.

### ***The History and Martyrdom of John Leaf***

John Leaf, who was burned with Bradford, was an apprentice to Humphrey Gawdy, tallow-chandler (candle dealer), of the parish of Christ’s Church, in London. He was born at Kirkby Moreside, in the county of York. On the Friday before Palm Sunday, he was committed to the Compter in Bread-street, by an alderman of London, who had the rule and charge of that ward or part of the city where John Leaf dwelt. When brought before Bonner, Leaf gave a firm and Christian testimony of his doctrine and profession, answering to those articles which were objected to him by the bishop.

First, regarding his belief and faith in the sacrament of the altar, he answered that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest over the bread and wine, there was not the very true and natural body and blood of Christ in substance — that the sacrament of the altar, as it is now called, used and believed in this realm of England, is idolatrous and abominable — also, he believed that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest over the material bread and wine, there is not the self-same substance of Christ's body and blood contained there, but bread and wine, as it was before — and further, he believed that when the priest delivers the material bread and wine to the communicants, he delivers only material bread and wine. The communicants receive these in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, and spiritually in faith they receive Christ's body and blood, but not under the forms of bread and wine. He also affirmed that he believed auricular confession was not necessary to be made to a priest; for it is no point of the soul's health, nor does the priest have any authority given to him by the Scriptures to absolve and remit any sin.

Upon giving these answers, he was dismissed, and ordered to appear on the following Monday, the 10th of June, then and there to hear the sentence of his condemnation. Accordingly, the bishop then propounded the articles to him again, endeavoring by all means to turn him from truth to error. But notwithstanding all the bishop's persuasions, threats, and promises, he found Leaf the same man still. He was so firmly planted upon the sure rock of truth, that no words or deeds of men could remove him.

Then the bishop, after many words to and fro, at last asked him if he had been Master Rogers' scholar (student)? John Leaf answered that it was so, and that he believed in the doctrine of Rogers, and in the doctrine of bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, and others of their opinion, who were recently burned for the testimony of Christ, and that he would die in that doctrine for which they died. After other replications again by the bishop, moving him to return to the unity of the church, with great courage of spirit, Leaf replied in these words: "My lord, you call my opinion heresy; it is the limelight of the word of God." And again repeating the same, he professed that he would never forsake his well-grounded opinion while breath was in his body. The bishop being too weak either to refute his sentence, or to remove his constancy, proceeded to read the popish sentence of cruel condemnation.

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Thus this godly and constant young man, being committed to the sheriff's secular power, was then adjudged, and not long after suffered on the same day with John Bradford, confirming with his death, that which he had spoken and professed in his life.

It is reported of John Leaf, that after his examinations before the bishop, two bills were sent to him, the one containing a recantation, the other his confessions, to know which of them he would put his hand to. First having the bill of recantation read to him, he refused it; and when the other was read to him, instead of a pen he took a pin, and pricking his hand, he sprinkled the blood upon the bill, desiring the reader to show the bishop that he had sealed the same bill with his blood already.

When these holy martyrs came to the stake in Smithfield to be burned, Bradford lying prostrate on the one side of the stake, and the young man John Leaf on the other side, they lay flat on their faces, praying to themselves for an hour. Then one of the sheriffs said to Bradford, "Arise, and make an end; for the press of the people is great."

At that word they both stood upon their feet. Then Bradford took a faggot in his hand, and kissed it, and so likewise the stake. And when he had done so, he desired the sheriffs that his servant might have his raiment. "For," he said, "I have nothing else to give him; and besides

that, he is a poor man.” And the sheriff said he would have it. And so immediately Bradford took off his raiment, and went to the stake. Holding up his hands, and casting his countenance to heaven, he said, “O England, England, repent of your sins, repent of your sins. Beware of idolatry; beware of false Antichrists; take heed they do not deceive you!” And as he was speaking these words, the sheriff bid them tie his hands, if he would not be quiet. “O Master Sheriff,” said Bradford, “I am quiet. God forgive you this.” And one of the officers who made the fire, hearing Bradford so speaking to the sheriff, said, “If you have no better learning than that, you are but a fool, and had better hold your peace.” Bradford gave no answer to these words; but asked all the world forgiveness, and forgave all the world, and requested the people to pray for him. Then turning his head to the young man who suffered with him, he said, “Be of good comfort, brother; for we shall have a happy supper with the Lord this night.” He spoke no more words that any man heard; but embracing the reeds, he said, “Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leads to life, and few there are who find it.”

And thus, like two lambs, they both ended their mortal lives, without any alteration of their countenance, being void of all fear, hoping to obtain the prize for which they had long run — to which may Almighty God happily conduct us, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord and Savior. Amen.

### ***Letters of John Bradford from Prison.***

This godly and heavenly martyr, during the time of his imprisonment, wrote several comforting treatises, and many godly letters, some of which he wrote to the city of London, to Cambridge, Walden, Lancashire, and Cheshire, and to several to his private friends. It will appear by these letters, how piously this man occupied his time while a prisoner — what special zeal he bore toward the state of Christ’s church — what care he had to perform his office — how earnestly he admonished all men — how tenderly he comforted the heavy-hearted — how faithfully he confirmed those whom he had taught. I thought it good to give a few of the most important of those letters here. For the rest, I refer the reader to the book of the *Letters of the Martyrs*, where they may be found. <sup>566</sup>

#### *To the City of London.*

“To all who profess the gospel and true doctrine of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ in the city of London, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only in prison, but also excommunicated, and condemned to be burned for the same true doctrine, wishes mercy, grace, and peace, with increase of all godly knowledge and piety from God the Father of mercy, through the merits of our sole and all-sufficient Redeemer, Jesus Christ, by the operation of the Holy Spirit forever. Amen.

“My dearly beloved brethren in our Savior Christ, although the time I have to live is very short (for I look hourly when I will be taken from here to be conveyed into Lancashire, there to be burned, and to render my life, by the providence of God, where I first received it by the same providence), and although the charge is great to keep me from all things by which I might signify anything to the world of my state; yet having pen and ink, as now I have, through God’s working, in spite of the head of Satan and his soldiers, I thought it good to write a short confession of my faith, and join to it a little exhortation to you all, to live according to your profession.

“First, for my faith, I confess, and pray the whole congregation of Christ to bear witness with me of the same, that I believe constantly, through the gift and goodness of God (for faith is

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<sup>566</sup> *Letters of the Martyrs*, collected and published in 1564 by Myles Coverdale.

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God's gift alone), all the twelve articles of the symbol and creed, commonly attributed to the Apostles Creed. I would gladly declare my faith particularly, and expound to the confirmation and comfort of the simple. But, alas! by starts and stealth I write in the manner that I do. And therefore I desire you all to take this brevity in good part. And I hold this faith, not because of the creed itself, but because of the word of God, which teaches and confirms every article accordingly. This word of God, written by the prophets and apostles, left and contained in the canonical books of the whole Bible, I believe to plentifully contain all things necessary to salvation, so that nothing (necessary to salvation) ought to be added to it. And therefore the church of Christ, nor any of His congregation, should be burdened with any other doctrine than that which has its foundation and ground from this. In testimony of this faith, I render and give my life, being condemned for not acknowledging the antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar, the general and supreme head of his catholic and universal church here or elsewhere upon earth; as well as for denying the horrible and idolatrous doctrine of transubstantiation, and Christ's real, corporeal, and carnal presence in his supper, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine.

"To believe that Christ our Savior is the head of his church, and that kings in their realms are to be the supreme powers to whom every soul owes obedience, and to believe that in the supper of Christ (which the 'sacrament of the altar' as the papists call it and use it, and utterly overthrow it), is a true and very presence of a whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver, but *not* to the bystander and onlooker, because it is a true and very presence of bread and wine to the senses of men — to believe this, I say, will not serve. And therefore I am condemned as a heretic, and I will be burned. Therefore I heartily ask God for mercy, that I no more rejoice than I do, having such great cause as to be an instrument in which it may please my dear Lord God and Savior, that I suffer.

"For though my manifold sins, ever since I came into prison, have deserved at the hands of God, not only this temporal, but also eternal fire in hell, much more than my former sinful life, which may the Lord pardon for Christ's sake, as I know he has done of his mercy, and will never lay my iniquities to my charge, to condemnation, so great is his goodness (praised, therefore, be His holy name). Although, I say, my recent manifold and grievous sins have most justly deserved all the tyranny that man or devil can do to me — and therefore I confess that the Lord is just, and that His judgments are true and deserved on my behalf — yet the bishops and prelates do not persecute those sins in me, but Christ himself: his word, his truth, and religion. And therefore I have great cause, yes, great cause to rejoice that I was ever born, and kept by the Lord up to now; that by my death, which is deserved for my sins, it pleases my heavenly Father to glorify His name by having me testify his truth; to confirm his word; and to repugn his adversaries. O, good God and merciful Father! forgive my great unthankfulness, especially in this.

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"And you, my dearly beloved, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, I now humbly and heartily beseech you, in his compassion and blood, for my last farewell in this present life, and that each of you will consider this work of the Lord accordingly: first be admonished by me to beware of hypocrisy and carnal security; do not profess the gospel with your tongue and lips only, but in heart and truth; frame and fashion your lives accordingly; beware that God's name is not evilly spoken of, and the gospel less regarded by your conduct. God forgive me that I have not so heartily professed it as I should have done, but have much sought myself in it. The gospel is a new doctrine to the old man; it is new wine; and therefore cannot be put in old bottles, without greater hurt than good to the bottles. If we would talk with the Lord, we must put off our shoes and carnal affections; if we would hear the voice of the Lord, we must wash our garments and be holy; if we would be Christ's disciples, we must deny ourselves, take up

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our cross and follow Christ; we cannot serve two masters. If we seek Christ's kingdom, we must seek its righteousness. To this petition: 'Let your kingdom come;' we must join: 'Your will be done' — done 'on earth as it is in heaven.' If we would not be doers of the word, but hearers of it only, we sorely deceive ourselves. If we hear the gospel, and do not love it; we declare ourselves to be but fools, and builders upon the sand. The Lord's Spirit hates feigning; the Lord abhors deceitfulness. If we come to him, we must beware that we do not come with a double heart; for then perhaps God may answer us according to the block which is in our heart, and so we will deceive ourselves and others.

"See that we couple a good conscience to faith, lest we make shipwreck. To the Lord we must come with fear and reverence. If we would be gospellers, we must be Christ's; if we are Christ's, we must crucify our flesh with its affections and lusts; if we would be under grace, sin must not bear rule in us. We may not come to the Lord, and draw near to him with our lips, and leave our hearts elsewhere, lest the Lord's wrath grow hot, and He take from us the good remaining. In no case can the kingdom of Christ approach those who do not repent. Therefore, my dearly beloved, let us repent and be heartily sorry that we have so carnally, so hypocritically, so covetously, so vaingloriously professed the gospel. For all these I confess myself, to the glory of God, that he may cover my offenses in the day of judgment. Let the anger and plagues of God, most justly fallen upon us, be applied to every one of our deserts, so that from the bottom of our hearts, all of us may say, 'It is I, Lord, who have sinned against you. It is my hypocrisy, my vainglory, my covetousness, uncleanness, carnality, security, idleness, unthankfulness, self-love, and such like, which deserved the taking away of our good king, of your word and true religion, of your good ministers by exile, imprisonment, and death. It is my wickedness that causes success, and increase of authority, and peace of your enemies. Oh, be merciful! be merciful to us! Turn to us again, O Lord of Hosts, and turn us to you. Correct us, but not in your fury, lest we be consumed in your anger. Do not chastise us in your wrathful displeasure; do not reprove us, but in the midst of your anger, remember your mercy. For if you mark what is done amiss, who will be able to abide it? But with you is mercifulness, that you might be worshipped. Oh, then, be merciful to us, that we may truly worship you! Help us, for the glory of your name! Be merciful toward our sins, for they are great! O, heal us! and help us for your honor! Do not let the wicked people say, 'Where is their God?' etc.

"In this way, my right dearly beloved, let us heartily bewail our sins, repent of our former evil life, heartily and earnestly purpose to amend our lives in all things, continually watch in prayer, diligently and reverently attend, hear, and read the holy Scriptures, labor in our calling to amend our brethren. Let us reprove the works of darkness. Let us flee from all idolatry. Let us abhor the antichristian and Romish rotten service; detest the popish mass; renounce their Romish god; prepare ourselves for the cross; be obedient to all who are in authority in all things that are not against God and his word — for then, answer with the apostles, 'it is fitting to obey God rather than man.' However, never resist, or rise against the magistrates for anything. Do not avenge yourselves, but commit your cause to the Lord, to whom vengeance pertains, and in his time He will reward it. If you feel in yourselves a hope and trust in God, that he will never tempt you above what He will make you able to bear, be assured that the Lord will be true to you; and you will be able to bear all brunts. But if you want this hope, flee and get away from here, rather than God's name be dishonored by your tarrying.

"In the end, cast your care on the Lord, knowing most certainly, that he cares for you. With Him all the hairs of your head are numbered, so that not one of them will perish without his good pleasure and will; much more then, nothing will happen to our bodies, which will not be profitable, though for a time it seems otherwise to your senses. Hang on the providence of God, not only when you have means to help you, but also when you have no means; indeed, when all means are against you. Give Him this honor, which of all other things he most chiefly requires at your hands — namely, believe that you are His children through Christ; that he is

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your Father and God through him; that He loves you, pardons you all your offenses; that He is with you in trouble, and will be with you forever. When you fall, He will put you under His hand; you will not lie still. Before you call upon Him, He hears you. Out of the evil He will finally bring you and deliver you to His eternal joy. Do not doubt in this, my dearly beloved; do not doubt, I say, that God your Father will do this for you, not in respect of yourselves, but in respect of Christ your captain, your pastor, your keeper, out of whose hands none shall be able to snatch you. In Him be quiet, and often consider your dignity — namely, how you are God's children, the saints of God, citizens of heaven, temples of the Holy Spirit, the thrones of God, members of Christ, and lords over all.

“Therefore be ashamed to think, speak, or do anything that might be unseemly for God's children, God's saints, Christ's members, etc. Do not marvel if the devil and the world hate you, or if you are persecuted here; for the servant is not above his master. Do not covet earthly riches; do not fear the power of man; do not love this world, nor the things that are in this world. But long for the Lord Jesus' coming, at which time your bodies will be made like His glorious body; when he appears you will be like him. When your life is thus revealed, then you will appear with him in glory.

“In the meantime, live in hope of this. Let the life you lead be in the faith of the Son of God. ‘For the just shall live by faith.’ This faith flees from all evil, and follows the word of God as a lantern to her feet, and a light to her steps. Her eyes are above, where Christ is. She does not behold the things present, but rather the things to come. She glories in affliction. She knows that the afflictions of this life are not to be compared to the glory which God will reveal to us, and in us. God grant us here a lively taste of this glory. Then we will run after the scent it sends out. It will make us valiant men, to take to ourselves the kingdom of God, where the Lord of mercy will bring us in his good time, through Christ our Lord. To Him, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, three persons and one God, be all honor and glory, world without end. Amen.

“My dearly beloved, I would gladly have given my body here, to be burned for the confirmation of the true doctrine I have taught to you; but my country must have that. Therefore I pray you take in good part this signification of my good will towards every one of you. Impute the lack in this to time and trouble. Pardon me my offensive and negligent behavior when I was among you.

[873] A.D. 1555.

“Repent with me, and labor to amend. Continue in the truth which I have truly taught to you by preaching in all places where I have come. God's name therefore be praised. Confess Christ when you are called, whatever comes of it, and the God of peace be with us all. Amen. This 11th of February 1555.

“Your brother in bonds for the Lord's sake,  
“JOHN BRADFORD.”

*“To the University and Town of Cambridge.”*

“To all who love the Lord Jesus and his true doctrine, being in the university and town of Cambridge, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only imprisoned, but also condemned for the same true doctrine, wishes grace, peace, and mercy, with increase of all godliness from God the Father of all mercy, through the bloody passion of our Savior Jesus Christ, by the lively working of the Holy Spirit forever. Amen.

“Although I look hourly for when I will be taken to the stake (my right dearly beloved in the Lord), and although the charge over me is great and strait, yet having secretly obtained pen and ink by the providence of God, I could not but signify something to you my solicitude which

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I have for you and every one of you in the Lord, though not as I would, yet as I may. You have often and openly heard the truth disputed and preached (especially in this matter for which I am condemned). So that it is needless to do any than to put you in remembrance of it. But up to now have you not heard it confirmed and sealed up, as it were, as you now and will hear by me — that is, by my death and burning. For although I have deserved (through my uncleanness, hypocrisy, avarice, vainglory, idleness, unthankfulness, and carnality, of which I accuse myself, to my confusion before the world, that before God, through Christ, I might, as is my assured hope, I shall find mercy) eternal death, and hell-fire, much more than this affliction and fire prepared for me. Yet, my dearly beloved, it is not for these, nor any of these things, for which the prelates persecute me, but for God's word and truth. Indeed, even Christ himself is the only cause and thing for which I am now condemned, and shall be burned as a heretic. It is because I will not grant the antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar-general and supreme head of his church here, and everywhere upon earth, by God's ordinance. And also because I will not grant such corporeal, real, and carnal presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, as transubstantiates the substance of bread and wine, and is received by the wicked, even of dogs and mice. Also, I am excommunicated and counted as a dead member of Christ's church, as a rotten branch; and therefore I will be cast into the fire.

“Therefore you should heartily rejoice with me, and give thanks for me, that God the eternal Father has granted our mother to bring up any child in whom it would please Him to magnify his holy name as he does; and I hope, for His mercy's and truth's sake, He will do in me, and by me. Oh, what benefit on earth can it be, that I, who deserved death because of my sins, should be delivered to a demonstration, a testification, and confirmation of God's word and truth! You, my mother, the university, have not only had the truth of God's word plainly manifested to you by reading, disputing, and preaching publicly and privately; but now, to make you altogether excuseless, and as it were, almost to sin against the Holy Spirit if you put your helping hand with the Romish mob to suppress the truth, and set out the contrary, you have my life and blood as a seal to confirm you, if you will be confirmed — or else to confound you, and bear witness against you, if you take part with the prelates and clergy, who now fill up the measure of their fathers, who slew the prophets and apostles, so that all the righteous blood from Abel to Bradford, shed upon the earth, may be required at their hands.

“Of this, therefore, I thought it good before my death, as time and liberty allowed me (for the love and duty I bear toward you) to admonish you, good mother, and my sister the town, that you would call to mind from where you are fallen, and study to do the first works. You know, if you will, these matters of the Romish supremacy, and the antichristian transubstantiation, whereby Christ's supper is overthrown; his priesthood abolished; his sacrifice frustrated; the ministry of his word unplaced; repentance repelled; faith fainted; godliness extinguished; the mass maintained; idolatry supported; and all impiety cherished. You know, I say, if you will, that these opinions are not only beside God's word, but even directly against it. And therefore to take part with them, is to take part against God, against whom you cannot prevail.

“Therefore for the tender mercy of Christ, in his compassion and blood, I beseech you to take Christ's eye-lotion and eye-salve to anoint your eyes, that you may see what you do and have done in admitting — as I hear you have admitted, yes and alas! authorized, and by consent confirmed — the Romish rotten rags which once you utterly expelled. O do not be like the proverb: ‘The dog has returned to his own vomit; and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire.’ Beware, lest Satan enter in with seven other spirits, and then the latter end will be worse than the first. It would have been better that you had never known the truth, than after knowledge, to run from it. Ah! woe to this world and the things in it, which has now so wrought with you. Oh, that ever this dirt of the devil should daub up the eye of the realm! For you, O mother! are like the eye of the realm. If you shine and give light, all the body will

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fare the better; but if your light is darkness, alas! how great will the darkness be? What is man whose breath is in his nostrils, that you should thus be afraid of him?

“Oh, what is honor and life here but baubles? What is glory in this world, but shame? Why are you afraid to carry Christ’s cross? Will you come into his kingdom, and not drink of his cup? Don’t you know Rome to be Babylon? Don’t you know that just as the old Babylon held the children of Judah in captivity, so has this Rome held the true Judah, that is, the confessors of Christ? Don’t you know that just as destruction happened to them, so it will happen to this? And do you think that God will not deliver his people now when the time has come, as he did then? Has God not commanded his people to come out from her? And will you give ensample to the whole realm to run to her? Have you forgotten the woe that Christ threatens to offense-givers? Will you not remember that it would be better that a millstone be hung about your neck, and you be thrown into the sea, than you should offend the little ones?

“And, alas! how have you offended? Yea, and how do you *still* offend? Will you consider things according to the outward show? Was the synagogue not more seemly and likely to be the true church, than the simple flock of Christ’s disciples? Does the whore of Babylon not have more costly array, and rich apparel to display herself externally, than the homely housewife of Christ? Where is the beauty of the king’s daughter, the church of Christ, without or within? Does David not say *within*? O, remember that just as they are happy who are not offended at Christ, so they are happy who are not offended at his poor church. Can the pope and his prelates honestly mean [what they say], who make so much of the wife, and so little of the husband? The church they magnify, but Christ they despise. If this church were an honest woman (that is, Christ’s wife) unless they would make much of her husband — Christ and his word — she would not be made much by them.

“When Christ and his apostles were on earth, who was more likely to be the true church: they, or was it the prelates, bishops, and synagogue? If a man had followed custom, unity, antiquity, or the more part, would not Christ and his company have been cast out the doors? Therefore, said Christ, ‘Search the Scriptures.’ And, good mother, will the servant be above his Master? Will we look for other entertainment at the hands of the world, than Christ and his dear disciples found?

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“Who was taken in Noah’s time for the church? Poor Noah and his family, or others? Who was taken for God’s church in Sodom? Lot, or others? And does Christ not say, ‘As it was then, so it will go now towards the coming of the Son of Man? What does Christ mean when he says, ‘Iniquity will have the upper hand?’ Does he not declare that charity will grow cold? And who does not see a shockingly great lack of charity in those who would now be taken for Christ’s church? All who fear God in this realm truly, can tell more of this than I can write.

“Therefore, dear mother, receive some admonition from one of your poor children, now going to be burned for the testimony of Jesus. Come back to God’s truth; come out of Babylon; confess Christ and his true doctrine; repent what is past; make amends by declaring your repentance by the fruits. Remember the readings and preachings of God’s prophet, the true preacher, Martin Bucer. Call to mind the threatenings of God, now somewhat seen by your children Leaver and others. Let the exile of Leaver, Pilkington, Grindal, Haddon, Horn, Scorie, Ponet, etc. somewhat awaken you. Let the imprisonment of your dear sons, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer move you. Consider the martyrdom of your chickens, Rogers, Sanders, Taylor. And do not now cast away the poor admonition of me also going to be burned, and to receive the same crown of glory with my fellows. Take to heart God’s calling by us. Do not be as Pharaoh was; for then it will happen to you as it did to him. What is that? Hardness of heart. And what then? Eternal destruction of both body and soul. Ah! Therefore, good mother,



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awake! awake! Repent! Repent! Stir yourself up, and make haste to turn to the Lord. For otherwise it will be easier for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for you. O, do not harden your hearts! O, do not stop your ears today in hearing God's voice! Even if it is by a most unworthy messenger. O, fear the Lord! For his anger has begun to kindle. Even now the axe is laid to the root of the tree.

"You know I prophesied truly to you before the plague came, what would come if you did not repent your carnal gospelling. And now I tell you before I depart from here, that the ears of men will tingle to hear the vengeance of God that will fall upon all, both town and university, if you do not repent, if you do not leave your idolatry, if you do not turn speedily to the Lord, if you are still ashamed of Christ's truth which you know.

"Oh, Perne repent! Oh, Thompson, repent! Oh, you doctors, bachelors, and masters, repent! Oh, mayor, aldermen, and town-dwellers, repent! repent! repent! that you may escape the near vengeance of the Lord. Rend your hearts, and come quickly, calling on the Lord. Let us all say, 'We have all sinned; we have done wickedly; we have not hearkened to your voice, O Lord! Do not deal with us according to our deserts, but be merciful to our iniquities, for they are great. Oh, pardon our offenses! In your anger remember your mercy. Turn us to you, O Lord God of hosts! for the glory of your name's sake. Spare us and be merciful to us. Let not the wicked people say; Where now is their God? O, for Your own sake, for Your name's sake, deal mercifully with us! Turn yourself to us, and turn us to you, and we will praise your name forever!

"If in this way, my dearly beloved, in heart and mouth, we come to our Father and prostrate ourselves before the throne of his grace, then surely we will find mercy. Then the Lord will look graciously upon us, for his mercy's sake in Christ. Then we will hear him speak peace to his people. For he is gracious and merciful, of great pity and compassion. He cannot chide us forever. His anger cannot last long toward the penitent. Though we weep in the morning, yet at night we will have our sorrow cease. For He is exorable, and takes no pleasure in the death of a sinner. He would rather have our conversion and turning.

"Oh, turn now and repent yet once again, I humbly beseech you; and then the kingdom of heaven will draw near. The eye has not seen, the ear has not heard, nor is the heart of man able to conceive the joys prepared for us if we repent, amend our lives, and heartily turn to the Lord. But if you do not repent, but remain as you were, and go on forward with the wicked, following the fashion of the world, the Lord will lead you on with wicked doers. You will perish in your wickedness; your blood will be upon your own heads; your portions will be with hypocrites, where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth. You will be cast from the face of the Lord for ever and ever; eternal shame, sorrow, woe, and misery, will be in both body and soul to you, world without end. Oh, therefore, right dear to me in the Lord, turn, turn, repent, repent, amend, amend your lives. Depart from evil; do good, follow peace, and pursue it. Come out from Babylon; cast off the works of darkness; put on Christ; confess His truth; do not be ashamed of his gospel. Prepare yourselves for the cross; drink of God's cup before it comes to the dregs, and then with you and for you, I will rejoice in the day of judgment which is at hand; and therefore prepare yourselves for it, I heartily beseech you. And thus I take my farewell forever from you in this present life, my own dear hearts in the Lord. The Lord of mercy be with us all, and give us a joyful and sure meeting in his kingdom. Amen, Amen.

"Out of prison, the 11th of February A.D. 1555.

"Your own in the Lord forever,

"JOHN BRADFORD."

*“To Lancashire and Cheshire.*

“To all those who profess the name and true religion of our Savior Christ in Lancashire and Cheshire, and especially abiding in Manchester and thereabout, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only in bonds, but also condemned for the same true religion, wishes mercy and grace, peace, and increase of all godliness from God the Father of all pity, through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the working of the most mighty and lively Spirit, the Comforter forever. Amen.

“I heard it credibly reported, my dearly beloved in the Lord, that my heavenly Father has thought it good to provide that, as I have preached his true doctrine and gospel among you by word, so I will testify and confirm the same by deed — that is, I will leave my life with you, which by his providence I first received there (for I was born in Manchester) for a seal to the doctrine I have taught with you, and among you. So that, if from now on you waver in the same, you have no excuse at all. I know the enemies of Christ, who exercise this cruelty upon me (I speak in respect to my offense, which is none towards them), think to terrify you and others by killing me among you, lest they should attempt to teach Christ truly, or believe his doctrine hereafter. But I do not doubt that my heavenly Father will, by my death, more confirm you in His truth forever. And therefore I greatly rejoice to see Satan and his soldiers supplanted in their own craftiness, which is plain foolishness among the wise indeed — that is, among those who have heard God’s word, and follow it; for they alone are counted wise who have the wisdom of God our Savior.

“Indeed, if I were to simply consider my life with that which it should have been, and as God in his law requires, then I could not help but cry as I do, ‘Righteous are you, O Lord, and all your judgments are true. For I have grieved you, and transgressed your holy precepts, not only before my professing the gospel, but also since. Indeed, since my coming into prison I do not excuse, but accuse myself before God and all his church, that I have grievously offended my Lord God. I have not loved his gospel as I should have done; I have sought myself, and not simply and only His glory and my brethren’s welfare. I have been too unthankful, secure, carnal, hypocritical, vainglorious, etc. All of these evils of mine, the Lord of mercy pardon me for Christ’s sake, as I hope and certainly believe He has done for his great mercy in Christ our Redeemer.

[785] A.D. 1555.

“But when I consider the cause of my condemnation, I cannot but lament, that I do not rejoice more than I do. For it is God’s word and truth. So that the condemnation is not a condemnation simply of Bradford, but rather a condemnation of Christ and of his truth. Bradford is nothing else but an instrument in whom Christ and his doctrine is condemned. And, therefore, my dearly beloved, rejoice, rejoice and give thanks with me and for me; that God ever granted so great a benefit to our country, as to choose the most unworthy (I mean myself) to be one in whom it would please Him to allow any kind of affliction, much more this violent kind of death which I perceive is prepared for me with you, for His sake. All glory and praise be given to God our Father, for his great and exceeding mercy towards me through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

“But perhaps you will say to me, what is the cause for which you are condemned? We hear say that you deny all presence of Christ in his holy supper, and so you make it a mere sign and common bread, and nothing else. My dearly beloved, what is said of me, and what will be said, I cannot tell. It is told to me that Pendleton has gone down to preach among you, not as he once recanted (for you all know he has preached contrary to that he usually preached before I came among you), but to recant what he has recanted. How he will speak of me, and report before I come, when I have come, and when I am burned, I do not care much. For he that is so

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uncertain, and will speak so often against himself, I cannot think he will speak well of me, unless it makes for his purpose and profit. But enough of this.

“Indeed, the chief thing which I am condemned for, as a heretic, is because I deny in the sacrament of the altar (which is not Christ’s supper, but a plain perverting of it, being used as the papists now use it) to be a real, natural, and corporeal presence of Christ’s body and blood, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine. That is, because I deny transubstantiation, which is the darling of the devil, and daughter and heir to antichrist’s religion, by which the mass is maintained; Christ’s supper perverted; his sacrifice and cross made imperfect; his priesthood destroyed; the ministry taken away; repentance repelled; and all true godliness abandoned. In the supper of our Lord, or sacrament of Christ’s body and blood, I confess and believe that there is a true, and actual presence of the whole Christ, God and Man, to the faith of the receiver (but not of the bystander and onlooker) just as there is a very true presence of bread and wine to the senses of the one who partakes of it. This faith, this doctrine, which consents with the word of God, and with the true testimony of Christ’s church (which the popish church persecutes) I will not forsake. And therefore I am condemned as a heretic, and shall be burned. But, my I dearly beloved, this truth (which I have taught, and you have received, which I believed, and do believe, and for this give my life) I hope in God shall never be burned, bound, nor overcome — but shall triumph, have victory, and be at liberty, in spite of the head of all God’s adversaries. For there is no counsel against the Lord, nor can any device of man be able to defeat the truth in any other than those who are children of unbelief, who have no love of the truth, and therefore are given up to believe lies. From this plague, may the Lord of mercy deliver you and all the realm, my dear hearts in the Lord, I humbly beseech His mercy. Amen.

“And to the end that you might be delivered from this plague, right dear to me in the Lord, I will for my farewell with you for ever in this present life, heartily desire you all, in the compassion and blood of our most merciful Savior Jesus Christ, to attend to these things which I will now briefly write to you, out of the holy Scriptures of the Lord.

“You know a heavy plague of God has fallen upon us (or rather plagues), in taking away our good king, and true religion, God’s true prophets and ministers, etc. And in setting over us those who do not seek the Lord according to knowledge; whose endeavors God prospers wonderfully to the trial of many, that his people may both better know themselves, and be known. Now the cause of this is our iniquities and grievous sins. We did not know the time of our visitation; we were unthankful to God; we despised the gospel and carnally abused it to serve our hypocrisy, our vainglory, our viciousness, avarice, idleness, security, etc. Long did the Lord linger and tarry to have shown mercy upon us, but we were ever longer the worse. Therefore God has most justly dealt with us, and deals with us. Indeed, we may yet see that his justice is tempered with much mercy, to which let us attribute that we are not utterly consumed. For if the Lord were to deal with us according to our deserts, alas! how could we abide it? In his anger, therefore, seeing that He remembers his undeserved mercy (even undesired on our behalf) let us take occasion to more speedily go out to meet Him, not with force of arms (for we are not so able to withstand him, much less to prevail against him), but to beseech him to be merciful to us, and to deal with us according to His accustomed mercy.

“Let us arise with David, and say, ‘Do not enter into judgment with your servant, O Lord; for in Your sight no man living shall be justified.\* Let us send ambassadors with the centurion, and say, Lord, we are not worthy to come to you ourselves; speak the word, and we will have peace. Let us penitently with the publican look down at the earth, beat our hard hearts to burst them, and cry out, ‘O God be merciful to us sinners,’ Let us with the lost son return and say, O Father, we have sinned against heaven and before you, and are no longer worthy to be called your children. Let us, I say, go on this way, that is, heartily repent of our former evil life, and

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unthankful gospelling past, repent, and turn to God with our whole hearts, hoping in his great mercy through Christ, and heartily calling upon his holy name. And then undoubtedly we will find and feel otherwise than we now feel, both inwardly and outwardly. Inwardly we will feel peace of conscience between God and us, which peace surpasses all understanding. Outwardly we will feel much mitigation of these miseries, if not an utter taking away of them.

“Therefore, my dearly beloved in the Lord, I your poorest brother now departing to the Lord, for my *Vale in aturnum* (i.e., my farewell forever) for this present life, pray you, beseech you, and even from the very bottom of my heart, for all the mercies of God in Christ shown to you, most earnestly beg and crave of you, out of prison (as I have done often out of your pulpits) that you would repent, leave your wicked and evil life, be sorry for your offenses, and turn to the Lord, whose arms are wide open to receive and embrace you, whose outstretched hand to strike to death, stays so that he may show mercy to you. For he is the Lord of mercy, and God of all comfort. He does not wish the death of a sinner, but rather that you should return, repent, and amend. He has no pleasure in the destruction of men; his long-suffering draws to repentance before the time of vengeance, and the day of wrath comes, which is at hand.

“Now the axe is laid to the root of the tree, to utterly destroy the impenitent. Now the fire has gone out before the face of the Lord, and who is able to quench it? Oh therefore repent, repent. It is enough to have lived as we have done. It is enough to have played the wanton gospellers, the proud protestants, hypocritical and false Christians, as, alas, we have done. Now the Lord speaks to us in mercy and grace. Oh turn before he speaks in wrath. There is still mercy with the Lord, and plenteous redemption. He has not yet forgotten to show mercy to those who call upon him. Oh then, call upon him while he may be found. For he is rich in mercy, and plentiful to all those who call upon him. So that, whoever calls on the name of the Lord, shall be saved. If your sins are as red as scarlet, the Lord says he will make them as white as snow. He has sworn, and will never repent of it, that he will never remember our iniquities. But as he is good, faithful, and true, so he will be our God, and we will be his people. He will write his law in our hearts, and ingraft it in our minds, and he will never have in mind our unrighteousness.”

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“Therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, turn, turn to the Lord your Father, to the Lord your Savior, to the Lord your Comforter. O why do you stop your ears, and harden your hearts today, when you hear his voice by me, your poorest brother? Oh do not forget how the Lord has shown himself true, and me his true preacher, by bringing to pass these plagues which you often heard from my mouth before they came to pass, especially when I treated Noah’s flood, and when I preached on the 22nd chapter of St. Matthew’s gospel on St. Stephen’s day, the last time that I was with you. And now, by me, the Lord sends you word, dear countrymen, that if you will go on in your impenitency, carnality, hypocrisy, idolatry, covetousness, swearing, gluttony, drunkenness, whoredom, etc., with which, alas! alas! our country flows: if, I say, you will not turn and desist, seeing me now burned among you, to assure you on all sides how God seeks you, and is sorry to do you hurt, to plague you, to destroy you, to take vengeance upon you, oh your blood will be upon your own heads! You have been warned and warned again by me in preaching, and now by me in burning.

“As I said, therefore, I say again, my dear hearts and darlings in the Lord, turn, turn, repent! Cease from doing evil; study to do well; do away with idolatry; flee the Romish god and service; desist from swearing; cut off carnality; abandon avarice; drive away drunkenness; flee from fornication and flattery, murder and malice; destroy deceitfulness, and cast away all the works of darkness. Put on piety and godliness; serve God after his word, and not after custom; use your tongues to glorify God by prayer, thanksgiving, and confession of his truth, etc.; be spiritual, and by the Spirit mortify carnal affections; be sober, holy, true; loving, gentle,

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merciful; and then the Lord's wrath will cease, not for our doings' sake, but for His mercy's sake. Go to therefore, good countrymen. Take this council of the Lord by me now sent to you as the Lord's counsel, and not as mine, so that in the day of judgment I may rejoice with you, and for you. This thing I heartily desire, and not to be a witness against you. My blood will cry for vengeance against the papists, God's enemies, whom I beseech God, if it is his will, to heartily forgive — yes, even those who put me to death and are the causers of it. For they know not what they do. So will my blood cry for vengeance against you, my dearly-beloved in the Lord, if you do not repent, and do not amend and turn to the Lord.

“Turn to the Lord, yet once more I heartily beseech you — you Manchester, you Ashton-under-Line, you Bolton, Bury, Wigan, Liverpool, Mottram, Steppor, Winsley, Eccles, Priestwich, Middleton, Radcliff, and you city of Westchester, where I have taught and preached the word of God truly. Turn, I say to you all, and to all the inhabitants thereabouts, to the Lord our God, and he will turn to you. He will say to his angel, ‘It is enough, put up the sword’ — which He will do, I humbly beseech his goodness, for the precious blood's sake of his dear Son, our Savior Jesus Christ. Ah, good brethren, take in good part these last words of mine to every one of you. Pardon me my offenses and negligences in behavior among you. The Lord of mercy pardon us all our offenses, for our Savior Jesus Christ's sake. Amen.

“Out of prison, ready to come to You, the 11th of February A.D. 1555.”

*“To my loving Brethren, B.C. etc., their Wives and whole Families.*

“I beseech the everlasting God to grant you all, my good brethren and sisters, the comfort of the Holy Spirit, and the continual sense of his mercy in Christ our Lord, now and for ever. Amen.

“The world, my brethren, seems to have the upper hand. Iniquity overflows, the truth and Scripture seem to be oppressed, and those who take exception to it are unjustly treated, as those who love the truth lament to see and hear as they do. The cause of all this is God's anger and mercy: his anger, because we have grievously sinned against him; his mercy, because here he punishes us, and as a Father he nurtures us. We have been unthankful for his word; we have despised his kindness; we have been negligent in prayer; we have been so carnal, covetous, licentious, etc. We have not hastened toward heaven, but rather toward hell. We were fallen almost into an open contempt of God, and all his good ordinances. So that of His justice, he could no longer forbear, but makes us feel his anger, as he has now done, in taking his word and true service from us, and permitting Satan to serve us with antichristian religion, and in such a way, that if we will not yield to it, but seem to allow it in deed and outward act, our bodies are likely to be laid in prison, and our goods given to whom we cannot tell.<sup>567</sup>

“We should look upon this as a sign of God's anger produced by our sins which, my good brethren, every of us should now call to our memories oftentimes, so particularly as we can, that we might heartily lament them, repent of them, hate them, earnestly ask mercy for them, and submit ourselves to bear in this life any kind of punishment which God will lay upon us for them. We should do this in consideration of God's anger in this time. Now, His mercy in this time of wrath is seen, and should be seen in us, my dearly beloved, in this: that God grants to punish us in this present life. If he were not to have punished us, do you think we would not have continued in the evils we were in? Yes, truly, we would have been worse, and have gone forward in hardening our hearts by impenitence and negligence of God and true godliness. And then if death had come, would we not have perished, both soul and body, in eternal fire in perdition? Alas, what misery would we have fallen into if God had allowed us to

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<sup>567</sup> His meaning appears to be that if we disagree with evil, but don't oppose it, we may yet be discovered by our enemies, and suffer persecution at their hands, as God's judgment on our passive acceptance of it (Lev 19.17).

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go on in our evils? There is no greater sign of damnation, than to lie in evil and sin unpunished by God, as now the papists, my dearly beloved, are cast into Jezebel's bed of security, which is the most grievous of all plagues that can be. They are bastards and not sons, for they are not under God's rod of correction.

"It is a great mercy, therefore, that God does punish us. For if he did not love us, he would not punish us. Now he chastises us, that we should not be condemned with the world. Now he nurtures us, because he favors us. Now we may think ourselves to be God's house and children, because he begins his chastising at us. Now he calls us to remember our past sins. Why? That we might repent, and ask mercy. And why? That he might forgive us, pardon us, justify us, and make us his children, and so begin to make us like Christ here, that we might be like him elsewhere, even in heaven, where we are already set by faith with Christ. And at his coming indeed, we will then most joyfully enjoy, when our sinful and vile bodies will be made like Christ's glorious body, according to the power by which he is able to make all things subject to himself.

"Therefore, my brethren, let us in respect to this not lament, but praise God, not be sorry, but be merry; not weep, but rejoice and be glad, that God grants to offer us his cross, thereby to come to Him, to endless joys and comforts. For if we suffer, we shall reign; if we confess him before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven; if we are not ashamed of his gospel now, he will not be ashamed of us in the last day, but will be glorified in us, crowning us with crowns of glory and endless felicity. For, 'blessed are those who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' 'If,' says St. Peter, 'you are reproached for the name of Christ, happy are you; for the spirit of glory and of God rests upon you.' After you are afflicted a little, God will comfort, strengthen, and confirm you. And therefore, my good brethren, do not be discouraged for cross, for prison, or loss of goods for confession of Christ's gospel and truth, which you have believed, and was lively taught among you in the days of our late good king, and most holy prince, King Edward. This is most certain: if you lose anything for Christ's sake, and for despising the antichristian service set up again among us, then just as you, for your parts, even in prison, will find God's great and rich mercy, far surpassing all worldly wealth, so your wives and children in this present life, will find and feel God's providence, more plentifully than tongue can tell.

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"For he will show merciful kindness on thousands of those who love him. The good man's seed will not go begging for bread. You are good men, so many as suffer for Christ's sake.

"I trust you all, my dearly beloved, will consider this cross yourselves, and see God's mercy in the cross, which is sweeter and more to be esteemed than life itself, much more than any currency of this world. This mercy of God should make you merry and cheerful; for the afflictions of this life are not to be compared to the joys of the life prepared for you. You know the way to heaven is not the wide way of the world, which winds toward the devil; but it is a straight way which few walk in. For few live godly in Christ Jesus; few regard the life to come; few remember the day of judgment; few remember how Christ will deny them before his Father, who deny him here; few consider that Christ will be ashamed of them in the last day, who are ashamed of his truth and true service; few sum up their accounts, what will be laid to their charge in the day of vengeance; few regard the condemnation of their own consciences, in doing that which they disallow inwardly; few love God better than their goods.

"But I trust that you are of this few, my dearly beloved. I trust you are of that little flock which will inherit the kingdom of heaven; I trust you are the mourners and lamenters who will be comforted with that comfort which will not be taken from you; if now you repent of your former evils, if now you strive against the evils that are in you, if now you continue to call upon

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God, if now you do not defile your bodies with any idolatrous service used in the antichristian churches, if you do not molest the good Spirit of God which is given to you as a pledge of eternal redemption, a counsellor and master to lead you into all truth. This good Spirit I beseech the Father of mercy to give to us all, for his dear Son's sake, Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom I commend you all, and to the word of his grace which is able to help you all, and save all you who believe it, follow it, and serve God thereafter.

“And of this I wish you were all certain, that all the hairs of your heads are numbered, so that not one of them will perish, nor will any man or devil be able to attempt anything, much less do anything to you, or any of you, before your heavenly Father, who loves you most tenderly, gives them leave. And when he has given them leave, they shall go no further than He wills, nor keep you in trouble any longer than He wills. Therefore, cast on him all your care, for he is careful for you. Only study to please him, and to keep your consciences clean, and your bodies pure from the idolatrous service which is now used everywhere, and God will marvelously and mercifully defend and comfort you. May He do this thing for his holy name's sake in Christ our Lord. Amen.

“Your afflicted poor brother and bondsman,  
“John Bradford.”

*To a Woman who desired to know his mind, whether  
refraining from the Mass, she might be present  
at the impish Matins, or not.*

“I beseech Almighty God our heavenly Father to be merciful to us, and to increase in you, my good sister, the knowledge and love of his truth, and at present, give me grace to write to you something about the same, as may make for His glory and our own comfort and confirmation in him, through Christ our Lord, Amen.

“Whether you may come with safe conscience to the church now, that is, to the service used commonly, in part, such as at matins, or at even-song, or not, is your desire to have me write something for your further guidance. My dearly beloved, although your benefits towards me might perchance make you think that in respect to this, I would bear with what otherwise was not to be borne with. Yet by God's grace I am purposed, simply and without any such respect in this matter, to speak the truth to you according to my conscience, as I may be able to stand to it when I come before the Lord.

“*First*, therefore, go about to learn perfectly the first lesson to be learned of all who profess Christ, that is, to deny yourself, and in nothing to seek yourself.

“*Secondly*, learn after this, to begin at the lesson next to it, which is to seek God in all things you do, and which you leave undone.

“*Thirdly*, know, that you seek God, when in his service you follow his word, and not man's imagination, custom, multitude, etc., and when with your brother, you follow the rule of charity; that is, to do as you would be done by.

In these is the sum of all the counsel I can give you, if regarding this, I admonish you of the service now used, which is not according to God's word, but rather *against* God's word directly, and in manner wholly against it. So that your going to the service, is a declaration that you have not learned the first lesson, nor can ever learn it, so long as you go there. Therefore you will utterly lose the second lesson, if you do not cease seeking yourself; that is, if for company, custom, father or friend, life or goods, you seem to allow that which God disallows. And that you may better perceive this, I purpose by God's grace to briefly show:

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“First, the matins and even-song, are in a tongue forbidden to be publicly used in the congregation that does not perceive the tongue. Read how St. Paul affirms it, to pray in an unknown tongue, is to be against God’s commandment, 1Cor 14. This one, indeed, would be enough, if nothing else were. For how can God’s glory be sought where his word and commandment is willfully broken? How can charity to man stand, when charity to God, which is obedience to his word, is overthrown?

“Again, both in matins and in even-song, idolatry is maintained instead of God’s service; for there, invocation and prayer is made to saints who have departed this life, which robs God of that glory which He will give to no other.

“Moreover, this service, and those who set it forth, condemns the English service as heresy, thereby falling into God’s curse which is threatened to all those who call good evil, and evil good, of which they will be partakers who take communion with them.

“Besides this, this Latin service is a plain mark of antichrist’s catholic synagogue. So that the communicants and those who approved it, thereby declare themselves to be members of the same synagogue, and so they are cut off from Christ and his church, whose exterior mark is the true administration of God’s word and sacraments.

“Furthermore, the example of your going there to allow the religion of antichrist (as doubtless you are indeed doing, however you think in your heart) occasions the obstinate to be utterly intractable, the weak papists to be more obstinate, the strong gospellers to be sorely weakened, and the weak gospellers to be utterly overthrown. How great offenses these things are, no pen is able to utter by letters. You will be guilty of all those evils that accompany those in religion externally, from whom you are admonished to flee. If Christ is Christ, follow him. Gather with him, lest you scatter abroad. Serve God, not only in spirit, but also in body. Do not make your body, now a member of Christ, a member of antichrist. Come out from among them, says the Lord, and touch no unclean thing. Confess Christ and his truth, not only in heart, but also in tongue, yes, in very deed, which few gospellers do. Indeed they deny him, and therefore they need to tremble, lest Christ deny them in the last day. If that day were set before our eyes often, the pleasures and treasures of this world would be but trifles.

“Therefore, good sister, have it often before your eyes, daily set yourself and your doings as though before the judgment seat of Christ now, so that hereafter you are not called into judgment. Think that it will little profit you to win the whole world, and to lose your own soul. Mark Christ’s lessons well, ‘Whoever would save his life, shall lose it.’ The Father of heaven commands you to hear Christ; and He says, ‘Follow me.’ This you cannot do, and also follow idolatry or idolaters. Flee from such, says the Scripture.

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“This God grant to vow to me, and to all God’s children, Amen. Thus in haste I have accomplished your request. God grant that as you have done me much good bodily, so that this may be a little means to do you some good spiritually. Amen. If time would serve, I would have written more at large. The 2nd of March A.D. 1555.

*To a certain godly Gentlewoman, troubled and afflicted  
by her Friends for not coming to the Mass.*

“I wish to you, right worshipful and my dearly-beloved sister in the Lord, as to myself, the continual grace and comfort of Christ, and of his holy word, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, to strengthen your inward man with the strength of God, that you may continue to the end in the faithful obedience of God’s gospel, to which you are called. Amen.



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“I perceived by yourself the last day when you were with me, how you are in the school-house and trial-parlor of the Lord. This, to me is (at least it should be) a great comfort to see the number of God’s elect increased by you, who are in that state of which God has not called many, as St. Paul says. And as it is a comfort to me, so it should be a confirmation to me, that the Lord for his faithfulness’ sake will make perfect and finish the good he has begun in you to the end.

“If then your cross is a comfort to me, or a token of your election, and a confirmation of God’s continual favor, my dearly-beloved, how much more should it be so to you? To you He has not only given to believe, but also to come into the cause of suffering for his sake, and that is not merely by common enemies, but even of your own father, mother, and all your friends, I mean kinsfolk, as you told me. By this I see Christ’s words are true, how he came to give his children such a peace with him, as the devil might not, nor may abide. And therefore he stirs up father and mother, sister and brother, rather than have it continue. But, my dear sister, if you cry with David to the Lord, and complain to him, how for your conscience to Him, your father and mother have forsaken you, you will hear him speak in your heart, that He has received you. And by this He would have you see that here he makes you like Christ, do that elsewhere (in heaven) you might be like him. You ought to be most assured of this, knowing that in time, even when Christ shall appear, you will be like him. For he will make your body — which now you defile not with idolatrous service in going to mass — like his own glorious and immortal body, according to the power by which he is able to do all things. He will confess you before his Father, for you do not deny His truth in word or deed, before your Father. He will make you reign with him, who now suffer for Him and with Him. He will not leave you comfortless, who seek no comfort but at his hand. Though for a little time you are afflicted, yet in this He will comfort and strengthen you, and at length make you rejoice with him in such joy as is infinite and endless. He will wipe away all tears from your eyes. He will embrace you as your dear husband; he will, after he has proved you, crown you with a crown of glory and immortality, such as the heart of man will never be able to conceive in such a way as the thing is. He now beholds your steadfastness, and striving to do his good will; and shortly he will show you how steadfast He is, and will be ready to do your will, after you have fully resigned it to His will.

“Pledge him in his cup of the cross, and you will pledge him in the cup of his glory. Desire to drink it before it comes to the dregs, of which the wicked shall drink, and all those who for fear of the cross and pledging the Lord, walk with the wicked in betraying in act and deed that which their heart embraces for truth. If you were to do this thing (which God forbid), then my dear mistress and sister in the Lord, you will not only lose all that I have spoken before, and much more of eternal joy and glory, but also be a cast-away, and a partaker of God’s heaviest displeasure in hellfire eternally. And so for a little ease, which you cannot tell how long it will last, you would lose forever and ever all ease and comfort. ‘For whoever does not gather with me,’ says Christ, as no mass-gospeller does, ‘scatters abroad.’ We will receive according to what we do in this body, whether good or bad. If by our words we will be judged to condemnation or salvation, then much more by our acts and deeds. You cannot be a partaker of God’s religion and antichrist’s service, of which the mass is most principal. You cannot be a member of Christ’s church, and a member of the pope’s church. You must glorify God not only in soul and heart, but also in body and deed. You may not think that God requires less of you, who are now his wife, than your husband required of you. If your husband would have both heart and body, do you think Christ will have less, who has so bitterly and dearly bought it? If your husband would not have allowed an excuse that your heart was his, if he had found you faithless to him, do you think Christ will allow your body at mass, even if your heart does not consent to it?

“God esteems his children, not only by their hearts, but by their pure hands and works. And therefore in Elijah’s time, He counted none to be his servants and people, except those who

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had not bowed their knees to Baal. So now in England, he does not account any to be His servants who know the truth in heart, yet deny it in their deeds, as do our mass gossellers.

“We should desire above all things the sanctifying of God’s holy name, and the coming of his kingdom. And shall we then see his name blasphemed so horribly as it is at mass, by making it a propitiatory sacrifice, and setting forth a false Christ of the priest’s and baker’s making, to be worshipped as God, and say nothing? The Jews tore their clothes asunder in seeing or hearing anything blasphemously done or spoken against God. And shall we yet come to a church where mass is conducted, and be mute? Paul and Barnabas tore their clothes to see the people of Lycaonia offering sacrifice to them. And shall we see sacrifice and God’s service done to an inanimate creature, and be silent? What thing helps antichrist’s kingdom more, or so much, as the mass? And what destroys preaching and the kingdom of Christ on earth more than it does? How then can we say, ‘Let your kingdom come,’ and go to mass? How can we pray before God, ‘Your will be done on earth,’ when we will do our own will, and the will of our father or friend? How can we pray, ‘Deliver us from evil,’ who knowing the mass to be evil, come to it?

“But what go I about to light a candle in the noonday, that is, to tell you that we may not go to mass, or to the congregation where it is, unless it is to reprove it, in that all men in so doing, only dissemble both with God and man? And is dissembling now to be allowed? How long will men still halt on both knees? Asks God. Halting, says St. Paul, brings us out of the way, that is to say, out of Christ, who is the Way. So that whoever is not in him shall wither away, and be cast into hellfire. For Christ will be ashamed of those before his Father, who are now ashamed of his truth before this wicked generation.

“Therefore, my good mistress, take good heed. For it would have been better for you never to have known the truth, and through it to have escaped from papistical uncleanness, than to now return to it, thereby making your members, being members of righteousness, members of unrighteousness, as you do if you but go to the church where there is a mass. Be pure, therefore, and keep yourself from all filthiness of the spirit, and of the flesh. Abstain not only from all evil, but from all appearance of evil.

“And so the God of peace will be with you, the glory of God will govern you, the Spirit of God will sanctify you, and be with you forever, to keep you from all evil, and to comfort you in all your distress and trouble — which is but short if you consider the eternity you will enjoy in glory and felicity in the Lord. Undoubtedly you shall not fail to inherit this forever, if as the elect child of God, you put your trust in his mercy, call upon his name unfeignedly, and do not yield yourself to the wicked world, but fight against it until the end.

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God for his holy name’s sake, who is properly the God of the widows, be your good and dear Father forever, and help you always, as I myself would be helped at his bauds in all things, and especially in this, His own cause. Amen, Amen.

“JOHN BRADFORD.”

### ***The History of William Minge, James Trevisam, and John Bland***

*William Minge.*

The next day after Master Bradford and John Leaf suffered in Smithfield, William Minge, priest, died in prison at Maidstone. He was there in bonds for religion, and also likely to have suffered if his life had continued. For he yielded up his life in prison with as great a constancy and boldness, as if it had pleased God to call him to suffer by the fire, as the other good and godly men had done at the stake.

*James Trevisam buried in the Fields.*

On Sunday, the third of July A.D. 1555, one James Trevisam died in the parish of St. Margaret in Lothbury. Being weak and lame, he kept to his bed, for he could not rise out of it a long time. Trevisam had a servant, one John Small, who read in the Bible. And as he was reading, Berd the promoter (or landlord) came to the house, and insisted on going upstairs. There he found four persons besides Trevisam and his wife — to wit, the young man who was reading, and two men and a woman. Berd apprehended all these folks and carried them to the Compter, where they remained about a fortnight. Moreover, Berd would also have taken Trevisam, the lame man, to Newgate in a cart (and brought the cart to the door), for the neighbors. Nevertheless, the poor man was made to provide two sureties for his forthcoming; for he could not go out of his bed, not being only weak, but also very sick. So within a few days, as James was lying in extremity, the parson of the church, named Master Farthing, came to him, had communication with him, and agreed well; and so he departed. It happened after the priest had come down into the street, one Toller met him there, saying, “Yes, are you agreed? Then I will accuse you, for he denies the sacrament of the altar.” Upon that, the parson went back to Trevisam, and then the priest and he could *not* agree. And so the parson went to the bishop of London and told him. The bishop answered that Trevisam should be burnt; and if he was dead, he should be buried in a ditch. And so when he died, the parson opposed his wife as much as he could, nor would he let her have a coffin to put him in, nor anything else; but she was glad to bear him upon a table to Moorfields, and there he was buried. The same night the body was thrown up above the ground, and his sheet taken from him, leaving him naked. After this, the owner of the field, seeing him there, buried him again. A fortnight later, the summoner came to the grave, and summoned the owner to appear at St. Paul’s before his ordinary, to answer to such things as would be laid against him. But what more befell him, I cannot say with certainty.

*The History of John Bland.*

On the 12th of July, John Bland, John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humphry Middleton, were all burned together at Canterbury for one cause. Frankesh and Bland were ministers and preachers of the word of God; the one was parson of Adisham, the other the vicar of Rolvendon.

Mr. Bland was at first employed in bringing up children in learning and virtue. After this, coming to the ministry in the church of God, he was filled with earnest desire to profit the congregation, which may appear by this: that when he was cast into Canterbury prison for preaching the gospel, and was delivered once or twice at the suit of his friends, he would preach the gospel again as soon as he was delivered. Upon this, being apprehended the third time, when his friends would again have found means to deliver him if he would promise to abstain from preaching, he would permit no such condition. This showed well to us the example which we read in the Apostle Paul; “Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?” etc. But as to the life and doings of this godly martyr, it will be best to refer the reader to his own account, which he sent to his father about his troubles.

*A Discourse of the whole Process and doings of John Bland,  
written and reported by himself to his Father  
in his own Letter, as follows:*

“Dearly beloved father in Christ Jesus, I thank you for your gentle letters. And to satisfy your mind concerning the troubles of which you have heard, these will both declare to you

all my vexations that have befallen me since you were with me, and also since I received your last letters. God keep you ever.

“Your son, JOHN BLAND.”

“First, on Sunday, the 3rd of September, after service ended, before I had put off my surplice, John Austen came to the table (commonly called the Lord’s Table) and laid both his hands upon it, saying, ‘Who set this here again?’ Now, they say that they took the table down the Sunday before, which I did not know, nor do I know who set it up again. The clerk answered that he did not know. Then Austen said, ‘He is a knave who set it here.’ I was then going down the church, marvelling at what he meant, and said, ‘Goodman Austen, the queen’s highness has set forth a proclamation that you may promote no sedition.’ And before I could say any more, he said, ‘You are a knave.’ And I said, ‘Well, goodman Austen, what I have said, I have said.’ — ‘By God’s soul,’ he said, ‘you are a very knave.’ Then my clerk spoke to him, but what I am not sure. But he said, ‘Both of you are heretic knaves, and have deceived us with this fashion too long; and if you say any service here again, I will lay the table on his face.’ And in that rage, he with others took up the table, and laid it on a chest in the chancel, and set the trestles by it. Therefore I rode by and bye to Master Isaac, and showed him how seditiously he had spoken and acted. Master Isaac directed a warrant to the constable, which was immediately observed, so that he was brought before him the same night, and was bound by recognizance, with sureties to appear if he were called. But we agreed so well then, that it was never called for. The table was brought down, and was permitted, as before.

“On the 26th of November, being Sunday, Richard Austen and his brother Thomas came to the table after the communion was done, and as I was going past them, Richard said to me, ‘Master Parson, we have to speak to you.’ And I said, ‘What is your will?’ And he said, ‘You know that you took down the tabernacle, in which the rood (crucifix) hung, and such other things. We would know what recompense you will make to us. For the queen’s proceedings are, as you know, that such things must be put up again.’

“I answered ‘I know no such proceedings as yet; and as for what I did, I did it by commandment.’

“‘No,’ said Thomas Austen, ‘would you not know the queen’s proceedings?’”

“‘Yes,’ I said, ‘I do not refuse to know them.’

“Then Richard said, ‘You are against the queen’s proceedings; for you say there are abominable uses and devilishness in the mass.’

“‘Goodman Austen,’ I said, ‘if I said so, I will say it again, and God willing, stand to the proof of it.’

“‘Masters all,’ exclaimed Richard Austen, ‘bear record of these words,’ and he went his way.

“Thomas Austen said, ‘you would as soon eat this book as stand to them.’ — ‘No,’ I said, ‘not so soon.’ — ‘Tell us,’ he said, ‘what that devilishness is, that is in the mass.’

“‘I often preached it to you,’ I said, ‘and you have not believed it, nor borne it away; nor will now either, even if I were to tell you.’

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“He replied, ‘You are a heretic, and have taught us nothing but heresy: for you can say nothing that is true.’

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“ Yes, goodman Austen, I can say that God is in heaven, and you will say, that is true, and so have I taught you truly.’

“ You have taught us like a heretic,’ he answered, ‘and have said that there is no devil in hell.’

“He gave many other taunts, too long to write. And at the last he said, ‘You pulled down the altar; will you build it again?’ — ‘No,’ I said, ‘unless I am commanded; for I was commanded to do what I did.’

“ Well, if you will not,’ he said, ‘then I will; for I am churchwarden.’

“ I charge you,’ I said, ‘that you do not, unless you have authority.’ — ‘I will not,’ he said, ‘refrain for your charge. For we will have a mass here on Sunday, and a preacher who will prove you a heretic, if you dare abide his coming.’

“ Yes,’ I said, ‘God willing, I will abide and hear him; for I am sure that he cannot disprove any doctrine that I have preached.’

“When the Sunday came, I looked for the preacher, but he never came, so I preached in his absence.

“On Innocents’ day, the 28th of December, they procured the priest of Stodmarsh to say mass. He had nearly made an end of matins before I came; and when he did make an end of matins, he said to me, ‘Master Parson, your neighbor has desired me to say matins and mass; I trust you will not be against the queen’s proceedings.’ — ‘No,’ I said, ‘I will offend none of the queen’s majesty’s laws, God willing.’ — ‘What did you say?’ he asked; and made as though he had not heard. And I spoke the same words to him again with a higher voice; but he would not hear, though all the chancel heard. So I cried out the third time (so that all the church heard) that I would not offend the queen’s laws; and then he went to mass.

“The priest came down into the stall where he sat; and I stood up in the chancel door, and spoke to the people of the great goodness of God, always shown to his people, to the time of Christ’s coming. And in Him and his coming, what benefit those past, we present, and our successors have. Among other benefits, I spoke of the great and comfortable sacrament of his body and blood. After I had briefly declared the institution, the promise of life to the good, and damnation to the wicked, I spoke of the bread and wine, affirming them to be bread and wine after the consecration. So that as our bodily mouths eat the sacramental bread and wine, so the mouth of our souls (which is our faith) eats Christ’s flesh and blood. And when I had made an end of that, I spoke of the misuse of the sacrament in the mass; so that I judged it, in that form, to be no sacrament, and showed how Christ bade us all to eat and drink. Whereas only one in the mass eats and drinks, and the rest kneel, knock, and worship. After these things, as briefly as I could, I spoke of the originators of the mass, and I began to declare who made the mass, and recited every man’s name, and the addition that he made to the mass. Before I had recited them all, the churchwarden and the constable, his son-in-law, violently came and took my book from me, and pulled me down, and thrust me into the chancel, with an exceeding roar and cry. Some cried, ‘you heretic;’ some, ‘you traitor;’ some, ‘you rebel;’ and when every man had said his pleasure, and the rage was somewhat past, I said, ‘Be quiet, good neighbors, and let me speak to you quietly. If I have offended any law, I will answer before those who are in authority to correct me.’ But they would not hear me, and pulled, one on this side, and another on that, and began again.

“Then Richard Austen said, ‘Peace, masters, no more till mass is done;’ and they ceased. Then said I to the churchwarden and the constable, holding me by the arm, ‘Masters, let me

go into the churchyard till your mass is done.’ — ‘No,’ said the churchwarden, ‘you will tarry here till mass is done.’ — ‘I will not,’ I said; ‘except against my will.’ And they said, ‘You will tarry, for if you go out, you will run away.’ Then I said to the constable, ‘Lay me in the stocks, and then you will be sure of me;’ and turned my back to the altar. By that time Richard Austen had devised what to do with me. He bade them put me into a side chapel, and shut the door, and there they made me tarry till mass was ended. When the mass was ended, they came into the chapel to me. Then Thomas Austen said, ‘You keep a wife here among us, against God’s law and the queen’s.’ — ‘Goodman Austen,’ I said, ‘it is not against God’s law, nor, I suppose, against the queen’s.’

“Now, the 23rd or 24th of February, Sir Thomas Finch, knight, and Master Hardes, sent for me and my sureties to Master Finch’s place. They took me from my sureties, and sent me to the castle of Canterbury, by commandment of Sir Thomas Moyles, where I lay for ten weeks. Then I was bailed, and bound to appear at the next sessions to be held at Canterbury. But after that, they changed it to be at Ashford, on the Thursday in Whitsun-week, on the 19th of May. In the meantime, the matter was exhibited to the spiritual court.

“On the 18th day of May, Master Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, had me brought before him, and the commissary, into Christ’s church. Then the archdeacon asked, ‘Are you a priest?’ And I said, ‘I was.’ And he said, ‘Are you a graduate of any university?’ And I said, ‘Yes.’ ‘What degree,’ he asked, ‘have you taken?’ ‘The degree,’ I said, ‘of a master of art.’ ‘You have been a licensed preacher?’ And I said, ‘I have.’

“ ‘What have you preached?’

“And I said, ‘God’s word, to the edifying, I trust, of his people.’

“ ‘No, no,’ he replied, ‘to the destroying of their souls and yours too, unless the mercy of God is all the greater. I pray you, what have you preached? Tell me.’

“ ‘I told you what I have preached,’ I answered.

“ ‘No, but tell me,’ he said, ‘what one matter have you preached to the edifying of the people, as you say?’

“I replied, ‘I will tell you no particular matter; for I perceive you would have some matter against me.’

“ ‘For you have preached,’ he said, ‘that the blessed sacrament of the altar is not the very body and blood of Jesus Christ, after the consecration. Tell me, have you not preached this? and is this not your opinion?’

“I answered, ‘Sir, I perceive that you seek matter against me, and therefore, I think I am not bound to give you an answer.’

“Collins. — ‘Do you not remember, that St. Peter bids you give an answer to every man that asks you a reason for the faith that is in you?’

“Bland. — ‘I know that, and am content to answer as that text directs: but I know that Master Archdeacon does not ask me in that manner, but rather to bring me into trouble.’ They said, ‘No, you shall not be troubled for anything that you say here.’

“Bland. — ‘I am content for knowledge’ sake to commune with you in any matter, but not otherwise.’ And so they commenced reasoning for more than an hour, about the sacrament.

“On the 21st of May, I again appeared in the Chapter-house, where a great multitude of people had assembled. The Archdeacon said to me, ‘You have come here as you were

appointed: and the cause is that it has pleased the queen's highness to place me here to see God's holy word set forth, and to reform those here who have fallen into great and grievous errors, to the great displeasure of God, and the decay of Christ's sacraments, and contrary to the faith of the catholic church. You are notably known to be one who is poisoned with error, and you have infected and deceived many with your evil preaching. If you will renounce this, and come home again to the catholic church, both I and many others would be very glad; and I for my part will be right glad to show you the favor that lies in me.'

"Bland. — 'I protest before God and you all, that my conscience is neither guilty of any error or heresy, nor did I ever willingly teach any error or heresy.'

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"Harfsfield. — 'Do you hear what he says? His conscience is clear! I pray you, on what do you ground your conscience? Let me hear what your faith is.'

"Bland. — 'I do not know why you would ask me a reason for my faith, more than any other man in this open audience.'

"Harfsfield. — 'Why, you heretic, are you ashamed of your faith? If it were a Christian belief, you need not be ashamed of it.'

"Bland. — 'I am not ashamed of my faith. For I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, etc. with all the other articles of the creed; and I believe all the holy Scriptures of God to be most certain and true.'

"Harfsfield. — 'Will you declare no more than this?'

"Bland. — 'No.'

"Harfsfield, — 'Well, I will tell you on what I ground my faith: I believe and ground my faith and conscience upon all the articles of the creed, and upon all the holy Scriptures, sacraments, and holy doctors of the church, and upon all the general councils that were ever held since the apostles' time. Lo, upon this I ground my faith.'

"When he could get no other answer from me, than I had given before, he called for a scribe to make an act against me. I asked, 'By what law and authority will you proceed against me?'

"Collins said, 'By the canon law.'

"Bland. — 'I doubt whether it is valid or not. Yet I pray you, let me have a counsellor in the law, and I will answer according to the law.'

"Harfsfield. — 'Why, you heretic, you will not confess your faith to me — I who have authority to demand it of you, and yet I have confessed my faith to you before this entire audience. Concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar, you have taught that after the consecration it is bread and wine, and not the body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ. What do you say? Have you not taught this?'

"Bland. — 'Sir, concerning this matter of the sacrament, when I was with you and Master Collins, you said then it was for other matters that I should come here — and further, that you would be content at my desire, to confer out of the Scriptures with me, to see if you could win me. And you said you would borrow my lord of Dover's library, that I might have whatever book I wished. And now you require me thus to answer, contrary to your promise, before any conference is had, and seek to bring me into trouble, rather than to win me.'"

[Then they entered upon some arguments on transubstantiation, and Bland was bound in sureties to appear again.]

“About the 28th of June I came to Master Commissary, and offered myself to satisfy the law, if it were proceeded against me. But Master Commissary said gently, he had done nothing against me. And so he appointed me to appear before him on Friday, seven nights later. In the meantime, the sessions were held at Cranbroke, where I was bound to appear.

“Sir Thomas Moyle said, ‘Ah, Bland, you are a stiff-necked fellow. You will not obey the law, nor answer when you are called.’

“So the bailiff set me in the stocks, with others, and would not hear me speak one word. And so we remained in the jail of Maidstone till a fortnight before Michaelmas, or thereabouts. Then we were carried to Rochester, to the assizes, where we were among the prisoners for two days. When we were called, and the judges of assize asked our causes, the clerk of the peace said that I was an excommunicated person.’

“Then the judges of assize said, ‘Take them to Maidstone again, and bring them to the sessions that will be held next at the town of Maldon.’

“We tarried at Maidstone till the sessions were held at Greenwich on the 18th and 19th of February. I and Others being within the bar among the felons, and irons upon our arms, were called out by the jailor and bailiffs, eased of our irons, and carried by them into the town, to Sir John Baker, Master Petit, Master Webb, and two others whom I do not know.”

**Another Examination of Master Bland before Sir John Baker.**

“Baker. — ‘Bland, why were you cast into prison?’

“Bland. — ‘I cannot well tell. Your mastership cast me in.’

“Baker. — ‘Yes, but why were you in before that time?’

“Bland. — ‘For an unjust complaint laid against me.’

“Baker. — ‘What was the complaint?’

“I then told him as truly and briefly as I could.

“Baker. — ‘Let me see your book;’ and I showed him a Latin Testament.

“Baker. — ‘Will you go to church, and obey and follow the queen’s proceedings, and do as an honest man should do?’

“Bland. — ‘I trust in God not to do otherwise than as an honest man should do.’

“Baker. — ‘Will you do as I said?’

“Bland. — ‘Will it please your mastership to give me leave to ask you a question?’

“Baker. — ‘Yes.’

“Bland. — ‘Sir, may a man do anything that his conscience is not satisfied is good?’

“Baker. — ‘Away, away!’ And throwing down the book, he said: ‘It is no Testament.’ And I said: ‘Yes it is.’ And Master Webb took it up, and said to me marvellously gently; ‘I knew you when you were out of this opinion. I would to God you would reform yourself’ — with better words than I will write. And I said: ‘If you have known me to be of another opinion than I am now, it was for lack of knowledge.’

“Baker. — ‘Indeed, do you say so? By St. Mary, I would sooner give six faggots to burn you with, than you should be unburned. Away from here, knave, away!’



“At night, when judgment was passed on the felons, and all was done, we were called, and the judge said to the jailor: ‘Take them with you, and deliver them to the ordinary. If they will not be reformed, let them be delivered back to us, and they will have judgment and execution.’ One of our company said: ‘My Lord, if we were killed at your hands for Christ’s sake, we will live with Him forever.’

“Then we came to the castle of Canterbury, and there we remained till the second day of March, when we were brought into the chapter-house of Cree-church, where we were set with the suffragan of Canterbury, Master Collins, Master Mills, and others. Then Master Oxenden, Master Petit, Master Webb and Master Hardes, justices, went to them. And when I was called, Master Webb said: ‘Here we present this man to you, as one strongly suspected of heresy.’

“Bland. — ‘You have no cause to suspect me of heresy. I have been a prisoner this whole year, and nothing was proved against me. I pray you, why have I been kept so long in prison?’

“Webb. — ‘Leave your arrogant asking of questions, and answer to what is laid to your charge.’

“Bland. — ‘I do so; for I say you have no cause to suspect me of heresy.’

“Webb. — ‘Yes we do. To Sir John Baker you refused to be conformable to the queen’s proceedings.’

“Bland. — ‘Is it a just cause to suspect me of heresy, for asking a question with leave?’ So we had more words there than I well remember.

“Then Master Petit stood up and said: ‘You were cast into prison, because you fled from your ordinary.’

“Bland. — ‘Then I have suffered wrongfully; for I never fled nor disobeyed my ordinary, nor did anything contrary to the law. Let them now say if I did.’ But they said nothing. And when I saw they held their peace, I asked, ‘Master commissary, have you been the cause of my imprisonment?’ ‘No,’ he said; ‘You know that when you left me, you were appointed to appear on the Friday after the sessions.’

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“Here I was not allowed to speak anymore, but was shut up in a corner till my companions were likewise presented. Then we were sent to Westgate to prison, and were put in several close holds, so that not one of us could speak to another, nor was any man permitted to come to us.”

And thus passed the talk between Bland and the justices, and certain gentlemen of the shire. Now will follow the order of the reasoning between him and the clergymen, before whom he was examined. The chief doer and judge against him was the bishop of Dover, or suffragan of Canterbury, called Doctor Richard Thornton. —

“Collins. — ‘You know that you are presented to us as one suspected of heresy. What do you say? Are you content to conform yourself to the laws of this realm, and of the holy church?’

“Bland. — ‘I deny that I am justly suspected of heresy.’

“Dover — ‘Only that I am one of the judges, I would rise and accuse you to be a sacramentary, and bring witnesses to prove it. Yes, and further, that you have called the mass an abominable idol.’

“Bland. — ‘You, my lord, never heard me say so; but I once heard you say that in your conscience you had abhorred the mass for three years.’

“Dover. — ‘You lie! I never said so.’

“Bland. — ‘My lord, if they might be heard, I can bring witnesses to prove it, with the day, time, and place.’

“Collins. — ‘You had better answer now, or you will go back to prison, and be called on Monday, and have articles laid to you. And if you then will not answer directly, you will be condemned *pro confesso*,<sup>568</sup> and that will be worse for you.’

“Bland. — ‘I will not refuse to answer to anything that you can lay to my charge by the law; and therefore I trust you will let me have the benefit of the law.’

“Collins. — ‘This is the law: that if you are required by the ordinary, *Reddere rationem fidei* (to give an account of your faith), you must not refuse.’

“Bland. — ‘Then I will answer. For I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, with all the other articles of the creed. And I believe all the articles contained both in the creed, called the Nicene Creed, and in the creed of Athanasius. And I believe that all the holy Scriptures, and all things contained in them, are most true.’

“Collins. — ‘This will not serve you. You must answer to all articles in all of these, that will be laid to you, or asked of you.’

“Bland. — ‘Let me know the law and I will answer.’

“Collins. — ‘What do you say? Will you answer?’

“Bland. — ‘Sir, I have answered you.’

“Dover. — ‘Take him away; he would better have answered.’

“Bland. — ‘My lord, I am ready to answer, if you have anything against me by the law.’

“Dover. — ‘You have preached many heresies in Adesham, where I am parson now; and therefore you must answer for them.’

“Bland. — ‘Lay them to my charge by the law, and I will answer them.’

“Collins. — ‘All this will not serve you; you must answer, and it would be better for you to answer now, than another time. Will you conform yourself, and go to the church, and worship Christ in the blessed sacrament of the altar; and be obedient to all the queen’s laws?’

“Bland. — ‘I pray you, why have I been brought here?’

“Collins. — ‘To answer to those things which are demanded of you.’

“Bland. — ‘Sir, I thought you had some matters against me by the law.’

“Collins. — ‘Well, on Monday at nine o’clock you will see the law, and have articles laid to you. Do you not believe that after the consecration of the blessed sacrament of the altar, no substance of bread remains, except the substance of Jesus Christ, both God and man?’

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<sup>568</sup> *Pro confesso*: admitted as true without dispute.

“Bland. — ‘I do not know by any law, why you would ask me that question more than any other man here.’

“Dover. — ‘Do you not believe, after the consecration, that it is the body of Christ?’

“Bland. — ‘No. I do not believe so; for the Scriptures do not teach me that the flesh of Christ remains, to eat as a man might eat man’s flesh.’

“Faucet. — ‘As you and I were both brought up in one house, and both born in one parish, I would be glad to do you good; but you may not thus stand against the church. For Christ says, You must humble yourself, and take up his cross and follow him. And to humble yourself in this place, is to be content, and not adhere to your own judgment, but to humble yourself to the holy church, which has determined that after the consecration no bread remains, except the natural body and blood of Christ.’

“Bland. — ‘Master Doctor, if you take humbling ourselves in that place, to allow the determination of the church, then we must know by the Scriptures, that the same church determined nothing but what is according to the Scriptures. I do not believe there is any transubstantiation, and never will.’

“Faucet. — ‘Then I am done with you; I would no more pray for you than I would for a dog.’

“Glasier. — ‘What do you think? When St. Paul said, ‘The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?’ Did he mean baker’s bread?’

“Bland. — ‘Though he did not mean baker’s bread, that does not prove that he broke natural and real flesh.’

“Glasier. — ‘No, by St. Mary, we do not say so; but we say it is the natural body *glorified*, under the forms of bread and wine.’

“Bland. — ‘Then the apostles did not have it in the same state as we have; or else his *glorified* body was crucified for us.’

“Glasier. — ‘Tush, you do not understand the Scriptures. For Christ’s body was always glorified, because it was so marvellously united to the Godhead. Yes, and he showed his glorified body many times, as on Mount Thabor. And when he walked on the water, we see he was light, and had no weight in him. Was that not then a glorified body?’

“Bland. — ‘Then Peter’s body was glorified, if walking on the water was the act of a glorified body! And also the iron that Elisha made to swim on the water!’

“Dover. — ‘Tush, that was done by prayer.’

“Here they made such a noise with laughing, that I no longer heard what my lord said.

“Glasier. — ‘I was glad, when I heard you say you believed the catholic church, and now you go from it?’

“Bland. — ‘No, that I do not do.’

“Glasier. — ‘You know that Christ says, Mat 18.15-17. ‘If your brother trespasses against you, go and tell him his fault between you and him alone; if he will hear you, you have gained your brother. But if he will not hear you, then take one or two more with you, so that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he neglects to hear them, tell it to the church. But if he neglects to hear the church, let him be to you like a heathen man and a publican.’ I pray you, where could you have found this church of yours fifty years ago?’

“Bland. — ‘You know that the true church did not flourish at all times, but was shockingly persecuted.’

“Dover. — ‘No more! I command you to hold your peace. Take him away and bring in another.’

“The Monday after we were brought back to the same place; and then Master Collins began to speak to me, that I should conform myself. But as I did before, I demanded what they had to lay to my charge, and to see the law which they said before I might see.

“Dover. — ‘What need is there for that? We have enough against you. For you denied to me transubstantiation in the sacrament.’”

[793] A.D. 1555.

Being again dismissed, Bland had a conference as follows, with Milles:

“Milles. — ‘We say, that Christ is in or under the sacrament really and corporeally, which are the forms of bread and wine; and that there his body is contained invisibly; and the qualities which we see, such as whiteness and roundness, are there without substance by God’s power, just as quantity and weight are also there by invisible measure.’

“Bland. — ‘This is your own divinity, to make *accidents*<sup>569</sup> the sacrament, and Christ’s real body invisibly contained in them, and so destroy the sacrament. And yet you say the matter of the sacrament is bread and wine. I am ashamed to see you so destroy Christ’s sacrament, and trifle with God’s work.’

“Milles. — ‘To Christ is given all power in heaven and on earth, so that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be, and is, wherever he chooses; and he is in the sacrament really and corporeally without occupying a place; for a glorified body occupies no place.’

“Bland. — ‘Mark your own reasoning. All power is given to Christ both in heaven and on earth; by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be wherever he chooses; therefore he is in the sacrament really and corporeally, without occupying a place! I deny your argument, for I would learn from you, how you know that Christ chooses to be present at every priest’s bidding? For if the priest chooses not to say your mass, then Christ chooses not to be there.’

“Milles. — ‘We eat Christ’s flesh and blood spiritually when we receive it with faith and charity. And we also eat it corporeally in the sacrament; and the body that we so receive has life. For the Godhead is annexed to it; which although it is received together with the body of Christ, it is not visible. And the flesh of Christ that we receive is lively; for it has the Spirit of God joined to it. If a man is drunken, it is not by receiving the blood of Christ; for it is contrary to the nature of Christ’s blood. If he is drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities of the wine, without the substance of blood.’

“Bland. — ‘I am glad that you say that Christ’s body is alive in the sacrament; it may in time bring you to the truth. I think it is evil to keep Christ’s body alive in the *pix*,<sup>570</sup> or else you must grant that he is alive in receiving, and dead in the *pix*. And you speak the truth, that it is not the natural receiving of Christ’s blood that makes a man drunken; for it is the nature of wine that does it, which you do not deny. You confessed a greater truth than you thought, when you said, ‘If a man is drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities without the

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<sup>569</sup> *Accident*: the incidental quality of a substance. Whiteness and roundness are two *accidents* of bread.

<sup>570</sup> *Pix*: Any receptacle in which the wafers (bread) for the Eucharist is kept.

substance of blood; for indeed blood has no such qualities with it. By this it is evident that there is no natural blood.’ If a man is drunken with consecrated wine, it must be a miracle, as you will have it, that the accidents should be without their natural substance, and work all the operations of both substance and accidents. And so it follows, that a man may be drunken by a miracle! The body that you receive, you say, is alive, because it is annexed to the Godhead; and the flesh that you receive is lively, because it has the Spirit of God joined to it. This division is of your own invention, to divide the body and the flesh — the one alive by the Godhead, the other lively by God’s Spirit; and yet both are one sacrament. You make of it something that is so fantastical, that you imagine a body without flesh, and flesh without a body, just as you do in imagining qualities and quantities without substance, and a living body without qualities and quantities.’

“Milles. — ‘If the case so requires, and there is a godly intent in the minister to consecrate, then after the consecration, to a true believer, the body and blood of Christ is present, and no other substance, only accidents without substance.’

“Bland. — ‘You grant three absurdities, that in a consecrated cask of wine there is nothing but accidents; and to increase it, you have brought in two inconveniences: first, that it is not the word of God that consecrates, but the intent of the priest must help it. And if that is lacking, you seem to grant no consecration, even though the priest speaks the word. Yet your doctors say that the wickedness of the priest does not hinder the sacrament. And to an unbeliever, you seem to say that it is not the same as it is to the true believer; but then the believer must have something to do in the consecration.’

“Milles. — ‘The substance of Christ’s body does not fill the mouse’s belly. For although it receives the outward forms of bread and wine, it does not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation. And a mouse does not eat the *body* of Christ, to speak properly; for the body does not feed the mouse spiritually or corporeally, as it does a man, because the mouse does not receive it for any inducement of immortality to the flesh.’

“Bland. — ‘You do not make your doctrine plainly understood. We must know how a mouse can receive the substance inwardly *and* outwardly. You say it does not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation; therefore, *with* violation it receives the substance inwardly. You say that the mouse cannot violate Christ’s body; but he violates the substance that he eats. And your speech imports this much: that the mouse should eat the sacrament to as great an effect, and does the same thing, as the unworthy receiver. For if that is the reason that the mouse does not properly eat the body of Christ, because it does not feed upon it spiritually or corporeally, nor does it receive it as an inducement for immortality, as you say. If so, it follows that both the unbeliever and the mouse receive one thing. And yet it cannot be denied that the mouse will live by consecrated bread. Then you must grant this absurdity: that a substance is nourished and fed only with accidents!’

“Milles. — ‘Men’s bodies are fed with Christ’s body, as with immortal food, to eternal life, because of the Godhead annexed; but men’s bodies are corporeally nourished with *qualities* and *forms* of bread and wine. We deny that by sacramental eating, any gross humor <sup>571</sup> turned into blood, is made miraculously in the body.’

“Bland. — ‘Where it cannot be denied that a man may live, and naturally be nourished in his natural body with the consecrated sacramental bread and wine; you cannot avoid that. But then you turn to the spiritual nourishing of man’s body, by Christ’s body and Godhead

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<sup>571</sup> *Gross humor*: conspicuous liquid.

annexed, which does not put away the absurdity that either a man's natural body would be fed naturally with accidents, or else they are changed into gross humors. But you say, men's bodies are corporeally nourished with qualities and forms of bread and wine; then you must grant that qualities and quantities must be made a *substance* in man. For otherwise, all that is the nutriment in man is mere accidents and not substance.'

"Milles. — 'If the forms of bread and wine are burned, or infested with worms, it is no derogation to the body of Christ, because the presence of his body ceases to be there.'

"Bland. — 'You grant here, that a substance may be made of accidents, such as ashes or worms; but I think you will have it by your miracles, and this I count a greater absurdity than the other — that Christ's body should cease to be there, and no substance to come again. For no word in all the whole Bible seems to serve you for the ceasing of His presence, even if we granted to you (which we do not), that it was ever there. God Almighty open your heart, if it is His will and pleasure, to see the truth.'"

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Up to here you have heard the troublesome handling of this faithful and blessed servant of God, John Bland, tossed to and fro, from prison to prison, from session to session. At last he was brought before the bishop of Dover, the commissary, and the archdeacon, at Canterbury, on the 13th of June. The name of this bishop was Richard Thornton. The commissary was Robert Collins, whom the cardinal had appointed by his letters patent before his coming over to England. The archdeacon was Nicholas Harpsfield. Under these, a great number of innocent servants of Christ were cruelly treated and slain at Canterbury. Among them, John Bland was one of the first. Being brought before the said bishop, with his colleagues — John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, Thomas Thacker, Humphrey Middleton, and William Cocker — he was examined from the following articles:

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*Articles administered by Richard, Bishop of Dover,  
to John Bland, and likewise to the others after him.*

"First, that you are of the diocese of Canterbury, and so you are subject to the jurisdiction of the archbishop there.

"2. That you are a Christian man, and profess the laws of God, and faith of Christ's catholic church, and the determination of the same.

"3. That all persons who teach, preach, believe, affirm, hold, maintain, or say within the diocese of Canterbury, otherwise than our holy mother the church says, are excommunicate persons, and heretics; and as excommunicate and heretics, they ought to be named, reputed, and taken.

"4. That contrary to the catholic faith and determination of our mother holy church, within the diocese of Canterbury, you have openly spoken, maintained, held, affirmed and believed, and still hold, maintain, affirm, and believe, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ in substance; but only a token, sign, and remembrance of Him, and that the very body and blood of Christ is only in heaven, and nowhere else.

"5. That contrary to the catholic faith and determination of our mother holy church, you have within this diocese of Canterbury openly spoken, said, maintained, held, affirmed, and believed, and still hold, maintain, affirm, and believe, that it is against God's word, that the sacrament of Christ's church should be ministered in an unknown tongue; and that no man

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safely and with a good conscience, or without peril of sin, receives any sacrament ministered in any tongue that he does not understand.

“6. That contrary to the catholic faith of our mother holy church, you have, and still hold the opinion, and say that it is against God’s word, that the sacrament of the altar should be ministered in one kind; and that no man may so receive it with a safe conscience.

“7. That these premises are true, and that there is a common reputation upon them within the diocese of Canterbury.”

To all these articles Bland gave his consent and admission. So on the 25th of the month of June he appeared again in the chapter-house, and there openly and boldly withstood the authority of the pope, upon which his sentence was read, and he was immediately condemned and committed to the secular power.

### *The Prayer of John Bland before his Death.*

“O! Lord Jesus, for whose love I willingly leave this life, and desire the bitter death of your cross, with the loss of all earthly things, rather than to abide the blasphemy of your holy name, or else to obey man in breaking of your commandments. You see, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth to worship false gods, and honor your enemy, I choose rather the torments of this body, and loss of my life, and have counted all things but vile dust and dung, that I might win you. This death is more dear to me, than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, you have laid up in my breast, so that I hunger for you, as the deer that is wounded desires the soil. Send your holy comfort, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is void of all strength of itself. You remember, O Lord, that I am but dust, and not able to do anything that is good. Therefore, O Lord, as you of your accustomed goodness have bid me to this banquet, and counted me worthy to drink of your own cup among your elect, give me strength against this element, that as it is most irksome and terrible to my sight, so to my mind it may be sweet and pleasant at your commandment, as an obedient servant. And through the strength of your Holy Spirit, I may pass through the flame of this fire into your bosom, according to your promise, and for this mortality to receive immortality, and for this corruptible to put on incorruptible. Accept this burnt-offering and sacrifice, O Lord, not for the sacrifice itself, but for your dear Son’s sake, my Savior, for whose testimony I offer this freewill-offering with all my heart and with all my soul. O heavenly Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive the whole world. O sweet Savior, spread your wings over me. O God, grant me your Holy Spirit, through whose merciful inspiration I have come here. Conduct me to everlasting life. Lord, into your hands I commend my spirit; Lord Jesus receive my soul. So be it.”

### ***The History of J. Frankesh, H. Middleton, and N. Sheterden.***

Having now given the examinations of John Bland, we will further proceed to give an account of the rest of his fellow captives who were joined the same time with him in the like cause and like affliction; namely, John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, Humphrey Middleton, Thacker, and Cocker, of whom only Thacker fell away. The rest constantly standing to the truth, were condemned together by the suffragan of Canterbury, on the 25th of June, 1555. Regarding their examinations, it will not be necessary to enlarge, because the articles ministered against them were all one; so to in their answers, they disagreed little or nothing. In the meantime, because Nicholas Sheterden in his examinations had a little more talk with the archdeacon and the commissary, I will begin with him first:

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*The Examination of Nicholas Sheterden by Master Harpsfield,  
archdeacon, and Master Collins, the commissary,  
for which they sent him to prison.*

“Archdeacon. — ‘The very words of Christ, when he said, ‘This is my body,’ changed the substance, without any other interpretation or spiritual meaning of the words.’

“Sheterden. — ‘Then in the same way, when Christ said, ‘This cup is my blood,’ the substance of the cup was changed into his blood, without any other meaning, and so the cup was changed, and not the wine.’

“Archdeacon. — ‘Not so; for when Christ said, ‘This cup is my blood,’ he did no mean the cup, but the wine in the cup.’

“Sheterden. — ‘If Christ spoke one thing, and meant another, then the bare words did not change the substance; but there must be a meaning sought of the bread, as well as of the cup.’

“Archdeacon. — ‘There must be a meaning sought of the cup other than the words stand. But of the bread it must be understood only as it stands, without any other meaning.’

“Sheterden. — ‘Then you make one half of Christ’s institution a figure, or borrowed speech, and the other half a plain speech, and so you divide Christ’s supper.’

“Archdeacon. — ‘Christ meant the wine, and not the cup, though he said, ‘This cup is my blood.’

“Sheterden. — ‘Then show me whether the words, which the priest speaks over the cup, change the substance, or whether the mind of the priest does it?’

“Archdeacon. — ‘The mind of the priest does it, and not the words.’

“Sheterden. — ‘If the mind of the priest does it, and not the words, then none of the people can tell when it is Christ’s blood, or when it is not, seeing the matter stands in the mind of the priest. For no man can tell what the priest means but himself; and so they are ever in danger of committing idolatry.’

“Archdeacon — (somewhat moved, and sitting down) ‘I pray you. Master Commissary, speak to him, for they are as unreasonable and perverse answers as ever I heard of.’

“Commissary. — ‘Your argument is much against yourself, for you grant that the bread is a figure of Christ’s body; but the cup cannot be a figure of his blood, nor yet his very blood; and therefore Christ did not mean the cup, but the wine in the cup.’

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“Sheterden. — ‘My argument is not against me at all; for I do not say it to prove that the cup is his blood, nor the figure of his blood, but to prove that the bare words do not change the substance of the bread, any more than they change the cup into blood.’

“Commissary. — ‘It could not be spoken of the cup, when he said, ‘This cup is my blood;’ but he meant the wine in the cup.’

“Sheterden. — ‘Then it remains for you to answer my question to the archdeacon, that is, whether the mind of the priest when he speaks over the cup, changes it into blood, or is it the bare words?’



“Commissary. — ‘Both together do it, the words and the mind of the priest together; indeed, the intent and the words together do it.’

“Sheterden. — ‘If the words and intention together change the substance, the cup must yet be his blood, and not the wine, for the words are, ‘This cup is my blood,’ and the intention, you say, was the wine, or else the words have no effect, but only the intention.’

“Commissary. — ‘It was the intention of the priest before he went to mass, without the words; for the priest intended to do as holy church had ordained; and then the intent made the sacrament to take effect.’

“Sheterden. — ‘If the sacraments take effect by the intent of the priest, and not by God’s word, then many parishes having a priest who does not intend, are utterly deceived, both in baptizing, and also worshipping that to be God, which is but bread. Because for lack of the priest’s intention, the words take no effect in it, so that by this it is doubtful whether they worship Christ or bread, because it is doubtful what the priests intend!’

After some further conference the Commissary departed. Afterwards he was examined before the bishop of Winchester, then Lord Chancellor, of which he gives the following account:

“I was called into a chamber before the lord chancellor, the suffragan, and others, priests I think for the most part. The lord chancellor stood at the table, who called me to him, and because I saw the cardinal was not there, I bowed myself and stood near.

“Then he said, ‘I have sent for you, because I hear you are indicted for heresy; and being called before the commissioners, you will not answer nor submit yourself.’

“I said, I did not refuse to answer; but I did plainly answer that I had been in prison a long time, and it was reasonable that I should be charged or discharged for that, and not to be examined from articles to cover my wrong imprisonment, nor did I know any indictment against me. If there were any, it could not be just, for I was not abroad since the law was made.

“Winchester. — He said, ‘if you will declare yourself to the church to be a Christian, you shall go, and then you shall have a writ of wrong imprisonment,’ etc.

“Sheterden. — I said ‘I was not minded to sue now, but required to have justice. It might be that my conscience was not persuaded, nor would I be in prison, seeing that these things which I have learned were openly taught by God’s law and received by authority of the realm.’

“Winchester. — He said, ‘It was never received, that I might speak against the sacrament.’

“Sheterden. — I said ‘against some opinion of the sacrament it was openly taught, and that when they preached to us, they took pains to set out the word of God in our tongue, so that we might read and judge whether they said true or not; but now they take the light from us, and would have us believe it, because they say so, which is to me a strong argument.’

“Winchester. — ‘It was not a few who could be your guide, but the doctors and the whole church; now whom would you believe? Either the few or the many?’

“Sheterden. — ‘I did not believe for the few, nor for the many, but only for he that brings the word, and shows it to me to be so according to it.’

“Winchester. — ‘Well then, if an Arian comes to you with Scripture, you will believe him, if he shows this text, ‘My Father is greater than I?’

“Sheterden. — I answered ‘No, my lord, he must bring me also the contrary place, and prove them both true, where he says, ‘I and my Father are one.’”

“Winchester. — ‘Yes, that is in love, as we are one with Him.’”

“Sheterden. — I said ‘that gloss would not stand with the rest of the Scripture.’”

“So after many words he came to the church’s faith and ceremonies and images. And then I joined issue with him about the commandment against images.’”

“Winchester. — He said, ‘that was done so that no false thing should be made, as the heathen would worship a cat, because she killed mice.’”

“Sheterden. — I said ‘that it was plain that the law forbade not only such, but even to make an image of God to any manner of likeness.’”

“Winchester. — ‘Where do you find you that?’”

“Sheterden. — ‘In the law where God gave them the commandments. For he said, ‘You saw no similitude, but heard a voice only;’ and added a reason why: lest they make images. So that God would not show his shape, because they should have no image of him who was the true God,’ etc.”

“Winchester. — He said, ‘I made a goodly interpretation. ‘

“Sheterden. — I said ‘No, it was the *text*.”

“Then the English bible was brought. He made me find it; and so I read it aloud; and then he said, ‘Look, here you may see, this is no more to forbid the image of God than of any other beast, fowl, or fish’ (the place was Deu 4.15-18). ‘I said it did plainly forbid us to make any of these as an image of God, because no man could know of what shape he was. Therefore, no man might say of any image, this is an image of God.’”

“Winchester. — ‘Well; yet by your leave, so much as was seen we may represent, that is, of Christ and the Holy Spirit. The Father appeared to Daniel like an old man,’ etc.”

“Sheterden. — ‘That is no proof that we may make images contrary to the commandment, For though the Holy Spirit appeared like a dove, yet he was not like it in shape, but in certain qualities; and therefore when I saw the dove which is God’s creature, indeed I might remember the Spirit to be simple and loving,’ etc.”

“Winchester, somewhat moved, said I had learned my lesson, and asked who taught me, with many words. And he said he would prove how good and profitable images were to teach the unlearned, etc.”

And thus much touching the examinations of Nicholas Sheterden and John Bland. Now to regard something also of the other martyrs, who were examined at the same time, and suffered with them together; to wit, Humphrey Middleton of Ashford, and John Frankesh, vicar of Rolvenden, in the diocese of Kent.

To the articles propounded to these persons, John Frankesh answered somewhat doubtfully, desiring further respite of fourteen days to deliberate, which was granted; John Bland answered firmly and distinctly, as you have heard before; Nicholas Sheterden and Humphrey Middleton also answered well. Middleton added that he believed in his own God, saying, “My living God, and no dead God.” Thacker alone recanted, and was content to perform penance. Thus the four were condemned by the bishop of Dover, on the 25th of June A.D. 1555.

And so being given to the secular power, they were burned at Canterbury, on the 12th of July, at two stakes, but all in one fire. There, in the sight of God and of his angels, and before men, like true soldiers of Jesus Christ, they gave a constant testimony to the truth of his holy gospel.

*The Prayer of Nicholas Sheterden before his death.*

“O Lord my God and Savior, who are Lord in heaven and earth, maker of all things visible and invisible, I am the creature and work of your hands; Lord God look upon me, and others of your people, who at this time are oppressed by the worldly-minded for your law’s sake.

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Indeed, Lord, your law itself is now trodden underfoot, and men’s inventions exalted above it. And for that cause I, and many your creatures, refuse the glory, praise and commodities of this life, and choose to suffer adversity and to be banished; even to be burnt with the books of your word, for the hope’s sake that is laid up in store. For Lord, you know if we would but seem to please men in things contrary to your word, we might by their permission enjoy those commodities that others do, such as wife, children, goods and friends, all which I acknowledge to be your gifts, given to the end that I should serve you. And now, Lord, that the world will not permit me to enjoin them unless I offend your laws, behold I give you my whole spirit, soul, and body, and behold! I leave here all the pleasures of this life, and now leave the use of them for the hope’s sake of eternal life purchased in Christ’s blood, and promised to all them who fight on his side, and are content to suffer with him for his truth, whenever the world and the devil persecute the same.

“O, Father! I do not presume to come to you in my own righteousness — no, but only in the merits of your dear Son my Savior. For this excellent gift of salvation, I cannot worthily praise you, nor is my sacrifice worthy to be accepted by you, in comparison to our bodies mortified and obedient to your will. And now, Lord, whatever rebellion has been or is found in my members, against your will, yet I hereby give you my body to the death, rather than I use any strange worshipping — which I beseech you, accept at my hand for a pure sacrifice. Let this torment be to me the last enemy destroyed, even death, the end of misery, and the beginning of all joy, peace, and solace. And when the time of resurrection comes, then let me enjoy again these members then glorified, which now are spoiled and consumed by the fire. O, Lord Jesus! receive my spirit into your hands. Amen.”

*A Letter of Nicholas Sheterden to his Mother.*

“After my humble and bounden duty remembered, well-beloved mother, this will be to wish you increase of grace and godly wisdom, so that you may see and perceive the crafty bewitching of Satan, our mortal enemy, which, as I have diverse times declared to you, does not openly show himself in his own likeness, but under color of devotion deceives those who do not keep a diligent eye upon him. But having confidence in men’s traditions and customs of the world, leaving the commandments of God, and the testament of his Son Christ Jesus our Lord, they grow more into superstition and hypocrisy than into wisdom and true holiness. For this is most true: that Satan, the enemy of souls, makes many believe by his ministers, that those things which they compel us to, for their stomach’s sake, have many godly significations, even though they are most contrary to God’s will, as doubtless they are, even as the serpent did in Paradise to our first mother, Eve. What? (he asked) has God commanded you shall not eat of all the trees in the garden? The woman said, We may eat of the fruits of the trees in the garden; but of the tree in the midst of the garden, God said, see that you do not eat of it, lest you die. Even so our ministers now-a-days, say, has God commanded you shall not make yourself any image or likeness of any thing? Yes, truly. Tush, they say, what harm can they do?

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May we not remember God better when we see his image or picture? For they are good books for the laymen; but indeed they are better for the priests, because they receive the offerings.

“And look how truly the promise of the serpent was kept with Eve; even so, the persuasion of our priests is found true to us. For as Adam and Eve became like God in knowing good and evil, so are we in remembering God by his image. For Adam’s eyes were so open, that he lost both innocence and righteousness, and he became the most miserable of all creatures. Even so, we remember Christ so well by images, that we forget his commandments; and we consider his testament, confirmed in his blood, as stark madness or heresy. We have so miserably remembered him, that of all people, we are most blind. This follows upon our presumption, when we remember God by breaking His law. And therefore surely, unless we repent, God will shortly remember us in his wrath, and reward us with his plagues. As sure as there is a God it will come to pass.

“But I know (I thank God) the craftiness of those in this who will say; Where did he go to school? Is he wiser than our great doctors who studied all their life? And behold, they say it is good hay, even though we smell that it is musty; yet we must believe it is sweet, and then pay them well for so saying, and all is safe. But I might say again, What, sir, are you wiser than Christ, and God his Father, or the Holy Spirit? What, are you wiser than the prophets, and the holy apostles, and all the holy martyrs? I pray you, sir, where did you get your high learning? Is it higher than God (in heaven) is able to reach, or have you set it lower in hell than Christ ever dared to venture? For it is some strange learning, assuredly, that Christ and his apostles could never attain the knowledge of it. But vain men are never without some shift: for perhaps they would not be ashamed to say that Christ, coming on his Father’s message, forgot half his errand on the way. For I dare say that the greater half of their ceremonies were never commanded by Christ. Indeed, I doubt it would be hard to find one in the church perfectly as he left it — so Romishly has antichrist turned the church upside down for lucre’s sake.

“Beloved mother, as I have often said to you, even so now I beseech you from my very heart in Christ, to consider that your own soul’s health is offered you; do not cast it off. We do not have a long time here. Why should we deceive ourselves either for ease of our flesh, or for the winning of this world’s treasure? I know that some will say to you, Why should we condemn our fathers who lived this way? God forbid that we should condemn anyone who did according to their knowledge. But let us take heed that they do not condemn us, for if they had heard the word as we have heard it, and had been warned as we have been, it is to be thought that they would more thankfully have received it than we do. Indeed, they were more faithful in what they knew, than many now are. Therefore they will be our condemnation if we do not embrace this grace offered to us. And surely look how many of them God will accept and save, those we will never see, nor have any part among them. For our disobedience is greater than their ignorance. Therefore, if we will meet our fathers in bliss and joy, let us not refuse His mercy offered more largely to us than to them, even according to Christ’s promise, which said, after such great ignorance as to seek Him from country to country, and not find Him, ‘Yet the gospel,’ he says, ‘shall be preached in all the world, and then the end shall come.’

“And now let us know the time of our visitation, and not turn back again, seeing we are once delivered. For surely God will not bear it at our hands to turn backward. O remember Lot’s wife. God must punish out of hand our shameful backsliding, either with induration and hardness of heart, so that they will persecute his church and his true servants; or else He will reward it with open vengeance and plagues. And therefore, good mother, accept this simple letter of mine, as a fruit of my love and obedience to you. Would to God we might be so knit in faith, and trust in God’s word and promises here in this life, that we might together enjoy the bliss and consolation of eternal life; which I desire and seek above all worldly treasure, as you partly know. If I were to seek the good will of men contrary to my conscience, I could make

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some of them my friends, who now perhaps are jealous <sup>572</sup> over me amiss. But I thank God, let them weigh the matter between God and their conscience, and they have no just cause to do so. Nevertheless I pray they would yet refrain and put their matter and mine into the balance of God's most holy word, there to be weighed by the mind of the Holy Spirit, expressed to us by the holy patriarchs and prophets, and by Jesus Christ our only Savior and mediator, and by his holy apostles. And then I do not doubt that our matter shall be ended with peace, and joyfulness of heart. God grant us this for his mercy sake. Amen,"

"Your own child, Nicholas Sheterden,  
prisoner for the truth, in Westgate, 1555."

[797] A.D. 1555.

*A Letter to his Brother, Walter Sheterden.*

"I wish you health in Christ, true knowledge of his word, and a faithful obedient heart to the same. It has shown me, my brother, that you wished me by a letter to a friend of yours, to persuade me that I should be ruled by my uncle, who says he will bestow his goods very largely upon me, if I would not stand too high in my own conceit. But my good brother, I trust you do not judge so evil of me, that I should have a faith to sell for money. For though he or you were able to give me the treasure of the whole country, yet I thank my Lord God, I judge it but a heap of dung in respect to the treasure hidden within; yet I esteem a buckle of your shoe, if it comes with good will. And to be counselled and ruled by him or you, or any other my friends, I do not refuse, nor have I refused it, if they require no more of me than my power, and that which belongs to mortal men. But if they require anything of me which duly pertains to God, there is neither high nor low, friend nor foe (I trust in God) who will get it from me; nor even the angels in heaven.

"For though I am not learned (as the vain men of the world call *learning*), yet I thank my Lord God, that I have learned out of God's book, to know God from his creatures, and to know Christ from his sacraments, and to differentiate between the merits of Christ's passion and his supper, and a difference between the water of baptism, and the Holy Spirit, and not to mix and mingle all things together confusedly. So that if someone asks me a question or a reason for my faith, I must not be so ignorant as to say, 'I believe as the holy church believes.' If he asks me what is the order of that faith, I would not be so ignorant that I could not discern God from his creatures, nor Christ from his sacraments. If I were to so monstrously utter my faith, that I was not able to judge between Christ's birth and his burial, nor which was first, his mortification or his glorification, who would believe that my faith was sound?

"For some affirm that Christ did not give his apostles a mortal and a passible body, but an immortal and glorified body, so that he had a glorified body before his death, and so his glorification was before his resurrection; and that he was risen before he was crucified, and crucified before his baptism. And then they may as well say he was baptized before his birth, and born before he was conceived, and conceived before he was promised. And that would be even right antichrist to turn all things backward, and then say, 'Oh, you must believe, for God is Almighty, he can do all things,' etc. It is true that God is Almighty indeed, and yet I may not believe things contrary to his word, that Christ's body was glorified before he died. For God's omnipotence does not stand in things that are contrary to his will, but in performing his will at his pleasure in time. Nor does he require of us to judge or believe about his Almighty power, that he has made the end of the world to come before the beginning, or yet the fruit to come before the blossom — and yet He is nevertheless Almighty.

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<sup>572</sup> Here, *jealous* means protective and suspiciously watchful.

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“But if perhaps you think to yourself, ‘Why, they are learned; it would be a marvel if they were not to know what the truth is, as well as others who never kept any such study,’ etc. To that I answer that if they had studied God’s word, the author of truth, as they have studied logic, and Duns, with the legend of lies, they would have been as expert in the truth as they are now weak in reasons. But thus has God fulfilled his promise that those would be deluded with lies, who would not believe or walk in His truth.

“And again, this is a good cause to make us think surely this was the reason God gave them over little by little to error at first, after the apostles’ time, as they grew in sin. For seeing we had his truth among us only a few years, because we did not obey it, we see what a sudden change God has brought upon us for our sins’ sake. Why should we not think that this and such like disobedience was the reason that God took his word from all Christendom at the first, and cast a darkness upon those who would not walk in his light? For it is evident enough to see how unlike their doings are to Christ’s and his apostles’ and that being seen, either we must judge Christ’s doings very slender, and theirs good, or else that indeed they are the very antichrists which would come and turn all things out of frame. Thus I have been bold to trouble you, which I trust will not be altogether in vain. Pray for me as I do for you.

“Your brother, Nicholas Sheterden,  
prisoner for the truth, in Westgate.”

*Another Letter of Nicholas Sheterden to his Mother.*

“Oh! my good mother, whom I love with reverence in the Lord, and according to my duty, I desire your favorable blessing, and forgiveness of all my misdeeds towards you, Oh! my good mother, in a few words, I wish you the same salvation which I hope myself to feel and partly taste of before this comes to you to read. And in the resurrection, I truly believe to have it more perfectly in body and soul joined together forever; and in that day, God grant you to see my face with joy. But dear mother, then beware of that great idolatry and blasphemous mass. Oh! let not that be your God, which mice and worms can devour. Behold, I call heaven and earth to record that it is no God which the fire consumes, and the moistness causes it to mold. And I take Christ’s testament to witness that it is none of His ordinances, but a mere invention of men, and a snare to catch innocents’ blood; and now that God has shown it to you, be warned in time. Oh! give up old customs, and become new in the truth. Whatever state your father is in, leave that to God; and let us follow the counsel of his word. Dear mother, embrace it with hearty affection, read it with obedience, let it be your pastime; but yet cast off all carnal affections, and love of worldly things. So we will meet in joy at the last day, or else I bid you farewell for evermore: Oh! farewell my friends and lovers all, God grant me to see your faces in joy. Amen.

“From Westgate, the 11th of July 1555.  
Your Child, written with his hand, and sealed with his blood,  
NICHOLAS SHETERDEN, being appointed to be slain.”

The day after the condemnation of these godly men, which was the 26th of July, there were also condemned for the same articles, W. Coker, W. Hopper of Cambrook, Henry Laurence, Richard Wright of Ashford, and W. Stere of Ashford. But because the *execution* of these martyrs does not pertain to this month, more will be said of them, the Lord willing, when we come to the month of August.

In the same month followed the death and martyrdom of **Nicholas Hall**, and **Christopher Waid** of Dartford, who were condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, about the last day of June. The six articles ministered to them were of the same ordinary course and effect with the articles of the other martyrs specified earlier. And the sentence of condemnation was pronounced by Maurice the bishop against them, according to the common course in condemning all other like servants of Christ. Nicholas Hall was burned at Rochester about the 19th of July.

***The Martyrdom of Margery Polley and others.***

With Hall and Waid, in the same month of July, three others were condemned by Maurice, the aforementioned bishop. Their names were **Joan Beach**, widow; **John Harpol** of Rochester; and **Margery Polley**. Here follows the account of the examination and condemnation of Margery Polley.

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Margery Polley, widow, was accused and brought before Maurice, bishop of Rochester, about the beginning of June. The bishop, according to the pontifical solemnity of that church, rising up out of the chair, in a high swelling style to dash the poor woman, began with these words:

“We, Maurice, bishop of Rochester by the sufferance of God, proceeding of our mere office in a cause of heresy against you, Margery Polley, of the parish of Pepingbery, of our diocese and jurisdiction of Rochester, lay and object against you all and singular of these ensuing articles. To which, and to every parcel of them, we require from you a true, full, and plain answer, by virtue of your oath thereupon to be given,” etc.

Thus the oath being administered, and the articles commenced against her — which were the same articles that were ministered to others before — she so framed her answers, that she neither allowed the deity of their sacrament, nor the absurdity of their mass. For which the sentence was read against her about the beginning of June. But because her death did not follow in the same month, we will defer treating it to the due place and time.

**The Martyrdom of Christopher Waid.**

Christopher Waid, of Dartford, in the county of Kent, linen-weaver, was condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, and appointed to be burned at Dartford. At the day appointed for his execution, which was in the month of July, he was carried out of the town early in the morning in a cart, with a stake and many bundles of reeds, to a place a quarter of a mile out of the town, called the Brimth, into a gravel pit — the common place of the execution of felons. A load of broom-faggots, with other faggots and tall wood was also brought there. The people of the country resorted to this place in great numbers, and there they awaited his coming. About ten o'clock, the sheriff, with a number of other gentlemen who were appointed to assist him, came riding to the place. And with them Waid, at whose side was riding, pinioned, Margery Policy of Tunbridge; they were both singing a psalm. Margery, as soon as she saw afar off the multitude gathered about the place where Waid was to suffer, said to him very loud and cheefully, “You may rejoice, Waid, to see such a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day.” And so passing by the place, they were carried to the town, where Margery was kept until the sheriff returned from Waid's execution. Waid was being made ready, and stripped of his clothes in an inn. He had brought to him a long white shirt from his wife, which he put on. He was then pinioned, and led to the Brimth. Coming straight to the stake, he took it in his arms, embraced it, set his back to it, and

stepped into a pitch-barrel. Then a smith brought a hoop of iron, and with two staples he made Waid fast to the stake under his arms.

As soon as he was thus fixed, he repeated, with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, with a cheerful and loud voice, the last verse of the 86th Psalm, "Show me a token for good; that those who hate me may see it, and be ashamed; because you, Lord, have helped me, and comforted me." Near the stake was a little hill, and on top of it were erected four staves, with a covering round about like a pulpit. Into this place, as Waid was thus praying at the stake, a friar entered with a book in his hand. When Waid saw him, he cried earnestly to the people, to beware the doctrine of the whore of Babylon, exhorting them to embrace the doctrine of the gospel preached in King Edward's days. But the sheriff interrupted him, saying, "Be quiet, Waid, and die patiently." "I am," he said. "I thank God, quiet, master sheriff, and so I trust to die." All this while the friar stood still, looking over the coverlet, as though he would have uttered something. But Waid very mightily admonished the people to beware of that doctrine. When the friar perceived this, whether he was amazed, or could gain no audience from the people, he immediately withdrew out of the place without speaking a word, and went away down to the town. Then the reeds being placed about him, Waid pulled them, and embraced them in his arms, always with his hands making an opening about his face, so that his voice might be heard. Then the fire being put to him, he cried to God often, "Lord Jesus, receive my soul," without any token or sign of impatience in the fire — till at length, when the fire was thoroughly kindled, he was not heard to speak, but continued to hold up his hands over his head towards heaven.

#### **The burning of Dirick Carver and John Launder.**

On the 22nd of July, one Dirick Carver was burned at Lewes, in the county of Sussex; and on the next day another man named John Launder was also burned, at Stening. These two men, with others, had been apprehended near the end of October 1554, while they were at prayer in the dwelling-house of Dirick; and they were sent up to the queen's council. After examination, they were sent as prisoners to Newgate, there to attend the leisure of Bonner, bishop of London. They were brought out by the keeper of the prison on the 8th of June, into the bishop's chamber at his house in London. And there being examined upon many points of religion, they made their several confessions, subscribing and signing them with their own hands. These being read, the bishop objected to them certain other articles, causing them to swear truly and directly to answer to them. They confessed these articles to be true, referring themselves chiefly to their former confessions.

This done, after long persuasions and fair exhortations, it was demanded of them whether they would stand to their answers. Launder said, "I will never go from these answers so long as I live." The other also confirmed the same, and therefore they were commanded to appear again before the bishop in the consistory of St. Paul's, on the 10th of the month.

#### *The Confession of Dirick Carver, before Bonner.*

"Dirick Carver, beer-brewer, of Brighthelmston, in the county of Sussex, where he has dwelt for eight or nine years; born in the village of Dilson by Stockom in the land of Luke, forty years of age or thereabout, and now prisoner in Newgate, where he has remained and continued at the council's commandment, since Allhallows day last past, being examined concerning his faith and belief in the sacrament of the altar, says that he has and does believe that the very substance of the body and blood of Christ is not in the said sacrament, and that there is no other substance remaining in the said sacrament after the words spoken by the priest, but only the substance of bread and wine.



“Also, being examined concerning the mass in Latin, now used in the popish church of England, he believes that there is no sacrifice in the mass, and that there is no salvation in it for a Christian man, unless it were said in the mother tongue, so that he might understand it; and concerning the ceremonies of the church, he says and believes that they are not profitable to a Christian man.

“Also, being examined concerning auricular confession, he answers that he has and does believe that it is necessary to go to a good priest for good counsel; but the absolution of the priest, laying his hand upon any man’s head, as is now used, is not at all profitable to a Christian man’s salvation. And further, he says that he has not been confessed, nor received the sacrament of the altar, since the coronation of the current queen.

“Also, concerning the faith and religion now taught, set forth, and believed in the said church of England, he answers and believes that the faith and doctrine now taught, set forth, and used in the said church of England, is not agreeable to God’s word. And furthermore, he says that Bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opinion, who were recently burned, were good Christian men, and preached the true doctrine of Christ as he believes; and says that they shed their blood in the same doctrine, which was by the power of God, as he says and believes.

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“And further being examined, he says that since the queen’s coronation, he has had the Bible and Psalter in English, read in his house at Brighthelmston diverse times, and likewise since his coming into Newgate. But the keeper, hearing of this, took them away. He also says that about a twelvemonth past, he had the English procession said in his house, with other English prayers. And further, he says that Thomas Iveson, John Launder, and William Vesie, being prisoners with him in Newgate, were taken with this examine in his house at Brighthelmston, as they were hearing the gospel, then read in English, a little before Allhallows day last past, and brought into the court. And being examined thereupon by the council, they were committed by them to prison in Newgate.”

*The Confession of John Launder, before Bonner.*

“John Launder, husbandman, of the parish of Godstone, in the county of Surrey, twenty-five years of age, born at Godstone, being examined, does confess and say that about two days before Allhallows-eve last past, this examine and one Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveson, William Vesie, with twelve other persons (being altogether in their prayers, saying the service in English, set forth in the time of King Edward VI, in the house of the said Dirick, situated at Brighthelmston in Sussex) were apprehended by one Master Edward Gage, and sent by him up here to London, to the king and queen’s council, and (upon his examination) committed to Newgate by them, where he, with his other said companions, has ever since remained in prison.

“And being further examined, he does confess and say that the occasion of his coming to the said Brighthelmston was upon certain business to be done there for his father. And so being there, and hearing that the said Dirick was a man who much favored the gospel, this examine resorted to his house and company, whom before that time he never saw or knew, and because of that resort, he was apprehended as said before. Further, he does confess and believe that there is here on earth one whole and universal catholic church, of which the members are dispersed throughout the world, and he also believes that the same church sets forth and teaches only two sacraments: the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the supper of our Lord. And whoever teaches or uses any more sacraments, or yet any more ceremonies, he does not believe that they are of the catholic church, but abhors them from the bottom of his heart. And he further says and believes that all the service, sacrifices, and

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ceremonies now used in this realm of England (yes, and in all other parts of the world, which have been used in the same manner) are erroneous and naught,<sup>573</sup> and contrary to Christ's institution, and the determination of Christ's catholic church, of which he believes that he himself is a member.

“Also, he does confess and believe that in the sacrament, now called the sacrament of the altar, there is not really and truly contained, under the forms of bread and wine, the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance. But his belief and faith in this, is that when he receives the material bread and wine, he receives the same in remembrance of Christ's death and passion; and so receiving it, he eats and drinks Christ's body and blood by faith, and in no other way, as he believes.

“And, moreover, he does confess, say, and believe that the mass now used in the realm of England, or elsewhere, in all Christendom, is naught and abominable, and directly against God's word and his catholic church; and that there is nothing said or used in it that is good and profitable. For he says that although the Gloria in excelsis, the Creed, Sanctus, Paternoster, Agnus, and other parts of the mass are of themselves good and profitable, yet the same being used among other things that are naught and superfluous in the mass, the same good things become naught also, as he believes.

“Also, he does believe and confess that auricular confession is not necessary to be made to any priest, or to any other creature; but every person ought to acknowledge and confess his sins only to God; and also that no person has any authority to absolve any man from his sins. And he also believes that (according to the Scriptures), the right and true way to arise to Christ again after a man has fallen from grace to sin, is to be sorry for his offenses, and to do the same or the like no more; and not to make any auricular confession of them to the priest, not to take absolution for them at the priest's hands. All of his said opinions he has believed for these seven or eight years past, and in that time he has diverse and many times openly argued and defended the same, as he says,” etc.

On the 10th of June these two persons, with others, were brought by the keeper to the bishop's consistory, where the bishop, beginning with Dirick Carver, caused his confession with the articles and answers to be read to him, asking him whether he would stand to them. Dirick answered, that he would: “For your doctrine,” he said, “is poison and sorcery. If Christ were here, you would put him to a worse death than he was put to before. You say that you can make a god; you can make a pudding as well. Your ceremonies in the church are beggary and poison. And further, I say that auricular confession is contrary to God's word, and is very poison,” with diverse other such words.

“The bishop, seeing his constancy, and that neither his usual flatteries nor his cruel threatenings could move this good man to incline to their idolatry, pronounced his usual and general blessing (*i.e.*, his sentence of condemnation to be burned), both on Dirick Carver and John Launder, who remained in the same constancy. And therefore they were both delivered to the sheriffs, and afterwards conveyed to the places above-named, and there they most joyfully gave their bodies to be burned in the fire, and their souls into the hands of Almighty God, by Jesus Christ, who has assured them of a better hope of life.

This Dirick was a man whom the Lord had blessed with temporal riches, as well as with his spiritual treasures. At his coming into the town of Lewes to be burned, the people called upon him, beseeching God to strengthen him in the faith of Jesus Christ. He thanked them,

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<sup>573</sup> *Naught*, or *naughty*: evil, immoral, wicked; also, empty and worthless.

and prayed to God, that of His mercy He would strengthen them in the faith. As he came to the stake, he kneeled down and made his prayers, and the sheriff made haste.

Then his book was thrown into the pitch-barrel; and when he had stripped himself as a joyful member of God, he went into the barrel himself. As soon as he came in, he took up the book and threw it among the people; and then the sheriff commanded in the king and queen's name, on pain of death, to throw the book back in; and immediately Dirick spoke with a joyful voice, saying:

“Dear brethren and sisters, I witness to you all, that I have come to seal with my blood, Christ's gospel, because I know that it is true. It is not unknown to all of you, that it has been truly preached here in Lewes, and in all places of England, and that now it is not. And because I will not deny God's gospel, and be obedient to man's laws, I am condemned to die. Dear brethren and sisters, as many of you as believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, unto everlasting life, see that you do the works pertaining to such belief. And as many of you as believe in the pope of Rome, or any of his laws which he sets forth in these days, you believe to your utter condemnation; and unless the great mercy of God prevents you, you shall burn in hell perpetually.”

Immediately the sheriff spoke to him, and said, “If you do not believe in the pope, you are damned body and soul.” And further the sheriff said to him, “Speak to your God, that He may deliver you now, or else strike me down for an example to this people.” But this faithful martyr said, “The Lord forgive you your sayings.”

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And then he spoke again to all the people with a loud voice, saying, “Dear brethren, and all you whom I have offended in words or in deed, I ask you for the Lord's sake to forgive me; and I heartily forgive all you who have offended me in thought, word, or deed.” And he said further in his prayer, “Oh Lord, my God, you have written, ‘He that loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he that loves son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me. And he that does not take his cross and follow after me is not worthy of me.’ (Mat 10.7-8) But you, Lord, know that I have forsaken all to come to you. Lord, have mercy upon me, for to you I commend my spirit, and my soul rejoices in you.” These were the last words of this faithful martyr of Christ, before the fire was put to him. After the fire came to him, he cried, “Oh Lord, have mercy upon me,” and sprung up in the fire, calling upon the name of Jesus, and died.

### **An Account of Thomas Iveson.**

At Chichester, about the same month, one Thomas Iveson of Godstone was burned in the county of Surrey. He was a carpenter, whose apprehension, examination, and condemnation I omit here, as it was at the same time and of the same form with Dirick Carver and John Launder; I refer the reader to their history.

Iveson being earnestly pressed to recant, said, “I would not recant and forsake my opinion and belief for all the goods in London. I appeal to God's mercy, and will be none of your church, nor submit myself to it. And what I have said, I will say again. And if an angel came from heaven to teach me any other doctrine than that which I am now in, I would not believe him.” This answer being thus made, he was condemned as a heretic, and was committed to the secular power, as they term it; at the place mentioned above, he was burned, persevering still in his constant faith to the end.

### **John Aleworth.**

In the latter end of July, John Aleworth died in prison, at the town of Reading, being in bonds there for the cause and testimony of the truth of the Lord's gospel. Although the prelates (according to their usual solemnity) excluded him from Christian burial, yet we see no cause to exclude him from the number of Christ's holy martyrs and heirs of his holy kingdom.

**James Abbeys, a Martyr, for the true cause of Christ's Gospel.**

Among many who labored in these troublesome days to keep a good conscience, there was one James Abbeys, a young man who, through compulsion of the tyranny then used, was forced to take part with his brethren in wandering and going from place to place to avoid the peril of arrest. But when the time came that the Lord had another work for him to do, he was caught by the hands of wicked men, and brought before the bishop of Norwich, Doctor Hopton. Examining him about his religion, and charging James both with threats and fair speech, at last poor James yielded to their persuasions, even though his conscience did not consent.

When he was dismissed, and was about to go from the bishop, the bishop called him back and gave him a piece of money which, when James had received it, and departed from the bishop, his conscience inwardly began to accuse his act, how he had displeased the Lord by consenting to their persuasions. In this combat with himself, he went immediately to the bishop again, and there threw him the money which he had received from his hand, and said he repented that ever he gave his consent to their wicked persuasions, and also that he gave his consent in taking his money.

Now, this being done, the bishop with his chaplains labored afresh to win him back, but in vain, for James Abbeys would not yield. Even though he had played Peter before through infirmity, yet he stood manfully in his master's cause to the end, and abode the trial of the fire, in consuming his body into ashes. This burning took place at Bury, on the 2nd of August 1555.

***The Martyrdom of John Denley, Patrick Pakingham, John Newman, et al.***

In the midst of this tempestuous rage of malignant adversaries, persecuting and destroying the poor flock of Christ, there were many who, though they were not clergymen, yet they thought to aid this furious flame of persecution. Among them was one Edmund Tyrel. esq., at that time a justice of peace in the county of Essex. As Tyrel came from the burning of certain godly martyrs, he met with John Denley, gentleman, and one John Newman, both of Maidstone in Kent, travelling on the way, and going to visit some of their godly friends. Upon suspicion, he apprehended and searched them; and at last, finding the confessions of their faith in writing about them, he sent them up to the queen's commissioners.

The following is from the confession of faith found on the person of John Denley:

“The difference of doctrine between the faithful and the papists concerning the sacrament, is that the papists say that Christ is corporeally under or in the forms of bread and wine; but the faithful say that Christ is not there, neither corporeally nor spiritually; but in those who worthily eat and drink the bread and wine, he is there spiritually, but not corporeally.

“For figuratively he is in the bread and wine, and spiritually he is in those who worthily eat and drink the bread and wine; but really, carnally, and corporeally, he is only in heaven, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

“As concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ, my belief is this: that the bread and wine are appointed for a sacrament; and that after thanks are given to

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God the Father, then it represents to me the very body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ; not that the bread is the body, or the wine the blood, but that in faith I see that blessed body of our Savior broken on the cross, and his precious blood plenteously shed for the redemption of my sins. Also in faith I hear him call us to himself, saying, 'Come to me all you who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' In faith I come to him, and I am refreshed. So that, I believe that all who come to the table of the Lord in this faith, fear, and love, being sorry for their offenses, intending earnestly to lead a godly life in this vale of misery, receive the fruit of the death of Christ, which fruit is our salvation.

"I understand spiritually that as the outward man eats the material bread which comforts the body, so the inward man, through faith, eats the body of Christ, believing that as the bread is broken, so was Christ's body broken on the cross for our sins; this comforts our souls unto life everlasting, and thereby signifies that even as that bread was divided among them, so should his body and the fruit of his passion be distributed to as many as believed His words. But the bread broken and eaten in the supper, admonishes and puts us in remembrance of his death, and so it excites us to thanksgiving, to laud and praise God for the benefits of our redemption.

"And thus we have Christ present there. In the inward eye and sight of our faith, we eat his body, and drink his blood; that is, we believe surely that his body was crucified for our sins, and his blood shed for our salvation.

"JOHN DENLEY."

The commissioners receiving these prisoners, after they saw they could little prevail with their own persuasions, sent them to Bishop Bonner to be handled according to his discretion. On the 28th of June he had Denley and Newman, with one Patrick Pakingham, brought into his chamber within his palace, and there he examined them upon their confessions, also objecting to them certain other articles of his own.

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To which they all answered one thing, in effect, although Denley answered more largely than the others. The following were the articles objected. —

1. That he is of the diocese of London.
2. That he does not believe that there is any catholic church of Christ on earth.
3. That he does not believe that this church of England is any part of the catholic church.
4. That he believes that the mass is full of idolatry and evil, and plainly against God's word.
5. That he believes that auricular confession is not good, but contrary to God's word.
6. That he believes that the absolution given by the priest hearing confession is not good, nor allowable by God's word.
7. That he believes that christening children, as it is now used in the church of England, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but against it; likewise, confirming children, giving orders, saying matins and evensong, anointing or absolving sick persons, making holy bread, and holy water.
8. That he believes that there are but two sacraments in Christ's catholic church; that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the altar.
9. That he believes that as Christ has ascended up into heaven; therefore the very body of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar,

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10. (Objected only to one.) That you, Patrick Packer, now being at least twenty-one years of age, being within the house of the bishop of London at St. Paul's, and brought by him to the great chapel to hear mass there, on the said 23rd of June in the year 1555, irreverently stood in the said chapel, having your cap on your head all the time of mass; and also refused to receive holy water and holy bread at the priest's hands, there contemning and despising both the mass, and the said holy water and holy bread.

### *The Answer of John Denley and the others.*

"To the first article, I answer it is very true.

"To the second article, I answer that it is not true; for I believe in the holy catholic church which is built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head, which holy church is the congregation of the faithful people, dispersed throughout the world, which church preaches God's holy word truly, and also administers the two sacraments, that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord, according to His blessed word.

"To the third article, I answer, that I do believe that this church of England, using the faith and religion which is now used, is no part or member of the aforesaid catholic church, but is the church of antichrist, the bishop of Rome being the head of it. For it is plain that they have altered the Testament of God, and set up a Testament of their own devising, full of blasphemy and lies. For Christ's Testament is that he would have all things done to the edifying of the people, as it appears when he taught them to pray, Matthew 6. And it also appears by St. Paul, 1Cor 14.3-4, 'But he who prophesies speaks edification, and exhortation, and comfort to men. He who speaks in an unknown tongue edifies himself; but he who prophesies edifies the church.'

"Also he says, 1Cor 14.9, 'So likewise you, unless you utter by the tongue words easy to understand, how will it be known what is spoken? For you will speak into the air,' that is to say, in vain. Also he says, verses 17-19. 'For truly you give thanks well, but the other is not edified. I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than you all: yet in the church I would rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue.'

"Also it is written in Psa 47.7, 'For God is the King of all the earth: sing praises with understanding,' etc. So it appears that this church of England, now used, is not built upon Christ, not if St. Paul's words are true and also the Psalms. Therefore this church is not built upon the prophets, apostles, nor Christ, as I have declared before.

"To the fourth article I answer and I believe, that the mass now used in this realm of England is naught, and abominable idolatry, and blasphemy against God's holy word. For Christ in his holy supper instituted the sacraments of bread and wine, to be eaten together in remembrance of his death till he comes, and not to have them worshipped and made an idol of them. For God will not be worshipped in his creatures; but we ought to give him praise for his creatures which he has created for us. For he says in the second commandment, 'You shall not make for yourself any graven image, nor any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: You shall not bow down yourself to them, nor serve them.' (Exo 20.4-5) So it appears by this commandment, that we should not worship the sacrament of bread and wine, for it is plain idolatry; for he says, 'No similitude.' Therefore, 'You shall not bow down yourself to them, nor serve them.' I pray you, what do you call kneeling down, holding up the hands, beating on the breast, putting off the cap, and curtsying, with other similar superstitions? You would make men so blind as to believe that this is not worshipping.

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“Perhaps you will object and say, you do not worship the bread and the wine, but Christ’s body, which was born of the Virgin Mary, contained under the forms of bread and wine. But that is a very lie; for Christ’s body that was born of the Virgin Mary is in heaven, if St. Paul’s words are true, as undoubtedly they are. For he says in Heb 10.12-13, ‘But this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, forever sat down at the right hand of God; from then on expecting till his enemies are made his footstool.’

“Also in Heb 9.24, ‘For Christ has not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us.’ Also, Phi 3.20, ‘For our citizenship is in heaven; from which we also look for the Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ.’ 1The 1.9-10, ‘For they themselves show of us what manner of entry we had to you; and how you turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God; and to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, even Jesus, who delivered us from the wrath to come.’ Also Joh 16.28, ‘I came forth from the Father, and have come into the world:’ again, ‘I leave the world, and go to the Father.’ Joh 17.11, ‘And now I am no longer in the world, but these are in the world, and I come to You.’ All these places of the Scriptures, with others, prove plainly to those who have ears to hear, that Christ’s body, which was born of the Virgin Mary, is in heaven, and not in the sacramental bread and wine; and therefore it is idolatry to worship them, etc.

“To this fifth article, I answer that I do believe that auricular confession is not good, as it is now used. As to my sins, in which I have offended God, I must seek Him for remission of them; for our Savior Christ says (Mat 11.28), ‘Come to me, all you who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.’ The prodigal son (Luk 15.18-19), says, ‘I will arise, and go to my father, and will say to him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before you, and I am no longer worthy to be called your son. Make me like one of your hired servants.’ Psa 32.5, ‘I acknowledged my sin to you, and my iniquity I have not hidden. I said I will confess my transgressions to the Lord; and you forgave the iniquity of my sin.’ Job 13.15-16, ‘But I will maintain my own ways before him. He also shall be my salvation. For a hypocrite shall not come before him.’ Wisdom 34.4 (Ecclesiasticus) says, ‘Who can be cleansed of the unclean?’ And there was but one of the ten lepers who were cleansed, that came to Christ to give him thanks; he asked about the other nine. <sup>Luk 17.12-17</sup> But if I have offended my *neighbor*, I must reconcile myself to my neighbor. <sup>Mat 5.23-24</sup> And if I am a notorious sinner, after the first and second admonition, it ought to be declared to the congregation. <sup>Mat 18.16-17</sup>

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“And the minister of the congregation has power by the word to excommunicate me, and I am to be taken as a heathen person, not for a day, or forty days, but till such time as I openly in the congregation acknowledge my fault. Then the minister has power by the word to preach to me or to them, the remission of our sins in the blood of Jesus Christ, as it is written in the 13th of the Acts of the Apostles, and in Mat 18.17. I know of no other confession.

“To the sixth article I have answered in the fifth.

“To the seventh article I answer, that as touching the sacrament of baptism, which is the christening of children, it is altered and changed. For John the Baptist used nothing but the preaching of the word and the water, as it appears when Christ requested to be baptized by him, and others also who came to John to be baptized, as it appears Mat 3.5-6; 3.13; Mar 1.5-9; and Luk 3.7, 21. In Act 8.36, the eunuch said, ‘See, here is water; what keeps me from being baptized?’ It appears here that Philip had preached to him; for he said, ‘Here is *water*.’ We do not read that he asked for any cream or oil, nor for spittle, nor conjured water, nor conjured wax, nor chrism, nor salt — for it seems that Philip had preached no such things to him. For he might have asked for them as well as for water; and the water was not conjured, but even as it

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was before. Also Act 10.46-47, 'Then Peter answered, Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, who have received the Holy Spirit as well as we?' Act 16.32-33, Paul and Silas 'Spoke to him' (the Philippian jailer) 'the word of the Lord, and to all whose who were in his house. And he took them the same hour of the night, and washed their stripes, and he was baptized, he and all his, immediately.' There you see nothing but preaching the word, and the water. The like is also said of the rest of the ceremonies of your church.

"To the eighth article I answer in brief, that there are no more than two sacraments; baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, unless you would make the rainbow a sacrament. For there is no sacrament that does not have a promise annexed to it.

"To the ninth article I answer you, that you have my mind already written. For it was found about me when I was taken; and you also know my mind in the fourth article, plainly expressed concerning the bodily presence. For Christ's body is in heaven, and will not be contained in so small a piece of bread. And just as the words which Christ spoke are true indeed, so they must also be understood by other places of the Scriptures, which Christ spoke himself, and also the apostles after him. And thus I make an end, etc.

"By me, JOHN DENLEY."

On the first of July, the above three prisoners were brought into the consistory in St. Paul's church, where the bishop proceeded against them in the usual forma. And then he tempted them, sometimes with fair promises, other times with threatenings, which were always his chief arguments and reasons to persuade with. In the end, seeing their immoveable constancy, on the 5th of July he condemned them as heretics, and gave them to the sheriffs of London, as to his common executioners. They kept them until by writ they were commanded to send them to their several places of suffering. John Denley was sent to Uxbridge where, on the 8th of August, he was burned. When set in the fire, and the flames were about him, he sang a psalm with a joyful heart.

Then Doctor Story, who was present, commanded one of the tormentors to hurl a faggot at him, upon which, being hurt upon the face so that he bled, he ceased his singing, and clapped both his hands on his face. 'Truly,' said Doctor Story to the one who hurled the faggot, 'you have spoiled a good old song.'

Shortly, however, Denley put his hands abroad, and sang again, at last yielding his spirit into the hands of God, through his Son Jesus Christ.

Not long after the martyrdom of John Denley at Uxbridge, **Patrick Pakingham** also suffered at Uxbridge, about the 28th of August. This Pakingham was charged by Bonner (as you heard in the tenth article earlier), for the behavior he showed in the bishop's chapel. He would not take off his cap at the time of mass; this was taken for a heinous offense. Pakingham, much entreated by Bonner to recant, protested in these words to the bishop, that he believed the popish church was no catholic church, but it was the church of Satan, and therefore he would never turn to it, etc.

**John Newman** was burned on the 31st of August, at Saffron Walden, in the county of Essex. His confession of his faith and belief, for which he was cruelly persecuted and burnt, was written by himself. It follows here. First, we will give his answer in writing to the suffragan after his apprehension, as follows:

"It may please you to understand that for all the time of King Edward's reign we were diligently instructed with continual sermons, made by such men whose faith, wisdom, learning, and virtuous living, was commended to all men under the king's hand and seal, and under the hands of the whole council. These men taught diligently a long time, persuading us



by the allegations of God's word, that there was no transubstantiation, nor corporeal presence in the sacrament. Their doctrine was not believed by us suddenly, but by their continual preaching, and also by our continual prayer to God, that we might never be deceived — but if it were true, that God would incline our hearts to it; and if it were not true, that we might never believe it. We weighed what they preached with God's word, and we asked the advice of our friends; nor could we find that they preached false doctrine. We considered also, as we learned, that the king's grace and his council, and most of the realm believed as they taught, because no man preached the contrary. Also we know that the preachers were commanded by the king and laws of the realm, to preach such doctrine to us, as was agreeable to the authority of God's word, and no other. And by their diligent setting forth of it by the king's commandment, and the consent of the whole council, and by the authority of the parliament, we embraced it, and received it as infallible truth, taught to us for seven years. Therefore, until such time as our consciences are otherwise taught and instructed by God's word, we cannot take it with the safeguard of our consciences, as many suppose at this time. And we trust in God that the queen's merciful highness, nor yet her most honorable council, will in a matter of faith, use compulsion or violence. Because faith is the gift of God, and does not come from man, nor by man's laws, nor at such time as men require it, but at such time as God gives it."

*The Examination and Answers of John Newman,  
before Doctor Thornton and others.*

First, one of the doctors, or one of the bench — either the archdeacon, or Fawcet, or some other (John Newman does not give his name) — began asking in this way:

Doctor. — "What do you say to this: 'This is my body which is given for you?'"

Newman. — "It is a figurative speech, one thing spoken, and another meant; as Christ says, 'I am a vine. I am a door, I am a stone,' etc. Is he therefore a material stone, vine, or door?"

Doctor. — "This is no figurative speech. For he says, 'This is my body, which is given for you,' and he does not say so of the stone, vine, or door; *that* is a figurative speech."

Newman. — "Christ says, 'This cup is the New Testament in my blood.' If you will have it meant literally, then let them take and eat the cup." \_

Doctor. — "No, that is not so meant; for it is a common phrase of speech among ourselves: We say to our friend, drink a cup of drink, and yet we mean he should drink the drink in the cup."

Newman. — "If you will have the one understood literally, then you must understand the other literally."

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Doctor. — "No, it is a common use of speech, to say drink a cup of ale or beer. And therefore it is not figurative speech."

Newman. — "The often use of a thing does not make that thing otherwise than it is; but wherever one thing is spoken, and another is meant, it is figurative speech."

Doctor. — "Well, we will not keep to this. What do you say about the real presence? Is not Christ's natural body there, that was born of the Virgin Mary?"

Newman. — "No, I do not believe so, neither can I believe so; for the soul of man does not feed upon natural things as the body does."

Doctor. — "Why, how then does it feed?"

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Newman. — “I think the soul of man feeds like the angels in heaven, whose feeding is only the pleasure, joy, felicity, and delight that they have in God: and so the soul of man feeds and eats, through faith, the body of Christ.”

Collins. — “Yes, but if the body does not feed on natural things, the soul cannot continue with the body: therefore the body must feed upon natural things, so that both may live together.

Newman. — “I grant it to be true; yet the soul lives otherwise than the body, which perishes: therefore natural things feed the body only. I pray you, what did Judas receive at the supper?”

Collins. — “Judas received the very body of Christ, but it was to his damnation.

Newman. — Why! was the devil entered into him before? Then he did not have the devil and Christ in him at one time.

Collins. — “No, the devil entered into him afterward.”

Newman. — Yes, and before too: what do you think? Did he have but one devil? No, I think he rather had a legion of devils at the latter end. ‘

Collins. — “Well, suppose it is so: what do you say to that?”

Newman. — “If Christ and the devil were both in Judas at once, I pray you how did the two agree together?”

Collins. — “We grant that they were both in Judas at that time: for Christ may be where the devil is, if he will; but the devil cannot be where Christ is, unless it pleases Christ.”

Newman. — “Christ will not be in an unclean person who has the devil.”

Thornton. — “Why, will you not believe that Christ was in hell? And you will grant that the devil is there; and so he might be in Judas, if it pleased him.”

Newman. — “Christ would not permit Mary Magdalen to touch him, who sought him at his grave, and loved him entirely; much less will he permit an ungodly man to receive him into his unclean body.”

Thornton. — “Yes, seeing God may do all things, he may do what he pleases, and be where will. And does the Psalm not say, He is in hell, and in all places? Why should we then doubt his being there?”

Newman. — “Though his *godhead* is in all places, that is not sufficient to prove that his *humanity* is in all places.”

Thornton. — “No! Do you not believe that God is Omnipotent, and may do all things?”

Newman. — “I do believe that God is Almighty, and may do all that he chooses to do.”

Thornton. — “No, but if he is omnipotent, he may do all things, and there is nothing impossible for him to do.”

Newman. — “I know God is Almighty, and can do all that he chooses: but he cannot make his Son a liar; he cannot deny himself.”

Thornton. — “What is that to your purpose?”

Newman. — “Will you have the *humanity* of Christ in all places, as the *deity* is?”

Thornton. — “Yes, he is in all places as the deity is. If it pleases him.”

Newman. — “That seems to me a very great heresy, or heaven and earth are not able to contain the divine power of God, for it is in all places, here as in every place. And yet you say that wherever the deity is, there the humanity is also; and so you will make him no body but a fantastical body, and not a real body.”

Thornton. — “No, we do not say he is in all places as the deity is, but if it please him he may be in all places with the deity.”

Newman. — “That seems to me as great a heresy as I ever heard, and I dare not grant it lest I deny Christ to be a true man, and that would be against all the Scriptures.”

Thornton. — “Tush, why should we keep reasoning with him? I dare say that he does not believe that Christ was born of his mother. Do you believe that Christ rose from the dead, and came through the stone?”

Newman. — “I do believe that Christ rose from death; but I do not believe that he came through the stone, nor does the Scripture so say.”

Thornton. — “Look, what are you saying? He does not believe that Christ came through the stone; and if he does not believe this, how will he believe the other? If he could believe this, it would be easy for him to believe the other.”

Newman. — “The Scripture does not say that he went through the stone, but it says the angel of God came down, and rolled away the stone; and for fear of him, the keepers shook and became like dead men.”

Thornton. — “Ah fool, fool; that was because the woman would see that he had risen again from death.”

Newman. — “Well, the Scripture makes as much for me, as it does for you, and more too.”

Thornton. — “Well, let us not keep any longer about this. Back again to the real presence. What do you say, is the body of Christ really in the sacrament, or not?”

Newman. — “I have answered you already.”

Thornton. — “Well, do you not believe that it is there really?”

Newman. — “No, I do not believe it.”

Thornton. — “Well, will you stand to that? “

Newman. — “I must stand to it, till I am persuaded by a further truth.”

Thornton. — “No, you will not be persuaded, but you stand to your own opinion.”

Newman. — “No, I do not stand to my own opinion, I take God to witness, but only to the Scriptures of God, and that all those who stand here can witness with me, and nothing but the Scriptures. And I take God to witness, that I do nothing from presumption, but what I do is only my conscience. And if there is a further truth than I see, unless it appears a truth to me, I cannot receive it as a truth. And seeing faith is the gift of God, and does not come of man — for it is not you who can give me faith — I therefore trust you will bear further with me, seeing it must be wrought by God. And when it pleases God to open a further truth to me, I will receive it with all my heart, and embrace it.”

**Richard Hook**, about the same time, and for the same matter, gave up his life at Chichester.

*The Examinations, Answers, and Condemnation of William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Richard Collier, Richard Wright, and William Stere, before the Bishop of Dover, and Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury.*

Mention was made in the histories of John Bland and Nicholas Sheterden, of certain other Kentish men who, being with them at the same time, were called forth and examined by Thornton, bishop of Dover, and by Harpsfield, Fawcet. and Collins. Yet, because their condemnation and execution was deferred till August, we will now briefly give some part of their examinations and answers, as we find them in the registers. The names of these were Coker, Hopper, Laurence, Collier, Wright, and Stere. You heard before what articles were objected to Master Bland and the others. They answered for themselves severally, and with great firmness.

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William Coker being offered a respite of six days, refused to take it; and so sentence of condemnation was read against him on the 11th of July.

William Hopper at first seemed to yield to the solicitation of the popish church, but afterwards expressed his determination to abide by the truth, and was condemned on the 16th of July.

Henry Lawrence answered boldly, denying auricular confession, and said that he neither had nor would receive the sacrament of the popish church, because the order of the holy Scriptures is changed in the order of the sacrament.

Concerning the sacrament given to Christ's disciples, he affirmed that even as Christ gave his very body to his disciples, and confessed it to be the same; so likewise Christ himself said he was a door, adding that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, and not a remembrance of Christ's passion. At last, being required to subscribe to his answers, he wrote these words under the bill of their examinations: "You are all of antichrist, and him you fol — " Here his hand was stopped, or he would have written out "follow," etc. Sentence was given against him on the 2nd of August.

Richard Collier replied by saying, that he did not believe that after the consecration there is the real and substantial body of Christ, but only bread and wine, and that it is most abominable, most detestable, and most wicked to believe otherwise, etc. Upon this the sentence was read against him, and he was condemned on the 16th of August. After his condemnation he sang a psalm. Therefore the priests and their officers railed at him, saying he was out of his senses.

Richard Wright being required by the judge to say what he believed about the real presence in the sacrament, answered that as to the sacrament of the altar and the mass, he was ashamed to speak of it, or to name it, and that he did not allow it, as it was used in the church of Rome. the sentence was also read against him on the 16th of August.

William Stere, being required to answer to the charges laid to him by the judge, declared that Dover had no authority to sit against him in judgment, alleging that the bishop of Canterbury (who was then in prison) was his diocesan.

The judge, speaking of the sacrament of the altar with reverence, and taking off his cap, Stere said that he did not need to reverence that matter so highly. And thus the sentence was pronounced against him. After sentence was read, he said that the sacrament of the altar was the most blasphemous idol that was ever invented, etc.

And thus these six godly martyrs and witnesses to the truth being condemned by the suffragan and archdeacon of Canterbury, Collins, and Fawcet were all burned together in the same town of Canterbury, at three stakes, but in one fire, about the latter part of August.

*The Persecution of Ten Other True Saints*

After this follows the persecution of ten other true servants and saints of the Lord. These are not such saints as the pope makes, or are mentioned in “The Legend of the Saints,” or in “The Lives of the Fathers,” or in other such fabulous books; but such saints as are spoken of in the book of Revelation (Rev 7.14) of whom it is written: “These are those who follow the Lamb wherever he goes, and who have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb,” etc. Thus these saints are not of the pope’s making — or rather to say the truth, they *are* of the pope’s making — of the pope’s making, I say, in this respect: not that the saints of God are made by the pope, but that the saints of God are tried and declared by the pope. For just as Job’s patience was proved by the inflictions of Satan, and God’s power was declared by Pharaoh, so in like manner, if good men had not been destroyed by antichrist, they would not have been true martyrs of Christ. The names of these were —

Elizabeth Warne, George Tankervil, Robert Smith. Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, William Hall, Thomas Leyes, George King, John Wade, and Joan Lashford.

The prisons of London beginning now to be full with God’s saints, and still more and more coming in, the council and commissioners, thinking to make dispatch with the poor prisoners, caused these ten to be sent to Bonner, bishop of London, to be examined, and at once rid out of the way.

We will begin with the history of Elizabeth Warne, the wife of John Warne who was burned, as recorded before. Elizabeth had been apprehended among others, on the 1st of January, in a house in Bow church-yard in London, as they were gathered together in prayer. She was carried to the Compter, where she lay as prisoner until the 11th of June. She was then brought to Newgate, and remained there till the 2nd of July. Then she was sent by the king and queen’s commissioners to Bonner, bishop of London, who on the 6th of that month had her brought before him into his palace, with others, such as Robert Smith, George Tankervil, etc. There he examined her upon such articles as were administered to the poor saints and martyrs of God.

The chief objection that he used both towards her and most of the others, touched the real and corporeal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as the chief ground and foundation for their dignity. He objected many other matters against them, such as not coming to the church; speaking against the mass; despising their ceremonies and new-found sacraments, with other foolish and trifling toys not worth mentioning.

In the end, when she had been brought before him and his adherents several times, and there earnestly exhorted to recant, she said: “Do what you will. For if Christ were in an error, then am I in an error.” Upon this answer she was adjudged and condemned as a

heretic on the 12th of July, and so delivered to the secular power, as they term it, to be put to death by them, which was accomplished in August, at Stratford-le-Bow, near London.

George Tankervil, of London, was born in the city of York, and in King Edward's days, was a papist till the time Queen Mary came to the throne. And then, perceiving the great cruelty of the pope's side, was brought to doubt their doings, and began to abhor them in his heart. As concerning the mass, he had but a doubtful opinion of it before, and much striving with himself. At length he fell to prayer, desiring God in mercy to open the truth to him, so that he might be thoroughly persuaded whether it was of God or not. If not, that he might utterly hate it in his heart, and abhor it. According to his prayer, the Lord mercifully heard it, working daily more and more in him to detest and abhor it. And so he was moved to read the Testament by which, as was said, the Lord enlightened his mind with the knowledge of the truth, working lively faith in him to believe the same, and to utterly detest all papistry. And so he no longer came to their practices; and not only that, but also this lively faith enkindled such a flame in him, that it would not be kept in, but uttered itself, reproving his own former doings to his friends, exhorting them likewise to be converted and turn to the truth with him. And thus he began to be suspected among them, till at last he was sent for.

Tankervil being brought to prison, underwent the usual examination before Bonner. He answered unhesitatingly to the articles, constantly declaring his mind both touching auricular confession, and also the sacrament of the popish altar, and likewise of the mass, etc.; that he had not confessed to any priest for five years past, nor to any other, but only to God, because that he did not find it in Christ's book.

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Concerning the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar here in England, he confessed that he neither had nor did believe that in the said sacrament there is the real body and blood of Christ, because the body has ascended into heaven, and there He sits at the right hand of God the Father. Moreover, he said that the mass now used in the church of England was naught, and full of idolatry and abomination, and against the word of God. He also affirmed that there are but two sacraments in the church of Christ: baptism and the supper of the Lord, etc. And he said he would stand to these assertions; and so he did to the end.

And when at last the bishop began to read the sentence, first exhorting him with many words to revoke his professed opinion, which he called damnable and heretical, he resisted all persuasions, answering the bishop again in this form, "I will not," he said, "forsake my opinions, unless you, my lord, can refute them by the Scriptures. And I do not care for your divinity: for you condemn all men, and prove nothing against them." After many fair words of exhortation which Bonner used to convert, or rather pervert him, Tankervil boldly answered that, "The church of which the pope is supreme head, is no part of Christ's catholic church." And pointing to the bishop, he spoke to the people saying, "Good people beware of him, and such as he is, for these are the people who deceive you," etc. The bishop, reading the sentence of his popish condemnation, gave him to the secular power. And so this blessed servant of God was sent to St. Alban's. And there, with much patience and constancy, he ended his life on the 26th of August, for the defense of the truth.

On his way to St. Alban's, there was a great concourse of people to see and hear the prisoner. Some were sorry to see so godly a man brought to be burned; others praised God for his constancy and perseverance in the truth. There were, however, some who said it was a pity he stood in such opinions; and others, both old women and men, cried out against him. One

called him "heretic," and said it was a pity that he lived. But George Tankervil spoke to them so effectually out of the word of God, lamenting their ignorance, and protesting to them his unspotted conscience, that God softened their hardened hearts, so that some of them departed with weeping eyes.

A certain schoolmaster also came to him, who communicated with him touching the sacrament of the altar, and other points of papistical religion. But as he urged Tankervil with the authority of the doctors, wresting them according to his own will, so on the other side, Tankervil answered him mightily by the Scriptures, not wrested according to the mind of any man, but being interpreted according to the will of the Lord Jesus, etc. As he would not allow such allegations as Tankervil brought out of the Scriptures without the opinions of the doctors. so in reply Tankervil would not credit his doctrine to be true, unless he could confirm it by the Scriptures.

When the hour drew near when he was to suffer, Tankervil desired the wine-drawer to give him a pint of Malmsey and a loaf, so that he might eat and drink in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, because he could not have it administered to him by others in such manner as Christ commanded. And then he kneeled down, making his confession to the Lord with all those who were in the chamber with him. After he had prayed earnestly to God, and had read the institution of the holy supper by the Lord Jesus, out of the evangelists, and out of St. Paul, he said, "O Lord, you know it, I do not do this to derogate authority from any man, or in contempt of those who are your ministers; but only because I cannot have it administered according to your word," etc. And when he had spoken these and similar words, he received it with thanksgiving.

He prayed his host to let him have a good fire in the chamber; he had so; and then sitting on a form before the fire, he put off his shoes and hose, and stretched out his leg to the flame, and when it had touched his foot, he quickly withdrew his leg, showing how the flesh persuaded him one way, and the Spirit another way.

The flesh said, O, you fool! will you burn and need not? The Spirit said. Do not be afraid, for this is nothing in respect to fire eternal. The flesh said, Do not leave the company of your friends and acquaintances, who love you and will let you lack nothing. The Spirit said, The company of Jesus Christ and his glorious presence exceeds all fleshly friends. The flesh said, Do not shorten your time, for you may live much longer, if you will. The Spirit said, This life is nothing to the life in heaven which lasts forever, etc. All this time the sheriffs were at a certain gentleman's house at dinner, not far from the town, to which knights and many gentlemen out of the country also resorted, because his son was married that day. And until they returned from dinner, the prisoner was left with his host to be kept and looked to. George Tankervil all that time was kindly and lovingly treated by his host. Considering that his time was short, his saying was that, although the day was ever so long, yet at the last it rings to evening song.

About two o'clock, when the sheriffs had returned from dinner, they brought George Tankervil out of his inn to the place where he would suffer, which is called Romeland, a green place near to the west end of the Abby church. When he had come there, he kneeled down by the stake. After he ended his prayers he arose, and with a joyful faith he said that although he had a sharp dinner, yet he hoped to have a joyful supper in heaven.

While the faggots were arranged about him, a priest came to him, to persuade him to believe in the sacrament of the altar, and then he would be saved. But George Tankervil cried out vehemently, and said, "I defy the whore of Babylon, I defy the whore of Babylon. Fie upon

that abominable idol; good people, do not believe him; good people, do not believe him!" And then the mayor of the town commanded to set fire to the heretic, saying, "If he had but one load of faggots in the whole world, he would give them to burn him." There was a certain knight nearby who went to Tankervil and took him by the hand, and said, "Good brother, be strong in Christ." This he spoke softly; and Tankervil said, "O sir, I thank you, I am so, I thank God." Then fire was set to him, and he desired of the sheriff and all the people, that they would pray for him; most of them did so. And so embracing the fire, he bathed himself in it; and calling on the name of the Lord Jesus, he was quickly out of pain, etc.

### ***The Martyrdom of Robert Smith***

Robert Smith was brought to Newgate on the 5th of November. He was tall and slender of stature, active about many things, but chiefly delighting in the art of painting, which he practiced many times for his mind's sake rather than for any living or lucre. He was fervent in religion, once he had tasted the truth; he was much confirmed by the preaching and reading of one Master Turner of Windsor, and others. Whereupon, at the coming of Queen Mary, he was deprived of his clerkship in Windsor college, by her visitors. And not long after, he was apprehended and brought to examination before Bonner, as follows here, written and testified with his own hand.

"About nine o'clock in the morning, I was brought to the bishop's house among the rest of my brethren. I was first of all brought before him into his chamber, to whom the bishop said as follows, after he had asked my name:

"Bonner. — 'How long is it since you were confessed to any priest?'

"Smith. — 'Never since I came to years of discretion. For I never saw it needful, nor commanded by God, to come show my faults to any of that sinful number whom you call priests.'

"Bonner. — 'You show yourself even at the first chop to be a rank heretic who, being weary of painting, have entered into divinity, and so fallen through your departing from your vocation, into heresy.'

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"Smith. — 'Although I have understanding in the occupation, yet I praise God I have had little need all my life to live by the same; but I have lived without the same in my own house as honestly in my vocation, as you have lived in yours, and yet used the same better than you ever used the pulpit.'

"Bonner. — 'How long is it since you received the sacrament of the altar, and what is your opinion of the same?'

"Smith. — 'I never received the same since I arrived to years of discretion, nor ever will, by God's grace; nor do I esteem the same in any point, because it does not have God's ordinance, either in name or in other usage, but rather is set up and erected to mock God.'

"Bonner. — 'Do you not believe that it is the very body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, naturally, substantially, and really, after the words of consecration?'

"Smith. — 'I showed you before it was none of God's ordinances, *as you use it*; then much less can it be God, or any part of his substance, but only bread and wine appointed to that use. Yet, nevertheless, if you can prove it to be the body that you spoke of by the word, I will



believe it; if not, I will, as I do, account it a detestable idol — not God, but contrary to God and his truth.’

“Bonner. — (After many raging words and vain objections, he said) ‘There is no remedy but you must be burned.’

“Smith. — ‘You shall do no more to me, than you have done to better men than either of us. But do not think to quench the Spirit of God, nor to make your matter good. For your sore is too well seen to be healed so secretly with blood. For even the children hold all your deeds in derision; so that although you patch up one place with authority, yet it will break out in forty places to your shame.’

“Bonner. — (After many railing sentences, throwing away the paper of my examination) ‘Well, even now, by my pledge, even in good earnest, if you will go and be shriven (confessed by a priest), I will tear this paper in pieces.’

“Smith. — ‘It would be too much to your shame to show it to men of discretion.’

“After this answer, I was carried down to the garden with my jailer, and there remained until my brother Harwood was examined. Then being brought back up before Bonner, he demanded if I agreed with Harwood in his confession, upon the following articles; —

“Bonner. — ‘What do you say to the catholic church? Do you not confess there is one in earth?’

“Smith. — ‘Yes, truly, I believe that there is one catholic church, or faithful congregation, which as the apostle says, ‘is built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone.’ This church, in all her words and works, maintains the word, and brings the same for her authority, and without it, it does nothing, nor ought to do, of which I am assured I am made a member by grace.’

“Bonner. — ‘You will understand that I am bound, when my brother offends, and will not be reconciled, to bring him before the church. Now if your church is the same, where may a man find it, to bring his brother before it?’

“Smith. — ‘It is written in the Acts of the Apostles, that when the tyranny of men was so great against the church, they were obliged to congregate in houses and private places, as they now do; and yet they were nevertheless the church of God; and seeing they had their matters redressed being shut up in a corner, may we not do likewise now-a-days?’

“Bonner. — ‘Yes, their church was known full well. For St. Paul writes to the Corinthians, directing them to be punished and excommunicated, who had committed evil; by this we may well perceive it was a known church; but yours is not known.’

“Smith. — ‘Then you could not persecute it as you do. But as you say, the church of God at Corinth was manifest both to God and St. Paul. Even so, this church of God in England, whom you persecute, is both known to God, and also even to the very wicked, even though they do not know, nor will not know their truth nor conversation. You and your own sinful number have professed their truth, and maintained the same a long time.’

“Bonner. — ‘Well, you say that the church of God was only at Corinth when St. Paul wrote to them, and I will put it so in writing. Shall I?’

“Smith. — ‘I marvel greatly, my lord, that you are not ashamed to lay snares for your brethren in this manner. This is now the third snare you have laid for me. First, to make me confess that the church of England is not the church of Christ. Secondly, to say it is not

known. Thirdly, to say the church of God is not universal, but particular. This is not the office of a bishop. For if an innocent had come in your way, you would have done your best, I see, to have entangled him.'

"Harfsfield. — 'Well, you are no innocent, as it appears.'

"Smith. — 'By the grace of God, I am what I am; and this grace in me, I hope, is not in vain.'

"Bonner. — 'Well (laughing), tell me, what do you say of the church?'

"Smith. — 'I told you what the true church is built upon, and I affirm that in England there is the congregation of God, and also in all the earth. As it is written, 'Their sound has gone forth into all the earth;' and this is the afflicted and persecuted church which you do not cease to imprison, slay, and kill. In Corinth there was not the entire congregation of God, but a number of those holy and elect people of God. For neither St. Paul nor St. Peter were present at Corinth when they wrote, and yet they were of the church of God, as many thousands more who also communicate in that Holy Spirit.'

"Bonner. — 'What do you call *catholic*, and what do you call *church*?'

"Smith. — 'Catholic is universal, and church is a congregation knit together in unity.'

"Then after much similar vain talk, it was laid to my charge that my fellow and I spoke false things. For this I praised God, and was sent away.

"On Saturday I was brought to his chamber again, and there I was examined as follows:

"Bonner. — 'You, Robert Smith, etc., say, that there is no catholic church here on earth.'

"Smith. — 'You have both heard me speak and seen me write the contrary.'

"Bonner. — 'Yes, but I must ask you this question. What you say?'

"Smith. — 'If you will be answered, ask my articles that were written yesterday, and they will tell you that I have confessed a church of God on earth as well as in heaven, and yet it is all one church, and one man's members, even Christ Jesus.'

"Bonner. — 'Well, what do you say to auricular confession? Is it not necessary to be used in Christ's church, and will you not be absolved by the priest?'

"Smith. — 'It is not needful to be used in Christ's church, as I answered yesterday. But if it is needful for anything for your church, it is to pick men's purses. And such pick-purse matters are the whole rabble of your ceremonies; for all that you maintain is but money matters.'

"Bonner. — 'Why, how are you able to prove that confession is a pick-purse matter? Are you not ashamed to say so?'

"Smith. — 'I speak from experience; for I have both heard and seen the fruits of it. For first it has been, we see, a betrayer of kings' secrets, and the secrets of other men's consciences. Being delivered, and glad to be discharged of their sins, they have given to priests great sums of money to absolve them, and sing masses for their soul's health.'

"I began to say how when I was a child waiting on a gentlemen of Norfolk, who being bound in conscience through the persuasion of the priest, gave away a great sum of his goods, and gave to Master Gresham a great sum of money, and to another as much. The priest for his part had a sum, and the house had an annuity to keep him. When his brother heard this, he came down to London, and after a declaration was made to the council, how by the subtlety of the priest he had robbed his wife and children, recovered a great part, to the value of two

or three hundred pounds; but what he gave to the house could not be recovered. This tale I began to tell. But when my lord saw that it did not savor to his purpose, he began to revile me.

[807] A.D. 1555.

“Bonner. — ‘By the mass, if the queen’s majesty were of my mind, you would not come to talk before any man, but would be put into a sack and a dog tied to it, and so be thrown into the water.’

“Smith. — ‘I know you speak by practice, as much as by speculation; for both you and your predecessors have sought all means possible to kill Christ secretly.’

“Bonner. — ‘What do you say to the seven sacraments? Do you not believe that they are God’s order, that is to say, the sacrament of,’ etc.

“Smith. — ‘I believe that in God’s church there are but two sacraments; that is to say, the sacrament of regeneration, and the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. As for the sacraments of the altar, and all your sacraments, they may well serve your church, but God’s church has nothing to do with them, nor do I have anything to do to answer them, nor you to examine me about them.’

“Bonner. — ‘Why, is God’s order changed in baptism? In what point do we dissent from the word of God?’

“Smith. — ‘In hallowing your water; in conjuring it; in baptizing children with anointing and spitting in their mouths, mingled with salt, and with many other foolish ceremonies, of which not one point is able to be proved in God’s order.’

“Bonner. — ‘By the mass, this is the most unshamefaced heretic that ever I heard.’

Smith. — ‘Well sworn, my lord.’

“Bonner. — ‘Well, you catch me at my words, but I will watch you as well, I warrant you.’

“Mordant. — ‘By my pledge, my lord, I never heard the like in all my life. But I pray you, my lord, mark well his answer for baptism. He disallows holy ointment, salt, and such other laudable ceremonies, which no Christian man will deny.’

“Smith. — ‘It is a shameful blasphemy against Christ to use any mingle-mangle <sup>574</sup> in baptizing young infants.’

“Bonner. — ‘I believe, I tell you, that if they die before they are baptized, they are damned.’

“Smith. — ‘You will never be saved by that belief. But I pray you, my lord, show me, are we saved by water or by Christ?’

“Bonner. — ‘By both.’

“Smith. — ‘Then the water died for our sins! And so you must say that the water has life, and being our servant, and created for us, it is our savior! This, my lord, is a strange doctrine, is it not?’

“Mordant. — ‘By our Lady, sir, I believe that if my child dies without water, he is damned.’

“Bonner. — ‘Yes, and so do I, and all catholic men, good Master Mordant.’

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<sup>574</sup> *Mingle-mangle: A motley assortment of things.*

“Smith. — ‘Such catholic! Such salvation!’

“Bonner. — ‘Well, sir, what do you say to the sacrament of orders?’

“Smith. — ‘You may call it the sacrament of *misorders*: for all orders are appointed by God. But as for your shaving, anointing, greasing, poling, and rounding, there are no such things appointed in God’s word; and therefore I have nothing to do to believe your orders. And as for you, my lord, if you had grace and intelligence, you would not disfigure yourself as you do.’

“Bonner. — ‘Do you say so? Now, by my faith, I will go shave myself to vex you.’

“And so Bonner sent for his barber, who immediately came; and before my face at the door of the next chamber he shaved himself, desiring me before he went, to answer to these articles:

“Bonner. — ‘What do you say to holy bread and holy water, to the sacrament of anointing, and to all the rest of such ceremonies of the church?’

“Smith. — ‘I say, they are baubles for fools to play with, and not for the children of God to exercise themselves in; and therefore they may go among the refuse.’

“Then Master Mordant went away, and my lord went to shaving, leaving certain doctors there, as he called them, to try what they could do. I was baited by them for half an hour. I also asked this question of them: ‘Where were all you in the days of King Edward, that you did not speak that which you speak now?’

“Doctor. — ‘We were in England.’

“Smith. — ‘Yes, but then you had the faces of men; now you have put on lions’ faces. You have a vizer for every time; yes, and if another King Edward were to arise, you would then say, ‘Down with the pope, for he is antichrist, and so are all his angels.’

“Then I was reviled, and sent away, and brought in again before these men; and one of them who baited me before, asked me if I disallowed confession?

“Smith. — ‘Look in my articles, and they will show you what I allow.’

“Doctor. — ‘Your articles confess that you do not allow auricular confession.’

“Smith. — ‘I do not allow it, because the word does not allow it, nor command it.’

“Doctor. — ‘Why, it is written, you shall not hide your sins and offenses.’

“Smith. — ‘No more do I hide them when I confess them to Almighty God.’

“Doctor. — ‘Why, you cannot say that you can hide them from God, and therefore you must understand the words are spoken to be uttered to those who do not know them.’

“Smith. — ‘You have made a good answer. Then the priest must confess himself to me, as I do to him. For I know his faults and secrets no more than he knows mine. But if you confess to the priest, and not to God, you will have the reward which Judas had: for he confessed himself to the priest, and yet he went and hanged himself by and by; and so, as many as do not acknowledge their faults to God, are said to hide them.’

“Bonner. — (Returning.) — ‘How does it stand, master doctors, have you done any good?’

“Doctor. — ‘No, by my faith, my lord, we can do no good.’

“Smith. — ‘Then it is fulfilled which is written, ‘How can an evil tree bring forth good fruit?’ ‘

“Bonner. — ‘No, naughty fellow, I set these gentlemen to bring you home to Christ.’

“Smith. — ‘Such gentlemen! Such Christs! As truly as they have that name from Christ, so truly they teach Christ.’

“Bonner. — ‘Well, will you neither hear them nor me?’

“Smith. — ‘Yes, I am compelled to hear you; but you cannot compel me to follow you.’

“Bonner. — ‘Well, you shall be burnt at a stake in Smithfield, if you will not turn.’

“Smith. — ‘And you shall burn in hell, if you do not repent. But my lord, to put you out of doubt, because I am weary, I will strain courtesy with you. I perceive you will not come to me, with your doctors, and I am determined not to come to you, by God’s grace. For I have hardened my face against you, as hard as brass.’

“Then after many railing sentences I was sent away. And thus have I left the truth of my answers in writing, gentle reader, being compelled by my friends to do it, so that you may see how the Lord has, according to his promise, given me a mouth and wisdom to answer in his cause, for which I am condemned, and my cause not being heard.

“On the 12th of July I was, with my brethren, brought into the consistory, and my articles read before my lord mayor and the sheriffs, with all the assistants.

“Bonner. — ‘By my faith, my lord mayor, I have shown him as much favor as any man living could do: but I perceive all is lost, both in him and all his company.’

“Smith. — ‘My lord, it is written, ‘Swear not at all.’

“Bonner. — ‘Ah, have you come? By my pledge, master speaker, we will preach at a stake.’

“Smith. — ‘Well sworn, my lord.’

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“Bonner. — ‘Well, I am no saint.’

“Smith. — ‘No, my lord, nor yet a good bishop. For a bishop, says St. Paul, should be faultless, and a vessel dedicated to God. And are you not ashamed to sit in judgment, and be a blasphemer, condemning innocents?’

“Bonner. — ‘Well, you are faultless.’

“Smith. — ‘My lord mayor, I request you in God’s name, that I may have justice. We are here today, a great number of innocent men, who are wrongfully accused of heresy. And I request of you, if you will not seem to be partial, to let me have no more favor at your hands than the apostle had at the hands of Festus and Agrippa, who being heathen and infidels, gave him leave not only to speak for himself, but also heard the probation of his cause. This I request at your hands, who being a Christian judge, I hope will not deny me that right which the heathen have allowed. If you do, then all this audience, yea, and the heathen will speak shame of your fact. ‘For a city,’ says our Savior, ‘that is built on a hill cannot be hidden.’ If they, therefore, have the truth, let it come to light. For all who do well come to the light, and those who do evil hate the light.’

“Then my lord mayor hanging down his head, said nothing; but the bishop told me, I would preach at a stake; and so the sheriff cried out with the bishop, ‘Away with him!’

“Thus I came before them four times, desiring justice, but could have none. At length, my friends requesting the same with one voice, and could not have it, we had the sentence read.

Then being carried out, we were brought in again, and had it read for every man severally. But before the bishop gave me sentence, he told me in derision of my brother Tankervil, a tale between a gentleman and his cook. To this I answered, 'My lord, you fill the people's ears with fantasies and foolish tales, and make a laughing matter at blood. But if you were a true bishop, you would leave these railing sentences, and speak the words of God.'

"Bonner. — 'Well, I have offered to that naughty fellow, that my chancellor should instruct him here, but he has disdained it. What do you say, will you have him instruct you, and lead you in the right way? You cannot say that I have not offered you fair, to have instruction. And now, I pray you, call me bloody bishop, and say, I seek your blood, if you will.'

"Smith. — 'Well, my lord, although neither I, nor any of this congregation report the truth of your act, yet these stones shall cry out, rather than that it be hidden.'

"Bonner. — 'Away with him! Away with him!'

"Woodrofe. — 'Away with him! Take him away!'

"Smith. — 'Well, good friends, you have seen and heard the great wrong that we have received this day, and you are all witnesses that we have desired the probation of our cause by God's book, and it has not been granted; rather, we are condemned, and our cause is not heard. Nevertheless, my lord mayor, because here you have exercised God's sword without cause, and will not hear the right of the poor, I commit my cause to Almighty God, who shall judge all men according to right, before whom we shall both stand without authority. And there I will stand in the right, and have true judgment, to your great confusion, unless you repent, which the Lord grant you to do, if it is His will.'

"Then, with the rest of my brethren, I was carried away to Newgate.

"Thus, gentle reader, as near as I can, I have set out the truth of my examination, and the truth of my unjust condemnation for the truth, requesting God that it may not be laid to the charge of you, O England. Requiring your hearty prayers to God for his grace and spirit of boldness; with hope even shortly to set to my seal, at Uxbridge, the 8th of August, by God's grace. Pray that it may be to His honor, my salvation, and your consolation, I pray you.

"ROBERT SMITH."

Thus, good reader, you have not only to note, but also to follow in this man. a singular example of Christian fortitude, who so manfully and valiantly stood in the defense of his Master's cause. And as you see him here boldly stand in examination before the bishop and doctors, so he was no less comfortable in the prison among his fellows; which is also to be observed in his other fellow-prisoners. Being there together, they had godly conference with themselves, with daily praying and reading, which they all engaged in to their great comfort; among whom Robert Smith was the chief doer. This said man was always solicitous, not only for those of his own company, but also his diligence was careful for other prisoners whom he did not cease to exhort and dissuade from their old accustomed iniquity; and many he converted to his religion. He wrote several letters while in prison to sundry of his friends, the following is one of them:

*A Godly Letter of Robert Smith, Martyr.*

"To all who love God unfeignedly, and intend to lead a godly life according to his gospel, and to persevere in his truth to the end: grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

## Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

“Do not be afraid, most dearly beloved in our Savior Jesus Christ, at these most perilous days, in which, by the sufferance of God, the prince of darkness has broken loose, and rages in his members against the elect of God with all cruelty, to set up again the kingdom of antichrist. Against him, see that you are strong in faith to resist his most devilish doctrine with the pure gospel of God, arming yourselves with patience, to abide whatever will be laid to your charge for the truth’s sake, knowing that you are called to this, not only to believe in [Christ], but also to suffer for him. Oh! how happy are you who, in the sight of God, are counted worthy to suffer for the testimony of Christ. Quiet yourselves therefore, oh! my loving brethren, and rejoice in him for whom you suffer. For to you remain the unspeakable joys, which neither the eye has seen, nor the ear has heard, neither the heart of man is able to comprehend in any way. Do not be afraid of bodily death, for your names are written in the book of life. And the prophets record that precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints. Watch therefore, and pray that you are not prevented in the day of temptation. Now comes the day of your trial, from which the waters rage, and the stormy winds blow. Now it will appear whether you have built upon the fleeting sand, or upon the immovable Rock, Christ, which is the foundation of the apostles and prophets; on which every house that is built, grows into a holy temple in the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Spirit. Now approaches the day of your battle, in which it is required that you show yourselves the valiant soldiers of Christ Jesus, with the armor of God, that you may be able to stand fast against all the crafty assaults of the devil. Christ is your captain, and you are his soldiers, whose cognizance is the cross, to which he willingly humbled himself even unto death, and thereby spoiled his enemies. And now he triumphs over them in the glory of his Father, making intercession for those who here remain to suffer the afflictions that are to be fulfilled in his mystical body. It behooves, therefore, everyone who will be counted his scholar, to take up his own cross, and follow him, as you have him for an example. And I assure you that He being on your side, nothing will be able to prevail against you. And that he will be with you, even to the world’s end, you have his promise in Matthew 28. He will go forth with his host as a conqueror to make a conquest. He is the man who sits on the white horse, crowned with immortality; and you, brethren, are his fellowship, of which he is the head. He has your heart in his hand, as a bow bent according to his godly will. He will direct the same according to the riches of his glory, into all spiritual and heavenly cogitations. He is faithful and will not permit you to be further assaulted, than he will give you strength to overcome, and in the utmost danger he will make a way, that you may be able to bear it.

[809] A.D. 1555.

“Do not shrink back, therefore, dear hearts, when you are called to answer for the hope that is in you; for we have the comforter, even the Spirit of truth who was sent from the heavens to teach us. He shall speak in us, he shall strengthen us. Who is he then that will be able to confound us? No indeed, what tyrant is there who now boasts of his strength to do mischief, whom the Lord shall not with the same Spirit, by the mouth of his servants, strike down to hell fire? Yes, suddenly the Lord will bring down the glory of the proud Philistines, by the hands of his servant David. Their strength is in the spear and shield, but our help is in the name of the Lord who made both heaven and earth. He is our buckler and wall, a strong tower of defense. He is our God, and we are his people. He shall bring the counsels of the ungodly to naught. He shall take them in their own net. He shall destroy them in their own inventions. The right hand of the Lord shall work this wonder. His power is known among the children of men. Their fathers have felt it, and are confounded. In like manner they shall know that there is no counsel against the Lord, when their secrets are opened to the whole world, and are found to be against the living God. However craftily they work, however strongly they build; yet their rabble shall fall down, and the builders themselves shall then be scattered upon the face of the earth, as accursed of God. The just shall see this and be glad, and praise the name of the Lord,

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who has dealt so marvellously with his servants, as to bring their enemies under their feet. Then the fearful seed of Cain shall tremble and quake. Then the mocking Ishmaelites shall be cast out of the door. Then the proud Nimrod shall see his labor lost. Then the beast of Babylon shall be trodden underfoot. Then the scribes and Pharisees shall fret and rage from madness. Then their painted wisdom shall be known as extreme folly. Then the bloody dragon shall be void of his prey. Then the whore of Babylon shall receive double vengeance. Then they will scratch their crowns for the fall of their mistress harlot whom they now serve for filthy lucre — when no man will buy their wares any more. Then the popish priesthood shall cry away with care, even when the Lord will help his servants. This day is not far off, the day in which the kingdom of antichrist will have an end, and never rise any more. In the meantime, abide in certain and sure hope, clinging to the promises of God, which shall be fulfilled in their own time.

“Acquit yourselves like men against the enemies of God in all humbleness of mind; be strong in spirit to acknowledge one God, one only Savior Jesus Christ, one only, everlasting and sufficient sacrifice for the remission of sins, even the precious body of the Lord Jesus, once offered for all and for ever. He now sits at the right hand of God, and from there he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead at the last day. And until that time, that blessed body occupies no other place to dwell in, to be kept in, to be enclosed in, except in the heavens, even in the glorious majesty of God, personally abiding there in the flesh, not coming down from there till the last day. And as he never ceases to be man, so he never loses the similitude of man. His body there has his lineaments; he does not leave them. So his body there has his highness, and does not shrink, and he does not alter his manly shape at anytime. He is, in what he took from the Virgin Mary, a natural man in all conditions except sin.

“And what he took of his blessed mother, by the working of the Holy Spirit, he took it forever, and will not exchange the same for any other. He took the shape of a man with the substance of his manhood, in one sacred womb. There the two were united together by the Holy Spirit, never to be divided asunder. He retains the one with the other, inseparably. As he will not alter the substance of his flesh into the substance of bread, no more will he alter the shape of his body into the form of bread. There cannot be a greater absurdity against the truth, than to think that he would leave the shape that he took in the Virgin’s womb, being an incidental to his manhood, and join to the same a wafer-cake baked in an oven, or between a pair of irons. As he is in heaven a true man, the one and only Mediator between God and man, even the man Christ Jesus, it is He that is the propitiation for our sins. Be bold, therefore, to confess this most pure and apostolical doctrine; and also that all favor, mercy, and forgiveness comes only by him. He alone of God the Father, was made for us all wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. All these are the gifts of God the Father, freely given to us by Christ Jesus, God and man, through faith in his blood, and not by the merits of men. They are gifts, I say, freely given to us of favor, without our desert — by believing, and not by deserving. To this the law and the prophets bear witness.

“All the blessed martyrs of Christ’s church have witnessed with their blood that this doctrine is true. The consciences of all true believers have subscribed to this truth ever since the ascension of Christ. This witness is not of man, but of God. What better quarrel can you then have to give your lives for, than the truth itself? That man who gives his life for the truth, takes the readiest way to life. He that has the pope’s curse for the truth, is sure of Christ’s blessing. Well then, my brethren, what will now hinder you, but that you go forward as you have begun? No, rather run with the runners, so that you may obtain the appointed glory. Hold on the right way; do not look back; have the eye of your heart fixed upon God, and so run, that you may get hold of it. Cast away all your worldly wealth, and worldly respects, such as the favor of friends, the fear of men, sensual affection, respect of persons, honor, praise, shame, rebuke, wealth, poverty, riches, lands, possessions, carnal fathers and mothers, wife and children, with the



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love of your own selves. And in respect to that heavenly treasure you look for, let all these be denied, and utterly refused by you, so that in no condition will they abate your zeal, or quench your love towards God. In this case, take no account of them, but rather repute them as vile in comparison to everlasting life. Away with them, as thorns that choke the heavenly seed of the gospel where they are suffered to grow. They are burdens of the flesh, which encumber the soul. Exchange them therefore for advantage. Does he not gain, who finds heavenly and immortal treasure, for earthly and corruptible riches? Does that man lose anything, who is forsaken by his carnal father and mother, when he is therefore received by God the Father to be his child and heir in Christ? Heavenly for earthly, mortal for immortal; transitory things for permanent, is great gains to a Christian conscience.

“Therefore, as I began, I exhort you in the Lord, not to be afraid. Do not shrink back, my brethren; do not mistrust God; be of good comfort; rejoice in the Lord; hold fast your faith, and continue to the end. Deny the world, and take up your cross, and follow Him who is your captain, and has gone before. If you suffer with him, you shall reign with him. What way can you glorify the name of your heavenly Father better, than by suffering death for his Son’s sake? What a spectacle it will be to the world to behold so godly a fellowship as you servants of God, in so just a quarrel as the gospel of Christ is, with so pure a conscience, so strong a faith, and so lively a hope, to offer yourselves to suffer most cruel torments at the hands of God’s enemies, and so to end your days in peace, to receive in the resurrection of the righteous, life everlasting?

“Be strong, therefore, in your battle. The Lord God is on your side, and his truth is your cause; and against you are none but the enemies of the cross of Christ, such as the serpent and his seed, the dragon with his tail, the marked men of the beast, the offspring of the Pharisees, the malignant congregation, the generation of vipers, murderers, as their father the devil has been from the beginning.

“To conclude, they are such as the Lord God has always abhorred, and in all ages resisted and overthrown. God, from whom nothing is hidden, knows what they are. He that searches the hearts of men, has revealed them to be crafty, subtle, full of poison — proud, disdainful, stiff-necked, devourers, raveners, and barkers against the truth, filthy and shameless. And therefore the Spirit of God, by the mouths of his holy prophets and apostles, calls them by the names of foxes, serpents, cockatrices, lions, leopards, bulls, bears, wolves, dogs, swine, beasts.

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“Thereby he teaches us to understand what their natural inclination is; to deceive, poison, and destroy the faithful and elect of God, as much as it lies in them to do so. But the Lord with his right arm shall defend his little flock against the whole rabblement of these worldlings, who have conspired against him. He has numbered all the hairs of his children’s heads, so that not one of them shall perish without his fatherly will. He keeps the sparrows; much more will he preserve those whom He has purchased with the blood of the immaculate Lamb. He will keep them until the hour appointed, in which the name of God shall be glorified in his saints. In the meantime, let them work their wills, let them envy, let them malign, let them blaspheme, let them curse, ban, betray, whip, scourge, hang, and burn. For by these means, God will try his elect as gold in the furnace; and by these fruits, they shall also bring themselves to be known what they are, for all their sheep’s skins. For as the one who, in suffering patiently for the gospel of God, is thereby known to be of Christ, even so likewise is the persecutor of him known to be a member of antichrist.

“Besides this, their extreme cruelty shall be a means to sooner provoke God to take pity upon his servants, and to destroy those who so tyrannously treat his people. We may learn this by

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the histories, as well in the bondage of Israel under Pharaoh in Egypt, and also in the miserable captivity of Judah in Babylon. Where and when the people of God were in the most extreme thralldom, then the Lord stretched forth his mighty power to deliver his servants. Though God for a time suffers [his enemies] to be exalted in their own pride, yet they shall not escape his vengeance. They are his rods; and when he has worn them to the stumps, then he will cast them into the fire. This shall be their final reward. Our duty, in the meanwhile, is to patiently abide the will of God, which works all things for the best.

“Thus he deals with us, partly for our trial, partly also for our sins, which we most grievously have committed to the great slander of his gospel — whereby the name of God was evilly spoken of among his enemies. For this He now punishes us with his fatherly correction in this world, so that we might not be damned with the world. By this means he seeks his sheep that were lost, to bring them home to the fold again. By this way he seeks to reform us, that we may be like him according to the image of his Son Jesus Christ, in all holiness and righteousness before him. Finally, His godly wisdom uses this way to make us know him thereby, and ourselves in him, who previously had in a manner forgotten him, praised be His name therefore. And as for those Balaamites who now molest us, commit them to the hands of God. Give him the vengeance, and he will reward them. Fall to prayer, and let these belly-gods prate. For He is in heaven, and does not sleep, who keeps Israel. He is in heaven, who made the seas calm when the disciples were afraid. Let us now faithfully call upon him, and he will hear us. Let us cry to the Lord, for he is gracious and merciful. When we are in trouble, he is with us, he will deliver us, and he will glorify us. If we come to him, we will find him turned to us. If we repent us of our wickedness done against him, then he will take away the plague that he has devised against us.

“Let us therefore earnestly repent, and bring forth the worthy fruits of repentance. Let us study to be His. Then we will not need to fear what these hypocrites do against us, who with their pretended holiness deceive the hearts of the simple, and abuse the authority of God in his princes, causing them (by their procurement) to testify to their ambitious prelacy, and to erect their idol again with the Romish mass. God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, open the heart of the queen’s highness to espy what they are, and to so weed them out, that they no longer are suffered to trouble the congregation of God, and to poison the realm with pope-holy doctrine. God Almighty, for his Son Jesus Christ’s sake, deliver the queen’s highness and this her church and realm, from these proud prelates who are as profitable in the church of Christ as a polecat in the midst of a warren of rabbits.

“To conclude, my brethren, I commit you to God, and to the power of his word, which is able to establish you in all truth. His Spirit be with you, and work always so that you may be mindful of your duties towards him, whose you are both body and soul. See that you love, serve, dread, and obey Him above all worldly powers, and for nothing under the heavens defile your conscience before God. Do not dissemble with his word; God will not be mocked. Indeed, those who dissemble with him, deceive themselves. Such the Lord shall deny, and cast out at the last day. Such, I say, who bear two faces in one hood; such who deny the known truth; such who obstinately rebel against Him — all such, with their partakers, the Lord shall destroy. God defend you from all such, and make you perfect unto the end. Your sorrow shall be turned into joy.”

“ROBERT SMITH.”

This valiant and constant martyr of Christ, Robert Smith, was condemned at London by Bishop Bonner, on the 12th of July, and suffered at Uxbridge, on the 8th of August. As he had been an instrument of God before, to comfort all those who were in prison with him, so now at the stake he no less comforted the people standing about him, desiring them to think well of his cause, and not to doubt that his body dying in that quarrel, should rise again to

life. And, he said, I do not doubt that God will show you some token of this. At length, being nearly half burned, and black with the fire, all men thinking him dead, he suddenly rose upright before the people, lifting up the stumps of his arms, and clapping them together, he declared a rejoicing heart to them. And so bending down again, and hanging over the fire, he slept in the Lord, and ended his mortal life.

***The Martyrdom of Other Saints about this time***

About this time, Stephen Harwood and Thomas Fust were also burned. Their death took place about the same time as Robert Smith and George Tankeril; they were also examined and openly condemned together with them. Because the process was joined all in one with the process of Robert Smith and the others, I thought it superfluous to repeat it. They were condemned together by Bishop Bonner as heretics, for their faithful perseverance in the truth, and were sentenced to be burned, the one at Stratford, and the other at Ware, which occurred in the month of August 1555.

Of the same company as the ten recorded above, who were sent up to Bishop Bonner by Sir Nicholas Hare and other commissioners, was William Hale of Thorp, in the county of Essex. Being examined with the rest, on the 12th of July he received sentence of condemnation. He gave this exhortation to the onlookers: "Ah I good people," he said, "beware of this idolater, and this antichrist," pointing to the bishop of London. He was delivered to the sheriffs as a heretic to be burned, and sent to Barnet, where he most constantly sealed his faith in the midst of the fire, yielding his soul unto the Lord Jesus, his only and most sure Redeemer.

Of the ten persons sent to Bonner, six were executed in several places, as has been shown. Three others, George King, Thomas Leyes, and John Wade, sickening in Lollard's Tower, were so weak that they were removed into houses within the city of London, and died there. Their bodies were cast out into the fields, and buried by night by the faithful brethren, when none in the day dared to do it. The last that remained of this company was Joan Laysh or Layshford. But as she was reprieved to another time, we will defer her history and martyrdom till the month of January in the following year.

[811] A D. 1555.

*William Andrew.*

The like popish charity was also shown to William Andrew of Horsley, in the county of Essex, a carpenter. He was brought to Newgate on the 1st of April 1555. Being twice brought before Bonner for examination, he manfully stood in the defense of his religion. At length, through too severe treatment in the prison of Newgate, he lost his life, which his adversaries would have taken away by fire. And so, in the popish manner, his body was cast out into the fields, and was secretly buried at night by the hands of good men and faithful brethren.

*The Martyrdom of Robert Samuel, Preacher.*

Master Foster, justice, dwelling at Cobdock, in the county of Suffolk, and a little distance from Ipswich, being in continual hatred against the truth and its professors, not only did not cease day or night to study how to bring those into captivity who were inclined to religion; but also whoever they were who, once coming into his power, did not escape without clog of conscience, or loss of life, so greedy was he for blood. Among many whom he had troubled, there was one Robert Samuel. In King Edward's days, he was a very godly and faithful preacher of God's word, who for his valiant and constant behavior in his sermons, seems worthy of high admiration. He was minister at Barfold, in Suffolk, where he taught faithfully that flock which the Lord had committed to his charge.

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At last, being removed from the ministry, and put out of his benefice (as many other good pastors were), when he could not avoid the raging violence of the time, he yet would not give up his care that he had for his flock. He would teach them secretly and by stealth, when he could not do so openly. When order was given by the queen, that all priests who had married in King Edward's days should put their wives from them, and be compelled to return to their celibacy and single life, Samuel would not submit to this decree, for he knew it to be manifestly wicked and abominable. But determining with himself that God's laws were not to be broken for man's traditions, he kept his wife at Ipswich, and gave diligence in the meantime to instruct others who were about him. At last Master Foster having intelligence of this, slackened no time or diligence, but soon sent his spies abroad, laying in wait for Samuel, that if he came home to his wife at any 'time, they might apprehend him, and carry him to prison.

Accordingly, when those who sought to betray him, spied him at home with his wife, they immediately flocked about his house, and beset it with a great company, and took him in the night. They dared not do it in the day-time, for fear of trouble and tumult; even though good Samuel did not withstand them, but meekly yielded himself into their hands of his own accord. When they had thus caught him, they put him into Ipswich jail, where he passed his time meekly among his godly brethren, so long as he was permitted to continue there. However, not long after, he was carried to Norwich where Bishop Hopton exercised great cruelty against him. Indeed, I never yet heard of any who so far exceeded all bounds of pity and compassion in tormenting their poor brethren, as this Hopton did.

The bishop, or else his chancellor, thinking that he might prevail with Samuel, kept him in a very close prison at his first coming. There he was chained bolt upright to a great post, so that standing only on tiptoe, he was thereby obliged to hold up the whole weight of his body. And to make amends for the cruelty or pain which he suffered, they added a far more grievous torment, keeping him without food and drink, by which he was unmercifully vexed through hunger and thirst — save that every day he was allowed two or three mouthfuls of bread, and three spoonfuls of water, so that he might be reserved for further torment, rather than to preserve his life. O, worthy constancy of the martyr! O, pitiless hearts of papists, worthy to be complained of, and to be accused before God and nature! O, the wonderful strength of Christ in his members! Whose heart — even if it had been made of adamant stone — would not have relented at the intolerable vexations and extreme pains above nature?

At last Samuel was brought out to be burned, which was but a trifle in comparison to those pains that he had undergone in prison.

As this godly martyr was going to the fire, a certain maiden came to him, who took him about the neck and kissed him. Being marked by those who were present, she was sought for the next day to be taken to prison and burned, as the party herself informed me. However, as God of his goodness would have it, she escaped their hands, keeping herself secret in the town a good while after. But though this maiden, called Rose Nottingham, was preserved by the providence of God, there were two other women who fell into the rage and fury of that time. The one was a brewer's wife; the other was a shoemaker's wife; but both together were now espoused to a new husband, even Christ.

Rose Nottingham was very familiar and well acquainted with these two. One time, giving counsel to one of them, that she should convey herself away while she still had time and space (seeing that she could not escape the queen's unjust proceedings), received this answer from her: — "I know well that it is lawful enough to fly away, which remedy you may

use if you like. But my case stands otherwise. I am tied to a husband, and have some young children at home. And then, I do not know how my husband, being a worldly man, will take my departure from him. Therefore, I am minded for the love of Christ and his truth, to stand to the extremity of the matter.”

And so the next day after Samuel suffered, these two godly women, the one called Anne Potten, the other called Joan Trunchfield, of Ipswich, were apprehended, and taken to prison. As they were somewhat tender, both by sex and nature, so they were at first less able to endure the prison — especially the brewer’s wife, who was cast into shockingly great agonies and trouble of mind. But Christ, beholding the weak infirmity of his servant, did not fail to help her when she was in this necessity. At length they both suffered after Samuel, February 19, 1556, as will be declared later.

*A Letter or Exhortation to the patient suffering of Afflictions  
for Christ’s Cause, by Robert Samuel.*

“A man does not know his time. But as the fish is taken with the hook, and as the birds are caught with the snare, even so men are caught and taken in the perilous time when it comes upon them. The time comes; the day draws near, Ezekiel 7. It would be better to die (as the preacher says) than to live and see the miserable works which are done under the sun — such sudden and strange mutation, such woeful, heinous, and lamentable divisions approach so fast; and none, or very few, thoroughly repent. Alas! for this sinful nation, a people of great iniquity and seed of ungraciousness, corrupting their ways. They have forsaken the Lord; they have provoked the Holy One of Israel to anger, and have gone backward. Who does not now live in such security and rest, as though all dangers were clean past? Who now does not blind and buffet Christ, who sees me, and does not see me? <sup>Luk 22.64</sup> Indeed, who does not now live in such felicity, worldly pleasures, and joys, wholly seeking the world, providing and craftily shifting for the earthly clod and all carnal appetites, as though sin were clean forgotten, overthrown, and devoured? Like hoggish Gergesenes, we are now more afraid and ashamed of Christ our Messiah, fearing the loss of our filthy pigs, I mean our transitory goods, and the disquieting of our sinful and mortal bodies in this short, uncertain, and miserable life, than we are of a legion of devils, seducing and driving us to vanities, lies, and fables, and to this bewitching world, and away from hearing, reading, and believing Christ, God’s eternal Son, and his holy word, the power to save our souls.

“Oh! perilous abundance of goods, too much abundance of foods, wealth, and quietness, which destroyed those goodly cities, Sodom and Gomorrah, with so many souls! Jeroboam, so long as he was but a poor man, and not yet advanced to his dignity, lived in the laws of God without reprehension. But once he was brought to wealth and a prosperous state, he became a wicked and most shameful idolater.

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“And what made the covetous young man so loath to follow Christ when he was bid to forsake the worldly wealth which he then enjoyed? Woe be to these false illusions of the world, baits of perdition, hooks of the devil, which have so shamefully deceived and seduced full many from the right path to the Lord, into the highways of confusion and perpetual perdition.

“Dear Christians, we might now worthily, lament and bewail our heavy state, miserable condition, and sorrowful chance. Yes I say, we might well accuse ourselves, and with Job curse these troublous, wicked, and bloody last days of this world, were it not that we both see and believe, and find in God’s sacred book, that God has in all ages reserved a remnant, I mean the faithful, as many as have been from the beginning of the world, exercised, whetted, and polished with diverse afflictions, troubles, and tossings, cast and dashed against all perils and

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dangers, as the very dross and outcasts of the earth. And yet they will in no way halt between God and Baal. For God truly abhors two men in one. He cannot [ignore] those who are between both, but He casts them away as a filthy thing. Christ will not divide the spoil with his mortal enemy the devil; he will have all, or lose all. He will not permit the devil to have the service of the body, while he stands contented with the heart and mind: 'For you are bought with a price; therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are his,' as St. Paul says, 1Cor 6.20. For he has made, bought all, and dearly paid for all, as St. Peter says, 'Who himself bore our sins in his own body on the tree, so that we, being dead to sins, might live unto righteousness — by whose stripes you were healed.' (1Pet 2.24)

"Now what harm, I pray you, or what loss do you sustain by this? Why are you, O vain men, more afraid of Jesus your gentle Savior, and his gospel of salvation, than of a legion of cruel devils, going about with false delusions, utterly to destroy you both bodies and souls? Do you think you to be more sure than under your captain, Christ? Do you promise yourselves to be quieter in Satan's service, than in Christ's religion? Do you more esteem these transitory and pernicious pleasures, than God and all his heavenly treasures? Oh, palpable darkness! horrible madness! and willful blindness! without comparison, too much to be suffered any longer! We see and will not see; we know and will not know; yes, we smart and will not feel — and our conscience well knows that. Oh, miserable and brainless souls! who would for foolish pleasures and slippery wealth, lose the royal kingdom and permanent joys of God, with the everlasting glory which he has prepared for them that truly love him, and renounce the world. The children of the world live in pleasure and wealth. And the devil, who is their God and prince of this world, keeps their wealth which is proper for them, and lets them enjoy it. But let us who are of Christ, seek and inquire after heavenly things which, by God's promise and mercy in Christ, will be peculiar to us. I say, let the Cretians, Epicures, and other such earthly Belials and carnal people, pass for things that are pleasant for the body, and pertain to this transitory life. Yet once will they (as the kingly prophet says) run about the city of God, to and fro, howling like dogs, desiring one scrap of the joys of God's elect, but all too late, as the rich glutton did.

"Let us, therefore, pass for those things that pertain to the Spirit, and are celestial. Here we must not be (says St. Paul) as inhibitors and home dwellers, but as strangers; not as strangers only, but according to the mind of St. Paul, as painful soldiers appointed by our King to fight against the ruler of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in heavenly things. The time has come; we must get to it; the judgment must begin first at the house of God. Did they not first begin with the green and sappy tree? And what followed then on the dry branches? Jeremiah 25.29, speaking in the person of God, says, "Behold, I begin to bring evil on the city which is called by my name:' but as for you (meaning the wicked) shall you be as innocents, and not once touched? No, the dregs of God's wrath, the bottom of all sorrows, are reserved for them in the end. But God's household shall drink the flower of the cup of his mercy. And therefore let us, like Hezekiah, play the men, and not shrink back. Let us comfort ourselves, for the Lord our helper is with us, and fights for us. 'The Lord is (he says) with you, when you are with Him; and when you seek Him, he will be found by you. And again, when you forsake him, he will forsake you.' (2Chr 15.2)

"Therefore we should not be dismayed, nor discourage ourselves, but rather be of good comfort; not be sad but merry; not sorrowful, but joyful, in that God of his goodness will grant to take us as his beloved children, to subdue our sinful lusts, our wretched flesh and blood, to His glory, the promoting of his holy word, and edifying of his church. What if the earthly house of this habitation of ours (says St. Paul, meaning the body) is destroyed? We know assuredly we shall have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, with such joys as faith does not take, hope does not touch, and charity does not apprehend. They surpass all desires and wishes. They may be gotten by Christ; they cannot be

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esteemed. Therefore the more affliction and persecution the word of God brings, the more felicity and greater joy abides in heaven. But the worldly peace, idle ease, wealthy pleasure, and this present and pleasant transitory life and felicity, which the ungodly foolishly imagine to procure for themselves by persecuting and thrusting away the gospel, shall turn to their own trouble, and at last, to horrible destructions and mutations of realms and countries — and *after* this life, if they do not repent, to their perpetual infelicity, perdition, and damnation. For they would rather, with Nabal and his temporal pleasures, descend to the devil, than with Christ and his bodily troubles, ascend to the kingdom of God his Father. But an unwise man (says the Psalmist) does not comprehend them, nor does the foolish understand them: that is, these bloody persecutors grow up and flourish like the flower and grass in the field. But to this end they so flourish: that they might be cut down, and cast into the fire forever. For as Job says, ‘Their joy lasts but for a moment,’ and death shall lie gnawing upon them, as the flock does upon the pasture; yes, the cruel worm, late repentance (as St. Mark says), shall lie gnawing, tormenting, and accusing their wretched conscience for evermore.

“Let us, therefore (good Christians), be constant in obeying God rather than men. For although they slay our sinful bodies (indeed, rather our deadly enemies) for God’s truth, they cannot do it except by God’s sufferance and good will, to His praise and honor, and to our eternal joy and felicity. For our blood shed for the Gospel will preach it with more fruit and greater furtherance than our mouths, lives, and writings did, as the blood of Abel, Stephen, with many others did. So what if they laugh Christ and his word to scorn, those who sit in the chair of perverse and pestilent scorners? To them, as to the wise Gentiles of the world, the gospel of Christ is but foolishness, as it was to the Jews a slander and a stumbling-stone; whereas, now having fallen, they have provoked the wrath and vengeance of God upon themselves.

“These are the days of vengeance, says St. Luke, so that all things written may be fulfilled. And surely it will be no less than a huge storm of evils that come upon us, because a long and cursed obstinate maliciousness of us has gone before, crying in the ears of the Lord God of Hosts who, so many times and in so many ways, has been provoked with the unspeakable riches of his goodness, his patience, and long suffering, to relent. And we have nevertheless despised the same, and proceeded forward to worse and worse, provoking and stirring the presence of God’s majesty to anger. “Now, therefore, says God, by the mouth of his prophet, ‘I will come to you, and I will send my wrath upon you’ — upon *you*, I say, O England, and punish you according to your ways, and reward you according to all your abominations.

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“You have kindled the fire of God’s wrath, and stirred up the coals. For you were once enlightened, and had tasted of the heavenly gift, and become partaker of the Holy Spirit, and had tasted of the good word of God. Indeed, it is still in your mouth, says the prophet. Alas, O England, you knew your Lord and Master’s will, but did not obey it. ‘You must, therefore,’ he says, ‘suffer many stripes,’ and many sharp strokes, and walk in the glittering and hot flame of your own fire, and on the coals that you have kindled. This comes to you from my hand, says the Lord; namely, ‘That you shall sleep in sorrow,’ yes, even so you shall. The plain truth tells the tale; the immutable justice of the everlasting God, and the ordinary course of his plagues from the beginning, confirms the same. The joy of our heart, says Jeremiah, has gone, our glory has fallen away, our merry singing is turned into mourning, the garland of our head is fallen. Alas! alas! that ever we sinned so sorely. Woe to all abominations and wickedness; woe to cloaked hypocrisy; woe to our carnal liberty; woe to our most cursed idolatry. For, because of these things, says the Lord, you shall perish with sword, hunger, and pestilence.

“Therefore, let all the wicked enemies of Christ, and all the unbelievers, look to be tormented and vexed with all plagues, and be entirely without hope of God’s accounting day, who do not

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know God in Christ to be their very righteousness, their life, their only salvation and sole Savior, nor believe in him. They must, says St. John, abide and perish with their sins in death and in eternal damnation. But we are the children of saints, as the early Tobias answered, and look for another life, which God will give to all those who do not change their faith, nor shrink back from him. Rejoice, therefore, you Christian afflicted brethren, for they cannot take our souls and bodies out of the hands of the Almighty, we who are kept as in the bosom of our most sweet and loving Father. And if we abide fast in Christ, and do not turn away like weathercocks, surely we shall live forever. Christ affirms the same, saying, 'I am the good shepherd; the good shepherd gives his life for the sheep. I am the good shepherd, and I know my sheep, and am known by mine. As the Father knows me, even so I know the Father; and I lay down my life for the sheep.' No, nor yet this flattering world, with all its vain pleasures, nor any tyrant with his great threats and valiant boasts, can once move them out of the way of eternal life. What consolation and comfort may we have that is more pleasant and effectual than this? God is on our side, and fights for us; he suffers, he smarts, and is afflicted with us. Just as the world can do nothing against his might, nor take away or diminish his glory, nor put him from his celestial throne; so it cannot harm nor hurt any one of his children without his good will. For we are members of his body, of his flesh and of his bones, and as dear to him as the apple of his eye.

"Let us therefore, with an earnest faith, take fast hold and sure feeling upon the promises of God in the gospel, and let us not be turned from it by any temptation, tribulation, or persecution. Let us consider the truth of God to be invincible, inviolable, and immutable, promising and giving us, his faithful soldiers, life eternal. It is he alone who has deserved it for us; it is his benefit alone, and of his mere mercy; and to him alone must we render thanks. Therefore, do not let not the vain fantasies and dreams of men, and the foolish baubles and toys of the world, nor the crafty delusions of the devil, drive and separate us from our hope of the crown of righteousness, that is laid up in store for us against the last day. Oh that happy and joyful last day! I mean to the *faithful*, when Christ by his covenant shall grant and give to those who overcome, and keep his words to the end, that they may ascend and sit with him, as he has ascended and sits on the throne with his Father. The same body and soul that is now afflicted with Christ, shall then be glorified with Christ; now in the butchers' hands, as sheep appointed to die, but then sitting at God's table with Christ in his kingdom, as God's honorable and dear children. There we shall have for earthly poverty, heavenly riches; for hunger and thirst, the enjoyment of the pleasant presence of the glory of God; for sorrows, troubles, and cold irons, celestial joys and the company of angels; and for a bodily death, life eternal. Oh happy souls! Oh precious death, and evermore blessed, right dear in the eyes of God! To you the spring of the Lord shall be ever flourishing. 'Therefore,' as Isaiah says, 'the redeemed of the Lord shall return, and come with singing unto Zion, and everlasting joy shall be upon their head: they shall obtain gladness and joy; and sorrow and mourning shall flee away.' <sup>Isa 51.11</sup> Yes, I am He, says the Lord, who in all things gives you everlasting consolation. To whom with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be glory and praise forever, Amen. — ROBERT SAMUEL."

### *The Martyrdom of William Allen.*

After the suffering of Robert Samuel, about the beginning of September, William Allen, a laboring man, was burned in Walsingham. Being brought before the bishop, and asked why he was imprisoned, he answered that he was put in prison because he would not follow the cross, saying that he would never go on a procession.

Then being commanded by the bishop to return to the catholic church, he answered that he would turn to the *catholic* church, but not to the *Romish* church. And he said that if he saw the king and queen, and all others follow the cross, or kneel down to the cross, he would not. For which the sentence of condemnation was given against him on the 12th of August, to be



burned at Walsingham about the beginning of September. He manifested such constancy at his martyrdom, and had such credit with the justices because of his upright and well-trying conversation among them, that he was allowed to go untied to his suffering. And there being fastened with a chain, he stood quietly without shrinking, until he died.

*The Martyrdom of Roger Coo.*

Roger Coo, when brought before the bishop, was first asked why he was imprisoned.

Coo. — “At the justice’s commandment.”

Bishop. — “There was some reason why.”

Coo. — “Here is my accuser, let him declare it.” His accuser said that he would not receive the sacrament.

Bishop. — “Why will you not receive?”

Coo. — “Because the bishop of Rome had changed God’s ordinances, and given the people bread and wine instead of the gospel, and the belief of the same.”

The bishop asked him if he could state his belief? Coo answered, “Yes,” and repeated part of the creed, and then said he believed more. For he believed the ten commandments, that it was appropriate for all those who look to be saved, to be obedient to them.

Bishop. — “Is the holy church not to be believed also?”

Coo. — “Yes, if it is built upon the word of God.”

The bishop said to Coo, that he had charge of his soul.

Coo. — “Have you so, my lord? Then if you go to the devil for your sins, what will become of me?”

Bishop. — “Do you not believe as your father did? Was he not an honest man?”

Coo. — “It is written, that after Christ has suffered, ‘There would come a people with the prince, who shall destroy both city and sanctuary.’ I pray you, show me whether this destruction was in my father’s time, or now?”

The bishop not answering his question, asked him whether he would not obey the queen’s laws.

Coo. — “As far as they agree with the word of God, I will obey them.”

Bishop. — “Whether they agree with the word of God or not, we are bound to obey them, even if the king were an infidel.”

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Coo. — “If Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego had done so, Nebuchadnezzar would not have confessed the living God.”

This Roger Coo, an aged father, after his troubles and conflicts with his adversaries, was at length committed to the fire at Yoxford, in the county of Suffolk, where he most blessedly ended his aged years, A.D. 1555.

*Thomas Cob, Martyr.*

Over and besides these martyrs, Thomas Cob of Haverhill, a butcher, was also condemned, on the 12th of August in the same year. He was brought before and examined by Michael Dunnings, the bloody chancellor of Norwich: first, whether he believed that Christ is really

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and substantially in the sacrament of the altar. He answered that the body of Christ, born of the blessed Virgin, was in heaven, and otherwise he would not answer, because he had read in the Scriptures that Christ ascended, and never descended since. And therefore he said that he had not learned in the Scripture, that Christ should be in the sacrament. Furthermore, being demanded whether he would obey the laws of the realm of England, made for the unity of faith, he answered that his body should be at the King and Queen's commandment so far as the law of God would allow, etc. He was burned in the town of Thetford, in September 1555.

*The Martyrdom of George Catmer, Robert Streater,  
Anthony Burward, George Brodbridge, and James Tutty.*

Having given an account of the martyrs in Norfolk and Suffolk, we return again to the diocese of Canterbury; and first we have to treat five worthy martyrs whose blood, in the same year and month of September, was shed for the true testimony of Christ, and his gospel's cause. The names of the five martyrs were these: — George Catmer, of Hythe; Robert Streater, of Hythe; Anthony Burward, of Calete; George Brodbridge, of Bromfield; and James Tutty, of Brenchley.

On the 3rd of August they were brought before Thornton, the bishop of Dover, and there they were jointly and severally examined upon certain articles, regarding the sacrament of the altar, auricular confession, and other like articles.

To which Catmer (being first examined) gave an answer in this way: — “Christ,” he said, “sits in heaven at the right hand of God the Father; and therefore I do not believe him to be in the sacrament of the altar: but he is in the worthy receiver spiritually; and the sacrament as you use it, is an abominable idol.”

Next to him Robert Streater was called forth, who also being asked whether he believed in the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, said that he did not so believe; for “You maintain heresy and idolatry,” he said, “in that you teach people to worship a false God in the sacrament, enclosed in a box. It is you who are the malignant church; for in your church there are twenty things used against the law of God.”

The same objection was made against Anthony Burward, who also said, that “Their sacrament was made an idol.”

After him George Brodbridge was demanded what he said to those articles. He answered that “He would not be confessed by a priest, because he could not forgive his own sins.” And he further said that, “In the sacrament of the altar, there is not the real body of our Savior Christ, but bread given in the remembrance of him. Moreover, as for your holy bread, your holy water, and your mass, I utterly reject them.”

And last of all, James Tutty made and confirmed their answers.

And therefore they all five were condemned to be burned as heretics, and so they were consumed in one fire at Canterbury, about the 6th of September.

*Thomas Hayward and John Goreway, Martyrs.*

Although the rage and vehemence of this terrible persecution in Queen Mary's days chiefly existed in London, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent, as has been partly declared already, yet notwithstanding, besides these we find but few parts of this realm free from this fatal storm. And first to begin with the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, there we find two godly

men condemned and also burned about the middle of September at the town of Lichfield. Their names were Thomas Hayward, and John Goreway.

***The Persecution of Robert Glover and John Glover.*** <sup>575</sup>

To this month of September also pertains the memorable martyrdom of Robert Glover, gentleman, in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry. I must intermix with his history some mention of his brother, John Glover. For this commission was chiefly sent down for John, and not for Robert Glover; although it pleased Almighty God, that John escaped, and Robert was apprehended instead. I therefore thought to comprehend them both in one history, in describing some part of their virtuous lives.

To begin with, John, the eldest brother, being a gentleman and heir to his father, in the town of Manchester, was endued with fair possessions of worldly goods. Yet he was much more enriched with God's heavenly grace and inward virtues. This grace of God so worked in him, that he with his other brothers, Robert and William, not only received and embraced the happy light of Christ's holy gospel, but also most zealously professed, and no less diligently followed the same in their living and conversation.

It so pleased God to lay his heavy hand of inward afflictions and grievous passions upon this man, that he did not suffer the pains of the outward fire, as his brother and other martyrs did. Even so, if we consider what this man felt and suffered inwardly in spirit and mind, he may well be counted with his brother Robert as a martyr, being no less desirous with him of the same martyrdom.

For as Robert was speedily dispatched with the sharp and extreme torments of the fire in a short time, so this no less blessed saint of God inwardly felt and sustained. What and how much more grievous these pangs were, and what sorrowful torments he felt in his spirit, no language is able to express. I remember that, when I was young, I was with him once or twice. I perceived, and by my own eyes I saw him so worn and consumed for five years, that he had no enjoyment of food, quiet of sleep, or pleasure of life. And yet the occasion was not of great moment. But then, we often see among holy and blessed men, that the more devout and godly they are, having the fear of God before their eyes, the more suspicion and mistrust they have of themselves.

The occasion of this was that, being first called by the light of the Holy Spirit to the knowledge of the gospel, and having received a sweet feeling of Christ's heavenly kingdom, his mind after that, falling a little to some of his former affairs belonging to his vocation, he began by and by to doubt himself. This was on account of the words written in the seventh chapter of the Hebrews; "For it is impossible that those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift," etc. Upon the consideration of these words, he fully persuaded himself that he had truly sinned against the Holy Spirit — even so much, that if he had been in the deepest pit of hell, he could almost not have despaired more of his salvation. Here every good man may readily judge for himself, what terrors and convulsions filled his breast.

[815] A.D. 1555.

I recount this about him, so that by his example we all may with him glorify the Son of God, who allows none to be tempted above their strength, but so tempers the asperity of evils, that what seems intolerable to us, he not only removes or so lightens that we may bear it,

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<sup>575</sup> A detailed and interesting account of the sufferings of the martyrs Glover and Lewis, has been written by the Rev. Mr. Kitchin, incumbent of Manchester, to which the inquirer is referred, who desires more copious details. — Ed.

but also turns it to our further advantage, above what we can think. Such well-appeared in this good servant of God. Though for many years he suffered sharp temptations and buffetings of Satan, the Lord, who graciously preserved him all the while, not only at last rid him of all discomfort, but also framed him thereby to such mortification of life, that his conversation was in heaven. And being dead to this world in word and meditation, he led a life altogether heavenly, abhorring in his mind all profane doings. Nor was his talk different from his life, never using any idle or vain language. Most of his lands he distributed to the use of his brethren, and committed the rest to the management of his servants and officers. By this, he might more quietly give himself to his godly study, as to a continual sabbath rest. This was about the end of King Henry VIII's reign, and it continued a great part of King Edward VI's time.

After this, in the persecuting days of Queen Mary, as soon as the bishop of Coventry heard the fame of this John, he wrote his letter to the mayor and officers of Coventry, to apprehend him. But it chanced otherwise by God's holy providence, disposing all things according to his own secret pleasure. Seeing his old and trusty servant broken with many torments for so many years, He would in no way heap too many sorrows upon one poor sheep. Nor would He commit him to the flames of fire, who had already been scorched with the sharp fires of inward affliction, and had sustained so many burning darts and conflicts of Satan. God, therefore, of his divine providence, graciously provided that Robert, his brother, should sustain that conflict, being both stronger of body, and also better furnished with helps of learning to answer the adversaries (being a master of art in Cambridge).

As soon as the mayor of Coventry had received the bishop's letter for the apprehending of John Glover, he immediately sent private word to John to convey himself away. With his brother William, he had no sooner departed out of his house, than in the sight of the sheriff, the searchers came and rushed in to take him, according to the bishop's command.

But when John could not be found, one of the officers going into an upper chamber, found Robert, the other brother, lying on his bed, sick of a severe disease. He was immediately brought before the sheriff. The sheriff would gladly have dismissed him, and he did what he could, saying that he was not the man for whom they were sent. Nevertheless, the officer, contending with him to have him held till the bishop's coming, he was constrained to carry Robert away against his will.

We will now give an account of the history of Robert Glover. As the whole narration, in his own handwriting, was sent to his wife, we will therefore provide his own letter as follows:

*A Letter of Master Robert Glover to his Wife.*

“To my entirely beloved wife, Mary Glover.

“The peace of conscience which passes all understanding, the sweet consolation, comfort, strength, and boldness of the Holy Spirit, be continually increased in our heart, through a fervent, earnest, and steadfast faith in our most dear and only Savior Jesus Christ. Amen.

“I thank you heartily, most loving wife, for your letters sent to me in my imprisonment. I read them with tears, more than once or twice; with tears, I say, for joy and gladness, that God had wrought in you so merciful a work; first, an unfeigned repentance; secondly, a humble and hearty reconciliation; thirdly, a willing submission and obedience to the will of God in all things. When I read these in your letters, and judged them to proceed from the bottom of your heart, I could not but be thankful to God, rejoicing with tears for you, and these his great mercies poured upon you.

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“These your letters, and the hearing of your most godly proceedings and constant doings from time to time, much relieved and comforted me at all times, and will be a goodly testimony with you at the great day, against many worldly and dainty dames, who set more by their own pleasure and money in this world, than by God’s glory, little regarding (it appears) the everlasting health of their own souls or others. My prayer will be, while I am in this world, that God, who of his great mercy has begun his good work in you, will finish it to the glory of his name, and by the mighty power and inspiration of his holy Spirit, so strengthen, establish, and confirm you in all his ways to the end, that we may together show forth his praises in the world to come, to our unspeakable consolation everlastingly. Amen.

“So long as God will lend you continuance in this miserable world, above all things give yourself continually to prayer, lifting up, as St. Paul says, clean or pure hands without anger, wrath, or doubting, forgiving (as he says also) if you have anything against any man, as Christ forgives us. And that we may be better willing to forgive, it is good to often call to remembrance the multitude and greatness of our sins which Christ daily and hourly pardons and forgives us. And then we will, as St. Peter affirms, be ready to cover and hide the offenses of our brethren, however many they are. This is because God’s word teaches us, not only the true manner of praying, but also what we ought to do, or not to do, in the whole discourse and practice of this life, what pleases or displeases God; and because, as Christ says, ‘The word that I have spoken, the same will judge him in the last day.’ Let your prayer be to this end especially, that God of his great mercy would open and reveal more and more daily to your heart the true sense, knowledge, and understanding of his most holy word, and give you grace in your living, to express the fruits of it.

“And because it is, as the Holy Spirit calls it, the word of affliction — that is, it is seldom without hatred, persecution, peril, danger of loss of life and goods — whatever seems pleasant in this world, as experience teaches you in this time, call upon God continually for his assistance always. As Christ teaches, cast (calculate) your accounts, what it is likely to cost you, endeavoring through the help of the Holy Spirit, by continuance of prayer, to lay your foundation so sure, that no storm or tempest will be able to overthrow or cast it down, Remember always Lot’s wife, as Christ says; that is, beware of looking back to that thing that displeases God. And because nothing displeases God so much as idolatry, that is, false worshipping of God, otherwise than his word commands, do not look back, I say, nor turn your face to their idolatrous and blasphemous masses, manifestly against the word, practice, and example of Christ. It is most manifest to all who have any taste of the true understanding of God’s word, that there remains nothing in the church of England at this present time, profitable or edifying to the church and congregation of the Lord. All things are being done in an unknown tongue, contrary to the express commandment of the Holy Spirit.

“They object that they are the church, and therefore they must be believed. My answer was, ‘The church of God knows and acknowledges no other head but Jesus Christ the Son of God, whom you have refused, and have instead chosen the man of sin, the son of perdition, the enemy to Christ, the devil’s deputy and lieutenant, the pope.’

“Christ’s church hears, teaches, and is ruled by his word. As he says, ‘My sheep hear my voice.’ ‘If you abide in me, and my word abides in you, you are my disciples.’ Their church rejects God’s word, and forces all men to follow their traditions.

“Christ’s church dares not add nor diminish, alter or change his blessed testament. But they are not afraid to take away all that Christ instituted, and go a whoring (as the Scripture says) with their own inventions; to glory and rejoice in the works of their own hands.

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“The church of Christ is, has been, and shall be in all ages, under the cross, persecuted, molested, and afflicted, the world ever hating them, because they are not of the world. But these persecute, murder, slay, and kill those who profess the true doctrine of Christ, however excellent they are in learning, living, conversation, and other virtues.

“Christ and his church reserved the trial of their doctrine to the word of God, and gave the people leave to judge it by the same word, ‘Search the Scriptures.’ But this church takes away the word from the people, and allows neither learned nor unlearned to examine or prove their doctrine by the word of God.

“The true church of God labors by all means to resist and withstand the lusts, desires, and motions of the world, the flesh, and the devil. These, for the most part, give themselves to all voluptuousness, and secretly commit such things, as St. Paul says, of which it is a shame to speak.

“By these, and similar manifest proofs, they declare themselves to be none of the church of Christ, but rather of the synagogue of Satan. It will be good for you oftentimes to confer and compare their proceedings and doings with the practice of those whom the word of God teaches to have been true members of the church of God, and it will work in you both knowledge, erudition, and boldness to withstand with suffering their doings. I likened them, therefore, to Nimrod, whom the Scripture calls a mighty hunter, or a stout champion; telling them that what they could not have by the word, they would have by the sword, and be the church whether men will so or not. And I called them, with good conscience as Christ called their forefathers, the children of the devil; and as their father the devil is a liar and a murderer, so their kingdom and church (as they call it) stands by lying and murdering.

“Have no fellowship with them, therefore, my dear wife, nor with their doctrines and traditions, lest you be a partaker of their sins, for whom is reserved a heavy damnation, without speedy repentance. Beware of those who will tell you to bear with something of the world, as they do, for a season. There is no dallying with God’s matters. ‘It is a fearful thing,’ as St. Paul says, ‘to fall into the hands of the living God.’ Remember the words of the prophet Elijah, ‘Why do you halt between two opinions?’ Also what Christ says, ‘No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.’ And seeing God has up to now allowed you as a good soldier in the front, do not play the coward, nor draw back to the rear. St. John numbers among those who will dwell in the fiery lake, those who are ‘fearful’ in God’s cause. Set before your eyes always the examples of those who have behaved themselves boldly in God’s cause, such as Daniel, the three children, the widow’s sons, St. Stephen, St. Peter, St. Paul, and in your days, Ann Askew, Lawrence Sanders, John Bradford, with many other faithful witnesses of Christ. ‘And in nothing be terrified by your adversaries: which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that is from God.’ (Phi 1.28) Christ commanded the same, saying, ‘Do not fear them.’ Let us not follow the example of him who asked for time to first take leave of his friends. If we do so, we will find few of them who will encourage us to go forward in our business, however much it pleases God. We do not read that St. James and St. John, St. Andrew and St. Simon, when they were called, put off the time till they had known their fathers’ and friends’ pleasure. But the Scripture says, ‘They forsook all, and followed Christ.’ Christ likened the kingdom of God to a precious pearl which, whoever finds it, sells all that he has to buy it. Indeed, whoever has but a little taste or glimmering of how precious a treasure the kingdom of heaven is, will gladly forego both life and goods to obtain it. But most, now-a-days, are like Aesop’s cock, which when he had found a precious stone, rather wished to have found a barley-corn. So ignorant are they of how precious a jewel the word of God is, that they rather choose the things of this world, which being compared to it, are less in value than a barley-corn.

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“If I would have given way to worldly reasons, these might have moved me: first, foregoing you and my children; the consideration of the state of my children, still being of tender age, apt and inclinable to virtue and learning, and so having more need of my assistance, being not altogether destitute of gifts to help them; possessions above the common sort of men; because I was never called to be a preacher or minister; and because of my sickness, fear of death in imprisonment before I might come to my answer, and so my death be unprofitable.

“But these, and such like, I thank my heavenly Father (who of his infinite mercy inspired me with his Holy Spirit, for his Son’s sake, my only Savior and Redeemer) did not prevail in me. But when I had, by the wonderful permission of God, fallen into their hands, at the first sight of the sheriff, by nature I was a little abashed. Yet before I came to the prison, by the working of God, and through his goodness, fear departed. I said to the sheriff, at his coming to me, ‘What matter do you have, master sheriff, to charge me with?’ He answered, ‘You will know when you come before the masters.’ And so taking me with him, I looked to have been brought before the masters, and to have heard what they could have burdened me with. But contrary to my expectation, I was immediately committed to the jail, not being called to give my answer, little justice being shown in this. But the less justice a man finds at their hands, the more consolation in conscience he will find from God; for whoever is of the world, the world will love him.

“After I came into prison, and had reposed myself there a while, I wept for joy and gladness, musing much about the great mercies of God, and (as it were) saying to myself in this way: O Lord, who am I, on whom you should bestow this your great mercy, to be numbered among the saints who suffer for the gospel sake? And so beholding and considering on the one side my imperfection, inability, sinful misery, and unworthiness, and on the other side the greatness of God’s mercy, to be called to so high a promotion, I was, as it were, amazed and overcome for a while with joy and gladness. I concluded thus with myself in my heart: ‘O Lord, you show power in weakness, wisdom in foolishness, mercy in sinfulness; who shall hinder you to choose where and whom you will? As I have zealously loved the confession of your word, so I ever thought myself to be most unworthy to be a partaker of the affliction for the same.’

“Not long after, W. Brasbridge, C. Phineas, and N. Hopkins came to me, endeavoring to prevail with me to be dismissed upon bonds. My answer to them was (to my remembrance) in this sort: Because the masters have imprisoned me, having nothing to burden me with, if I were to enter into bonds, I would in so doing accuse myself; and seeing they have no matter to lay to my charge, they may as well let me pass *without* bonds, as *with* bonds.

“Secondly, if I will enter bonds, covenant, and promise to appear, I will do nothing but excuse, color, and cloak their wickedness, and endanger myself nevertheless, being bound by my promise to appear. They alleged many worldly persuasions to me to avoid the present peril, and also how to avoid the forfeiture, if I broke my promise. I said to them, that I had cast up my pennyworth by God’s help. They undertook also to make the bond easy.

“And when they were somewhat importunate, I said to Hopkins, that liberty of conscience was a precious thing. And then I took, as it were, a pause, lifting up my heart to God earnestly for his aid and help, that I might do the thing that might please Him. And so when they had let their suit fall, my heart, I thought, was wonderfully comforted. Master Dudley communed with me in like manner; whom I answered in effect as I did before.

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“Afterwards, debating the matter with myself, these considerations came into my head. I have from time to time, with good conscience (I take God to record) moved all those whom I had conference with to be no dalliers in God’s matters, but to show themselves, after so great a

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light and knowledge, to be hearty, earnest, constant, and stable in so manifest a truth, and not to give way one jot contrary to the same. Now, I thought, if I withdraw myself, and make any shifts to pull my own neck out of the collar, I will give great offense to my weak brethren in Christ, and advantage to the enemies to slander God's word. It will be said, he has been a great emboldener of others to be earnest and fervent, to fear no worldly perils or dangers, but he himself will give no such example.

"Therefore I thought it my bounden duty, both to God and man, being as it were, marvellously called and appointed to this by the great goodness of God, to set aside all fear, perils, and dangers, all worldly respects and considerations. For up till then, according to the measure of my small gift within the compass of my vocation and calling, and from the bottom of my heart, I had unfeignedly moved, exhorted and persuaded all who professed God's word, to manfully persist in the defense of the same — not with sword and violence, but with suffering and loss of life — rather than to defile themselves again with the whorish abomination of the Romish antichrist. So the hour having come, with my act and example, I would ratify, confirm, and protest the same to the hearts of all true believers. And to this end, by the mighty assistance of God's Holy Spirit, I resolved myself, with much peace of conscience, to willingly sustain whatever the Romish antichrist might do against me. And this was rather because I understood the bishop's coming to be at hand, and I considered that poor men's consciences would then be sharply assaulted. So I remained a prisoner in Coventry for ten or eleven days, never being called to answer the masters, contrary to the laws of the realms. For they had neither statute, law, proclamation, letter, warrant, nor commandment for my apprehension. They would have laid all the matter upon the summoner. Being examined, he denied it before their faces, as one of my friends told me, saying that he had no commandment concerning me, but for my elder brother. God, do not lay their extreme doings against me, to their charge at the great day!

"The second day after the bishop's coming to Coventry, Master Warren came to the Guildhall, and commanded the chief jailer to carry me to the bishop. I laid to Master Warren's charge, the cruel seeking of my death. And when he would have excused himself, I told him he could not wipe his hands so easily; he was as guilty of my blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own hands.

"And so he departed from me, saying that I need not fear if I would be of his belief. God open his eyes, if it is His will, and give him grace to believe this, which he and all of his inclination will find, I fear, too true (for their parts; that is, that all those who cruelly, maliciously, and spitefully persecute, molest, and afflict the members of Christ for their conscience' sake, and for the true testimony of Christ's word, and cause them most unjustly to be slain and murdered, without speedy repentance, shall dwell with the devil and his angels in the fierce lake everlastingly, where they will wish and desire, cry and call, but in vain (as did their right companion, the rich man) to be refreshed by those whom in this world they scorned, despised, and disdained, as slaves, misers, and wretches.

"When I came before the bishop, in one Denton's house, he began with this protestation, that he was my bishop for lack of a better, and willed me to submit myself.

"I said to him, 'I have not come to accuse myself; what do you have to lay to my charge?'

"He asked me whether I was learned? I answered, 'Smally learned.'

"Master chancellor standing by, said I was a master of arts.

"Then my lord laid to my charge, my not coming to the church.

"Here I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs, because I had not been in his diocese for a long season, nor were any of the citizens able to prove any such matter against



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me. Notwithstanding, I answered him, through God's merciful help, that I neither had nor would come to their church as long as their mass was used there, to save, if I had them, five hundred lives. I desired him to show me one jot or tittle in the Scriptures for the proof and defense of the mass.

"He answered, he came to teach, and not to be taught.

"I was content, I told him, to learn from him, so far as he was able to teach me by the word of God.

"Bishop. — 'Who shall judge the word?'

"Glover. — 'Christ was content that the people should judge his doctrine by searching the Scriptures, and so was St. Paul; I think you should claim no further privilege nor pre-eminence than they had.' "

[Thus spoke Robert Glover, offering further, that he was content that the primitive church, next to the apostles' time, should judge between the bishop and him. But the bishop also refused to be judged by that. Then he said he was his bishop, and therefore Glover must believe him.]

"Glover. — 'If you say black is white, my lord, must I also say as you say; and believe the same, because you say it is so?'

"The chancellor here said I was arrogant, because I would not give way to my bishop.

"Glover. — 'If you will be believed because you are a bishop, why do you find fault with the people who believed Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and the residue of those who were bishops?'

"Bishop. — 'Because they were heretics'

"Glover. — 'And may not you err, as well as they?'

"I looked for learning at my lord's hand to persuade me, and he oppressed me only with his authority. He said I dissented from the church, and asked me where my church was before King Edward VI's time?

"I desired him to show me where their church was in Elijah's time, and what outward show it had in Christ's time.

"Bishop. — 'Elijah's complaint was only of the ten tribes that fell from David's house, whom he called heretics.'

"Glover. — 'You are not able to show any prophets that the other two tribes had at that time.'

"My lord making no answer to that. Master Rogers, one of the masters of the city, comes in, taking it upon himself as though he would answer the text. But immediately my lord commanded me to be committed to some tower, if they had any besides the common jail, saying that he would at the end of his visitation of his diocese, weed out such wolves. Master Rogers desired him to content himself for that night, till they had taken further order for me. Even where it pleases you, I said to my lord, I am content; and so I was returned at that time to the common jail from where I came.

"On the Friday morning, being the next day, I had warning by one of the prisoners to prepare myself to ride with my fellow-prisoners the same day to Lichfield, there to be bestowed at the bishop's pleasure. These tidings at first somewhat discouraged me. fearing lest by means of my great sickness, and through extreme handling (which I looked for), I might have died in the prison before I would come to give my answer. But immediately I rebuked this infidelity in myself, with God's word. And by the same means, I corrected my own mistrust and fantasy in this manner: — 'What do I make of God? Is his power not as great in Lichfield as in Coventry? Does his promise not extend to Lichfield as well as to Coventry? Was he not with Habakkuk,

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Daniel, Micah, and Jeremiah, in their most dangerous imprisonments? He knows what things we need. He has numbered all the hairs of our head. The sparrow does not fall on the ground, without our heavenly Father's will; much more will He care for us if we are not faithless, whom he has made worthy to be witnesses of his truth.

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“So long as we put our trust in Him, we shall never be destitute of his help, neither in prison, neither in sickness, nor in health, neither in life, nor in death, neither before kings, nor before bishops, nor shall the devil himself, much less one of his ministers, be able to prevail against us.’ With such meditations I grew cheerful, of good consolation and comfort. So that, hearing someone say that they could not provide enough horses for us, I said, ‘Let them carry us in a dung-cart for lack of horses, if they please, I am well content for my part.’

“Certain sergeants and constables of Coventry, were appointed to convey us to Lichfield, to be delivered there to one Jephcot, the chancellor's man. We were commanded to mount on horseback about eleven or twelve o'clock on Friday, being market-day, so that we might be more gazed and wondered at. And to kindle the people's hearts more against us, they proclaimed a letter concerning a proclamation made for calling in, and disannulling all such books as truly expound and interpret the Scriptures. We came to Lichfield about four o'clock, and had leave to repose ourselves till our supper-time. We stopped at the sign of the Swan, where we were entertained in a friendly manner.

“Jephcot put me into a prison that night, where I continued till I was condemned. It was in a place next to the dungeon, in a narrow strong building, and very cold, with little light. I was allowed only a bundle of straw, instead of a bed, without a chair, form, or convenience. God of his mercy gave me great patience through prayer that night, so that if it had been his pleasure, I could have been content to end my life: But Jephcot, and one Percy, the bishop's man, who for the most part was afterwards my continual keeper, came to me in the morning. I said to him, ‘This is a great extremity; God send us patience;’ and no more.

“Then they were content that I should have a bed of my own procuring. But I was allowed no help night nor day, nor the company of any man, notwithstanding my great sickness — nor yet paper, pen, ink, nor books, saving my New Testament in Latin, and a prayer-book which I privately procured.

“Within two days, Master Chancellor, and one Temsey, a prebendary there, came to me in my prison. Master Chancellor exhorted me to conform myself to my lord and the church. He wished to my soul no more hurt than to his own, perhaps because I had laid to his charge at Coventry unjustly and wrongfully seeking my blood.

“A second time I answered Master Chancellor to his exhortation, that I did not refuse to be ruled by that church which was content to be ordered and governed by the word of God.

“He asked me how I knew the word of God, if not by the church.

“Glover. — ‘The church shows what is the word of God; therefore the church is above the word of God? — ‘This is not good reason in learning,’ I said to Master Chancellor. ‘For it is like this: John showed the people who was Christ; therefore John was above Christ. Or, I have a man who does not know the king, and I tell him who the king is — am I therefore above the king?’

“Master Chancellor said he did not come to reason with me, and so he departed. Thus I remained without any further conference with any man for eight [days], till the bishop's coming. All this time I gave myself continually to prayer and meditation of the merciful promises of God made to all, without exception of person, who call upon the name of his dear Son Jesus Christ. I found daily amendment of health of body, increase of peace in conscience, and many consolations from God, by the help of his Holy Spirit. And sometimes it was, as it

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were, a taste and glimmering of the life to come; all for his only Son Jesus Christ's sake. To him be all praise for ever and ever.

“The enemy did not cease to assault me many times in sundry ways, often objecting to my conscience my own unworthiness, through the greatness of the benefit to be counted among the number of those who might suffer for Christ, for his gospel's sake. Against him I replied with the word of God on this way: ‘What were all those whom God had chosen from the beginning, to be his witnesses, and to carry his name before the world? Were they not men, such as Paul and Barnabas said, as subject to wickedness, sin, and imperfections as other men? <sup>Act 14.15</sup> Even such were Noah, Abraham, David, and all the rest. As St. Paul says ‘Who gave first to him?’ And also speaking to every man, ‘What do you have that you did not receive?’ Likewise John, ‘All have received of his fulness.’ They were not bringers of any goodness to God, but altogether receivers. They did not choose God first, but he chose them. They did not love God first, but he loved them first. Yes, he both loved and chose them when they were his enemies, full of sin and corruption, and void of all goodness. He is and will be still the same God, as rich in mercy, as mighty, as able, as ready, as willing to forgive sins without respect of person, to the world's end, of all those who call upon him. God is near, he is at hand, he is with all — with *all*, I say, and he refuses none, and excepts none who faithfully call upon him in true repentance, in whatever hour, whatever place, or whatever time it may be. It is not arrogance or presumption in any man, to burden God, as it were, with his promise, and out of duty to claim and challenge His aid, help, and assistance in all our perils, dangers, and distress, calling upon Him not in the confidence of our own godliness, but in the trust of his promises made in Christ, in whom, and by whom, and for whose sake, whoever boldly approaches the mercy-seat of the Father, is sure to receive whatever is expedient or necessary, either for body or soul, in more ample, and larger manner, than he can well wish, or dare desire. His word cannot lie: ‘Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear you, and you shall praise me.’

“I also answered the enemy in this manner: I am a sinner, and therefore unworthy to be a witness of this truth. What then? Must I deny His word, because I am not worthy to profess it? What do I bring to pass in so doing, but add sin to sin? What is a greater sin than to deny the truth of Christ's gospel? As Christ himself bears witness, ‘He that is ashamed of me or of my words, I will also be ashamed of him before my Father and all his angels.’ I might also by like reason forbear to do any of God's commandments.

“When I am provoked to pray, the enemy may say to me, I am not worthy to pray; therefore I will not pray. And so in like manner with all the commandments, I will not forbear swearing, stealing, or murdering, because I am not worthy to do any commandment of God. These are the delusions of the devil, and Satan's suggestions, which must be overcome by continuance of prayer, and with the word of God applied, according to the measure of every man's gift, against all assaults of the devil.

“At the bishop's first coming to Lichfield, after my imprisonment, I was called to my lord in a chamber next to my prison,. Before him, when I came and saw none but his officers, chaplains, and servants, unless it were an old priest, I was partly amazed. I lifted up my heart to God for his merciful help and assistance.

“My lord asked me how I liked my imprisonment. I gave him no answer regarding that question. He proceeded to persuade me to be a member of his church, which had continued for so many years. ‘As for our church,’ as he called it, ‘it was not known, until recently in king Edward's time.’

“‘I profess myself to be a member of that church,’ I said, ‘that is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the head cornerstone;’ and so I alleged the place

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of St. Paul to the Ephesians. 'And this church has been from the beginning,' I said, 'though it bears no glorious show before the world, being ever, for the most part, under the cross and affliction — scorned, despised, and persecuted.' My lord on the other side, contended that they *were* the church.

"Glover. — 'So cried all the clergy against the prophets of Jerusalem, saying, — The temple of the Lord!— the temple of the Lord!'

"And always when I was about to say anything, my lord cried, 'Hold your peace; I command you by the virtue of obedience to hold your peace,' calling me a proud, arrogant heretic.

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"I desired my lord to charge me with some specifics, and then to convince me with some Scriptures and good learning.

"Then my lord began to propose certain questions. I refused to answer him in corners, requesting that I might make my answer openly. He said that I should answer him there. I stood with him upon that point until he said I would be sent to prison again, and there have neither food nor drink till I answered him.

"Then I lifted up my heart to God, that I might stand and agree with the doctrine of his most holy word.

"The first question was this: 'How many sacraments has Christ instituted to be used in the church?'

"Glover, 'The sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament that he instituted at his last supper.'

"Bishop. — 'No more?'

"Glover. — 'To all those who declare a true and unfeigned repentance, a sure hope, trust, and confidence in the death of Christ, to those, I grant, ministers have authority to pronounce the remission of sins by the power of God's word.'

"Interrupting me here, he would have me call this a sacrament. I would not greatly contend with him in that point, because that matter was of no great weight or importance; although in so doing he did me wrong, for I did not call it a sacrament.

"He asked me further, whether I allowed their confession.' I answered, 'No.'

"Then he would know my mind as to what I thought of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.

"I answered, that their mass was neither sacrifice nor sacrament; because, I said, 'You have taken away the true institution, which when you restore it, I will tell you my judgment concerning Christ's body in the sacrament.'"

Thus much this worthy martyr of God left behind him in writing, by his own hand, concerning his treatment in prison, and also his contentions with the bishop and his chancellor. He had more examinations, no doubt, with the bishop in the public consistory when he was brought forth to be condemned. This he would also have left to us, if the hurry of his execution had permitted him to finish what he intended. But because the writ for his burning arrived from London, I could not obtain even the records of his last examinations, wherever they are.

***Other Coventry and Lichfield Martyrs***

*Cornelius Bungey, Martyr.*

In the same fire with Glover, Cornelius Bungey was also burned, a capper of Coventry.<sup>576</sup> He was condemned by Radulph, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. The articles which were objected against him, in effect were as follows:

1. It was articulated against him, that these years past, in the city of Coventry and Lichfield, and other places about, he held, maintained, argued and taught, that the priest has no power on earth to absolve any sinner from his sins.
2. That sins are not washed away by baptism, because he said that the washing of the flesh purges the flesh outwardly, and not the soul.
3. That there are two sacraments in the church, that is, baptism and the Lord's Supper.
4. That in the sacrament of the popish altar, there was not the real body and blood of Christ, but the substance of bread and wine remained there still, because St. Paul calls it bread and wine, etc.
5. That within the compass of the said years and time, he held, maintained, and defended, that the pope is not the head of the visible church here on earth, etc.
6. That he was of the diocese and jurisdiction of the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, etc.
7. That the premises are true, manifest and notorious, and that there has been and is a public voice and fame upon the same, as well in the places above recited, as in other quarters also about, etc.

Upon these articles, Radulph the bishop read the sentence, and so he committed Bungey to the secular power, after the condemnation of Master Robert Glover.

Thus Cornelius Bungey, falsely condemned by the bishop, suffered at the same stake with the Christian martyr, Master Robert Glover, at Coventry, about the 20th of September.

*Account of John Glover and William Glover.*

Now that we have given the history of Master Robert Glover, something may also be said of his other two brothers, John and William Glover. Although they were not called to finish their course by martyrdom in the fire, as the other did, yet for their constant profession of God's gospel to the end, they were cut off after their death, and cast out of the same church, just as the other was. I therefore thought them not unworthy to be associated in history, who were not divided in one cause, and in the same profession with him.

And first concerning John Glover, the eldest brother, it was described before, what agonies he sustained by the spiritual enemy. What his bodily enemies wrought against him, remains to be declared.

After the martyrdom of Robert Glover, John Glover, seeing his brother apprehended for him, had little joy in his life for the sorrow of heart with which he was oppressed. He would gladly have put himself in his brother's stead, if friends had not persuaded him otherwise. They showed him that in so doing he might entangle himself, but would do his brother no good. He endured great care and vexation; yet notwithstanding, he persevered till at length, about the latter part of the reign of Queen Mary, a new search was made for him.

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<sup>576</sup> *Capper*: a person by trade who made hats, specifically woolen caps.

The sheriffs, with their under officers and servants, being sent to seek John Glover, came into his house where he and his wife were. It chanced, as he was in the chamber by himself, the officers burst into the house. Searching other rooms, they came to the chamber door where he, holding the latch softly with his hand, perceived and heard the officers bustling about the door. Among them, one of the officers, having the string in his hand, was ready to draw and pluck at the door.

In the meantime, another came by (whose voice John heard and knew) bade them come away, saying they had been there before. Upon which they went to search other corners of the house where they found Agnes Glover, his wife. She was taken to Lichfield, and there examined before the bishop. At length, after much ado, she was constrained to give way to their tyranny. John Glover in the meantime, partly for care of his wife, partly through taking cold in the woods where he lay hidden, had an ague (shivering fever). Not long after he gave up his life, which the cruel papists had sought for so long.

Thus by the protection of Almighty God, John Glover was delivered and defended from the hand of his persecuting enemies all during the time of his life. Now what befell after his death both to him and William his brother, is not unworthy to be remembered. After he was dead, he was buried in the church-yard without priest or cleric. Six weeks later, Doctor Dracot, then chancellor, sent for the parson of the town, and demanded how it chanced that he was buried there. The parson answered that he was then sick, and did not know of it. Then the chancellor commanded the parson to go home and have the body of John Glover taken up, and cast over the wall into the highway. The parson replied that Glover had been six weeks in the earth, and so smelled that none was able to abide the stench of him. "Well," Doctor Dracot said, "then take this bill, and pronounce him in the pulpit a damned soul. A twelve-month later, take up his bones (for then the flesh will be consumed) and cast them over the wall, so that carts and horses may tread upon them. And then I will come and hallow again that place in the churchyard where he was buried."

Similar usage was practiced by these children of the mother church, upon the body of William, the third brother, whom it had pleased Almighty God, to call out of this vale of misery, about the same season. The good-disposed people of the town of Wem, in Shropshire, where William died, brought the body to the parish church, intending to have it buried there.

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But one Bernard, then curate of the church, to stop the burial, rode to the bishop, named Ralph Baine, to notify him of the matter, and to have his advice. The body in the meantime lay there a whole day. In the night, one Richard Maurice, a tailor, would have interred William. But then John Thorlyne, of Wem, came with others, who would not allow the body to be buried. They showed us the contrary examples of good Tobias. <sup>Tob 14.12</sup> For just as he was religious in burying the dead, so this man [upholds] religion in not burying the dead. So that, after William had lain there two days and one night, Bernard, the curate, came with the bishop's letter. The contents of that letter, copied word for word, follows here:

"Understanding that one Glover, a heretic, is dead, in the parish of Wem, and this Glover has for all the time of my being in this country been known as a rebel against our holy faith and religion, a despiser of the holy sacraments and ceremonies used in the holy church, and has separated himself from the holy communion of all good Christian men, and was never required to be reconciled to our mother holy church, nor in his last days did he call for his spiritual father, but died without all those rites belonging to a Christian man — I thought it good not only to command the curate of Wem, that Glover should not be buried with a

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Christian man's burial, but I also will and command all the parish of Wem, that no man procure, help, or speak to have him buried in holy ground. Rather, I charge and command the churchwardens of Wem especially, and all the parish of the same, that they assist the said curate in defending and rendering, and procuring that he be not buried either in the church, or within the limits of the church-yard. And likewise I charge those who brought the body to that place, to carry it away again, at their charge, as they will answer at their peril. At Ecclesch, this 6th of September, A.D. 1555.

“By your ordinary, RADULPH, COVENTRY and LICHFIELD.”

It so fell out, that those who brought the corpse there, were at their own charges to carry it away again. But as the body was corrupted, and smelled so strongly that no man might come near it, they were forced to draw it with horses into a broom-field, and there he was buried.

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A similar example of charitable affection in these popish churchmen, is also to be seen and noted in the burying of one Edward Burton, Esq. In the same diocese of Chester, departing out of this world the very day before Queen Elizabeth was crowned, he requested of his friends, as they would answer for it, that his body should be buried in his parish church (which was St. Chads, in Shrewsbury), but that no mass-monger should be present there. This being declared to the curate of that parish, named John Marshall, and the body being brought to the burial on the same day when the queen was crowned, the curate was offended. He said plainly that Burton might not be buried in the church there. One of his friends, named George Torpelley, replied, “God will judge you in the last day,” etc. The priest said, “Whether God or devil judge, the body shall not come there.” And so they buried Burton in his own garden, where he is no doubt as near the kingdom of heaven as if he had been buried in the midst of the church.

Moreover, in the said county of Salop, I find that one Oliver Richardine, of the parish of Whitchurch, was burned in Haverford-west. Sir John Ygone was sheriff at the time, which seems to be about the latter year of King Henry VIII. Because his name was not mentioned before, I thought to notice him here, having it in hand to now speak of the persecution within the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield. <sup>577</sup>

### *The Martyrdom of William Wolsey and Robert Pygot.*

After the suffering of Robert Glover and Cornelius Bungey at Coventry, next follows the condemnation of two other blessed martyrs, who were judged and condemned at Ely, by John Fuller, the bishop's chancellor of Ely; Doctor Shaxton, his suffragan; Robert Steward, dean of Ely; and John Christopherson, dean of Norwich, October 9, 1555. The names of these martyrs were William Wolsey and Robert Pygot, both dwelling in the town of Wisbeach. William Wolsey was a constable in the town of Wells, and was brought to death there by Richard Everard, a justice, who had him post sureties upon his good behavior, until the next general sessions to be held within the Isle of Ely. Afterwards he was commanded to the jail.

In the Easter week following, Doctor Fuller, the chancellor, with Christopherson, and one Doctor Young, repaired to confer with him. They laid earnestly to his charge that he was outside of the catholic faith, desiring him to meddle no further with the Scriptures than it

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<sup>577</sup> Coventry is in the West Midlands of England, about 19 miles from Birmingham in Warwickshire. Lichfield is a cathedral city located in Staffordshire, England, about 14 miles north of Birmingham.

became such a layman as he was. William Wolsey, standing still a great while, allowing them to say what they pleased, at last answered in this way:

“Good Doctor, what did our Savior Christ mean when he spoke these words, written in Matthew’s gospel, chapter 23.13. ‘Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for you neither go in yourselves, nor allow those who are entering to go in.’”

“Yes,” says Dr. Fuller, “you must understand, that Christ spoke to the scribes and Pharisees.”

“No, Master Doctor,” Wolsey said, “Christ spoke even to you, and your fellows present here, and to all others such as you.”

“Away, Master Doctor,” said Christopherson, “for you can do no good with this man.”

“Yet,” said Doctor Fuller, “I will leave you a book to read; I promise you of a learned man’s doing, that is to say, of Doctor Watson’s doing,” who was then bishop of Lincoln. <sup>578</sup>

Wolsey, receiving the book, diligently read it over. In many places it manifestly appears contrary to the known truth of God’s word. At length, a fortnight or three weeks after, Doctor Fuller resorted again to the prison to confer with Wolsey. He asked him how he liked the book. Wolsey answered and said: “Sir, I like the book not otherwise than I thought before I might find it.” Whereupon the doctor took his book and departed home.

At night, when Doctor Fuller came to his chamber to look at it, he found in many places, contrary to his mind, the book was marked with a pen by Wolsey. Seeing this, and being vexed, he said: “Oh, this is an obstinate heretic, and he has quite marred my book.”

With the assizes held at Wisbeach drawing near, Doctor Fuller came back to Wolsey, and spoke to him in this manner: “You greatly trouble my conscience, for which I pray you depart, and rule your tongue, so that I hear no more complaint of you. And whenever you come to the church, if you are complained of, so far as I may, I promise you I will not hear of it.”

“Master Doctor,” said Wolsey; “I was brought here by a law, and by a law I will be delivered.”

Then being brought to the sessions, Wolsey was laid in the castle at Wisbeach, where he and his friends thought he would have suffered, but it proved not to be so.

Then **Robert Pygot**, the painter, being at liberty, was exposed by some evil-disposed persons for not coming to the church.

Pygot, being called before the sessions, would not absent himself, but appeared before Sir Clement Hygham, judge, who said to him; “Ah! are you the holy father, the painter? Why did you not come to the church?” “Sir,” said the painter, “I am not out of the church, I trust in God.”

“No, sir,” said the judge. “This is no church, this is a hall.” “Indeed sir,” said Pygot, “I know very well it is a hall; but the one who is in the true faith of Jesus Christ, is never absent, but present in the church of God.”

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<sup>578</sup> Thomas Watson (1515-1584) served as Catholic Bishop of Lincoln from 1557 to 1559. This was *not* the Puritan preacher and author, also named Thomas Watson (c. 1620–1686).



“Ah, sirrah,” <sup>579</sup> said the judge, “you are too highly learned for me to talk with. Therefore I will send you to those who are better learned than I.” Straightway he commanded him to the jail, where Wolsey lay. So the sessions being ended, Wolsey and Pygot were carried back to prison at Ely, where they remained till the day of their death.

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In the meantime, some of their neighbors came to see how they did.

There also came a chaplain of Bishop Goodrikes, a Frenchman, one Peter Valentius. He said to Wolsey and Pygot: “My brethren, according to my office I have come to talk with you, for I have been almoner <sup>580</sup> here these twenty years and more. Therefore I must desire you, my brethren, to take it in good part that I have come to talk with you. I promise you, not to pull you from your faith. But I both request and desire, in the name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the truth of the gospel and word. And I beseech the Almighty God, for his Son Jesus Christ’s sake, to preserve both you and me in this to the end. For I do not know myself, my brethren, how soon I will be at the same point that you are now.” Thus, with many other similar words, he made an end, causing all who were present there to shed tears, contrary to the hope they all had in him, God be praised therefore.

Then, within a short time after, Pygot and Wolsey were called to judgment about the 9th of October, before Doctor Fuller, then chancellor, with old Doctor Shaxton, Christopherson, and others in commission, who laid earnestly to their charge for their belief in the articles, but especially of the sacrament of the altar. To which their answer was that the sacrament of the altar was an idol, and that the natural body and blood of Christ was not really present in the said sacrament. And they said they would stick to this opinion, perfectly believing the same to be no heresy, but the very truth.

After the sentence of condemnation was read, and a sermon preached, Pygot and Wolsey were brought to the place of execution, and bound to the stake with a chain. Then Richard Collinson, a priest, said to Wolsey: “Brother Wolsey, the preacher has openly reported in his sermon this day, that you are quite outside of the catholic faith, and deny baptism, and that you err in the holy Scripture. Therefore I beseech you for the certifying of my conscience, with others here present, that you declare in what place of the Scripture you err or find fault.”

Wolsey. — “I take the eternal and everlasting God to witness, that I err in no part or point of God’s book, the holy bible, but hold and believe in it, to be most firm and sound doctrine in all points most worthy for my salvation, and for all other Christians to the end of the world. Whatever my adversaries report about me, God forgive them for it.” With that, someone comes to the fire with a great sheet full of books to burn, that looked as if they had been New Testaments. “O,” said Wolsey, “give me one of them.” And Pygot desired another, both of them clapping them close to their breasts, saying the 106th Psalm, desiring all the people to say Amen, and so they received the fire most thankfully.

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<sup>579</sup> *Sirrah*: a contemptuous term of address to an inferior, often used in anger.

<sup>580</sup> *Almoner*: an official who collects and/or distributes charity or welfare to the poor.

*Doctor Nicholas Ridley, and Master Hugh Latimer,  
both Bishops, Preachers, and Martyrs of Christ,  
with their doings, conferences, and sufferings described.*

***The History and Martyrdom of Nicholas Ridley***

In the same year, month, and day on which the two martyrs, William Wolsey and Thomas Pygot, suffered at Ely (which was October 16th, A.D. 1555), the slaughter of two other special and singular captains and principal pillars of Christ's church also followed at Oxford: Master Ridley, bishop of London, and Master Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester. Their famous doings and memorable learning, their incomparable ornaments and gifts of grace, were joined with no less commendable sincerity of life, as all the realm can sufficiently witness. So there is no great need to pause at this time to set forth a full description, but only to briefly comprehend, in a few words, touching the order of their lives — so much as necessarily serves to the due instruction of the reader, and the use of this present history. We will first declare their beginning and bringing up; then their studies and acts in the university; also their preferments to higher dignity by their studies; and at last, their trouble and labor in setting forth religion, and in maintaining the same to the shedding of their blood. To begin with the life of Doctor Ridley, his history here ensues.

Among many other worthy histories and notable acts of those who have been murdered and martyred for the true gospel of Christ in Queen Mary's reign, I thought it good to leave the history and life of Doctor Ridley to perpetual memory. I beseech you, gentle reader, to peruse it with care, and study it well, to diligently consider and to deeply imprint it in your breast. See him to be a man endowed with such excellent qualities, so spiritually inspired and godly learned, and now doubtless written in the book of life, with the blessed saints of the Almighty, crowned and throned among the glorious company of martyrs.

First, he was born in Northumberland, descending from a right worshipful stock. While a child, he learned his grammar with great dexterity in Newcastle, and was removed from there to the university of Cambridge. There in a short time he became so famous, that for his singular aptness, he was called to higher functions and offices of the university. At length he became head of Pembroke Hall, and was made doctor of divinity there. After this, departing from there, he travelled to Paris. At his return he was made chaplain to King Henry VIII, and promoted afterwards by him to the bishopric of Rochester; and from there he transferred to the bishopric of London in King Edward's days.

In his calling and offices, he so labored and occupied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that never was child more singularly loved by his dear parents, than he was loved by his flock and diocese. Every holiday and Sunday he preached in some one place or other, unless he was otherwise hindered. The people travelled to his sermons, swarming about him like bees, and coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome juice of the fruitful doctrine which he not only preached, but exemplified by his life. He was as a lantern to the eyes and senses of the blind, in such pure order and holiness of life, that even his very enemies could not reprove him. <sup>581</sup>

Besides this, he was well learned, his memory was great, and of such reading, that he deserved to be compared to the best of our age, as his learned works, pithy sermons, and

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<sup>581</sup> Note that Ridley had himself sought the death of anyone who opposed infant baptism — e.g., Joan of Kent, who was burned at the stake in 1550. Joan answered her accusers with this: “Indeed,’ she said, ‘it is a goodly matter to consider your ignorance. It is not long ago since you burned Anne Askew for a piece of bread; and yet soon after, you yourselves came to believe and profess the same doctrine for which you burned her.” Beware excessive praise.

disputations in both the universities, and also his very adversaries can testify, all of whom will say no less themselves.

Besides all this, he was wise of counsel, deep of knowledge, and very judicious in all his doings. How merciful and careful he was to reduce the obstinate papists from their erroneous opinions, and to win them to the truth by gentleness. His gentle ordering and courteous handling of Doctor Heath, late archbishop of York, sufficiently declares this, being a prisoner with him in his house for one year in King Edward's time. In brief, he was such a prelate, and in all points so good, godly, and spiritual a man, that England may justly lament the loss of so worthy a treasure. And thus up to here concerning these *public* matters.

Now I will say something further of his *person* and condition. He was a right handsome man and well-proportioned in all points, both in complexion and lineaments of the body. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancor from his heart, but straightway forgetting all injuries and offenses done against him. He was very kind and affectionate to his kinsfolk, and yet he did not bear with them in anything other than right would require. He always gave them for a general rule, even to his own brother and sister, that doing evil they should seek or look for nothing from his hand, but would be as strangers and aliens to him; and that those were his brother and sister, who lived honestly, and a godly life.

Using all kinds of ways to mortify himself, he was given to much prayer and contemplation. For every morning, as soon as his apparel was put on, he went to his bedchamber, and there upon his knees he prayed for half an hour. This being done, he went to his study, where he continued till ten o'clock.

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Then he came to "the common prayer," which was used daily in his house. The prayers being over, he went to dinner. There he used little talk, and even then it was sober, discreet and wise, and sometimes cheerful, as cause required.

That done, he returned to his study, and there generally continued until five o'clock, and then came to "common-prayer," as in the forenoon. This being finished, he went to supper, conducting himself there as at his dinner before. He would then return to his study, continuing there till eleven o'clock at night, which was his common hour to go to bed. At his manor of Fulham, he daily read a lecture to his family, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles. And so going through all the epistles of St. Paul, giving a New Testament to every man who could read, being scrupulously careful over his family, that they might be a spectacle of all virtue and honesty to others. To be short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing but virtue and godliness reigned in his house, feeding them with the food of our Savior Jesus Christ.

It now remains that a word or two should be declared of his gentle nature and kindly pity in the usage of an old woman called Mrs. Bonner, mother to Dr. Bonner, sometime bishop of London. I thought it proper to allude to this, for the rare clemency of Dr. Ridley, as well as the unworthy inhumanity and ungrateful disposition of Dr. Bonner. When Bishop Ridley was at his manor of Fulham, he always sent for Mrs. Bonner to come to dinner and supper. She dwelt in a house adjoining his, with one Mrs. Mungey, Bonner's sister. She was always placed in the chair at the end of the table, being so gently treated, welcomed, and taken, as though he had been born of her own body, never being displaced of her seat, even if the king's council had been present. When any of them were there, he said, "By your lordships' favor, this place of right and custom is for my mother Bonner." Our readers are well

acquainted with how he was afterwards recompensed for this singular gentleness and kindness, at the hands of her son, Dr. Bonner.

Dr. Ridley was first called to the favoring of Christ and his gospel, by reading Bertram's book about the sacrament.<sup>582</sup> And he was not a little confirmed by his conference with Bishop Cranmer, and with Peter Martyr. After the coming in of Queen Mary, Ridley was soon laid hands upon, and committed to prison, as sufficiently expressed before. First he was in the Tower, and then he was sent to Oxford with the archbishop of Canterbury and Master Latimer. There he was confined with them in the common jail. Afterwards he was committed to custody in the house of one Irish, where he remained till the last day of his martyrdom. This was from the year 1554 till the 16th of October 1555.

Enough has been said in a former part of this book (p. 691 ff.), as to his disputations at Oxford, his determination at Cambridge; his labor in persuading and instructing the lady Mary before she was queen; and his reasons and conference had in the Tower at the lieutenant's board. Besides this, he had other conferences in prison, both with Doctor Cranmer and Master Latimer, as follows here:

*A Conference between Ridley and Latimer in Prison,  
upon the Objection of Antonian, meaning by that name,  
some Popish Persecutor, such as Winchester.* <sup>583</sup>

Ridley. — “In writing again, you have done me an unspeakable pleasure, and I pray that the Lord may requite you in that day. For I have received great comfort at your words. Yet I am not so filled with it, that I do not thirst much more now than before, to drink more of the cup of yours, in which you mingle for me profitable instruction with pleasant. I pray you, good father, let me have one draught more to comfort my heart. For surely, unless the Lord assists me with his gracious aid in the time of His service, I know I will play but the part of a white-livered knight. But truly, my trust is in him, that in my infirmity he will prove himself strong, and make the coward in his cause, fight like a man.

“Sir, now I daily look for when Diotrophes with his warriors will assault me. Therefore I pray you, good father, for you are an old soldier, and an expert warrior, and God knows I am but a young soldier, and as yet of small experience in these feats, help me, I pray you, to buckle my harness. And now I would have you think that these darts are cast at my head by some one of Diotrophes or Antonius' soldiers.”

*Objection.*

“All men greatly marvel why you, after the liberty granted to you — more than the rest — do not go to mass, which is a thing, as you know, now much esteemed by all men, indeed by the queen herself.”

*Answer.*

Ridley. — “Because no man who lays his hand on the plough, and looks back, is fit for the kingdom of God. And also for the self-same reason why St. Paul would not allow Titus to be circumcised, which is that the truth of the gospel might remain uncorrupt with us, Gal 2.1-5. Again, ‘If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor.’ This is also

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<sup>582</sup> The Book of Bertram the Priest, *Concerning the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament*, was written by Ratramnus, a Frankish monk of the monastery of Corbie. It was originally composed in Latin around the 9th century. The first English translation was completed in 1549.

<sup>583</sup> Ridley and Latimer use the pseudonyms Antonian and Diotrophes for their persecutors. They were working out how best to respond to expected objections made by their future inquisitors, regarding their beliefs. What follows is their preparation, their “legal briefs” for the trials that lay ahead.

another reason: lest I seem by outward act to allow the thing which I am persuaded is contrary to sound doctrine, and so prove a stumbling-block to the weak. But woe to him by whom offense comes. It would be better for him to have a mill-stone hung about his neck, and be cast into the midst of the sea.”

Latimer. — “Unless the Lord helps me, you say. It is truth. ‘For without me,’ he says, ‘you can do nothing,’ much less suffer death by our adversaries, through the bloody law now prepared against us. But it follows, ‘If you abide in me, and my word abides in you, ask what you will, and it shall be done for you.’ What can be more comfortable? Sir, you answer so well yourself, that I cannot better it. Sir, I begin now to smell what you mean by laboring thus with me; you use me as Bilney did once, when he converted me. He pretended as though he would be taught by me; he sought ways and means to teach me, and so do you. I thank you, therefore, most heartily. For, indeed, you minister armor to me, whereas before I was unarmed and unprovided, saving that I give myself to prayer for my refuge.”

*Objection.*

“What is it, then, that offends you so greatly in the mass, that you will not once grant either to hear it or see it? And from where does this new religion come upon you? Did you not used to say mass yourself in times past?”

*Answer.*

Ridley. — “I confess to you my fault, and ignorance; but know that I have done penance for these matters long ago, both at St. Paul’s cross, and also openly in the pulpit at Cambridge, [*i.e.*, he had openly confessed his former error, and renounced popery in the pulpit at Cambridge,] and I trust God has forgiven me my offense: for I did it from ignorance. But if you desire to know, and you will grant to hear what things offend me in the mass, I will recite to you those things which are most clear, and seem to most manifestly contend against God’s word. And they are these: the strange tongue; the lack of showing the Lord’s death; the breaking of the Lord’s commandment of having a communion; the sacrament is not communicated to all under both kinds, according to the word of the Lord; the sign is servilely worshipped for the thing that it signifies; Christ’s passion is injured, because this mass-sacrifice is affirmed to remain for the purging of sins — to be short, the manifold superstitions and trifling fondness which are in the mass, and about the mass.”

Latimer. — “Better a few things well-pondered, than to trouble the memory with too much. You will prevail more with praying than with studying, though mixture is best, for so the one will alleviate the tediousness of the other.

[823] A.D. 1555.

“I do not intend to contend much with them in words, after a reasonable account of my faith given, for it will be but in vain. They will say, as their fathers said when they have no more to say: We have a law, and by our law you ought to die. ‘Be steadfast and unmovable,’ says St. Paul: and again, ‘Stand fast:’ And how often this is repeated, ‘If you abide,’ ‘if you abide,’ etc. But we will be called obstinate, sturdy, ignorant, heady, and what not; so that a man needs much patience, having to deal with such men.”

*Objection.*

“But you know how great a crime it is to separate yourself from the communion or fellowship of the church, and to make a schism or division. You have been reported to have hated the sect of the Anabaptists, and always to have impugned the same. Moreover, this was the pernicious error of Novatus, and of the heretics called Cathari, that they would not communicate with the church.”

## Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

### *Answer.*

Ridley. — “I know that the unity of the church is to be retained by all means, and the same is necessary to salvation. But I do not take the mass, as it is this day, for the communion of the church, but as a popish device whereby both the commandment and institution of our Savior Christ, for often frequenting the remembrance of his death, is eluded, and the people of God are miserably deluded. The sect of the Anabaptists, and the heresy of the Novatians should of right be condemned, because without any just or necessary cause, they wickedly separated themselves from the communion of the congregation. For they did not allege that the sacraments were unduly ministered, but turning their eyes away from themselves (with which according to St. Paul’s rule they ought to examine themselves), and casting their eyes ever upon others — either ministers or communicants with them — they always reprov’d something for which they abstained from the communion, as from an unholy thing.”

Latimer. — “I remember that Calvin begins to confute the interim in this way, with this saying of Hilary: ‘The name of peace is beautiful, and the opinion of unity is fair: but who doubts that Christ is the true and only peace of the church.’ I wish you had that little book. There you would see how much is to be given to unity. St. Paul, when he requires unity, adds with it, ‘according to Jesus Christ,’ and no further. Diotrephes now of late ever harped upon unity, unity. ‘Indeed, Sir,’ I said, ‘but in truth, *not* in popery. Better is diversity, than unity in popery.’ I had nothing in reply but scornful taunts, with a commandment to the Tower.”

### *Objection.*

“But admit there is in the mass, that which perhaps might be amended, or at least made better. Indeed, seeing you will have it so, admit there is a fault. If you do not consent to it, why do you trouble yourself in vain? Do you not know, both by Cyprian and Augustine, that the communion of sacraments does not defile a man, but the consent of deeds?”

### *Answer.*

Ridley. — “If it were any one trifling ceremony, or if it were some one thing that of itself is indifferent (although I would wish nothing should be done in the church, which does not edify the same), yet for the continuance of the common quietness I could be content to bear it. But, because things done in the mass openly tend to the overthrow of Christ’s institution, I judge that by no means, either in word or deed, should I consent to it. As for that which is objected out of the fathers, I acknowledge it to be well spoken, *if* it is well understood. But it is meant of those who suppose they are defiled if any secret vice exists either in the ministers, or in those who communicate with them. It is not meant of those who abhor superstition and the wicked traditions of men, and will not suffer the same to be thrust upon them or upon the church, instead of God’s word and the truth of the gospel.”

Latimer. — “The very marrow-bones of the mass are altogether detestable, and therefore it is by no means to be borne with. So that, of necessity, mending it is to abolish it forever. For if you take away oblation and adoration, which hang upon consecration and transubstantiation, the greatest papists of them all will not set a button by the mass, as a thing which they do not esteem, except for the gain that follows from it. For if the English communion, which was used of late, were as gainful to them as the mass had been previously, they would strive no more for their mass. From *there* grows the grief.”

### *Objection.*

“Consider into what dangers you cast yourself if you forsake the church; and you cannot but forsake it if you refuse to go to mass. For the mass is the sacrament of unity; without the ark there is no salvation. The church is the ark, and Peter’s ship. You know this saying well

enough: he shall not have God to be his father, who does not acknowledge the church to be his mother. Moreover, without the church, says St. Augustine, however well spent the life, it shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven.”

*Answer.*

Ridley. — “The holy catholic or universal church, which is the communion of saints, the house of God, the city of God, the spouse of Christ, the body of Christ, the pillar and stay of the truth — *this* church I believe, according to the creed. *This* church I reverence, and honor in the Lord. But the rule of this church is the word of God, according to which rule we go forward unto life. And as many as walk according to this rule, I say with St. Paul, Peace be upon them, and upon the whole Israel of God. The guide of this church is the Holy Spirit. The marks by which this church is known to me in this dark world, and in the midst of this crooked and froward generation, are these: The sincere preaching of God’s holy word, the due administration of the sacraments, charity, and faithful observing of ecclesiastical discipline, according to the word of God. And that church or congregation which is garnished with these marks, is in very deed that heavenly Jerusalem which consists of those who are born from above. *This* is the mother of us all, and by God’s grace I will live and die the child of this church. Outside of this church (I grant) there is no salvation. And I suppose the remainder of the places objected are rightly to be understood of this church only. In times past, says Chrysostom, there were many ways to know the church of Christ — that is to say, by good life, by miracles, by chastity, by doctrine, by ministering the sacraments. But from the time that heresies took hold of the church, the true church is only known by the Scriptures. They have all things in *outward show*, which the true church has *in truth*. They have temples like ours. Therefore, only by the Scriptures do we know which is the true church. As to what they say, that the mass is the sacrament of unity, I answer, The bread which we break according to the institution of the Lord, is the sacrament of the unity of Christ’s *mystical body*. For we being many, are one bread and one body, in that we are all are partakers of one bread. But in the mass, the Lord’s institution is not observed. For we are not all partakers of one bread, but one devours all, etc. So that, as the mass is used, it may seem a sacrament of *singularity*, and of a certain special privilege for one sect of people, by which they may be discerned from the rest, rather than a sacrament of *unity*, in which our knitting together in one is represented.”

Latimer. — “Indeed, what fellowship does Christ have with antichrist? Therefore, it is not lawful to bear the yoke with papists. Come out from among them, and separate yourselves from them, says the Lord. It is one thing to be the church indeed; and another thing to counterfeit the church. Would to God that it were well known what is the forsaking of the church!

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In the king’s days (who is dead) who was the church of England? The king and his favorers, or mass-mongers in corners? If it was the king and the favorers of his proceedings, the why are we not now the church, abiding in the same proceedings? If mass-mongers might be of the church, and yet contrary to the king’s proceedings, why may we not as well be of the church, even if contrary to the queen’s proceedings? Not all who are covered with the title of the church, are the church indeed. Separate yourself from those who are such, says St. Paul; from whom? The context answers the question: ‘If any man teaches otherwise, and does not consent to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc., he is proud, knowing nothing,’ etc. Weigh the whole text, so that you may perceive what is the fruit of contentious disputations. But why are such men said to know nothing, when they know so many things? You know the old verses,



## Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

‘Hoc est nescire, sine Christo plurima scire:  
Si Christum bene seisc, satis est, si caetera nescis.’

That is, “This is to be ignorant: to know many things without Christ. If you know Christ well, you know enough, even if you know no more.’ Therefore St. Paul would know nothing but Jesus Christ, and him crucified, etc. As many as are papists and mass-mongers, they may well be said to know nothing. For they do not know Christ, because in their massing they take much away from the benefit and merit of Christ.”

### *Objection.*

“That church which you have described to me is invisible, but Christ’s church is visible and known. For why else would Christ have said, ‘Tell it to the church?’ For he would have commanded in vain to go to the church, if a man cannot tell which it is.”

### *Answer.*

Ridley. — “The church which I have described is visible; it has members who may be seen; and I have also declared before, by what marks and tokens it may be known. But if either our eyes are so dazzled that we cannot see, or Satan has brought such darkness into the world, that it is hard to discern the true church, that is not the fault of the church, but either of our blindness, or of Satan’s darkness. Yet in this most deep darkness, there is one most clear candle, which of itself alone is able to put away all darkness. Your word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path.”

### *Objection.*

“The church of Christ is a catholic or universal church, dispersed throughout the whole world. This church is the great house of God, and in this house good men and evil are mingled together, goats and sheep, corn and chaff. It is the net which gathers all kinds of fish. This church cannot err, because Christ has promised it his Spirit, which will lead it into all truth, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. He will be with it to the end of the world. Whatever it looses or binds on earth, shall be ratified in heaven, etc. This church is the pillar and stay of the truth; this is it for which St. Augustine says, he believes the gospel. But this universal church allows the mass, because the greater part of it allows it. Therefore, etc.”

### *Answer.*

Ridley. — “I grant that the name of the church is taken in three different manners in the Scriptures. Sometimes for the whole multitude of those who profess the name of Christ, for which they are also named Christians. But as St. Paul says of the Jews, not every one is a Jew, that is a Jew outwardly, etc.; nor are all who are of Israel, counted the seed. Even so, not everyone who is a Christian outwardly, is a Christian indeed. For if any man does not have the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his. Therefore that church which is his body, and of which Christ is the head, stands only in living stones and true Christians, not only outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth. But because this church (which is the second meaning of the church) as regards the outward fellowship, is contained within the great house, and with the same outward society of the sacraments and ministry of the word, many things are spoken about *that* universal church (which St. Augustine calls the *mingled* church) which cannot truly be understood, except of that pure part of the church. So that the rule of Ticonius concerning the mingled church, may well apply here.<sup>584</sup> Where there is attributed to the whole church,

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<sup>584</sup> The rule of Ticonius regarding the church is his second rule, which addresses the "twofold body of the Lord" or the "true and simulated body of the Lord. This rule emphasizes that the church, as the body of Christ, is a "mixed body" (*corpus permixtum*) composed of both righteous individuals and sinners. This directly challenged the Donatist belief that the true church could only contain the righteous and be visibly manifest in their own community. Ticonius



that which cannot agree to the same, but only to one part of it, that part is either the multitude of good men, which is the true church indeed; or the multitude of evil men, which is the malignant church and synagogue of Satan. There is also a third meaning of the church, though in that signification it is the most seldom mentioned in the Scriptures, yet in the world this church has borne the greatest sway: even the most famous assemblies of Christendom,.

“This distinction being presupposed of the three sorts of churches, it is an easy matter, by a synecdoche, <sup>585</sup> to give to the mingled and universal church, that which cannot truly be understood except of one part of it. But if any man will stiffly affirm that *universal* so pertains to the church, that whatever Christ has promised to “the church,” it must be understood of *that* church, then I would gladly know from that man, where that universal church was in the times of the patriarchs and prophets, of Noah, Abraham, and of Moses at such time as the people would have stoned him; of Elijah, of Jeremiah; in the times of Christ, and the dispersion of the apostles in the time of Arius, when Constantius was emperor, and Felix bishop of Rome succeeded Liberius.

“It is worthy to be noted that Lyra <sup>586</sup> writes upon St. Matthew, “The church does not stand in men by reason of their power or dignity, whether it is ecclesiastical or secular. For many princes and popes, and other inferiors, have been found to have fallen away from God. Therefore the church consists in those persons in whom there is true knowledge, and confession of the faith and of the truth. Evil men (as it is in a gloss on the decrees) are in the church in name, and not in deed.’ And St. Augustine says: ‘Whoever is afraid to be deceived by the darkness of this question, let him ask counsel at the same church of it, which church Scripture points out without any doubtfulness.’ All my notes which I have written and gathered out of such authors as I have read on this matter and such like, have come into the hands of those who will not let me have the least of all my written books. In this, I am forced to complain about them to God. For they spoil me of all my labors which I have taken in my study these many years. My memory was never good. For the help of it, I used to mostly gather notes from my reading, and to so place them, that thereby I might have had the use of them when the time required. But who knows whether this is God’s will, that I should thus be ordered, and spoiled of the poor learning I had in store (I thought), to the intent that now, destitute of that, I should from now on learn with St. Paul, to know only Christ and him crucified? The Lord grant me in this to be a good young scholar, and to learn this lesson so well, that neither death nor life, wealth nor woe, etc., will make me ever forget that. Amen, Amen.”

Latimer. — “I have no more to say in this matter, for you yourself have said all that is to be said. That same vehement saying of St. Augustine, ‘I would not believe the gospel,’ etc., used to trouble many men.<sup>587</sup> As I remember, I have read it well qualified by Philip Melancthon; but my memory is altogether slippery. In effect, it is this: the church is not a judge, but a witness. There were in his time those who lightly esteemed the testimony of the church, and the outward ministry of preaching, and rejected the outward word itself, sticking only to their inward revelations. Such rash contempt of the word provoked and drove St. Augustine into that excessive vehemency.

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argued that the church, in the time before the End, necessarily comprises both the good and the bad. This principle profoundly influenced Augustine’s ecclesiology.

<sup>585</sup> *Synecdoche*: a figure of speech in which one part stands for the whole; e.g. “counting heads.”

<sup>586</sup> *Lyra*: Nicholas of Lyra, Franciscan monk (c. 1270-1349), theologian and bible commentator.

<sup>587</sup> Augustine said, “For my part, I would not believe the gospel except as moved by the authority of the catholic Church.” This quote, from his work *Against the Fundamental Epistle of Manichaeus*, reflects his view that the authority of the Church plays a crucial role in moving an individual to believe the Gospel.

[825] A.D. 1555.

“In his statement, according to the bare sound of the words, he might seem to those who do not grasp his meaning, that he preferred the church far above the gospel, and that the church has free authority over it; but that godly man never thought so.

“It would be a saying worthy to be brought against the Anabaptists, who think the open ministry is unnecessary, if they esteemed such testimonies at all. I would not hesitate to affirm that most of the great house, that is to say, of the whole universal church, may easily err. And again, I would not hesitate to affirm that it is one thing to be gathered together in the name of Christ, and another thing to come together with a mass of the Holy Spirit going before. For in the first, Christ rules; in the latter, the devil bears the swing. How then can anything be good that they go about? From the latter, our Six Articles will again come into the light, they themselves being very darkness.<sup>588</sup> But it is demanded whether the sounder or better part of the catholic church may be seen by men, or not? St. Paul says, ‘The Lord knows those who are his.’ What manner of speaking is this in commendation of the Lord, if we knew as well as he does, who are his? Well, this is the text: ‘The foundation of God stands sure, having this seal, the Lord knows those who are his; and let every man who names the name of Christ depart from iniquity.’ Now how many are there of the whole popish church of England, who depart from iniquity? How many of the noblemen, how many of the bishops or clergy, how many of the rich men, or merchants, how many of the queen’s councilors, indeed, how many of the whole realm? In how small a room then, I ask you, is the true church within the realm of England? And where is it? And in what state? I had a well-grounded conceit of my own, as they say, when I began; but now it has fallen by the way.”

*Objection.*

“General councils represent the universal church, and they have this promise of Christ: ‘Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.’ If Christ is present with two or three, then much more where there is so great a multitude, etc. And in general councils, mass has been approved and used: Therefore, etc.”

*Answer.*

Ridley. — “Of the universal church, which is mingled of good and bad, I think thus: Whenever those who are chief in it, who rule and govern the same, and to whom the whole mystical body of Christ obeys, are the lively members of Christ, and walk according to the guidance and rule of his word, and go before the flock towards everlasting life, then undoubtedly councils gathered together of such guides and pastors of the Christian flock, do indeed represent the universal church. And being so gathered in the name of Christ, they have a promise of the gift and guidance of his Spirit into all truth. But that any such council has at any time allowed the mass, such a one as ours was of late, conducted in a strange tongue, and stuffed with so many absurdities, errors, and superstitions — *that* I utterly deny, and affirm it to be impossible. For just as there is no agreement between light and darkness, between Christ and Belial, so surely superstition and the sincere religion of Christ, will-worship and the pure worshipping of God — such as God requires of his own, that is, worshipping in spirit and in truth — can never agree together. But you will say, where so great a company is gathered together, is it not credible that there will be two or three gathered in the name of Christ? I answer — if there are one hundred good, and two hundred bad (since the decrees and ordinances are pronounced according to the greater number of the multitude of voices), what can the lesser number of voices avail? It is a known thing, and a common proverb, that oftentimes the *greater* part overcomes the *better*.”

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<sup>588</sup> "Six Articles" refers to the 1539 Act of Parliament affirming traditional Roman Catholic beliefs (see p. 569).

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Latimer. — “Regarding general councils, at present I have no more to say than you have said. Only I refer you to your own experience, to think of our country parliaments and convocations, how and what you have seen and heard. The greater part in my time brought forth the Six Articles; for then the king would have it so, being seduced by certain men. Afterward, the greater part repelled the same, our good Josiah being willing to have it so. The same articles now again, alas! Another great, but worse part, has been restored. Oh! what an uncertainty is this? But man’s proceedings are most commonly in this way, God be merciful to us! Who will deliver us from such torments of mind? Therefore death is the best physician to the faithful, whom she together and at once delivers from all griefs. You must think this is written on this occasion, because you would need to have your paper blotted.”

### *Objection.*

“If the matter were to go thus, that in general councils men should not stand to the greater number of the multitude (I mean of those who ought to give their voices) then no certain rule would be left to the church, by which controversies in weighty matters might be determined. But it is not to be believed, that Christ would leave his church destitute of so necessary a help and safeguard.”

### *Answer.*

Ridley. — “Christ, who is the most loving spouse of his church, who also gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it for himself, gave to it abundantly all things which are necessary to salvation. But yet, it was that the church would declare itself obedient to Him in all things, and keep itself within the bounds of his commandments; and further, it was not to seek anything which he does not teach as necessary to salvation. Now further, for the determination of all controversies in Christ’s religion, Christ himself has left to the church not only Moses and the prophets, whom he directs his church in all doubts to go to, and ask counsel at, but also the gospels, and the rest of the body of the New Testament — in which whatever is heard from Moses and the prophets, and whatever is necessary to be known for salvation, is revealed and opened. So that now we have no need to ask, ‘Who will climb up into heaven, or who will go down into the depth, to tell us what is needful to be done? Christ has done both, and has commended to us the word of faith, which also is abundantly declared to us in his written word. So that hereafter if we walk earnestly in this way, to search out the truth, it is not to be doubted that through the certain benefit of Christ’s spirit, which he has promised to his, we may find it, and obtain everlasting life. Should men ask counsel of the dead for the living? asks Isaiah. Let them go rather to the law and to the testimony, etc. Christ sends those who are desirous to know the truth, to the Scriptures, saying, ‘Search the Scriptures.’ I remember a similar thing well spoken by Jerome: ‘Ignorance of the Scriptures, is the mother and cause of all errors.’ And in another place, as I remember in the same author: ‘The knowledge of the Scriptures, is the food of everlasting life.’ But now, I think, I enter into a very broad sea, in that I begin to show, either out of the Scriptures themselves, or out of the ancient writers, how much the holy Scripture has force to teach the truth of our religion. But what I am now about is this: that Christ would have the church, his spouse, in all doubts to ask counsel at the word of his Father, written, and faithfully left, and commended to it in both Testaments, the Old and New. Neither do we read that Christ in any place has laid so great a burden upon the members of his spouse, that he has commanded them to go to the universal church. ‘Whatever things are written,’ says St. Paul, ‘are written for our learning.’ And it is true that Christ gave to his church, some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, to the edifying of the saints, till we all come to the unity of the faith, etc. But I neither find it commanded by Christ, nor written in the word of God, that all men should meet together out of all parts of the world, to define the articles of our faith.

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Latimer. — “There is diversity between things pertaining to God or faith, and to political and civil matters. For in the first, we must stand only to the Scriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and instructed unto salvation, if they are well understood. And they offer themselves to be well understood only to those who have good wills, and give themselves to study and prayer. Nor are there any men less apt to understand them, than the prudent and wise men of the world. But in the second, that is, in civil or political matters, the magistrates oftentimes tolerate a lesser evil, to avoid a greater, such as those who often have this saying in their mouths: ‘Better an inconvenience than a mischief.’ And it is the property of a wise man, says someone, ‘To dissemble many things; and he that cannot dissemble, cannot rule.’ In such sayings they betray themselves, that they do not earnestly weigh what is just, and what is not. Therefore, man’s laws — if it is but in this respect alone, that they are devised by men — are not able to bring anything to perfection, but are forced by necessity to allow many things that are out of order, and are sometimes compelled to wink at the worst things. Because of this, seeing that they do not know how to maintain the common peace and quiet otherwise, they ordain that the greater part of things will take place. You know what these kinds of sayings mean: ‘I speak in the manner of men.’ ‘You walk in the manner of men.’ ‘All men are liars.’ And that of St. Augustine, ‘If you live after man’s reason, you do not live after the will of God.’”

### *Objection.*

“If you say that councils have sometimes erred, or may err, then how should we believe the catholic church? For councils are gathered by the authority of the catholic church.”

### *Answer.*

Ridley. — “From *may* be, to *indeed* be, is not a good argument; but from *being*, to *may* be, no man doubts that it is a most sure argument. But now, it is manifest that councils have sometimes erred. How many councils were there in the eastern parts of the world, who condemned the Nicene council? And all those who would not forsake the same, they called by a slanderous name (they thought) *Homousians*. Were not Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyril, Eustachius — very well learned men and of a godly life — banished and condemned as infamous heretics, and that was by wicked councils? How many things are there in the canons and constitutions of the councils, which the papists themselves much dislike? But here, perhaps one man will say to me; ‘We will grant you this in provincial councils, or councils of some one nation, that they may sometimes err, because they do not represent the universal church; but it is not to be believed that the general and full councils have erred at any time.’ Here, if I had my books of the councils, or rather those notes I have gathered out of those books, I could bring something which would serve this purpose. But now, seeing that I do not have them, I will recite only one place out of St. Augustine, which (in my judgment) may suffice in this matter instead of many:

‘Who does not know,’ he asks, ‘that the holy Scripture is so set before us, that it is not lawful to doubt it, and that the letters of bishops may be reprov’d by other men’s words, and by councils; and that the councils themselves, who are gathered by provinces and countries, give way to the authority of the general and full councils; and that the former and general councils are amended by the latter, when (by some experience of things) either that which was shut up is opened, or that which was hidden, is known?’

“Thus much out of St. Augustine. But I will plead with our Antonian, upon a confessed matter. Here with us, when papistry reigned, I ask you, how is it that the book, which was called the *Bishops’ Book*, made in the time of King Henry VIII,<sup>589</sup> of which the bishop of Winchester

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<sup>589</sup> [The Bishop's Book, formally titled \*The Institution of a Christian Man\*, was published in Sep. 1537. It was produced by a committee of 46 divines and bishops, led by Thomas Cranmer. It served as an official formulary for the reformed Church of England following its break from Rome. See p. 539 for more information.](#)

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(Gardiner) is thought to be either the first father, or the chief gatherer — how is it, I ask, that it sharply reproveth the Florentine council, in which was decreed the supremacy of the bishop of Rome? And how is it that it was done with the consent of the emperor of Constantinople, and of the Grecians? So that, in those days, our learned ancient father, and the bishops of England, did not hesitate to affirm that a general council might err.

“But I think I hear another man despising all that I have brought forth, saying, ‘What you have called councils, are not worthy to be called councils, but rather assemblies, and conventicles of heretics.’ I ask you, sir, why do you judge them worthy of so slanderous a name? ‘Because,’ he says, ‘they decree heretical things, contrary to true godliness and sound doctrine, and against the faith of Christian religion.’ The cause is weighty for which they should of right be so called. But if it is so, that all councils ought to be despised which decree anything contrary to sound doctrine and the true word, which is according to godliness — because the mass that we had here of late, is openly against the word of God — it must therefore follow of necessity, that all those councils which have approved such masses, should of right be avoided and despised as conventicles and assemblies of men who stray from the truth.

“Another man alleges to me the authority of the bishop of Rome, without which, he says, the councils can neither be lawfully gathered, nor being gathered, determine anything concerning religion. But this objection is only grounded on the ambitious and shameless maintenance of the Romish tyranny and usurped dominion over the clergy. We Englishmen have expelled and abjured this tyranny long ago, by the consent of the whole realm. And how rightly we have done it, a little book set forth *de utraque potestate* (that is, of both the powers) clearly shows. I grant that the Romish ambition has gone about to claim for itself and to usurp such a privilege from olden times. But the Council of Carthage, in the year 417, openly withstood it. And also the council at Milevia, in which St. Augustine was present, prohibited any appeals to be made to bishops beyond the sea.”

### *Objection.*

“St. Augustine says the good men are not to be forsaken for the evil, but the evil are to be borne with for the good. You will not say, I suppose, that in our congregations all are evil.”

### *Answer.*

Ridley. — “I say nothing of the goodness or wickedness of your congregations; but I fight in Christ’s quarrel against the mass, which utterly takes away and overthrows the ordinance of Christ. Let that be taken quite away, and then the partition of the wall that made the strife will be broken down. Now, as to that place in St. Augustine’s writings, forbearing with the evil for the good’s sake, there ought to be added other words, which the same writer has expressed in other places. That is, if those evil men cast abroad no seeds of false doctrine, nor lead others to destruction by their example.”

### *Objection.*

“It is perilous to attempt any new thing in the church, which lacks the example of good men. How much more perilous is it to commit any act to which the example of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles are contrary? But as for this act of yours, in abstaining from the church because of the mass, the example of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles are clean contrary. Therefore, etc. the first part of the argument is evident, and the second part I prove thus: In the times of the prophets, of Christ, and his apostles, all things were most corrupt. The people were miserably given to superstition; the priests despised the law of God; and yet, notwithstanding, we do not read that the prophets made any schisms or divisions. And Christ himself frequented the temple, and taught in the temple of the Jews. St. Peter and St. John went up into the temple at the ninth hour of prayer; St Paul after the reading of the

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law, being desired to say something to the people, did not refuse to do it. And further, no man can show that either the prophets, or Christ, or his apostles, refused to pray together with others, or to sacrifice, or to be partakers of the sacrament of Moses' laws."

[827] A.D. 1555.

*Answer.*

Ridley. — "I grant the former part of your argument, and to the second part I say, that although it contains many true things, such as the corrupt state in the times of the prophets, of Christ, and the apostles, and of the temple being frequented by Christ and his apostles — yet notwithstanding, the second part of your argument is not sufficiently proved. For you should have proved that in the temple, either the prophets, or Christ, or his apostles, had communion with the people in any kind of worshipping, which is forbidden by the law of God, or repugnant to the word of God. But that can nowhere be shown. And as for the church, I am not angry with it, and I never refused to go to it, nor to pray with the people, to hear the word of God, or to do all other things whatever, that may agree with the word of God. St. Augustine, speaking of the ceremonies of the Jews (I suppose in his epistle *ad Januarium*) although he grants that they grievously oppressed that people, both for the number and the bondage of the same, yet he calls them *burdens of the law*, which were delivered to them in the word of God — not *the presumption of men*. Notwithstanding, if they were not contrary to God's word, these might in a way be borne with. But now, seeing that they are contrary to those things which are written in the word of God, whether they ought to be borne by any Christian or not, let him judge who is spiritual, who fears God more than man, and loves everlasting life more than this short and transitory life.

"As to that which was said, that my act lacks any example from the godly fathers who have gone before, the contrary is most evident in the history of Tobias (Tobit). It is said of him, that when all others went to the golden calves, which Jeroboam the king of Israel had made, he alone fled all their companies, and got himself to Jerusalem to the temple of the Lord, and there he worshipped the Lord God of Israel. Did not the man of God threaten grievous plagues both to the priests of Bethel, and to the altar which Jeroboam had made there according to his own fantasy? King Josias, the true minister of God, executed these plagues at the time appointed. And where do we read that the prophets or the apostles agreed with the people in their idolatry, when the people went about whoring with their hill altars? For what cause, I ask you, did the prophets rebuke the people so much, as for their false worshipping of God following their own minds, and not God's word? What was so much as that was? Therefore the false prophets did not cease to malign the true prophets of God. Therefore they beat them, they banished them, etc. How else, I pray you, can you understand what St. Paul alleges, when he asks what concord Christ has with Belial? What part does the believer have with the infidel? Or how does the temple of God agree with images? For you are the temple of the living God. As God himself has said, "I will dwell among them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people."

"Therefore, come out from among them, and separate yourselves from them, says the Lord, and touch no unclean thing. So I will receive you, and be a father to you, and you shall be my sons and daughters, says the Lord Almighty. Judith, that holy woman, would not allow herself to be defiled with the meats of the wicked. All the saints of God, who truly feared God, when they have been provoked to do anything which they knew to be contrary to God's laws, have chosen to die rather than forsake the laws of their God. This is why the Maccabees put themselves in danger of death for the defense of the law, yes, and at length died manfully in the defense of the same. If we praise the Maccabees, says St. Augustine, and do that with great admiration because they stoutly stood even unto death, for the law of their country; then how much more should we suffer all things for our baptism, for the sacrament of the body and

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blood of Christ, etc.? But the mass utterly abolishes, and corrupts most shamefully, the supper of the Lord — I mean such a supper as Christ commands us to celebrate.”

Latimer. — “Who am I, that I should add anything to what you have so spoken.’ No, I rather thank you that you have granted to minister such plentiful armor to me, being otherwise altogether unarmed — except that he cannot be left destitute of help, who rightly trusts in the help of God. I only learn to die in reading from the New Testament, and I am ever now and then praying to my God, that he will be a Helper to me in time of need.”

*Objection.*

“Seeing that you are so obstinately set against the mass, that you affirm because it is done in a tongue that is not understood by the people, and for other causes (I cannot tell what), is it therefore not the true sacrament ordained by Christ? I begin to suspect that you do not think catholically of baptism either. Is our baptism, which we use in a tongue unknown to the people, the true baptism of Christ, or not? If it is, then does the strange tongue hurt the mass? If it is not the baptism of Christ, tell me how you were baptized. Or whether, like the Anabaptists, you would have all who were baptized in Latin, baptized again in the English tongue?”

*Answer.*

Ridley. — “I would wish baptism to be given in the vulgar (common) tongue, for the people’s sake who are present, so that they may better understand their own profession, and also be better able to teach their children the same. Yet notwithstanding there is not a like necessity of the vulgar tongue in baptism, as in the Lord’s Supper. Baptism is given to children who, because of their age, are not able to understand what is spoken to them, whatever tongue it may be. The Lord’s Supper is, and ought to be given to those who are of age. Moreover, in baptism, which is usually given to children in the Latin tongue, all the substantial points (as a man might say) which Christ commanded to be done, are observed. And therefore I judge that baptism is a perfect and true baptism; and that not only is it not necessary, but it is *not lawful* for any man so christened, to be christened again. Yet notwithstanding, they ought to be taught the catechism of the Christian faith when they come to years of discretion. Whoever despises, or will not desirously embrace and willingly learn this catechism, in my judgment does not play the part of a Christian man. But certain substantials are lacking in the popish mass — that is, things that are commanded by the word of God to be observed in the ministration of the Lord’s Supper. Sufficient declaration was made of these things before.”

Latimer. — “Where you say, ‘I would wish,’ surely I would wish that you had spoken more vehemently, and said it is of *necessity* that all things in the congregation should be done in the vulgar tongue, for the edifying and comfort of those who are present, notwithstanding that the child itself is sufficiently baptized in the Latin tongue.”

*Objection.*

“Because I perceive you are so stiffly (I will not say obstinately) bent, and so wedded to your opinion, that no gentle exhortations, no wholesome counsels, no other kind of means can call you home to a better mind, there remains that which in like cases was normally the only remedy against stiff-necked and stubborn persons. That is, you must be hampered by the laws, and compelled either to obey, whether you will or not, or else suffer that which a rebel to the laws ought to suffer. Do you not know that whoever refuses to obey the laws of the realm betrays himself to be an enemy to his country? Do you not know that this is the readiest way to stir up sedition and civil war? It is better that you bear your own sin, than through the example of your breach of the common laws, the common quiet should be disturbed. How can



you say you will be the queen's true subject, when you openly profess that you will not keep her laws?"

[828]

*Answer.*

Ridley. — "O, Heavenly Father, the Father of all wisdom, understanding, and true strength, I beseech you, for your only Son our Savior Christ's sake, look mercifully upon me, wretched creature, and send your Holy Spirit into my breast, so that not only may I understand, according to your wisdom, how this pestilent and deadly dart is to be borne away, and with what answer it is to be beaten back — but also that I may understand when I must join to fight in the field for the glory of your name. Then, being strengthened with the defense of your right hand, I may manfully stand in the confession of your faith, and of your truth, and continue in the same to the end of my life, through the same our Lord Jesus Christ! Amen.

"Now to the objection. I grant it to be reasonable that whoever by words and gentleness cannot be made to yield to what is right and good, should be bridled by the straight correction of the laws. That is to say, whoever will not be subject to God's word must be punished by the laws. It is true, what is commonly said, that whoever will not obey the gospel must be tamed and taught by the rigor of the law. But these things should take place against the one who refuses to do what is right and just according to true godliness, and not against the one who cannot quietly bear superstitions, but hates and detests from his heart such proceedings, and who does that for the glory of the name of God. As to what you said, 'a transgressor of the common laws betrays himself to be an enemy of his country,' surely a man ought to look to the nature of the laws, as to what manner of laws they are which are broken. For a faithful Christian should not think alike of all manner of laws. But that saying should only truly be understood of those laws which are not contrary to God's word. Otherwise, whoever loves their country in truth, that is to say, *in God*, will always judge if at any time the laws of God and man are contrary to one another; for a man ought to obey God rather than man. Those who think otherwise, and pretend a love for their country, because they make their country fight against God, as it were — in whom consists the only stay of their country — surely I think that such men are to be judged most deadly enemies and traitors to their country. For those who fight against God, who is the safety of their country, what else do they do, but to go about bringing upon their country a present ruin and destruction? And those who do so, are worthy to be judged enemies to their country, and betrayers of the realm. Therefore, etc.

"But this is the readiest way, you say, to stir up sedition, to trouble the quiet of the commonwealth. Therefore these things are to be repressed in time, by force of laws. Behold, Satan does not cease to practice his old guiles and accustomed subtleties. He ever has this dart in readiness to hurl against his adversaries: to accuse them of sedition, so that he may bring them, if he can, in danger of the higher powers. For so by his minister he has always charged the prophets of God. Ahab said to Elijah: 'Are you the one who troubles Israel?' The false prophets also complained to their princes about Jeremiah, that his words were seditious, and not to be allowed. Did the scribes and Pharisees not falsely accuse Christ as a seditious person, and someone who spoke against Caesar? Did they not cry at the last: 'If you let this man go, you are not Caesar's friend?' The orator Tertullus: how does he accuse St. Paul before Felix, the high deputy? 'We have found this man,' he says, 'a pestilent fellow, and a stirrer up of sedition, to all the Jews in the whole world,' etc. But I ask you, were these men — Christ, St. Paul, and the prophets — *seditious persons*, as they were called? God forbid! But they were falsely accused by false men. And therefore, I ask you, was it not because they reprov'd the people for their guiles, superstition, and deceits? And when the others could not bear it, and would gladly have had them taken out of the way, they accused these men as seditious persons, and troublers of the commonwealth. By this means, they were made hateful to the



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people and places, so that they might be snatched up more easily, to be tormented and put to death. But their whole doctrine, life, and conversation, well declare how far they were from all sedition. For that which was objected last of all — that he cannot be a faithful subject to his prince, who openly professes that he will not observe the laws which the prince has made — here I would wish that I might have an impartial judge, and one who fears God, to whose judgment in this cause I promise I will stand.

“I therefore answer, a man ought to obey his prince, but *in* the Lord, and never *against* the Lord. For whoever knowingly obeys his prince against God, does not do a duty to the prince, but is a deceiver of the prince, and helps him to work his own destruction. He is also unjust, who does not give to the prince what is the prince’s, and to God what is God’s. Here comes to my remembrance, that notable saying of Valentinian, the emperor, for choosing the bishop of Milan: ‘Set him,’ he says, ‘in the bishop’s seat, to whom if we, as men, offend at any time, we may submit ourselves.’ Polycarp, the most constant martyr, when he stood before the chief rulers, and was commanded to blaspheme Christ, and to swear by the fortune of Caesar, etc. he answered with a mild spirit: ‘We are taught,’ he says, ‘to give honor to princes, and to those powers which are of God; but such honor that is not contrary to God’s religion.’

“Up to here you see, good father,<sup>590</sup> how I have only made, as it were, a flourish in words before the fight, which I shortly look to, and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of weapons to fight against the adversary of Christ; and to muse with myself how the darts of the old enemy may be borne off, and in what manner I may strike him back with the sword of the Spirit. I also learn hereby to be used to the armor, and to assay how I can go armed. In Tyndale, where I was born, not far from the Scottish borders, I have known my countrymen to watch night and day in their harness, such as they had — that is, in their jacks, with their spears in their hand (you call them northern-gads) — especially when they had any secret warning of the coming of the Scots. And so doing, although some of them spent their lives at every such bickering, yet by such means they defended their country, like brave men. And those who so died, I think that before God they died in a good quarrel, and their offspring and progeny were better beloved by all the country for their fathers’ sake. And in the quarrel of Christ our Savior, in the defense of his own divine ordinances by which he gives us life and immortality — yes, in the quarrel of faith and Christian religion, in which our everlasting salvation rests, shall we not watch? Shall we not always go armed, ever looking, when our adversary, like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour, will come upon us because of our slothfulness? Yes, and woe be to us if he can oppress us unawares, which undoubtedly he will do if he finds us sleeping.

“Let us awake, therefore. For if the good man of the house knew at what hour the thief would come, he would surely watch, and not allow his house to be broken into. Let us awake, therefore, I say. Let us not allow our house to be broken into. ‘Resist the devil,’ says St. James, ‘and he will flee from you.’ Let us, therefore, resist him manfully. And taking the cross upon our shoulders, let us follow our Captain, Christ, who by his own blood has dedicated and hallowed the way which leads to the Father — that is, to the light which no man can attain, the fountain of the everlasting joys. Let us follow, I say, to where he calls and allures us, so that after these afflictions, which last for but a moment, and by which he tests our faith like gold in the fire, we may everlastingly reign and triumph with him in the glory of the Father, and do that through the our same Lord and Savior Jesus Christ; to whom with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be all honor and glory, now and forever. Amen, Amen.

“Good father, because I have determined with myself to pour out my cogitations into your bosom here, I think I see you suddenly lifting up your head towards heaven, in your way, and

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<sup>590</sup> Ridley addresses Latimer here as “father,” out of respect for his elder in Christ.

then looking upon me with your prophetic countenance, and speaking to me with these or similar words:

[829] A.D. 1555.

‘Do not trust, my son (I beseech you grant me the honor of this name, for in so doing I will think myself both honored and beloved by you), do not trust, my son, to these word-weapons, for the kingdom of God is not in words, but in power. And remember always the words of the Lord. Do not consider beforehand, what and how you will speak; for it will be given to you even in that same hour which you speak. For it is not you who speak, but the Spirit of your Father who speaks in you.’

“I pray you, therefore, father, pray for me, that I may cast my whole care upon him, and trust upon him in all perils. For I know, and am surely persuaded, that whatever I can imagine or think beforehand, it is nothing, unless He assists me with his Spirit when the time comes. I beseech you, therefore, father, pray for me, that such a complete harness of the Spirit, such boldness of mind may be given to me, that I may say with David, out of a true faith, ‘I will not trust in my bow, nor will my sword save me.’ (Psa 44.6) ‘He does not delight in the strength of the horse; he does not take pleasure in the legs of a man. The Lord takes pleasure in those who fear him, in those who hope in his mercy.’ (Psa 147.10-11) I beseech you pray, *pray* that I may enter this fight only in the name of God, and that when all is past, not being overcome through His gracious aid, I may remain and stand fast in Him, till that day of the Lord in which, to those who obtain the victory, will be given the lively manna to eat, and a triumphant crown forevermore.

“Now, father, I pray you help me to buckle on this gear a little better. For you know the deepness of Satan, being an old soldier, and you have collared with him before now. Blessed be God who has ever aided you so well. I suppose he may well hold you at bay. But truly he will not be so willing, I think, to join with you as with us younglings. Sir, I beseech you, let your servant read my babbling to you, and now and then, as it seems best to you, let your pen run on my book; do not spare to blot my paper; I give you good leave.”

Latimer. — “Sir, I have caused my man not only to read your armor to me, but also to write it out. For it is not only no bare armor, but also well-buckled armor. I do not see how it could be better. I thank you even from the bottom of my heart for it, and you shall not lack my prayer, trusting that you do the same for me; for indeed there is the help, etc. Many things make confusion in my memory. And if I were as well-learned as St. Paul, I would not bestow much among them, further than to gall them, and to spur-gall too,<sup>591</sup> when and where occasion were given and matter came to mind. For the law shall be their sheet-anchor,<sup>592</sup> stay and refuge. Therefore there is no remedy, now when they have the master bowl in their hand, and rule the roost, but patience. It is better to suffer what cruelty they will put upon us, than to incur God’s high indignation. Therefore, my lord, be of good cheer in the Lord, with due consideration of what he requires of you, and what he promises you. Our common enemy will do no more than God will permit him. God is faithful, who will not allow us to be tempted above our strength, etc. Be at a point of what you will stand to. Stick to that, and let them both say and do what they wish. They can but kill the body, which otherwise, of itself, is mortal. Nor yet will they do that when they wish, but only when God will allow them, when the hour appointed has come. To use many words with them, it will be but in vain, now that they have a bloody and deadly law prepared for them. But it is very requisite that you give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you. Otherwise, you know that in a wicked place of judgment, a man may keep silence, following the example of Christ. Let them not deceive you with their

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<sup>591</sup> *Spur-gall*: a sore or wound on a horse, caused by the repeated irritation of a spur.

<sup>592</sup> *Sheet-anchor*: a spare anchor for use in emergency, usually the largest and heaviest anchor on board.

sophistical sophisms and fallacies. You know that false things may have more the appearance of truth, than things that are most true. Therefore St. Paul gives us a watch-word: 'Let no man deceive you with beguiling words.' Nor is it requisite, when dealing with the contentious, that you should imitate the strife of words, which tend to no edification, but to the subversion of the hearers, and to the vain bragging and ostentation of the adversaries. Fear of death most persuades a great number. Be well aware of that argument; for that persuaded Shaxton, many men thought, after he had made a good profession openly before the judgment seat (p. 613). The flesh is weak, but the willingness of the spirit will refresh the weakness of the flesh.

"The number of the criers under the altar must be fulfilled; <sup>Rev 6.9</sup> if we are congregated there, we are happy. That is the greatest promotion that God gives in this world, to be like the Philippians, 'To whom it is given not only to believe, but also to suffer,' etc. But who is able to do these things? Surely all our ability, all our sufficiency is from God. He requires and promises. Let us declare our obedience to His will, when it will be requisite in the time of trouble, even in the midst of the fire.

"When that number is fulfilled, which I trust will be shortly, then have at the papists. When they say peace, all things are safe, then Christ will come to keep his great parliament to the redress of all things that are amiss. But he will not come as the papists imagine him, to hide himself, and to play bo-peep,<sup>593</sup> as it were, under a piece of bread. But he will come gloriously, to the terror and fear of all papists — but to the great consolation and comfort of all who will suffer here for him. Comfort yourselves, one to another, with these words.

"Behold, sir, here have I blotted your paper vainly, and played the fool egregiously. But I thought it better than not to fulfill your request at this time. Pardon me, and pray for me, pray for me, I say, pray for me, I say. For I am sometimes so fearful, that I would creep into a mouse-hole; sometimes God visits me again with his comfort. So he comes and goes, to teach me to feel and to know my infirmity, to the intent that I give thanks to Him who is worthy, lest I rob him of his due, as many do, and almost all the world. Fare you well.

"What credence is to be given to papists, it may appear by their wracking, writing, wrenching, and monstrous injuring of God's holy Scripture, as appears in the pope's law. But I dwell here now in a school of obliviousness. Fare you well once again, and be steadfast and immovable in the Lord. St. Paul loved Timothy marvellous well. Notwithstanding, he says to him: 'Be partaker of the afflictions of the gospel;' and again: 'Harden yourself to suffer afflictions.' 'Be faithful unto the death, and I will give you a crown of life,' says the Lord."

*A Letter of Nicholas Ridley to John Bradford.*

"Brother Bradford, I wish you and your company in Christ, yes, and all the holy brotherhood who now suffer with you in diverse prisons, bearing patiently Christ's cross for the maintenance of his gospel — grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Sir, concerning this state of chivalry and warfare in which I have no doubt we are set to fight under Christ's banner and his cross, against our spiritual enemy the devil, and the old serpent Satan — I think I perceive two things to be his most perilous and most dangerous engines <sup>594</sup> which he has to impugn Christ's truth, his gospel, and his faith. And the same two also are the most massy posts and most mighty pillars by which he maintains and upholds this satanic synagogue. These two, in my judgment sir, are *first*, his false doctrine and idolatrous use of the Lord's supper; and *secondly*, the wicked and abominable usurpation of the primacy of the See of Rome. By these two. Satan seems to me principally to maintain and uphold his kingdom; by

<sup>593</sup> *Bopeep*: a child's game of peek-a-boo, "now you see me, now you don't."

<sup>594</sup> *Engines*: mechanical devices of war, such as siege towers, battering rams, catapults, etc.

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these two he drives down mightily (alas! I fear) a third of the stars in heaven. <sup>Rev 8.12</sup> These two poisoned and rotten posts, he had so painted over with such a pretense and color of religion, of unity in Christ's church, of the catholic faith, and such like, that the wily serpent is able to deceive (if it were possible) even the elect of God.

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"Therefore St. John says, and not without great cause, 'If any man does not know the depths of Satan, as they say, I will put upon him no other burden.'<sup>Rev 2.24</sup>

"Sir, because these are his principal and main posts upon which stands all his falsehood, craft, and treachery, therefore, according to the poor power that God has given me, I have bent my artillery to shoot at the same. I know it to be but little (God knows) that I can do, and I know of my shot, that they do not pass. Yet I will not (God willing) cease to do the best I can, to shake those cankered and rotten posts. The Lord grant me good success, to the glory of his name, and the furtherance of Christ's gospel. I have now already (I thank God) for this present time spent a good part of my powder in these scribblings, of which this bearer will give you knowledge. Good brother Bradford, let the wicked surmise and say what they wish. Know for a certainty, by God's grace, and without any doubt, that I am fully determined to live and die in Christ's gospel cause, against and upon the aforesaid enemies of God. Farewell, dear brother, and I beseech you and all the rest of our brethren to have good remembrance of the condemned heretics (as they call them) of Oxford, in your prayers. The bearer will notify you of our state. Farewell in the Lord. From Bocardo.

"Your brother in Christ,  
"NICH. RIDLEY."

*Another Letter of Doctor Ridley to John Bradford.*

"Oh, dear brother, seeing the time has now come, in which it pleases the heavenly Father, for Christ our Savior's sake, to call upon you, and to bid you to come, happy are you that you were ever born, thus to be found awake at the Lord's calling, 'Well done, good and faithful servant; you have been faithful over a few things, I will make you ruler over many things: enter into the joy of your Lord.'<sup>(Mat 25.23)</sup>

"Oh, dear brother, what does this mean, that you are sent into your own native country? The wisdom and policy of the world may mean what they will, but I trust God will so order the matter finally by his Fatherly providence, that some great occasion of God's gracious goodness will be plentifully poured abroad among his servants, our dear brethren in that country, by this martyrdom of yours, where the martyrs shed their blood and lost their lives for Christ's sake. Oh, what wondrous things Christ has afterward wrought to his glory, and the confirmation of their doctrine! If it is not the place that sanctifies the man, but the holy man by Christ sanctifies the place brother Bradford, then happy and holy will that place be in which you will suffer, and will be sprinkled over with all your ashes in Christ's cause. All your country may rejoice about you, that it ever brought forth such a one, who would render his life back in His cause from whom he had received it. Brother Bradford, so long as I understand you are on your journey by God's grace, I will call upon our heavenly Father for Christ's sake, to set you safely home. And then, good brother, speak and pray for the remnant who are to suffer for Christ's sake, according to what you then will know more clearly.

"We look every day now, for when we will be called on, blessed be God! I suppose I am the weakest of our company in many ways. And yet, I thank our Lord God and heavenly Father by Christ, that since I heard of our dear brother Roger's departing, and his stout confession of Christ and his truth, even unto the death, my heart (blessed be God) rejoiced at it, that since that time (I say) I never felt any heaviness in my heart, as I grant I have sometimes felt before.

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Oh, good brother, blessed be God in you, and blessed be the time that I ever knew you.  
Farewell, farewell.

“Yours, in Christ, “NICH. RIDLEY.”

*A Letter of Ridley to the Afflicted*

“To the brethren remaining in captivity of the flesh, and dispersed abroad in sundry prisons, but knit together in unity of spirit and holy religion, in the bowels of the Lord Jesus. “Grace, peace, and mercy be multiplied among you.

“What worthy thanks can we render to the Lord for you, my brethren, namely, for the great consolation which, through you, we have received in the Lord, who notwithstanding the rage of Satan, who goes about by all manner of subtle means to beguile the world, and also busily labors to restore and set up his kingdom again, that of late began to decay and fall to ruin. You still remain immovable, as men surely grounded upon a strong rock. And now, although Satan by his soldiers and wicked ministers, daily (we hear) draws numbers to him, so that it is said of him that he plucks even the very stars out of heaven, while he drives into some men the fear of death and the loss of all their goods, and shows and offers to others the pleasant baits of the world — namely, riches, wealth, and all kinds of delights and pleasures, fair houses, great revenues, fat benefices, and what not — all to the intent they should fall down and worship, not the Lord, but the dragon, the old serpent, which is the devil, that great beast and his image, and they should be enticed to commit fornication with the harlot of Babylon, together with the kings of the earth, with the lesser beast and with the false prophets, and so to rejoice and be pleasant with her, and to be drunken with the wine of her fornication. Yet, blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has given to you a manly courage, and has so strengthened you in the inward man, by the power of his Spirit, that you can despise all the terrors, as well as the vain flatterings and allurements of the world, esteeming them as vanities, mere trifles, and things of naught. He has also wrought, planted, and surely established in your hearts, so steadfast a faith and love of the Lord Jesus Christ, joined with such constancy, that by no engines of antichrist, however terrible or plausible, will you permit any other Jesus, or any other Christ, to be forced upon you, besides Him whom the prophets have spoken of before, the apostles have preached, the holy martyrs of God have confessed, and testified with the effusion of their blood.

“In this faith, stand fast, my brethren, and do not allow yourselves to be brought under the yoke of bondage and superstition any more. For you know, brethren, how our Savior warned his disciples beforehand, that those would come who would appoint to the world another Christ, and would set him out with so many false miracles, and with such deceivable and subtle practices, that even the very elect (if it were possible) would thereby be deceived — our Savior gave warning before of such a strong delusion to come. But continue faithful and constant, be of good comfort, and remember that our grand Captain has overcome the world. For he that is in us, is stronger than he that is in the world, and the Lord promises to us that for the elect’s sake, the days of wickedness will be shortened. In the meanwhile, abide and endure with patience as you have begun. Endure, I say, and reserve yourselves for better times, as one of the heathen poets said. Do not cease to show yourselves valiant soldiers of the Lord, and help to maintain the pure faith of the gospel.

“For you need patience, so that after you have done the will of God, you might receive the promise. For yet a little while, and he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry. Now the just shall live by faith; but if any man draws back, my soul will have no pleasure in him. But we are not of those who draw back unto perdition; but of those who believe to the saving of the soul.’ (Heb 10.36-39) Let us not allow these words of Christ to fall out of our hearts by any manner of terror, or threatenings of the world. Do not fear those who kill the body — the rest

you know. For I do not write to you, as to men who are ignorant of the truth, but who know the truth; and to this end only: that we, agreeing together in one faith, may take comfort from one another, and be more confirmed and strengthened thereby. We never had a better or more just cause either to despise our life, or to shed our blood for. We cannot take in hand the defense of a more certain, clear, and manifest truth. For it is not any ceremony for which we contend; but it touches the very substance of our whole religion, indeed, even Christ himself.

[831] A.D. 1555.

“Will we, or can we receive and acknowledge any other Christ instead of Him who alone is the everlasting Son of the everlasting Father, and is the brightness of the glory, and a lively image of the substance of the Father, in whom alone dwells the fulness of the Godhead bodily, who is the only way, the truth, and the life? Let such wickedness, my brethren, let such horrible wickedness, be far from us. For although there are what are *called* gods, whether in heaven or in earth, just as there are many gods and many lords, yet to us there is but one God, who is the Father, of whom are all things, and we in Him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him; but every man does not have knowledge. ‘This is eternal life,’ says St. John, ‘that we may know you, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom you have sent.’ If any, therefore, would force upon us any other god besides him whom St. Paul and the apostles have taught, let us not hear him, but let us flee from him, and hold him accursed.

“Brethren, you are not ignorant of the deep and profound subtleties of Satan. For he will not cease to range about you, seeking by all means possible whom he may devour. But play the men, and be of good comfort in the Lord. Although your enemies and the adversaries of the truth set upon you, armed with all worldly force and power that may be, yet do not be faint-hearted, and do not shrink therefore, but trust to your captain, Christ; trust to the Spirit of Truth; and trust to the truth of your cause which, though it may be darkened by the malice of Satan, yet it can never be clean put out. For we have (high praise be given to God for this) most plainly, evidently, and clearly on our side, all the prophets, all the apostles, and undoubtedly all the ancient ecclesiastical writers who have written, until recent years past.

“Let us be hearty and of good courage, therefore, and thoroughly comfort ourselves in the Lord. Be in no way afraid of your adversaries. For that which is an occasion of perdition to them, is to you a sure token of salvation, and that of God. For to you it is given, that not only should you believe in Him, but also suffer for His sake. And when you are railed upon for the name of Christ, remember that — by the voice of St. Peter, and indeed, of Christ our Savior also — you are counted with the prophets, with the apostles, and with the holy martyrs of Christ, happy and blessed; for the glory and Spirit of God rests upon you. On their part, our Savior Christ is evilly spoken of; but on your part, He is glorified. For what else can they do to you by persecuting you, and working all cruelty and villainy against you, but make your crowns more glorious, indeed, beautify and multiply them, and heap upon themselves the horrible plagues and heavy wrath of God? And, therefore, good brethren, though they rage ever so fiercely against us, let us not wish evil to them in return, knowing that while for Christ’s cause they vex and persecute us, they are like madmen, most outrageous and cruel against themselves, heaping hot burning coals upon their own heads. But rather, let us wish well to them, knowing that we are called to this in Christ Jesus, that we should be heirs of the blessing. Let us pray to God, therefore, that He would drive out of their hearts this darkness of errors, and make the light of his truth shine unto them, that acknowledging their blindness, they may with all humble repentance, be converted to the Lord, and together with us confess Him to be the only true God, who is the Father of light, and his only Son Jesus Christ, worshipping him in Spirit and truth. Amen. The Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ comfort your hearts in the love of God, and the patience of Christ. Amen.

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“Your brother in the Lord, whose name this bearer shall signify to you, ready always by the grace of God to live and die with you.”

*Another Letter of Ridley to the Afflicted*

“To the brethren who constantly cling to Christ, in suffering affliction with him, and for his sake;

“Grace and peace, from God the Father and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied to you. Amen.

“Although, brethren, we have of late heard nothing from you, neither do we have at this present time any news to send to you. Yet we thought it good to write something to you by which you might understand that we continually have good remembrance of you, as we do not doubt you have of us also. When this messenger, coming to us from you recently, had brought us good tidings of your great constancy, fortitude, and patience in the Lord, we were filled with much joy and gladness, giving thanks to God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ. He has caused his face to so shine upon you, and He has so lightened your hearts with the light of spiritual understanding, that now being in captivity and in bonds for Christ’s cause, you have not ceased, as much as it lies in you — by words, but much more by deed and by your example — to establish and confirm that thing which, when you were at liberty in the world, you labored to publish and set abroad by the word and doctrine. That is to say, holding fast the word of life, you shine as lights in the world, in the midst of a wicked and crooked nation. And that is with so much the greater glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the profit of your brethren, by how much Satan now more cruelly rages, and busily labors to darken the light of the gospel.

“As for the darkness that Satan now brings upon the church of England, who need doubt it? In olden times our Savior Christ, his apostles, prophets, and teachers, spoke in the temple to the people of England in the English tongue, so that they might be understood plainly, and without any difficulty by the godly, and by those who sought heavenly knowledge in matters which, by necessity of salvation, pertained to obtaining eternal life. But now those things which once were written by them for edifying the congregation, are read in a strange tongue without interpretation, manifestly against St. Paul’s commandment, so that no man is able to understand them, who has not learned that strange and unknown tongue.

“In recent days, those heavenly mysteries by which Christ has grafted us into his body, and has united us one to another, and also by which — being regenerate and born anew to God — he has nourished, increased, and strengthened us; and by which, moreover, He has either taught and set forth an order among those who are whole, or else to the sick in soul or body, He has given, as it were, wholesome medicines and remedies — those things (I say) were all plainly set forth to the people in their own language. So that, whatever great and exceedingly good things every man had received from God, whatever duty each one owed to another by God’s ordinance, whatever each one had professed in his vocation and was bound to observe, where a remedy was to be had for the wicked and feeble, the one to whom God has given a desire and willing heart to understand those things, might soon perceive and understand them. But now all these things are taught and set forth in such a way, that the people redeemed with Christ’s blood, and for whose sakes they were ordained by Christ himself, can have no way of understanding them at all.

“Of late (because we do not know how to pray as we should) our Lord Jesus Christ in his prayer, of which he would have no man ignorant, and also the Holy Spirit in the psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs which are set forth in the Bible, taught and instructed all the people of England in the English tongue, so that they might ask for things that are according to the will of the Father, and might join their hearts and lips in prayer together. But now all



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these things are commanded to be hidden and shut up from them in a strange tongue. By this it must follow that the people can neither tell how to pray, nor what to pray for. And how can they join their hearts and voice together, when they no longer understand what the voice signifies, than a brute beast.'

"Finally, I hear say that the catechism which was recently set forth in the English tongue, is now condemned in every pulpit. Oh devilish malice, and most spitefully injurious to the salvation of mankind, purchased by Jesus Christ! Indeed, Satan could not long allow so great a light to be spread abroad in the world.

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"He saw well enough that nothing was able to overthrow his kingdom so much as if children, being godly instructed in religion, should learn to know Christ while they are still young. By this, not only children, but the elder sort also, and aged folks, those who before were not taught to know Christ in their childhood, should now, even with children and babes, be forced to learn to know Him. Now, therefore, Satan roars; now he rages. But what else do they do who serve Satan, brethren, and who become his ministers and slaves in maintaining his impiety, but even the same things which those did, to whom Christ our Savior threatens this curse in the gospel: 'Woe to you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you shut up the kingdom of heaven against men. For you neither go in yourselves, nor allow those who are entering to go in.' (Mat 23.13)

"And from where will we say, brethren, that this horrible and mischievous darkness proceeds which is now brought upon the world? From where, I ask you, if not from the smoke of the great furnace of the bottomless pit, so that the sun and the air are now darkened by the smoke of the pit. Now, even now, beyond doubt, brethren, the pit is opened against us, and the locusts begin to swarm, and Abaddon now reigns.

"You, therefore, my brethren, who pertain to Christ, and have the seal of God marked on your foreheads, that is, who are sealed with the earnest of the Spirit to be a peculiar people of God, acquit yourselves like men, and be strong. For he that is in us 'is stronger than he who is in the world.' And you know that 'all that is born of God overcomes the world, and this is the victory that overcomes the world, even our faith.' Let the world fret; let it rage ever so much; let it be ever so cruel and bloody. Yet be sure that no man can take us out of our Father's hands, for he is greater than all. 'He that did not spare his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how will he not with him also freely give us all things?' Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God who justifies. Who is he that condemns? It is Christ that died, yes, rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also makes intercession for us. Who will separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?' (Rom 8.32-35) The rest you know, brethren. We are certainly persuaded with St. Paul, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that nothing of any kind will be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. That this thing may come to pass by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the comfort both of you and of us all, we for our parts will continually (God willing) pray for you. So, dear brethren in the Lord, with all earnest and hearty request, we beseech you, even in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you will not cease to pray for us. Farewell, dear brethren. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all evermore. Amen."

*A Letter of Bishop Ridley, in answer to a Letter  
from one Mr. West, sometime his Chaplain.*

"I wish you grace in God, and love of the truth, without which being truly established in men's hearts by the mighty hand of Almighty God, it is no more possible to stand by the truth in



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Christ in time of trouble, than it is for the wax to abide the heat of the fire. Sir, you know this, that I am (blessed be God) persuaded that this world is but transitory; and as St. John says, 'The world passes away, and the lust of it.' (1Joh 2.17) I am persuaded Christ's words are true, 'Whoever therefore confesses me before men, I will also confess him before my Father which is in heaven.' (Mat 10.32) And I believe that no earthly creature will be saved, whom the Redeemer and Savior of the world will deny before his Father. This the Lord grant: that it may be so grafted, established, and fixed in my heart, that neither things present, nor things to come, high or low, life nor death, will be able to remove me from there. It is a goodly wish, that you wish me to deeply consider the things pertaining to God's glory; but if you had also wished that neither fear of death, nor hope of worldly prosperity, would prevent my maintaining God's word and his truth, which is His glory and true honor, I would have liked it well. You desire me, for God's sake, to remember myself. Indeed, sir, it is now time to do so. For so far as I can perceive, it stands me upon no less danger than of the loss both of body and soul. And I suppose, then it is time for a man to awake, if anything will awake him. He that will not fear Him who threatens to cast both body and soul into everlasting fire, whom will he fear? (With this fear, O Lord, fasten together our frail flesh, that we may never swerve from your laws.) You say you have made much suit for me. Sir, God grant that you have not, in suing for my worldly deliverance, impaired and hindered the furtherance of God's word and his truth.

"You have known me long, indeed. In this time it has chanced for me, as you say, to dislike some things. I grant it is true. For I never loved sudden changes without substantial and necessary cause, nor the obstinate setting forth of extremities. Confession to the minister, who is able to instruct, correct, comfort, and inform the weak, wounded, and ignorant conscience, indeed, I ever thought might do much good in Christ's congregation; and so, I assure you, I think even at this day. My doctrine and my preaching, you say, you have heard often; and in your judgment, you have thought it godly, except for the sacrament. This thing, although it was reverently handled by me, and a great deal better than by the rest (as you say), yet in the main you write warily, and in this world wisely; and yet, I thought, all sounding not well. Sir, if I did not see so many changes in this world, and so much alteration, I would not a little marvel at your saying. I have taken you for my friend, and a man whom I esteemed for plainness and faithfulness, as much, I assure you, as for your learning. And have you kept this so close in your heart from me to this day? Sir, I consider more things than one, and I will not say all that I think. But what need do you have to care what I think, for anything I will be able to do to you, either good or harm? You give me good lessons, to stand in nothing against my learning, and to beware of vain-glory. Truly, sir, in this I like your counsel very well, and by God's grace I intend to follow it to my life's end.

"I cannot see what it will avail me to write to those whom you name. For I would have you know this, that I esteem nothing available for me, which will not also further the glory of God. And now, because I perceive you have an entire zeal and desire for my deliverance out of this captivity and worldly misery, if I were not to bear you a good heart in God again, I think I would be to blame. Sir, how near the day of my dissolution and departure out of this world is at hand, I cannot tell. The Lord's will be fulfilled, however soon it will come. I know the Lord's words must be verified on me, that I will appear before the uncorrupt Judge, and be accountable to Him for all my former life. And although the hope of His mercies is my sheet-anchor of eternal salvation, yet I am persuaded that whoever wittingly neglects and does not regard to clear his conscience, cannot have peace with God, nor a lively faith in His mercy. Conscience therefore moves me, considering that you were one of my family, and one of my household, of whom then I think I had a special cure,<sup>595</sup> and of all those who were within my house. In this, indeed, I ought to have been an example of godliness to all the rest of my cure,

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<sup>595</sup> *Cure: priestly care for the souls of those within his parish. (Heb 13.17)*

not only of good life, but also in promoting of God's word to the uttermost of their power. But alas! Now when the trial separates the chaff from the corn, how small a portion it is, God knows, which the wind does not blow away. This conscience, I say, moves me to fear, lest the lightness<sup>596</sup> of my family will be laid to my charge for lack of more earnest and diligent instruction, which should have been done. But, blessed be God, who has given me grace to see my default, and to lament it from the bottom of my heart, before my departing from here.

[833] A.D. 1555.

“This conscience moves me now to also require both you and my friend Doctor Harvey, to remember your promises made to me in times past, of the pure setting forth and preaching of God's word and his truth. These promises, although you will not need to fear being charged with them by me later before the world, yet look for none other (I exhort you as my friends), but to be charged with them at God's hand. This conscience, and the love that I bear to you, bids me now say to you both, in God's name, fear God, and do not love the world. For God is able to cast both body and soul into hell-fire. ‘When His wrath is kindled but a little, blessed are all those who put their trust in Him!’ And the saying of St. John is true, ‘For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passes away, and the lust of it: but he who does the will of God abides forever.’ If this gift of grace (which undoubtedly is necessarily required for eternal salvation) were truly and unfeignedly engrafted and firmly established in men's hearts, they would not be so light, nor to shrink so suddenly from the maintenance and confession of the truth, as now, alas! it is seen so manifestly of so many in these days. But here, perhaps, you would know from me, what is the truth. Sir, God's word is the truth, as St. John says, and that is even the same that was before. For although man varies and changes like the moon, yet God's word is stable, and abides the same forevermore. And of Christ it is truly said, ‘Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, today, and forever.’

“When I was in office, all who were esteemed learned in God's word, agreed this to be a truth written in God's word: that the common prayer of the church should be had in the common tongue. You know I have conferred with many, and I assure you, I never found a man (so far as I remember) either old or young, gospeller or papist, of whatever judgment he was in this thing, to be of a contrary opinion. If, then, it was a truth of God's word, do you think that the alteration of the world can make it an untruth? If it cannot, then why do so many men shrink from the confession and maintenance of this truth once received by us all? For what else is it, I ask you, to confess or deny Christ in this world, if not to maintain the truth taught in God's word, or for any worldly respect to shrink from it? This one thing I have brought for a sample. Other things are in like case, which I need not mention particularly now. For whoever would wittingly forsake any *one* open truth of God's word, either for fear or gain of the world, if he is constrained, he will assuredly forsake God and *all* his truth, rather than endanger himself to lose or leave what he loves better indeed, than he loves God and the truth of his word.

“I like very well your plain speaking, in which you say I must either agree or die — and I think that you mean of the bodily death, which is common both to good and bad. Sir, I know I must die, whether I agree or not. But what folly would it be, then, to make such an agreement by which I could never escape this death which is common to all, and also incur the guilt of death and eternal damnation? Lord, grant that I may utterly abhor and detest this damnable agreement, as long as I live. And because, I dare say, you wrote this short earnest warning out of friendship toward me, and I think truly, wishing me to live and not to die, therefore bearing toward you in my heart no less love in God than you do toward me in the world, I say to you in the word of the Lord (and what I say to you, I say to all my friends and lovers of us in God),

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<sup>596</sup> *Lightness*: here it means a lack of seriousness regarding spiritual matters.

that if you do not confess and maintain according to your power and knowledge, that which is grounded upon God's word, but would either for fear or gain of the world, shrink and play the apostate, indeed you shall die the death; you know what I mean. And beseech all true friends and lovers in God, to remember what I say; for this may be the last time, perhaps, that I will ever write to you.

“From Oxford, the 8th of April 1555.”

***The History and Martyrdom of Hugh Latimer.***

*An Account of the Life, Acts, and Doings of Master Hugh Latimer.*

After the life of Bishop Ridley, we must now relate the life and doings of the worthy champion, and old practiced soldier of Christ, Master Hugh Latimer. We will treat here his acts, even from his first years and tender age. He was the son of one Hugh Latimer, of Thurcaston, in the county of Leicester, a husbandman of good estimation, with whom he was brought up until he was of the age of four years or thereabouts. At that time, his parents seeing his ready, prompt, and sharp wit, purposed to train him up in erudition, and knowledge of good literature. He so profited in this in his youth, at the common schools of his own country, that at the age of fourteen he was sent to the university of Cambridge. There he gave himself to the study of such school divinity, as the ignorance of that age suffered.

He was then zealous in the popish religion, and so scrupulous, as he himself confessed, that being a priest, and having said mass, he was so servile an observer of the Romish decrees, that he thought he had never sufficiently mingled his massing wine with water, and that he would never be damned once he was a professed friar, with other such superstitious fancies. In this blind zeal, he was a bitter enemy to the professors of Christ's gospel. His oration against Philip Melancthon, delivered when he obtained his degree of bachelor of divinity, and also his other works, plainly declared this. His popish zeal could in no case abide good Master Stafford (reader of the divinity lectures in Cambridge) most spitefully railing against him, and desiring the youth of Cambridge not to believe him.

Notwithstanding, such was the goodness and merciful purpose of God, that though by the way he thought to ruin the professors of the gospel, and the true church of Christ, he was himself caught in the blessed net of God's word. For Thomas Bilney (whose history was described before, p. 509), being at that time a searcher out of Satan's subtleties, and a secret overthrower of antichrist's kingdom, seeing Latimer to be full of zeal, although without knowledge, was stricken with a brotherly pity towards him. He thought by what means he might best win this zealous, though ignorant brother, to the true knowledge of Christ. After a short time, he came to Latimer, and desired him to hear him make his confession; which he willingly granted. Latimer was, through the good Spirit of God, so touched by what he then heard, that he forsook his former studying of the school doctors, and became an earnest student of true divinity, as he himself confesses. So that whereas before he was an enemy and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after him. He changed his old manner of cavilling and railing, into a diligent kind of conferring, both with Bilney and others, and also came to Stafford before he died, and desired him to forgive him.

After this, he was not satisfied with his own conversion only, but like a true disciple of the blessed Samaritan, he pitied the misery of others. And therefore he became both a public preacher, and also a private instructor to the rest of his brethren within the university, for three years, spending his time partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, and partly among the simple people in the English language. However, as Satan never sleeps when he

sees his kingdom beginning to decay, so now, seeing that this worthy member of Christ would be a shrewd shaker of it, he raised up his impious agents to molest and trouble him.

Among these there was an Augustinian friar, who took occasion upon certain sermons that Latimer made around Christmas 1529, in the church of St. Edward as well as St. Augustine's, in the university of Cambridge, to object against him. For in his sermons Latimer (alluding to the common usage of the season) gave the people certain cards<sup>597</sup> taken from the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of St. Matthew, upon which they might occupy their time, not only then, but always.

The handling of this matter was so proper for the time, and so pleasantly applied, that it wrought much fruit in the hearers, to the overthrow of popish superstition, and setting up of pure religion.

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This was on the Sunday before Christmas day. On Christmas day, coming to the church and having the bell tolled for a sermon, he entered into the pulpit. He took for his text the words of the gospel read in the church that day, "Who are you?" etc.<sup>598</sup> In delivering the cards, he made the heart trump, exhorting and inviting all men thereby to serve the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies. He added, moreover, to the praise of that trump, that even if it were ever so small, it would take the best court card (face card) in the bunch, even if it were the king of clubs, etc. He meant thereby, how the Lord would be worshipped and served in simplicity of heart and truth, in which consists true Christian religion, not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the glistening show of man's traditions, or pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vows, devotions, voluntary works, and works of supererogation, foundations, oblations, the pope's supremacy, etc. So that, all these were either needless where the other is present; or else these were of small estimation in comparison to the other.

It would require a long discourse to declare what a stir there was in Cambridge, upon this preaching of Master Latimer. Satan began to feel himself and his kingdom touched too near. And therefore he thought it time to look about him, and call out his men of arms (soldiers).

The prior of the Blackfriars' came out first, called Backenham, and afterwards a Dr. Venetus.

But why should I stand here tracing the names of Latimer's adversaries, when whole swarms of friars and doctors flocked against him on every side, almost throughout the university, preaching against him? Among them was Dr. Watson, Master of Christ's College; Latimer had been his scholar. Also, Dr. Notories, Master of Clare Hall; Dr. Philo, Master of Michael House, Dr. Metcalf, Master of St. John's; Dr. Blithe, of the King's Hall; Dr. Bullock, Master of the Queen's College; Dr. Cliffe, of Clement House; Dr. Donnes, of Jesus' College; Dr. Psalms, of St. Nicholas Hostel; Bain, Rud, and Greenwood, Bachelors of Divinity, all three of St. John's College; also Brikenden, Bachelor of Divinity, of the same house, and sometimes scholar to Latimer. Briefly, this worthy standard-bearer of Christ's gospel sustained almost as many impugnors as there were heads of houses.

Then at last came Dr. West, bishop of Ely. Preaching against Latimer, at Barvel Abbey, he forbade him to preach any more within the churches of that university. Notwithstanding, the Lord so provided, that Dr. Barnes, prior of the Augustine friars, licensed Latimer to

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<sup>597</sup> Latimer had written out these verses on playing cards. He then declared hearts to be the "trump" suit.

<sup>598</sup> Referring either to Joh 1.19 (re the Baptist) or Joh 8.25 (re Jesus).

preach in his church of the Augustines. He himself preached at the church nearby, called St. Edward's church. This was the first sermon of the gospel which Dr. Barnes preached. It was Christmas eve, on a Sunday.

Latimer being thus baited by the friars, Doctors, and Masters of that university, about the year 1329, notwithstanding these malignant adversaries, he continued in Cambridge, preaching for three years with applause from the godly — and also with such admiration of his enemies who heard him, that the bishop himself coming in, and hearing him, wished himself to be equal to him. After this, Latimer and Bilney continued in Cambridge for some time. There, he and Bilney used to confer much together; so that the place where they most used to walk in the fields was long after called *the Heretic's Hill*.

The society of these two, as it was much remarked about by many in that university, so it was full of many good examples to all those who would follow their doings, both in visiting the prisoners, relieving the needy, and feeding the hungry.

After Latimer had thus labored in preaching and teaching in the University of Cambridge for about three years, he was at length called up before the cardinal for heresy, which was by the procurement of some at the university. He was content to subscribe, and agree to such articles as they then propounded to him, etc.

After that, he returned to the university again, where shortly after, by means of Dr. Buts, the king's physician <sup>599</sup> (a singular poor man, and a special favorer of good proceedings), Latimer was in the number of those who labored in the cause of the king's supremacy. Then he went to the court, where he remained a certain time in Dr. Buts' chambers, preaching in London very often. At last being weary of the court, having a benefice offered to him by the king, at the suit of Lord Cromwell and Dr. Buts, he was glad of it, seeking by that means to be rid of the court. And so, having a grant of the benefice, he departed and resided on it.

This benefice was in Wiltshire, under the diocese of Sarum; the name of the town was called West Kingston. There this good preacher exercised himself with much diligence to instruct his flock, and not only them, but also all the country about. In brief, his diligence was so great, his preaching so mighty, the manner of his teaching so zealous, that he could not escape without enemies. It is so true what St. Paul foretells us, that "Whoever will live godly in Christ Jesus, will suffer persecution." It so happened that, as Latimer declared his mind, preaching on the blessed Virgin — referring and reducing all honor to Christ alone, our only Savior — certain popish priests being offended by it, sought trouble against him. They drew out articles which they untruly, unjustly, falsely, and uncharitably imputed to him. They said that he preached against our Lady. For he reprov'd in a sermon the superstitious rudeness of certain priests who held opinions respecting that blessed Virgin, as if she never had any sin, nor was saved by Christ, the only Savior of the whole world. Also, that saints were not to be worshipped; that Ave Maria was only a salutation, not a prayer; that there was no material fire in hell; and in saying that he would rather be in purgatory than Lollard's Tower, he was saying that there is no purgatory.

His chief molesters, besides the country priests, were Dr. Powel, of Salisbury; Dr. Wilson, of Cambridge; Master Hubberdin, and Dr. Sherwood. Some of them preached against him, some also wrote against him. So that, by their procurement he was cited and called to appear before William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and John Stokesley, bishop of London, January 29, A.D. 1531.

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<sup>599</sup> Dr. William Buts was physician to Henry VIII (referred to here), and later to Edward VI.

Against this citation, although Master Latimer appealed to his own ordinary, he was taken to London before Warham, the archbishop of Canterbury, and before the bishop of London. There he was greatly molested, and detained a long time from his cure. He was called before the bishops three times every week, to answer for his preaching, and to answer certain articles or propositions drawn out and laid to him, to which they required him to subscribe. At length he wrote to the archbishop, partly excusing his infirmity by which he could not appear at their commandment, partly expostulating with them for troubling and detaining him from his duty for no just cause, but only for preaching the truth against certain vain abuses that had crept into religion.

In this epistle he also alludes to certain articles, but whether he subscribed to them or not, is uncertain. It appears by the epistle, that he dared not consent to them. Yet it is doubtful that he was afterwards compelled to assent through the cruel handling of the bishops. Whether he did so or not is no great marvel, the iniquity of the time being such that either he must do so. or else abide the bishop's cruel sentence of death. At that time (as he himself confessed), he was loath to sustain death for such matters as these, unless it were for necessary articles of belief. I conjecture that he did subscribe, even if it was long before he could be brought to do so. Yet it is to be noted, by the way, concerning the crafty and deceitful handling of these bishops in his examinations, what subtle devices they used to entrap him in their snares. He shows the truth of the story in a sermon preached at Stamford, October 9, A.D. 1550:

“I was once,” he said, “in examination before five or six bishops, where I had much vexation. Every week I came three times to examinations, and many snares and traps were laid to entangle me. Now, God knows I was ignorant of the laws; but God gave me answers and wisdom as to what I should say. It was God indeed, else I would never have escaped them.

[835] A.D. 1555.

“At last I was brought out to be examined, into a chamber hung with arras (tapestries), where I was usually examined. But now this time the chamber was somewhat altered. For whereas before there was usually a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, arras were hung over the chimney, and the table stood near the chimney's end. Among the bishops who examined me, was one with whom I had been very familiar, and I took him to be my great friend, an aged man He sat next from the end of the table. Then, among all other questions, he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one, such as I could not, indeed, think there was such great danger in it. When I would have answered, ‘I pray you. Master Latimer,’ said one, ‘speak out; I am very thick of hearing, and here are many who sit far off.’ I marvelled at this, that I was bid to speak out. I began to suspect, and gave an ear to the chimney. There I heard a pen writing in the chimney behind the cloth. They had appointed someone there to write down all my answers, making sure that I would not stray from them; there was no straying from them. God was my good Lord, and He gave me answers, else I could never have escaped it.”

In these hard and dangerous straits and snares of the bishops, it would have been impossible to escape, had not the Almighty, as he stirred him up, so he preserved Latimer through the favor and power of his prince. With much favor He embraced him and rescued and delivered him out of the crooked claws of his enemies. At length, through the procurement partly of Dr. Butts, partly of good Cromwell, he was advanced to the dignity of a bishop, and made bishop of Worcester. So he continued a few years, instructing his diocese according to the duty of a diligent and vigilant pastor, with wholesome doctrine and the example of perfect conduct. It would take too long to dwell particularly upon those things which might be brought here to the commendation of his pains — such as study, readiness, and continual carefulness in teaching, preaching, exhorting, visiting, correcting, and reforming, either as his ability could serve, or the time would bear. But the days then were



so dangerous and variable, that he could not do what he would in all things. Yet what he might do, he performed to the utmost of his strength. So that, although he could not utterly extinguish all the relics of old superstition, yet he so worked, that though they could not be taken away, yet they might be used with as little hurt, and with as much profit as possible. For example, in this and in other things, it appeared that when it could not be avoided that holy water and holy bread must be received, yet he so prepared and instructed those of his diocese, that superstition would be excluded as far as possible in them.

He was not ignorant of how the institution of holy water and holy bread not only had no ground in Scripture, but also how full of profane exorcisms and conjurations they were, contrary to the rule and teaching of the gospel. Thus this good man acted in his diocese. But both in the university and at his benefice, he was harassed by wicked and evil-disposed persons; and so also in his bishopric he was not clear of some who sought his trouble. He continued in this laborious function of a bishop for a number of years, till the Six Articles came in.

Seeing that either he must lose the quiet of a good conscience, or else forsake his bishopric, he resigned his see of his own free accord. At that time Shaxton, the bishop of Salisbury, likewise resigned. And so these two remained unbishoped a long time, keeping silence till the time of King Edward, of blessed memory.

Then coming up to London, he was molested and troubled by the bishops, whereby he was again in no little danger. At length was cast into the Tower, where he remained prisoner till the time of King Edward, by means of whom the golden mouth of this preacher, so long shut up before, was now opened again. And so beginning afresh to speed his plough, he continued all the time of that king, laboring in the Lord's harvest most fruitfully.

He occupied himself in this labor of love all King Edward's days, for the most part preaching twice every Sunday, to the no small shame of other loitering and unpreaching prelates. And it was so much more to their shame, because, having been hurt by a falling tree, and being over sixty-seven years of age, he still took little ease and care of himself in order to do the people good, preaching every morning usually, winter and summer.

Not long after the death of King Edward, Latimer was arrested and brought to London by command of Queen Mary. He was cast into the Tower, where he suffered much. From there he was transported to Oxford, with Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and Ridley, bishop of London, there to dispute upon articles sent down from Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, as mentioned before. It was also mentioned how Latimer with his fellow-prisoners were condemned by Gardiner after the disputations, and committed again to the prison. There they continued from April to October, occupied either with brotherly conference, fervent prayer, or fruitful writing.

Although Latimer, because of the feebleness of his age, wrote least of them all in this latter time of his imprisonment, yet he was fervently occupied in prayer. Among other things, there were three principal matters he prayed for. *First*, that as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so also He would give him grace to stand to his doctrine until his death, that he might give his heart's blood for the same. *Secondly*, that God of his mercy would restore his gospel to England once again; and these words "once again, once again," he so inculcated and beat into the ears of the Lord God, as though he had seen God before him, and spoken to him face to face. The *third* matter was to pray for the preservation of the queen's majesty who now is (Elizabeth), whom in his prayer he customarily named, and even with tears, desired God to make her a comfort to this comfortless realm of England.

These were the matters he prayed for so earnestly. Nor were these things desired in vain; for the Lord most graciously granted all his requests.

Concerning his constancy, even in the utmost extremity, the Lord graciously assisted him. For when he stood at the stake at Oxford, and the tormentors were about to set the fire to him and to the learned and godly Bishop Ridley, he lifted up his eyes towards heaven with an amiable and comfortable countenance, saying these words, "God is faithful, who does not allow us to be tempted above our strength." And so by and by he shed his blood in the cause of Christ.

These present days can bear record how mercifully the Lord heard Latimer's second request, in restoring His gospel once again to this realm. And what then shall England say now for her defense, which being so mercifully visited and refreshed with the word of God, so slenderly and unthankfully considers either her own past misery, or the great benefit of God now present? The Lord be merciful unto us! Amen.

Concerning his third request, the furtherance of his gospel to the unspeakable comfort of this realm, it seems likewise most effectually granted, to the great praise of God. For whether at the request of his prayer, or that of other holy saints of Gods, or whether God was moved with the cry of his whole church — the truth is, that when all was in a desperate case, and so desperate that the enemies mightily flourished and triumphed, that God's word was banished and Spaniards received, and no place was left for Christ's servants to cover their heads, suddenly the Lord called to remembrance His mercy, forgetting our former iniquity. He made an end of all these miseries, and wrought a marvellous change of things. Queen Elizabeth was appointed and anointed, for whom this grey-headed father so earnestly prayed in his imprisonment. Through her true, natural, and imperial crown, the brightness of God's word was set up again to confound the dark and false visored kingdom of antichrist, the true temple of Christ re-edified, the captivity of sorrowful Christians released, which so long was wished for in the prayers of so many good men, especially of this faithful and true servant of the Lord, Bishop Latimer.

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May the same God, who, at the requests of his holy and faithful saints, has poured upon us such benefits of His mercy, peace, and tranquility, assist our most virtuous and Christian princess, and her subjects, that we may, every one in his state and calling, serve to His glory. And may we walk in our vocation, so that we not lose what they have obtained, but may proceed in all faithfulness to build and keep up the house and temple of the Lord, to the advancing of His glory, and our everlasting comfort in Him! Now after these things pertaining to the events of Bishop Latimer's life, let us come to his letters. *First* of which, he writes to Master Morice. concerning the articles for which he was troubled by the priests, about his benefice at West Kingston.

The following are extracts, for the whole would be too long to insert here, and the reader will perceive that even then, Latimer had not seen the full extent of the errors of popery.

They objected he had taught that our Lady (Mary, mother of Jesus) was a sinner. He says in his letter on this point as follows:

"I was led by some, not only laymen, but also priests and beneficed men — who gave so much devotion to our Lady, without judgment, as though she had not needed Christ to save her — to prove Christ to be her Savior, and to make Christ a whole Savior of all who are or shall be saved. I reasoned in this manner: that either she was a sinner, or no sinner; there is no mean. If she was a sinner, then she was redeemed or delivered from sin by Christ, as other sinners



were. If she was no sinner, then she was preserved from sin by Christ. So that, Christ saved her and was her necessary Savior, whether she sinned or not. Now, certain authors (I said) such as Chrysostom, Theophylact, and others, write as though she had been somewhat faulty in her time. I also said that certain Scriptures somewhat support the same, unless they are more warily understood and taken (as in Rom 3.19-23). ‘All have sinned, every mouth must be stopped, and all the world held guilty before God.’ And ‘All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God.’ And in the fifth chapter, ‘Death passed upon all, because all have sinned.’ (Rom 5.12)

“They asked ‘What need is there to speak of this?’ I answered, ‘A great need. When men cannot be content that she was a creature who was saved, but was instead a savior, as it were, not needing salvation, then it is necessary to set her in [equivalent] degree to the glory of Christ, Creator and Savior of all who are or shall be saved.’

“As for the *Ave Maria* (Hail Mary), they lie falsely; I never denied it. I know it was a heavenly saluting or greeting of our Lady, spoken by the angel Gabriel, and written in the holy Scripture of St. Luke. Yet it is not properly a prayer as the Paternoster is (the Lord’s Prayer). Saluting or greeting, lauding or praising, is not properly *praying*. The angel was sent to greet our Lady, and to announce and show the good will of God towards her. And therefore, it is called the *annunciation of our Lady*; it is not to pray her, nor to pray to her properly. Shall the Father of heaven pray to our Lady? When the angel spoke it, it was not properly a prayer. And is it not the same thing now, that it was then?”

It was also objected that he taught that saints are not to be honored. He answers thus:

“I said this word ‘saints,’ is variously understood by the common people. Images of saints are called saints; and inhabitants of heaven are called saints. Now, *honoring* saints is meant as *praying* to saints. If we take honoring that way, and we take images as saints, then saints are not to be honored. That is to say, dead images are not to be prayed to, for they have neither ears to hear with, nor tongue to speak with, nor heart to think with, etc.

“They can help neither me nor my ox, neither my head nor my tooth, nor can they work any miracle for me, any one of them more than another. And yet I showed the good use of them to the *laymen’s books*, as they are called, to reverently look upon them in order to remember the things that are signified by them, etc.

“And yet I would not have them so costly and intricately gilded and decked, that the living image of God [*i.e.* believers] (for whom Christ shed his blood, and to whom whatever is done, Christ imputes it done to himself) lack necessities, and are unprovided for by that occasion. For then the layman abuses his book.<sup>600</sup>

“As regards the saints in heaven, I said, — they are not our mediators by way of redemption; for Christ alone is both our mediator and theirs. So that the blood of martyrs has nothing to do by way of redemption. The blood of Christ is enough for a thousand worlds, etc.

“But by way of intercession, saints in heaven may be mediators, and pray for us, as I think they do when we do not call upon them. For they are charitable, and need no urging, and we have no open bidding of God in Scripture to call upon them, as we have to call upon God. Nor yet may we call upon them without showing distrust in God; for God is more charitable, more merciful, more able, more ready to help than them all. So that, though we may desire the saints in heaven to pray to God for us, it is not so necessary to be done, but rather that we may pray to God ourselves, without first making suit to them, and obtain from Him whatever we need, if we continue in prayer. So that whatever we ask the Father, in the name of Christ his

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<sup>600</sup> That is, he lacks food, clothing, or shelter because his money has been spent on these extravagant books..

## Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

Son, the Father will give it to us. Scripture sets departed saints before our eyes as examples, so that the greatest and most principal worship and honoring of them is to know their holy living, and to follow them as they followed Christ, etc.

“God bids us come to Him with prayer, and to do His bidding; that is not presuming. It is presuming to leave it undone, rather than to do what he bids us not to do, etc. We must hold saints in reverend memory, and learn from God’s goodness towards them, to trust in God, and to mark well their faith towards God and his word, their charity towards their neighbor, their patience in all adversity, and pray to God who gave them grace to do so, that we may do likewise — for which like doings we will have like success. They are well honored when God is well pleased. The saints were not saints by praying to saints, but by believing in Him who made them saints. And just as they were saints, so we may be saints. Indeed, there are many saints who never prayed to saints.”

It was objected to him that he held there is no fire in hell; and no purgatory after life. He answers:

“I speak of diverse opinions that have been written of the nature of that fire; some that it is a spiritual fire, or at least a spiritual pain in the corporeal fire — for as it is called a fire, so it is called a worm. Now, because they do not think it is a corporeal worm, but a spiritual and metaphorical worm, so they think of the fire. Some think that it is a corporeal and natural fire. Some have thought of it differently before the resurrection, *without* body, and afterward *with* body — some think that the soul without a body suffers in the fire, but not from the fire; some both in and from the fire. The scholastic authors think that the souls before the resurrection, because they are spiritual in substance, do not receive the heat of the fire into them, which is a sensible and a corporeal quality. So that Athanasius, a Greek author, calls their pain a heaviness or an anguish; and this opinion is probable enough. Some think that although they are always in pain, yet they are not always in fire, but go from waters of snow to exceeding heat. But when their bodies are there, whether in cold or in heat, in water or in fire, in air or in earth, they lack no pain — their torment goes with them. For they think that the devils that tempt us, though they have *pain* with them, yet they do not have *fire* with them. For then they would be known by the heat of the fire.

[837] A.D. 1555.

“I am certain, says St. Augustine, that there is a fire in hell but what manner of fire, or in what part of the world, no man can tell except He that is of God’s privy council. I would advise every man to be more careful to keep out of hell, than trust he will find no fire in hell. Chrysostom says that to be deprived of the fruition of the Godhead, is greater pain than being in hell. There is fire burning; there is the worm gnawing; there is heat, there is cold; there is pain without pleasure, torment without easement — anguish, heaviness, sorrow, and pensiveness, which tarry and abide for all liars and those who hinder the truth.”

“I would rather be in purgatory than in the bishop of London’s prison; for in this prison I might die bodily for lack of food: in that purgatory I could not. In this prison I might die spiritually for fear of pain or lack of good counsel; in that I could not. In this I might be in extreme necessity; in that I could not, if extreme necessity is being in peril of perishing. And then you know what follows from this: if we are not bounden to help only those who are in extreme necessity, then we do not see who is in such need in purgatory, but we see who needs in this world. St. John says, ‘Whoever sees his brother in need, and shuts up his heart of compassion from him, how does the love of God dwell in him?’ Here either we are, or we may be, in extreme necessity, both in body and soul; in purgatory, we are neither one nor the other. Here we are bound to help one another as we would be helped ourselves, under pain of damnation. I am sure the souls in purgatory are thus charitable, and from charity they are so

loath to have God dishonored, that they would have nothing withdrawn from the poor to be bestowed upon them here in this world, which might occasion the dishonor of God, etc.

“Therefore, however we provided for purgatory, let us provide to keep out of hell. If I had a thousand pounds to bestow, as long as I saw necessary occasion offered to me by God to dispense it upon my needy brother here in this world according to God’s commandment, I would not withdraw my duty from him for any provision of purgatory, as long as I saw dangerous ways unrepaired, poor men’s daughters unmarried, men beg for lack of work and sick and sore for lack of succor. I would distinguish between that which *may* be done, and that which *ought to* be done. And this latter is to go before the former, and the former is to come after this. If God commands one way, and my devotion moves me another way, which way should I go? I may by no trentals, no masses, no ladders of heaven, make foundations for myself with other men’s goods. Goods wrongfully gotten must be restored to the owners, if they can be known; if not, then they are poor men’s goods. Debts must be paid, creditors must be satisfied and content, God’s ordinance towards my neighbor here in this world must be discharged, and all affections and lusts moving to the contrary must be purged. Or else, even if our soul-priests sing till they are bleary-eyed, and speak till they have worn their tongues to the stumps, neither their singings nor their sayings will bring us out of hell, to which we shall go for despising God’s forbiddings.”

*A Public Instrument of the Bishops, for abolishing and prohibiting  
the Scriptures and diverse other Books in English,  
in the time of King Henry VIII, A.D. 1531.*<sup>601</sup>

“In the name of God, Amen. Be it known to all and singular true and faithful people to whom these present testimonial letters, or this present public, and authentic instrument will come, or who will see, read, hear, or understand the same, and to whom what is underwritten, will or may teach, or pertain in any manner or way in time to come. William,<sup>602</sup> by the sufferance of Almighty God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all the realm of England, sends greeting in our Lord God everlasting. We signify to you all, and we let you well understand and know by these presents, that whereas the king our sovereign lord, hearing that many books in the English tongue, containing many detestable errors, and damnable opinions, printed in parts beyond the seas, are brought into diverse towns, and sundry parts of this, his realm of England, and sown abroad in the same, to the great decay of our Catholic faith, and the perilous corruption of his people, unless speedy remedy were briefly provided — his highness, willing evermore to employ all his study and mind in the high degree to which Almighty God has called him, to the wealth of his subjects, that they might live not only in tranquility and peace, but also be kept pure and clean of all contagion and wrong opinions in Christ’s religion. Considering, also, that, being defender of the faith, he would be fully loath to permit such evil seed to be sown among his people, and so taking root, that it might overgrow the corn of the catholic doctrine sprung up before in the souls of his subjects. For repelling such books, he called to himself out of his great goodness and gracious disposition, not only certain of the chief prelates and clerics of his realm, but also from each university a certain number of the chief learned men of those places. He proposed such books which his grace therefore had ready for them to read, requesting to hear their advice and judgment in that behalf. Both by great diligence and mature deliberation, perusing over the said books, they found in them many errors and heresies, both detestable and damnable. They were of such a sort that they were likely to quickly corrupt a great part of his people (if they might be permitted to remain in their hands any amount of time). They also gathered out of them many great errors and

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<sup>601</sup> Foxe inserts these here instead of in Book VIII, where he referred to them (p. 517), because Latimer had previously written to King Henry VIII, in support of the English translations. Latimer’s letter will follow shortly.

<sup>602</sup> That is, William Warham (1450-1532).

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pestilent heresies, and noted them in writing, with the intent to show for what cause they reputed the said books damnable. Hereafter many things ensue which are gathered out of each book, even though there are many more things in the said books, which totally swarm full of heresies, and detestable opinions.”

*Heresies and Errors contained in the Book,  
“The Parable of the Wicked Mammon.”*<sup>603</sup>

“Faith alone justifies us.

“The law makes us hate God, because we are born under the power of the devil.

“It is impossible for us to consent to the will of God.

“The law requires impossible things of us.

“The Spirit of God so turns us and our nature, that we do good as naturally as a tree brings forth fruit.

“Works only declare to you that you are justified.

“Christ in all his deeds did not deserve heaven.

“By laboring in good works to come to heaven, you shame Christ’s blood.

“Saints in heaven cannot help us to get there.

“To build a church in honor of our Lady, or of any other saint, is in vain; they cannot help you; they are not your friends.

“All flesh is in bondage to sin, and cannot avoid sinning continually.”

[This instrument proceeds, at great length, to cite sentences from the various books then circulated by the reformers in the English language. It would be too tedious and unprofitable to recapitulate them here. The instrument thus concludes.]

“All of these great errors and pestilent heresies, being contagious and damnable, with all the books containing the same, also with the translation of the Scriptures corrupted by William Tyndale, in the Old Testament as well as in the New, and all other books in English containing such errors, the king’s highness being present in person, by one whole advice and assent of the prelates and clerics of the universities, as well as of all others assembled together, determined these are utterly to be repelled, rejected, and put away out of the hands of his people, and not to be allowed to go abroad among his subjects. And his highness further wills that his pleasure and determination is that the people should be notified abroad by preachers, to put away all such books, as well as reading, retaining, or hereafter having any similar books, delivering this to certain preachers in written form, to be published in effect to the people in their sermons, which form follows here, commanding them in all his realm to publish the same.”

[838]

*[Here follows the bill in English to be published by the preacher.]*

“It is the office and duty of every preacher and teacher of the word of God, not only to show and declare to his audience that which might be profitable and wholesome for the wealth of their souls, to be followed and taken, but also to note and signify to them such things as are dangerous and contagious, with the intent that they might be avoided and eschewed; and also, as near as they can judge, who are the teachers and authors of the same. This example we have of our Savior Christ, where he says, ‘Beware of false prophets,’ etc. St. Paul likewise many times warns those he wrote to, that they should beware of false apostles, who in his absence went about to corrupt the doctrine which he had taught them when present. Therefore, considering that it has pleased the king’s highness, like a noble and a virtuous prince, tendering not only the present bodily wealth and tranquility of all his subjects for his and their

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<sup>603</sup> *Wicked Mammon* was written by William Tyndale, published in 1528.

worldly commodity and benefit, but most chiefly regarding the wealth of their souls and their due order towards God — thereby to deserve and attain immortal glory — to assemble and call together the chief personages of his prelates, and a great number of learned men of both universities, charging and commanding them for the discharge and exoneration of his conscience, to find, read, examine, and discuss the contents of such books as are now spread abroad within this his grace's realm in the English tongue, concerning the points and articles of our faith. And also, according to their learning and conscience, to relate to his highness, whether the same books are expedient and profitable for his people, to direct and order their conscience and soul, or else are contagious and pestiferous for the same; and whether the opinions contained in them were agreeable to God's word and doctrine, or not. For the said congregation and assembly having had free liberty and license granted to every man to say as his conscience and learning served him without any reproof or blame to be imputed for anything spoken there, whichever person it touched, or any necessity to agree to the most part, but only to say what his own learning and conscience could maintain and justify. After mature deliberation and consultation had, it was there — by whole consent, no man contesting or challenging — determined and agreed that the books, now being abroad in the English tongue, contain false traditions and corrupt doctrine, far discrepant from the true sense of the gospel and catholic understanding of Scripture, only persuading of pernicious heresies, to the destruction of the souls of good Christian men. The certainty of this I can report to you from my own knowledge, being one of the said assembly, and hearing and seeing the said opinions read, declared, and examined, and reproved and rejected by the true sense and meaning of God's word.

“I think, therefore, my duty is taking upon myself the office of a preacher, following the example of our Master Christ, and St. Paul, as aforesaid, to warn and admonish you by the words of Christ, as I spoke before: ‘Beware of false prophets,’ etc. And take heed of yourself, that you are not infected by the contagion and infection of those false apostles who have, in our English tongue, set forth books to seduce you from the true knowledge of God's laws, and bring you by their false interpretations of Scripture into the detestable and abominable heresies, to the destruction of our souls. Therefore you who have the books called ‘The Obedience of a Christian Man (Tyndale);’ ‘The Sum of Scripture (Ursinus);’ ‘The Revelation of Antichrist;’ ‘The Supplication of Beggars (Simon Fish);’ ‘The Mammon of Iniquity;’ ‘The Matrimony’ of Tyndale; ‘The New Testament in English’ (Tyndale), the translation of which is now printed, and such other books in English, the authors of which either dare not, or do not put their names to, are pernicious books. Detest them, abhor them, do not keep them in your hands; deliver them to those superiors who call for them; and if by reading them up to now, anything of that teaching remains in your breasts, either forget it, or by information of the truth, expel it and purge it, with the intent that being so purified and cleansed of that contagious doctrine and pestiferous traditions, you may be fit and apt to receive and retain the true doctrine and understanding of Christ's laws, to the comfort and edification of your souls. This I move and exhort you in God to do; this is your duty to do.

“The prelates of the church having the cure and charge of your souls, ought to compel you, and your prince ought to punish and correct you, to not do the same. To them, as St. Paul says, the sword is given by God's ordinance for that purpose. You shall also further understand that it was reported to the king's highness, that there is an opinion engendered in many of his subjects, that it is his grace's duty to have the Scriptures of God translated into the English tongue to be communicated to the people, and that the prelates, and also his highness do wrong in hindering the same. His highness therefore directed every man there present in the said assembly, to freely and frankly show and open to him what might be proved and confirmed by Scripture, and by holy doctors in that behalf. This was with the intent that his highness, as he openly protested there, might conform himself to it, minding to do his duty

towards his people, as he would have them do their duty towards him. In this matter, following the Scripture declared, which the holy doctors and authors alleged and read, and all things said which might be said on both sides, and for both parts spoken, deduced, and brought forth, it finally appeared that having the whole Scripture in English is not necessary to Christian men. But without having any such Scripture, endeavoring themselves to do well, and to apply their minds to take and follow such lessons as the preacher teaches them, and so learned by his mouth, they may as well edify spiritually in their souls, as if they had the same Scriptures in English.

“And just as having the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, and in the common people’s hands, has been thought by holy fathers of the church before now to sometimes be fitting and convenient, so at another time, it has been thought by holy fathers that it is not expedient to be communicated among them. In this, because the king’s highness, by the advice and deliberation of his council, and the agreement of the great learned men, thinks in his conscience, that divulging the Scripture at this time in the English tongue, then to be committed to the people — considering that such pestilent books and such evil opinions as are now spread among them, would be to their further confusion and destruction, rather than the edification of their souls; and that, as holy doctors testify upon similar considerations, the same has been done in times past — it was thought there in that assembly, to all and singular in that congregation, that it the king’s highness, and the prelates, not allowing the Scriptures to be divulged and communicated in the English tongue to the people at this time, does well. And I also think and judge the same, exhorting, and moving you, that in consideration of what his highness openly said and protested there, that he would have the New Testament faithfully and purely translated by learned men into the English tongue, with the intent that he might have it in his hands, ready to be given to his people, as he might see their manners and behavior fit, apt, and convenient to receive the same; and that you will so detest these pernicious books, so abhor these heresies and new opinions, so decline from arrogance of the knowledge and understanding of Scripture according to your fantasies, and show yourself in cunning and reasoning to be so sober, quiet, fit, and temperate, that all fear of misusing the gift of Scripture being taken away, you may appear such in your prince’s eyes, and in the eyes of your prelates, because they will have no just cause to fear any such danger. Persuade yourself in the meantime, without grudging or murmuring, the very truth which is this: that we cannot require or demand Scripture to be divulged in the English tongue, otherwise than upon the discretion of the superiors. So that, whenever they think in their conscience, that it may do you good, they may and do well to give it to you; and whenever it is seen otherwise to them, they do amiss in permitting you to have it.

[839] A.D. 1555.

“Of and upon this decree, order, and determination recited above, his gracious highness — being in person in the chapel called the old chapel, which was sometimes called St. Edward’s chamber, sat on the east side of the parliament chamber, within his grace’s palace at Westminster, on the 24th of May in the year 1530, in the 22nd year of his reign — called before his grace the three notaries here underwritten. And then and there in the presence of all the personages there assembled and gathered together, directed and required the said three notaries to make public and authentic instruments, and directed us to set our seal to it accordingly, in and for witness and perpetual memory and monument of this, his grace’s desire, order, and determination, and of all and singular the premises, and all the personages then and there being present, to testify to the same, and to bear record and testimony upon it. In witness of all and singular the premises, we, William, archbishop, primate, and legate aforesaid, have commanded and obtained these present letters testimonial, or present public, or authentic instrument, containing in them the order, decree, and determination above-said, to be made, and to be subscribed, and signed by the hands of the notaries hereafter named,



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and to be sealed with our own seal. All of these premises have been done in the manner and form above specified, then and there. Present were the noble personage of Thomas Moore, knight, great chancellor of England; our reverend brother in Christ, Cuthbert, by the permission of God, bishop of Durham; and worshipful personages, Master Stephen Gardiner, Secretary," etc. etc.

Here follows a letter of Latimer's written to King Henry VIII on this occasion. You heard before of two proclamations set out by the bishops in the name of King Henry: the one in the year 1531, and the other set out in A.D. 1546. In these proclamations, being authorized by the king's name, all English books were prohibited which either contained or regarded any matter of the Scriptures. Now Latimer, growing in some favor with the king, and seeing the great decay of Christ's religion because of these proclamations, and touched with zeal of conscience, directs the following letter to King Henry, endeavoring to persuade the king to set open again the freedom of God's holy word among his subjects.

### *A Letter of Latimer's to King Henry VIII.*

"To the most Mighty Prince, King of England, Henry VIII, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, by our Lord Jesus Christ.

"The holy doctor, St. Augustine, in an epistle which he wrote to Casalanus, says, 'He who for fear of any power hides the truth, provokes the wrath of God to come upon him; for he fears men more than God.' And according to the same, the holy man, St. John Chrysostom, says, 'He is not only a traitor to the truth, who openly teaches a lie as the truth; but also he who does not freely pronounce and show the truth that he knows.' These sentences, most highly respected king, when I read them recently, and marked them earnestly in the inward parts of my heart, they made me sorely afraid. They troubled and grievously vexed me in my conscience, and at last drove me to this strait, that either I must make known such things as I have read and learned in Scripture, or else belong to those who provoke the wrath of God upon themselves, and are traitors to the truth. Rather than this thing should happen, I would rather suffer extreme punishment.

"For what other thing is it to be a traitor to the truth, than to be a traitor and a Judas to Christ, who is the very truth, and the cause of all truth? and who says that, 'Whoever denies me before men, I will deny him before my Father and his angels.' Denying this should be more feared and dreaded than the loss of all temporal goods, honor, and promotion, fame, prison, slander, hurts, banishments, and all manner of torments and cruelties, yes, and death itself, however shameful and painful. But, alas! How little men regard those sharp sayings of these two holy men; and how little they fear the terrible judgment of Almighty God, and especially those who boast of being guides and captains to others, and claiming for themselves the knowledge of holy Scripture. Yet they will neither show the truth themselves, as they are bound, nor permit those who would. So that it may be said to them, that which our Savior Christ said to the Pharisees (Mat 23.13): 'But woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you shut up the kingdom of heaven against men. You neither go in yourselves, nor do you allow those who are entering to go in.' And they will, as much as it lies in them, debar not only the word of God, which David calls a light to direct and show every man how to order his affections and lusts, according to the commandments of God, but also by their subtle wiliness they instruct, move, and provoke in a way, all the kings in Christendom to aid, succor, and help them in this, their mischief. And especially in this, your realm, they have so blinded your liege people and subjects with their laws, customs, ceremonies, and Banbury glosses,<sup>604</sup> and punished them with cursings, excommunications, and other corruptions (corrections, I would say). And now

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<sup>604</sup> *Banbury gloss: an explanation or interpretation of text that is roundabout and nonsensical.*

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at last, when they see that they cannot prevail against the open truth (which the more it is persecuted, the more it increases by their tyranny) they have made it treason to your noble grace to have the Scriptures in English.

“Here I beseech your grace to pardon me a while, and to patiently hear me a word or two. Yes, even if it is such that, concerning your high majesty and regal power to which Almighty God has called your grace, there is as great a difference between you and me, as between God and man. For to me and to all your subjects, you are here in God’s stead, to defend, aid, and succor us in our right. And so I should tremble and quake to speak to your grace. But again, seeing that you are a mortal man, in danger of sin, having in you the corrupt nature of Adam, in which all of us are both conceived and born, so you have no less need of the merits of Christ’s passion for your salvation, than I and others of your subjects have, who are all members of the mystical body of Christ. And though you are a higher member, yet you must not disdain the lesser. For as St. Paul teaches, ‘Those members who are taken to be most vile, and held in least reputation, are as necessary as the others, for the preservation and keeping of the body. This, most gracious king, when I considered, and also your favorable and gentle nature, I was bold to write this crude, homely, and simple letter to your grace, trusting that you will accept my true and faithful mind even as it is.

“First, and before all things, I will exhort your grace to mark the life and process of our Savior Christ, and his apostles, in preaching and setting forth the gospel, and also to note the words of our Master Christ, which he said to his disciples when he sent them out to preach his gospel, and as to these, ever have in your mind the golden rule of our Master Christ: ‘The tree is known by the fruit.’ For by the diligent marking of these, your grace will clearly know and perceive who are the true followers of Christ and teachers of his gospel, and who are not. And concerning the first, all Scripture shows plainly that our Savior Jesus Christ’s life was very poor.

“Begin at his birth, and I beseech you, who ever heard of a poorer, or of one so poor as he was? It would take too long to write how poor Joseph and the blessed Virgin Mary took their journey from Nazareth toward Bethlehem, in the cold and frosty winter, having nobody to wait upon them, but he was both master and man, and she was both mistress and maid. How vilely, does your grace think they were treated in the inns and lodgings along the way; and in how vile and abject a place was this poor maid, the mother of our Savior Jesus Christ, brought to bed, without company, light, or any other thing necessary for a woman in that plight. Was it not a poor beginning here, concerning this world? Yes, truly. And according to this beginning was the process and end of his life in this world. And yet he might, by his godly power, have had all the goods and treasures of this world at his pleasure, whenever and wherever he wished.

[840]

“But he did this to show us that his followers and vicars should not regard and value the riches and treasures of this world. Rather, we ought to take them according to the saying of David, who says: ‘If riches increase, do not set your heart upon them.’ <sup>Psa 62.10</sup> So that it is not against the poverty in spirit which Christ preaches in the gospel of St. Matthew (5.3) — to be rich, to be in dignity and in honor, in such a way that their hearts are not fixed and set upon them so much that they neither care for God nor good men. But they are enemies to this poverty in spirit, however little they have, who have greedy and desirous minds for the goods of this world, only because they would live according to their own pleasures and lusts. And they also are secret enemies (and so much the worse) who have professed, as they say, willful poverty, and would not be called worldly men; yet they have lords’ lands, and kings’ riches. Indeed, rather than lose one jot of that which they have, they will set a debate between king and king, realm and realm, even between the king and his subjects, and cause rebellion against the



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temporal power, to which our Savior Christ himself obeyed, and paid tribute, as the gospel declares — those whom the holy apostle, St Paul, teaches every Christian man to obey. Yes, and beside all this, they will curse and ban, as much as it lies in them to do so, even into the deep pit of hell, all who challenge their appetite, by which challenge they think their goods, promotions, or dignities might decay.

“Your grace may see what means and craft the spirituality (as they will be called) imagine, to break and withstand the acts which were made in your grace’s last parliament, against their excesses. Therefore, those who do thus, your grace may know them not to be true followers of Christ. Although I named the spirituality to be corrupt with this unthirsty ambition, yet I do not mean all of them are faulty in this, for there are some good among them. Neither would I have your grace take away the goods due to the church, but take away all evil persons from the goods, and set better ones in their stead.

“I do not name or appoint any person or persons, but refer your grace to the rule of our Savior Christ, as mentioned in Mat 7.20, ‘By their fruits you shall know them.’ As touching the words that our Savior Christ spoke to his disciples when he sent them to preach his gospel, we read in St. Matthew, that here they will be hated and despised by all worldly men, and brought before kings and rulers (Mat 10.18), and that all kinds of evil would be said of them for his name’s sake (Mat 5.11).<sup>605</sup> But he exhorts them to take such persecution patiently by his own example, saying it does not become the servant to be above the master. And seeing they called me Beelzebub, what marvel is it, if they call you devilish persons and heretics (Mat 10.24-25)? Read the 10th chapter of St. Matthew’s gospel, and there your grace will see that he did not promise the true preachers any worldly promotions or dignity, but persecution and all kinds of punishment; and (Luk 21.16) that they would be betrayed even by their own brethren and children. In Joh 16.33 also, he says, ‘These things I have spoken to you, so that in me you might have peace. In the world you will have tribulation. But be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.’ And in the 10th chapter of St. Matthew’s gospel (Mat 10.16) our Savior Christ also says, ‘Behold! I send you out as sheep among wolves.’ So that the true preachers go like harmless sheep, and are persecuted, and yet they do not revenge their wrong, but commit all to God, so far is it from them to persecute any others except with the word of God alone, which is their weapon. And so, this is the most evident token that our Savior Jesus Christ would have his gospel and the preachers of it be known by: that it would be despised among those worldly wise men; and that they would repute it as but foolishness, and deceivable doctrine; and that the true preachers would be persecuted and hated, and driven from town to town — and yes, at the last, lose both goods and life.

“And yet those who did this persecution would think that they did well, and a great pleasure to God. <sup>Joh 16.2</sup> And the apostles, remembering this lesson of our Savior Christ, were content to suffer many persecutions, as you may read in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. But we never read that they ever persecuted any man. The holy apostle St. Paul says that, ‘Every man who will live godly in Christ Jesus, will suffer persecution.’ And he says further in Phi 1.29, ‘To you it is given in behalf of Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake.’

“Therefore take this for a sure conclusion, that where the word of God is truly preached, there is persecution of the hearers as well as of the teachers. And whereas there is quietness and rest in worldly pleasure, there is not the truth. For the world loves all who are of the world, and hates all things that are contrary to it. To be brief, St. Paul calls the gospel the word of the cross, the word of punishment. And the holy Scripture promises nothing to the favorers and

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<sup>605</sup> Latimer cited several wrong passages for the text he alludes to (e.g., the 14th and 15th chapters of Matthew). Those have been removed, and specific verse references included in parentheses. I realize that alters a historical document, and it hides his mistakes, but I thought it best to do so for the sake of his argument. His scripture text remains as he had it; only the references have been altered. – WHG

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followers of it in this world, but trouble, vexation, and persecution, which these worldly men cannot suffer, nor bear with.

“Therefore please it your grace, to return to this golden rule of our Master and Savior, Jesus Christ, which is this, ‘By their fruits you will know them.’ For where you see persecution, there is the gospel, and there is the truth; and those who persecute are void and without all truth; not caring for the clear light which, as our Savior Jesus Christ teaches in the 3rd chapter of St. John’s Gospel (Joh 3.19), has come into the world, and which will utter and reveal every man’s works. Those whose works are evil, dare not come to this light, but go about to stop it and hinder it, hindering as much as they can, so that the holy Scripture would not be read in our mother tongue, saying that it would cause heresy and insurrection — and so they persuade, or at least they would gladly persuade your grace, to keep it back. But here mark their shameless boldness, who are not ashamed, contrary to Christ’s doctrine, to gather figs from thorns, and grapes from thistles, and to call light darkness, and darkness light, sweet sour, and sour sweet, good evil, and evil good, and to say, that which teaches all obedience, should cause dissension and strife. But such is their belly-wisdom <sup>Phi 3.19</sup> with which they judge and measure everything, to hold and keep this wicked mammon, the goods of this world, which is their god, and has so blinded the eyes of their hearts that they cannot see the clear light of the sacred Scripture, though they talk ever so much about it.

“But concerning this matter, other men have shown your grace their minds, how necessary it is to have the Scripture in English. Your grace has also promised this thing by your last proclamation. That promise I pray God that your gracious highness may shortly perform, even today before tomorrow. Nor let the wickedness of these worldly men detain you from your godly purpose and promise. Remember the subtle worldly-wise counsellors of Hanun, the son of Nahash, king of the Ammonites, which when David had sent his servants to comfort the young king for the death of his father, by crafty imaginations counselled Hanun not only not to receive them gently, but to entreat them most shamefully and cruelly, saying, ‘They did not come to comfort him, but to espy and search his land, so that after they had brought David word how everything stood, David might come and conquer it.’ And they had the young king shave their heads, and cut their coats by the points, and sent them away like fools — those whom he should rather have made much of, and entreated them gently, and given them great thanks and rewards. <sup>1Chr 19.3-4</sup> Oh, wretched counsellors! But see what followed from this carnal and worldly wisdom. Truly nothing but destruction of the whole realm, and also of all those who took their side.

“Therefore, good king, seeing that the true David — that is to say our Savior Christ — has sent his servants, that is to say, his true preachers, and also his own word to comfort our weak and sick souls, do not let these worldly men make your grace believe that they will cause insurrections, and heresies, and such mischiefs as they imagine of their own mad brains, lest He be avenged upon you and your realm, as David was avenged upon the Ammonites.

[841] A.D. 1555.

“He has ever been avenged upon those who have obstinately withstood and denied his word. But perhaps they will lay this against me, and say that experience shows how such men who call themselves followers of the gospel do not regard your grace’s commandment, nor value your proclamation; and that was well proved by those persons who were recently punished in London for keeping such books as your grace had prohibited by proclamation. And so, just as they did not regard this, so they will not regard or esteem others of your grace’s laws, statutes, or ordinances. But this is but a crafty persuasion. For your grace knows that there is no man living, who especially loves worldly promotion, that is so foolish to set forth, promote, or advance his enemies, whereby he would be hindered of his worldly pleasures and fleshly desires. But rather, he will seek all the ways possible that he can, to utterly confound, destroy,

and put his enemies out of the way. And so, concerning your last proclamation prohibiting such books, the very true cause of it, and chief counsellors, were those (as men say, and of likelihood it might be) whose evil living and cloaked hypocrisy these books mentioned and disclosed.

“And though there were three or four who would have had the Scripture go forth in English, yet it happened, as it is evermore seen, that the greater part overcomes the better part. And so it might be that these men did not take this proclamation as yours, but as theirs, set forth in your name, as they have done many times more. This has put your realm in great hindrance and trouble, and brought it into great penury. It would have done more if God had not mercifully provided to bring your grace to a knowledge of the falsehood and secret treason which their head and captain was about. And you can be sure he is not without adherents, if the matter is duly searched. For what marvel is it that being so near your counsel, and so familiar with your lords, they should provoke both your grace and them to prohibit these books. Before, by their own authority, they have forbidden the New Testament, under pain of everlasting damnation. For such is their manner, to send a thousand men to hell before they send one to God. And yet the New Testament (and so I think the other) was meekly offered to every man who would and could, to amend it if there was any fault.

“Moreover, I will ask them the causes of all insurrections which have occurred in this realm up to now. And from where is it that there are so many extortioners, bribers, murderers, and thieves, who daily not only break your grace’s laws, ordinances, and statutes, but also break the laws and commandments of Almighty God? I think they will not say it is these books, but rather their pardons which cause many a man to sin in trust of them. As for those malefactors which I now recited, you will not find one in a hundred, who will not cry out both against these books, and also against those who have them — yes, and who will be glad to spend the good which he has wrongfully gotten, on faggots to burn both the books and those who have them.

“And as regards these men who were recently punished for these books, there is no man, I hear say, who can lay any word or deed against them that would sound to the breaking of any of your grace’s laws, with this exception: if it is yours, and not rather theirs. And let us say it is so, that there are some who have these books, who are evil, unruly, and self-willed persons, regarding neither God’s laws nor man’s. These books are not the cause of it, any more than the bodily presence of Christ and his words were the cause of Judas falling. But it was their own froward mind and carnal heart, which should be amended by the virtuous example of their curates, and by the true exposition of the Scriptures. If the lay people had such curates who would thus do their office, then neither these books, nor the devil himself, could so hurt them as to go out of frame. So that, the lack of good curates is the cause of destruction and all mischief. Nor do I write these things because I would either excuse these men who were recently punished, or affirm all to be true that is written in these books, all of which I have not read. But it is only to show that such inconvenience cannot follow them, and especially of the Scriptures, as they would make men believe would follow them.

“And even if it is so, that your grace may by other books, and namely by the Scripture itself, know and perceive the hypocrite wolves clad in sheep’s clothing, yet I think myself bound in conscience to utter to your grace such things as God put in my mind to write. And I do this (God judge me) not for hate of any person or persons living. Nor is it because I think the word of God should go forth without persecutions, if your grace had commanded that every man within your realm should have it in his mother tongue. For the gospel must have persecution until the time that it has been preached throughout the world. This is the last sign that Christ told his disciples would come before the day of judgment. So that, if your grace had once commanded that the Scripture should be put forth, the devil would set forth some wile or other to persecute the truth. But my purpose is that it may increase to the pleasure of God, to

## Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

exhort your grace to avoid and beware of these mischievous flatterers, and their abominable ways and counsels. I do it for the love that I have to God principally, and the glory of His name, which is only known by His word. And it is for the true allegiance that I owe to your grace, and not to hide in the ground of my heart, the talent given to me by God, but to present it to others.

“Take heed whose counsels your grace takes in this matter. For there are some who, for fear of losing their worldly worship and honor, will not leave their opinion, which they rashly took it upon themselves to defend by writing. And that was to please men by whom they had great promotion. So that, now they think that all their felicity which they put in this life, should be marred, and their wisdom not so greatly regarded, if what they have so slanderously oppressed should now be promoted and allowed. But, alas! Let these men remember St. Paul, and how fervent he was against the truth before he was called (and that was of a good zeal). He thought it no shame to suffer punishment and great persecutions for what he had despised and called heresy before. I am sure that their living is not more perfect than St. Paul’s was, concerning the outward works of the law, before he was converted.

“Also the king and prophet David was not ashamed to forsake his good intent in building the temple, after the prophet Nathan had shown him that it was not the pleasure of God that he should build any house for Him. Notwithstanding that Nathan had before allowed and praised the purpose of David, he was not ashamed to revoke and eat his words again, when he knew that they were not according to God’s will and pleasure.

“Therefore, those who think it is against their worship to acknowledge their ignorance, are sorely drowned in worldly wisdom. I pray to God that your grace may observe them, and take heed of their worldly wisdom, which is foolishness before God, so that you may do what God commands, and not what seems good in your own sight without the word of God. Thus your grace may be found acceptable in His sight, and one of the members of his church. And according to the office that He has called your grace to, you may be found a faithful minister of His gifts, and not a defender of His faith. For he will not have it defended by man or man’s power, but by His word alone, by which he has evermore defended it. And that is by a way far above man’s power or reason, as all the histories of the Bible mention.

“Therefore, gracious king, remember yourself; have pity upon your soul, and think that the day is even at hand when you will give account of your office, and of the blood that has been shed with your sword. In that day, may your grace stand steadfastly and not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and have (as they say) your rest sealed with the blood of our Savior Christ, which only serves at that day. This is my daily prayer to Him who suffered death for our sins, who also continually prays to his Father for grace for us. To Him be all honor and praise forever. Amen.

The Spirit of God preserve your grace,  
1st December A.D. 1530.”

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In this letter of Latimer to the king, we have many things to consider: first, his good conscience to God; his good will to the king; the duty of a good pastor to truth; his tender care for the commonwealth, and especially for the church of Christ. Further, we have to consider the abuse of prince’s courts, how kings many times are subject to flatterers and wicked counsellors about them. And we may especially note the subtle practices of prelates, in abusing the name and authority of kings to support their own malignant proceedings. We may see, moreover, and rather marvel at, the great boldness and divine strength of this man, who was not yet a bishop, to so freely and plainly, without any fear of death, risk his own life to discharge his conscience. He dared write so boldly, to so mighty a prince, in such a

dangerous case, against the king's law and proclamation set out in such a terrible time. He took it upon himself to write about, and to admonish that which no counsellor dared once speak to him in defense of Christ's gospel. His example, if the bishops and prelates of this realm would likewise follow for their parts, in like cases of necessity (as indeed they should), so many things perhaps would not be so out of frame as they are.

Finally it is to be noted how blessedly Almighty God wrought with his faithful servant's bold venture, and wholesome counsel, though it did not prevail through the iniquity of the time. Yet notwithstanding, God so wrought with his servant in doing his duty, that no danger, nor yet displeasure, arose to him thereby, but rather, the thanks and good will of the prince. For not long after, he was advanced by the king to the bishopric of Worcester.

During the time that Latimer was prisoner in Oxford, we do not read of much that he wrote, besides his conference with Doctor Ridley, and his protestation at the time of his disputation. Otherwise, we find very few letters that he wrote to his friends.

Concerning the memorable acts and doings of this worthy man, this is not to be neglected: what a bold enterprise he attempted in sending to King Henry a present, in the following manner. There was then, and still remains, an old custom received from the Romans, that on New-year's day, every bishop with some handsome New-year's gift should gratify the king. And so they did, some with gold, some with silver, some with a purse full of money, some one thing, and some another. But Latimer, then being bishop of Worcester, among the rest, presented a NEW TESTAMENT for his New-year's gift to the king, with a napkin having this sentence on it, *Fornicatores et adulteros judicabit Dominus.*<sup>606</sup>

And thus have you, gentle reader, the whole life, both of bishops Ridley and Latimer, two worthy doers in the church of Christ, severally and by themselves set forth and described, with their doings, writings, disputations, sufferings, their painful labors, faithful preachings, studious service in Christ's church, their patient imprisonment, and constancy in that which they had taught, with all their proceedings from time to time, up to this present time and month of the reign of Queen Mary, which was October A.D. 1555. In that month they were brought out together to their final examination and execution. Therefore, as we have previously declared both their lives severally and distinctly one from the other, so now we will couple them together, as they were joined in one society of cause and martyrdom. And we will, by the grace of Christ, prosecute the rest that remains concerning their latter examination, degrading, and constant (faithful) suffering.

### ***The Examination of Ridley and Latimer***

*The Examination of Ridley and Latimer,  
on the 30th of September 1555.*

First, their examination was after the appearing of Cranmer before the pope's delegate and the queen's commissioners in St. Mary's church at Oxford, about the 12th of September. More will be said of this when we come to the death of the archbishop. On the 28th of September, another commission was sent down to Oxford from Cardinal Pole, to John White, bishop of Lincoln, Doctor Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, and Doctor Holyman, bishop of Bristol. It stated that they, or two of them, would have full power and authority to cite, examine, and judge Hugh Latimer, and Nicholas Ridley, pretended bishops of Worcester and London, for sundry erroneous opinions which they held and maintained in open disputations in Oxford, in the months of May, June, and July, in the year 1554. If these

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<sup>606</sup> [The Lord will judge fornicators and adulterers.](#)

persons would now recant these opinions, yielding themselves to the determination of the universal and catholic church, planted by St. Peter, in the blessed See of Rome, then the judges would have power to receive the penitent persons, and minister to them the reconciliation of the holy father the pope. But if Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley would defend and maintain their erroneous opinions, then the lords, by their commission, would proceed in form of judgment, according to the law of heretics — that is, after degrading them from their dignity of bishops, priests, and all other ecclesiastical orders, they would pronounce them as heretics. And therefore they would cut them off from the church, and yield them to receive the punishments due to all such heresy and schism.

Therefore, on the last of September, Ridley and Latimer were cited to appear before the lords, in the Divinity School at Oxford. The lords placed themselves in the high seat made for public lectures and disputations, according to the usage of that school, which was nicely set and trimmed with cloth of tissue, and cushions of velvet. After the lords were seated, Latimer and Ridley were sent for. First appeared Ridley, and then Latimer. But because it seemed good to examine them separately, Latimer was kept back until Ridley was thoroughly examined. Therefore, soon after Ridley had come into the school, the commission was openly read. But Ridley standing bareheaded, as soon as he heard the cardinal named, and the pope's holiness, put on his cap. After the commission was read, the bishop of Lincoln spoke in the following sense:

Lincoln. — “Master Ridley, neither I nor my lords here, in respect to our own persons, look for cap or knee. Yet because we bear and represent such persons as we do, that is, my lord cardinal's grace, legate à *latere* to the pope's holiness,<sup>607</sup> as well as being of a notable parentage (and with that, Ridley removed his cap with lowly obeisance) descending from the regal blood — in that he is a man worthy to be revered with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble virtues, and godly life, and especially as he is here in England as deputy to the pope's holiness — it would have become you, at his name, to have uncovered your head. Therefore, unless you will of your own accord put your hand to your head, and at the name of the cardinal as well as of the pope's holiness, uncover your head, lest your obstinacy be prejudicial to these most reverend persons, we will have some man pluck off your cap from you.”

Ridley. — “Regarding what you said, my lord, that you of your own persons desire no cap or knee, but only require them in consideration that you represent the cardinal's grace's person, I beg you to understand that I put on my cap at the naming of the cardinal's grace, neither for any obstinacy that I bear towards your own persons, nor for any derogation of honor toward the lord cardinal's grace. For I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence, and honor, as he came from the most regal blood. And as he is indued a man with many graces of learning and virtue, and regarding these virtues and points, I with all humility will reverence and honor his grace (with that, he put off his cap, and bowed his knee). But as he is legate to the bishop of Rome (and with that, he put on his cap) whose usurped supremacy I utterly refuse and renounce, I may in no way give any obeisance or honor to him, lest my so doing and my behavior might be prejudicial to my oath, and in derogation of the truth of God's word.”

[843] A.D. 1555.

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<sup>607</sup> *Legate a latere*: a papal legate of the highest degree, typically a cardinal, appointed by the Pope for a specific, temporary mission, rather than serving as a permanent diplomatic representative abroad.



## Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

Lincoln. — “Master Ridley, you excuse yourself of that with which we did not press you, in that you protest you keep on your cap, not for any obstinacy towards us, nor for any contempt of this audience: nor in derogation of any honor due to my lord cardinal’s grace, for his regal descent, and excellent qualities. For although honor is due in all these, yet we require no honor from you on this account, but only because my lord cardinal’s grace is here in England, deputy of the pope’s holiness,” (at which word the lords and others put off their caps, and Ridley put on his). “And therefore we say to you the second time, that unless you put your hand to your head, and put off your cap, you will put us to the pain of causing some man to take it from you, unless you allege some infirmity and sickness, or other more reasonable cause.”

Ridley. — “I spoke only that it might appear to your lordships, and to this audience, why I used such behavior, in not humbling myself to your lordships with cap and knee. And as for my sickness, I thank my Lord God, that I am as well at ease as I have been this long season. And therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but that it might appear by my behavior, that in no point do I acknowledge that usurped supremacy of Rome; and therefore I scorn and utterly despise all authority coming from him. In taking off my cap, do as it will please your lordships, and I will be content.”

Then the bishop of Lincoln, after the third admonition, commanded one of the beadles to pluck his cap from his head. Master Ridley bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take away his cap.

After this the bishop of Lincoln in a long oration exhorted Ridley to recant, and submit himself to the universal faith of Christ, in the following manner.

Lincoln. — “Master Ridley, I am sure you have sufficiently pondered with yourself the effect of our commission, considering how authority is given to us, if you will receive the true doctrine of the church, which was first founded by St. Peter at Rome, <sup>608</sup> immediately after the death of Christ, and from him by lineal succession has been brought to our time. If you will renounce your errors, recant your heretical and seditious opinions, consent to yield yourself to the undoubted faith and truth of the gospel that was received and always taught by the catholic and apostolic church, which the king and queen, all the nobles of this realm, and commons of the same, which all Christian people have and do confess, with you alone standing by yourself. You understand and perceive, I am sure, that authority is given us to receive you, to reconcile you, and upon due penance to adjoin and associate you back into the number of the Catholics and Christ’s church from which you have so long strayed, and without which no man can be saved. <sup>609</sup> This thing I and my lords here, yes, and all nobles

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<sup>608</sup> The founding of the Church in Rome is traditionally attributed to both Peter and Paul. Irenaeus, in the 2nd century, affirmed the Church was "founded and organized at Rome by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul". This is supported by Dionysius of Corinth (2nd c.), who stated that Peter and Paul had planted and taught in both Rome and Corinth; and also by Eusebius (4th c.), who recorded that Clement of Alexandria (2nd c.) wrote of Peter preaching in Rome and inspiring Mark to write the Gospel of Mark. In his letter to the Romans, Paul indicates a well-established church there, but does not mention Peter, despite his closing greetings to many of its members. In 1Pet 5.13, Peter mentions "Babylon," probably referring to Rome as a sister church to the ones at Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia (1Pet 1.1). That doesn't prove Peter personally founded any of those churches. They may have been founded by the Jews from these nations (Act 2.9-10) who heard Peter's sermon at Jerusalem, believed the gospel, and when they went back to their homes, they founded churches there (Act 2.6-41). There is no indication in the NT, that Peter ever travelled to Rome. However, early church fathers, such as Irenaeus, Origen, and Eusebius, affirm that Peter preached in Rome and was martyred there under Emperor Nero. – WHG

<sup>609</sup> That is, salvation is not by faith alone, in Christ alone, but by faith in Christ plus membership in the Roman Catholic church (as distinct from the universal church of Christ, to which all the elect of God belong). This was the sticking point for so many of these martyrs, who would not bend the knee to the pope, as the "vicar of Christ."

and commons of this realm as well, most heartily desire — and I for my part” (with which he put off his cap) “most earnestly exhort you to do. Remember, it is no strange country to which I exhort you to return. You were once one of us. You have taken degrees in the school. You were made a priest, and became a preacher, setting forth the same doctrine which we do now. You were made bishop according to our laws; and to be brief, it is not so long since you separated yourself from us, and in the time of heresy became a proclaimer of that devilish and seditious doctrine which in these latter days was preached amongst us. For when the council, to win my lord chancellor, sent you to him, and after you had talked with my lord, and had departed, my lord immediately declared certain points of your talk and means of your persuasion. Among others was this one, that you should say, ‘Tush, my lord, this matter of justification is but a trifle; let us not hesitate to condescend in it to them. But for God’s love, my lord, stand stoutly in the truth of the sacrament.’ Also in a sermon of yours at St. Paul’s Cross, you as effectually and as universally spoke of that blessed sacrament as any man might have done, by which it appears that it is no strange thing, nor an unknown place to which I exhort you. I wish you to return from where you came. That is, together with us, to acknowledge the church of God, in which no man may err. And to acknowledge the supremacy of our most reverend father in God, the pope’s holiness, who lineally takes his descent from St. Peter, upon whom Christ promised before his death, to build his church. That supremacy or prerogative, the most ancient fathers acknowledged, in all ages, in all times. Accordingly, St. Augustine writes in this manner: ‘All the Christian countries beyond the sea are subject to the church of Rome.’ Here you see that all Christendom is subject to the church of Rome. What should prevent you, therefore, from confessing the same as St. Augustine and the other fathers?”

Then Ridley requested permission to speak somewhat, lest the multitude of things might confound his memory. And having obtained permission, he said this:

“My lord, I most heartily thank your lordship for your gentleness as well as your sobriety in talk, and for your good and favorable zeal in this learned exhortation, in which I have marked especially three points which you used to persuade me to leave my doctrine and religion, which I perfectly know. And I am thoroughly persuaded to be grounded not upon man’s imagination and decrees, but upon the infallible truth of Christ’s gospel, and not to look back and to return to the Romish see, contrary to my oath, contrary to the prerogative and crown of this realm, and especially (which moves me most) contrary to the expressed word of God.

“The first point is this, that the See of Rome taking its beginning from St. Peter, upon whom you say Christ has built his Church, it has in all ages lineally from bishop to bishop been brought to this time.

“Secondly, that even the holy fathers from time to time have confessed the same in their writings.

“Thirdly, that I was once of the same opinion, and together with you I acknowledged the same.

“First, as regards the saying of Christ, from which your lordship gathers the foundation of the church being built upon St. Peter, truly the passage is not so to be understood as you take it, as the circumstance of the passage will declare. For after Christ had asked his disciples whom men judged him to be, and they answered that some said he was a prophet, some Elias, some one thing, some another, then he asked, ‘Whom do *you* say that I am?’ Then Peter answered, you are Christ, the Son of God. To whom Christ answered, ‘You are



Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church;’ that is to say, upon this rock, not meaning Peter himself, as though he would have constituted a mortal man, who is so frail and brittle, to be the foundation of his staple and infallible church; but upon *this* rock-stone: that is, upon this confession of yours, that I am the Son of God, I will build my church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all Christianity: to confess with word, heart, and mind, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. Whoever does not believe this, Christ is not in him. And whoever does not confess that Christ is the Son of God, cannot have the mark of Christ imprinted in his forehead.

“Therefore Christ said to Peter, that upon this rock — that is, upon his confession that he was Christ the Son of God — he would build his church, thereby declaring that without this faith, no man can come to Christ. So this belief, that Christ is the Son of God, is the foundation of our Christianity, and the foundation of our church. Here you see upon what foundation Christ’s church is built: not upon the frailty of man, but upon the staple and infallible word of God.

“Now as to the lineal descent of the bishops in the See of Rome, it is true that the patriarchs of Rome, in the apostles’ time and long after, were great maintainers and presenters of Christ’s glory. There especially, above all other countries and regions, the true gospel was preached, and the sacraments were most duly ministered. And as it was a city so valiant in prowess and martial affairs *before* Christ’s coming, that all the world was in a way subject to it, and *after* Christ’s passion, various of the apostles suffered persecution there for the gospel’s sake, so too, the emperors afterward (their hearts being illuminated) received the gospel and became Christians. The gospel flourished there most, for the great power and dominion, as well as for the name of the place, by which the bishops of that place were held in greater reverence and honor, and most esteemed in all councils and assemblies.

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“This was not because they acknowledged them to be their head, but because the place was most revered and spoken about for its great power and strength. Just as now, here in England, the bishop of Lincoln has pre-eminence over the other bishops in sessions and sittings. It is not that he is their head and ruler, but it is for the dignity of the bishopric,” (and with this, the people smiled).

“Therefore the doctors in their writings have spoken most reverently of this See of Rome; and in their writings they preferred it. This is the prerogative which your lordship said that the ancient doctors gave to the See of Rome.

“I cannot and dare not but commend, reverence, and honor the See of Rome, as long as it continued in the promotion and setting forth of God’s glory, and in due preaching of the gospel, as it did many years after Christ. But afterwards, the bishops of that see — seeking their own pride, and not God’s honor — began to set themselves above kings and emperors, challenging to them the title of God’s vicars, and the dominion and supremacy over the whole world. I can but confess with St. Gregory, a bishop of Rome, that the bishop of that place is the very antichrist, which St. John calls by the name of the whore of Babylon. And I say with St. Gregory, ‘He that makes himself a bishop over all the world, is worse than antichrist.’<sup>610</sup>

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<sup>610</sup> This statement is attributed to Gregory the Great (Gregory I), concerning the Patriarch of Constantinople (John IV, the Faster), who was granted the title "universal bishop" by a synod held in Constantinople in 588.

“Now, you say St. Augustine seems not only to give such a prerogative, but also *supremacy* to the See of Rome, in saying that the whole Christian world is subject to the church of Rome, and therefore should give to that See a certain kind of subjection. I am sure that your lordship knows that in St. Augustine’s time there were *four* patriarchs — of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome. These patriarchs had under them certain countries; such as, in England the archbishop of Canterbury has under him diverse bishoprics in England and Wales, to whom he may be said to be their ‘patriarch.’ Also your lordship knows right well, that when St. Augustine wrote this book, he was then bishop in Africa. Further, you are not ignorant that between Europe and Africa lies the Mediterranean Sea. So that to him who in Africa, all the countries in Europe may be called transmarine countries, or ‘beyond the sea.’ It is of *this* that St. Augustine says, ‘All the Christian countries beyond the seas and far regions are subject to the See of Rome.’ If I said ‘all countries beyond the sea,’ I would except England, which to me (now being in England) is *not* beyond the sea. In this sense, St. Augustine says all the countries *beyond the sea* are subject to the See of Rome. He declares thereby that Rome was one of the Sees of the four patriarchs, and under it *Europe*. But by what subjection, I ask you? Only for pre-eminence; as we say here in England, all the bishoprics in England are subject to the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York.

“For this pre-eminence, the other doctors (you cited) also say that Rome is the mother of churches, just as the bishopric of Lincoln is mother to the bishopric of Oxford. This is because the bishopric of Oxford came from the bishopric of Lincoln, and they were once both one. So the archbishopric of Canterbury is mother to the other bishoprics which are in her province. In the same way, the archbishopric of York is mother to the northern bishoprics. And yet no man would say that Lincoln, Canterbury, or York are supreme heads to other bishoprics. Neither then should we confess that the See of Rome is supreme head, just because the doctors in their writings confess the See of Rome to be mother of churches.

“Now, where you say I was once of the same religion which you are of, the truth is, I cannot but confess the same. Yet so too, St. Paul was a persecutor of Christ. But when you say that I was one of you not long ago — in that giving my message to my Lord of Winchester, I desired him to stand stout in that gross opinion of the supper of the Lord — in very deed I was sent from the council to my Lord of Winchester to exhort him also to receive the true confession of justification. And because he was very unresponsive, I said to him, ‘Why, my lord, what in this is so great a matter for you? You see many anabaptists rise against the sacrament of the altar. I pray you, my lord, be diligent in confounding them. For at that time my Lord of Winchester and I had to deal with two anabaptists in Kent. In this sense, I willed my lord to be stiff in the defense of the sacrament against the detestable errors of the anabaptists, and not in the confirmation of that gross and carnal opinion now maintained.

“As to the sermon which I made at St. Paul’s Cross, you will understand that there were at St. Paul’s and diverse other places, fixed railing bills against the sacrament, terming it Jack of the box, the sacrament of the halter, round Robin, with other such unseemly terms. For these causes, in order to rebuke the irreverent behavior of certain evil-disposed persons, I preached as reverently of that matter as I might, declaring what estimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger ensued from mishandling it, affirming that sacrament to be truly and indeed the body and blood of Christ, effectually so by grace and spirit. The unlearned, not understanding these words, supposed that I meant them of the gross and carnal being which the Romish decrees set forth: that a body having life and motion was indeed under the shapes of bread and wine.”

With that the bishop of Lincoln somewhat interrupting him, said:

“Well, if I were to stay on this place of St. Augustine, I could bring many more places of the fathers to confirm it. But we have certain instructions according to which we must proceed. We did not come here to dispute the matter with you, but only to take your answers to certain articles, to be used in the way of disputation. You interrupted me in this; therefore I will return again.

“You must consider that the church of Christ does not lie hidden, but is a city on the mountain, and a candle on the candlestick. Ponder with yourself, that the church of Christ is catholic. So that Christ’s church is universally spread throughout the world, and not contained in a prescribed locality, not comprehended in the circuit of England, not contained in the compass of Germany and Saxony, as your church is.

“Therefore, God’s love not being singular, acknowledge with all the realm the truth. It will not be, as you allege, prejudicial to the crown. For the king and queen, their majesties, have renounced that usurped power taken by their predecessors, and have justly renounced it. For I am sure you know that there are two powers, the one declared by the sword, the other by the keys. The sword is given to kings and rulers of countries; the keys were delivered by Christ to St. Peter, and left by him to all his successors. As to our goods, possessions and lives, we acknowledge with you that we are subjects to the king and queen, who has the temporal sword. But concerning matters of religion, regarding quarrels about God and his word, we acknowledge another head. And as their highnesses, the king and the queen. in all worldly affairs, justly claim the prerogative and primacy, so in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters they acknowledge they are not to be heads and rulers, but members of Christ’s body. Why then should you stick at that matter which their majesties have forsaken and yielded?

“Therefore, you will not only *not* do injury to the crown, nor be prejudicial to their majesty’s honor in acknowledging with all Christendom the pope’s holiness to be supreme head of Christ’s church militant here on earth, but you will do a thing that is most delectable in their sight. Thus if you will revoke all your errors, acknowledging with the rest of the realm the common and the public fault, you will do what all men most heartily desire: you will bring quietness to your conscience, and health to your soul. Then we will with great joy, by the authority committed to us from the cardinal’s grace, receive you back into the church, acknowledging you are no longer a rotten, but a lively member. But if you will still be singular, if you will still obstinately persevere in your errors, stubbornly maintaining your former heresies, then we must, against our will, according to our commission, separate you from us, and cut you off from the church, lest the rottenness of one part in process of time putrefies and corrupts the whole body. Then we must confess and publish that you are none of ours.

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“Then we must yield you up to the temporal judges of whom, unless it otherwise pleases the king and queen’s highness, you must receive the punishment due heretics by the laws of this realm. Therefore, consider your state; remember your former degrees; spare your body; and especially consider your soul, which Christ so dearly bought with his precious blood. Do not rashly cast away that which was precious in God’s sight. Do not force us to do all that we may do, which is not only to publish that you are none of us, but cut you off from the church. We do not, nor can we condemn you to die (as has been most untruly reported of us), for that is the temporal judge’s office. We only declare you to be none of the church; and then

you must, according to the tenor and pleasure of the rulers, abide their determination. So that we, after we have given you up to the temporal rulers, have nothing further to do with you.”

Then Master Ridley, with frequent interruptions, at length spoke:

Ridley. — “My lord, I acknowledge an unspotted church of Christ, in which no man can err, without which no man can be saved, which is spread throughout the world — that is, the congregation of the faithful. Nor do I confine or bind it to any one place, as you said, but confess it to be spread throughout the world. And where Christ’s sacraments are duly ministered, his gospel duly preached and followed, there Christ’s church shines as a city on a hill, and as a candle in the candlestick. But rather it is those like you who would have the church of Christ bound to a place, who appoint it to Rome — that there and nowhere else is the foundation of Christ’s church. But I am fully persuaded that Christ’s church is founded everywhere, in every place where his gospel is truly received and effectually followed. And where the church of God is in doubt, I use the wise counsel of Vincentius Lyrinensis,<sup>611</sup> whom I am sure you will allow. Giving precepts on how the catholic church may be known amid all schisms and heresies, he writes in this manner: ‘When,’ he says, ‘one part is corrupted with heresies, then prefer the whole world before that one part; but if the greater part is infected, then prefer antiquity.’

“So now, when I perceive the greatest part of Christianity is infected with the poison of the See of Rome, I repair to the usage of the primitive church, which I find clean contrary to the pope’s decrees — such as, that the priest receives alone, what it is made unlawful to the laity to receive in both kinds, and such things. Therefore it requires that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church, before the novelty of the Romish church.”

Lincoln. — “Master Ridley, these faults which you charge the See of Rome with, are indeed no faults. For first, it was never forbidden to the laity; rather, that they might, if they demanded, receive both kinds. You also know that Christ, after his resurrection, when he went with his apostles to Galilee, revealed himself by breaking the bread. You know that St. Paul, after his long sailing towards Rome, broke bread, and that the apostles came together in breaking bread, which declares that it is not unlawful to minister the sacrament under the form of bread only. And yet the church had just occasion to decree that the laity should receive in one kind only, thereby taking away an opinion of the unlearned, that Christ was not wholly both flesh and blood under the form of bread. Therefore, to take away their opinion, and to better establish the people’s faith, the Holy Spirit in the church thought it fit to decree that the laity should receive only in one kind. And it is not a new thing for the church, upon just consideration, to alter rites and ceremonies. For you read in the Acts of the Apostles, that St. Paul, writing to certain of the gentiles who had received the gospel, bid them to abstain from things that were strangled, and from blood; so that this seems to be an express commandment. Yet, who will say that it is lawful or not to eat blood? How is it lawful, if not by the permission of the church?”

Ridley. — “My lord, such things as St. Paul enjoined to the gentiles for a sufferance, to win the Jews to Christ little by little, were only commandments of the time, and did not respect the successors. But Christ’s commandment, ‘Do this’ — that is, what he did in remembrance, which was not to minister in one kind only — was not a commandment for a time, but was to persevere to the world’s end.”

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<sup>611</sup> Vincentius Lyrinensis (or Vincent of Lérins), was a Gallic monk and theologian of the 5th century. His primary work, *Commonitorium*, outlines criteria for distinguishing orthodox Christian teaching from heresy.

But the bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this answer, without any stay, proceeded in this oration:

“So that the church seems to have authority by the Holy Spirit, whom Christ said he would send after his ascension, which would teach the apostles all truth, to have power and jurisdiction to alter such points of the Scripture, ever reserving the foundation. But, as I said before, we did not come to reason the matter with you, but to have certain instructions ministered to us, according to the tenor of which we must proceed, proposing certain articles to which we require your answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively to each of them, either denying them or granting them without further disputation or reasoning. For we have already stretched our instructions, in that we allowed you to debate and reason the matter, as we have done. The articles you shall now hear, and tomorrow we will require your answers, and then proceed. If you require a copy of them, you will have it, pen, ink, and paper; also such books as you demand, if they are to be gotten in the university.”

*The Articles.*

“1. We object to you, Nicholas Ridley, and to you, Hugh Latimer, jointly and severally; First, that you Nicholas Ridley, in this high University of Oxford, in the year 1554, in the months of April, May, June, July, or in some one or more of them, have affirmed and openly defended and maintained, and at many other times and places besides these, that the true and natural body of Christ, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

“2. That in the year and months aforesaid, you have publicly affirmed and defended that in the sacrament of the altar, the substance of bread and wine still remains.

“3. That in the said year and months, you have openly affirmed and obstinately maintained that in the mass, there is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

“4. That in the year, place, and months aforesaid, these aforesaid assertions solemnly had been condemned by the scholastic censure of this school, as heretical and contrary to the catholic faith, by the worshipful Doctor Weston, then prolocutor of the convocation house, as also by other learned men of both universities.

“5. That all and singular of the premises are true, notorious, famous, and openly known by public fame, to those near at hand, as well as to those in distant places far off.”

*Examination upon the Articles.*

All these articles are placed together here, so that as often as reference needs to be made to any of them, the reader may have recourse here, and peruse them, and not distract the history with several repetitions of them.

After these articles were read, the bishops took counsel together. At last the bishop of Lincoln said, “These are the very same articles which you, in open disputation here in the university, maintained and defended. What do you say to the first? I pray you answer affirmatively, or negatively.”

Ridley. — “Why, my lord, I supposed your gentleness had been such that you would have given me time until tomorrow, that upon good advice I might bring a determinate answer.”

Lincoln. — “Indeed, Master Ridley, I did not mean that your answers now will be prejudicial to your answers tomorrow. I will take your answers at this time, and yet notwithstanding, it will be lawful for you to add, diminish, alter, and change any part of these answers tomorrow, as you will.”

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Ridley. — “Indeed, in like manner at our last disputations I had many things promised, and few performed. It was said that after disputations I would have a copy of them, and license to change my answers, as I might think good. It was fit also that I might have seen what was written by the notaries at that time. So your lordship pretended great gentleness in giving me time. But this gentleness is the same that Christ had from the high priest. For you, as your lordship says, have no power to condemn me, nor at any time to put a man to death. So the high priests said in like manner, that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, but committed Christ to Pilate, nor would they allow him to absolve Christ, although he sought all means that he might.”

Doctor Weston. — “What! Do you make the king Pilate?”

Ridley. — “No, Master Doctor. I only compare your deeds with those of Caiaphas and the high priests, who would condemn no man to death, as you will not, and yet they would not allow Pilate to absolve and deliver Christ.”

Lincoln. — “We intend that you will enjoy the benefit of answering tomorrow, and will take your answers now as now; tomorrow you will change, take out, add, and alter what you will. In the meantime, we require you to answer directly to every article, either affirmatively or negatively.”

Ridley. — “Seeing you appoint me a time to answer tomorrow, and yet will take my answers out of hand: first, I request the notaries to take and write my protestation, that in no point I acknowledge your authority, nor admit you to be my judges in whatever you are authorized from the pope. Therefore, whatever I say or do, I protest. I neither say nor do it willingly, to thereby admit the authority of the pope. And if your lordship will give me leave, I will show the causes which move me to this.”

Lincoln. — “No; we have instructions to the contrary. We may not permit you.”

Ridley. — “I will be short; I pray your lordships allow me to speak in few words.”

Lincoln. — “No, blaster Ridley, we may not abuse the hearers’ ears.”

Ridley. — “Why, my Lord, allow me to speak three words.”

Lincoln. — “Well, tomorrow you will speak forty. The time is far past; therefore we require your answer determinately. What do you say to the **first article**?”

Ridley. — “My protestation always saved, that by my answer I do not yield to your authority as legate to the pope, I answer thus: In a sense the first article is true, and in a sense it is false; for if you take ‘really’ for ‘*vere*,’ for spiritually by grace and efficacy, then it is true that the natural body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament ‘*vere et realiter*, indeed and really.’ But if you take these terms so grossly, that you would conclude thereby a natural body having motion, to be contained under the forms of bread and wine, *vere et realiter*, then *really* the body and blood of Christ is not in the sacrament, no more than the Holy Spirit is in the element of water in our baptism.”

Because this answer was not understood, the notaries did not know how to note it. Therefore the bishop of Lincoln desired him to answer either affirmatively, or negatively, either to grant the article, or to deny it.

Ridley. — “My lord, both you and I agree in this, that in the sacrament is the very true and natural body and blood of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which

ascended into heaven, which sits at the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from there to judge the quick and the dead. We differ only in the way and manner of being, We confess all one thing to be in the sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I being fully persuaded by God's word, confess Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament indeed by Spirit and grace, because whoever worthily receives that bread and wine, effectually receives Christ's body and drinks his blood; that is, he is effectually made a partaker of his passion. You make a grosser kind of being, enclosing a natural, a lively, and a moving body, under the shape or form of bread and wine. Now, this difference considered, I answer that in the sacrament of the altar is the natural body and blood of Christ *vere et realiter*, indeed and really, for spiritually by grace and efficacy; for so every worthy receiver receives the very true body of Christ. But if you mean really and indeed, so that thereby you would include a lively and a movable body under the forms of bread and wine, then in that sense, Christ's body is not in the sacrament really and indeed."

This answer, being taken and penned by the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln proposed the **second question** or article. To whom he answered:

Ridley. — "Always my protestation reserved, I answer thus: that in the sacrament is a certain change, in that the bread, which before was common bread, is now made a lively presentation of Christ's body, and not only a figure, but effectually represents his body, that even as the mortal body was nourished by that visible bread, so the internal soul is fed with the heavenly food of Christ's body, which the eyes of faith see, as the bodily eyes see only bread. Such a sacramental mutation I grant to be in the bread and wine, which truly is no small change, but such a change as no mortal man can make, but only that omnipotency of Christ's word."

Then the bishop of Lincoln willed him to answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively, without further declaration of the matter. He answered:

Ridley. — "Notwithstanding the sacramental mutation of which I speak, and all the doctors confess, the true substance and nature of bread and wine remains, with which the body is nourished, as the soul is nourished by grace and Spirit, with the body of Christ. Even so in baptism, the body is washed with the visible water, and the soul is cleansed from all filth by the invisible Holy Spirit; and yet the water does not cease to be water, but keeps the nature of water still. In a like way, in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the bread does not cease to be bread."

Then the notaries penned, that he answered affirmatively to the second article. The bishop of Lincoln declared a difference between the sacrament of the altar and baptism, because Christ did not say, by the water, "This is the Holy Spirit," as he said by the bread, "This is my body."

Then Ridley cited St. Austin, who compared both sacraments, the one with the other. But the bishop of Lincoln recited the **third article**, and required a direct answer. He said:

Ridley. — "Christ, as St. Paul writes, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, nor can any man reiterate that sacrifice of his. And yet the communion is an acceptable sacrifice to God of praise and thanksgiving; but to say that sins are taken away by it, which was wholly and perfectly done by Christ's passion, of which the communion is only a memorial, that is a great derogation of the merits of Christ's passion. For the sacrament was instituted so that, by receiving it, and thereby recognizing and remembering his passion, we would be partakers of its merits. For otherwise this sacrament takes upon it the office of Christ's passion, by which it might follow that Christ died in vain."

The notaries penned his answer to be affirmatively. Then the bishop of Lincoln said:

“As you allege out of St. Paul, Christ made one perfect oblation for the whole world, that is, that bloody sacrifice upon the cross. Yet nevertheless, he has left this sacrifice, but not bloody, in remembrance of that by which sins are forgiven; which is no derogation of Christ’s passion.”

Then the bishop of Lincoln recited the **fourth article**, to which Ridley answered, “In some part the fourth was true, and in some part false; true, in that those assertions of his were condemned as heresies, although unjustly; false, in that it was said they were condemned by the university, for the disputations were ordered in such a way, that it was far from any school act.”

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This answer being penned by the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln recited the **fifth article**. To which Ridley answered that the premises were true in such a way as he had declared in his other answers. Whether all men spoke evil of them, he did not know, in that he did not go so much abroad as to hear what every man reported.

This answer also was written by the notaries. The bishop of Lincoln then said:

“Tomorrow, at eight o’clock, you will appear before us in St. Mary’s church, and then, because we cannot well agree upon your answer to the first article, if it will please you to write your answer, you will have pen, ink, and paper, and books, such as you require. But if you write anything except your answers to these articles, we will not receive it.” So charging the mayor with him, he also declared to the mayor that he should allow him to have a pen and ink. He dismissed Ridley, and sent for Latimer. Having been brought to the divinity school, he had tarried there till they called for him.

*Latimer’s Appearance before the Commissioners.*

Now, after Ridley was committed to the mayor, the bishop of Lincoln commanded the bailiffs to bring in the other prisoner, who, as soon as he was placed, said to the lords:

Latimer. — “My lords, if I appear again I pray you not to send for me until you are ready. For I am an old man, and it is great hurt to my old age to tarry so long gazing upon the cold walls.”

Latimer. — “Master Latimer, I am sorry you were brought so soon, although it is the bailiff’s fault, and not mine; but it will be amended.”

Then Latimer bowed his knee down to the ground. He held his hat in his hand, having a kerchief on his head, and upon it a night-cap or two (such as townsmen use, with two broad flaps to button under the chin). He wore an old threadbare Bristol frieze gown,<sup>612</sup> girded to his body with a penny-leather girdle, at which hung by a long string of leather his Testament. His spectacles, without a case, were suspended around his neck upon his breast. After this, the bishop of Lincoln began in this manner:

Lincoln. — “Master Latimer, you will understand that I and my lords here have a commission from my lord cardinal Pole’s grace, legate *à latere* to this realm of England, from our most reverend Father in God, the pope’s holiness, to examine you on certain opinions and assertions of yours, which you, here openly in disputations in the year 1554, as well as at other times, affirmed, maintained, and obstinately defended. In that commission

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<sup>612</sup> *Frieze*: a type of coarse woolen fabric with a napped surface.



there are especially two points; the one which we must desire you is that, if you will now recant, revoke, and disannul these errors of yours, and together with all this realm, yes, and all the world, confess the truth, then we, upon your due repentance, will receive you, reconcile you, acknowledge you to be no longer a strayed sheep, but join you again to the unity of Christ's church, from which you fell in the time of schism. So that it is no new matter to which I exhort you. I desire you to return to there from where you left.

“Consider that outside the unity of the church, there is no salvation; and in the church there can be no errors. Therefore, what would keep you from confessing that which all the realm confesses, to forsake that which the king and queen their majesties have renounced, and all the realm recanted? It was a common error, and it is now confessed by all, that it will be no more shame to you than it was to us all. Consider that within these past twenty years, this realm also, with all the world, confessed one church, acknowledged in Christ's church a head, and it is well known by what means and for what occasion it cut itself off from the rest of Christianity, and renounced that which was confessed in all times and ages. And it might now be declared on what good foundation the See of Rome was forsaken, except that we must spare those who are dead, to whom the reciting would be opprobrious. It is no usurped power, as it has been termed, but it is founded upon Peter by Christ, a sure foundation, a perfect builder, as it may be proved by diverse writings of the ancient fathers, as well as by the express word of God.”

Here Latimer, who before had leaned his head on his hand, began somewhat to remove his cap and kerchief from his ears. The bishop proceeded, saying,

“For Christ spoke expressly to Peter, saying, ‘Feed my sheep, and rule my lambs,’ which not only declares a certain ruling of Christ's flock, but also includes a certain pre-eminence and government. So that, in saying ‘rule,’ Christ declared a power given to Peter, which jurisdiction and power Peter delivered to Clement, and so in all ages it has remained in the See of Rome. If you will confess this with us, and acknowledge with all the realm your errors and false assertions, then you will do that which we most desire; then we will rest upon the first part of our commission; then we will receive you, acknowledge you as one of the church, and according to the authority given to us, minister to you, upon due repentance, the benefit of absolution, to which the king and queen their majesties were not ashamed to submit themselves, even though of themselves they were unspotted, and therefore needed no reconciliation. Yet, lest the putrefaction and rottenness of the whole body might be fetid, and do damage to the head also, they (as I said) most humbly submitted themselves to my lord cardinal his grace, by him, as a legate to the pope's holiness, to be partakers of the reconciliation.

“But if you stubbornly persevere in your blindness, if you will not acknowledge your errors, if you, as you now stand alone, will be singular in your opinions, if by schism and heresy you will divide yourself from your church, then we must proceed to the second part of the commission, which we would be loth to do — not to condemn you, for that we cannot do (the temporal sword of the realm, and not we, will do that) — but to separate you from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, to renounce you as no member of the church, to declare that you are a son of perdition, a lost child; and as you are a rotten member of the church, to cut you off from the church, and to commit you to the temporal judges, permitting them to proceed against you, according to the tenor of their laws.”

After the bishop had paused, Latimer lifted up his head (for before he leaned on his elbow), and asked whether his lordship had concluded; and the bishop answered, “Yes.”

Latimer. — “Then will your lordship give me leave to speak a word or two?”

Lincoln. — “Yes, Master Latimer, if you use a modest kind of talk, without railing or taunts.”

Latimer. — “I beseech your Lordship, give me leave to sit down.”

Lincoln. — “At your pleasure, Master Latimer, take as much ease as you will.”

Latimer. — “Your Lordship gently exhorted me in many words to come to the unity of the church. I confess, my lord, a catholic church, spread throughout the world, in which no man may err, and without which unity of the church no man can be saved. But I know perfectly by God’s word, that this church is in the whole world, and does not have its foundation in Rome only, as you say. And I thought your lordship brought a place out of the Scriptures to confirm the same, that there was a jurisdiction given to Peter, in that Christ had bid him to ‘rule,’ or govern his people. Indeed, my lord, St. Peter did his office well and truly, in being bid to rule. But since, the bishops of Rome have taken a new kind of ruling. Indeed they ought to rule; but how my lord? Not as they will themselves, but according to the word of God. But the bishops of Rome have turned the rule ‘according to the word of God,’ into the rule ‘according to their own pleasures.’ For there is a book which has several points set forth in it, and among others, this is one point which your lordship went about to prove by this word ‘rule.’ The argument which he brings for the proof of that matter, is taken out of Deuteronomy, where it is said that if there arises any controversy among the people, the priests of the order of Levi will decide the matter *according to the law of God*. This book, perceiving this authority is given to the priests of the old law, takes occasion to prove that the same authority is given to the bishops and the other clergy of the new law.

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“But in proving this matter, ‘according to God’s law’ is left out. My lords, we may not give such authority to the clergy, to rule all things as they will. Let them keep themselves within their commission. Now, I trust, my lord, I do not rail yet.”

Lincoln. — “No, Master Latimer, your talk is more like taunts than railing. But as I have not read the book which you blame so much, nor know of any such, I can say nothing in this.”

Latimer. — “Yes, my lord, the book is available to be read, and is written by one who is bishop of Gloucester, whom I never knew, nor did I at any time see him to my knowledge.”

With that the people laughed, because the bishop of Gloucester sat there in commission. Then the bishop of Gloucester stood up, and said it was his book.

Latimer. — “Was it yours, my lord? Indeed I did not know your lordship, nor did I ever see you before, nor do I see you now, through the brightness of the sun shining between you and me.”

Then the audience laughed again; and Lattimer spoke to them, saying, “Why, my masters, this is no laughing matter. I answer upon life and death: ‘Woe to you who laugh now, for you shall weep.’”

The bishop of Lincoln commanded silence, and then said:

“Master Latimer, if you had kept yourself within your bounds, if you had not used such scoffs and taunts, this would not have been done.”

After this, the bishop of Gloucester spoke in defense of his book.

Gloucester. — “Master Latimer, hereby every man may see what learning you have.”

Latimer. — “Behold, you look for learning at my hands, who have gone so long to the school of oblivion, making the bare walls my library, keeping me so long in prison without book, or pen and ink! And now you let me loose to come and answer to articles. You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and overnight the one, through friends and favor, is cherished, and has good counsel given him how to encounter with his enemy; the other, for envy or lack of friends, is set in the stocks the whole night. In the morning when they meet, the one is in strength and lusty; the other is stiff in his limbs, and almost dead for feebleness. Do you think that running this man through with a spear is not a goodly victory?”

But the bishop of Gloucester, interrupting his answer, proceeded saying:

“I did not go about to recite any places of Scripture in that place of my book. For then, if I had not recited it faithfully, you might have had just occasion for reprehension. But in that place I only formed an argument that if in the old law the priests had power to decide matters of controversy, then much more should the authority be given to the clergy in the new law. And I pray you, in this point, what does it avail them to recite, ‘according to the law of God?’ “

Latimer. — “Yes, my lord, very much. For I acknowledge authority to be given to the spirituality to decide matters of religion, and as my Lord said even now, to rule. But they must do it according to the word and law of God, and not according to their own will, nor according to their own imaginations and fantasies.”

But the bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this saying of Latimer, proceeded to recite the articles in form, as it was declared before in the examination of the articles proposed to Ridley. And he required Latimer’s answer to the **first article**. Then Latimer, making his protestation that notwithstanding his answers, it should not be taken that thereby he acknowledged any authority of the bishop of Rome. He said that he was the king and queen’s subject, and not the pope’s, nor could he serve two masters at one time, unless he were now to renounce one of them. He requested the notaries to so take his protestation, that whatever he were to say or do, it should not be taken as though he thereby agreed to any authority that came from the bishop of Rome. The bishop of Lincoln said that his protestation would be so taken. But he required him to answer briefly the first article, affirmatively or negatively, and so he recited the same again. Latimer answered as follows:

Latimer. — “I do not deny, my lord, that in the sacrament, by spirit and grace, is the very body and blood of Christ, because every man, by receiving bodily that bread and wine, spiritually receives the body and blood of Christ, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Christ’s passion. But I deny that the body and blood of Christ is so in the sacrament, as you would have it.”

Lincoln. — “Then, Master Latimer, you answer affirmatively.”

Latimer. — “Yes, if you mean of that gross and carnal being, which you take it to be.”

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively.

Lincoln. — “What do you say, Master Latimer, to the **second article**?”

Latimer. — “There is, my lord, a change in the bread and wine, and such a change as no power but the omnipotence of God can make, in that what before was bread, should now have the dignity to exhibit Christ’s body. And yet the bread is still bread, and the wine still wine. For the change is not in the nature, but in the dignity, because what now was common bread has the dignity to exhibit Christ’s body. For whereas it was common bread, it is now

no longer common bread, nor should it be so taken, but as holy bread sanctified by God's word.'

Lincoln. — "Look, Master Latimer, see what steadfastness is in your doctrine. What you most abhorred and despised, you now most establish. For whereas you railed most at holy bread, you now make your communion to *be* holy bread."

Latimer. — "A rush for holy bread! I say the bread in the communion is holy bread indeed."

But the bishop of Lincoln interrupted him, and said: — "Oh! You differentiate between holy bread and holy bread. Well, Master Latimer, is your answer not that the substance of bread and wine remains after the words of consecration?"

Latimer. — "Yes, truly, it must be so. For Christ himself calls it bread; St. Paul calls it bread, the doctors confess the same; the nature of a sacrament confirms the same; and I call it holy bread, not because I make no difference between your holy bread and this, but for the holy office which it bears — that is, to be a figure of Christ's body, and not only a bare figure, but to effectually represent the same."

So the notaries penned his answer to be affirmatively.

Lincoln. — "What do you say to the **third question**?"

Latimer. — "No, no, my lord, Christ made one perfect sacrifice for the whole world, nor can any man offer him again. Neither can the priest offer up Christ again for the sins of man, which he took away by offering himself once for all, as St. Paul says, upon the cross. Nor is there any propitiation for our sins, except his cross alone."

So the notaries penned his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.

Lincoln. — "What do you say to the **fourth article**, Master Latimer?" After the recital, which Latimer did not answer, the bishop asked him whether he heard him or not?

Latimer. — "Yes, but I do not understand what you mean by it."

Lincoln. — "Only this, that these assertions of yours were condemned by Doctor Weston as heresies; is it not so, Master Latimer?"

Latimer. — "Yes, I think they were condemned. But how unjustly. He who shall be judge of all knows."

So the notaries took his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.

Lincoln. — "What say you, Master Latimer, to the **fifth article**?"

Latimer. — "I do not know what you mean by these terms. I am no lawyer, I would have you propose the matter plainly."

Lincoln. — "As we proceed according to the laws, we must use their terms also. The meaning is this: that these assertions of yours are notorious, evilly spoken of, and yet they are common and frequent in the mouths of the people."

[849] A.D. 1555.

Latimer. — "I cannot tell how much, nor what men say about them. I do not come so much among them, for I have been secluded a long time. What men report about them I do not know, nor do I care."

This answer taken, the bishop of Lincoln said:—

Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

Master Latimer, we do not mean that these answers of yours will be prejudicial to you. Tomorrow you will appear before us again, and then it will be lawful for you to alter and change what you will. We give you respite till tomorrow, trusting that after you have pondered well all things against tomorrow, you will not be ashamed to confess the truth.”

Latimer. — “Now, my lord, I pray you give me license to declare the reasons why I have refused the authority of the pope.”

Lincoln. — “No, Master Latimer, tomorrow you will have license to speak.”

Latimer. — “No, my lords, I beseech you to do with me now as it pleases your lordships. I pray you, do not let me be troubled again tomorrow.”

Lincoln. — “Yes, Master Latimer, you must appear again tomorrow.”

Latimer. — “Truly, my lord, for my part I require no respite, for I am at a point. You will give me respite in vain. Therefore I pray you, do not let me trouble you tomorrow.”

Lincoln. — “Yes, for we trust God will work with you against tomorrow. There is no remedy. You must appear again tomorrow, at eight o’clock, in St. Mary’s church.”

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The next day, which was the 1st of October, the lords repaired to St. Mary’s church, and after they were set in a high throne, well-trimmed with cloth of tissue and silk, Ridley appeared. He was set at a framed table, a good distance from the bishop’s feet. The table had a silk cloth thrown over it; the place was compassed about with framed seats, partly for gentlemen who repaired there, and for the heads of the university to sit, and partly to keep away the press of the audience. For the whole body of the university, as well as of the town, came to see the end of these two persons. After Ridley’s appearance, and the silence of the audience, the bishop of Lincoln spoke in the following manner:

“Master Ridley, yesterday when we challenged you for not uncovering your head, you excused yourself of what no man accused you, in saying that you did not put on your cap for any obstinacy towards us, who desired no such obedience of you, but only in respect to those whose persons we bear. Neither, you said, was it for any contempt that you bear to this worshipful audience which, although it justly may, yet in this case it requires no such humility from you. Neither was it for any derogation of ‘honor to my lord cardinal’s grace, in that he is descended from regal blood, in that he is a most noble man, both for his excellent qualities and singular learning. For touching those points, you said, you would honor, reverence, and worship his grace with all humility. But in that he is legate to the most reverend father in God, the pope’s holiness” (with that the bishop with all those present, put off their caps, but Ridley did not remove his), “you said you neither could, nor would by any means be induced to give him honor. But because this is the point, as we told you yesterday, why we require honor and reverence from you, we tell you now as we did then, unless you take the pains to remove your bonnet, we will take the pains to have your bonnet taken from you — unless you pretend sickness, as yesterday you did not.”

Ridley. — “I pretend now no other cause than I did yesterday; that is, only that it may appear that not only in word and confession, but also by all my gestures and behavior, in no point will I agree or admit any authority or power that comes from the pope, and not for any pride of mind (as God is my judge), nor for contempt of your lordships, or of this worshipful audience, nor for derogation of honor due my lord cardinal’s grace, concerning those points which your lordship spoke of — that is, his noble parentage and singular graces in learning.

And as for taking away my cap, your lordship may do as it pleases you; it will not offend me. But I will be content with your ordinance in that behalf.”

Lincoln. — “Because you answer now as you did yesterday, we must also do as we did then;” and immediately one of his beadles very hastily snatched Ridley’s cap from his head.

After this, the bishop of Lincoln began the examination in the following manner:

“Master Ridley, yesterday we took your answer to certain articles, which we then proposed to you. But because we could not be thoroughly satisfied with your answer then to the first article, neither could the notaries take any determinate answer from you, we granted you (and you requesting the same) license to bring your answer in writing, and we commanded the mayor that you should have pen, paper, and ink, and yes, also any books that you would require, if they were to be gotten. We licensed you then to also alter your former answers this day at your pleasure. Therefore we have come here to see whether you are in the same mind now that you were in yesterday (which we would not wish), or on the other hand, you are content to revoke all your former assertions, and in all points consent to submit yourself to the determination of the universal church. And I, for my part, most earnestly exhort you, not because my conscience pricks me, as you said yesterday, but because I see you as a rotten member, and in the way of perdition.

“Yesterday I quoted among others, St. Augustine, to prove that authority has always been given to the See of Rome. And you twisted the words far contrary to his meaning, in that you would have ‘the whole world’ to be applied only to Europe, which is but a third of the world.”

But Ridley still persevered in his former answer, saying, “I am sure, my lord, you have some skill in geography, in which you understand that there is a sea called the Mediterranean between Europe and Africa. He was then in Africa, and he meant Europe beyond the sea, even as I might say the whole world beyond the sea, and I would thereby be excepting England in which I stand.” Here many words were spent on the interpretation of St. Augustine.

Then he came to St. Cyril, who, as he said, made against Ridley in the sacrament, even by Melancthon’s own alleging. He called for Melancthon, but in vain, because all such books were burned a little before; therefore he passed it over. The bishop of Lincoln continued:

“St. Cyril also in another place, proving to the Jews that Christ had come, uses this reason: altars are erected in Christ’s name in Britain, and in far countries. Therefore Christ has come. But we may use the contrary of that reason; altars are plucked down in Britain: therefore Christ has not come. A good argument *a contrariis*.<sup>613</sup> I will stand to it in the schools by and by with any man. You see what a good argument your doctrine makes for the Jews, to prove that Christ has not come.”

Ridley (smiling). — “Your lordship is not ignorant that this word ‘altar’ in the Scriptures signifies, the altar upon which the Jews customarily made their burnt sacrifices, as well as the table of the Lord’s supper. St. Cyril means there by this word ‘altar,’ not the Jewish altar, but the table of the Lord, and by that saying (altars are erected in Christ’s name, therefore Christ has come) he means that the communion is ministered in his remembrance; therefore Christ has come: for the strength of his argument is because the remembrance of a thing cannot be, unless itself is past. So then, all countries could not celebrate the

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<sup>613</sup> *a contrariis* (Lat.): an argument that is based on the opposite of a certain premise.

communion in remembrance of Christ's passion, unless Christ had come and had suffered. As for taking down the altars, it was done upon just considerations; for they seemed to come too near to the Jews' usage. Nor was the supper of the Lord at any time better ministered, or more duly received, than in those latter days when all things were brought to the rites and usages of the primitive church."

Lincoln. — "A goodly receiving, I promise you, to set up an oyster table instead of an altar, and to come from puddings at Westminster to receive it! And yet when your table was constituted, you could never be content in placing it now east, now north, now one way, now another, until it pleased God of his goodness to place it clean out of the church."

[850]

Ridley. — "Your lordship's irreverent terms do not elevate the thing. Perhaps some men come more devoutly from puddings, than other men now do from other things."

Lincoln. — "As for that, Master Ridley, you ought to be judge of no man. But by your reasoning you cause us to stretch and enlarge our instructions. We did not come to reason, but to take your determinate answers to our articles. Now, what do you say to the first article? If you have brought your answer in writing, we will receive it; but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it."

Then Ridley took a sheet of paper out of his bosom, and began to read what he had written. But the bishop of Lincoln commanded the beadle to take it from him. He desired license to read it, saying that it was nothing but his answers, but the bishop would in no way permit him.

Ridley. — "Why, my lord, will you require my answer, and not permit me to publish it? I beseech you, my lord, let the audience bear witness in this matter. Your lordships may handle it at your pleasure. Therefore let the audience be witness to your doings."

Lincoln. — "Well, Master Ridley, we will first see what you have written, and then, if we think it good to be read, you will have it published. But unless you deliver it first to us, we will take none at all from you."

With that, seeing no remedy, Ridley delivered it to an officer, who immediately delivered it to the bishop of Lincoln. After he had secretly communicated it to the other two bishops, he declared the sense of it, but he would not read it as it was written, saying that it contained words of blasphemy. Therefore he would not fill the ears of the audience with it, even if Ridley desired very urgently to have it published, saying that except for a line or two, there was nothing contained in it but the sayings of the ancient doctors for the confirmation of his assertions.

After the bishops had secretly viewed the whole, then the bishop of Lincoln said: "In the first part, Master Ridley, there is nothing contained but your protestation, that you would not have your answers be so taken, as though you seemed thereby to consent to the authority or jurisdiction of the pope's holiness."

Ridley. — "No, my lord, I pray you read it out, so that the audience may hear it." But the bishop of Lincoln would in no way permit that. "Because," he said, "words of blasphemy were contained in it."

Then the bishop of Lincoln recited the first article, and required Ridley's answer to it. Ridley said that his answer was there in writing, and desired that it might be published. But the bishop would not read the whole, except for a piece of it here and there. So the notaries took

his answer, that he referred him to his answer in writing, and also before at the time of disputation. Doctor Weston was prolocutor. <sup>614</sup>

In like manner, the bishop of Lincoln recited the second article, and required an answer. Ridley referred him to his answer in writing, exhibited now and also before at the time of disputation; and similar answers were given to the remainder of the articles.

These answers being recited, taken, and penned by the notaries, the bishop of Gloucester began an exhortation to move Ridley to recant.

Gloucester. — “If you would just once empty your stomach, captivate your senses, subdue your reason, and together with us consider what a feeble ground you have for your religion, I do not doubt that you might easily be induced to acknowledge one church with us, to confess one faith with us, and to believe one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble stay in religion is this, I pray you? Latimer leans to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit. So that, if you overthrow the singularity of Ridley’s wit, then the religion of Cranmer and Latimer must also fall. You remember well, Master Ridley, that the prophet speaks most truly, saying: Woe to those who are wise in their own conceits. But you will say here, it is true what the prophet says, but how do you know that I am wise in my own conceit? Yes, Master Ridley, for you refuse the determination of the catholic church. You must therefore be singular and wise in your own conceit, for you bring Scripture for the proof of your assertions, and we also bring Scriptures; you understand them in one sense, and we in another. How will you know the truth in this? If you stand to your own interpretation, then you are singular in your own conceit. But if you say you will follow the minds of the doctors and ancient fathers in like manner, and you understand them in one meaning, and we take them in another, then how will you know the truth in it? If you stand to your own judgment, then you are singular in your own conceit; and then you cannot avoid the woe which the prophet speaks of. Therefore, you have no stay but the catholic church in matters of controversy, unless you rest upon the singularity and wisdom of your own brain. If the prophet most truly says, Woe, woe to those who are wise in their own conceit, then for God’s love, Master Ridley, do not stand singular; do not be wise in your own conceit; do not please yourself over much.

“How were the Arians, the Manichees, Eutychians, with other diverse heretics which have been in the church, how, I ask you, were they suppressed and convinced? By reasoning in disputations? No, truly, for the Arians had no more places of Scripture to confirm their heresy, than the catholics for the defense of the truth. How then were they convinced? Only by the determination of the church. And indeed, unless we constitute the church as our foundation, stay, and judge, we can have no end of controversies, no end of disputations. Because we all bring Scriptures and doctors for the proof of our assertions, who should be judge of this controversy of ours? If we ourselves then are singular and wise in our own conceits, then we cannot avoid the woe that the prophet speaks of. It remains, therefore, that we submit ourselves to the determination of the church, with whom God promised to remain to the world’s end, to whom he promised to send the Holy Spirit which would teach it the truth. Therefore, Master Ridley, if you would avoid the woe that the prophet speaks of, do not be wise in your own judgment. If you will not be wise and singular in your own judgment, captivate your own understanding, subdue your reason, and submit yourself to the determination of the church.”

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<sup>614</sup> *Prolocutor*: spokesman or chairman of an assembly.



This is briefly the sum of the oration of the bishop of Gloucester, by which he endeavored in many more words, amplifying and enlarging the matter eloquently with sundry points of rhetoric, to move the affections, to persuade Ridley to recant and forsake his religion.

Ridley answered in few words, that he said most truly with the prophet, Woe to him who is wise in his own conceit. But he acknowledged no such singularity in himself, nor knew any reason why he should attribute so much to himself.

Likewise the bishop of Lincoln with many words, and gently holding his cap in his hand, desired him to turn. But Ridley made an absolute answer, that he was fully persuaded, the religion which he defended was grounded upon God's word. And therefore, without great offense towards God, and great peril and damage to his soul, he could not forsake his Master and Lord God. But he desired the bishop to perform his grant, in that his lordship said the day before, that he would have license to show his reasons why he could not with a safe conscience admit the authority of the pope. But the bishop of Lincoln said that whereas then he had demanded license to speak *three* words, he was content then that he should speak *forty*, and that grant he would perform.

Then Doctor Weston, who had sat by, stepped forward and said, "Why, my Lord, he has spoken four hundred already."

Ridley confessed he had, but they were not of his prescribed number, nor on that matter. The bishop of Lincoln bid him take his leave, but he should speak *only* forty, and he would count them on his fingers. Ridley began to speak. But before he had ended half a sentence, the doctors sitting by cried out and said that his number had run out; and with that, he was put to silence.

[851] A.D. 1555.

After this the bishop of Lincoln, who sat in the midst, began to speak as follows:

"Now, I perceive. Master Ridley, you will not permit nor allow us to stay on that point of our commission which we desired. For indeed, for my part I take God to witness, I am sorry for you." Whereupon Ridley answered:

Ridley. — "I believe it well, my lord, because one day it will be burdensome to your soul."

Lincoln. — "No, not so, Master Ridley. It is because I am sorry to see such stubbornness in you, that by no means may you be persuaded to acknowledge your errors, and receive the truth. But seeing it is so, because you will not allow us to persist in the first, we must of necessity proceed to the other part of our commission. Therefore I pray you, hearken to what I will say," and immediately he read the sentence of condemnation, which was written in a long process. The tenor of it, because it was already sufficiently expressed before, we thought it fitting to omit it in this place, for they are words of course, rather than things devised upon deliberation. The effect was that, as Nicholas Ridley affirmed, maintained, and stubbornly defended certain opinions, assertions and heresies, contrary to the word of God, and the received faith of the church, such as in denying the true and natural body of Christ, and his natural blood to be in the sacrament of the altar: secondly, in affirming that the substance of bread and wine remain after the words of consecration: thirdly, in denying the mass to be a lively sacrifice of the church for the quick and the dead, and he would by no means be induced and brought from these his heresies, they therefore — the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, and John of Bristol — judged and condemned the said Nicholas Ridley as a heretic. And so they adjudged him presently, both by word and also in deed, to be degraded from the degree of a bishop, from priesthood, and all ecclesiastical

orders. They declared, moreover, the said Nicholas Ridley to be no member of the church, and therefore, committed him to the secular power to receive due punishment according to the temporal laws; and further, excommunicated him by the great excommunication.

This sentence being published by the bishop of Lincoln, Ridley was committed as a prisoner to the mayor, and immediately Latimer was sent for. But in the meantime, the carpet or cloth which lay upon the table where Ridley stood was removed, because Latimer had never received the degree of a doctor, as Ridley had. But as soon as Latimer appeared, perceiving no cloth upon the table, he laid his hat under his elbows, and immediately spoke to the commissioners, saying:

“My lords, I beseech your lordships to set a better arrangement here at the entrance; for I am an old man, and have a very weak back, so that the press of the multitude does me much harm.”

Lincoln. — “I am sorry. Master Latimer, for your hurt. At your departure we will see to better order.”

With that, Latimer thanked his lordship, making a very low curtsy. After this, the bishop of Lincoln began in this manner:

“Master Latimer, although yesterday, after we had taken your answers to those articles which we proposed, we might have justly proceeded to judgment against you, especially as you requested it, yet having a good hope of your returning, not desiring your destruction, but rather that you would recant, revoke your errors, and turn to the catholic church, we deferred further process till this day. And now, according to the appointment, we have called you here before us, to hear whether you are content to revoke your heretical assertions, and submit yourself to the determination of the church, as we most heartily desire; and for my part, as I did yesterday, I most earnestly exhort you.”

It seemed that the bishop would have proceeded further, but Latimer interrupted him, saying:

“Your lordship often repeats the ‘catholic church,’ as if I denied it. No, my lord, I confess there is a catholic church, to the determination of which I will stand; but not the church which you call ‘catholic,’ which should sooner be termed ‘diabolic.’ And where you join together the Roman and the Catholic church, stop there, I pray you. For it is one thing to say ‘Roman church,’ and another thing to say ‘Catholic church.’ I must use here the advice of St. Cyprian. When he was cited before some bishops who gave him leave to take deliberation and counsel to test and examine his opinion, he answered them thus: ‘In sticking and persevering in the truth, no counsel or deliberation must be taken.’ And again, he was asked by those sitting in judgment, who was most likely to be of the church of Christ, the one who was persecuted, or those who persecuted? ‘Christ,’ he said, ‘has foreshown that whoever would follow him, must take up his cross and follow him.’ Christ gave knowledge that the disciples would have persecution and trouble. What do you think, then, my lords? Is it likely that the See of Rome is the church, which has been a continual persecutor, or rather, that small flock which has been continually persecuted by it, even to death?”

Lincoln. — “Your cause and St. Cyprian’s is not one, but clean contrary. For he suffered persecution for Christ’s sake and the gospel’s; but you are in trouble for your errors and false assertions, contrary to the word of God, and the received truth of the church.”

Latimer (interrupting him). — “Yes, truly, my cause is as good as St. Cyprian’s. For his was for the word of God, and so is mine.”

Lincoln. — “Also at the beginning and foundation of the church, it could only be that the apostles would suffer great persecution. Further, before Christ’s coming, there were very few who continually truly served God. But after his coming, the time of grace began, and then the church began to increase, and it was continually augmented, until it came to this perfection. And now it justly has that jurisdiction which the unchristian princes resisted before by tyranny. There is a different consideration of the estate of the church now in the time of grace, and before Christ’s coming. But although we had instructions given us to determinately take your answer to such articles as we would propose, without any reasoning or disputations, yet hoping by talk to somewhat prevail with you, we appointed you to appear before us yesterday in the divinity school. And whereas then, notwithstanding that you had license to say your mind, and were answered in every matter, you could not be brought from your errors. Thinking that from that time you would, with good advice, consider your state, we gave you respite from that time yesterday when we dismissed you, until this time. And now we have called you again here in this place, to learn whether you are the same man you were then or not? Therefore we will propose to you the same articles which we did then, and require of you a determinate answer, without further reasoning.”

Latimer. — “Always my protestation saved, that by my answers it should not be thought that I condescended and agreed to your lordship’s authority, in that you are delegated by the authority of the pope, so that thereby I might seem to consent to his jurisdiction. To the first article I answer now as I did yesterday, that in the sacrament, the worthy partaker receives the very body of Christ, and drinks his blood, by the Spirit and grace. But as to being a corporeal substance, which the Romish church prescribes, Christ’s body and blood is *not* in the sacrament under the forms of bread and wine.”

The notaries took his answer to be affirmative. For the second article he referred himself to his answers made before.

After this the bishop of Lincoln recited the third article, and required a determinate answer.

Latimer. — “Christ made one oblation and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and that was a perfect sacrifice; nor does there need to be any other; nor *can* there be any other propitiatory sacrifice.”

The notaries took his answer to be affirmative.

In like manner he answered to the other articles, not varying from his answers made the day before.

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After his answers were penned by the notaries, and the bishop of Lincoln had exhorted him to recant, as he did Ridley, and to revoke his errors and false assertions, Latimer answered that he neither could, nor would deny his Master Christ and his truth. The bishop desired Latimer to hearken to him; and then Latimer, listening for some new matter, the bishop of Lincoln read his condemnation. After the publication of this, the three bishops broke up their sessions, and dismissed the audience.

But Latimer requested the bishop to perform his promise, in saying the day before that he would have license briefly to declare the reason why he refused the pope’s authority. But the bishop said that now he could not hear him, nor ought to talk with him. Then Latimer asked him whether it was lawful for him to appeal from his judgment. And the bishop asked him again to whom he would appeal. “To the next general council,” said Latimer, “which will be

truly called in God's name." The bishop was content with that appeal; but he said it would be a long time before such a convocation as Latimer meant would be called.

Then the bishop committed Latimer to the mayor, saying, "Now he is your prisoner, Master Mayor." And so Bishop Ridley and Master Latimer continued in prison till October 16th.

*A Communication between Doctor Brooks and Doctor Ridley,  
in the house of Master Irish, the 15th of October, at which time he was degraded.*

In the meantime, on the 15th of October, in the morning, the bishop of Gloucester (Doctor Brooks), and the vice-chancellor of Oxford (Doctor Marshall), with several others of the chief and heads of the university, and many others accompanying them, came to the house of Master Irish, then mayor of Oxford. This is where Doctor Ridley, late bishop of London, was a close prisoner. When the bishop of Gloucester came into the chamber where Ridley lay, he told him the purpose of their coming. He said that yet once again the queen's majesty offered to him, by them, her gracious mercy, if he would receive the same, and come back again to the faith which he was baptized in, and revoke his erroneous doctrine that he of late had taught abroad, to the destruction of many. He further said that if Ridley would not recant and become one of the catholic church with them, then they must (against their wills) proceed according to the law, which they were very loath to do. "But," he says, "we have oftentimes been with you, and have requested that you would recant your fantastical and devilish opinion. Therefore, good Master Ridley, consider with yourself the danger that will ensue, both of body and soul, if you so willfully cast yourself away in refusing the mercy offered to you at this time."

"My lord," answered Ridley, "you know my mind fully in this. And as for the doctrine which I have taught, my conscience assures me that it was sound, and according to God's word (let it be spoken to his glory). This doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue moves, and breath is within my body, and in confirmation of which, seal the same with my blood."

Brooks. — "Well, it would have been best, Master Ridley, for you not to do so, but to become one of the church with us. For you know this well enough, that whoever is outside of the catholic church, cannot be saved. Therefore, I say once again, that while you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confess with us the pope's holiness to be the chief head of the same church."

Ridley. — "I marvel that you would trouble me with any such vain and foolish talk. You know my mind concerning the usurped authority of that Roman antichrist. As I confessed openly in the schools, so I do now, that both by my behavior and talk, I will do no obedience at all to the bishop of Rome, nor to his usurped authority, and that is for diverse good and godly considerations."

And here Ridley would have reasoned with the bishop of Gloucester about the bishop of Rome's authority, but it was not permitted. And yet he spoke so earnestly against the pope, that the bishop told him if he would not hold his peace, he would be compelled against his will. "And seeing," he said, "that you will not receive the queen's mercy now offered to you, but stubbornly refuse the same, we must, against our wills, proceed according to our commission, to degrading — taking from you the dignity of priesthood. For we take you for no bishop, and therefore we will be done with you the sooner. So, committing you to the secular power, you know what follows."

Ridley. — “Do with me as it pleases God to permit you; I am well content to abide it with all my heart.”

Brooks. — “Put off your cap. Master Ridley, and put upon you this surplice.”

Ridley. — “Truly, I will not.”

Brooks. — “But you must.”

Ridley. — “I will not.”

Brooks. — “You must. Therefore, make no more ado, but put this surplice upon you.”

Ridley. — “Truly, if it comes upon me, it will be against my will.”

Brooks. — “Will you not put it upon you?”

Ridley. — “No, that I will not do.”

Brooks. — “It will be put upon you one way or the other.”

Ridley. — “Do in this as it pleases you. I am well content with that; and more than that, the servant is not above his Master. If they dealt so cruelly with our Savior Christ, as the Scripture mentions, and he suffered it patiently, how much more does it become us, His servants!”

On saying these words, they put the surplice on him, with all the trinkets pertaining to the mass. As they were putting it on, Ridley vehemently inveighed against the Roman bishop, and all that foolish apparel, calling him antichrist, and the apparel foolish and abominable, so that Brooks was exceedingly angry with him, and bid him to hold his peace. Ridley answered him back, saying, “So long as my tongue and breath will allow me, I will speak against these abominable doings, whatever happens to me for doing so.”

“Well,” said Brooks, “it would have been best for you to hold your peace, lest your mouth be stopped.” At these words one Edridge, then the reader of the Greek lecture, standing by, said to Doctor Brooks, “Sir, the law is that he should be gagged; therefore let him be gagged.” At these words Ridley, looking earnestly at him, shook his head at him, and made no answer, but with a sigh said, “Oh well, well, well.” So they proceeded in their doings. Yet nevertheless, Doctor Ridley was ever saying things unpleasant to their ears, even though one or the other bade him to hold his peace, lest he be made to do so against his will.

When they came to that place where Ridley would hold the chalice and the wafer-cake (called the singing-bread) they bade him to hold it in his hands. But Ridley said, “They will not come into my hands, for if they do, they will fall to the ground.” Then one was appointed to hold them in his hand, while Bishop Brooks read a certain paper in Latin, regarding the degradation of spiritual persons, according to the pope’s law.

Afterwards, they put a book in his hand, and read as follows, which was, “We take from you the office of preaching the gospel,” etc. At these words Ridley gave a great sigh, looking up towards heaven, saying, “O Lord God, forgive them this wickedness of theirs.”

And as they put upon him the mass-robes, they began with the uppermost garment, in taking it away again, reading a paper in Latin according to the order contained in the book of the pope’s law. Now when all was taken from him, save only the surplice left on his back as they were reading and taking it away, Ridley said to them, “What power do you have, that you can take from a man that which he never had? I was never a singer in all my life, and yet you would take from me that which I never had!”

[853] A.D. 1555.

So when all this their ridiculous degradation was ended, Ridley said very solemnly to Doctor Brooks, “Are you done? If you are done, then give me leave to talk with you a little concerning these matters.” Brooks answered, “We may not talk with you; you are out of the church. And our law is that we may not talk with any who are out of the church.” Then Ridley said, “Seeing that you will not allow me to talk, nor will you grant to hear me, I have no remedy but patience? I refer my cause to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that are amiss, when it pleases him.”

At these words they would have departed, but Ridley said, “My lord, I wish that your lordship would grant to read over and peruse a little book of Bertram’s writing concerning the sacrament.<sup>615</sup> I promise you, you shall find much good learning in it, if you will read it with an unprejudiced judgment.” Doctor Brooks gave no answer to this, but would have gone away. Then Ridley said, “Oh, I perceive that you cannot bear this manner of talk. Well, it does not avail; I will say no more. I will speak of worldly affairs. I pray you therefore, my lord, hear me, and be an intermediary to the queen’s majesty, in behalf of a great many poor men, and especially for my poor sister and her husband, who stands there. They had a poor living granted to them by me while I was in the see of London. The same is taken away from them by the one who now occupies the same place, without any law or conscience. Here I have a supplication to the queen’s majesty in their behalf. You will hear the same read, so you will perceive the matter the better.” Then he read it, and when he came to the place in the supplication that touched his sister by name, he so wept, that for a little time he could not speak for weeping. After he had left off weeping, he said, “This is nature that moves me. But I am now done.” And with that, he read out the rest, and delivered it to his brother, commanding him to send it up to the queen’s majesty, and to sue not only for himself, but also for those who had any leases or grants by him, and were put away from them by Doctor Bonner. Brooks said, “Indeed, Master Ridley, your request in this supplication is very lawful and honest. Therefore I must in conscience speak to the queen’s majesty for them.”

Ridley. — “I pray you for God’s sake, do so.”

Brooks. — “I think your request would be granted, except that one thing prevents it. And that is because you do not agree to the queen’s proceedings, but obstinately withstand them; so that it will hardly be granted.”

Ridley. — “What remedy then? I can do no more than speak and write. I trust I have discharged my conscience, and God’s will be done.”

Brooks. — “I will do what it lies in me to do.”

The degradation being over, and all things finished, Doctor Brooks called the bailiffs, delivering Ridley to them with this charge: to keep him safely from anyone speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then Ridley praised God, and burst out with these words, saying, “God, I thank you; and may it be spoken to your praise, that there is none of you all who is able to lay to my charge

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<sup>615</sup> Bertram the priest, or **Ratramnus** - a Frankish monk of the monastery of Corbiel, died c. 870. He authored a treatise on the Eucharist titled *De corpore et sanguine Domini* (On the Body and Blood of the Lord) in response to the realist Eucharistic theology of his abbot, Paschasius Radbertus. It is a counterpoint to Radbertus' doctrine of the physical presence of Christ in the sacrament. Ratramnus argued that Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist are not physically present, but are only spiritually and symbolically present.

The treatise was originally composed in Latin at the command of Emperor Charles the Bald, likely between the 8th and 9th centuries. It was first translated into English in 1549.

any open or notorious crime. For if you could, it would surely be laid against me, I see very well.” Brooks said he played the part of a proud Pharisee, exalting and praising himself.

But Ridley said, “No, no, no, as I have said before, may it be spoken to God’s glory. I confess myself to be a miserable wretched sinner. I have great need of God’s help and mercy, and I daily call and cry for the same. Therefore, I pray you, have no such opinion of me.” Then they departed. In going away, a warden of a college bade Ridley repent, and forsake that erroneous opinion. Ridley said, “Sir, repent, for you are outside of the truth. And I pray God, if it is his blessed will, to have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word.” Then the warden, being in a rage, said. “I trust that I will never be of your erroneous and devilish opinion, nor yet be in that place where you will go. You are the most obstinate and willful man that I ever heard talk since I was born.”

The night before Ridley suffered, his beard and his legs were washed. And as he sat at supper in the house of Master Irish (who was his keeper), he invited his hostess and the rest of the board to his marriage. For, he said, tomorrow I must be married; and he showed himself to be as cheerful as he ever was before. Wishing his sister to be at his marriage, he asked his brother sitting at the table, whether she could find it in her heart to be there or not. He answered, ‘Yes, I dare say, with all her heart,’ at which he said, he was glad to hear so much about her. So at this talk, Mistress Irish wept.

But Ridley comforted her, and said, “O Mistress Irish, you do not love me now, I see well enough. For as you weep, it appears you will not be at my marriage, nor are you content with it. Indeed you are not so much my friend as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself. Though my breakfast will be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper will be more pleasant and sweet,” etc.

When they arose from the table, his brother offered to watch all night with him. But Ridley said, “No, no, that you will not. For I mind (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly tonight, as I ever did in my life.” So his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for the reward was great, etc.

*The behavior of Ridley and Latimer,  
at the time of their death, October 16th, A.D. 1555.*

The place appointed for the execution was on the north side of the town, in the ditch over against Balliol College. For fear of any tumult that might arise to prevent their burning, the Lord Williams and the householders of the city were commanded by the queen’s letters to be assistants, sufficiently armed. And when everything was in readiness, the prisoners were brought out by the mayor and bailiffs.

Ridley had a furred black gown, faced with foins,<sup>616</sup> such as he usually wore as a bishop, and a tippet of velvet,<sup>617</sup> likewise furred about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner-cap over it. He went in a pair of slippers to the stake, between the mayor and an alderman, etc.

After him came Latimer in a poor Bristol frieze frock all worn, with his buttoned cap, and a handkerchief on his head, a new long shroud hanging over his hose down to his feet: which at the first sight stirred men’s hearts to mourn — beholding on one hand the honor they once had, and on the other, the calamity to which they had fallen.

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<sup>616</sup> *Foin*: A kind of fur, black at the top on a whitish ground, taken from the ferret or weasel of the same name.

<sup>617</sup> *Tippet*: a short cape-like garment worn around the neck and shoulders, often with hanging ends.

Ridley, as he passed by the prison, looked up to where Cranmer lay, hoping to have seen him at the window, and to have spoken to him. But then Cranmer was busy with Friar Soto and his fellows, disputing together, so that he could not see him. Then Ridley, looking back, saw Latimer coming after him. He said to him, "Oh, are you there?" "Yes," said Master Latimer. "as fast as I can follow." At length they came to the stake, the one after the other. Ridley first entered the place, and earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven. Then shortly after, seeing Latimer, with a wondrous cheerful look he ran to him, embraced and kissed him, and as those who stood nearby reported, comforted him, saying, "Be of good cheer, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it."

With that he went to the stake, kneeled down by it, kissed it, and prayed; and behind him Latimer kneeled, earnestly calling upon God. After they arose one talked with the other a little while, till those who were appointed to see the executions, moved themselves out of the sun. What they said I cannot learn from any man.

Then Doctor Smith, whose recantation in King Edward's time you heard before, began his sermon to them on this text of St. Paul, in Corinthians, "Though I give my body to be burnt, and have not charity. I am nothing." He alleged that the goodness of the cause, and not the manner of the death, makes the holiness of the person.

[854]

This he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford who had recently hanged herself; for they and such like them might then be adjudged righteous, who desperately sundered their lives from their bodies, as he feared that those men who stood before him would do. But still, he cried to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the church. And on the other side, he declared their varieties in opinions, as Lutherans, Oecolampadians, Zuinglians, of which sect they were, he said, and that was the worst. But the old church of Christ, and the catholic faith believed far otherwise. At this statement the two martyrs lifted up their hands and eyes to heaven, as if calling God to witness their truth. This they did in many other places of his sermon, where they thought he spoke amiss. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls.

Ridley said to Latimer, "Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?" "Latimer said, "you begin first, I pray you." "I will," said Ridley.

Then Ridley and Latimer kneeled down upon their knees towards my Lord Williams of Tame, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and other commissioners appointed for that purpose, who sat on a form near them. Ridley said, "I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words." And while my lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know, as it appeared, whether he might give him leave to speak, the bailiffs and Doctor Marshall, vice-chancellor, ran hastily to him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said, "Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same you will not only have liberty to do so, but also the benefit of a subject, that is, your life." "Not otherwise?" said Ridley. "No," replied Doctor Marshall; "Therefore if you will not do so, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts." "Well," said Ridley, "so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth: God's will be done in me." And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, "Well, then, I commit our cause to Almighty God, who shall impartially judge all."



Latimer added his own verse, "Well, there is nothing hidden but it shall be made manifest:" and he said, he could answer Smith well enough, if he might be allowed. Immediately they were commanded to make ready, which they obeyed with all meekness. Ridley took his gown and his tippet, and gave them to his brother-in-law. Master Shipside, who all his time of imprisonment, although he was not allowed to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him necessaries, which from time to time he sent him by the serjeant who kept him. Some other of his apparel that was of little worth, he gave away. The bailiffs took other parts. Besides these, he gave away some other small things to gentlemen standing by, several of whom pitifully wept; to Sir Henry Lea he gave a new groat,<sup>618</sup> and to some of my Lord Williams' gentlemen, some napkins, some nutmegs and ginger, his dial; and such other things as he had about him, to everyone who stood next to him. Some even plucked the points off his hose, and happy was the one who could get any rag from him.

Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly allowed his keeper to pull off his hose and his other apparel, which was very simple. And now being stripped to his shroud, he seemed as handsome a person to those who were present, as one could desire to see; and though in his clothes he appeared a withered and crooked old man, he now stood quite upright.

Then Ridley, standing as yet in his truss,<sup>619</sup> said to his brother, "It would be best for me to go in my truss still." "No," said his brother, "it will put you to more pain, and the truss will do a poor man good." Ridley said, "So be it, in the name of God;" and so he unlaced himself. Then, being in his shirt, he stood upon the stone, and held up his hand and said, "Oh, heavenly Father, I give you most hearty thanks, for you have called me to be a professor of You, even unto death. I beseech you, Lord God, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies."

Then the smith took a chain of iron, and fastened it about both Ridley's and Latimer's middles. As he was knocking in a staple, Ridley took the chain in his hand, and shook it, and looking aside to the smith, said, "Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have its course." Then his brother brought him gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied it about his neck, but Ridley asked what it was. His brother said, "gunpowder." Then said he, "I will take it to be sent by God; therefore, I will receive it as sent by him. And have you any," he asked, "for my brother?" (meaning Latimer) "Yes, sir, that I have," said his brother: "Then give it to him," he said, "lest you come too late." So his brother went and carried the gunpowder to Latimer.

In the meantime, Ridley spoke to my Lord Williams, and said, "My lord, I must be a suitor to your lordship in behalf of several poor men, and especially in the cause of my poor sister. I have made a supplication to the queen's majesty on their behalf. I beseech your lordship, for Christ's sake, to be a mediator to her grace for them. My brother here has the supplication, and will resort to your lordship to notify you of it. There is nothing in all the world that troubles my conscience, I praise God, except this. While I was in the see of London, some poor men took leases from me, and agreed with me for them. Now I hear that the bishop who now occupies the same place, will not allow my grants to them, but contrary to all law and conscience, has taken from them their livings, and will not permit them to enjoy them. I beseech you, my lord, be a mediator for them: you will do a good deed, and God will reward you."

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<sup>618</sup> *Groat*: an English silver coin worth four pennies, about the cost of a chair, or several loaves of bread.

<sup>619</sup> *Truss*: a set of clothes for a man that consists of a doublet (a tight jacket) and hose.

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Then they brought a faggot, kindled with fire, and laid it down at Ridley's feet. Latimer spoke to him in this manner: "Be of good comfort, brother Ridley, and play the man; WE SHALL THIS DAY LIGHT SUCH A CANDLE BY GOD'S GRACE IN ENGLAND, AS I TRUST SHALL NEVER BE PUT OUT."

And so the fire being kindled, when Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a loud voice, "Lord, into your hands I commend my spirit; Lord, receive my spirit," and repeated this latter part often in English, "Lord, Lord, receive my spirit." Latimer, crying as vehemently on the other side, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul;" he received the flame as if embracing it. After he had stroked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died, it appears, with very little pain.

And thus much concerning the end of this old and blessed servant of God, Bishop Latimer, for whose laborious services, fruitful life, and constant death, the whole realm has cause to give great thanks to Almighty God.

But Ridley lingered longer because of the badness of the fire, which only burned beneath, being kept down by the wood, which when he felt it, he desired them for Christ's sake to let the fire come to him. When his brother-in-law heard it, he did not well understand. Intending to rid him of his pain, but not well-advised as to what he did, he heaped faggots upon Ridley, so that he clean covered him. That made the fire more vehement beneath; so that it burned all his lower parts, before it once touched the upper. And that made Ridley leap up and down under the faggots, and often desired them to let the fire come to him, saying, "I cannot burn." This was apparent: for after his legs were consumed, he showed his other side toward us, shirt and all untouched with flame! Yet in all this torment he did not forget to call to God still, having in his mouth, "Lord have mercy upon me," intermingling his cry, "let the fire come to me, I cannot burn." He suffered in this pain till one of the standers-by with his bill, pulled off the faggots above. Where Ridley saw the fire flame up, he leaned himself to that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Latimer's feet.

Some said that before he fell from the stake, Ridley desired them to hold him to it with their bills. However it was, surely it moved hundreds to tears, in beholding the horrible sight.

[855] A.D. 1555.

For I think there was none who had not clean banished all humanity and mercy, who did not lament to behold the fury of the fire rage upon their bodies. There were signs of sorrow on every side. Some took it grievously to witness their deaths, whose lives they held full dear. Some pitied their persons, who thought their souls had no need of pity. His brother moved the compassion of many men, seeing his miserable case. But who, considering their preferments in times past, the places of honor that they occupied in this commonwealth, the favor they were in with their princes, and the learning they had, could refrain from sorrow with tears, to see such great dignity, honor, and estimation, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, such excellent learning, put into the fire, and consumed in one moment! Well, they are gone, and they have already had the reward of this world. What reward remains for them in heaven, I trust the day of the Lord's glory, when he comes with his saints, will shortly declare.

***Ridley's Farewell Letter, and Lamentation***

*A Letter by Doctor Ridley, instead of his last Farewell,  
to all his True and Faithful Friends in God.* <sup>620</sup>

“At the name of Jesus, let every knee bow, both of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth, and let every tongue confess, that Jesus Christ is the Lord, to the glory of God the Father, Amen.

“As a man intending to take a far journey, and to depart from his familiar friends, commonly and naturally has a desire to bid his friends farewell before his departure — so I likewise now, looking daily when I should be called to depart hence from you (O all you, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in our Savior Christ, who dwell here in this world), having a like mind towards you all (and blessed be God for such time and leisure, of which I right heartily thank His heavenly goodness), to bid you all, my dear brethren and sisters (I say in Christ) who dwell upon the earth, in such manner as I can, farewell.

“Farewell my dear brother, George Shippside, whom I have ever found faithful, trusty, and loving in all states and conditions, and now in the time of my cross, over all others, most friendly and steadfast to me, and that which liked me best over all other things, in God’s cause ever hearty.

“Farewell, my dear sister Alice, his wife. I am glad to hear of you, that you take Christ’s cross, which is laid now (blessed be God) both on your back and mine, in good part. Thank God who has given you a godly and loving husband. See that you honor him and obey him, according to God’s law. Honor your mother-in-law his mother, and love all those who pertain to him, being ready to do them good, as it will lie in your power. As for your children, I doubt not of your husband, but that He who has given him a heart to love and fear God, and in God those who pertain to him, will also make him friendly and beneficial to your children, even as if they had been gotten of his own body.

“Farewell, my dearly beloved brother, John Ridley, of the Walton; and you, my gentle and loving sister Elizabeth, whom, besides the natural league of amity, your tender love which you were said to ever bear towards me above the rest of your brethren, binds me to love. My mind was to have acknowledged this, your loving affection, and to have requited it with deeds and not with words alone. Your daughter Elizabeth I bid farewell, whom I love for the meek and gentle spirit that God has given her, which is a precious thing in the sight of God.

“Farewell, my beloved sister of Unthank,<sup>621</sup> with all your children, nephews, and nieces. Since the departing of my brother Hugh, my mind was to have been to them in place of their father; but the Lord God must and will be their father, if they would love and fear Him, and live in the way of His law.

“Farewell, my well beloved and worshipful cousins, Master Nicholas Ridley, of Willimountswicke,<sup>622</sup> and your wife, and I thank you for all your kindness shown both to me, and also to all your own kinsfolk and mine. Good cousin, as God has set you in our stock and kindred (not for any respect of your person, but of his abundant grace and goodness), to be, as it were, the bellwether to order and conduct the rest, and has also endued you with his manifold gifts of grace both heavenly and worldly above others — so I pray you, good cousin, (as my trust and hope is in you), continue and increase in the maintenance of the truth, honesty, righteousness, and all true godliness, and to the uttermost of your power, to

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<sup>620</sup> This serves as a brief biography and retrospective of Ridley’s life.

<sup>621</sup> *Unthank [Hall]*: sometimes spelled Unthanc; located 4 miles west of Haltwhistle, Northumberland.

<sup>622</sup> *Willimontswick*, or Willimoteswick: a hamlet in Northumberland, England, Ridley’s birthplace.

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withstand falsehood, untruth, unrighteousness, and all ungodliness, which is forbidden and condemned by the word and laws of God.

“Farewell, my young cousin Ralph Whitfield. Oh! your time was very short with me. My mind was to have done you good, and yet you caught in that little time a loss; but I trust it shall be recompensed, as it pleases Almighty God.

“Farewell all my whole kindred and countrymen; farewell in Christ all together. The Lord, who is the searcher of secrets, knows that according to my heart’s desire, my hope was of late that I might have come among you, and to have brought with me abundance of Christ’s blessed gospel, according to the duty of that office and ministry to which I was chosen among you, named and appointed by the mouth of our late peerless prince, King Edward, and so also denounced openly in his court, by his privy council.

“I warn you all, my well-beloved kinsfolk and countrymen, that you not be amazed or astonished at the manner of my departure and dissolution. For I assure you, I think it the most honor that I was ever called to in all my life. And therefore I thank my Lord God heartily for it, that it has pleased him to call me of his great mercy to this high honor, to suffer death willingly for his sake, and his cause; to which honor he has called the holy prophets, and dearly beloved apostles, and his blessed chosen martyrs. For know that I no more doubt that the cause for which I am put to death is God’s cause, and the cause of the truth, than I doubt that the Gospel which St. John wrote is the gospel of Christ, or that St. Paul’s epistles are the very word of God. And to have a heart willing to abide, and to stand in God’s cause, and in Christ’s quarrel even unto death, I assure you, oh man! it is an inestimable and an honorable gift of God, given only to the true elect, and dearly beloved children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. For the holy apostle, and also martyr in Christ’s cause, St. Peter, says. If you suffer rebuke in the name of Christ, that is, in Christ’s cause, and for his truth’s sake, then you are happy and blessed, for the glory of the Spirit of God rests upon you. If for rebuke’s sake suffered in Christ’s name, a man is pronounced, by the mouth of that holy apostle, blessed and happy, then how much more happy and blessed is he that has the grace to suffer death also? Therefore, all you who are my true lovers and friends, rejoice, and rejoice with me again, and render with me hearty thanks to God our heavenly Father, that for his Son’s sake, my Savior and Redeemer Christ, he has granted to call me, being otherwise without his gracious goodness, who in myself is but a sinful and vile wretch, to call me, I say, to this high dignity of his true prophets, of his faithful apostles, and of his holy elect and chosen martyrs — that is, to die and to spend this temporal life in the defense and maintenance of his eternal and everlasting truth.

“You who are my countrymen dwelling on the borders where, alas! the true man often suffers much wrong at thieves’ hands — you know if it chances a man to be slain by a thief, as it often does there, that he who went out with his neighbor to help him to reserve his goods again, and the more steadfastly he stuck by his neighbor in the fight against the faith of the thief, the more favor and friendship all his posterity will have for the slain man’s sake, of all those who are true, as long as the memory of this fact and his posterity endures. Even so, you who are my kinsfolk and countrymen, know (however the blind, ignorant, and wicked world will rail hereafter upon my death, in which they cannot do worse than their fathers did of the death of Christ our Savior, and of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs),

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“both know, I say, that before God and all those who are godly, and who truly know and follow the laws of God, you have, and shall have, by God’s grace, cause to ever rejoice, and to thank God highly, and to think good of it, and in God rejoice about me, your flesh and blood, whom God of his goodness has granted to associate with the blessed company of his holy martyrs in

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heaven. And I do not doubt in the infinite goodness of my Lord God, nor in the faithful fellowship of his elect and chosen people, but at both their hands in my cause, you will rather find *more* favor and grace. For the Lord says that he will be both to them and theirs who love Him, all the more loving again in a thousand generations. The Lord is so full of mercy to them, I say, and theirs who love Him indeed. And Christ says again, that no man can show more love than to give his life for his friends.

“Now also know, all my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and countrymen, that the cause for which I am put to death, is even in the same sort and condition, but touching more nearly God’s cause, and in more weighty matters, but in the general kind, all one. For both are God’s cause; both are in the maintenance of right; both are for the commonwealth; and both are also for the well-being of the Christian brother, even if there is yet no small difference in these two, concerning both the enemies, the goods stolen, and the manner of the fight. For you all know that when the poor man is robbed of his truly gotten goods by the thief (goods upon which the poor man and his household might live), he is greatly wronged. And the thief, in stealing and robbing with violence the poor man’s goods, offends God, transgresses His law, and is injurious both to the poor man and to the commonwealth. I say, you know that even here, in the cause of my death, it is so with the church of England — I mean the congregation of the true chosen children of God in this realm of England, whom I acknowledge not only to be my neighbors, but the congregation of my spiritual brethren and sisters in Christ — indeed, members of one body in which, by God’s grace, I am and have been grafted in Christ. This church of England has of late, by the infinite goodness and abundant grace of Almighty God, great substance, great riches of heavenly treasure, great plenty of God’s true sincere word, the true and wholesome administration of Christ’s holy sacraments, the whole profession of Christ’s religion truly and plainly set forth in baptism, the plain declaration and understanding of the same taught in the holy catechism, has been learned by all true Christians.

“The church also had a true and sincere form and manner of the Lord’s supper in which, according to Jesus Christ’s own ordinance and holy institution, Christ’s commandments were executed and done. For upon the bread and wine being set upon the Lord’s table, thanks were given, the commemoration of the Lord’s death was had; the bread, in the remembrance of Christ’s body torn upon the cross, was broken, and the cup in remembrance of Christ’s blood shed, was distributed; and both were communicated to all who were present and would receive them, and they were also exhorted by the minister to do so.

“All was done openly in the vulgar tongue, so that everything might be most easily heard and plainly understood by all the people, to God’s high glory, and the edification of the whole church. This church of late had the whole divine service, all common and public prayers ordained, said and heard in the common congregation, not only framed and fashioned to the true meaning of holy Scripture, but also set forth according to the commandment of the Lord, and St. Paul’s doctrine for the people’s edification, in their vulgar tongue.

“It also had holy and wholesome homilies in commendation of the principal virtues, which are commended in Scripture; and likewise, other homilies against the most pernicious and capital vices that, alas! used to reign in this realm of England. This church had in matters of controversy, articles so penned and framed according to the holy scriptures, and grounded upon the true understanding of God’s word, that in a short time, if they had been universally received, they would have been able to set up Christ’s true religion, and to expel many false errors and heresies with which this church, alas! was almost overrun.

“But, alas! of late, into this spiritual possession of the heavenly treasure of these godly riches, thieves have entered in, who have robbed and stripped away all this treasure. I may well complain of these things, and cry out upon them with the prophet, saying, ‘O Lord God, the gentiles, heathen nations, have come into your heritage. They have defiled your holy temple,

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and made Jerusalem a heap of stones' — that is, they have broken and beaten down to the ground your holy city. This heathenish generation, these thieves are of Samaria, these Sabans, and Chaldeans, these robbers have rushed out of their dens, and have robbed the church of England of all the foresaid holy treasure of God. They have carried it away, and overthrown it. And instead of God's holy word, the true and right administration of Christ's holy sacraments, such as baptism and others, they mixed their ministry with man's foolish fantasies, and many wicked and ungodly traditions with them.

“Instead of the Lord's holy table, they give the people with much solemn disguising;, a thing which they call their *mass*, but indeed and in truth, it is a very masking and mockery of the true supper of the Lord. Or rather, I may call it a crafty juggling, by which these false thieves and jugglers have bewitched the minds of the simple people, so that they have brought them from the true worship of God, to pernicious idolatry. They have made them believe that what indeed is neither God nor man, is Christ our Lord and Savior. Nor does it have any life in itself, but in substance, it is the creature of bread and wine, and in the use of the Lord's table, it is the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. And for his holy use, for which the Lord has ordained them in his table, to represent to us his blessed body torn upon the cross for us, and his blood shed there, it pleased him to call them his body and blood. This understanding Christ declares to be his true meaning, when he says, ‘Do this in remembrance of me.’ And again, St. Paul likewise sets out the same more plainly, speaking of the same sacrament, after the words of consecration, saying, ‘As often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you show’ (he means with the bread and drink) ‘the Lord's death till he comes.’ And here again these thieves have also robbed the people of the Lord's cup, contrary to the plain words of Christ, written in his gospel. <sup>623</sup>

“Now, for the common public prayers which were in the vulgar tongue, these thieves have brought in again a strange tongue, of which the people understand not one word. What else they do in this, but rob the people of their divine service in which they ought to pray together with the minister? And to pray in a strange tongue, what is it but (as St. Paul calls it) barbarousness, childishness, unprofitable folly, yes, and plain madness. <sup>1Cor 14:23</sup>

“For the godly articles of unity in religion, and for the wholesome homilies, what do these thieves place in their stead, but the pope's laws and decrees, lying legends, feigned fables, and miracles to delude and abuse the simplicity of the simple people? Thus this robbery and theft — no, this sacrilege and wicked spoil of heavenly things — is not only committed, but also instead of the same, what is brought in and placed there is the abominable desolation of the tyrant Antiochus, of proud Sennacherib, of the shameless-faced king, and of the Babylonish beast. I cannot consent to this robbery, to this theft and sacrilege, nor ever will (God willing) so long as the breath is in my body, because it is blasphemy against God, high treason unto Christ, our heavenly King, Lord, Master, and our only Savior and Redeemer; it is plainly contrary to God's word, and to Christ's gospel; it is the subversion of all true godliness, and it is against the everlasting salvation of my own soul, and of all my brethren and sisters whom Christ my Savior has so dearly bought with no less price than the effusion and shedding forth of his most precious blood. Therefore, all you, my true lovers in God, my kinsfolks and countrymen, know that it is for this cause, I say, that I am put to death, which by God's grace I will willingly take with hearty thanks to God, in certain hope, without any doubting, to receive everlasting life at God's hand again, of His free mercy and grace.

[857] A.D. 1555.

“Although the cause of the true man slain by the thief, helping his neighbor to recover his goods, and the cause for which I am to be put to death, in general are both one, as I said

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<sup>623</sup> That is, by restricting it to the priests, and withholding it from the congregation (“in the one kind”).

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before. Even so, know that there is no small difference. These thieves against whom I stand, are much worse than the robbers and thieves of the borders. The goods which they steal are much more precious, and their ways of fighting are far different. These thieves are worse, I say, for they are more cruel, more wicked, more false, more deceitful and crafty. For those robbers will but kill the body; these will not hesitate to kill both body and soul. Those, for general theft and robbery, are called and are indeed thieves and robbers; but these, for their spiritual kind of robbery, are called *sacrilegious* — as you would say, church-robbers. They are more wicked, for those go about to spoil men of worldly things, worldly riches, gold and silver, and worldly substance; these go about in the ways of the devil, their spiritual father, to steal from the universal church, and particularly to steal from every man all heavenly treasure, true faith, true charity, and hope of salvation in the blood of our Savior Jesus Christ. Yes, to spoil us of our Savior Jesus Christ, of his gospel, of his heavenly Spirit, and of the heavenly heritage of the kingdom of heaven, so dearly purchased for us with the death of our Master and Savior Christ. These are the goods and godly substance upon which the Christian must live before God, and without which he cannot live.

“I say, these thieves, these church robbers, go about to spoil us of these goods which, as to the man of God, they excel and far surpass all worldly treasure. So, to withstand even to the death such thieves who go about to spoil both us and the whole church of such goods, is most high and honorable service done to God. “These church-robbers are also much more false, crafty, and deceitful than the thieves on the borders. For these do not have the craft to so commend their theft, that they dare avow it. And therefore, as if acknowledging themselves to be evil, they commonly steal in the night. They dare not appear at judgments and sessions, where justice is executed; and when they are taken and brought there, they never hang any man, but they [ought to be] hanged for their faults. But these church-robbers can so cloak and color their spiritual robbery, that they can make people believe falsehood to be truth, and truth falsehood; good to be evil, and evil good; light to be darkness, and darkness light; superstition to be true religion, and idolatry to be the true worship of God; and that which is in substance the creature of bread and wine, to be no other substance than the substance of Christ the living Lord, both God and man. And with this, their falsehood and craft, they can so juggle and bewitch the understanding of the simple, that they dare avow it openly in court and in town, and fear neither hanging nor beheading, as the poor thieves of the borders do. But stout and strong like Nimrod, they dare condemn to be burned in flaming fire, quick and alive, whoever will go about to betray their falsehood.

“The fight against these church-robbers, is also of another sort and kind, than that which is against the thieves of the borders. For there the true men go out against them with spear and lance, with bow and bill, and all such kinds of bodily weapons as the true men have. But here, as the enemies are of another nature, so the watchmen of Christ’s flock, the warriors who fight in the Lord’s war, must be armed and fight with another kind of weapon and armor. For here, the enemies of God, the soldiers of antichrist, although the battle is set against the church by mortal men, being flesh and blood, they are nevertheless members of their father the devil. Their grand-master is the power of darkness, and their members are spiritual wickedness, wicked spirits, spirits of errors, of heresies, of all deceit and ungodliness, spirits of idolatry, superstition and hypocrisy, which are called by St. Paul, principalities and powers, lords of the world, rulers of the darkness of this world, and spiritual wickedness in high places. Therefore our weapons must be fit and appropriate to fight against such — not carnal or bodily weapons, such as spear and lance, but spiritual and heavenly. We must fight against such enemies with the armor of God, not intending to kill their bodies, but their errors, their false craft and heresies, their idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, and to save, as much as it lies in us, both their bodies and their souls.



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“And therefore, as St. Paul teaches us, ‘we do not fight against flesh and blood,’ that is, we do not fight with bodily weapons to kill the man, but with the weapons of God to put to flight his wicked errors and vice, and to save both body and soul. Our weapons, therefore, are faith, hope, charity, righteousness, truth, patience, prayer to God. And our sword with which we strike down our enemies, beat, and batter, and bear down all falsehood, is the word of God. With these weapons, we fight under the banner of the cross of Christ, ever having our eye on our grand master, duke, and captain, Christ. And then we reckon ourselves to triumph and to win the crown of everlasting bliss, when enduring in this battle without any shrinking or yielding to the enemies, following the example of our grand captain, Christ our Master; following the example of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs; when, I say, we are slain in our mortal bodies by our enemies, and are most cruelly and without any mercy murdered like so many sheep. And the more cruel, the more painful, the more vile and spiteful is the kind of death to which we are put, the more glorious in God, the more blessed and happy we reckon (without any doubts) our martyrdom to be.

“And thus much, dear lovers and friends in God, my countrymen and kinsfolk, I have spoken for your comfort, lest you might be abashed or think any evil of my death (of whose life you looked, perhaps, sometimes to have had honesty, pleasures, and commodities). Whereas you have cause rather to rejoice (if you love me indeed) that it has pleased God to call me to a greater honor and dignity than I ever enjoyed before, either in Rochester or in the see of London, or would ever have had in the see of Durham, to which I was last of all elected and named. Indeed, I count it greater honor before God indeed to die in his cause (of which I doubt nothing) than is any earthly or temporal promotion or honor that can be given to a man in this world. And who is he that knows the cause to be God’s, and to be Christ’s quarrel, and knows his gospel to be the commonweal of all the elect and chosen children of God, of all the inheritors of the kingdom of heaven; who is he, I say, that knows this assuredly by God’s word, and the testimony of his own conscience (as I do through the infinite goodness of God, not of myself, but by his grace acknowledge myself); who is he, I say, that knows this, and both loves and fears God in deed and in truth, loves and believes his Master, Christ, and his blessed gospel, loves his brotherhood, the chosen children of God, and also desires and longs for everlasting life; who is he, I say again, that would not or cannot find it in his heart to be content to die in this cause? The Lord forbid that there should be any such person who would forsake this grace of God. I trust in my Lord God, the God of mercies, and the Father of all comfort through Jesus Christ our Lord, that he who has put this mind, will, and affection in my heart by his Holy Spirit, to stand against the face of the enemy in his cause, and to choose the loss of all my worldly substance, yes, and of my life too, rather than to deny his known truth; that he will comfort me, aid me, and strengthen me evermore, even to the end, and to yielding up my spirit and soul into his holy hands, of which I most heartily beseech his most holy sacred majesty, of his infinite goodness and mercy, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

“Now that I have taken my leave of my countrymen and kinsfolk, and the Lord lends me life, and gives me leisure, I will also bid farewell to my other good friends in God of other places. And who first or before others, than the University of Cambridge, where I have dwelt longer, found more faithful and hearty friends, received more benefits (only the benefits of my natural parents excepted) than I ever did even in my own native country in which I was born.

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“Farewell, therefore, Cambridge, my loving mother and tender nurse. If I were not to acknowledge your manifold benefits, indeed, if I were not at least to love you back for your benefits, then truly I should be accounted too ungrateful and unkind. What benefits did you ever have, that you used to give and bestow upon your best beloved children, that you thought too good for me? You bestowed on me all your school degrees, the common offices, the



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chaplainship of the University, the office of the proctorship, and of a common reader; and of your private commodities and emoluments in colleges, what was it that you did not make me a partner of? First to be scholar, then to be fellow, and after my departure from you, you called me again to a mastership of a right worshipful college. I thank you, my loving mother, for all this, your kindness, and I pray God that his laws, and the sincere gospel of Christ, may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned in you.

“Farewell Pembroke Hall, of late my own college, my cure and my charge. What case you are in now, God knows; I do not know well. You were ever noted since I knew you, which is not thirty years ago, to be studious, well-learned, and a great proclaimer of Christ’s gospel, and of God’s true word; so I found you, and blessed be God, so I left you, indeed. Woe is me for you, my own dear college, if you ever permit yourself by any means to be brought from that trade. In your orchard (the walls, bounds, and trees, if they could speak, would bear me witness), I learned without book almost all St. Paul’s epistles, yes, and I think all the canonical epistles, except the book of Revelation. Of this study, although in time a great part of it departed from me, yet the sweet smell of it I trust I will carry with me into heaven. For I think I have felt the profit of it in all my lifetime ever after, and I think of late (whether they abide now or not I cannot tell) there were those who did the like. The Lord grant that this zeal and love towards that part of God’s word, which is a key and true commentary to all the holy Scriptures, may ever abide in that college, so long as the world endures.

“From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, that most reverend father and man of God. And of him I was by and by sent to be vicar of Heme, in East Kent, Therefore, farewell. Heme, you worshipful and wealthy parish, the first cure to which I was called to preach God’s word. You have heard from my mouth oft-times the word of God preached, not in the popish manner, but according to Christ’s gospel. Oh, that the fruit had answered to the seed. And yet I must acknowledge myself to be your debtor for the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper, which at that time I acknowledge God had not revealed to me. But I bless God for all that godly virtue and zeal of God’s word, which the Lord by the preaching of his word kindled manifestly both in the heart and in the life and works of that godly woman there, my Lady Phines. The Lord grant that his word took like effect there in many others more.

“Farewell, you cathedral church of Canterbury, the metropolitan see of which I was once a member. I dare not say pleasant things to you for danger of conscience, and the displeasure of my Lord God; and to say what lies in my heart would be too much, and I fear it would do you but little good now. Nevertheless, for the friendship I have found in some there, and for charity’s sake, I wish you to be washed clean of all worldliness and ungodliness, that you may be found of God according to your name, Christ’s Church, in deed and in truth.

“Farewell Rochester, sometime my cathedral see, in whom, to say the truth, I found much gentleness and obedience, and I trust you will not say the contrary, but I did use it to God’s glory, and to your own profit in God. O, that you had and might have continued and gone forward in the trade of God’s law in which I left you. Then your charge and burden would not have been so terrible and dangerous, as I suppose truly it is like to be, alas! in the latter day.

“To Westminster, I do not have other notification in God to say now than I have said before to the cathedral church of Canterbury. And so God give you of his grace, that you may learn in deed and in truth, to please Him according to His own laws: and thus fare you well.

“O London, London, to whom now may I speak in you, or whom will I bid farewell? Will I speak to the prebendaries of St. Paul’s? Alas, of all who loved God’s word, and were the true proclaimers of it, some are now (as I hear said) burned and slain, some exiled and banished, and some held in hard prison, and appointed daily to be put to most cruel death for Christ’s

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gospel sake. As for the rest of them, I know they could never endure me well, nor could I ever delight in them.

“Shall I speak to its see, in which of late I was placed, for almost three years? But what may I say to it, being (as I hear say I am) deposed and expelled by judgment as an unjust usurper of that place. O judgment, judgment! Can this be just judgment to condemn the chief minister of God’s word, the pastor and bishop of the diocese, and never bring him into judgment, that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor ever permit him to have any place or time to answer for himself? Do you think that hereafter, when true justice will have its place, this judgment can ever be allowed either by God or man? Well, as for the cause or whole matter of my deposition, and the spoil of my goods which you still possess, I refer it to God who is a just judge. And I beseech God, if it is his pleasure, that what is but my personal wrong, not be laid to your charge in the latter day; this only I can pray for.

“O you now wicked and bloody see, why do you set up again many altars of idolatry, which by the word of God were justly taken away? Why have you overthrown the Lord’s table? Why do you daily delude your people, masking in your masses instead of the Lord’s holy supper, which ought to be common to the people as well as to the priest (says Chrysostom, indeed, the Lord himself)? How dare you deny to the people of Christ, his holy cup, contrary to his express commandment in the gospel? Why do you babble to the people the Common Prayer in a strange tongue, in which St. Paul commands, in the Lord’s name, that no man should speak before the congregation, unless it is by and by declared in their common tongue, so that all might be edified? No indeed, hearken you whore of Babylon, you wicked limb of Antichrist, you bloody wolf: why do you slay down, and make havoc of the prophets of God? Why do you so cruelly murder Christ’s poor silly sheep, who will not hear your voice, because you are a stranger, and will follow none other but their own pastor’s voice, Christ? Do you think to escape, or that the Lord will not require the blood of his saints at your hands? Your God, who is the work of your hands, and whom you say you have power to make, so that your deaf and dumb God (I say) will not, indeed, nor can (although you are not ashamed to call him your Maker) make you escape the revenging hand of the High and Almighty God. But be assured that the living Lord, our Savior and Redeemer, who sits at the right hand of his Father in glory, sees all your wicked ways and the cruelty done to his dear members; he will not forget his holy ones, and you will never escape his hands. Instead of my farewell to you, now I say, Fie upon you, fie upon you, and all your false prophets.

“Yet you, O London, I may not leave you thus. Although your episcopal see, now being joined in league with the seat of Satan, has now thus handled both me and the saints of God, I do not doubt that in that great city there are many secret mourners, who daily mourn for that mischief, who never did nor will consent to that wickedness, but detest and abhor it as the ways of Satan. But these secret mourners I will pass by here, and bid them farewell with their fellows hereafter, when the place and occasion more conveniently requires. Among the worshipful of the city, and especially those who were in the office of mayoralty, yes, and in other cities also (whom it will not be necessary to name now) during the time of my ministry, which was from the latter part of Sir Rowland Hill’s year, to Sir George Barnes’s year, a great part of it, I acknowledge that I found no small humanity and gentleness as I thought.

[859] A.D 1555.

“But, to say the truth, I esteem above all others for true Christian kindness, that which is shown in God’s cause, and done for his sake. Therefore, O Dobs, Dobs, alderman and knight, in your year you won my heart for evermore, for that honorable act, that most blessed work of God, of the erection and setting up of Christ’s holy hospitals, and truly religious houses, which were begun by and through you. For though, like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Christ’s poor weak members, to be kept from extreme misery, hunger, and

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famine, your heart, I say, was moved with pity. And as Christ's high honorable officer in that cause, you called together your brethren, the aldermen of the city, before whom you brokered the matter for the poor; you pled their cause, indeed. And not only in your own person did you set forth Christ's cause, but to further the matter, you brought me into the council chamber of the city before the aldermen alone, whom you had assembled there together to hear me speak what I could say, as an advocate by office and duty in the poor man's cause. The Lord wrought with you, and gave you the consent of your brethren, whereby the matter was brought to the common council, and so to the whole body of the city. With uniform consent by them, it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and devised by a certain number of the most wise and politic citizens as could be chosen in the whole city, endued also with godliness, and with ready hearts to set forward such a noble act. And they, like true and faithful ministers, both to their city and their master Christ, so ordered, devised, and brought about the matter, that thousands of poor members of Christ, who otherwise would have famished and perished for extreme hunger and misery, will be relieved, kept, and brought up. They will have cause to bless the aldermen of that time, the common council, and the whole body of the city, but especially you, O Dobs, and those chosen men by whom this honorable work of God was begun and wrought, and so long throughout all ages, as that godly work endures, which I pray Almighty God may be ever unto the world's end. Amen.

“And you, O Sir George Barnes, the truth is to be confessed to God's glory, and to the good example of others, in your year you were not only a furtherer and continuer of that which before you was well begun by your predecessor; but you also labored so to have perfected the work, that it might have been an absolute thing and perfect spectacle of true charity and godliness to all Christendom. Your endeavor was to set up a house of occupations, both that all kinds in poverty, being able to work, should not lack that upon which they might have been profitably occupied to their own relief, and to the profit and commodity of the commonwealth of the city; and also to have retired to there the poor children brought up in the hospitals, when they had come to a certain age and strength, and also all those who, in the hospitals mentioned, had been cured of their diseases. And to have brought this to pass, you obtained, not without the great diligence and labor of both you and your brethren, and of that godly King Edward, that Christian and peerless prince's hand, his princely palace of Bridewell. And what other things were needed to perform the same, and under what condition, is not unknown. The fault is not in you, that your endeavor has not had like success, but in the condition and state of the time, which the Lord of his infinite mercy grant to amend when it will be his gracious will and pleasure.

“Farewell now, all you citizens who are of God, of whatever state and condition you are. Undoubtedly in London you have heard God's word truly preached. My heart's desire and daily prayer will be for you, as for whom, for my time, I know I am accountable to my Lord God, that you never swerve from God's holy word, neither for loss of life nor worldly goods, and yield to antichrist — upon which must follow the extreme displeasure of God, and the loss both of your bodies and souls into perpetual damnation for evermore.

“Now that I have gone through the places where I have dwelt for any space in the time of my pilgrimage here on earth, remembering that for the space of King Edward's reign, which was for the time of my office in the sees of London and Rochester, I was a member of the upper house of parliament. Therefore, seeing that my God has given me leisure and the remembrance of it, I will bid my lords of the temporality farewell. They will have no just cause, by God's grace, to take what I intend to say unfavorably. As for the spiritual prelacy that now is, I have nothing to say to them except to repeat a great part of what I have said already to the see of London. Therefore, I will speak to you, my lords of the temporality, and I would have you first understand this: that when I wrote this, I looked daily when I might be called to the change of this life, and thought that this writing of mine would not come to your knowledge

before the time of the dissolution of my body and soul had expired. And therefore, know that I had before my eyes only the fear of God, and Christian charity toward you, which moved me to write. For hereafter I will not look to you in this world either for pleasure or displeasure. If my talk does you ever so much pleasure or profit, you cannot promote me; nor if I displease you, can you hurt me or harm me, for I will be out of your reach.

“Now therefore, if you fear God, and can be content to hear the talk of someone who seeks nothing at your hands, but to serve God, and to do you good, hearken to what I say. I say to you, as St. Paul said to the Galatians; I wonder my lords what has bewitched you, that you so suddenly have fallen from Christ to antichrist — from Christ’s gospel to man’s traditions — from the Lord who bought you, to the bishop of Rome. I warn you of your peril. Do not be deceived, lest you be found willing consenters to your own death. For if you think thus: — we are laymen; this is a matter of religion; we follow as we are taught and led; if our teachers and governors teach us and lead us amiss, the fault is in them; they shall bear the blame — my lords, this is true. I grant you, that both the false teachers, and the corrupt governor, will be punished for the death of their subjects whom they have falsely taught and corruptly led. Yes, and his blood will be required at their hands. Yet, nevertheless, the subject shall also die the death himself; that is, he too will be damned for his own sin. For if the blind lead the blind, Christ says it is not the leader only, but both will fall into the ditch. Shall the synagogue and the council of the Jews, do you think, which forsook Christ, and consented to his death, therefore be excused because Annas and Caiaphas, with the Scribes and Pharisees and their clergy, taught them amiss? Yes, and also Pilate, their governor and the emperor’s lieutenant, by his tyranny put him to death without cause. Truly no, my lords, no. For notwithstanding that corrupt doctrine, or Pilate’s washing of his hands, neither or both will excuse either that synagogue, or council, or Pilate. But at the Lord’s hand, for the effusion of that innocent blood, all shall drink of the deadly draught on the latter day. You are wise, and understand what I mean. Therefore I will pass over this, and return to telling you how you have fallen from Christ to his adversary, the bishop of Rome.

“And lest, my lords, you perhaps think thus — to openly call the bishop of Rome as Christ’s adversary, or to speak in plain terms, to call him antichrist, is done in my anguish, and that I am but raging, and as a desperate man, I do not care what I say, or upon whom I rail — therefore, so that your lordships may perceive my mind, and thereby understand that I speak the words of truth and sobriety (as St. Paul said to Festus) be it known to all your lordships, that concerning the bishop of Rome, I neither hate the person nor the place. For I assure your lordships, the living Lord bears me witness, before whom I speak, I think many a good and holy man, many martyrs and saints of God, have sat and truly taught Christ’s gospel in that place, which may therefore justly be called *apostolical*.

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“That is, they were true disciples of the apostles, and that church and congregation of Christians was also a right apostolic church. Indeed, it was that for hundreds of years after it was first erected and built upon Christ, by the true apostolical doctrine taught by the mouths of the apostles themselves. If you would know how long that was, and how many hundreds of years, to be curious in pointing out the precise number of years, I will not be too bold. But I say thus: so long and so many hundred years as that See truly taught and preached that gospel, that religion, and exercised that power, and ordered everything by those laws and rules which that See received from the apostles, and (as Tertullian says) the apostles from Christ, and Christ from God — so long, I say, that See might well have been called St. Peter’s and St. Paul’s chair and See, or rather Christ’s chair, and its bishop called apostolic, or a true disciple and successor of the apostles, and a minister of Christ.

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“But since the time that that See degenerated from the rule of truth and true religion which it received from the apostles at the beginning, it has preached another gospel; set up another religion; exercised another power; and taken upon itself to order and rule the church of Christ by other strange laws, canons, and rules, than it ever received from the apostles, i.e., the apostles of Christ. It does these things at this day, and it has continued so doing, alas, alas, for too long a time. Since the time, I say, that the state and condition of that See has thus been changed, in truth, and out of duty and right, it should have changed the names of both the See and the one who sits in it. For understand, my lords, it was neither for the privilege of the place or person, that that See and its bishops were called *apostolic*; but it was for the true rule of Christ’s religion, which was taught and maintained in that See at first, and by those godly men. And therefore, as truly and justly as that See was then called *apostolic*, for that true rule of religion, and the consanguinity of doctrine with the religion and doctrine of Christ’s apostles, so as truly and as justly, for the contrariety of religion and the diversity of doctrine from Christ and his apostles, that See and its bishop at this day, should both be called, and are indeed, *antichristian*.

“The See is the See of Satan, and the bishop of the same, who maintains its abominations, is indeed antichrist himself. And for the same reasons, this see at this day is the same which St. John calls Babylon in his Revelation, or the whore of Babylon, and spiritual Sodom and Egypt, the mother of fornication, and of the abominations upon the earth. And with this whore it spiritually commits the most abominable adultery before God, all those kings and princes, yes, and all nations of the earth which consent to her abominations, and use or practice the same things. That is (to recite some of the innumerable multitude of those, for example’s sake), her dispensations, her pardons and pilgrimages, her invocation of saints, her worshipping of images, her false counterfeit religion in her monkery and friarage, and her traditions, by which God’s laws are defiled; just as her massing and false ministering of God’s word and the sacraments of Christ — clean contrary to Christ’s word and the apostles’ doctrine, of which in particular I have said something before in my talk about the See of London, and in other treatises more at large. In this (if it pleases God to bring the same to light), it will plainly appear, by God’s grace I trust, to the man of God, and to him whose rule in judgment of religion is God’s word, that that religion, that rule and order, that doctrine and faith which this whore of Babylon and the beast upon which she sits, maintains at this day, with all violence of fire and sword, with spoil and banishment (according to Daniel’s prophesy), and finally, with all falsehood, death, hypocrisy, and all kinds of ungodliness, are as clean contrary to God’s word, as darkness is to light, or light to darkness; white to black, or black to white; or as Belial to Christ, or Christ to antichrist himself.

“I know, my lords, and foresaw when I wrote this, that so many of you as might see my writing, not being endued before with the spirit of grace and the light of God’s word, so many, I say, at these words of mine, would lord-like stamp and spurn, and spit at them. But sober yourselves with patience, and be still, and know that in my writing of this, my mind was none other than in God, as the living God bears me witness, to do you both profit and pleasure. And otherwise, as for your displeasure, by the time this comes to your knowledge, I trust, by God’s grace, to be in the hands and protection of the Almighty, my heavenly Father and the living Lord, which is, as St. John says, the greatest of all. And then I will not need, I believe, to fear what any lord, no, nor what any king or prince can do to me.

“My lords, if in times past you have been content to hear me sometimes in matters of religion before the prince in the pulpit, and in the parliament-house, and have not seemed to despise what I said (when otherwise, if you had perceived just occasion, you might then have suspected me in my talk, even if it had been reasonable, either from a desire for worldly gain or fear of displeasure), then your lordships have more cause to hearken to my word and to hear me patiently now, seeing that you cannot justly think of me, being in this case appointed

to die and looking daily for when I will be called to come before the Eternal Judge, other than I only endeavor to serve my Lord God, and to say that thing which I am assuredly persuaded by God's word will and does please him, and will profit all those to whom God gives grace to hear and believe what I say? And I say even what I have said previously, both about the See of Rome and of its bishop — I mean in their present state at this day. If you will not believe the ministers of God and true preachers of his word in this, then truly I denounce you in the word of the Lord, that unless you repent in time, it will turn to your confusion, and to your grief on the latter day. Do not forget what I say, my lords, for God's sake, do not forget, but remember it upon your bed. For I tell you, moreover, as I know I must be accountable to the eternal Judge for my talk, and of my speaking this way, that He will judge nothing amiss. So, you will be accountable for your duty in hearing, and you will be charged, if you will not hearken to God's word, for not obeying the truth. Alas! my lords, how does it happen that this matter is now to be argued anew to you? Who would have thought of late, that your lordships had indeed been persuaded sufficiently, or that you could ever have agreed so uniformly with one consent, to the overthrow by the usurpation of the bishop of Rome? If that matter were then but a matter of policy, in which the prince must be obeyed, then how is it now made a matter in which the unity of the catholic church stands, and a matter of necessity for our salvation, as your clergy says, and indeed as the pope's laws say?

“Has the time being so short since the death of the two last kings, Henry VIII and Edward his son, altered the nature of the matter? If it has not, but was of the same nature and danger before God *then* as it is *now*, and is now (as it is said by the pope's laws, and the instructions set forth in English to the curates of the diocese of York) indeed a matter of necessity to salvation, then how did it chance that you were all, O my lords, so light and so little fixed on the catholic faith and its unity, without which no man can be saved, as for your princes' pleasures, who were but mortal men, to forsake the unity of your catholic faith — that is, to forsake Christ and his gospel? And furthermore, if it were so necessary to salvation both then and now, how did it also chance that you, the whole body of the parliament agreeing with you, not only abolished and expelled the bishop of Rome, but also abjured him in your own persons, and decreed in your acts, that great oaths were to be taken by both the spirituality and temporality, whoever would enter into any weighty and chargeable office in the commonwealth? But on the other side, if the law and decree which makes the supremacy of the See and bishop of Rome, over the universal church of Christ, is a thing of necessity, required for salvation by an antichristian law, as it is indeed, and the instructions that are given to the diocese of York are indeed a proclamation of the power of the beast of Babylon by the craft and falsehood of his false prophets (as by truth, compared to God's word, and truly judged by it, it will plainly appear they are), then my lords, never think otherwise than this:

[861] A.D. 1555.

“The day will come when you will be charged with your undoing, of that which once you had done well, and with this perjury and breach of your oath — an oath which was done in judgment, justice, and truth, and agreeable to God's law. The whore of Babylon may well dally with you for a time, and make you so drunk with the wine of her dispensations and promises of pardon, that for drunkenness and blindness you may think yourselves safe. But be assured, when the living Lord tries the matter by fire, and judges it according to his word, then all her abominations will appear what they are, then my lords (I give your lordships warning in time), repent if you would be happy, and love your own souls' health; repent, I say, or else without any doubt, you will never escape the hands of the living Lord, for the guilt of your perjury, and the breach of your oath. As you have banqueted with the harlot in the fornication of her dispensations, pardons, idolatry, and similar abominations; so you will drink with her (unless you repent in time) of the cup of the Lord's indignation and everlasting wrath, which is prepared for the beast, his false prophets, and all their partakers. For whoever is partner with

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them in their abominations, must also be partner with them in their plagues, and in the latter day they shall be thrown with them into the lake burning with brimstone and unquenchable fire. Thus fare you well, my lords all. I pray God give you understanding of his blessed will and pleasure, and make you to believe and embrace the truth, Amen.”

*A lamentation of Bishop Ridley  
for the change of religion in England.*

“Alas, what misery is your church brought to, O Lord, at this day! Where of late the word of the Lord was truly preached, was read and heard in every town, in every church, in every village, yes, and almost in every honest man’s house, alas, now it is banished out of the whole realm. Of late, who was not taken for a lover of God’s word, for a reader, for a ready hearer, and for a learner of the same? And now, alas, who dares to bear any open countenance towards it, except those who are content in Christ’s cause, and for his word’s sake, to stand to the danger and loss of all they have?

“Of late there was to be found many of every age, of every degree and kind of people, who gave their diligence to learn as they could out of God’s word, the articles of the Christian faith, the commandments of God, and the Lord’s prayer. The babes and young children were taught these things by their parents, by their masters, and weekly by their curates in every church. And the aged folk who had been brought up in blindness and in ignorance of those things which every Christian is bound to know, when otherwise they could not, yet they learned the same by often hearing the children and servants repeating it. But now, alas, and alas again, the false prophets of Antichrist, who are past all shame, openly preach in pulpits to the people of God, that the catechism is to be counted heresy; whereby their old blindness is brought home again. For the aged are afraid of the higher powers, and the youth are abashed and ashamed of what they have learned, even though it is God’s word, and dare meddle no more.

“Of late in every congregation throughout all England, prayer and petition was made to God, to be delivered from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from all false doctrine and heresy. And now, alas, Satan has persuaded England by his falsehood and craft, to revoke her old godly prayer, to recant the same, and to provoke the fearful wrath and indignation of God upon her own head.

“Of late, by strict laws and ordinances, with the consent of the nobles and commonalty, and the full agreement and counsel of the prelates and clergy, the beast of Babylon was banished from here — with laws, I say, and with oaths, and all means that then could be devised for so godly a purpose. But now, alas, all these laws are trodden under foot. The nobles, the commonalty, the prelates and clergy are quite changed, and all those oaths — though they were made in judgment, justice, and truth, and the matter was ever so good — hold no more than a bond of rushes or of barley straw; public perjury no more fears them than a shadow upon the wall.

“Of late it was agreed in England, on all hands, according to St. Paul’s doctrine and Christ’s commandment, as St. Paul says plainly that nothing should be done in the church, in the public congregation, except in that tongue which the congregation can understand, so that all might be edified thereby, whether it were common prayer, administration of the sacrament, or any other thing belonging to the public ministry of God’s holy and wholesome word. But alas, all is turned upside down. St. Paul’s doctrine is put aside; Christ’s commandment is not regarded. For nothing is commonly heard in the church but a strange tongue, so that the people do not understand.

“Of late all men and women were taught according to Christ’s doctrine, to pray in that tongue which they could understand, so that they might pray with their heart that which they would

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speaking with their tongue. Now, alas, the unlearned people are brought back into that blindness, to think that they pray, when they cannot tell what they speak with their tongue, nor are their hearts at all mindful of it, for they can never understand a whit of it.

“Of late the Lord’s supper was duly administered and taught to be made common to all who are true Christians, with thanksgiving and proclaiming the Lord’s death and passion until his returning again to judge both the quick and the dead. But now, alas, the Lord’s table is quite overthrown, and what ought to be common to all the godly, is made private to a few ungodly, without any kind of thanksgiving, or any setting forth of the Lord’s death at all, such that the people are able to understand it.

“Of late all who were endued with the light of grace, of understanding of God’s holy mysteries, blessed God who had brought them out of that horrible blindness and ignorance, whereby in times past, being seduced by Satan’s subtleties, they believed that the sacrament was not the sacrament, but the thing itself of which it is a sacrament — that the creature was the creator, and that the thing which has neither life nor sense, was the Lord himself, who made the eye to see, and has given all senses and understanding to man (alas, such was the horrible blindness). But now, alas, England has returned again like a dog to her own vomit, and is in a worse case than she ever was. For it would have been better never to have known the truth, than to forsake the truth once received and known. And now, not only that light is turned into darkness, and God’s grace is received in vain, but also laws of death are made by the high court of Parliament, masterfully to maintain by sword, fire, and all kinds of violence, that heinous idolatry in which that adoration is given to the lifeless and dumb creatures, which is only due to the everlasting God. Yes, they say they can and do make from bread both man and God, by their transubstantiation. O wicked men, and Satan’s own brood.

“Of late the Lord’s cup was distributed at his table according to his own commandment, by his express words in the gospel, to the laity as well as to the clergy. Christ’s church observed this order so many hundred years after, as all the ancient ecclesiastical writers testify, without contradiction by any one of them, that can be shown to this day. But now, alas, not only is the Lord’s commandment broken, his cup being denied to his servants to whom he commands it should be distributed, but also with the same, a new blasphemous kind of sacrifice is set up to satisfy and pay the price of sins both of the living and of the dead, to the great and intolerable insult of Christ our Savior, his death and passion, which was and is the one only sufficient and everlasting available sacrifice, satisfactory for all the elect of God, from Adam the first, to the last who will be born at the end of the world.

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“Of late the commandment of God, ‘You shall not make for yourself any graven image, nor any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the waters beneath the earth; you shall not bow down to them, nor serve them.’ (Deu 5.8-9) This commandment of God, I say, was graven almost everywhere in churches, and learned by everybody, both young and old. Whereupon, images that provoked the simple and ignorant people to idolatry, as the wise man says, were taken out of the churches, and straitly forbidden that anyone should anywhere either bow down to them or worship them. But now, alas, God’s holy word is blotted and erased out of churches, and stocks and stones are set up in their place. God commanded his word to be so ordered, that it might be had in continual remembrance at all times, and in every place; and on the other side, He forbade images and idols to be either made or set in any place where anyone might bow down or worship them. But now, alas, what God commands is not looked upon, and what He forbids is masterfully maintained by falsehood and craft, and wickedly upheld.



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“Of late all ministers who were admitted to the public office and ministry of God’s holy word, in their admission made a solemn profession before the congregation, that they would teach the people nothing, as doctrine, necessary to attain eternal salvation, except that which is God’s own holy word, or may be grounded upon it without any doubt. By this, many vain, indeed, wicked traditions of man, vanished and melted away by themselves, like wax before the fire. But now, at one blow, they are revived, and are also in full hope of returning again in as great a strength as they have ever been. And how can any man look for any other thing, but that when you have received the head, you must also receive the whole body with it, or else how can the head abide? The head, under Satan, of all mischief; it is Antichrist and his brood; it is the same as the Babylonish beast. The beast is the one upon which the whore sits. The whore is that city, says St. John in plain words, which has empire over the kings of the earth. This whore has a golden cup of abomination in her hand, from which she makes the kings of the earth drink; and all nations have drunk from the wine of this harlot, yes, and kings of the earth have committed fornication with her; and merchants of the earth, by virtue of her pleasant merchandise, have been made rich.

“Now, what city is there in the whole world that, when St. John wrote, ruled over the kings of the earth? Or what city can be read about in any time that, of the city itself, challenged the empire over the kings of the earth, except the city of Rome, and that since the usurpation of that See, has grown to her full strength? And is it not read that the old and ancient writers understand St. Peter’s first Epistle was written at Rome, and in plain terms that city is called *Babylon* by him in the same epistle? By the abomination of it, I understand the whole trade of the Romish religion, under the name and title of Christ, which is contrary to the only rule of all true religion, that is, God’s word. What word of God does that wicked woman have for the maintenance of her manifold abominations, and sets for sale such merchandise by which (alas) the madness of man, the wicked harlot has bewitched almost the whole world? Did not St. Peter, the very true apostle of Christ (from whom this vile harlot bears herself so high, but falsely and without any just cause) did he not, I say, give the whole world warning of her money and trash, of her false doctors and apostles in this way, in his 2nd epistle?

‘But there were also false prophets among the people, even as there will be false teachers among you, who will secretly bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord who bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction. And many will follow their pernicious ways, because of whom the way of truth will be evilly spoken of. And through covetousness they will with feigned words make merchandise of you.’ (2Pet 2.1-3)

And does not St. John likewise in his Revelation, after he has reckoned up a long catalog of this mystical merchandise, at last (as though he would knit up all his plain words without any mystery at all, setting out the whore’s merchandise), reckon up among the rest, and concludes saying, ‘and the souls of men too?’ <sup>Rev 18.13</sup> Where else, I ask you did this true proverb arise in Latin, ‘all things for money are for sale at Rome.’ Was that not a worthy commendation of Christ’s vicar on earth, that was written about our holy father, one of the Alexanders, a Bishop of Rome, in Latin.’

“*Vendit Alexander cruces, altaria, Christum:  
Vendere jure potest; emerat ille prius.*”

“These two verses in Latin I have read thus translated into English rhyme:

‘Alexander our holy father the Pope of Rome,  
Sells for money both right and doom:  
And all kinds of holiness the holy father does not pause,  
To set for sale, ready money to get.  
And as if Christ himself, he dares be bold.

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To chop and change for silver and gold.  
And why should any think this to be wrong?  
For what does he sell but what he bought before.'

"I grant these verses to be light gear; and the verse is but crude; but, alas! such conditions were more wicked and lewd than any wit could express. If these had been but the faults of one or a few in number, they would have been less pernicious, and might have been taken for personal crimes, and not to be imputed to that See. But now, alas! the matter is more than evident to all who have godly understanding, that these crimes are grounded upon laws, established by custom, and set forth by all kinds of wicked doctrine, falsehood, and craft. And therefore they are not to be esteemed as any one man's, or a few men's personal crimes, but are now incorporated into that wicked see by laws, custom, and doctrine, and it makes indeed the body of the beast upon which the abominable whore sits.

"But you would know which are those merchandises which I said this whore sets for sale, for which all her false prophets, with all their jugglings and crafty glosses, cannot bring one jot of God's word to support. Surely, surely, they are not only all these abominations which have come into the church of England already (of which I have spoken somewhat before), but also an innumerable rabblement of abominations and wicked abuses which now must follow; such as popish pardons, pilgrimages, Romish purgatory, Romish masses, *Placebo* and *Dirige*,<sup>624</sup> with trentals and *Scala Coeli*,<sup>625</sup> dispensations and immunities from all godly discipline, laws, and good order, pluralities, unions, and *toties quoties*,<sup>626</sup> with a thousand more. Now the flattering friars, and the false pardoners will come in, and play their old pranks and knavery as they usually do. Now you will have (but from the See of Rome only, and that is for money), canonizing of those saints who have stood stout in the pope's cause, the enshrining of relics, and from any kind of wickedness (if you will pay well for it), clear absolution *a poena et culpa*,<sup>627</sup> for thousands of years. Yes, and at every poor bishop's hand and suffragan, you will have the hallowing of churches, chapels, altars, super-altars, chalices, and of all the household stuff and adornment which will be used in the church in the Romish manner — for all these things must be esteemed of such a high price, that they may not be done except by a consecrated bishop only. O Lord, all these things are such as your apostles never knew. As for conjuring (they call it hallowing, but it is conjuring indeed) by water and salt, by the christening of bells, and such like things, why need I speak? For every priest that can but read, has power, they say, not only to do that, but also has such power over Christ's body, as to make both God and man, at least once every day, from a wafer cake.

"After reciting the said abominations, and remembering a great many more, the Lord knows, it grieves me to think upon them, and it would take too long to describe.

[863] A.D. 1555.

"When I consider, on the other side, the eternal word of God that abides forever, and the undefiled law of the Lord, which turns the soul from all wickedness, and gives wisdom to innocent babes, I mean that milk that is without any guile, as St. Peter calls it; that good word of God, that word of truth which must be graven within the heart, and then is able to save men's souls; that wholesome seed, not mortal, but immortal, of the eternal and everlasting God, by which the man is born anew, and made the child of God; that seed of God, by which the man of God so

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<sup>624</sup> *Placebo*: the first word of the antiphon in prayers for the dead; *dirige* likewise refers to the first antiphon of Matins (morning prayers) for the dead.

<sup>625</sup> *Scala Coeli*, or stairway to heaven, refers to the stages of a pilgrimage.

<sup>626</sup> *Toties quoties*: an indulgence that may be gained or granted as often as the required works are performed.

<sup>627</sup> Some writs of indulgence contained the expression, "*indulgentia a culpa et a poena*", i.e. release from guilt and from punishment.

being born, cannot sin, as John says (he means so long as that seed abides in him); that holy Scripture which has not been devised by the wisdom of man, but taught from heaven by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, which is profitable to teach, reprove, correct, instruct, and give order in all righteousness, so that the man of God may be whole and sound, ready to perform every good work. I say, when I consider this holy and wholesome true word that teaches us truly our bounden (obligatory) duty towards our Lord God in every point, what his blessed will and pleasure is, what his infinite great goodness and mercy is, what he has done for us, how he has given us his own only dearly beloved Son to die for our salvation, and by him has sent us the revelation of his blessed will and pleasure — what his eternal word directs us both to believe and do, has for the same purpose inspired the holy apostles with the Holy Spirit, and sent them abroad into all the world, and also made them and other disciples of Christ inspired by the same Spirit, to write and leave behind them the same things that they taught (which, as they proceeded from the Spirit of truth, so by the confession of all those who were ever endued with the Spirit of God, were sufficient to obtain eternal salvation).

“And likewise, when I consider that all that man professes in his regeneration when he is received into the holy catholic church of Christ, and is now to be counted one of the lively members of Christ’s own body, all *that* is grounded upon God’s holy word, and stands in the profession of that faith and obedience of those commandments which are all contained and comprised in God’s holy word. And furthermore, when I consider whom our Savior Christ pronounces in his gospel to be blessed, and to whom Moses gives his benedictions in the law, what ways the law, the prophets, the psalms, and all holy Scriptures, both new and old, declare to be the ways of the Lord, what is good for man to obtain and abide in God’s favor, which is that faith that justifies before God, and what is that charity that surpasses and excels all, which are the properties of heavenly wisdom; and which is that undefiled religion which is allowed by God, which things Christ himself calls the weighty matters of the law; what thing is that which is only available in Christ, and what knowledge is that which St. Paul esteemed so much that he counted himself alone to know; what will be the manner of the extreme judgment of the latter day, who shall judge, and by what he shall judge, and what shall be required at our hands on that fearful day, how all things must be tried by the fire, and that alone will stand forever which Christ’s words shall allow, which shall be the judge of all flesh to give sentence upon all flesh, and every living soul, either of eternal damnation, or of everlasting salvation, from which sentence there will be no place left to appeal, no wisdom will serve to delude, nor any power to withstand or revoke — I say, when I consider all these things, and refer to them again and again, all those ways in which the substance of the Romish religion stands (about which I spoke before), it may be evident and easy to perceive that these two ways, these two religions, the one of Christ, the other of the Romish see, in these latter days, are as far distant one from the other, as light and darkness, good and evil, righteousness and unrighteousness, Christ and Belial.

“Whoever is hard of belief, let him note and weigh well with himself the places of holy Scriptures which refer to these things, and upon which this is grounded, and by God’s grace he may receive some light. And to the despiser, I have nothing to say now, but to recite the saying of the prophet Isaiah, which St. Paul spoke to the Jews in the end of the Acts of the Apostles. After he had expounded to them the truth of God’s word, and declared Christ to them out of the law of Moses and the prophets, from morning to night, he said to those who would not believe,

‘The Holy Ghost spoke well by Isaiah the prophet to our fathers, saying, go to this people, and say, hearing you will hear, and will not understand; and seeing you will see, and not perceive. For the heart of this people has grown gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and they have closed their eyes, lest they would see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and be converted, and I would heal them,’ (Act 28.26-27).

“Alas! England, alas! that this heavy plague of God should fall upon you. Alas! my dearly beloved country, what thing is it now that may do you good? Undoubtedly your plague is so great that it is utterly incurable except by the bottomless mercy and infinite power of Almighty God. Alas! my dear country, what have you done that you have provoked the wrath of God and caused him to pour out his vengeance upon you for your own deserts. Can you be content to hear your faults told to you? Alas! You have often heard, and would never amend. England, your faults of all degrees and sorts of men, of magistrates, of the ministers, and of the common people, were never more plainly told since you bore that name, than you heard them of late, even before the magistrates in King Edward’s days. But you only heard them, and never amended a whit. For even of your greatest magistrates, some (the king’s highness then, that innocent, godly-hearted and peerless young Christian prince excepted) evermore behaved unkindly and ungently toward those who went about most busily and most wholesomely to cure their sore backs, spurned secretly, and would not hesitate to speak evil of them, even to the prince himself. And yet towards the same preachers, they would outwardly bear a jolly countenance and a fair face.”

There was much other matter in this treatise of Doctor Ridley, which we omit for its length.

***The Death of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.***

The month after the burning of bishops Ridley and Latimer, which was November, Stephen Gardiner, bishop and chancellor, a man hated by God and all good men, ended his wretched life. Concerning the qualities, nature, and disposition of this man, so as somewhat has been declared before in the history of King Edward’s reign, I will therefore need to write less about it now. He came from the town of Bury, in Suffolk, and was brought up in Cambridge. His understanding, capacity, memory, and other endowments of nature were not to be complained of, if he had well used and rightly applied the same. For through this promptness, he did not profit a little in studies; at first in the civil law, then in languages, and in those arts and faculties which had any prospect to dignity and preferment. Besides other helps of nature, memory rather than diligence of study was useful to him.

To these gifts and qualities were joined his great or greater vices, which not so much burdened him, as made him burdensome to the whole realm. He was of a proud spirit, and high-minded in his own opinion and conceit, flattering himself too much. In wit, he was crafty and subtle; toward his superiors flattering and fair spoken; to his inferiors fierce; against his equals stout and envious, if in judgment and sentence he withstood them in anything. He stood too much upon his estimation and fame, more than was appropriate for a man of his calling. His profession was to be crucified to the world, which made him so obstinate in maintaining whatever he had once begun.

As to divinity, he was so variable, wavering with time and circumstances, that no one could tell what to make of him. If his doings and writings were according to his conscience, no man can rightly say whether he was a right protestant or a papist. If he wrote otherwise than he thought, out of fear or to bear with the times, then he was a double deep dissembler before God and man, to say and unsay, to write and unwrite, swear and forswear as he did.

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For first, in the beginning of Queen Anne’s time, who was so forward or so busy in the matter of the king’s divorce as Stephen Gardiner? Who was first sent to Rome, and then to the emperor, as chief agent in behalf of the Luly Anne? Again, at the abolishing of the Pope, who was so ready to swear, or so vehement to write against the Pope as he was, as may appear not only by his sermons, but also by his book “De Obedientia”? He so uttered his judgment in writing against the usurped supremacy of the Pope, that coming to Lovaine

afterward, he was there accounted a person excommunicated, and a schismatic. So that, he was not permitted to say mass in their church; and moreover, they openly cried out against him in their public sermons.

And thus he long continued firm and forward, so that Winchester was a favorite during the whole reign of Queen Anne. After her decease, time carried him away little by little, till at length the emulation of Cromwell's estate, and especially for his favoring Bonner so much (whom Winchester at that time could not bear), made him an enemy both against him and his religion. Till again, in King Edward's days, he began to abate a little from certain points of popery, and to turn somewhat to the gospel, as may appear both by his sermon before King Edward, and also by his subscribing to certain articles. And this was a half turn of Stephen Gardiner from popery back to the gospel. No doubt he would have further turned, had the unlucky decay of the duke of Somerset not turned him away from true divinity, to plain popery, in which he continued to be a cruel persecutor to his death.

But whatever he was, he is now gone, and I refer him to his Judge, to whom he shall stand or fall. As concerning his death, I would that those who were present would testify to us of what they saw. We all have to think that his death happened so opportunely, that England has cause to give thanks to the Lord. This was not so much for the great injury he had done in times past in perverting his princes, in bringing in the six articles, in murdering God's saints, in defacing Christ's sincere religion, etc., but also and especially because he thought to have brought to pass the death of our noble queen who now is, Elizabeth. For whatever danger of death she was in, it no doubt proceeded from this bishop who was the cause of it. And if what we have heard is certain, that when her highness was in the Tower, a writ came down from some of the council for her execution, it is out of all controversy, that wily Winchester was the only framer of that instrument, who in that one day would have brought this whole realm into woeful ruin, had not the Lord's most gracious council, through one Bridges, the lieutenant, coming in haste to the queen, notified her of the matter, and prevented Winchester's bloody devices. For which thanks be to our Lord and Savior in the congregations of all English churches. Amen.

Of uncertain things, I must speak uncertainly, for lack of fuller information. But as Bonner, Story, Thornton, Harpsfield, Dunning, with others, were occupied in putting the poor branches of God's saints to death, so this bishop for his part bent all his devices, and had spent all his power in assailing the root, and in casting up such a platform to build his popery upon, as he thought would have stood forever. But, as I said before, of uncertain things I can speak but uncertainly. Therefore as touching the manner and order of his death, how rich he died, what words he spoke, what little repentance he showed, etc., all this I leave to the knowledge of those who know it better.

### ***The Residue of Christ's Martyrs***

Having thus given the reader an account of Gardiner's history, we will leave him to his great Judge, and return to the history of the residue of Christ's martyrs, as now follows in order:

#### *The Burning of John Webbe, George Roper, and Gregory Parke, at Canterbury.*

After the death and constant martyrdom of the two most worthy champions and standard-bearers of Christ's army, Doctor Nicholas Ridley, and Master Hugh Latimer, followed the martyrdom of three other stout and bold soldiers, John Webbe, George Roper, and Gregory Parke.

## Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

John Webbe was brought before the bishop of Dover on the 16th of September, and had propounded to him such articles as were commonly administered by Bonner. Being commanded to depart and deliberate with himself on the matter for the next appearance, he answered that he would not say otherwise, by God's grace, than he had already said, which was this: "As to the sacrament of Christ's body, I believe it to be left to his church in commemoration of his death and passion, until his coming again. So that it is left in remembrance of his body, and it is not, by the words of consecration, made his body, really, substantially, and the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary; I utterly deny that."

After this, besides other times, on the 3rd of October, John Webbe, and George Roper, and Gregory Parke, were all brought together before the judges. There and then agreeing, and steadfastly allowing the former answer made earlier by Webbe, they were adjudged heretics by the bloody prelates. About the end of the same month, or in the latter end of November, they were taken together and brought out of prison to the place of martyrdom. By the way going to the stake, they said certain psalms mournfully.

Roper was a young man, of a fresh color, courage, and complexion. The other two were somewhat more elderly, all going in white linen. Roper, at his coming to the stake, putting off his gown, took a great leap. As soon as the flame was about him, he put out both his arms from his body like a cross, and so he stood steadfast, continuing in that manner, not plucking his arms in, till the fire had consumed them, and burnt them off.

And thus these martyrs of Christ being brought to the stake, and there compassed about with a chain, were burnt and consumed, all three together in one fire at Canterbury. They abided most patiently their torments, and counted themselves happy and blessed by the Lord, that they were made worthy to suffer for Christ's gospel sake.

*William Wiseman.*

William Wiseman died on the 13th of December, in the Lollard's Tower, a clothworker of London. There he was in prison and bonds for the gospel and word of God. How he died is not fully certain. After William was departed, as it is said, in the Tower, the holy Roman churchmen cast him out into the fields, commanding that no man should bury him, as it was their manner to do with all those who die in this way, whom they account as profane and worthy of no burial, but only to be cast to dogs and birds.

*James Gore.*

In the same month, about the 7th of December, James Gore died also, in the prison at Colchester, laid there in bonds for the truth of God's word.

### ***The Fourteen Examinations of John Philpot.***

Next follows the martyrdom of John Philpot, of whom partly you heard before in the beginning of Queen Mary's time, in the disputation in the convocation-house (p. 678ff.). He was of an honorable house, a knight's son, born in Hampshire, brought up in the new college in Oxford where he studied the civil law besides other liberal arts, especially the languages, such as Hebrew, etc. In knowledge, he was eminent and happy, of a singular courage, fervent in spirit, zealous in religion, and also well practiced and exercised in it. By nature and condition he was plain and open, far from all flattery, farther from all hypocrisy and dissimulation. What his learning was, his own examinations can declare, penned by his own hand.

From Oxford, desirous to see other countries, Philpot went to Italy and places thereabouts. Coming from Venice to Padua, he was in danger through a Franciscan friar accompanying him on his journey. Upon arriving at Padua, the friar sought to accuse him of heresy.

[865] A.D. 1555.

At length, returning to England, as the time gave more boldness to him in the days of King Edward, he had some conflicts with Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester. After that, he was made archdeacon of Winchester, under Doctor Poinet, who succeeded Gardiner in that bishopric. Thus during the time of King Edward, he continued to the no small profit of those parts. When that blessed king was taken away, Mary his sister came in. Her whole endeavor was to alter the state of religion in the woeful realm of England. She first had a convocation of the prelates and learned men congregated to accomplish her desire.

In that convocation, Master Philpot being present, according to his degree, with a few others, he sustained the cause of the gospel manfully against the adversaries. For this, notwithstanding that the liberty of the house had been promised beforehand, he was called to account before Bishop Gardiner, the chancellor, being his ordinary. From there he was removed to Bonner, and to other commissioners, with whom he had many conflicts, as it may appear in his examinations, written by himself.

*The First Examination of John Philpot before the Queen's Commissioners, Master Cholmley, Master Roper, and Doctor Story, and one of the Scribes of the Arches, at Newgate Sessions-Hall, October 2, 1555.*

“Before I was called into an inner parlor where they sat, Doctor Story came out into the hall where I was, to view me, among others who were there. Passing by me, he said, ‘Ha, Master Philpot;’ and in returning immediately again, he stayed opposite to me, beholding me, and saying that I was well fed indeed.

“Philpot. — ‘If I am fat, and in good liking, Master Doctor, it is no marvel, since I have been shut up in prison these twelve and a half months, in a close corner. I have come to know your pleasure for which you have sent for me.’

“Story. — ‘We hear that you are a suspected person, and of heretical opinions, and therefore we have sent for you.’

“Philpot. — ‘I have been in prison thus long, only upon the occasion of a disputation made in the convocation-house, and upon suspicion of publishing a report of it.’

“Story. — ‘If you will revoke it, and become an honest man, you will be set at liberty, and do right well; or else you will be committed to the bishop of London. What do you say? Will you revoke it or not?’

“Philpot. — ‘I have already answered in this behalf to my ordinary.’

“Story. — ‘If you answer thus when you come before us shortly, you will hear more of our minds;’ and with that he went into the parlor, and a little while after, I was called in.

“The Scribe. — ‘Sir, what is your name?’

“Philpot. — ‘My name is John Philpot.’

“Story. — ‘This man was archdeacon of Winchester, of Doctor Poinet’s presentment.’

“Philpot. — ‘I was archdeacon indeed, but none of his presentment, except by virtue of a former advowson,<sup>628</sup> given by my lord chancellor.’

“Story. — ‘You may be sure that my lord chancellor would not make any such as he is, an archdeacon.’

“Roper. — ‘Come here to me. Master Philpot. We hear that you are out of the catholic church, and have been a disturber of it. whoever is out of it, cannot be the child of salvation. Therefore, if you will come into it, you will be received, and find favor.’

“Philpot. — ‘I have come before your worshipful masterships, at your appointment, understanding that you are magistrates authorized by the queen’s majesty, whom I own and will do my due obedience to the uttermost. Therefore I desire to know what cause I have offended in, why I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the laws of this realm, I desire your masterships that I may have the benefit of a subject, and be delivered out of my long wrongful imprisonment, where I have suffered this year and a half, without my being called to answer before now, and my living being taken from me without any law.’

“Roper. — ‘Though we have no particular matter to charge you with, yet we may, by our commission and by the law, drive you to answer to the suspicion of a slander going on you; and besides this, we have statutes to charge you with.’

“Philpot. — ‘If I have offended against any statute, charge me with it, and if I have incurred its penalty, punish me accordingly.’

“Story. — ‘I perceive whereabouts this man goes. He is plainly in Cardmaker’s case, for he made the self-same allegations. But they will not serve you; for you are a heretic, and bold against the blessed mass. What do you say to that?’

“Philpot. — ‘I am no heretic.’

“Story. — ‘I will prove you are a heretic. Whoever has held against the blessed mass is a heretic: you have held against it, and therefore you are a heretic’

“Philpot. — ‘That which I spoke, and which you are able to charge me with, was in the convocation, where by the queen’s majesty’s will, and her whole council, liberty was given to every man of the house to utter his conscience, and to say his mind freely about such questions in religion as were propounded there by the prolocutor, for which I thought not to be molested and imprisoned as I now have been, nor to be compelled by you now to answer to the same.’

“Story. — ‘You will go to the Lollard’s Tower, and be handled there like a heretic as you are, and answer to the same that you spoke there, and be judged by the bishop of London.’

“Roper. — ‘You cannot deny that you spoke against the mass in the convocation-house.’

“Story. — ‘Do you deny what you spoke there, or not?’

“Philpot. — ‘I cannot deny what I have spoken there. And if by the law you may put me to death for it, I am here ready to suffer whatever I will be judged to.’

“Cholmley. — ‘Act the wise man and be conformable, and not be stubborn in your opinions, nor cast yourself away. I would be glad to do you good.’

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<sup>628</sup> *Advowson*: the right to nominate or appoint a priest to a benefice or living, typically belonging to a lay patron.



“Philpot. — ‘I desire you, sir, with the rest here, that I not be charged further at your hands, than the law charges me, for what I have done, since there was no law directly against that with which I am now charged. And you, Master Doctor, an old acquaintance in Oxford, I trust will show me some friendship, and not extremity.’

“Story. — ‘I tell you, if you would be a good catholic man, I would be your friend, and spend my gown to do you good. But I will be no friend to a heretic, as you are, but will spend both my gown and my coat to burn you. What do you say to the sacrament of the altar?’

“Philpot. — ‘Sir, I have not come now to dispute with your mastership.’

“Story. — ‘Well, since you will not revoke what you have done, you will be sent to the Lollard’s Tower.’

“Cholmley. — ‘Let him go from where he came.’

“Story. — ‘No, let him lie in the meanwhile in the Lollard’s Tower; for I will sweep the King’s Bench and also all other prisons of these heretics. They will not have that resort, as they have had, to scatter their heresies.’

“Philpot. — ‘You have power to transfer my body from place to place at your pleasure; but you have no power over my soul. And I do not care not where you commit me, for I cannot be worse treated than I am, kept all day in a close chamber.’

“Story. — ‘Marshal, take him home with you again, and see that you bring him again on Thursday, and then we shall rid your hands of him, and afterwards of your other heretics.’

“Philpot. — ‘God has appointed a day, shortly to come, in which he will judge us with righteousness, however you may judge us now.’

“Roper. — ‘Be content to be ruled by Master Doctor. and show yourself a catholic man.’

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“Philpot. — ‘If I stand in anything against that in which any man is able to burden me with one jot of the Scripture, I will be content to be counted no catholic man, or a heretic, as you please.’

“Story. — ‘Have we Scripture, *Scripture?*’ And with that he rose up, saying, ‘Who will be judge, I pray you? This man is like his fellow Woodman, who the other day would have nothing else but Scripture.’”

And this is the beginning of this tragedy.

*The Second Examination of John Philpot  
before the Queen’s Commissioners.*

“At my coming, a man of Aldgate of my acquaintance said to me, ‘God have mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world. For Doctor Story said that my Lord Chancellor had commanded to get you away.’ After a little consultation was had between them, Master Cholmley called me, saying:

“‘Master Philpot, show yourself a wise man, and do not be stubborn in your own opinion, but be conformable to the queen’s proceedings, and live, and you will be well assured of great favor and reputation.’

“Philpot. — ‘I will do as it becomes a Christian man.’

“Story. — ‘This man is the rankest heretic that has been in all my lord chancellor’s diocese, and has done more hurt than any other man there. And therefore his pleasure is that he should have the law proceed against him. I have spoken with my lord, and he desires him to be committed to the bishop of London, and there to recant or be burned. He howled and wept in the convocation-house, and made such ado as never a man did, as all the heretics do when they lack learning to answer. He will go after his fellows. What do you say? Will you recant?’

“Philpot. — ‘I know of nothing I have done that I ought to recant.’

“Story. — ‘Well, then, I pray you, let us commit him to the Lollard’s Tower, there to remain until he is further examined before the bishop of London. For he is too fine fed in the King’s Bench, and he has too much favor there.’

“Cooke. — ‘This man has most stoutly maintained heresies since the queen’s coming in, beyond any that I have heard of. Therefore it is most appropriate that he be adjudged by the bishop of London, for the heresies he has maintained.’

“Philpot. — ‘I have maintained no heresies.’

“Cooke. — ‘No? Have you not? Did you not openly speak against the sacrament of the altar in the convocation-house? Do you call that no heresy? Will you recant that, or not?’

“Philpot. — ‘It was the queen’s majesty’s pleasure that we should reason upon it, not by my seeking, but by other men’s procuring, in the hearing of the council.’

“Cooke. — ‘Did the queen give you leave to be a heretic? You may be sure her grace will not do so. Well, we will not dispute the matter with you. My lord of London will proceed by inquisition upon you, and if you will not recant, you will be burned.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord of London is not my ordinary in this behalf, and I have already answered to my ordinary in this matter.’

“Story. — ‘Take this man with you to the Lollard’s Tower, or else to the bishop’s coal-house.’

“Philpot. — ‘Sir, if I were a dog you could not appoint me a worse and more vile place. But I must be content with whatever injury you offer me. God give you a more merciful heart; you are very cruel upon someone who has never offended you.’

“Story. — ‘Will we suffer this heretic to reprove us thus? Take him away from here!’

“Philpot. — ‘God forgive you, and give you more merciful hearts, and show you more mercy in the time of need. What you do, do quickly.’

“Story. — ‘Do you not hear how he makes us Judases?’

“Philpot. — ‘That is according to your own interpretation.’

“After this, I with four others were brought to the keeper’s house in Paternoster-row, where we supped. After supper I was called up to a chamber by the archdeacon of London’s servant, in his master’s name. He offered me a bed for that night. I gave him thanks saying that it would be a grief to me to lie well one night, and the next worse. Therefore I will begin, I said, as I am likely to continue, to take such part as my fellows do. Then we were brought through Paternoster-row to my lord of London’s coal-house, to which is joined a little dark house with a great pair of stocks, appointed for both hand and foot. But thanks be to God, we have not been put into them yet, although some before us had tried them. There we found a minister of Essex, a married priest, a man of godly zeal, with one other poor man.

This minister desired to speak with me, and greatly lamented his own infirmity. For through the extremity of imprisonment, he was constrained by writing to yield to the bishop of London, whereupon he was at once set at liberty. Afterwards he felt such a hell in his conscience, that he could scarcely refrain from destroying himself, and never could be at quiet until he had gone to the bishop's register, desiring to see his bill again. As soon as he received it, he tore it in pieces.'

"The bishop sent to me his registrar, with a mess of food, and a good pot of drink and bread, saying that my lord had no knowledge of my being here, for which he was sorry. I thanked God for my Lord's charity, that it pleased him to remember poor prisoners.

"Within a while after, one of my lord's gentlemen came for me. I was brought into his presence, where he sat at a table alone, with three or four of his chaplains waiting upon him, and his register.

"Bonner. — 'Master Philpot, you are welcome; give me your hand.'

"With that, because he so gently put out his hand, to render courtesy for courtesy, I kissed my hand and gave it to him.

"Bonner. — 'I am right sorry for your trouble, and before these two hours, I did not know of your being here. I pray you, tell me what was the cause of your being sent here?'

"I showed him the sum of the matter: that it was for the disputation in the convocation-house for which I was molested, against all right.

"Bonner. — 'I marvel that you should be troubled for that, if there was no other cause.'

"Philpot. — 'If it pleases your lordship, I am burdened none otherwise than I have told you.'

"Bonner. — 'I ask of you what your judgment is of the sacrament of the altar?'

"Philpot. — 'My lord, St. Ambrose says that the disputation of faith ought to be in the congregation, in the hearing of the people, and that I am not bound to render an account of it to every man privately, unless it is to edify.'

"Bonner. — 'I perceive you are learned; I would have men such as you about me. But you must come and be of the church; for there is but one church.'

"Philpot. — 'God forbid I should be out of the church; I am sure I am within it, for I know as I am taught by the Scripture, that there is but one catholic church, one dove, one spouse, one beloved congregation, outside of which there is no salvation.'

"Bonner. — 'How does it chance then, that you go out of it, and do not walk with us?'

"Philpot. — 'My lord, I am sure I am within the bounds of the church upon which she is built, which is the word of God.'

"After some further converse I was carried to my lord's coal-house again, where I with my six fellows slept together in straw, as cheerfully, we thank God, as others do in their beds of down."

*The Fourth Examination of Master Philpot in the Archdeacon's house  
at London, before the Bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Gloucester.*

"Bonner. — 'It has pleased my lords to dine with my archdeacon, and at dinner time it chanced us to have communication about you.

[867] A.D. 1555.

“You were pitied here by many who knew you in the new college in Oxford. And therefore I have sent for you to come before them. Now therefore, utter your mind freely, and you will with all favor be satisfied.’

“Bath. — ‘My lords here have not sent for you to flatter you, but for charity’s sake to exhort you to come into the right catholic way of the church.’

“Worcester. — ‘Before he begins to speak, it is best that he call to God for grace, and to pray that it might please God to open his heart, that he may conceive the truth.’

“With that I fell down upon my knees before them, and made my prayer in this manner:

‘Almighty God, who are the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech you of your infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me (a most vile sinner in your sight), the spirit of wisdom to speak and give an answer in your cause, that it may be to the contentment of the hearers before whom I stand, and also to my better understanding if I am deceived in anything.’

“Bonner. — ‘No, my lord of Worcester, you did not do well to exhort him to make any prayer. For this is the thing they have a singular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers in which they glory much. For in this point they are much like certain arrant heretics that Pliny mentions, who daily sang ‘Praises to God before dawning of the day.’”<sup>629</sup>

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, God make me and all of you present here, such heretics as those were who sang those morning hymns. For they were right Christians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended for their well-doing.’

“Bonner. — ‘Say on, Master Philpot; my lords will gladly hear you.’

“Philpot. — ‘I have, my lords, been in prison this twelve and a half months, without any just cause that I know, and my living taken from me without any lawful order. And now I am brought, contrary to right, from my own territory and ordinary, into another man’s jurisdiction, I know not why. Therefore, if your lordships can burden me with any evil done, I stand here before you to purge me of the same. And if no such thing may be justly laid to my charge, I desire to be released of this wrongful trouble.’

“Bonner. — ‘I have to lay to your charge, that you have offended in my diocese by speaking against the blessed sacrament of the altar. And therefore I may call you, and proceed against you to punish you by the law.’

“Philpot. — ‘I have not offended in your diocese. For that which I spoke of the sacraments was in St. Paul’s church in the convocation-house, which is a peculiar jurisdiction, belonging to the dean of St. Paul’s.’

“Bonner. — ‘Is not St. Paul’s church in my diocese? Well, I know leading it costs me a good deal of money by the year.’

“Philpot. — ‘That may be, and yet I may be exempted from your lordship’s jurisdiction. Although I had so offended in your diocese, yet by the law I should be sent to my ordinary, and not to be punished by you who are not my ordinary.’

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<sup>629</sup> Pliny the Younger, in his letter to Emperor Trajan, described Christians meeting before dawn on a fixed day to sing responsively a hymn to Christ as to a god.

“Bonner. — ‘You cannot say hereafter that you have not been gently communed with by my lords here. And yet you will be willful and obstinate in your error, and in your own opinions, and will not show any cause why you will not come into the unity of the church with us.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lords, I do not declare my mind according to your expectation, because I cannot speak without present danger of my life. But rather than have you report me as obstinate or self-willed, I will open to you somewhat of my mind, desiring your lordships, who seem to be pillars of the church of England, to satisfy me in it. And I will refer all other points in which I dissent from you, to one or two articles, or rather to one, which includes them both. In this, if by the Scriptures I can be satisfied at your mouths, I will as willingly agree to you as any other in all points.’

“Bonner. — ‘These heretics always come with their *ifs*, as this man does now, saying. *If* he can be satisfied by the Scriptures — so that he will always have this exception: *I am not satisfied*, even if the matter is ever so plainly proved against him. But will you promise to be satisfied, if my lords take some pains about you?’

“Philpot. — ‘I say, my lord, I will be satisfied by the Scriptures. And I protest here before God. and his eternal Son Jesus Christ, my Savior, and the Holy Spirit, and his angels — and you present here are judges of what I speak — that I do not stand in any opinion through willfulness, but only upon my conscience, informed by God’s word, from which I dare not go for fear of damnation. And this is the cause of my earnestness in this behalf.’

“Bonner. — ‘I will trouble my lords no longer, seeing that you will not declare your mind.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lords, it is not unknown to you, that the chief cause why you count me and such as I am, as heretics, is because we are not at unity with your church. You say *you* are of the true church; and we say, *we* are of the true church. You say that whoever is out of your church is damned; and we think on the other side, that if we depart from the true church, to which we are grafted in by God’s word, we would stand in a state of damnation. Therefore, if your lordship can bring any better authority for your church than we can do for ours, and prove by the Scriptures that the church of Rome is the true catholic church, and that all Christian persons ought to be ruled by her under pain of damnation, as you say, and that that church, as you pretend, has authority to interpret the Scriptures, and that all men are bound to follow only such interpretations, I will be as conformable to that church as you may desire me to. Therefore I request you, for God’s sake, to satisfy me in this.’

“Cole. — ‘What will you say if I can prove that it was decreed by a universal council in Athanasius’ time, that the whole Christian church should follow the determination of the church of Rome? But I do not now remember where.’

“Philpot. — ‘If you can show me this is granted to the See of Rome by the authority of the *Scripture*, I will gladly hearken. But I think you are not able to show any such thing. For Athanasius was president of the Nicene council, and there was no such thing decreed, I am sure.’

“Cole. — ‘Even if it were not then, it might be at another time.’

“Philpot. — ‘I desire to see the proof.’

“Upon this Harpsfield, chancellor to the bishop of London, brought in a book of Irenaeus, with certain leaves turned in, and laid it before the bishops to help them in their perplexity. After the bishops of Bath and Gloucester had read together, the bishop of Gloucester gave me the book.

“I took the book, and read the place. After I had read it, I said, ‘It says nothing against me, but against the Arians and other heretics, against whom Irenaeus wrote, proving that they were not to be credited, because they taught and followed strange doctrine in Europe, and that the chief church of Europe was founded by Peter and Paul, and had to this time continued by succession of the faithful bishops in preaching the true gospel, as they had received from the apostles, and not like these heretics, etc. By this he concludes against them, that they were not to be heard, which if you, my lords, are able to prove now about the church of Rome, then you have as good authority against me as Irenaeus had against those heretics. But the church of Rome has swerved from the truth and simplicity of the gospel which it maintained in Irenaeus’ time. Therefore your lordships cannot justly apply the authority of Irenaeus to the church of Rome, which is now so manifestly corrupted from the primitive church.’

“Worcester. — ‘It can be proved most manifestly by all ancient writers, that the See of Rome has always followed the truth, and was never deceived until of late certain heretics had defaced it.’

“Philpot. — ‘Let that be proved, and I am done.’

“Worcester. — ‘No, you are of such arrogance, singularity, and vain glory, that you will not see it, however well it is so proved.’

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“Philpot. — ‘My lords, is it now time, you think, for me to follow singularity or vain glory, since it is now upon danger of my life and death, not only presently, but also before God to come? And I know if I do not die in the true faith, I will die everlastingly. And again, I know if I do not as you would have me do, then you will kill me, and many thousands more. Yet I would rather perish at your hands, than perish eternally.’

“Cole. — ‘Where are you able to prove that the church of Rome has erred at any time? And by what history? It is certainly proved by Eusebius that the church was established at Rome by St. Peter and St. Paul, and that St. Peter was bishop of Rome for twenty-five years.’

“Philpot. — ‘I know well that Eusebius so writes. But if we compare what St. Paul writes to the Galatians (chap. 1), the contrary will manifestly appear, that he was not half so long there. He did not live more than thirty-five years after he was called to be an apostle; and St. Paul mentions his abiding at Jerusalem after Christ’s death more than thirteen years.’

“Cole. — ‘What, did St. Peter write to the Galatians?’

“Philpot. — ‘No; I say St. Paul mentions St. Peter, writing to the Galatians, and of his abiding at Jerusalem. And further, I am able to prove, both by Eusebius and other historians, that the church of Rome has manifestly erred, and errs at this present time, because she does not agree with what they wrote. The primitive church was according to the gospel, and no other proof is needed but to compare one with the other.’

“Bonner. — ‘I may compare this man to a certain man I read about, who fell into desperation, and went into a wood to hang himself. And when he got there, he went viewing every tree, and could find none on which he might grant to hang himself. But I will not apply it as I might. I pray you. Master Doctor, go on with him.’

“Cole. — ‘My lord, there are, on every side, those who are better able to answer him, and I do not love to fall into disreputation. For now-a-days a man will but sustain shame and infamy among the people. I would rather show my mind in writing.’

“Philpot. — ‘And I would rather that you should do so than otherwise, for then a man may better judge your Words;’ and I beseech you to do so. But you will not be able to show what you have said, to be decreed by a general council in Athanasius’ time. For this I am sure of, that it was concluded by a general council in Africa, many years after, that none from Africa, under pain of excommunication, should appeal to Rome. This decree I am sure they would not have made, if it had been decreed by the Scriptures and by a universal council, that all men should abide and follow the determination of the church of Rome.’

“Cole. — ‘But I can show that they revoked that error again.’

“Philpot. — ‘So you say; but I pray you show me where. I have up to now heard nothing from you but bare words without any authority.’

“Worcester. — ‘Do you think the universal church may be deceived?’

“Philpot. — ‘St. Paul, in writing to the Thessalonians, prophesies that there would come a departing from the faith in the latter days, before the coming of Christ, saying, Christ shall not come, till there come a falling away first.’

“Cole. — ‘How do you take the departing there in St. Paul? It is not meant of faith, but of the departing from the empire?’

“Philpot. — ‘Apostassa’ is properly a departing from the faith, and from that comes ‘apostate,’ which properly signifies someone who departs from his faith.’

“Worcester. — ‘I am sorry that you should be against the Christian world.’

“Philpot. — ‘The world commonly, and such as are *called* Christians, have hated the truth.’

“Gloucester. — ‘Why, Master Philpot, do you think that the universal church has erred, and you alone are in the truth?’

“Philpot. — ‘The church that you are of was never universal, for two parts of the world, which are Asia and Africa, never consented to the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, just as they do not at this day, nor do they follow his decrees.’

“Gloucester. — ‘Yes, in the Florentine council they agreed.’

“Philpot. — ‘It was said so by a false report, after those of Asia and Africa had gone home. But it was not so indeed, as the sequel proves.’

“Gloucester. — ‘I pray you, by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy?’

“Philpot. — ‘By the word of God. For Christ says in St. John, The word that he spoke, the same will be judge in the latter day.’

“Gloucester. — ‘What if you take the word one way, and I another way. Who shall be judge then?’

“Philpot. — ‘The primitive church.’<sup>630</sup>

“Gloucester. — ‘What if you take the doctors in one sense, and I in another: who will be judge then?’

“Philpot. — ‘Then let that be taken which is most agreeable to God’s word.’

“Worcester. — ‘It is wonder you see how he stands with a few against a great multitude.’

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<sup>630</sup> In other words, as the early church understood it. That is not tradition but originalism.

Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

“Philpot. — ‘We have almost as many as you. For we have Asia, Africa, Germany, Denmark, and a great part of France, and daily the number of the gospellers increases. So that I am credibly informed that for this religion in which I stand, and for which I am likely to die, a great multitude daily comes out of France through persecution, so that the cities of Germany are scarcely able to receive them. And therefore your lordship may be sure, the word of God will one day take place, do what you can to the contrary.’

“Bonner. — ‘My lords will trouble you no further at this time, but you will go from where you came, and have such favor in the meanwhile as I can show you. And on Wednesday next you will be called again to hear what you can say for the maintenance of your error.’

“Worcester. — ‘God send you more grace.’

“Philpot. — ‘And also God increase the same in you, and open your eyes that you may maintain his truth, and his true church.’

“Then the bishops rose up and consulted together, and had a writing made, in which I think my blood was bought and sold by them, and they put their hands to it. After this I was carried to my coalhouse again.”

*The Fifth Examination of John Philpot, had before the Bishops  
of London, Rochester, Coventry, St. Asaph, and others.*

“Bonner. — ‘Come here, Master Philpot, I have desired my lords here, and other learned men, to take some pains once again, to do you good. Therefore act the wise man, and be ruled by these learned men.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I look for nothing else than death at your hands, and I am as ready to yield my life in Christ’s cause, as you are to require it.’

“Bonner. — ‘Behold, what a willful man is this? By my faith, it is but folly to reason with him, or with any of these heretics. I am sorry that you will be no more tractable, and that I am compelled to show extremity against you.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, you need not show extremity against me unless you wish; nor by the law do you have anything to do with me, for you are not my ordinary, even though I am, contrary to all right, in your prison.’

“Bonner. — ‘You maintained open heresy in my diocese. Therefore the commissioners sent you to me that I should proceed against you.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I stand still upon my lawful plea in this behalf, that even if it were a great heresy, as you suppose it is, yet I should not be troubled for it, in respect to the privilege of the parliament house, of which the convocation-house is a member, where all men in matters propounded may freely speak their minds. And here a gentleman of the queen’s majesty is present who was present at the disputation, and can testify that the questions which were then in controversy, were not set forth by me, but by the prolocutor, who required in the queen’s majesty’s name, that all men were to dispute their minds freely in the same, who were of the house.’

[869] A.D. 1555.

“After much dispute about the laws of the realm, Philpot at last said, ‘My lord, I do not stand here to reason matters of the civil law, although I am not altogether ignorant of the same. For I have been a student in the law six or seven years. But to answer to the articles of faith



with which you may lawfully burden me. And whereas you go about unlawfully to proceed, I challenge, according to my knowledge, the benefit of the law in my defense.'

"Bonner. — 'Why, will you answer directly to nothing you are charged with?'

"Philpot. — 'My lord, I have declared my mind to you, and to others of the bishops, desiring you to satisfy me of but one thing, to which I have referred all other controversies. If your lordships now, or other learned men can resolve me about this, then I am as contented to be reformable in all things as you will require, which is to prove that the church of Rome is the catholic church.'

"Coventry. — 'Why do you not believe your creed, — *I believe in the holy catholic church?*'

"Philpot. — 'Yes, that I do; but I cannot understand Rome to be the same, or like it.'

"St. Asaph. — 'It is most evident that St. Peter built the catholic church at Rome. And Christ said, 'You are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church.' Moreover, the succession of bishops in the See of Rome from time to time can be proved, which is a manifest proof of the catholic church.'

"Philpot. — 'What you would have to be undoubted, is most uncertain. And where you allege Christ saying to St. Peter, 'You art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church,' unless you can prove the rock to signify Rome, you prove nothing. And although you can prove the succession of bishops from St. Peter, yet this is not sufficient to prove Rome is the catholic church, unless you can prove the profession of St. Peter's faith upon which the catholic church is built, to have continued in his successors at Rome, and to remain there at this present time.'

"Bonner. — 'Are there any more churches than one catholic church? And I pray tell me, into what faith were you baptized?'

"Philpot. — 'I acknowledge one holy catholic and apostolic church, of which I am a member, I praise God, and I am of that catholic faith of Christ into which I was baptized.'

"Coventry. — 'I pray you, can you tell what this word *catholic* signifies? Show if you can.'

"Philpot. — 'Yes, that I can, I thank God. The catholic faith, or the catholic church, is not as the people now-a-days are taught — that which is most universal, or received by most men. By this you infer our faith hangs upon the multitude, which is not so. But I esteem the catholic church to be, as St. Augustine defines it. He says, 'We judge the catholic faith, that which has been, is, and shall be.' So that if you are able to prove that our faith and church has been taught from the beginning, and is, and shall be, then you may count yourselves catholic, or otherwise not.'

"Coventry. — 'Let the book be seen.'

"Bonner. — 'I pray you, my lord, be content, or in good faith I will break off and let it all alone. Do you think the catholic church, until these few years, has erred?'

"Philpot. — 'I do not think that the catholic church can err in doctrine; but I request you to prove that this church of Rome is the catholic church.'

"Curtop. — 'I can prove that Irenaeus, who was within a hundred years after Christ, came to Victor, then bishop of Rome, to ask his advice about the excommunication of certain heretics, which he would not have done if he had not taken him to be supreme head.'

"Coventry. — 'Mark well this argument. How are you able to answer it? Answer, if you can.'

Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

“Philpot. — ‘It is soon answered, my lord, for it is of no force. This act of Irenaeus makes no more for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, than mine has done. I have been at Rome as well as he, and I might have spoken with the pope, if I had pleased. And yet I wish none in England favored his supremacy more than I.’

“St. Asaph. — ‘You are all the more to blame, since all in the catholic church, until these last few years, have taken him to be the supreme head of the church.’

“Philpot. — ‘That is not likely that Irenaeus took him so, or the primitive church. For I am able to show seven general councils after Irenaeus’ time, in which he was never so taken. This may be a sufficient proof that the primitive catholic church never took him for supreme head.’

“Coventry. — ‘Why will you not admit the church of Rome to be the catholic church?’

“Philpot. — ‘Because it does not follow the primitive catholic church, nor does it agree with it, no more than an apple is like a nut.’

“Coventry. — ‘In what does it dissent?’

“Philpot. — ‘It would take too long to recite it all, but I will name two things: the supremacy of the pope, and transubstantiation.’

“Curtop. — ‘As for transubstantiation, although it was set forth and decreed as an article of faith not much beyond three hundred years ago, yet it was always believed in the church.’

“Bonner. — ‘Yes, that it was. Very well said of you, Master Curtop.’

“Philpot. — ‘You have said right, that transubstantiation is but a late planting of the bishop of Rome, and you are not able to show by any ancient writer, that the primitive church believed any such thing.’

“Coventry. — ‘Can you disprove that the church of Rome is the catholic church?’

“Philpot. — ‘Yes, that I am able, but I rather desire to hear from you for the proof of it. And seeing that I cannot have my request at your hands, I will show you good proof why it is not. For if the primitive church were catholic, then the church of Rome is not now the catholic church, which dissents so far from it both in doctrine and use of the sacraments.’

“Coventry. — ‘How do you prove that the church of Rome now dissents in doctrine and use of the sacraments from the primitive church?’

“Philpot. — ‘Compare the one with the other, and it will soon appear; as you may see both in Eusebius and other ecclesiastical and ancient writers.’

“Coventry. — ‘What more do you have to say, as to why it is not the catholic church?’

“Philpot. — ‘Because it is not universal, nor ever was, even though you falsely persuade the people that it is so. For the world having been divided into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europe; two parts, Asia and Africa, professing Christ as well as we, never consented to the church of Rome, which is of Europe. This is a sufficient testimony that your faith was never universal.’

“Coventry. — ‘How do you prove that?’

“Philpot. — ‘All the historians who write of the proceedings of the church, testify it. Besides, this present time declares what I say to be true. For at this present time the churches of Asia and Africa do not consent to the church of Rome. Yes, and besides all this, most of Europe

does not agree to, or admit the church of Rome — such as Germany, Denmark, Poland, a great part of France, England, and Zealand. This is a manifest proof that your church is not universal.’

“After this, the bishop of London called away the other bishops, and left with me some gentlemen, and some of his chaplains, such as Doctor Saverson, who began with me in this manner:

“Saverson. — ‘I remember you. Master Philpot, beyond the sea, since the time you reasoned with a friar, a notable learned man, coming from Venice to Padua in a barge.’

“Philpot. — ‘I cannot forget that. For the friar threatened to accuse me of heresy as soon as he came to Padua, because I talked with him so boldly of the truth. He was no such learned man as you name him to be, but only in his school points a good purgatory friar.’

“Saverson. — ‘Well, he was a learned man for all that. And I am sorry to hear that you, this day having communed with so many notable learned men, are not more conformable to them than you are.’

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“Philpot. — ‘I will be conformable to all who are conformable to Christ in his word.’

“Saverson. — ‘I have heard your arguments, and I think that a great many of the old ancient writers are against you in that you do not admit the church of Rome, nor its supremacy. For St. Cyprian, who is an ancient writer, admits that the bishop of Rome is the supreme head of the church.’

“Philpot. — ‘I am sure he does not. For writing to Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, he calls him only his companion and his fellow-bishop. He neither attributed to him the name of pope, nor of any usurped terms which now are ascribed to the bishop of Rome to set forth his dignity.’

“Saverson. — ‘You cannot show that St. Cyprian calls Cornelius his fellow-bishop.’

“Philpot. — ‘I will wager that I can show it in Cyprian.’

“Saverson. — ‘I will lay no wager with you, but book for book that it is not so.’

“Philpot. — ‘I agree to that, and I pray you let one of my lord’s chaplains bring his Cyprian here.’

“One of them went to my lord’s study and brought Cyprian, and he turned to the first book of his epistles, the third epistle, and there would seem to have gathered a strong argument for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, because he says; ‘It does not go well with the church when the high priest is not obeyed, who supplies the stead of Christ, after God’s word, and the consent of his fellow-bishops, and the agreement of the people.’

“Saverson. — ‘How can you avoid this place, which makes so plainly for the bishop of Rome’s supremacy?’

“Philpot. — ‘It does not make so plain for your side as you suppose, as I will give you to understand. But first, I claim the wager which we made, that your book is mine. For here, you may see, that he calls Cornelius his fellow-bishop, as he does also in other places. And now, for the understanding of that place, you misconstrue it in taking the high priest for the bishop of Rome alone. For there were four patriarchs appointed by the Nicene council: the patriarch of Jerusalem, the patriarch of Constantinople, the patriarch of Alexandria, and the

patriarch of Rome. Of these four, the patriarch of Rome was placed lowest in the council, and so he continued for many years, for the time of seven or eight general councils, as I am able to show. Therefore, St. Cyprian, writing to Cornelius, patriarch of Rome (whom he calls his fellow-bishop), finds himself offended that certain heretics being justly excommunicated by him (as the Novatians were), fled from his diocese, where he was their chief bishop, refusing to be obedient to him, and were reformed to the bishop of Rome and to the patriarch of Constantinople. And there they were received in communion of the congregation, in derogation of good order and discipline in the church, and to maintaining heresies and schisms.’

“A chaplain. — ‘Did not Christ build his church upon St. Peter? Cyprian says so.’

“Philpot. — ‘St. Cyprian, *De simplicitate Praelatorum*, declares in what respect he said so. ‘God gave in the person of one, the keys to all, that he might signify the unity of all.’ And also, St. Augustine says in the tenth treatise on St. John, ‘If the mystery of the church had not been in Peter, the Lord would not have said to him, I will give you the keys. For if that were said to Peter, the church does not have them; if the church had them when Peter received them, then he signified the whole church.’ And also Jerome, a priest of Rome, writing to Nepotian, says that, ‘All churches lean to their own pastors.’ And Evagrius says that, ‘Wherever a bishop is, whether he is at Rome, or at Evagium, or at Rhegium, he is of one power and of one jurisdiction.’

“Saverson. — ‘I wonder you will stand so steadfast in your error, to your own destruction.’

“Philpot. — ‘I am sure we are in no error, by the promise of Christ made to the faithful once, which is that he will give to his true church such a spirit of wisdom, that the adversaries of it would never be able to resist. And by this I know we are of the truth, for your synagogue of Rome is able to answer neither by reasoning, nor by writing. Where is there one of you all who has ever been able to answer any of the godly learned ministers of Germany, who have disclosed your counterfeit religion? Which of you all is able to answer *Calvin’s Institutes*?’

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“Saverson. — ‘A godly minister, indeed, of cut-purses (thieves), and renegade traitors! I can tell you, there is such contention between him and his own sects about predestination, that he was glad to flee the town. I tell you the truth, for I came here by Geneva.’

“Philpot. — ‘I am sure you blaspheme that godly man, and that godly church where he is minister. For it is your church’s condition, when you cannot answer men by learning, to oppress them with blasphemies and false reports. For in the matter of predestination he is in no other opinion than all the doctors of the church are, agreeing to the Scriptures.’

“After this Doctor Story came in. I said to him, ‘You have done me great injury, and without law have straitly imprisoned me, more like a dog than a man. And besides this, you have not kept your promise to me, for you promised that I would be judged the next day after.’

“Story. — ‘I have come now to keep my promise with you. Was there ever such a fantastical man as this? No, he is no man; he is a beast; indeed, these heretics are worse than brute beasts. For they will, upon a vain singularity, take it upon themselves to be wiser than all

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<sup>631</sup> John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536-1559) is among the greatest works of Christian theology and Western literature. It was done in the style of a Catechism to teach young Christians about the faith. It began as an exposition of the Apostle's Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer. By 1559 Calvin had expanded it to include the sacraments, the Law, Faith, Prayer, Christian Liberty and Church government.

men, being, indeed, very fools and asses, not able to maintain that which out of an arrogant obstinacy they stand in.'

"Philpot. — 'I am content to abide your railing judgment of me now. Say what you will, I am content, for I am under your feet to be trodden on as you wish. God forgive you for it; yet I am no heretic. Neither you nor any other will be able to prove that I hold any jot against the word of God, otherwise than a Christian man should.'

"Story. — 'The word of God! Truly the word of God! It is but folly to reason with these heretics, for they are incurable and desperate. But yet I may reason with you, not that I have any hope to win you. Whom will you appoint to judge about the word?'

"Philpot. — 'The word itself.'

"Story. — 'Do you not see the ignorance of this beastly heretic? He wills the word to be judged by the word. Can the word speak?'

"Philpot. — 'If I cannot prove what I have said by good authority, I will be content to be counted a heretic, and an ignorant person, and further, whatever you please.'

"Story. — 'Let us hear what wise authority you can bring in.'

"Philpot. — 'It is the saying of Christ in St. John, The word which I have spoken, says Christ, will judge in the last day. If the word will judge in the last day, then much more it ought to judge our doings now. And I am sure I have my judge on my side, who will absolve and justify me in another world. However it pleases you now by authority to unrighteously judge me and others, I am sure in another world to judge you.'

"Story. — 'What! You purpose to be a martyr, and to sit in judgment with Christ at the last day to judge the twelve tribes of Israel!'

"Philpot. — 'Yes, sir, I do not doubt it, having the promise of Christ, if I die for righteousness' sake, which you have begun to persecute me for.'

"Story. — 'I told you it was but vain to argue with this heretic; he is drowned in his heresies.'

"Philpot. — 'I have brought you, for what I said, good authority out of God's book, to which you answer nothing, but give a railing judgment against me without any cause.'

"Story. — 'Will you not allow the interpretation of the church upon the Scriptures?'

[871] A.D. 1555.

"Philpot. — 'Yes, if it is according to the word about the true church. And this I say to you, as I have said here before, that if you can prove the church of Rome to be the true catholic church, which I ought to follow, then I will be as ready to yield to it as you may desire me.'

"Story. — 'What a fellow is this? He will believe nothing but what he chooses himself. Are we not in possession of the church? Have not our forefathers these many hundred years taken this church for the catholic church? And if we had no other proof but this, it would be sufficient. For the prescription of time makes a good title in the law.'

"Philpot. — 'You do well to allege prescription of many years, for it is all you have to show for yourselves.'

"Story. — 'Well, you are likely to go after your father Latimer, the sophister, and Ridley, who had nothing to allege for himself but that he had learned his heresy from Cranmer. When I came to him, he trembled as though he had the palsy, as these heretics always have some

token of fear by which a man may know them, as you may see this man's eyes tremble in his head. But I dispatched them. And I tell you that there has never yet been one burnt, that I have not spoken with him, and been a cause of his death.'

"Philpot. — 'You have all the more to answer for, as you will feel in another world, however much you now triumph in your proceedings.'

*The Sixth Examination of John Philpot before the Right  
Honorable Lords, the Lord Chamberlain to the Queen's Majesty,  
Viscount Hereford, commonly called Lord Ferras, Lord Rich, Lord St. John,  
Lord Windsor, Lord Chandos, Sir John Bridges, Lieutenant of the Tower,  
and two more, with the Bishop of London and Doctor Chedsey,  
on the 6th of November 1555.*

"Before I was called before the lords, and while they were sitting down, the bishop of London came aside to me and whispered in my ear, to act prudently before the lords of the queen's majesty's council, and to take heed what I said. After the lords and others were seated, my lord of London placed himself at the end of the table, called me, and began to speak.

"Bonner. — 'I have up to now both privately myself, and openly before the lords of the clergy, more than once had you talked with to reform you of your errors. But I have not found you yet so tractable as I would wish. Therefore now I have desired these honorable lords to hear you, that they may be judges whether I have sought all means to do you good or not. And I dare be bold to say that, if you show yourself conformable to the queen's majesty's proceedings, you will find as much favor as you can wish.'

"Philpot. — 'My lord, I thank God this day, that I have such an honorable audience; and I cannot but commend your lordship's equity in this behalf, which agrees with the order of the primitive church, which was, if anybody had been suspected of heresy, as I am now, he should be called first before the archbishop or bishop of the diocese where he was suspected; secondly, in the presence of others, his fellow bishops, and learned elders; and thirdly, in the hearing of the laity. There, after the judgment of God's word, and with the assent of our bishops and the consent of the people, he was condemned as a heretic, or absolved. And the second point of that good order I have found at your lordship's hands already, in being called before you and your fellow bishops. And now I have the third sort of men, at whose hands I trust to find more righteousness in my cause than I have found with my lords of the clergy. God grant I may have at last the judgment of God's word concerning the same!'

"Bonner. — 'I pray you, before you go any further, tell my lords here plainly, whether you were by me or by my procurement committed to prison or not, and whether I have shown you any cruelty since you have been committed to my prison.'

"Philpot. — 'If it will please your lordship to give me leave to declare my matter, I will touch that afterwards.'

"Rich. — 'Answer, first of all, to my lord's two questions, and then proceed to the matter. What do you say? Were you imprisoned by my lord or not? Can you find any fault with his cruel using of you?'

"Philpot. — 'I cannot lay to my lord's charge the cause of my imprisonment, nor may I say that he has used me cruelly, but rather for my part I may say that I have found more gentleness at his lordship's hands, than I did at my own ordinary's. For the time I have been

within his prison, he has called me three or four times to my answer, to which I was not called in the twelve and a half months before.’

“Rich. — ‘Well, now go to your matter.’

“Philpot. — ‘The matter is, that I am imprisoned for the disputations had by me in the convocation-house against the sacrament of the altar. This matter was not moved principally by me, but by the prolocutor, with the consent of the queen’s majesty and of the whole house. And that house, being a part of the parliament house, ought to be a place of free speech for all men of the house, by the ancient and laudable custom of this realm. Therefore, I think myself to have sustained great injury, for being imprisoned for speaking my conscience freely in such a place as I might lawfully do it. And I desire your honorable lordship’s judgment, who are of the parliament-house, whether of right I ought to be impeached therefore, and sustain the loss of my living, as I have done, and moreover of my life, as it is sought?’

“Rich. — ‘The convocation-house is no part of the parliament-house.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I have always understood the contrary by those who are more expert men in things of this realm than I am.’

“Bonner. — ‘My lords, he has spoken there manifest heresy. Yes, and he has stoutly maintained the same against the blessed sacrament of the altar, (and with that Bonner put off his cap, that all the lords might reverence and vail their bonnets <sup>632</sup> at that idol as he did), and would not admit the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in it.’

‘Rich. — ‘What do you say? Will you acknowledge the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the mass, as all the learned men of this realm do, and as I do, and will believe as long as I live, and affirm it?’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I acknowledge, in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, such a presence, as the word of God allows and teaches me.’

“Bonner. — ‘A sacrament is a sign of a holy thing. So that there is both the sign which is the accident (such as the whiteness, roundness, and shape of bread), and there is also the thing itself, as truly Christ, both God and man. But these heretics will have the sacrament to be but bare signs. What do you say? Declare to my lords here whether you admit the thing itself in the sacrament or not.’

“Philpot. — ‘I confess that in the Lord’s supper there is both the sign and the thing signified, when it is duly ministered according to the institution of Christ.’

“Bonner. — ‘You may see how he goes about the bush, and dares not utter his mind plainly.’

“Philpot. — ‘If it please you, my lord of London, to give me leave to proceed orderly, and to let me declare my mind without interruption, I will thoroughly open my mind in this.’

“Chandos. — ‘I pray you, my lord, let him speak his mind.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lords, the reason that I have not plainly declared my judgment to you is this: I cannot speak of it without the danger of my life.’

“Rich. — ‘There is none of us here that seeks your life, or means to take any advantage of what you will speak.’

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<sup>632</sup> *Vail*: to lower or take off (a hat or crown) as a sign of respect.

“Philpot. — ‘Although I do not distrust your honorable lordships who are here of the laity, yet here is one who sits against me (pointing to my lord of London), who will lay it to my charge even to the death. Notwithstanding, seeing your honors require me to declare my mind, and so that you may perceive that I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, nor maintain any opinion without sufficient authority of the Scripture, I will show you frankly my mind without any color, whatever will ensue to me.

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That which I intend to speak to you, right honorable lords, I affirm here, first before God and his angels, that I do not speak it in vain glory, nor in singularity, nor in willful stubbornness, but truly upon a good conscience, grounded on God’s word, against which I dare not act, for fear of damnation. Neither do I disagree to the proceedings of this realm in religion, because I do not love the queen (whom I love from the bottom of my heart) but because I ought to love and fear God in his word more than man in his laws, even though I stand, as I seem to do, in this consideration, and for no other, as I call God to witness.

“There are two things principally, by which the clergy at this day deceive the whole realm. They are the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the name *catholic church*, both of which they usurp. As to their sacrament, which they call the altar, I say now, as I said in the convocation-house, that it is not the sacrament of Christ, nor is there any manner of Christ’s presence in it. Therefore they deceive the queen’s majesty, and you of the nobility of this realm, in making you believe that to be a sacrament which is not, and cause you to commit manifest idolatry in worshipping that for God, which is no God. And in testimony of this, besides manifest proof which I am able to make to the queen’s majesty, and to all you of her nobility, I will yield my life. To do this, if it were not upon a sure ground, would be to my utter damnation. And where they take on themselves the name *catholic church*, (by which they blind many folks’ eyes) they are not so, calling you away from the true religion which was revealed and taught in King Edward’s time, to vain superstition. And this I will say: that if they can prove themselves to be the catholic church, as they will never be able to do, I will never be against their doings, but will revoke all that I have said. And I desire you, my lords, to be a mediator for me to the queen’s majesty, that I may be brought to the just trial upon this. Indeed, I will not refuse to stand against ten of the best of them in this realm. And if they are able to prove other than I have said, either by writing or by reasoning, with good and lawful authority, I will here promise to recant whatever I have said, and to consent to them in all points.’

In the declaration of these things more at large, which now I write in brief, the bishop of London would have interrupted me, but the lords procured me liberty to make out my tale, to the great grief of the lord bishop of London, as it appeared by the temper he was in.

“Bonner. — ‘It has been told me before, that you love to make a long tale.’

“Rich. — ‘All heretics boast of the Spirit of God, and every one would have a church by himself.’

“Bonner. — ‘I pray you, how will you explain these two Scriptures: *Pater major me est; et pater et ego unum sumus*. I must interpret the same, because my lords here do not understand the Latin, that is to say, ‘The Father is greater than I,’ and ‘I and the Father are one.’ But I beg pardon, my lords, I have mis-spoken, in saying you understand no Latin; for most of you understand Latin as well as I do. But I speak in consideration of my Lord Chandos, and Master Bridges his brother, whom I take to be no great Latin scholars. Now show your cunning, and join these two Scriptures by the word if you can.’



Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

“Philpot. — ‘Yes. that I can right well. For we must understand that in Christ there are two natures, the divinity and humanity. And in respect to his humanity it is spoken of Christ, ‘The Father is greater than I. But in respect of his deity he said again, ‘The Father and I are one.’

“Bonner. — ‘What do you say, then, to the second Scripture? How do you couple that by the word to the other?’

“Philpot.-’The text itself declares, that notwithstanding, Christ abased himself in our human nature, yet he is still one in deity with the Father. And this St. Paul sets forth more at large to the Hebrews. And just as I have joined these two Scriptures together by the Scriptures, so I am able to do in all other articles of faith, which we ought to believe, and to expound them by the manifest word of God.’

“Bonner. — ‘How can that be, seeing that St. Paul says that the letter kills, but the Spirit gives life?’

“Philpot. — ‘St. Paul does not mean the written word of God, in itself kills, which is the word of life and faithful testimony of the Lord; but that the word is unprofitable and kills the one who is void of the Spirit of God, even if he is the wisest man of the world. And therefore St. Paul said that the gospel is to some a savor of life unto life, and to others a savor of death unto death. We also have an example of this in the sixth of John, of those who hearing the word of God without the Spirit were offended by it. Therefore Christ said, the flesh profits nothing, it is the Spirit that quickens.’

“Bonner. — ‘What! Do you so understand that of St Paul and of St. John?’

“Philpot. — ‘It is not my own interpretation. It is agreeable to the word in other places, and I have learned the same from ancient fathers interpreting it likewise. And to the Corinthians it is written, ‘The natural man does not perceive the things of the Spirit of God, but the spiritual man judges all things.’ ‘

“Bonner. — ‘You see, my lords, that this man will have his own mind, and willfully cast himself away. I am sorry for him.’

“Philpot. — ‘The words that I have spoken are none of mine, but the gospel, on which I ought to stand. And if you, my lord of London, can bring better authority for the faith you would draw me to, than that which I stand upon, I will gladly hear it by you or by any other in this realm.’

“After further conference with the lords, and with Doctor Chedsey in their presence, the bishop of London said, ‘My lords, I am sorry I have troubled you so long with this obstinate man, with whom we can do no good. I will trouble you no longer now.’ And with that the lords rose up, none of them saying any evil word to me. half amazed. May God work it to good!”

*The Seventh Examination of John Philpot on the 19th of November,  
before the Bishops of London and Rochester, the  
Chancellor of Lichfield, and Doctor Chedsey.*

“Bonner. — ‘Sirrah, come here! How does it happen that you came no sooner? Is it well done by you to make master chancellor and me tarry for you this hour? By the faith of my body, half an hour before mass, and half an hour even at mass, looking for your coming.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, it is not unknown to you that I am a prisoner, and that the doors are shut upon me, and I cannot come when I wish; but as soon as the doors of my prison were open, I came immediately.’

“Bonner. — ‘We sent for you that you should have come to mass. What do you say, would you have come to mass or not, if the doors had been opened sooner?’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, that is another manner of question.’

“Bonner. — ‘Behold, master chancellor, I told you we would have a froward fellow of him; he will answer directly to nothing. Why do you not answer directly, whether you would have gone to mass or not, if you had come in time?’

“Philpot. — ‘My answer will be thus: that if your lordship can prove your mass, to which you would have me come, to be the true service of God, and to which a Christian ought to come, then I will come with a good will.’

“Bonner. — ‘Look, I pray you: the king and the queen, and all the nobility of the realm come to mass, and yet he will not. By my faith, you are too well handled. You will be worse handled hereafter, I warrant you.’

“Philpot. — ‘If to lie in a dark coal-house may be counted good handling, without fire and candle, then it may be said I am well handled. Your lordship has power to treat my body as you please.’

“Bonner. — ‘Now you think, because my lord chancellor is gone, that we will burn no one more. Yes, I warrant you, I will dispatch you shortly, unless you recant.’

[873] A.D. 1555.

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I did not think that I would have been alive now, nor so raw as I am, but well roasted to ashes.’

“Chancellor. — ‘Do not cast yourself willfully away, Master Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my lord here, and by other learned men of this realm, and you may do well enough.’

“Philpot. — ‘My conscience bears me record that I seek to please God, and that the love and fear of God causes me to do as I do. Of all other creatures, I would be most miserable if, for my own will only, I lose all the comforts I might have in this life, and afterwards be cast to damnation. But I am sure it is not my will, but God’s will, who will not allow me to be cast away, I am sure.’

“Bonner. — ‘Well, since you will not be conformable by fair means, I will proceed against you *ex officio*; and therefore hearken here to these articles I have written here, and I charge you to answer them.’

“And with that he read a libel, which he had in his hand of diverse articles, and when he was done he bade me answer.

“Philpot. — ‘Your libel, my lord, contains two special points: the first pretends that I am of your diocese, and therefore your lordship, upon suspicion of heresy against me, is moved to proceed against me by your ordinary office. This is not true, for I am not of your lordship’s diocese. And the second is that I — being baptized in the catholic church, and in the catholic faith — have gone from them. This is not so, for I am of that catholic faith and church which I was baptized into.’

“Bonner. — ‘What! Are you not of my diocese? Where are you now, I pray you?’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I cannot deny that I am in your coal-house, which is your diocese; yet I am not of your diocese.’

“Bonner. — ‘You were sent here to me by the queen’s majesty’s commissioners, and you are now in my diocese. Therefore I will proceed against you as your ordinary.’

“Philpot. — ‘I was brought here through force, and therefore my being present now in your diocese is not enough to abridge me of my own ordinary’s jurisdiction. Nor does it make me willingly subject to your jurisdiction, since it comes by force, and by such men as had no just authority to do so.’

“Bonner. — ‘What do you say to the second article, and to the others?’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I say that I am not bound to answer the second, nor the rest, unless the first is proved.’

“Bonner. — ‘Well, suppose the first may be proved, as it will be, what will you say then to the second, that you are not of the same catholic faith, nor of the same church now as you were baptized in?’

“Philpot. — ‘I am of the same catholic faith, and of the same catholic church which is of Christ, the pillar and ground of the truth.’

“Bonner. — ‘Your godfathers and godmothers were of another faith than you are now.’

“Philpot. — ‘I was not baptized either into my godfather’s faith or my godmother’s, but into the faith and into the church of Christ.’

“Bonner. — ‘How do you know that?’

“Philpot. — ‘By the word of God, which is the touchstone of faith, and the limits of the church.’

“Bonner. — ‘How long has your church stood, I pray you?’

“Philpot. — ‘Even from the beginning, from Christ and from his apostles, and from their immediate successors.’

“Chancellor. — ‘He will prove his church to be before Christ!’

“Philpot. — ‘If I did so, I would not go amiss; for there was a church before the coming of Christ, which makes one catholic church.’

“Chancellor. — ‘It is so indeed.’

“Philpot. — ‘I will desire no better rule than that which is often brought in by your side, to prove both my faith and the catholic church; that is, antiquity, universality, and unity.’

“Bonner. — ‘Do you not see what a bragging foolish fellow this is! He would pretend to be very well versed in the doctors, and he is but a fool. By what doctor are you able to prove your church? Name him, and you shall have him.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, let me have all your ancient writers, with pen, and ink, and paper, and I will prove both my faith and my church out of every one of them.’

“Bonner. — ‘No, that you will not have. St. Cyprian says, ‘There must be one high-priest, to which the rest must obey;’ and they will allow no head, nor vicar-general.’

“Philpot. — ‘St. Cyprian does not say that there should be a vicar-general over all. For, in his book *De Simplicitate Praelatorum*,’ he says the contrary: ‘There is but one bishopric, which is wholly possessed by every bishop in part.’<sup>633</sup>

“Bonner. — ‘Bring the book, you will see the place against you.’

“Doctor Chedsey brought the book, and turned to the place in an epistle written to Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, and recited the words, ‘That it did not go well with the church, where the high-priest was not obeyed;’ and so he concluded for the confirmation of the bishop’s saying.

“Philpot. — ‘You misconstrue this place in St. Cyprian; for he does not mean by the high-priest, the bishop of Rome, but every patriarch in his precinct, of whom there were four appointed in his time. And in writing to Cornelius he means by the high-priest, himself, who was then chief bishop of Africa, whose authority the heretics began to despise. He complains of this to Cornelius, and says, the church cannot be well ordered, where the chief minister by order, according to the judgment of the Scriptures, the agreement of the people, and the consent of his fellow bishops, is not obeyed.’

“Bonner. — ‘Has not the bishop of Rome always been supreme head of the church, and Christ’s vicar on earth, even from St. Peter?’

“Philpot. — ‘No, that he was not. For by the word of God he has no more authority than the bishop of London has.’

“Bonner. — ‘Was not St. Peter head of the church, and does the bishop of Rome, who is his successor, not have the same authority?’

“Philpot. — ‘I grant that the bishop of Rome, as he is the successor of St. Peter, has the same authority as St. Peter had. But St. Peter had no more authority than every one of the apostles had.’

“Chancellor. — ‘Yes, that St. Peter had; for Christ said specially to him, ‘I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven;’ which he spoke to no other or his disciples, but to him.’

“Philpot. — ‘St. Augustine answers otherwise to this objection, and says that, ‘If in St. Peter there had not been the figure of the *church*, the Lord would not have said to him, To you I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. If St. Peter had not received them, the church does not have them. If the church *has* them, then St. Peter does not have them.’

“A Doctor. — ‘What will you say, if I can prove that Christ built his church upon St. Peter, and take that out of St. Cyprian? Will you then believe that the bishop of Rome ought to be supreme head of the church?’

“Philpot. — ‘I know what St. Cyprian writes in that behalf; but he means nothing as you take it.’

“Bonner. — ‘I will desire you, Master Chancellor, to take some pains with Dr. Chedsey, about this man’s examination, for I must go to the parliament house. And I would desire you to dine with me.’

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<sup>633</sup> This is the same question raised in his 5th examination (p. 873), as if to get Philpot to contradict himself, or perhaps to have him repeat his answer to this new audience.

“Chancellor. — ‘From the beginning, St. Peter and his successors have been admitted to be the supreme head of the church, and that is by the Scriptures. For Christ said to him, as mentioned by St. John three times, ‘Feed my sheep.’”

“Philpot. — ‘That is not to be taken otherwise than, ‘Go and preach,’ which was spoken to all the apostles, as well as to St. Peter.

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“And that Christ said three times, ‘Feed my sheep,’ signifies nothing else but the earnest study that the ministers of God ought to have in preaching the word. God grant that you of the clergy would weigh your duty in this behalf more than you do. Is this a just interpretation of the Scripture, to take the words, ‘Feed my sheep,’ to mean to be Lord of the whole world?”

“In the meanwhile, the Bachelor of Divinity came in, who is a reader of Greek in Oxford, belonging to the bishop, and he took it upon himself to help Master Chancellor.

“Scholar. — ‘What will you say if I can show you a Greek author called Theophylact to interpret it so? Will you believe his interpretation?’

“Philpot. — ‘Theophylact is a late writer, and one who was a favorer of the bishop of Rome. Therefore he is not to be credited, since his interpretation is contrary to the manifest words of the Scripture, and contrary to the determination of many general councils.’

“Scholar. — ‘In what general council was it otherwise, that the bishop of Rome was not supreme head over all?’

“Philpot. — ‘In the Nice council I am sure it was otherwise. For Athanasius was the chief bishop and president of the council there, and not the bishop of Rome.’

“Scholar. — ‘No, that is not so.’

“Philpot. — ‘Then I perceive you are better seen in words than in knowledge of things; and I will wager with you what you will, it is so, as you may see in the epitome of the councils.

“Scholar. — ‘I will fetch Eusebius and show the contrary, and the book of general councils.’

“He went into my lord’s closet and brought Eusebius; but he did not bring the general councils, saying that he could not come by them. And there he would have defended that it was otherwise in Eusebius, but he was not able to show the same, and so he shrank away confounded.

“Chancellor. — ‘The church of Rome has always been taken for the catholic church. Therefore I would advise you to come into the same mind with us. You see all the men of this realm condemn you. Why will you be so singular?’

“Philpot. — ‘I have said, and still say, that if you are able to prove it to me, then I will be of the same mind. But I am sure that the church which you make so much of, is a false church, and a synagogue of Satan. And you, with the learned men of the realm, persecute the true church.’

“Chancellor. — ‘Do you hear what he says, that the church of Rome is the devil?’

“Chedsey. — ‘I wish you thought more reverently of the church of Rome. What will you say if I can show you out of St. Augustine, in his epistle written to pope Innocent, that the whole general Council of Carthage admitted the church of Rome to be the chief over all others?’

“Philpot. — ‘I am sure you can show no such thing.’

“And with that he brought the book of St. Augustine, and turned to the epistle, but he could not prove his assertion clearly, only by conjectures.

“Chedsey. — ‘Here you may see. that the Council of Carthage, writing to Innocent, the bishop, calls the See of Rome the apostolic see. And besides this, they write to him, notifying him of things done in the council for the condemnation of the Donatists, requiring his approval in the same. They would not have done this, if they had not taken the church of Rome for the supreme head of the others. And moreover, you may see how St. Augustine proves the church of Rome to be the catholic church, by continual succession of the bishop until his time. This succession we can prove until our days. Therefore, by the same reason of St. Augustine, we say now, that the church of Rome is the catholic church.’

“Philpot. — ‘I have considered how you weigh St. Augustine; and contrary to his meaning and words, you would infer your false conclusion. As concerning that it was called by him the apostolical see, that is not sufficient to prove the church of Rome now to be the *catholic church*. I will grant that it is now the *apostolic see*, in respect that St. Paul and St. Peter once preached the gospel there, and abode there for a certain season. I wish you could prove it to be the same apostolical see of true religion and sincerity as the apostle left it, and taught the same. If you could do this, you might boast of Rome as the apostolical see. Otherwise it is now of no more force than if the Turk at Antioch and at Jerusalem were to boast of the apostolic sees, because the apostles once abided there, and founded the church of Christ. And whereas the whole Council of Carthage wrote to Pope Innocent, notifying him of what was done in the general council, and desiring him to set his helping hand to suppressing the Donatists, as they had done — that fact of the council does not prove the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, any more than if the whole convocation-house now gathered together, and agreeing upon certain articles, might send it to some bishop who is not present because of some impediment, asking him to agree, and to publish them in his diocese. This fact does not make any such bishop of greater authority than the rest, because his brotherly consent is required.

“And touching the succession of the bishops of Rome, brought in by St. Augustine, it does nothing to prove it to be the catholic church, unless you can conclude with the same reason as St. Augustine does. And the recitation of the succession of the bishops only tends to this: to prove the Donatists are heretics, because they began at Rome as well as in Africa, to found another church of their own setting up, besides that which was grounded by St. Peter and St. Paul, and by their successors, who all taught no such doctrine, nor such a church as the Donatists. And if you are able to prove by the bishops of Rome, that such doctrine has not been taught by any of the successors of St. Peter’s see, as is now taught and believed by us, then you have good reason against us. Otherwise it is of no force.’

“Chancellor. — ‘Well, you see we can do no good in persuading of him: let us administer the articles which my lord left us. What do you say, Master Philpot, to these articles?’

“Philpot. — ‘You have no authority to inquire of me my belief in such articles, because I am not of my lord of London’s diocese. And to be brief with you, I will make no further answer than I have already given to the bishop.’

“Chancellor. — ‘Why then let us go our ways, and let his keeper take him away.’ “

Two days afterwards, the bishop of London sent for Philpot, and after some conference, said 'I charge you to answer to my articles. Hold him a book.<sup>634</sup> You will swear to answer truly to all such articles, as I will demand of you.'

"Philpot. — 'I would first know your lordship to be my ordinary, before I swear in this.'

"Bonner. — 'What! we shall have an anabaptist of you, who thinks it not lawful to swear before a judge?'

"Philpot. — 'My lord, I am no anabaptist, I think it lawful to swear before a competent judge, being lawfully required. But I refuse to swear in these causes before your lordship, because you are not my ordinary.'

"Bonner. — 'I am your ordinary, and here I pronounce by sentence peremptory, that I am your ordinary, and that you are of my diocese (and here he bid call in more to bear witness.) And I make you (taking one of his servants by the arm) to be my notary. And now hearken to my articles, to which (when he had read them) he admonished me to answer. He said to the keeper, 'Bring me his fellows, and I will make them witnesses against him.'

"In the meanwhile one of the sheriffs of London came in, whom the bishop (calling for two chairs) placed by him, saying, 'Master Sheriff, I would have you understand how I proceed against this man. Master Sheriff, you will hear what articles this man maintains,' and so he read a number of feigned articles:

[875] A.D. 1555.

"That I denied baptism to be necessary for those who were born of Christian parents; that I denied fasting and prayer, and all other good deeds; and I maintained only a bare faith is sufficient to salvation, whatever a man did besides; and that I maintained God to be the author of all sin and wickedness.

"Philpot. — 'Ha! my lord, have you nothing of truth to charge me with, but you must be obliged to imagine these blasphemous lies against me? You might as well have said I had killed your father. The Scripture says that, 'God will destroy all men who speak lies.' And is your lordship not ashamed to say before this worshipful gentleman, that I maintain these abominable blasphemies which you have recited? If I did maintain them, I would be well worthy to be counted a heretic, and to be burned a hundred times, if it were possible.'

"Bonner. — 'I do object them to you, to hear what you will say in them, and how you can purge yourself of them.'

"Philpot. — 'Then it was not justly said by your lordship in the beginning, that I maintained them, since I hold scarcely one of these articles you have read, in form as they are written.'

"Bonner. — 'What do you say? Will you answer to them or not?'

"Philpot. — 'I would first know you to be my ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with such things, and then afterwards, being lawfully called in judgment, I will show my mind fully about it, and not otherwise.'

"Bonner. — 'Well, then, should I make your companions be witnesses against you? Where are they? Come!'

"Keeper. — 'They are here, my lord.'

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<sup>634</sup> That is, put his hand on a book, to swear by it, but unlikely the Bible. It may have been a catechism.

Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

“Bonner. — ‘Come here, sirs. Hold them a book. You will swear by the contents of that book, that you all (all manner of affections laid aside) say the truth of all such articles as you will be demanded of, concerning this man present here, who is a very naughty man. And take heed of him, that he does not deceive you, as I am afraid he does you much hurt, and strengthens you in your errors.’

“Prisoners. — ‘My lord, we will not swear, unless we know to what. We can accuse him of no evil, we have been acquainted with him only a while.’

“Philpot. — ‘I wonder that your lordship, knowing the law, will go about, contrary to the law, to have infamous persons be witnesses. For your lordship takes them to be heretics; and by the law, a heretic cannot be a witness.’

“Bonner. — ‘Yes, one heretic against another may be well enough. And Master Sheriff, I will make one of them be a witness against another.’

“Philpot. — ‘You have the law in your hand, and you will do what you will.’

“Prisoners. — ‘No, my lord.’

“Bonner. — ‘No, will you not? I will make you swear, whether you will or not. I guess they are anabaptists. Master Sheriff, they think it is not lawful to swear before a judge.’

“Philpot. — ‘We think it lawful to swear for a man who is judicially called, but not as we are now, in a blind corner.’

“Bonner. — ‘Why then, seeing you will not swear against your fellow, you will swear for yourselves, and here, in the presence of Master Sheriff, I will object the same articles to you as I have done to him, and require you, under pain of excommunication, to answer particularly to every one of them when you are examined, as you will by and by be examined by my register, and some of my chaplains.’

“Prisoners. — ‘My lord, we will not accuse ourselves. If any man can lay anything against us, we are here ready to answer to it. Otherwise we pray your lordship not to burden us; for we know no just cause why some of us are here before you.’

“Bonner. — ‘Master Sheriff, I will trouble you no longer with these froward men.’

“And so he rose up and was going away, talking with Master Sheriff. And after this we were all commanded to be put in the stocks, where I sat from morning till I night. The keeper at night, on favor, let me out.

On the Sunday after, I was separated from the other prisoners, and sent to the Lollard’s Tower.”

*The eighth Examination of John Philpot, before the Bishop of London, the Bishop of St. David’s, Master Mordant, and others, in the Bishop’s chapel.*

“The next day I was called down into the chapel, before the bishop of London, the bishop of St. David’s, Master Mordant, one of the queen’s council, Master archdeacon of London, and many more, and the bishop spoke to me as follows:

“‘Sir, here I object and lay to you in the presence of my lord of St. David’s, and of Master Mordant, and of these worshipful men, the articles contained here in this libel,’ and he openly read them.



“When I would have answered to some of his blasphemies, he would not permit me, but said I would have leisure enough to say what I wished when he had spoken. He then added, ‘I require you to answer to the catechism set forth in the schismatical time of King Edward. Also I will that you answer certain conclusions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. And here I bring forth these witnesses against you in your own presence, namely, my lord of St. David’s, Master Mordant, and Master Harpsfield, with as many of you as were present in the disputation he made in the convocation-house, willing you to testify on your oaths taken upon a book, the stubborn and irreverent behavior he there used against the blessed sacrament of the altar. Now, sir, you will answer but two words, whether you will directly answer to these articles which I have laid to you, yes or no.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, you have told a long tale against me, containing many lying blasphemies, which cannot be answered in two words. Besides this, you promise me at the beginning that I might say what I could for my defense. And now will you not give me leave to speak? What law is this?’

“Bonner. — ‘Speak yes or no, for you will say no more at this time.’

“The cause of this was, I guess, that he saw so many persons gathered there to hear the examination.

“Philpot. — ‘Then the two words which you would have me speak will be, that I have appealed from you, and I do not accept you as my sufficient judge.’

“Bonner. — ‘Indeed, Master Mordant, he has appealed to the king and to the queen; but I will be so bold with her majesty, to stay that appeal in my own hands.’

“Philpot. — ‘You will do what you please, my lord; you have the law in your hands.’

“Bonner. — ‘Will you answer or not?’

“Philpot. — ‘I will not answer otherwise than I have said.’

“Bonner. — ‘Register, note his answer that he makes.’

“Philpot. — ‘Knock me on the head with a hatchet, or set up a stake and burn me out of hand, without further law. You may as well do so, as do that you do, for all is without order of law. Such tyranny was never seen as you use now-a-days. May God, of his mercy, destroy your cruel kingdom!’ And while I spoke this, the bishop went away in haste. After this, at night, I was conducted again by three or four into the coal-house.”

*The Ninth Examination of John Philpot  
before Bishop Bonner and his Chaplains.*

“In the morning of the next day I was brought again into the wardrobe, where I remained till the bishop had heard his mass. Afterwards he sent for me into his parlor, and there he called for a chair to sit down. He brought his forged articles in his hand, and sat down, desiring me to draw near him, and said, ‘This day I tarry at home from the parliament house, to examine you and your fellows on these articles, and you stand dallying with me, and will neither answer to nor fro.’

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“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I have told you my mind plain enough. Yet I do not intend to lose that privilege the law gives me, which is liberty not to answer where I am not bound, and this privilege I will cling to, until I am compelled otherwise ‘

“Bonner. — ‘Well, I perceive you will play the obstinate fool. Lay your appeal when you come in judgment, and answer in the meanwhile to these articles.’

“Philpot. — ‘No, my lord, by your leave I will not answer to them, until my lawful appeal is tried.’

“Bonner. — ‘Well, you will hear them,’ and he began to read them.

“I shrank back into the window, and looked at a book. After he had read them over, he said to me: ‘I have read them over, although it has not pleased you to hear me. I marvel, in good faith, what you mean by being so willful and stubborn, seeing that you may do well enough if you choose.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I speak to you in the witness of God, before whom I stand, that I am neither wedded to my own will, nor do I stand upon my own stubbornness or singularity, but upon my conscience instructed by God’s word. And if your lordship can show better evidence than I have for a good faith, I will follow it.’

“He then urged me to return to his church, and perceiving that he flattered me, I thought it good to give him some show of relenting, so that I might give him and his hypocritical generation a public foil, perceiving that they dare reason openly with none but those who are unlearned and not able to answer, or else those they hope will recant for fear or love of the world. I said, ‘My lord, it is not unknown to you, that I have openly, in the audience of a great number, stood to the maintenance of my opinions, and offered to defend them. Therefore, my lord, I would that it might openly appear to the world, I am won by learning. Or else what will they say, either for fear, or love of the world, but that without any ground, I have turned from the truth. And if I hear any kind of learning openly shown, I will be as conformable as you may require of me.’

“Bonner. — ‘Yes, goodness, now you speak somewhat like a reasonable man. You might have had a great deal more favor in my house, and liberty, than you have had. And you will lack nothing that is within my house. Call for it, and you will have it. And what is it that you would openly, by learning, somewhat be satisfied in? Tell me.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I have openly said, and also believe it, that your sacrifice of the mass is no sacrament.’

“Bonner. — ‘What, do you deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament?’

“Philpot. — ‘No, my lord, I do not deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament, Rather, I have denied that the sacrament of the altar, as it is used in your mass, is the true sacrament of Christ’s institution. And first it must be proved to be a sacrament before there can be any presence granted.’

“Bonner. — ‘Why, do you deny the mass to be a sacrament? I pray you what is a sacrament? Is it not a sign of a holy thing, as St. Augustine defines it?’

“Philpot. — ‘Yes, truly, that it is.’

“Bonner. — ‘Then I make this argument: a sacrament is the sign of a holy thing; the mass is a sign of a holy thing; therefore the mass is a sacrament.’

“Philpot. — ‘You must add this to your proposition, as St. Augustine means it: that a sacrament is the sign of a holy thing *instituted and commanded by God*; for otherwise it can be no sacrament, for no men can make a sacrament.’

“Bonner. — ‘I grant that; and such a sign of a holy thing is the mass of Christ’s institution.’

“Philpot. — ‘I deny that, my lord.’

“Bonner. — ‘I will prove this by St. Augustine by and by. I will show you the book, and you shall have any book I have that you will demand. Ho! who is outside there? Call me Doctor Chedsey, Master Archdeacon, Master Cosins, and other chaplains here!’

“‘Here, my lord, Doctor Chedsey has gone to Westminster, and the archdeacon was here even now.’

“Bonner. — ‘Master Cosins, I pray you examine him on these articles, and write the answers he makes to every one of them. I will go and examine his fellows, and send you St. Augustine by and by. I find this man more conformable than he was before.’

“Cosins. — ‘I trust, my lord, you will find him at length a good catholic man. Goodness, here is a sight of heresies! I dare say you will hold none of them, nor stand in any of them. What do you say to the first?’

“Philpot. — ‘Master Cosins, I have told my lord already, that I will answer to none of these articles he has objected against me. But if you will, with learning, answer to that which is in question between my lord and me, I will gladly hear and commune with you.’

“Cosins. — ‘No, will you? Why, what then is in question between my lord and you?’

“Philpot. — ‘Whether your mass is a sacrament or not.’

“Cosins. — ‘What, is the mass a sacrament? Whoever doubted it?’

“Philpot. — ‘If it is an undoubted truth, you may sooner prove it, for I doubt it much.’

“Cosins. — ‘Why, I will prove it. It is the sign of a holy thing; therefore it is a sacrament.’

“Philpot. — ‘I deny that.’

“Cosins. — ‘What! then there is no reasoning with you.’

“Thus Master Cosins gave up for lack of further proof. And then the mass chaplain began to speak for his occupation. And Master Harpsfield came out from my lord, with St. Augustine’s epistles, saying:

“‘My lord has sent you here St. Augustine to look upon, and I pray you look at what he says in a certain epistle which he writes. I will read over the whole. Here you may hear the celebration of the mass, and how it reproves those who went hawking and hunting before the celebration of the same, on the sabbath and holidays. ‘

“Philpot. — ‘I perceive the contents of this epistle, and I see nothing against me, nor anything that makes for the proof of your sacrament of the mass.’

“Harpsfield. — ‘No; does he not mention the mass, and the celebration of it? What can be spoken more plainly?’

“Philpot. — ‘St. Augustine means the celebration of the communion, and of the true use of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and not your private mass, which you in recent years have erected in its place. For this word *mass* has been an old term attributed to the communion even from the primitive church. And I pray you tell me, what *Missa* signifies. I think not many who say mass can well tell.’

“Cosins. — ‘No! *cannot*? That is marvellous.’

“Philpot. — ‘Then tell me if you can.’ “But Master Cosins and my mass chaplain were both dumb, looking at Master Harpsfield for help, and at length he spoke.’

“Harpsfield. — ‘You think it comes from the Hebrew word *Massah*, as if none were versed in the Hebrew but you.’

“Philpot. — ‘I have not gone so long to school, as to derive the signification of *Missa*, which is a Latin word, out of Hebrew! But I have learned to interpret Greek words by Greek, and Latin by Latin, and Hebrew by Hebrew. I take the communion to be called *Missa*, à *mittendo*, of things such as the celebration of the communion which were sent by those who were of ability, for the relief of the poor. This is where the rich brought according to their devotion and ability, and required the minister in the celebration of the communion to pray to God for them, and to accept their common alms which they sent for the help of their poor brethren and sisters. And for this reason it was called *Missa*. At this celebration, all who were present communicated under both kinds, according to Christ’s institution, as they did in St. Augustine’s time. But unless you can show that your mass is used as it was then, you will never by the name *mass* (which St. Augustine attributed to the true use of the communion), prove your private mass to be a sacrament.’

[877] A.D. 1555.

“Harpsfield. — “What! Do you deny the mass to be a sacrament? For shame! Do not say it.’

“Philpot. — ‘I will not be ashamed to deny it, if you cannot prove it.’

“Cosins. — ‘You are such a fellow as I have never heard of! You will not have the mass be a sacrament! You are no man for me to reason with. Come, let us go.’

“Harpsfield. — ‘Master Philpot, you and I have been old acquaintances a long time. We were school-fellows both in Winchester and in Oxford, for many years. Therefore I must wish well for you, as for myself, and I pray you to think so of me.’

“Philpot. — ‘I thank you for your good will towards me. But if you are deceived, as I am sure you are, I desire you not to wish me be deceived with you. For before God I tell you plainly, you are deceived, and you maintain false religion. If you do not repent, and leave off your persecuting of Christ’s truth, you will go to the devil for it. Therefore consider it in time, I give you warning, or else in the day of judgment I will be a witness against you, that I told you this, talking here together. You know in the schools of Oxford, when we were young men, we strived much upon vain glory, and upon contention, more than for the truth. But now our years and our riper learning teach us to fall to a truth, which must be our portion forever. And if then, in my time of ignorance, I was earnest in my own cause, I should now be earnest in my Master Christ’s cause, and his truth.’

“Harpsfield. — ‘What! will you think yourself better learned than all the learned men in this realm?’

“Philpot. — ‘My faith does not depend upon the learned of the world, but upon the learned in God’s word.’

“Harpsfield. — ‘Well, I will talk with you no more at present, but pray to God to open your heart.’

“Philpot. — ‘I pray God to open both our hearts, to do His will more than we have done in times past.’

“Harpsfield. — ‘Ho! Keeper, take him away with you.’”

*The Tenth Examination of John Philpot before  
Bishop Bonner, his Register, and Others.*

“The next day after dinner I was brought into my lord’s upper hall, and there he called me before him and his register, and before Doctor Chedsey, in the presence of two gentlemen and a priest. The bishop said,

“I here lay to this man in your presence, requiring you to be a witness against him, these articles, this book of the catechism made in King Edward’s days; also these conclusions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge; also, I lay to him that he has despised the censures of the church, and has stood accursed more than a year, and never sought absolution. What do you say, were you not accursed by my lord chancellor?”

“Philpot. — ‘I was excommunicated by him wrongfully, and without any just cause, and without order of law, never being personally cited.’

“Bonner. — ‘Did you not tell me the other day, when I required you to come to the mass, that you were excommunicated, and therefore by the law could not hear mass? How long have you thus been excommunicated?’

“Philpot. — ‘More than a twelve and a half months.’

“Bonner. — ‘Behold! You may hear what he says; write it down.’

“Philpot. — ‘Also let him write that I requested absolution from my lord chancellor, who excommunicated me, but he would not give it me, saying that I was excommunicated because I was a heretic, as it pleased him to call me.’

“Gentleman. — “Why do you not request absolution at my lord’s hands here, now?”

“Philpot. — ‘Because he is not my ordinary, nor by law has anything to do with me.’

“Bonner. — ‘What an obstinate fool is this? I tell you I will be your ordinary whether you will it or not.’

“Philpot. — ‘And because of this, your unrighteous force towards me, I have appealed from you, and I request you, Master Register, that my appeal may be entered in writing.’

“Bonner. — ‘Have you ever heard such a froward fellow as this? Yesterday he seemed to be very tractable, and I had a good hope of him. I tell you, you *are* of my diocese.’

“Philpot. — ‘I am of Winchester diocese, and not of London diocese.’

“Bonner. — ‘I pray you, may not a man be of two dioceses at once?’

“Philpot. — ‘No, he cannot.’

“Bonner. — ‘Look, I would have you see what an ignorant fool this is. I tell you, a man may be of three dioceses at once: such as, if you were born in London, you should be of my diocese; or if you were not born there, but had a dignity<sup>635</sup> here, then you are to be counted of my diocese, or else by your habitation in my diocese.’

“Philpot. — ‘In none of these respects am I of your lordship’s diocese.’

“Bonner. — ‘What wager will you lay? Will you recant if I prove it?’

“Philpot. — ‘But what will I win if you do not?’

“Bonner. — ‘I will give you my bishopric if I do not prove it.’

“Philpot. — ‘Yes, but who will deliver it to me if I win?’

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<sup>635</sup> *Dignity*: holding a high office, rank, or station.

‘Bonner. — ‘You are an arrogant fool. Enter their oaths, and take these witnesses’ depositions. I must be gone to the parliament house.’

“After this, a priest standing by spoke to me, asking whether I was kin to my Lord Rich.

“Philpot.” — ‘He said so himself to me the other day; but how, I know not.’

“Chedsey. — ‘I heard him say he was his near kinsman.’

“Priest. — ‘Why, then, you and I must be kin, for he is my near kinsman. How does it chauce that you and I are of contrary judgments?’

“Philpot. — ‘It is no marvel; for Christ prophesied. ‘I have come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, for my truth’s sake.’

“Priest. — ‘You hold against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and against the holy mass.’

“Philpot. — ‘If you can prove it is a sacrament, I will not hold against you.’

“Priest. — ‘What! Prove it is a sacrament! Does not St. Paul say, ‘Eye has not seen, nor ear heard, the things which God has prepared for those who love him?’”

“Philpot. — ‘That does not concern your sacrament, but is meant of the heavenly joys that are prepared for all faithful believers.’

“Priest. — ‘Why, then, I perceive you do not understand St. Paul. By God, you are deceived.’

“Philpot. — ‘You should not swear; I understand St. Paul as well as you.’ Then I showed him a Greek Testament, with Erasmus’s translation, and with the old also, demanding of him which text he was best acquainted with.’

“Priest. — ‘I once knew Greek as well as you; I do not care which you read.’

“Philpot. — ‘You know them all alike then; you understand the one as well as the other.’ With this he departed in a fury.”

*The Eleventh Examination of John Philpot, on St. Andrew’s day (Nov. 30th), before the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Chichester, Bishop of the Bath, the Bishop of London, the Prolocutor, Master Christopherson, and Doctor Chedsey; Master Morgan, of Oxford; Master Hussey, of the Arches; Doctor Weston; Doctor Harpsfield, Archdeacon; Master Cosins; and Master Johnson, Register to the Bishop of London, in his Palace.*

“The bishop of London met me in his hall, and brought me before the lords, saying, ‘My lords, I desire you to take some pains with this man; he is a gentleman, and I would have him do well, but he will willfully cast himself away.’”

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“Durham. — ‘Will you conform yourself to the catholic faith, and leave all new-fangled opinions and heresies? I was in Germany with Luther at the beginning of these opinions, and can tell you how they began. Leave them, and follow the catholic church throughout the whole world, as the whole realm now does.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I *am* in the catholic faith, and desire to live and die in it. But it is not unknown to your lordship, that I with others these twenty years, have been taught another manner of faith than you now endeavor to compel us to. Therefore it is requisite that we

have time to weigh it, and to hear how it agrees with God's word. For St. Paul says, 'Faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.'

"Chichester. — 'If you will give me leave, my lord, I will show him how he takes the saying of St. Paul amiss, that they should not be compelled to believe it. St. Paul speaks of *infidels*, and not of the *faithful*. And so St. Augustine, writing against the Donatists, says that 'the faithful may be compelled to believe.'

"Philpot. — 'St. Bernard takes the same sense of St. Paul as I do, saying, that 'Faith must be persuaded to a man, and not enjoined.'

"Durham. — 'Will you be of the same catholic faith and church with us which you were baptized in, and your godfathers promised for you, and hold as we do? Then you may be out of trouble. I perceive you are learned, and it is a pity that you should not do well.'

"Philpot. — 'I am of the same catholic faith and catholic church I was baptized into, and in that I will live and die.'

"Durham. — 'That is well said; if you hold there you cannot but do well.'

"Chichester. — 'Yes, my lord, but he means otherwise than you do. Are you of the same faith your godfathers and godmothers were, or not?'

"Philpot. — 'I cannot tell, certainly, what faith they were of, but I am of the faith I was baptized into, which is the faith of Christ. For I was not baptized in the faith of my godfathers, but in the faith of Christ.'

"Durham. — 'What do you say? Will you believe as we do, and all the learned of the realm, or not, and be of one church with us?'

"Philpot. — 'My lords, it is not unknown to you, that there have always been two churches.'

"Chichester. — 'Nay, that is not so; there is but one catholic church.'

"Philpot. — 'I desire your lordships to hear my meaning. For I know there is but one true church. But always, from the beginning, there has been joined to the same true church, a false church; and that was declared at the beginning in Abel and Cain. For Cain persecuted and slew his brother, in which is represented (as St. Augustine witnesses) the false and true church. And after that, as soon as God had chosen his peculiar people, and shown them his sanctuary, holy statutes, and will, then the false church arose, and ten of the twelve tribes of Israel divided themselves from the true church of Judah and Benjamin, and made an altar for themselves at Bethel. They set up golden calves, and yet pretended to serve God with them; and so they abused His word. Notwithstanding their pretensions, God was displeased with them, and did not cease his wrath until He had utterly destroyed them.'

"Chichester. — 'I will grant you that before the coming of Christ, there were two churches in the old law. But in the new law, since Christ's coming, you cannot show it to be so by the Scriptures.'

"Philpot. — 'Yes, my lord, that I can, if you will give me leave. After Christ had chosen his twelve apostles, was there not a Judas in the new law, and a Simon Magus? And were they not of the false church?'

Chichester. — 'Yes, but I mean after the gospel was written, where can you find me two churches after Christ had ascended, and sent the Holy Spirit?'

“Philpot. — ‘I remember in the New Testament mention is made of two churches, as it appears in the Revelation. And also St. Paul’s letter to the Thessalonians mentions that Antichrist, with his false generation, will sit in the temple of God.’

“Durham. — ‘It is almost night, my lord of London; I must be gone.’

“Bonner. — ‘No, my lord of Durham, I must desire your lordship, and my lord of Chichester, to tarry a little while. I pray you tarry. My lords, I have earnest matters to charge this man with, of which I would have your lordships be made privy, and I have them written here in a libel. I pray you sit down again. First, I lay to him here, that he has written in a Bible, which I took from him, this erroneous saying: ‘The Holy Spirit is Christ’s vicar on earth.’ Will you abide by this saying of yours, that the Spirit is Christ’s vicar on earth?’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, it is not my saying. It is a better man’s than mine. For I used not to write my own sayings, but the notable sayings of other ancient writers. And as I remember, it is the saying of St. Bernard, and a saying that I need not be ashamed of, nor should you be offended at it.’

“Bonner. — ‘Also I lay to your charge that you killed your father, and were accursed by your mother in her deathbed, as I can bring a witness of it.’

“Philpot. — ‘O Lord! what blasphemy is this! Has your lordship nothing of truth to charge me with, but such forged blasphemous lies? If any of these can be proved, I will promise here to recant at St. Paul’s Cross, whatever you will have me say. My lords, I pray you consider how my lord of London has proceeded against me.’

“Chichester. — ‘They are beside the purpose.’

“Durham. — ‘My lord, I must bid you farewell.’

“Bonner. — ‘No, my lord, here is a letter which I desire your lordship to hear before you go. This man has taken upon himself to write letters out of prison, and to pervert a young gentleman called Master Green, in my house. And he has made a false report of his examination, as you will hear, not being content to be evil himself, but to make others as bad as himself. He tore the letter when he saw that my man went to search him, yet I have pieced it together again, and had a copy written.’

“He read the torn letter. The letter was the examination of Master Green before the bishop of London, in the presence of Master Fecknam, dean of St. Paul’s, whose ready answers in the Scriptures and in the doctors were wondered at by the dean himself, and many others.’

“Philpot. — ‘Your lordship mistakes. This letter, as your lordship may perceive, was not written by me, but by a friend of mine, notifying me at my request, of how Master Green fared at the bishop of London’s hands. And there is nothing in the letter that either I, or he who wrote it, need fear.’

“Bonner. — ‘Then tell me who wrote it, if you dare.’

“Philpot. — ‘No, my lord, it is not my duty to accuse my friend, and especially seeing that you will take all things at the worst. Nor will you *ever* know from me who wrote it. Your lordship may see in the end of the letter, that my friend wrote to me on the occasion of my appeal, which I have made to the whole parliament house about such matters as I am wrongfully troubled for.’

“Bonner. — ‘I would like to see any man so hardy as to put up your appeal.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I cannot tell what God will I work. I have written it, fare it as it may.’



Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

“Bonner. — ‘My lords, I have used him with much gentleness since he came to me. What do you say, have I not?’

“Philpot. — ‘If to lie in the vilest prison in this town (being a gentleman, and an archdeacon) and in a coalhouse, for five or six weeks already, without fire or candle, might be counted ‘gentleness’ at your hands, I must say I have found gentleness. But there were never men so cruelly handled as we are in these days.’

“Bonner. — ‘Look! What a varlet (scoundrel) this is! Besides this, yesterday he procured his man to bring a bladder of black powder, I cannot tell for what purpose.’

“Philpot. — ‘Your lordship need not mistrust the matter; it is nothing but to make ink.’

“Bonner. — ‘More than this, my lords, he had a pig roasted, and had a knife put between the skin and the flesh, for what purpose do you judge? What do you say? Did you not do so?’

[879] A.D. 1555.

“Philpot. — ‘I cannot deny that there half a pig was sent to me, and under it a knife was lying in the sauce, but for no ill purpose that I know of. Your lordship may judge what you will. It was not to kill myself nor any other, as you would have men believe. For I was never without a knife since I came to prison. Therefore all these are but false surmises, and not worth repeating.’

“Bonner. — ‘I have here to lay to his charge, greatest of all, his book of the report of the disputation had in the convocation-house, which is the rankest heresy that may be, against the blessed sacrament of the altar. What do you say, Doctor Weston? Did he stubbornly maintain the same there, or not?’

“Weston. — ‘Yea, my lord, that he did.’

“Durham. — ‘My lord of London, I can tarry no longer, I must bid you farewell. Master Philpot, I think you have said well that you will abide in the catholic faith, and in the catholic church; I pray you do so, and you will do right well.’

“Philpot. — ‘I have purposed to do so, however I fared, by God’s grace.’

“Christopherson. — ‘Master Philpot, I was acquainted with you at Rome, if you remember, and talked somewhat with you about these matters. I find you now the same man that you were then; I wish it were otherwise. For God’s sake, be conformable to men who are better learned than you, and do not stand in your own conceit.’

“Philpot. — ‘Where you say, you find me to be the same man I was then, I praise God that you see me not like a reed wavering with every wind. And where you would have me follow better-learned men than myself, indeed, I acknowledge that you, with a great many others, are far better learned than I, whose books, in respect to learning, I am not worthy to carry after you. But faith and the wisdom of God do not consist in learning only. And therefore St. Paul desires that our faith not be grounded on the wisdom of man. If you can show by learning out of God’s book, that I ought to be of another faith than I am, I will hear you, and any other man, whatever he may be.’

“Christopherson. — ‘Will you believe St. Cyprian, if I can show out of him, that ‘the church of Rome is such that unbelief cannot approach it?’ ‘

“Philpot. — ‘I am sure you cannot show any such saying out of St. Cyprian.’

“Christopherson. — ‘What will you lay upon that?’

“Philpot. — ‘I will lay as much as I am able to make.’

“Morgan. — ‘Will you promise to recant, if I show his saying.’

“Philpot. — ‘My faith will not hang on any doctor’s saying further than he will be able to prove it by God’s word.’

“Christopherson then pointed out these words in one of the epistles of St. Cyprian, ‘But to the Romans, whose faith is praised by the testimony of the apostle, unbelief can have no access.’

“Bonner (returning). — ‘Where is the place? Let me see. By my faith here is a place. Come here, sir, what do you say to this? No, I will help this place with St. Paul’s own testimony, where he says that, “Their faith is spoken of throughout the world.” How can you answer this?’

“Philpot. — ‘Yes, my lord, it is soon answered, if you will consider *all* the words of Cyprian. for he speaks of those in his time who were faithful at Rome, and followed the doctrine of St. Paul, as he had taught them, and as it was published throughout the world by an epistle which he had written in commendation of their faith. With those who are praised by St. Paul at Rome, for following the true faith, unbelief can have no place. And if you can show that the faith which the church of Rome holds now, is that faith which the apostle praised and allowed in the Romans in his time, then I will say what St. Cyprian then said: that infidelity can have no place there. But otherwise, it does not make absolutely for the authority of the church of Rome, as you take it.’

“Morgan. — ‘All the doctors are on our side, and against you, altogether.’

“Philpot. — ‘Yes, and so you say when you are in your pulpits alone, with none to answer you. But if you will come to cast accounts with me, I will venture with you a recantation, that I will bring more authorities from ancient doctors on my side than you will be able to for yours. And he who can bring most to his side, let the other side yield. Are you content?’

“Christopherson. — ‘It is but folly to reason with you. You will believe no man but yourself.’

“Philpot. — ‘I will believe you or any other learned man, if you can bring anything worthy to be believed. You cannot win me from my faith with vain words.’

“Morgan. — ‘What are you saying? Do we not believe well of the sacrament?’

“Philpot. — ‘It is the thing which, among all others, you most abuse.’

“Morgan. — ‘In what, I pray you?’

“Philpot. — ‘I have told you before, in the convocation-house.’

“Morgan. — ‘Yes, goodness; indeed you told us there very well. For there you fell down upon your knees, and fell to weeping.’

“Philpot. — ‘I did weep indeed, and so did Christ over Jerusalem, and I am not to be blamed for that, if you consider the cause of my weeping.’

“Morgan. — ‘What! Do you make yourself Christ?’

“Philpot. — ‘No, sir, I do not make myself Christ; but I am not ashamed to do as my Master and Savior did, to bewail and lament your infidelity and idolatry which there I foresaw you would bring back to this realm through tyranny, as this day declares.’

“Christopherson. — ‘In what do we abuse the sacrament?’

“Philpot. — ‘As I may touch but one of the least abuses, you do not minister it in both kinds as you should, but keep one half from the people, contrary to Christ’s institution.’

“Christopherson. — ‘Why, is there not as much contained in one kind, as in both? And what need is there then to minister in both kinds?’

“Philpot. — ‘I do not believe so; for if it had been as much, Christ would have given but one kind only; for he instituted nothing superfluous. And therefore you cannot say that the whole effect of the sacrament is just as well in one kind, as in both, since the Scripture teaches otherwise.’

“Christopherson. — ‘What if I can prove it by scripture, that we may minister it in one kind? The apostles did so, as it may appear in the Acts of the Apostles, in one or two places, where it is written that the apostles continued ‘In prayer and in the breaking of bread,’ which is meant of the sacrament.’

“Philpot. — ‘Do you not know that St. Luke, by mentioning the breaking of bread, means the whole use of the sacrament according to Christ’s institution, by a figure which you learned in grammar, *synecdoche*, where part is mentioned, and the whole is understood to be done as Christ commanded it?’

“Morgan. — ‘I would ask you, how old your religion is?’

“Philpot. — ‘It is older than yours by a thousand years and more.’

“Morgan. — ‘I pray you where was it fifty years ago?’

“Philpot. — ‘It was in Germany, as it appears by the testimony of Huss, Jerome of Prague, and Wycliffe, whom your generation a hundred years ago and more, burned for preaching the truth. And before their time, and since then, although by persecution, it has been put to silence.’

“Morgan. — ‘That is a marvellously strange religion. No man can tell for certain where to find it.’

“Philpot. — ‘It should be no marvel to you to see God’s truth oppressed through violence. For it has been so from the beginning from time to time, as it appears by history, and as Christ’s true religion is now to be found here in England, although hypocrisy has the upper hand by violence. And in the Apocalypse you may see it was prophesied that the true church would be driven into corners, and into the wilderness, and suffer great persecutions.’

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“Morgan. — ‘I tell you, Philpot, you are a heretic, and you will be burned for your heresy; and afterwards you will go to hell-fire.’

“Philpot. — ‘I tell you, you hypocrite, that I do not bypass this for your fire and faggots; nor, my lord, do I stand in fear of them, I thank God. My faith in Christ will overcome them. But the hell-fire with which you threaten me is *your* portion. It is prepared for you unless you speedily repent, and for other such hypocrites as you.’

“Morgan. — ‘What! You speak from wine; you have tippled well today, by likelihood?’

“Philpot. — ‘So, when the apostles were full of the Holy Ghost, and speaking the wondrous works of God, the Jews said they were drunk, when they had nothing else to say.’

“Morgan. — ‘Why, we do not burn you; it is the temporal men who burn you, and not we.’

“Philpot.—’ Thus you would, as Pilate did, wash your hands of all your wicked doings. But you call upon the secular power to be executioners of your unrighteous judgments. And do you not have a title in your law, *De haereticis comburendis*, to burn heretics?’

“Harfsfield, — ‘I have heard you both a good while reason together, and I never heard so stout a heretic as you are, Master Philpot.’

“Cosins. — ‘Neither ;have I, in all my life.’

“Philpot. — ‘You are not able to prove me a heretic, by one jot of God’s word.’

“They then ordered me back to my prison, and as I was passing them I spoke to the bishop.

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I pray you, let me have my bible, with other lawful books and writings which you have of mine.’

“Bonner. — ‘Your bible you shall not have, but I will perhaps let you have another, and after I have perused the rest, you will have what I think good.’

“Philpot. — ‘I pray your lordship, then, that you would let me have candle-light.’

“Bonner. — ‘To what purpose, I pray you?’

“Philpot. — ‘The nights are long, and I would gladly occupy myself about something, and not spend my time idly.’

“Bonner. — ‘You may pray, then.’

“Philpot. — ‘I cannot well say my prayers without light.’

“Bonner. — ‘Can you not say your paternoster without a candle? I tell you, sir, you will have some food and drink from me, but candles you get none.’

“Philpot. — ‘I would rather have a candle than your food and drink. But seeing I will not have my request, the Lord will be my light.’

*The Twelfth Examination of John Philpot, on Wednesday,  
the 4th of December, before the Bishop of London,  
the Bishop of Worcester, and the Bishop of Bangor.*

“In the morning I was brought down to the wardrobe adjoining the chapel, and a while after in came three of the bishops’ chaplains, saying:

“Chaplains. — ‘Master Philpot, my lord has sent us to you, to desire you to come to mass, certifying you that there is a notable learned man, called Doctor Chedsey, going to mass: therefore we also pray you, good Master Philpot, be content to come.’

“Philpot. — ‘I wonder that my lord would trouble you in sending you about this matter, seeing that he knows I am a man (by your law) who cannot hear mass, because I stand excommunicated.’

“Chaplains. — ‘Your excommunication is but upon a rebelliousness, and my lord will give dispensation if you will come.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord cannot, for he is not my ordinary, and I will not seek any such thing at his hands.’

“After mass the bishop called me before him into his chapel, and there, in the presence of his register, he recited the articles.

“Bonner. — ‘Sir, what can you now say, why I should not proceed to give sentence against you as an heretic?’

“Philpot. — ‘Why my lord, will you proceed to give sentence against me before your witnesses are examined? That is against your own law.’

“Bonner. — ‘See, what a fool you are in the law. I need only recite the depositions of the witnesses, if I choose.’

“Philpot. — ‘It appears, indeed, you may do whatever you choose.’

“Bonner. — ‘You are a naughty fellow, and have done much hurt, and have seduced other poor fellows here in prison with you, by comforting them in their errors, and you have made them rejoice and sing with you.’

“Philpot. — ‘Yes, my lord, we will sing when you, and others like you, cry, woe! woe! unless you repent.’

“Bonner. — ‘What an arrogant fool this is! I will handle you like a heretic and do it shortly.’

“Philpot. — ‘I fear nothing, I thank God, you can do to me.’

“Bonner. — ‘Have him away; this is a knave indeed!’

“I was taken into the wardrobe again by my keeper, and within an hour after was sent for to come before him and the bishops of Worcester and Bangor.’

“Bonner. — ‘Sir, I have talked with you many times, and have caused you to talk with many learned men, yes, and honorable, both temporal and spiritual, and it avails nothing with you. I am blamed that I have brought you before so many, for they say you glory to have many to talk with. Well, now it lies upon you to look to yourself. For your time draws near to an end, if you do not become conformable. And at present we are sent from the synod to offer you this grace: that if you will come to the unity of the church of Rome with us, and acknowledge the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar with us, all that is past will be forgiven, and you will be received to favor.’

“Worcester. — ‘We are sent (as you have heard here by my lord of London) from the synod, to offer you mercy if you will receive it; and of the good-will I bear you, I wish you to take it, while it is offered, and not be a singular man against a whole multitude of learned men, who now in fasting and prayer are gathered together to devise things to do you good. Many very learned men have talked with you. Why should you think yourself better learned than them all? Do not be of such arrogance, but have humility, and remember there is no salvation but in the church.’

“Bangor. — ‘I think my lord has said to you wonderfully well, that you should not think yourself so well-learned, but that other men are as well learned as you; neither of so good a wit, that others are not as wise as you; neither of so good a memory, that others do not have as good memories as you. Therefore mistrust your own judgment, and come back home to us. I never liked your religion, because it was set forth by violence and tyranny, and that is no token of true religion. I was the same manner of man then that I am now, and a great

many more were too. For fear, we held our peace and bore with the time. Therefore, Master Philpot, I wish that you would do well, for I love you; and therefore be content to come home with us, back into the catholic church of Rome.'

"Philpot. — 'Where, my lord, you say, that religion is to be disliked which is set forth by tyranny, I pray God you do not give men occasion to think the same of yours at this day, which had no other argument to stand by, than violence. If you can show me any good sufficient ground by which to satisfy my conscience, that the church of Rome is the true catholic church, I will gladly be of it; otherwise I cannot so soon change the religion I have learned these many years.'

"Worcester. — 'I am very sorry that you will be so singular. I never talked with anyone yet in my diocese, who after once communicating with me, they have been contented to revoke their errors, and to teach the people how they were deceived, and so do much good, as you may if you will. For as I understand, you were archdeacon of Winchester. You may do much good in that part of the country if you would forsake your errors, and come to the catholic church.'

"After dinner they called for me again, and demanded of me whether I meant as I spoke before dinner, and would not depart from it?"

[881] A.D. 1555.

"Worcester. — 'Will you stand to the catholic church of Rome?'"

"Philpot. — 'If you can prove that church to be the catholic church, I will.'

"Worcester. — 'Did not Christ say to Peter, and to all his successors of Rome, 'Feed my sheep, feed my lambs?' Which signifies that he gave him more authority than the rest.'

"Philpot. — 'That saying does not pertain to the authority of Peter above others, but it declares what Christ requires of his beloved apostles, that they should, with all diligence, preach to the flock of Christ the way of salvation. But the bishop of Rome little regards the spiritual feeding, and he does not feed Christ's flock as Peter did.'

"Worcester. — 'How can you tell that?'"

"Philpot. — 'I have been there, and I could not learn from any of his countrymen, that he ever preaches.'

"Worcester. — 'Though he does not preach one way, he preaches another, by procuring good order for the church.'

"Philpot. — 'I am sure that it will be his damnation before God, that he leaves what he is commanded by Christ to do, and sets forth his own decrees to deface the gospel.'

"Worcester. — 'It is the wickedness that you have seen at Rome, that causes you to have this ill judgment of the church of Rome. I cannot now tarry with you to reason further.'

"Thus they departed, and after them came Doctor Chedsey, and Doctor Wright, archdeacon of Oxford, with a great many more.'

“Chedsey. — ‘Here is the archdeacon of Oxford come to you, to give you good counsel; I pray you to hear him.’

“Philpot. — ‘I will refuse to hear none who will counsel me any good.’

“Wright. — ‘I would wish you, Master Philpot, to agree with the catholic church, and not to stand in your own conceit; you see a great many learned men against you.’

“Philpot. — ‘I am of the true catholic church, and will live and die in it. If you can prove your church to be the true catholic church, I will be one of it.’

“Chedsey. — ‘What proof would you have? I will prove to you that our church has its being and foundation in the scriptures, by the apostles and by the primitive church, confirmed with the blood of martyrs, and with the testimony of all confessors.’

“Philpot. — ‘Give me your hand, doctor. Prove that, and I hold with you.’

“Chedsey. — ‘If I had my books here, I could soon prove it. I hear you confess a real presence. But I will be hanged if you will abide by it: You will deny it by and by.’

“Philpot. — ‘What I have said, I cannot deny, whatever you say.’

“Chedsey. — ‘If there is a real presence in the sacrament, then evil men receive Christ, which you will not grant, I am sure.’

“Philpot. — ‘I deny the argument, for I do not grant by transubstantiation any real presence, as you falsely imagine, but in the due administration to the worthy receivers.’

“Chedsey. — ‘I will prove by St. Augustine that evil and wicked men eat the body of Christ, as well as good men.’

“In the beginning of his text, St. Augustine seems to approve his assertion. But I bade him to read to the end, and there St. Augustine declares most evidently that it was (*quodammodo*), in a certain manner, that evil men received the body of Christ, which is sacramentally only in the outer sign, and not really, or indeed, as the good does. ‘And thus,’ I said, ‘all the doctors that you seem to bring in for your purpose, are quite against you, if you rightly weighed them.’

“Chedsey. — ‘You will be constrained to come to us at length, whether you will or not.’

“Philpot. — ‘Hold that argument fast; for it is the best you have, for you have nothing but violence.’

*The Thirteenth Examination of John Philpot, before  
the Archbishop of York, and several other Bishops.*

“The Thursday after, I was called before the archbishop of York, the bishop of Chichester, the bishop of Bath, and the bishop of London. The bishop of Chichester began to talk with me.

“Chichester. — ‘I have come of good will to talk with you, to instruct you what I can to come to the catholic church, and to learn to have humility, and by the same token to learn from others who are better learned than you, as they learned from those who were their betters before them.’

“Philpot. — ‘We must all be taught by God, and I will with all humility learn from those who will inform me by God’s word, what I have to do. I confess that I have but little learning in respect to you, who excel both by your years and great exercise. But faith does not consist only in learning, but in simplicity of believing what God’s word teaches. Therefore I will be glad to hear both by your lordship, and by any other, the true doctrine, and to thank you that it pleases you to take pains in this.’

“Chichester. — ‘How do we believe the gospel, if not by the authority of the church, and because the church has allowed it?’

“Philpot. — ‘St. Paul says he did not learn the gospel by men, neither of men, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ. This is a plain and sufficient proof that the gospel does not take its authority from man, but from God alone.’

“Chichester. — ‘Does St. Augustine not say, ‘I would not believe the gospel if the authority of the church did not move me to it?’

“Philpot. — ‘I grant that the authority of the church moves unbelievers to believe. Yet the church does not give the Word its authority; for the Word has its authority only from God, and not from men. For first, the Word has its being before the church, and the Word is the foundation of the church. And the foundation must first be sure, before the building can be steadfast.’

“Chichester. — ‘I perceive you mistake me, I speak of the *knowledge* of the gospel, and not of its *authority*; for by the church we have all knowledge of the gospel.’

“Philpot. — ‘I confess that; for faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word. And I acknowledge that God now appoints an ordinary means for men to come unto the knowledge, and not miraculously, as he hath done in times past; yet we who are taught by men, must take heed that we learn nothing else but that which was taught in the primitive church by revelation.’

“Here the archbishop of York and the bishop of Bath came in. After they had greeted one another, and communed a while together, the archbishop of York called me to them, saying:

“York. — ‘Sir, hearing that you are out of the way, we have come out of charity to inform you, and to bring you back into the true faith, and to the catholic church. We charge you first to have humility, and to be humble and willing to learn from your betters, for otherwise we can do no good with you. And God says by his prophet, On whom shall I rest, but on the humble and on the meek, and those who tremble at my word?’

“Philpot. — ‘I know that humility is the door by which we enter unto Christ; and I thank his goodness, I have entered in at that door unto him, and with all humility I will hear whatever truth you will speak to me.’

“York. — ‘What are the matters you stand on, and require to be satisfied in?’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, if it pleases your grace, we were entered into a good matter before you came, about the church, and how we might know the truth if not by the church.’

“York. — ‘Indeed, that is the head we need to begin at, for the church being truly known, we will sooner agree.’



“Philpot. — ‘If your lordships can prove the church of Rome is the true catholic church, it will do much to persuade me to what you would have me incline to.’

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“York. — ‘Why, let us go to the definition of the church. What is it?’

“Philpot. — ‘It is a congregation of people dispersed throughout the world, agreeing together in the word of God, using the sacraments and all other things according to the same.’

“York. — ‘Your definition has many words to no purpose.’

“Philpot. — ‘I am not precisely defining the church, but I declare to you what I think the church is.’

“York. — ‘Is the church visible or invisible?’

“Philpot. — ‘It is both visible and invisible. The invisible church is of the elect of God only; the visible consists of both good and bad, using all things in faith, according to God’s word.’

“York. — ‘The church is a universal congregation of faithful people in Christ throughout the world, which this word *catholic* well expresses; for otherwise, what is catholic? Does it not signify universal?’

“Philpot. — ‘The church is defined by St. Augustine to be called catholic in this way: ‘The church is therefore called catholic, because it is thoroughly perfect, and falters in nothing.’

“York. — ‘No, it is called catholic, because it is universally received by all Christian nations, for the most part.’

“Philpot. — ‘The church was catholic in the apostles’ time, yet was it not universally received by the world. But because their doctrine which they had received from Christ was perfect, and appointed to be preached to and received by the whole world, it is therefore called the catholic faith. And all persons receiving its doctrine, were counted as the catholic church. St. Augustine in another place writes, that the catholic church is that which believes aright.’

“York. — ‘If you will learn, I will show you that St. Augustine, writing against the Donatists, proves the catholic church by two principal points, which are *universality* and *succession of bishops* in one apostolical See from time to time.’

“Philpot. — ‘I deny that the catholic church is only known by universality and succession of bishops.’

“York. — ‘I will prove it.’

“With that he brought out a book which he had noted out of the doctors, and turned to his common places about the church. He recited one or two out of St. Augustine, and especially out of his epistle written against the Donatists, where St. Augustine manifestly proves that the Donatists were not the catholic church, because they have no succession of bishops in their opinion, nor universality.’

“Philpot. — ‘My lord, I have weighed the force of that argument before now, and I perceive it does nothing against me, nor does it meet your purpose. For I will stand to the test of St. Augustine for the approval of the catholic church of which I belong. For he speaks of universality joined with truth, and of faithful successors of St. Peter before corruption came

into the church. And so, if you can deduce your argument for the See of Rome *now*, as he might do in *his time*, then I would say it might be of some force; otherwise not.'

"York. — 'How do you answer this argument, that Rome has known a succession of bishops, which your church has not.'

"Philpot. — 'I deny, my lord, that succession of bishops is an infallible point to know the church by. For there may be a succession of bishops known in a place, and yet there is no church, such as at Antioch, and Jerusalem, and in other places where the apostles abode as well as at Rome. But if you add to the succession of bishops, the succession of doctrine also, (as St. Augustine does) then I will grant it to be a good proof for the catholic church. But a local succession alone is not available.'

"York. — 'I see well that you will have no church then.'

"Philpot. — 'Yes, my lords, I acknowledge the catholic church, as I am bound by my creed; but I cannot acknowledge a *false* church for the *true* one.'

"Chichester. — 'Why, are there two catholic churches then?'

"Philpot. — 'No. I know there is but one catholic church. But there have been, and are at this present time, those who take upon themselves the name of Christ and of his church, which are not so. As it is written, 'There are those who call themselves apostles, and are not, but rather the synagogue of Satan and liars.'<sup>Rev 3.9</sup> And now it is with us, as it was with the two women in Solomon's time who were together. The one lost her child, and afterwards went about to claim the true mother's child.'

"The same day, before supper, the bishop sent for me into his chapel, in the presence of the archdeacon Harpsfield, Doctor Chedsey, and other chaplains and servants of his. He said:

"Bonner. — 'I have by sundry means gone about to do you good, and I marvel that you so little consider it. By my truth, I cannot tell what to say to you. Tell me directly whether you will be a conformable man or not, and upon what you chiefly stand.'

"Philpot. — 'I have told your lordship oftentimes plain enough, on which I chiefly stand, requiring a sure proof of the church to which you call me.'

"Harpsfield. — 'St. Augustine, writing against the Donatists, declares four special notes to know the church by: the consent of many nations; the faith of the sacraments confirmed by antiquity; succession of bishops, and universality.'

"Philpot. — 'I like St. Augustine's four points for the test of the catholic church. For it can abide every point together, which your church of Rome cannot.'

"Harpsfield. — 'Do we not have the succession of bishops in the See and church of Rome? Why then do you deny our church to be the catholic church?'

"Philpot. — 'St. Augustine does not put succession of bishops alone to be sufficient, but he adds the use of the sacraments according to antiquity, and doctrine universally taught and received by most nations from the beginning of the primitive church — which your church is far from. But my church can avouch all these better than yours. Therefore by St. Augustine's judgment, which you bring to bear here, mine is the catholic church, and not yours.'

"Harpsfield. — 'It is but folly for you to reason with him, my lord, for he is irrecoverable.'

"Philpot. — 'That is a good shift for you to run to, when you are confounded in your own sayings, and have nothing else to say.'

Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

Thus I have set forth at large as many of John Philpot's examinations and conferences as have come to light, faithfully written with his own hand. Although he was examined several other times after this, both openly in the consistory at St. Paul's, and also secretly in the bishop's house, what was said there is not sufficiently known, either because Philpot was not himself allowed to write, or else his writings are kept close, and are not presented other than as the bishop's register has noted them. Its handling of such matters is very slender, so that little light can be gathered. However, such as it is, I thought it good to publish it.

*The Last Examinations of John Philpot in Open Judgment,  
with his Final Condemnation by Bishop Bonner,  
in the Consistory at St. Paul's.*

“On the 13th and 14th of December,<sup>636</sup> sitting judicially in the consistory at St. Paul's, Bishop Bonner had him brought there before him and others. The bishop, first speaking to Master Philpot, said:

“Bonner. — ‘Master Philpot, among other things that were laid and objected to you, you were especially charged with these three things: first, ‘That, being fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, you refuse and will not come to be reconciled. Secondly, that you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry.

[883] A.D. 1555.

And thirdly, that you have spoken against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in it. And according to the will and pleasure of the synod, you have often been invited by me and required to go from your said errors and heresies, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, which if you will now willingly do, you will be mercifully and gladly received, charitably used, and have all the favor I can show you. And now to tell you truly, it is assigned and appointed to me to give sentence against you if you stand in this, and will not return. Therefore, if you so refuse, I ask you whether you have any cause that you can show, why I should not now give sentence against you?’

“Philpot. — ‘Under protestation — not to go from my appeal that I have made, and also not to consent to you as my competent judge — I say to your first objection concerning the catholic church, that I neither was nor am I out of it. And as to the sacrifice of the mass and the sacrament of the altar, I never spoke against it. And as concerning the pleasure of the synod, I say that these twenty years I have been brought up in the faith of the true catholic church, which is contrary to your church, and in that time I have many times been sworn (in the reign of King Henry VIII as well as in the reign of good King Edward his son) against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome. I think that I am bound in my conscience to keep this oath. But if you, or any of the synod, can by God's word persuade me that my said oath was unlawful, and that I am bound by God's law to come to your church, faith, and religion, then I will gladly yield, agree, and be conformable to you; otherwise not.’”

Then Bonner, not being able with all his learned doctors to accomplish Philpot's offered condition, fell to persuading him by his accustomed vain promises, as well as by bloody threatenings, to return to their church.

“Philpot. — ‘You, and all your sort, are hypocrites, and I would that all the world knew your hypocrisy, your tyranny, ignorance, and idolatry.’”

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<sup>636</sup> Philpot was first examined October 2, 1555.

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Upon these words, the bishop dismissed him, commanding that on Monday, the 16th of the same month, he should again be brought there to have the definitive sentence of condemnation pronounced against him.

At that day and time, John Philpot being presented before the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Lichfield, Bonner, bishop of London, after a Latin prayer and some conference as to his authority, began to recite the following exhortation:

“Master Philpot, this is to be told you, that if you, not being yet reconciled to the unity of the catholic church, from whence you did fall in the time of the late schism here in this realm of England against the apostolic see of Rome, will now heartily and obediently be reconciled to the unity of the same catholic church, professing and promising to observe and keep to the best of your power the faith and Christian religion observed and kept of all faithful people of the same; and moreover, if you which heretofore, especially in the years 1<sup>st</sup> 54, 1555, or in one of them have offended and trespassed grievously against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry and abominable, and likewise have offended and trespassed against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ’s body and blood to be there in the sacrament of the altar, affirming also withal, material bread and material wine to be in the sacrament of the altar, and not the substance of the body and blood of Christ; if you, I say, will be reconciled as is aforesaid, and will forsake your heresies and errors before touched, being heretical and damnable, and will also allow the sacrament of the mass, you shall be mercifully received, and charitably used with as much favor as may be; if not, you shall be reputed, taken, and judged for a heretic, as you are indeed. Now do you choose what you will do; you are counselled herein friendly and favorably.

“*Ita est quod Edm. Bonner Episc. Lond.’*

“The bishop’s exhortation thus ended, Master Philpot turned to the lord mayor, and said:

“Philpot. — ‘To you my lord mayor, bearing the sword, I now speak. I am glad that it is my chance now to stand before that authority that has defended the gospel and the truth of God’s word. But I am sorry to see that that authority, which represents the king and queen’s persons, should now be changed, and be at the commandment of antichrist. And you,’ (speaking to the bishops) ‘pretend to be the followers of the apostles of Christ; and yet you are the very antichrists and deceivers of the people. I am glad that God has given me power to stand here this day, and to declare and defend my faith, which is founded on Christ.

“Therefore, as touching your first objection, I say that I am of the catholic church, of which I was never out, and that your church, which you pretend to be the catholic church, is the church of Rome; so it is the Babylonian and not the catholic church; I am not of that church.

“As touching your second objection, which is that I should speak against the sacrifice of the mass, I say that I have not spoken against the true sacrifice, but I have spoken against your private masses that you use in corners, which is blasphemy to the true sacrifice. For your sacrifice daily reiterated, is a blasphemy against Christ’s death, and it is a lie of your own invention. And that abominable sacrifice which you set upon the altar, and use in your private masses instead of the living sacrifice, is idolatry, and you shall never prove it by God’s word. Therefore, you have deceived the people with your sacrifice of the mass.

“Thirdly, where you lay to my charge, that I deny the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar, I cannot tell what altar you mean, whether it is the altar of the cross, or the altar of stone. And if you call it the sacrament of the altar in respect to the altar of stone, then I defy your Christ, for it is a rotten Christ.

“And as touching your transubstantiation, I utterly deny it, for it was brought up first by a pope. Now as concerning your offer made from the synod, which is gathered together in antichrist’s name; prove to me that it is the catholic church, which you will never do, and I will follow you, and do as you would have me do. But you are idolaters, and daily commit idolatry. You are also traitors; for in your pulpits you rail upon good kings, such as King Henry and King Edward, who have stood against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome — against whom I have also taken an oath, which if you can show me by God’s law that I have taken unjustly, then I will yield to you. But I pray God to turn the king and queen’s hearts from your synagogue and church, for you abuse that good queen.’

“Here the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield began to show where the true church was, saying:

“Coventry. — ‘The true catholic church is set upon a high hill.’

“Philpot. — ‘Yes, at Rome, which is the Babylonian church.’

“Coventry. — ‘No; in our true catholic church are the apostles, evangelists, and martyrs. But before Martin Luther, there was no apostle, evangelist, or martyr of your church.’

“Philpot. — ‘Would you know the cause why? Christ prophesied that in the latter days false prophets and hypocrites would come, as you are.’

“Coventry. — ‘Your church of Geneva, which you call the catholic church, is that which Christ prophesied of.’

“Philpot. — ‘I allow the church of Geneva and the doctrine of the same. For it is one, catholic, and apostolic. And it follows the doctrine that the apostles preached; and the doctrine taught and preached in King Edward’s days was also according to it. And are you not ashamed to persecute me and others for your church’s sake, contrary to the true catholic church?’”

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After further controversy, the bishops growing weary, and not being able either by God’s word, or by the true ancient catholic fathers, to convince and overcome him, endeavored by fair and flattering speech to persuade him. They promised that if he would revoke his opinions, and come back home to their Romish church, he would not only be pardoned of what was past, but they would also with all favor and cheerfulness of heart, receive him back as a true member of it. When Bonner saw that these words would have no effect, he demanded of Philpot whether he had any just cause to allege why he should not condemn him as a heretic. In the end, the bishop seeing his immovable steadfastness in the truth, publicly pronounced the sentence of condemnation against him. In the reading of it, Philpot said, “I thank God that I am a heretic out of your cursed church; I am no heretic before God. But God bless you, and give you grace to repent your wicked doings, and let all men beware of your bloody church.”

While Bonner was in the midst of the sentence, the bishop of Bath pulled him by the sleeve, and said, “My lord, my lord, know of him first, whether he will recant or not.” Then Bonner said, “O, let him alone;” and so he read the sentence. And when he was done, he delivered him to the sheriffs. Then two officers brought him through the bishop’s house into Paternoster row, where his servant met him. When he saw him, he said, “Ah, dear master!” Then Philpot said to his man, “Content yourself, I will do well enough; for you will see me again.” The officers thrust him away, and took his master to Newgate. As he went, he said to

the people, "Ah, good people, blessed be God for this day!" And so the officers delivered him to the keeper.

Then Alexander, the chief keeper, commanded him to be set upon the block, and to put as many irons upon his legs as he could bear.

On Tuesday, the 17th of December, a messenger came from the sheriffs, and bade Philpot make ready, for the next day he would suffer, and be burned at a stake with fire. Philpot answered and said, "I am ready; God grant me strength, and a joyful resurrection." And so he went into his chamber, and poured out his spirit to the Lord God, giving him most hearty thanks that of His mercy, He had made him worthy to suffer for his truth.

In the morning the sheriffs came according to the order, about eight o'clock, and called for him. He most joyfully came down to them. And there his man met him and said, "Ah, dear master, farewell!" His master said to him, "Serve God, and He will help you." And so he went with the sheriffs to the place of execution. When he was entering into Smithfield, he kneeled down and said, "I will pay my vows in you, O Smithfield!"

And when he had come to the place of suffering, he kissed the stake, and said, "Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing that my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer most vile death upon the cross for me?" And then with an obedient heart he meekly said the 106th, 107th, and 108th psalms. And when he had made an end of all his prayers, he said to the officers, "What have you done for me?" And every one of them declared what they had done; and he gave money to every one of them.

Then they bound him to the stake, and set fire to the faggots. So on the 18th of December, this holy martyr suffered in the midst of the flames, yielding his soul into the hands of Almighty God, and like a lamb he gave up his breath, his body being consumed to ashes.

Thus have you, an account of the life and acts of this learned and worthy soldier of the Lord, John Philpot, with all his examinations that came into our hands. They were first penned and written with his own hand, and marvellously preserved from the sight and hand of his enemies. By all manner of means, they sought not only to stop him from any writing, but also to spoil and deprive him of what he had written. For this reason he was stripped and searched many times in prison by his keeper. Yet happily, his writings were conveyed and hidden in places around him, or else his keeper's eyes were so blinded that notwithstanding all this malicious purpose of the bishop, they yet remained, and have come to light.

### ***Letters of John Philpot***

*A Letter of John Philpot to the Christian Congregation,  
exhorting them to refrain from the idolatrous Service of the Papists,  
and to serve God according to his Word.*

"It is a lamentable thing to behold at this present time in England, the faithless departing both of men and women from the true knowledge and use of Christ's sincere religion, which they have been so plentifully taught and know, their own consciences bearing witness to the truth of this. If that earth is cursed by God, which often receiving moisture and pleasant dews from heaven, does not bring forth fruit accordingly, how much more grievous a judgment will such persons receive, who having received from the Father of Heaven the perfect knowledge of his word by the ministry of it, do not display God's worship according to the same word? If the Lord will require, in the day of judgment, a godly usury of all manner of talents which he lends to men and women, how much more will He require the same from his pure religion revealed to us (which of all other talents, is the greatest and most pertains to our exercise in this life), if

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we hide it in a napkin, and do not proclaim it to the usury of God's glory, and the edifying of his church by true confession? God has kindled the bright light of his gospel, which in times past was suppressed, and hidden under the vile ashes of man's traditions, and has caused the brightness of it to shine in our hearts, to the end that the same might shine before men, to the honor of His name.

"It is not only given us to believe, but also to confess and declare what we believe in our outward conduct. For as St. Paul says (Rom 10.10), 'With the heart man believes unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.' It is all one before God, not to believe at all, and not to display the lively works of our belief. For Christ says, 'Either make the tree good and its fruit good; or else make the tree corrupt and its fruit corrupt; for the tree is known by his fruits.' So that the person who knows his master's will, and does not do it, will be beaten with many stripes. And not all those who say, Lord, Lord, will enter into the kingdom of God, but whoever that does the will of the Father. And Christ says, 'Whoever therefore is ashamed of me and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man will also be ashamed of him, when he comes in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.'" After we have built ourselves into the true church of God, it has pleased him, by giving us into the hands of the wicked synagogues, to prove our building, and to have it known to the world as well as to ourselves, that we have been wise builders in the true church of God, building upon the rock, and not on the sand. And therefore, now the tempest is risen, and the storms mightily blow against us, so that we might notwithstanding stand upright, and be firm in the Lord, to his honor and glory, and to our eternal felicity. No new thing has happened to us, for the church of God has continually been exercised with such tempests and dangerous weather. Now once again, as the prophet Haggai tells us, 'The Lord shakes the earth, so that those might abide forever, who are not overcome.'

"Therefore, my dearly beloved, be stable and immovable in the word of God, and in the faithful observation of it, and let no man deceive you with vain words, saying that you may keep your faith to yourselves, and dissemble with antichrist, and live at rest and quietness in the world, as most men do, yielding to necessity. This is the wisdom of the flesh. But the wisdom of the flesh is death and enmity to God, as our Savior, for example, declared to St. Peter who exhorted Christ not to go to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover, and there be slain; but counselled him to look better to himself.

"Likewise, the world would not have us forsake it, nor to associate ourselves with the true church, which is the body of Christ, of which we are lively members, and to use the sacraments according to God's word with the danger of our lives. But we must learn to answer the world as Christ answered Peter, and say, 'Get behind me, Satan, for you do not savor the things that are of God.'

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'Shall I not drink of the cup which the Father gives me?' For it is better to be afflicted and to be slain in the church of God, than to be counted the son of the king, in the synagogue of false religion. Death for righteousness is not to be abhorred, but rather to be desired, which assuredly brings with it the crown of everlasting glory. These bloody executioners do not persecute Christ's martyrs, but crown them with everlasting felicity. We were born into this world to be witnesses to the truth, both the learned and unlearned.

"Now since the time has come that we must show our faith, and declare whether we will be God's servants in righteousness and holiness, as we have been taught, and are bound to follow, or else with hypocrisy to serve unrighteousness. Let us take good heed that we are found faithful in the Lord's covenant, and true members of his church into which we are engrafted through knowledge; and from which if we fall by transgression with the common sort of

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people, it will more straitly be required of us than many yet make account of. We cannot serve two masters; we may not halt on both sides, and think to please God; we must be fervent in God's cause, or else He will cast us out from him. For by the first commandment we are commanded to love God with all our heart, with all our mind, and with all our strength; but they are manifest transgressors of this commandment, who with their heart, mind, or bodily power, have communion with a strange religion, contrary to the word of God, in the papistical synagogue, which calls itself the church, and is not. Those who do so, greatly offend God now, just as the Israelites did in times past by forsaking Jerusalem, the true church of God, and by going to Bethel to serve God in a congregation of their own setting up, following their own imaginations and traditions. For doing this, God utterly destroyed all Israel, as almost all the prophets testify. This happened to them for our example, that we might beware of having any fellowship with any like congregation, to our destruction.

“God has one catholic church dispersed throughout the world; and therefore we are taught in our Creed to believe one catholic church, and to have communion with it. This catholic church is grounded upon the foundation of the prophets, and of the apostles, and upon no other, as St. Paul witnesses to the Ephesians. Therefore, wherever we perceive any people worshipping God truly according to his word, we may be certain the church of Christ is there, to which we ought to associate ourselves, and desire with the prophet David, to praise God in the midst of his church. But if we behold through the iniquity of the time, segregations are made with counterfeit religion, otherwise than the word of God teaches, then if we are required to be companions of it, we ought to say again with David, ‘I have hated the congregations of evil-doers, and will not sit with the wicked.’

“In the book of Revelation the church of Ephesus is highly commended, because she tested those who said they were apostles, and were not in deed; and therefore it would not abide their company. Further, God commanded his people by the mouth of his prophet Amos, that they should not seek Bethel, nor enter into Gilgal, where idolatry was used. Also we must consider that our bodies are the temple of God, and whoever (as St. Paul teaches) profanes the temple of God, the Lord will destroy him. May we then take the temple of Christ, and make it the member of a harlot? All strange religion and idolatry is counted as whoredom by the prophets, and is more detestable in the sight of God than any other sin.

“Therefore the princes of the earth, in the Revelation of St. John, are said to go a whoring, when they are in love with false religion, and follow it. How then by any means may a Christian man think it tolerable to be present at the popish private mass (which is the very profanation of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ) and at other idolatrous worshippings and rites which are not according to the word of God, but rather to the derogation of it, in setting man's traditions above God's precepts, since God by his word judges all strange religion which is not according to his institution, as whoredom and adultery?

“Some foolishly think that the presence of the body is not material, so long as the heart does not consent to their wicked doings. But such persons little consider what St. Paul said to the Corinthians, commanding them to glorify God in body as well as in soul.

“Moreover, we can do no greater injury to the true church of Christ, than to seem to have forsaken her, and disallow her, by clinging to her adversary. By this it appears to others who are weak, that we allow the same. And so, contrary to the word, we give great offense to the church of God, and outwardly slander the truth of Christ, as much as men may do so. But woe to him by whom any such offense comes. It would be better for him to have a millstone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea! Such are traitors to the truth, like Judas, who with a kiss betrayed Christ. Our God is a jealous God, and cannot be content that we should be of any other church than that unspotted church of which He is the only head,



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and in which he has planted us by baptism. This jealousy which God has towards us, will cry for vengeance in the day of vengeance, against all those who now have such large consciences as to do that which is contrary to God's glory, and the sincerity of his word, unless they repent in time, and cling inseparably to the gospel of Christ, however much at this present time both men and women otherwise flatter themselves in their own corrupt judgment. God wills us to judge uprightly, and to allow and follow that which is holy and acceptable in his sight, and to abstain from all manner of evil. And therefore Christ commands us in the gospel to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy.

“St. Paul to the Hebrews says, ‘If any man draws back, my soul will have no pleasure in him. But we are not of those who draw back unto perdition; but of those who believe to the saving of the soul.’ St. John in the Revelation tells us plainly that none of those who are written in the book of life will receive the mark of the beast (which is of the papistical synagogue), either on their foreheads, or on their hands — that is, obviously or obediently.

“St. Paul, in writing to the Philippians, affirms that we may not have any fellowship with the works of darkness, but in the midst of this wicked and froward generation we ought to shine like lights, upholding the word of truth. <sup>Phi 2.15</sup> Furthermore, he says that we should not touch any unclean thing, which signifies that our outward conversation should be pure and undefiled, as well as the inward, so that with a clean spirit and purified body we might serve God in holiness and righteousness, all the days of our life.

“Finally, in the 18th chapter of Revelation, God plainly commands us to depart from the Babylonian synagogue, and not be partakers of her trespass. St. Paul to the Thessalonians exhorts us, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ; to withdraw ourselves from every brother who walks disorderly, and not according to the institution which he has received from him.

“Therefore, ponder these Scriptures well, good brethren and sisters, which are written for your instruction and reformation, of which not one jot is written in vain. These are utterly against all counterfeit illusion to be used by us with the papists in their fantastical religion, and be adversaries to all those who have such light consciences in so doing. And if they do not agree with this adversary (I mean with the word of God) which is contrary to their attempts, He will (as signified in the gospel) deliver them to the judge, who is Christ; and the judge will deliver them to the executioner — that is, to the devil — and the devil will commit them to the horrible prison of hellfire (which is the portion of all hypocrites), where there will be wailing and gnashing of teeth, world without end. Yet many will say for their vain excuse, that God is merciful, and his mercy is over all. But the Scripture teaches us that cursed is he who sins upon the hope of forgiveness. It is true that the mercy of God is above all his works, and yet it is only upon those who fear him. For it is written in the Psalms, ‘The mercy of God is to those who fear him, and on those who put their trust in him.

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“There we may learn that only those who serve him put their trust in God; and to fear God is to turn from evil, and do what is good. So that those who look to be partakers in God's mercy, may not abide in what is known to be manifest evil, and detestable in the sight of God.

“Another sort of persons make them a cloak for their sins, under the pretense of obedience to the magistrates, whom we ought to obey even if they are wicked. But such persons must learn from Christ to give to Caesar that which is Caesar's, and to God that which is due to God; and with St. Peter, to obey the higher powers in the Lord, even if they are evil, *if* they command nothing contrary to God's word. Otherwise we should not obey their commandments, even if we should suffer death for it. We have the apostles for our example, who answered the magistrates as we ought to do in this case, not obeying their wicked precepts, saying, ‘Whether it is right in the sight of God to hearken to you more than to God, you judge.’

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“Also, Daniel chose to be cast into the den of lions to be devoured, rather than obey the king’s wicked commandments. If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch. There is no excuse for the transgression of God’s word, whether a man does it voluntarily or at commandment, even if there is great damnation to those by whom the offense comes. There are some others, who, for an extreme refuge in their evil doings, run to God’s predestination and election, saying that if I am elected by God to salvation, then I will be saved whatever I do. But such persons are great tempters of God, and abominable blasphemers of God’s holy election. And they cast themselves down from the pinnacle of the temple in presumption, so that God may preserve them by his angels through predestination. Such truly may reckon themselves to be none of God’s elect children, who will do evil so that good may come of it. Their damnation is just, as St. Paul says. God’s predestination and election should be considered with a simple eye, to make us more warily walk in good and godly conversation according to God’s word, and not set ourselves up, and charge it upon God, to do wickedly as we will. For the elect children of God must walk in righteousness and holiness, once they are called to the true knowledge of the truth. For St. Paul says to the Ephesians (Eph 1.4), ‘Just as he chose us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before him in love.’

“Therefore, St. Peter exhorts us through good works to make our calling and election sure to ourselves, which we do not know except by the good working of God’s Spirit in us, according to the rule of the gospel. And whoever does not conform himself to that rule in godly conversation, may justly tremble, and doubt that he is one of the elect children of God, but of the viperous generation, and a child of darkness. For the children of light walk in the works of light and not of darkness; though they may fall, they do not lie still.

“Let all vain excuses be set apart, and while you have light, as Christ commands, believe the light and abide in it, lest eternal darkness overtake you unawares. The light has come into the world, but, alas! men love darkness more than light. God give us his pure eye-salve to heal our blindness in this behalf. O that men and women would be healed, and not seek to be willfully blinded! The Lord open their eyes, that they may see how dangerous a thing it is to decline from the knowledge of truth, contrary to their conscience.

“But what did I say *conscience*? Many affirm that their conscience will bear them well enough to do all that they do, and to go to the idolatrous church to service; their conscience must be very large to satisfy man more than God. And even if their conscience can bear them to do so, I am sure that a good conscience will not permit them to do so. This cannot be good, unless it is directed according to the knowledge of God’s word. And therefore, in Latin this feeling mind is called *conscientia*, which by interpretation, agrees with *knowledge*.

“And therefore, if our conscience is led by herself, and not according to true knowledge, we are not to be so excused, as St. Paul bears witness saying, ‘Although my conscience does not accuse me, yet I am not justified in this.’ He joins a good conscience with these three sisters: charity, a pure heart, and unfeigned faith. Charity keeps God’s commandments; a pure heart loves and fears God above all; and unfeigned faith is never ashamed of the profession of the gospel, whatever damage may be suffered in body thereby. The Lord, who has revealed his holy will to us by his word, grant us never to be ashamed of it, and give us grace earnestly to so cling to his holy word and the true church, that for no manner of worldly respect will we become partakers of the works of hypocrisy which God abhors — so that we may be found faithful in the Lord’s testament to the end, both in heart, word, and deed, to the glory of God and our everlasting salvation. Amen.

“JOHN PHILPOT, prisoner in the King’s Bench  
for the testimony of the truth. A.D 1555.”

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*A Letter to John Careless, <sup>637</sup> profitable to be read by all  
those who mourn in Repentance for their Sins.*

“The God of all comfort, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, send to you, my dear brother Careless, the inward consolation of his Holy Spirit, in all the malicious assaults and troublous temptations of our common adversary the devil. Amen.

“That God gives you so contrite a heart for your sins I cannot but rejoice to behold the lively mark of the children of God, whose property is to think more lowly and vilely of themselves than of any other, and oftentimes to set their sins before them, so that they might be more stirred to produce the fruits of repentance, and learn to mourn in this world, so that in another they might be glad and rejoice. Such a broken heart is a pleasant sacrifice to God. O, that I had the like contrite heart! God soften my stony heart, which does not lament my former detestable iniquities in such a way. Praised be God that he has given you this sorrowful heart in respect to righteousness, and I pray to be a partaker of these godly sorrows for sin, which are the testimony of the presence of the Holy Spirit. Did the sword of sorrow not pierce the heart of the elect and blessed mother of our Lord? Did Peter not weep bitterly for his sins, who was so beloved by Christ? Did not Mary Magdalene wash the feet of our Savior with her tears, and received with it the remission of her sevenfold sins?

“Be of good comfort, therefore, my own dear heart, in this your sorrow, for it is the earnest of eternal consolation. In your sorrow be joyful, for the Spirit of God is with you: ‘Blessed are those (says Christ) who mourn, for they shall be comforted.’ Those who went forth and wept, says the prophet, shall come again having their hearts full of gladness.’ And although a sorrowful heart, in consideration of our sins, is an acceptable sacrifice before God, by which we are stirred up to more thankfulness to God, knowing that much is forgiven us so that we might love all the more, yet the man of God must keep a measure in this, lest he be swallowed up by excessive sorrow. St. Paul would not have the Thessalonians be sorry like other men who have no hope, Such a sorrow is not commendable, but works damnation, and is far from the children of God, who are continually sorrowful in God when they look upon their own unworthiness, with hope of forgiveness. For to this end, God by his Spirit sets the sins of his elect still before them, so that where they perceive sin to abound, they might be assured that grace will much more abound, and bring them down to hell so that he might lift them up with greater joy to heaven. Therefore, my own comfort in Christ, as long as you are not altogether void of hope, do not be dismayed through your pensive heart for your sins, however huge they have been, for God is able to forgive more than you are able to sin. Yes, and he will forgive the one who, with hope, is sorry for his sins.

[887] AD. 1555.

“But know, brother, that as often as we go about by the help of God’s Spirit, to do what is good, Satan lies hard in wait to turn the good to evil. And he goes about to mire the godly sorrow of a pure penitent heart, with the detestable weed of desperation. You are not ignorant of his malicious subtlety, and how he continually assaults that good which the grace of God plants. I see the battle between you and him; but the victory is yours, yes, and that is daily. For you have laid hold of the anchor of salvation, which is hope in Christ, and which will not permit you to be made ashamed.

“Do not be discontented that you have this conflict. Rather, be glad that God has given it to you to test your faith, and so that daily you might appear worthy of the kingdom of God, for which you strive. God beholds your striving faith against Satan, and He is pleased with your mighty resistance. The spirit, which is in you is mightier than all the adversary’s power. Tempt

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<sup>637</sup> John Careless will later be martyred himself. See p. 923.

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you he may, and lie wait at your heels to give you a fall unawares. But he shall not overcome. Indeed, he cannot, for you are sealed up already with a lively faith to be the child of God forever. And those whom God has once sealed for his own, he never utterly forsakes. The just falls seven times, but he rises again. It is man's frailty to fall, but it is the property of the devil's child to lie still.

"This strife against sin is a sufficient testimony that you are the child of God. For if you were not, you would feel no such malice as he now troubles you with. When this strong Goliath has the hold, all things are in peace which he possesses. And because he does *not* have you, he will not allow you to be unassaulted. But stand fast, and hold out the buckler of faith, and strike him on the head with the sword of God's promises, so that he may receive a deadly wound and never be able to stand against you any more. St. James tells you that the devil is but a coward, saying, 'Resist the devil, and he will flee from you.' It is the will of God that he should tempt you this long, and not go away as yet, or else he would have been done with you long before this. He already knows that he will receive a defeat at your hands and increase the crown of your glory; for he who overcomes will be crowned. Therefore glory in your temptations since they will turn to your felicity. Do not be afraid of your continual assaults which are occasions for your daily victory. The word of God abides forever. In whatever hour a sinner repents of his sins, they are forgiven. Who can lay anything to the charge of God's elect?' Do you not perceive the manifest tokens of your election? First, your calling to the gospel, and after your calling, the manifest gifts of the Spirit of God were given to you above many others of your condition, along with godliness which believes and yields to the authority of the Scriptures, and is zealous for them. Seeing that you are God's own child, who can hurt you? Do not be cast down for these temptations, nor make your sincere friends more sorrowful for you than need requires.

"Since God has willed you, at your baptism in Christ, to be "careless," why do you make yourself careful? Cast all your care upon him! Set the Lord before your eyes always, for He is on your right hand, so that you should not be moved. Behold the goodness of God towards *me!* I am careless, being fast closed in a pair of stocks which pinch me for their very straitness. And would you be careful? I would not have that unseemly addition to your name. Be as your name pretends, for doubtless you have no other cause but to be so. Pray, I beseech you, that I may still be as careless in my careful estate, as you have reason to be careless in your easier condition. Be thankful and put away all care, and then I will be joyful in my strait present care. Commend me to all our brethren, and desire them to pray for me, that I may overcome my temptations. For the devil rages against me. I am put in the stocks in a place alone, because I would not answer to such articles as they charged me with — in a corner, at the bishop's appointment, because I did not come to mass when the bishop sent for me. I would lie all the days of my life in the stocks, by God's grace, rather than consent to this wicked generation. Praise God, and be joyful, that it has pleased Him to make us worthy to suffer somewhat for his name's sake. The devil must rage for ten days.

"Commend me to Master F\_\_\_\_, and thank him for his law books. But neither law nor equity will take any place among these blood-thirsty men! I would, for your sake, that this unjust dealing were noted to the parliament house, if it might avail. God shorten these evil days. I have answered the bishop very plain already. And I said to him, that if he will call me in open judgment, I will answer him as plainly as he will require. Otherwise I have refused, because I fear they will condemn me in hugger-mugger.<sup>638</sup> The peace of God be with you, my dear brother. I can write no more for lack of light. What I have written I cannot read myself, and God knows it is written with pain. I pray God that you may pick out some understanding of my mind towards you.

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<sup>638</sup> *Hugger-mugger*: in utter disorder and chaos; marked by hidden aims or methods.

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“Written in a coal-house of darkness, out of a pair of  
painful stocks, by your own in Christ.

“JOHN PHILPOT.”

*A Letter of John Philpot to certain Godly Brethren.*

“The grace of God the Father, and the peace of our Savior Jesus Christ, his eternal Son, and the consolation of the Holy Spirit, our comforter, strengthen your hearts, and comfort your minds, that you may rejoice, and live in the truth of Christ’s gospel to the end, Amen.

“I much rejoice, dearly beloved in the Lord, to hear of your constant faith in the word of God, which you have so purely received. Do not, with the worldlings, decline from the purity of it, even if you suffer grief and trouble by it, for which I praise God most heartily. The Lord of all strength, who has begun this good work in you, make it perfect to the end, as I have no doubt He will, for the faithful zeal you have toward his truth and his afflicted church. Therefore, that you may better stand and bear the brunt of many temptations which you are all likely to be assaulted with in these wicked and stormy days, I thought it good, as it is the duty of one Christian man to exhort another in the time of trouble, to put you in remembrance of this, and to desire you, with the wise man, to prepare yourselves for temptations. And beware that you, who yet stand by the goodness of God, may not fall from your lively knowledge and hope. It is an easy thing to begin to do well. But to continue in well-doing is the peculiar property of the children of God, and those who assuredly will be saved. For so says our Savior in his gospel, blessed are those who persevere to the end.

“Therefore, do not let this certainty of your salvation, which is continuance in the sincerity of faith, slide from you. Esteem it more than all the riches and pleasures of this world; for it is the most acceptable treasure of eternal life. This is that precious stone for which the wise merchant in the gospel sells all he has, and buys it. God, in the third chapter of Revelation, signifies to the church, that there will come a time of temptation upon the whole world, to test the dwellers on the earth. From the danger of this temptation, all those will be delivered who observe His word. That word there is called the word of *patience*, to give us to understand that we must be ready to suffer all kinds of injuries and slanders for the profession of it.

“Therefore God commands us there to hold it fast, so that no man might deprive us of our crown of glory. And St. Peter tells us, ‘In this you greatly rejoice, though now for a season, if need be, you are in heaviness through manifold temptations (trials), so that the testing of your faith, being much more precious than of gold that perishes, though it is tested with fire, might be found unto praise and honor and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ.’ St. Paul to the Hebrews shows us that Christ our Savior was made perfect in his humanity by afflictions, so that being called to perfection in Him, we might more willingly sustain the troubles of the world, by which God gives all those who are exercised in it for his sake, his holiness.

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“And in the twelfth chapter of the said epistle it is written, ‘And you have forgotten the exhortation which speaks to you as to children, ‘My son, do not despise the chastening of the Lord, nor faint when you are rebuked by him. For whom the Lord loves he chastens, and scourges every son whom he receives,’ etc. In the gospel of St. John, Christ cautions his disciples to look for afflictions, saying, ‘In the world you will have tribulation, but in me you will have peace.’ And therefore, in the midst of their trouble, in the 21st of St. Luke, he tells them to look up, and to lift up their heads, for their redemption drew near. And in the 22nd he says to all those who are afflicted for him, ‘You are the ones who have continued with me in my temptations. And I appoint to you a kingdom, as my Father has appointed to me, that you may

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eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel.’

“Oh how glorious are the crosses of Christ, which bring the bearers of them to so blessed an end! Will we not be glad to be partakers of such shame as may bring us to so high a dignity? God open our eyes to see all things as they are, and to judge uprightly. Then, doubtless, we would think with Moses, that it is better to be afflicted with the people of God, than to be counted the king of Egypt’s son. Then we would joyfully say with David, in all our adversities and troubles, ‘It is good for me that I have been afflicted; that I might learn your statutes.’ Therefore St. Paul would not glory in any other thing of the world, but in the cross of Christ, and in his infirmities. We have the commandment of Christ to daily take up his cross and follow him. We have the godly examples of all his apostles and holy martyrs, who with great joy and exultation have suffered the loss of all lands, goods, and life, for the hope of a better reward which is laid up for all those in heaven, who unfeignedly cling to the gospel and are never ashamed of it.

“Great is the felicity of the world to the outward man, and very pleasant are its transitory delights. But the reward of the righteous, according to the word of God, incomparably excels them all, insomuch that St. Paul, in writing to the Romans, plainly affirms that all the tribulations of this world cannot deserve that glory which will be shown to us.

“Let us therefore, good brethren and sisters, be merry and glad in these troublesome days, which are sent by God to declare our faith, and to bring us to the end and fruition of that which we hope for. If we would enter into the Lord’s sanctuary, and behold what is prepared for us, we could not but desire the Lord to hasten the day of our death, in which we might set forth by true confession, His glory. Neither should we be afraid to meet our adversaries, who so earnestly seek our spoil and death, but do as Christ did when Judas and that wicked company came to apprehend him, saying, ‘I am the one whom you seek.’ It is commanded us in the gospel, not to fear those who kill the body, but to fear God, who can cast both body and soul into hell-fire. We are bound to observe this commandment as much as any other which God has given us. The Lord increase our faith, that we fear God more than man. The Lord give us such love towards him and his truth, that we may be content to forsake all and follow him. Now it will appear what we love best; for we will adhere to what we love. There is none worthy to be counted a Christian unless he can find it in his heart, for Christ’s sake, if the confession of His truth requires it, to renounce all that he has and follow Him. And in so doing he gains a hundredfold more in this life (as our Savior said to Peter), and in the life hereafter, eternal life.

“Behold, I pray you, what he loses, who in this life receives a hundred for one, with assurance of eternal life. O, happy exchange! Perhaps your outward man will say, if I were sure of this great recompence here, I could be glad to forsake all. But where is this hundredfold to be found in this life? Yes, truly; for instead of the worldly riches which you forsake, which are but temporal, you have found the everlasting riches of heaven — which are glory, honor, and praise, both before God, angels, and men — and for an earthly habitation, you have an eternal mansion with Christ in heaven. For even now you are of the city and household of the saints with God, as it is said in the 4th chapter to the Philippians. For worldly peace, which can last but a while, you possess the peace of God, which surpasses all understanding. And for the loss of a few friends, you are made a fellow of the innumerable company of heaven, and a perpetual friend of all those who have died in the Lord, from the beginning of the world. Is this not more than a hundredfold? Is the peace of God which we have in this world through faithful imitation of Christ (which the world cannot take from us), not ten thousandfold more than those things which are most highly esteemed in the world, without the peace of God? All the peace of the world is no peace, but a mere anguish and a gnawing fury of hell, as God has recently set an

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example before our eyes, to teach us how horrible an evil it is to forsake the peace of Christ's truth, which breeds a worm in the conscience that shall never rest.

“O, that we would weigh this with impartial balances! Then we would not be dismayed at this troublous time; neither would we sorrow in a worldly manner, for the loss which we are now likely to sustain, as the weak faithless persons do, who love their goods more than God, and the things visible above those which are invisible. But rather, we would heartily rejoice and be thankful that it pleased God to call us to be soldiers in his cause against the works of hypocrisy, and to make us like our Savior Christ in suffering. By this we may assure ourselves of his eternal glory. For blessed are those, says Christ, who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake. And as St. Paul witnesses to Timothy, 'If we suffer, we shall also reign with him. If we deny him, he will also deny us.'

“O, that we would enter into the veil of God's promises! Then, as St. Paul says to the Philippians, we would reject all, and count all things but dross, so that we may gain Christ. God, who is the enlightener of all darkness, and remover of all blindness, anoint our eyes with the true eye-salve, that we might behold His glory, and our eternal felicity, which is hidden with Christ, and prepared for us who abide in his testament. For blessed is that servant whom, as Christ said, the master finds faithful when he comes. Let us therefore watch and pray for one another, that we not yield in any point of our religion to the antichristian synagogue, and that we not be overthrown by these temptations. Stand, therefore, and do not be cowards in the cause of your salvation. For his spirit that is in us, is stronger than he which is in the world, who now rages against us. Let us not put the Spirit of God away from us, by whose might we will overcome our enemies. And then death will be as great a gain to us as it was to the blessed apostle St. Paul. Why, then, do you mourn? Why do you weep? Why are you so careful, as though God has forsaken you? He is never more present with us, than when we are in trouble, if we do not forsake Him. We are in his hands, and nobody can do us any injury or wrong without his good will and pleasure. He has commanded his angels to keep us, so that we will not stumble at a stone, without his divine providence. The devil cannot hurt any of us, and much less any of his ministers, without the good will of our eternal Father.

“Therefore let us be of good comfort, and continually give thanks to God for our estate, whatever it may be. For if we murmur against it, we murmur against God, who sends it. If we do so, we but kick against the goads, and provoke more and more the wrath of God against us — which by patient suffering, would otherwise be sooner turned to our favor, through faithful prayer.

“I beseech you with St. Paul, to give your bodies as pure and holy sacrifices to God. He has given us bodies to bestow to his glory, and not according to our own desires. If for many years God has allowed us to use our bodies, which are his temples, according to the lust of the flesh, in vain delights that are not according to his glory, then is it not our duty in the latter end of our life, to more willingly yield our bodies to God's glory, with all that we have, in demonstration of true repentance of what we have evilly spent before?

[889] A.D. 1556.

“Cannot the example of the blessed man Job, when sorely afflicted, cause us to say, 'The Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord? Even as it has pleased the Lord, so it has come to pass. If we cast our whole care likewise upon God, he will turn our misery into felicity, as well as he did for Job.

“God tempts us now as he did our father Abraham, commanding him to slay his son Isaac in sacrifice to Him. This name *Isaac*, by interpretation, signifies mirth and joy. Abraham, by his obedience, preserved Isaac unto long life, and offered in his stead a ram that was tied by the horns in the brambles. Likewise we are all commanded to sacrifice to God our Isaac, which is

our joy and consolation. If we are ready to do this, as Abraham was, our joy will not perish, but live, and be increased, even though our ram is sacrificed for our Isaac. This signifies that the pride and desires of our flesh entangled through sin, with the cares of this stinging world, must be mortified for the preservation and perfect augmentation of our mirth and joy, which is sealed up for us in Christ.

“And to withstand these present temptations with which we are now encumbered, can you have a better remedy than to set before your eyes how our Savior Christ overcame them in the desert, and to follow his example? — that if the devil himself, or anyone else by him desires you to make stones out of bread, that is, to take such a worldly wise way that you may have your fair houses, lands, and goods to live on still, then you must say, ‘Man does not live only by bread, but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God.’

“Again, if the devil counsels you to cast yourselves down to the earth, so as to revoke your sincere belief and godly conduct, and to be conformable to the learned men of the world, pretending that God will be well enough content with it, then you must answer that it is written, ‘A man shall not tempt the Lord his God.’

“Further, if the devil offers you large promises of honor, dignity, and possessions, so that you will worship idols in his synagogue, you must say, ‘Get away from here, Satan; for it is written, You shall worship the Lord your God, and him only shall you serve.’

“Finally, if your mother, brother, sister, wife, child, kinsman, or friend, seek to have you do otherwise than the word of God has taught you, you must say with Christ, ‘They are your mothers, brothers, sisters, wives, children, kinsmen, who do the will of God the Father.’ To which will, the Lord for his mercy conform us all unfeignedly to the end. Amen.

“Your loving and faithful brother in Christ,  
in captivity, JOHN PHILPOT, A.D. 1555.”

### ***Seven Martyrs Burned at London***

*The History of Seven Martyrs, who suffered together  
at London, for the Testimony of Christ's Gospel.*

The prelates of the pope's band, not yet being satisfied with their one year's bloody murdering of the reverend, learned, and principal members of Christ's church (of whom there were now very few, who either were not consumed by most cruel fire, or else, for avoiding their popish rage, compelled to flee their country) still continued this next year also, which was A.D. 1556, in no less cruelty towards the poor, simple, and inferior sort of people (I mean in degree, though God be praised, not in steadfastness) sometimes having yet among them those who were both learned and of good estimation, as it will appear in this history.

In the beginning of this year, about the 27th of January, seven persons were burned in Smithfield, at London; namely, Thomas Whittle, priest; Bartlet Green, gentleman; John Tudson, John Went, Thomas Browne, Isabel Foster, and Joan Warne.

All seven, as they were burned together in one fire, so they were all condemned in one day on one form of articles. However, as the gifts of God in them were diverse, some were more abounding in knowledge than others; also, their dealings were diverse, as will be perceived in their several processes. And therefore, for the better understanding of this, I will first (passing over their private articles and examinations had at sundry times in the bishop's house) set forth their general examinations in the public consistory, upon the bishop's articles administered to them there, with their answers to them, according to what they all



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agreed to, in one manner together. This will appear by the words of both the articles, and their answers underwritten here.

*The Form and Words of Bonner's Articles administered to  
the seven Persons above-mentioned in his Consistory.*

First, that you N\_\_\_\_.<sup>639</sup> have firmly, steadfastly, and constantly believed in times past, and so now believe at present, that there is here on earth a catholic church, in which catholic church the faith and religion of Christ is truly professed, allowed, received, kept, and retained by all faithful and true Christian people.

2. That you the said N\_\_\_\_. in times past have also believed, and so believe at present, that there are in the catholic church seven sacraments, instituted and ordained by God, and by the consent of the holy church allowed, approved, received, kept, and retained.

3. That you the said N\_\_\_\_. were in times past baptized in the faith of the said catholic church, professing by your godfathers and godmothers the faith and religion of Christ, and the observation of it, renouncing there the devil and all his pomps and works, and were by the said sacrament of baptism, incorporated into the catholic church, and made a faithful member of it.

4. That you the said N\_\_\_\_. coming to the age of fourteen years, and so to the age of discretion, did not depart from the said profession and faith, nor disliked any part of the same faith or doings; but like a faithful Christian person, abided and continued in all of the same for a certain number of years, ratifying and confirming all the same.

5. That you the said N\_\_\_\_. notwithstanding these premises, have of late, that is to say, within these past two years, within the city and diocese of London, swerved in the least way from some part of the said catholic faith and religion; and among other things you have disliked and earnestly spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the unity of the church, railing and maligning the authority of the See of Rome, and the faith observed in that church.

6. That you the said N\_\_\_\_. have up to now refused, and still refuse at present to be reconciled again to the unity of the church, not acknowledging and confessing the authority of the said See of Rome to be lawful.

7. That you the said N\_\_\_\_. disliking the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, have refused to come to your parish church to hear mass, and to receive the said sacrament, and have also expressly said that in the said sacrament of the altar, there is not the very body and blood of our Savior Christ, really, substantially, and truly, but have affirmed expressly, that the mass is idolatry and abomination, and that, in the sacrament of the altar, there is no other substance, but only material bread, and material wine, which are tokens of Christ's body and blood only, and that the substance of Christ's body and blood is in no way in the said sacrament of the altar.

8. That you the said N\_\_\_\_. being brought before certain judges or commissioners for your disorder in this, and being found obstinate, willful, and heady, were by their commandment sent to me and my prison, to be examined by me, and to have process made against you for your offense in this.

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<sup>639</sup> As the charges were mostly the same against each of them, N\_\_\_\_ represents their individual names.

9. That all and singular of the premises have been, and are true and manifest, and you yourself not only infamed and suspected of them, but also culpable in this; and by reason of the same, you were and are of the jurisdiction of me, Edmund, bishop of London, and before me, according to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, are to be convened, and also to be punished and reformed by me.

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*Here follow likewise their Answers, in general,  
made to the Articles recited above.*

To the first article they agreed altogether, and affirmed the same to be true. John Tudson and Thomas Brown, added further, that the church of England, as it was used at that time, was no part of the true catholic church.

To the second article, they answered that they acknowledged only two sacraments in Christ's catholic church, that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord. John Went and Tudson affirmed that the sacrament of the altar, as it is used, is an idol, and is no sacrament at all.

To the third article they all agreed, and confessed it to be true, that they were baptized in the faith of Christ, and of the church then taught; and afterward, during the time of king Edward VI, hearing the gospel preached and the truth opened, they followed the order of the religion and doctrine then used and set forth in the reign of the said King Edward.

To the fourth article they also granted and agreed. John Went added moreover, that about seven years past, then being about twenty years of age, he began to dislike certain things used in the church of England, such as the administration of the sacrament of the altar; likewise all the ceremonies of the said church, and likewise at that present time, he disliked them as they were used, even though his godfathers and godmothers had promised for him the contrary.<sup>640</sup>

John Tudson added also, nearly in the same manner, that when he came to the years of discretion, that is about nine years past, being about eighteen years of age, he disliked the doctrine and religion then taught and set forth in the church of England, except in King Edward's time, in whose time the gospel was truly set forth. He further said that the doctrine set forth in the queen's reign was not agreeable to God's word, nor yet agreeable to the true catholic church that Christ speaks of, etc.

Isabel Foster granted these with the others, adding likewise to the four articles, that she continued in the same faith and religion in which she was baptized, after she came to the years of discretion as other common people did. However, it was blindly and without knowledge, till the reign of King Edward VI. At that time, hearing the gospel truly preached and opened to the people, she thereupon received the faith and religion then taught and set forth, etc.

To the fifth article, they answered the same to be true, according to its contents. Thomas Whittle added, moreover, that he had swerved and gone away, not in whole but in part, not from the *old catholic church*, but from the *church of Rome*, in speaking against the mass, the sacrifice in it, and the See of Rome.

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<sup>640</sup> [At christening, godparents pledged on behalf of the infant, to submit to and follow the teachings of the church.](#)

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Joan Warne (alias Joan Lashford) added, moreover, that she never went away from any part of Christ's catholic faith and religion; but that from the time she was eleven years of age, she had disliked the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the authority of the See of Rome, with their doctrines, because they are against Christ's catholic church, and the right faith of the same.

To the sixth article they answered and confessed the same to be true because, they said, the church and doctrine set forth and taught in it, disagrees with the unity of Christ's word, and the true catholic faith, etc.

Bartlet Green added that he is content to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's *catholic church*, but not to the *church of Rome*.

To the seventh article they answered and confessed that the contents of it were true, giving with this the reason and cause of their doing this, for the mass with its sacrament, as it was then used and set forth in the church of England, was opposed to the word of God and the teaching of the people, etc.

John Went further said, concerning the mass, that he believes no less than that the mass, which he calls the supper of the Lord, as it is now used in the realm of England, is naught, full of idolatry, and against God's word, so far as he sees it. Nevertheless, he says that since the queen's coronation, he has by chance been present where the mass has been said, for which he was sorry.

Isabel Foster also answering to the said articles with the others, moreover confessed that since Queen Mary's reign, she has not heard mass, nor received the sacrament, but has refused to come into the place where it was administered. for she knows no such sacrament. And being demanded about her belief in the same, she said that there is only material bread and material wine, and not the real substance of the body of Christ in the same sacrament. For so she has been taught to believe by the preachers in the time of King Edward, whom she believes to have preached the truth in that behalf.

To the eighth article they granted the same, and the contents to be true.

John Went said that Doctor Story, Queen Mary's commissioner, examined him upon the sacrament, and because he denied the real presence, he presented him to the bishop.

To the ninth article they confessed and said that, just as they believed the other premises confessed by them to be true, so they did not deny this one, and that they were of the jurisdiction of London.

Thus having expressed their articles, with their answers jointly, it further remains to fully give their histories, and the handling of all seven of the aforesaid martyrs severally and particularly by themselves, first beginning with **Thomas Whittle**.

*An Account of Thomas Whittle, who at first recanted, but returned again, and with great constancy and fortitude stood to the defense of Christ's Doctrine against the Papists.*

In the history of John Philpot, mention was made of a married priest whom he found in the coalhouse upon his first coming there, in heaviness of mind and great sorrow, for recanting the doctrine which he had taught in King Edward's days. His name was Thomas Whittle, of Essex. This Thomas Whittle, after being expelled from the place in Essex where he served his cure, went abroad, preaching and sowing the gospel of Christ. At length he was brought as a prisoner before the bishop of Winchester, who had recently fallen sick of a disease, of

which not long after he died. Then Whittle was carried a prisoner to the bishop of London, by whom he was beaten and buffeted about the face, as appears from his own narration in a letter sent to his friend:

“On the 10th of January, the bishop of London sent for me, Thomas Whittle, minister, out of the porter’s lodge, where I all night had been lying upon the earth on a pallet. I had as painful a night of sickness as I ever had, God be thanked. And when I came before him, he talked with me so grossly about many things of the sacrament, as not fit to be repeated. Among other things, he asked me if I would have come to mass that morning if he had sent for me? I answered that I would have come to him at his commandment, but to your mass I have little affection. He was much displeased at this answer, and said I should be fed with bread and water. As I followed him through the great hall, he turned back and beat me with his fist, first on the one cheek, and then on the other, as the marks of my beating appeared for many days. And then he led me into a little salt-house, where I had no straw or bed, but lay two nights on a table, and slept soundly, I thank God.

“Then, on the next Friday, I was brought to my lord, and he gave me many fair words, and said he would be good to me. And so going to Fulham,<sup>641</sup> he committed me to Doctor Harpsfield, so that he and I in that afternoon might commune together, and draw out certain articles, to which if I would subscribe, I would be dismissed. But Doctor Harpsfield did not send for me till night, and then he persuaded me very much to forsake my opinions. I answered, I held nothing but the truth, and therefore I could not so lightly turn from it. So I thought at that time, I would have no more ado.

[891] A.D. 1556.

“But he had made a certain bill, which the register pulled out of his bosom, and read it. The bill indeed was very easily made, and therefore more dangerous. For the effect of it was to detest all errors and heresies against the sacrament of the altar, and other sacraments, and to believe the faith of the catholic church, and live accordingly.

“To this bill I did indeed set my hand, being much desired and counselled to do so. And the flesh always being desirous to have liberty, I did not consider thoroughly the inconvenience that might come by it. Now when I had done so, I had little joy from it. For by and by my mind and conscience told me, by God’s word, that I had done evil, to shake off the sweet cross of Christ. And yet it was not my seeking, as God knows, but it altogether came from them. Oh! the crafty subtlety of Satan in his members! Let every man that God will deliver into their hands, take good heed, and cling fast to Christ. For they will leave no corner of his conscience unsought, but will attempt all guileful and subtle means to corrupt him, to fall both from God and his truth. But yet, let no man despair of God’s help, for Peter fell and rose again. And David says, Psalm 37.23, 24, ‘The steps of a good man are ordered by the Lord, and he delights in His way. Though he falls, he will not be utterly cast down; for the Lord upholds him with his hand.’ For my part, I have felt my infirmities, and yet I have found God’s present help and comfort in time of need, for which I thank Him.

“The night after I had subscribed, I was sorely grieved, and for sorrow of conscience I could not sleep. For in the deliverance of my body out of bonds, which I might have had, I could find no joy nor comfort, but was still tormented more and more in my conscience, being assured by God’s Spirit and his word, that through evil counsel I had done amiss. I was sickly, both with disquietness of mind, and with my other cruel handling, lying upon the ground when the keeper came. And so I desired him to pray Doctor Harpsfield to come to me, and so he did.

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<sup>641</sup> [Fulham: a borough of southwest London.](#)

## Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

“And when he came, and the register with him, I told him that I was not well at ease, but especially I told him I was grieved very much in my conscience and mind, because I had subscribed. And I said that my conscience had so accused me, through the just judgment of God and his word, that I had felt hell in my conscience, and Satan ready to devour me. And therefore I pray you, Master Harpsfield, I said, let me have the bill again, for I will not stand to it. So he gently commanded it to be brought, and gave it me, and allowed me to put out my name. I was right glad when I had done so, even if death would follow. And hereby I had experience of God’s providence and mercy towards me, who tries his people, and allows them to fall, but not to be lost. For in the midst of this temptation and trouble, he gave me warning of my deed, and He also delivered me, his name be praised for evermore. Amen.

“Neither devil nor cruel tyrant can pluck any of Christ’s sheep out of his hand. I undoubtedly trust that I am one of this flock of Christ’s sheep. By means of his death and blood-shedding, I will stand at his right hand at the last day, and receive with others, his blessed benediction. And now being condemned to die, my conscience and mind, I praise God, is quiet in Christ. and by his grace, I am very well willing and content to give over this body to death, for the testimony of his truth and pure religion, against antichrist and all his false religion and doctrine. Those who report otherwise of me, do not speak truly. And as for Fountain, I did not see him all this while.”<sup>642</sup>

“By me, THOMAS WHITTLE, minister.”

Concerning the words and answers of Thomas Whittle at his last examination before the bishop, on the 14th of January, Bonner, with others sitting in his consistory, first called Thomas Whittle, with whom he began in effect as follows: “Because you are a priest,” he said, “as I and other bishops here are, and received the order of priesthood according to the right and form of the catholic church, you will not think that I will administer justice to you in the same way as to others.” And then Bonner charged him, that where in times past he had said mass according to the order then used, the same Whittle now of late had spoken and railed against the same, saying that it was idolatry and abomination. To which Thomas Whittle answered, saying that he was then ignorant, etc., adding that elevating the sacrament at the mass gives occasion for idolatry to the ignorant and unlearned.

After this, the bishop came to this article, “That you were in times past baptized in the faith of the catholic church.”

To this Whittle answered, “I was baptized in the faith of the catholic church, although I forsake the church of Rome. And you, my lord, call these heresies, that are no heresies, and you charge me with them as a heretic, and you ground yourself upon that religion, which is not agreeable to God’s word,” etc.

Then the victorious soldier and servant of our Savior, constant in the truth, was again admonished, and entreated by the bishop with persuasions. And because he would not agree, the bishop immediately proceeded, first to his actual degradation, that is, to unpriest him of all his priestly trinkets and cleric’s habit. And then Whittle, in the midst of the ceremonies, when he saw them so busy in degrading him, in their father the pope’s pontifical fashion, said to them, “St. Paul and Titus did not have so much to do with their priests and bishops.” And further, speaking to the bishop, he said to him, “My lord, your religion stands with the church of Rome, and not with the catholic church of Christ.”

The bishop after this, according to his accustomed proceedings, tested him yet again with words rather than with substantial arguments, to conform him to his religion. But Whittle

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<sup>642</sup> [There is no other reference to this person named Fountain.](#)

refusing to do so, said, “As for your religion, I cannot be persuaded that it is according to God’s word.”

The bishop then asked what fault he found in the administration of the sacrament of the altar.

Whittle said, “It is not used according to Christ’s institution, in that it is privately and not openly done. And also it is administered in but one kind to the lay people, which is against Christ’s ordinance. Further, Christ never commanded it to be elevated nor adored. For the adoration and elevation cannot be proved by Scripture.”

“Well,” said Bonner, “my lords here, and other learned men, have shown great zeal for your conversion. Therefore if you will yet return to the faith and religion of the catholic church, I will receive you, and not commit you to the secular power,” etc. To be brief, Whittle, strengthened with the grace of the Lord, stood strong and immovable. Therefore, the sentence being read, the next day following he was committed to the secular power, and so a few days later he was brought to the fire, sealing the testimony of his doctrine with his blood, which he willingly and cheerfully gave for witness of the truth.

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After the history of Thomas Whittle, next follows **Bartlet Green**, gentleman, who the day after, was likewise condemned. Bartlet Green was of a good family, whose parents both favored learning, and who were also desirous to bring up their child in the same. He was sent to the University of Oxford where, through exercise and diligent study, he so profited, that in a short time he attained the knowledge of sundry sciences, as well as now, in his last years, to the godly understanding of divinity. He was at first an utter enemy to the gospel, until such time as God in his mercy opened his eyes, by his often repairing to the lectures of Peter Martyr,<sup>643</sup> reader of the divinity lecture in the University.

Once he had tasted of it, it became to him like the fountain of living water that our Savior Christ spoke of to the woman of Samaria, so that he never thirsted any more, but had a well springing up to everlasting life. When he was called by his friends from the University, and was placed in the Temple at London, to attain to the knowledge of the common laws of the realm, he continued in his former study and his earnest profession of the gospel.

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However, such is the frailty of our corrupt nature, without the special assistance of God’s Holy Spirit, that through his continual fellowship with such worldly young gentlemen as are commonly in that and like houses, he little by little became a partner in their follies and youthful vanities — in his apparel, and also in banquetings, and other excesses. These he afterward sorely lamented and bewailed, as it appears by his own testimony, left in a book of a friend of his a little before his death.

To better maintain himself in his studies and his other affairs, he had a large endowment from his grandfather, Doctor Bartlet, who during the time of Green’s imprisonment, made large offers of great livings to him if he would recant and forsake the truth and gospel of

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<sup>643</sup> Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499-1562). In 1547 Vermigli accepted Archbishop Thomas Cranmer’s invitation to England and became Regius Professor of Divinity at the University of Oxford. In 1549 there was a disputation on the Eucharist, at which three matters were debated: (1) transubstantiation, (2) carnal or corporeal presence, and (3) whether “the body and blood of Christ is sacramentally joined to the bread and the wine.” Vermigli’s eucharistic doctrine was close to Calvin’s. He influenced the 1552 Book of Common Prayer, and Cranmer’s Forty-two Articles written in 1553.



## Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

Christ, and come back to the church and synagogue of Rome. But those persuasions, the Lord be praised, had little effect on his faithful heart, as the sequel declared. He was a man beloved by all men, except by the papists, who love none who love the truth. For he was of a meek, humble, discreet, and of a most gentle behavior to all. He was injurious to none, beneficial to many, especially to those who were of the household of faith. This appears, among other things, by his friendly dealing with Christopher Goodman, at that time a poor exile beyond the seas. Bartlet Green had often associated with him in Oxford, in the days of good King Edward.

The cause of all his troubles was a letter which Green wrote to Goodman, containing the report of certain questions which were circulated in London, and also an answer to a question of Christopher Goodman, inquiring into the report which was generally spread among them, on the other side of the seas, that the queen was dead.

These letters, with many others, written to several of the godly exiles by their friends here in England, being delivered to a messenger to carry over, came by the apprehension of the bearer, into the hands of the king and queen's council. He perused the whole of the letters, and among them saw this letter of Master Green's, written to his friend Christopher Goodman. In this letter, among other news and private matters, they found these words; "the queen is not yet dead." These words were only written as an answer to certify to Master Goodman, the truth of his former demand. However, to the council, they seemed very heinous words; indeed, they would have made them treason, if the law would have allowed. So they examined him upon his faith in religion.

His answers little pleased them. And therefore, after they had detained him in prison in the Tower of London and elsewhere, they sent him at last to Bonner, to be ordered according to his ecclesiastical law, as it appears by their letters to the bishop.

Now, that you may better understand his handling, after coming into Bonner's custody, I thought it good to give his own letter, containing an account of it at large. This letter he wrote to John Philpot, but he was prevented from sending it; for it came to the bishop's hands. And being delivered to his register, it was found in one of his books of record.

After a conference between Master Green and Master Welch, the bishop perceived Green's learning and constancy to be such that neither he, nor any of his doctors or chaplains could refute him by the Scriptures. The bishop began to object and put in practice his chief and strongest argument, which was the rigor of the law, and cruelty of execution. It was an argument, I assure you, which, without the special grace of our God, is insupportable to the flesh. And therefore, using the law as a cloak for his tyranny, on the 28th of November, the bishop examined him on certain points of Christian religion.

They brought him to Many other conferences and public examinations after this. But in the end (seeing his steadfastness of faith to be such that neither their threatenings nor yet their flattering promises could prevail), on the 15th of January the bishop had him brought into the consistory in St. Paul's where, being set in his judgment seat, he called for Bartlet Green, and began as follows:

"Honorable audience, I think it best to open to you the conversation of this man, called Bartlet Green. And because you will not charge me with going about to seek any man's blood, here you will hear the council's letters which they sent with him to me. The effect of them is that, whereas he had for long time been in the Tower of London for heresy, they have now sent him to me to be ordered according to what the laws provide. And now to you, Bartlet Green, I propose these nine articles."

Then he read the articles above-mentioned, which were generally objected to by all seven of the prisoners. But when Master Green would have answered them particularly, he was put to silence, with a promise that he would have time to answer. And therefore, the bishop proceeding, said that when Green first came to his house, he desired to have the books of the ancient doctors of the church to read, which he said he granted him. To which grant, Green said that if the doctors were weighed with unprejudiced judgment, they made a great deal more for him, than they did for them.

After this a long conference began between Green and Fecknam, which ended thus:

Bonner. — “When St. Augustine saw what inconveniences followed that commandment, he wrote to the temporal rulers, commanding them to punish the bodies of the heretics.”

Green. — “ But he did not order them to be put to death.”

Bonner. — “He bade them to punish them.”

Green. — “Yes, but not put them to death.”

Bonner. — “That they should be punished.”

This talk ended, he asked Green if he would recant and return to their Romish mother. When Green refused this, the bishop pronounced sentence against him. And so Bonner committed him to the sheriffs of London, who had him carried to Newgate.

As he was going there, two gentlemen met him, his especial friends, minding to comfort their persecuted brother. But at their meeting, their loving and friendly hearts, not able to hide themselves any longer, were manifested by the abundance of their tears. When Green saw them, he said in these or like words: “Ah, my friends! is this your comfort you have come to give me, on this occasion of my heaviness? Must I, who needed to have comfort administered to me, become now a comforter of you?” And thus declaring his most quiet and peaceable mind and conscience, he cheerfully spoke to them and others, until he came to the prison door, into which he joyfully entered. There he remained, engaged either in prayer, or else in some other godly meditations and exercises, to the 27th of January, when he went most cheerfully to the place of suffering, often singing a Latin hymn by the way, as well as at the stake.

So great and admirable was the gift of modesty grafted in his nature, so far abhorring all pride and arrogance, that as he could not abide anything that was spoken to his advancement or praise, so neither did there appear in him any show in those things in which he might justly glory. When he was beaten and scourged with rods by Bishop Bonner, he greatly rejoiced in it, and yet his modesty was such that he would never mention any of it, lest he seem to glory too much in himself.

**Thomas Brown** was born in the parish of Histon, in the diocese of Ely. He came to London and dwelt in the parish of St. Bride’s, in Fleet-street. He was a married man, about thirty-seven years of age. Because he did not come to his parish church, he was presented by the constable of the parish to Bonner. He was required upon Thursday, the 26th of September, to come to the chapel to hear mass, which he refused to do. For this he was charged by the bishop for a heinous offense, because he said it was done in spite and in contempt of their mass, which seemed to the bishop and his chaplains no small offense. At length, being brought to his last examination before the bishop, on the 15th of January, there to hear sentence definitive against him, he was entreated with many fair words and promises to revoke his doctrine.

[893] A.D. 1556.



Bonner then proceeded to the articles. After he had read them to him again, he asked Brown whether he was content and willing to relinquish his heresies and erroneous opinions, as he called them, and return again to the unity of the catholic faith. Brown answered, saying, "If they were heresies, he would forsake them."

"They are heresies," said the bishop.

"How will you prove it?" asked Brown; "For I will not go from my answer unless you can prove them to be heresies, which you can never do. For what you call heresy, is no heresy."

Alter this Bonner read the sentence against him. He was then committed to the sheriffs, and burned on the 27th of January, constantly abiding the torments for the true confession of his Christian faith.

On the same day **John Tudson** was also produced to the same condemnation. John Tudson was born in Ipswich, and was an apprentice in London, dwelling in the parish of St. Mary Botolph.

After the articles and interrogatories were administered to him, he was brought to the consistory. There this blessed and true servant of the Lord was moved with many persuasions to depart from his opinion, but constantly persisting in what he had received by the preachers in King Edward's time, he refused, saying there was no heresy in his answers. The bishop still used his accustomed persuasions to move him, and promised that all his offenses and errors, as he called them, would be forgiven if he would return, etc. "No," said Tudson, "I have not offended; and you pretend charity, but it does not appear in your works."

Thus, after a few words, the bishop promulgated against him the sentence of condemnation; and the godly and constant martyr was committed to the secular power. And so, with much patience he finished this life on the 27th of January.

**John Went** was born in Langham in Essex, in the diocese of London; he was 27 years of age. He was first examined by Dr. Story upon the sacrament of his popish altar; and because the poor man did not accord with him in the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, Story sent him up to Bonner, who tempted him to recant. Went said he would not, but that, "by the grace of God, he would stand firm and constant in what he had said." When the bishop urged him with words and fair promises to give himself to their opinions, he could get no other answer but this: "No, I say as I have said," etc. Whereupon being condemned by the bishop, he was committed to the sheriffs, and brought to his martyrdom, which he suffered with constancy to the end.

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With the five persons above mentioned, two women were also condemned at the same time, and likewise burned for the same cause. The one was a wife named **Isabel Foster**; the other was a maiden named **Joan Warne**, otherwise known as Joan Lashford.

This Isabel was born in Grafestock, in the diocese of Carlisle, and married to one John Foster, cutler, in the parish of St. Bride's in Fleet-street. For not coming to the church, she was sent to Bonner and imprisoned. She was several times examined by the bishop, but never overcome, nor moved from the constant confession of Christ's gospel.

At length, when brought to her final examination before the bishop in the consistory, she was moved again, whether she would yet go from her former answers. She gave a resolute answer in few words: "I will not go from them, by God's grace." She was neither cast down by the menacing threats of the bishop, nor yet yielded through his alluring enticements, who

promised her both life and liberty if she would associate herself in the unity of the catholic church. She said that she trusted she 'was never out of the catholic church,' etc. And so she continued constant till the sentence was pronounced. Then she was committed to the secular power, and brought a few days later to the stake, on the 27th of January. There, like a faithful witness of the Lord's truth, she ended her troubles here, to find a better rest in the kingdom of Christ our Savior.

In a previous part of this history of martyrs (p. 804), mention was made of one Elizabeth Warne who, with her husband John Warne, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, was apprehended in Bow church-yard and suffered — first the man, in the month of May, and then later the wife, in July. And now their daughter, **Joan Warne**, in the month of January, followed her parents in the same martyrdom.

Joan Warne was born in the parish of Little All-hallows in Thames-street, and was the daughter of one Robert Lashford, cutler, and of the aforesaid Elizabeth, who afterwards was married to John Warne. Joan was about twenty years of age when, ministering to her father and mother in prison, she was suspected and known to be of the same doctrine and religion. So she was sent to Bonner, and committed to the Compter, where she remained five weeks, and from there to Newgate, where she continued for some months.

After that, her confession was that the whole twelve months before, and more, she came to no popish mass service in the church, nor received the sacrament of the altar, nor confessed, because her conscience would not allow her to do so. She protested that in the sacrament of the altar, there is not the real presence of Christ's body and blood; and that auricular confession or absolution after the popish sort was not necessary; nor was the mass good, or according to the Scripture, but that both the sacrament, confession, absolution, and the mass, with all others of their superfluous sacraments, ceremonies, and divine service as then used in this realm of England, were most vile, and contrary to Christ's word and institution. This godly damsel, feeble and of tender age, yet strong by grace, stood so firm in her confession and faith, that neither the flattering promises, nor the violent threats of the bishops could turn her. Rather, being moved and exhorted by Bonner to return to the catholic unity of the church, she said boldly to him, "If you will leave off your abominations I will return, but otherwise I will not."

The bishop again promised her pardon of all her errors, as he called them, if she would be conformed. But she answered, "Do as it pleases you, and I pray God that you may do that which may please God."

And thus, constantly persevering in the Lord's holy truth, she was condemned and committed to the sheriffs, by whom, on the 27th of January, she was brought to the stake. There she washed her robes in the blood of the Lamb, dying most constantly for his word and truth, to whom she most lovingly espoused herself.

And thus much concerning the life and condemnation of these seven holy martyrs.

### ***Five Martyrs Burned at Canterbury***

Shortly after these seven were martyred together in Smithfield, in the same month (on the 31st of January), another like fellowship of godly martyrs followed at Canterbury: four women and one man, namely, John Lomas, Anne Allbright, Joan Catmer, Agnes Snoth, and Joan Sole.

**John Lomas**, of the parish of Tenterden, presented for that religion which the papists call heresy, was cited to appear at Canterbury. He was examined there upon the first article,

whether he believed the catholic church or not? He answered that he “believed so much as is contained in God’s book, and no more.”

Then being assigned to appear again on the next Wednesday, which was the 17th of January, Lomas was examined as to whether he would be confessed to a priest or not. He answered that he did not find it written in God’s book that he should be confessed to any priest, nor would he be confessed unless he were accused of sin.”

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Again, when examined whether he believed the body of Christ is in the sacrament of the altar, really under the forms of bread and wine after the consecration or not, he answered that “he believes no reality of Christ’s body is in the sacrament.” Then being demanded whether he believed there is a catholic church or not, and whether he would be content to be a member of it, he answered that he “believed so much as is written in God’s book.” He refused to give any other answer. Sentence was pronounced against him on the 18th of January, when he was committed to the secular power, and suffered with great constancy for the conscience of a true faith, in company with the four women named above.

**Agnes Snoth**, widow, of the parish of Smarden, was likewise accused and cited for the true profession of Christ’s religion. When examined, she was compelled to answer to such articles and interrogatories as would be administered to her. First she refused to be confessed to a priest; but she did not refuse to confess her offenses as one to another, but not auricularly to any priest. As to the sacrament of the altar, she protested that if she or any other received the sacrament as Christ and his apostles after him delivered it, then she and they received it to their comfort. But as it is now used in the church, she said that no man could otherwise receive it than to his damnation. Afterwards being examined concerning penance, whether it was a sacrament or not, she plainly denied it, and said that the popish manner of absolution was not consonant to the word of God. The sentence being read, she was committed to the sheriffs of Canterbury, and suffered martyrdom, declaring herself a constant witness of Christ and of his truth.

Against **Anne Albright**, alias Champnes, it was also objected concerning the matter of confession. She answered, saying that she “would not be confessed by a priest,” and she added, speaking to the priests, “You priests are the children of perdition, and can do no good by your confession.” Likewise, speaking to the judge and his assistants, she told them that they were subverters of Christ’s truth.

As to the sacrament of the altar, she said it was a naughty and abominable idol, and so she utterly denied the same as a sacrament. Thus persisting in her opinion, she was condemned on the 18th of January, with the others above mentioned, and with whom she also suffered quietly, and with great comfort, for Christ’s religion.

In like manner **Joan Sole**, of the parish of Horton, was condemned by the priests, for not allowing auricular confession, and for denying the real presence and substance of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar. After their sentence was promulgated, she was brought by the sheriffs to the stake with the other four, and sustained the same martyrdom with them, through the assistance of God’s holy grace, and the Spirit working mightily in her, to the glory of his name, and the confirmation of His truth.

The fifth and last of this heavenly company of martyrs was **Joan Catmer**, of the parish of Hithe, wife of George Catmer, who was burned before (see p. 814). Being asked what she said to confession being made to a priest, she refused to be confessed to any priest. And the

judge, speaking of the sacrament of the altar, she said and affirmed that she did not believe in that sacrament as it was then used, for it was made a veritable idol. For this, sentence of condemnation was passed upon her, and she suffered with the other fellow martyrs, ratifying and confessing with their blood the true knowledge and doctrine of the glorious gospel of Christ Jesus our Savior.

These five persons were burnt together at Canterbury, at two stakes, but in one fire. When the fire was flaming about their ears, they sang psalms.

***The History and Martyrdom of Thomas Cranmer***

*The Life, Acts, and History of the Reverend Pastor and Prelate,  
Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, burned at Oxford,  
for the Confession of Christ's true Doctrine,  
under Queen Mary. March 21, A.D. 1556.*

As concerning the life and estate of that most reverend father in God, and worthy prelate of godly memory, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury; and also of the original cause and occasion of his preferment to his archiepiscopal dignity, it is first to be observed, that Thomas Cranmer came from an ancient parentage, from the Conquest.<sup>644</sup> He was born in a village called Arselacton, in Nottinghamshire. Being kept at school from his infancy, and brought up, not without much civility, in process of time he came to the University of Cambridge. And there, prospering in knowledge, and among the better sort of students, he became Master of Arts, and was chosen Fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge. Having married a gentleman's daughter, he lost and gave up his fellowship there, and became the reader in Buckingham College.

While Cranmer continued as reader in Buckingham College, his wife died in childbirth. After her death, the masters and fellows of Jesus College, desirous to have back their old companion for his learning, again chose him fellow of the college. There, remaining at his study, a few years later he became the reader of the divinity lecture in the same college, and was held in much esteem and reputation with the whole university. Being Doctor of Divinity, he was commonly appointed one of the heads to examine those who yearly proceed in commencement, either as Bachelors or Doctors of Divinity, by whose approval the whole university licenses them to proceed to their degree.

Now Cranmer much favored the knowledge of the Scripture, and would never allow any to proceed in divinity, unless they were substantially versed in the history of the Bible. By this means, certain friars and other monkish persons, who were principally brought up in the study of school authors, without regard to the authority of the Scriptures, were rejected by him. So that, for his severe examination, he was much hated, and held in great indignation among the monks. Yet it came to pass in the end, that some of them, being thus compelled to study the Scriptures, became well learned and well affected.

As he was neither unknown in fame, nor obscure in knowledge, so he was greatly solicited by Doctor Capon to become one of the fellows in the foundation of Cardinal Wolsey's College in Oxford, which he utterly refused.

At this time, Cardinal Campeggio and Cardinal Wolsey, being commissioned by the pope to hear and determine that great cause in controversy between King Henry VIII and the Queen, delayed hearing the cause all the summer, till August. When August had come, the

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<sup>644</sup> That is, the Norman Conquest under William the Conqueror, A.D. 1066.

cardinals, little desiring to proceed to the sentence, took occasion to finish their commission, and not to further determine in this cause, pretending that it was not permitted by the laws to keep courts of ecclesiastical matters in harvest time. This sudden stoppage of the commission so moved the king, that taking it as a mock at the cardinals' hands, he commanded the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to immediately dispatch Cardinal Campeggio back home to Rome. And so, in haste Cranmer removed himself from London to Waltham for a night or two, while his household removed to Greenwich. By means of this, it chanced that the harbingers, Doctor Stephens, secretary, and Doctor Foxe, almoner, lodged in the house of Master Cressey, where Cranmer also lodged. When supper time came, the three doctors met together — Doctor Stephens, and Doctor Foxe much marvelling at Doctor Cranmer's being there.<sup>645</sup> He declared to them the cause of his lodging there, namely, that the plague was in Cambridge. And as they were old acquaintances, the secretary and almoner right well entertained Cranmer, minding to understand his opinion regarding the great business they had in hand. While they were at supper, they conferred with Cranmer about the king's cause, requesting his judgment and opinion — what he thought about it.

[895] A.D. 1556.

Cranmer answered that he could say but little to the matter, for he had not studied or looked for it. Notwithstanding, he said to them that in his opinion they made more ado in prosecuting the ecclesiastical law than needed. "It would be better, I suppose," said Cranmer, "that the question, whether a man may marry his brother's wife or not, were decided and discussed by the divines, and by the authority of the word of God, by which the conscience of the prince might be better satisfied and quieted, than to thus prolong the time by delays from year to year, leaving the truth of the matter untouched by the word of God. There is but one truth in it, which the Scripture will soon declare, being well-handled by learned men, and that may be done as well in England in the universities here, as at Rome, or elsewhere in any foreign nation. And therefore, as I take it, you might have made an end of the matter this way long since." When Doctor Cranmer had thus ended, the other two liked his advice, and wished they had so proceeded before. They resolved to so advise the king, who was then minded to send to Rome for a new commission.

The next day, when the king removed to Greenwich, he called to him his principal advisers in his cause, namely, Doctor Stephens and Doctor Foxe, saying to them, "What now, my masters, shall we do in this endless cause of mine? I see there must be a new commission procured from Rome, and when we will have an end to it, God knows, and not I."

When the king had thus spoken, Doctor Foxe said, "We trust that there will be a better way devised for your majesty, than any longer travel so far as Rome in your highness' cause, which by chance was put into our heads at Waltham." The king, being very desirous to understand his meaning, said, "Who has taken in hand to instruct you by any better or shorter way to proceed in our said cause?" Then Doctor Foxe said, "It chanced for us to lodge at Waltham, in Master Cressey's house, where we met with an old acquaintance of ours, named Doctor Cranmer, with whom having a conference concerning your highness's case, he thought that the best way to instruct and quiet your majesty's conscience was to test out your highness's question by the authority of the word of God, and thereupon to proceed to a final sentence."

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<sup>645</sup> John Foxe, the author of this book, was a close friend of Cranmer. He was not known as "Doctor Foxe" despite having a master's degree from Oxford and being a fellow there. Though he distributed alms for others, and was very generous himself, he did not hold the ecclesiastical title of *almoner*. Nonetheless, he seems to refer to himself here.

The king then asked, "Where is this Doctor Cranmer? Is he still at Waltham?" They answered, that they left him there. "Goodness," said the king, "I will surely speak with him, and therefore let him be sent for. I perceive," continued the king, "that this man has the sow by the right ear. And if I had known this device but two years ago, it would have saved me a great piece of money, and would also have rid me of much disquietness."

Cranmer was accordingly sent for. Having removed from Waltham to Cambridge, and so an express went for him towards his friends in Nottinghamshire. But when he came to London, he began to quarrel with his two acquaintances, that because of them he was thus troubled and brought there, to be cumbered in a matter in which he had not studied. And therefore he entreated them that they would make his excuse, so that he might not be required to come into the king's presence. They promised, and took the matter upon themselves, that by any means they might compass it. But all was in vain; for the more they began to excuse Cranmer's absence, the more the king chided them, so that no excuse serving, Cranmer was obliged to come to court to the king. When Cranmer was introduced, the prince demanded his name, and said to him, "Were you not at Waltham such a time, in the company of my secretary and my almoner?" Cranmer assented. The king said, "Did you not have conference with them concerning our matter of divorce, in this way?" repeating the manner and order of it. "That is true, if it please your highness," said Cranmer. "Well," said the king, "I well perceive that you have the right scope of this matter. You must understand that I have long been troubled in conscience, and now I perceive that by this means I might have been relieved long ago, one way or other, if we had so proceeded. And therefore, Master Doctor, I pray you, and because you are a subject, I charge and command you to take pains to see this cause of mine furthered, as much as it may lie in you, so that I may shortly understand what I may trust. For this I protest before God and the world, that I do not seek to be divorced from the queen, if by any means I might justly be persuaded that our matrimony was inviolable, and not against the laws of God. For otherwise there was never cause to move me to seek any such extremity. Nor was there ever prince who had a gentler, more obedient and loving companion and wife, than the queen is. Nor did I ever fancy a woman in all respects better, if this doubt had not arisen. I assure you that for the singular virtues with which she is indued, besides the consideration of her noble family, I could be right well contented to remain with her, if it would stand with the will and pleasure of Almighty God." And thus greatly commending her many and singular qualities, the king said, "I therefore pray you with an impartial eye, and with as much dexterity as lies in you, that for your part you handle the matter for the discharging of both our consciences."

Cranmer excused himself to meddle in so weighty a matter, and besought the king's highness to commit the trial and examining of this matter by the word of God, to the best learned men of both his universities, Cambridge and Oxford. "You say well," said the king, "and I am content. Yet I will have you especially write your mind in this." And so calling the earl of Wiltshire to him, he said, "I pray you, my lord, let Doctor Cranmer be entertained in your house at Durham-place for a time, so that he may be quiet there to accomplish my request, and let him lack neither books, nor anything requisite for his study." And thus, after the king's departure, Cranmer went with my lord of Wiltshire to his house, and he wrote his mind concerning the king's question. Besides the authorities of the Scriptures, of general councils, and of ancient writers, he also added his opinion, which was this: "That the bishop of Rome had no such authority, as that he might dispense with the word of God and the Scriptures." When Cranmer had made this book, and committed it to the king, the king said to him: "Will you abide by what you have written here, before the bishop of Rome?" "That will I do, by God's grace," answered Cranmer, "if your majesty sends me there." "Goodness,"

said the king; “I will send you even to him in a secure embassy.” And thus by means of Cranmer, not only were certain learned men sent abroad to most of the universities in Christendom to dispute the question, but also the same men were commissioned to dispute with the divines in both the universities of Cambridge and Oxford. It was there concluded that no such matrimony was lawful by the word of God.

Upon this, a solemn embassy was prepared and sent to the bishop of Rome — namely, the earl of Wiltshire, Doctor Cranmer, Doctor Stokesley, Doctor Carne, Doctor Bennet, and other learned men.

When the time came that they were to come before the bishop of Rome to declare the cause of their embassy, sitting on high in his cloth of state, and in his rich apparel, with his sandals on his feet, he offered his foot to be kissed by the ambassadors. The earl of Wiltshire (who stood first) disdained to do so, and stood still, so that all the rest kept themselves from that idolatry.

They offered on the king’s behalf to defend that no man, *Jure Divino*, could or ought to marry his brother’s wife, and that the bishop of Rome by no means ought to dispense to the contrary. Promises were made, and days appointed in which the question should be disputed. And when our embassy was ready to answer, no man appeared to dispute against them. So in the end, the pope, showing our ambassadors good countenance, and gratifying Cranmer with the office of the penitentiaryship,<sup>646</sup> dismissed them.

Upon this, the earl of Wiltshire and the other commissioners, except Cranmer, returned to England. And immediately Cranmer went to the emperor, to answer those learned men of the emperor’s council, who would or could say anything against the divorce. Among the rest, was Cornelius Agrippa. a high officer in the emperor’s court. Having a private conference with Cranmer on the question, he was so fully resolved and satisfied in the matter, that there was never a disputation openly offered to Cranmer in that behalf.

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This matter thus prospering, Warham, then archbishop of Canterbury, departed this transitory life, by which that dignity being in the king’s gift and disposal, was immediately given to Cranmer.

At the time of the Six Articles, it was mentioned before in the history of King Henry VIII (see p. 569), how adventurously Cranmer opposed himself, standing alone, as it were, against the whole parliament, disputing and replying for three days against the said articles. It went so far that the king, when he could not dislike Cranmer’s reasons, and yet needed to have these articles passed, required Cranmer to absent himself from the chamber until it was done.

After the apprehension of the lord Cromwell, when the adversaries of the gospel thought all things were sure on their side, it was so arranged among them, that ten or twelve bishops, and other learned men, joined together in commission, would come to the archbishop of Canterbury to establish certain articles of our religion, which the papists then thought to win to their purpose against the archbishop. For Lord Cromwell being gone (see p. 584), they thought all things were safe and sure forever. But Cranmer stood alone against them all, in the defense of the truth. And those that he most trusted, namely, Bishop Heath and Bishop Skip, left him. They so turned against him, that they took it upon themselves to persuade him to their purpose. Taking him from the rest of the commissioners, into his

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<sup>646</sup> *Penitentiaryship*: the office of a priest who is authorized to administer the sacrament of penance.

garden at Lambeth, there by all manner of persuasions they entreated him to incline to the king's intentions, who was fully determined to have it. When those two, with other friends, had used all their eloquence and policy, he said to them —

“You make much ado to have me come to your purpose, alleging that it is the king's pleasure to have the articles enforced as you have devised them. And now that you perceive his highness is bent that way, you think it convenient to apply to his highness' mind. You are both my friends. Beware what you do. There is but one truth in our articles to be concluded upon. If you hide it from his highness, by consenting to a contrary doctrine, then in the process of time, when the truth cannot be hidden from him, his highness will perceive how you have dealt with him. I know his grace's nature so well, that he will never after trust and credit you, or put any good confidence in you. And as you are both my friends, I therefore wish you to beware in time, and discharge your consciences in the maintenance of the truth.”

All this would not serve, for they still persisted. But Cranmer discharged his conscience and declared the truth to the king. And God so wrought with the king, that his highness joined with Cranmer against the rest, so that the book of articles passed on his side, contrary to all their expectations.

Notwithstanding, not long after that, certain of the council, whose names need not be repeated, by the enticement and provocation of his ancient enemy, the bishop of Winchester, and others of the same sect, endeavored to prejudice the king against him. They plainly declared that the realm was so infected with heresies and heretics, that it was dangerous for his highness to further let it go unreformed, lest perhaps by long suffering, such contention should arise and ensue among his subjects in the realm, that thereby horrible commotions might spring up, and uproars, as it did in some parts of Germany not long ago. They could not impute the enormity of this to anyone so much as to the archbishop of Canterbury. By his own preaching, and his chaplains, he had filled the whole realm full of many pernicious heresies. The king desired to know his accusers. They answered that as he was a counsellor, no man dared take it upon himself to accuse him. But if it would please his highness to commit Cranmer to the Tower for a time, there would be accusations and proofs enough against him; for otherwise, just testimony and witness against him would not appear. And therefore, they said, your highness must give us liberty and leave to commit him to prison. The king, perceiving their importunate suit against the archbishop (yet not intending to have Cranmer wronged, and utterly given over into their hands), granted to them that they should the next day commit him to the Tower to have his trial. When night came, the king sent Sir Anthony Denny to Lambeth about midnight, to the archbishop, desiring him to immediately resort to him at the court. The archbishop speedily attended at the court, and coming into the gallery where the king walked and tarried for him, his highness said, “Ah, my lord of Canterbury, I can tell you news! For weighty considerations, it is determined by me and the council, that tomorrow at nine o'clock you will be committed to the Tower, for you and your chaplains (as information is given to us) have taught and preached, and thereby sown within the realm such a number of execrable heresies, that it is feared the whole realm being infected, no small contentions and commotions will arise among my subjects, as of late occurred in many parts of Germany. And therefore the council have requested me, for the trial of the matter, to allow them to commit you to the Tower.”

When the king had spoken, the archbishop kneeled down and said, “I am content, if it please your grace, with all my heart, to go there at the command of your highness. And I most humbly thank your majesty for an opportunity to come to my trial; for there are those who have slandered me, and now I hope to prove myself not worthy of such report.”



The king, perceiving the man's righteousness, joined with such simplicity, said, "O Lord! What manner of man are you? What simplicity is in you? I thought you would rather have sued to us to take the pains to hear you and your accusers together for your trial, without any such imprisonment. Do you not know what state you are in with the whole world, and how many great enemies you have? Do you not consider what an easy thing it is to procure three or four false knaves to witness against you? Do you think to have better luck that way than your master Christ had? I see by it that you will run headlong to your undoing, if I would allow you. Your enemies will not so prevail against you, for I have otherwise devised with myself to keep you out of their hands. Yet notwithstanding, tomorrow, when the council sits and sends for you, resort to them. And if in charging you with this matter, they commit you to the Tower, require of them, because you are one of them, a counsellor, so that you may have your accusers brought before them without any further imprisonment. And use for yourself as good persuasions that way as you may devise. And if no entreaty or reasonable request will serve, then deliver to them this, my ring (which the king then delivered to the archbishop) and say to them, if there is no remedy, my lords, but that I must go to the Tower, then I revoke my cause from you, and appeal to the king's own person by this, his token to you all. For," the king then said to the archbishop, "as soon as they see this ring, they know it so well, that they will understand that I have resumed the whole cause into my own hands and determination, and that I have discharged them from it."

The archbishop perceiving the king's benignity towards him, had much ado to forbear tears. "Well," said the king, "Go your ways, my lord, and do as I have bidden you." Cranmer then with thanks took his leave of the king's highness for that night.

On the morrow, the council sent a gentleman usher for the archbishop. When Cranmer came to the council chamber-door, he could not be let in; but on purpose (it seemed) he was compelled to wait there all alone among the pages, lackeys, and serving men. Shortly, the archbishop was called into the council-chamber. The archbishop answered as the king had advised him, and in the end, when he perceived that no manner of persuasion could serve, he delivered the king's ring, referring his cause into the king's hands. The whole council, being somewhat amazed, immediately arose, and carried to the king his ring, surrendering the matter, as the custom was, into his own hands.

When they had all come into the king's presence, his highness, with a severe countenance, said to them,

[897] A.D. 1556.

"Ah, my lords, I thought I had wiser men of my council than I now find you. What discretion was this in you, to thus make the primate of the realm, and one of you in his office, to wait at the council chamber-door among serving men? You might have considered that he was a counsellor as well as you, and you had no such commission from me to so handle him. I was content that you should try him as a counsellor, and not as a mean subject. But now I well perceive that things are done against him maliciously, and if some of you could have had your wish, you would have tried him to the utmost. But I want you all to know, and I affirm, that if a prince may be beholden to his subject (he solemnly laid his hand upon his breast), then by the faith I owe to God, I take this man here, my lord of Canterbury, to be of all others a most faithful subject to us, and one to whom we are much beholden."

Then one or two of the leaders of the council, making their excuse, declared that in requesting his imprisonment, it was meant for his trial, and for his purgation against the common fame and slander of the world, rather than for any malice conceived against him. "Well, well, my lords," said the king, "take him and use him well, as he is worthy."

With that, every man caught Cranmer by the hand. But his enemies were determined to work his ruin with the king, if possible. And therefore it was procured by his ancient enemies, that not only the prebendaries of his cathedral church in Canterbury, but also the most famous justices of peace in the shire should accuse him. This in very deed was brought to pass. The articles were delivered to the king in such a manner, that there must follow to the archbishop, both the indignation of the prince, and the deserved punishment for his grievous offense committed by him and his chaplains, in preaching such erroneous doctrine within his diocese of Canterbury. This accusation was delivered to the king by some of the council. When the king had perused the document, he wrapped it up, and put it in his sleeve. Finding occasion to solace himself upon the Thames, he came with his barge, furnished with his musicians, along by Lambeth bridge. The noise of the musicians induced the archbishop to resort to the bridge to salute his prince. When the king perceived him standing at the bridge, he commanded the watermen to draw towards the shore, and so he came straight to the bridge.

“Ah, my chaplain,” said the king to the archbishop, “come to me into the barge.” The archbishop declared to his highness that he would take his own barge and wait upon his majesty. “No,” said the king, “you must come into my barge, for I have to talk with you.” When the king and the archbishop were set together in the barge, the king said, “I have news out of Kent for you, my lord.” The archbishop answered, “Good, I hope, if it please your highness.” “Goodness (said the king), they are so good, that I now know the greatest heretic in Kent.” And with that, he pulled out of his sleeve the articles against the archbishop and his preachers, and gave them to him, desiring him to peruse them. When the archbishop had read the articles, and saw himself so discourteously handled by his own church (I mean by the prebendaries of his cathedral church, and those of his neighbors that he had obliged in many ways, I mean the justices of the peace), it greatly grieved him. Notwithstanding, he kneeled down to the king, and besought his majesty to grant a commission to whomever it pleased his highness, to try the truth of this accusation. “In very deed,” said the king, “I do so mean, and you yourself will be chief commissioner, joined with two or three more, as you think good yourself.” “Then it will be thought,” said the archbishop to the king, “that it is not impartial, if it please your grace, that I should be my own judge, and my chaplains also.”

After three weeks, it was seen that nothing could be done, and that the whole was a popish confederacy against the archbishop. So the king appointed the archbishop to name him a dozen or sixteen of his officers and gentlemen, those who had discretion, wisdom, and courage, to whom he gave a commission to search the purses, chests, and chambers of all those who were suspected to be of this confederacy, both within the cathedral church and without, and such letters or writings as they could find about them, and to bring them to the archbishop and the king.

These men thus appointed, proceeded immediately to the persons' houses and places that they were appointed to. And within four hours afterwards the whole conspiracy was disclosed, by finding letters — some from the bishop of Winchester, some from Doctor London, at Oxford, and from justices of the shire, along with others — so that the beginning, the proceeding, and what should have been the end of their conspiracy, was now made manifest. Certain chambers and chests of gentlemen of the shire were also searched, where letters serving this purpose were also found. Among all others, two letters came into Cranmer's hands, one from the suffragan of Dover, and another from Doctor Barber, a civilian, whom the archbishop continually retained with him in his household, as a counsellor in the law. These two men having been promoted by the archbishop, he had ever

held them in such intimacy, that when the suffragan, being a prebend of Canterbury, came to him, he always set him and Barber at his own table, as men in whom he had much delight and comfort.

After Cranmer had gotten their letters into his hands, one day, when the suffragan chanced to come to his house, he called him into his study, with Doctor Barber. He said, "Come your ways with me, for I must have your advice in a matter." When they were with him in his study, he said to them,

"You are men in whom I have had much confidence. You must now give me some good counsel, for I am shamefully abused by one or two to whom I have shown all my secrets from time to time, and trusted them as myself. The matter has so now fallen out, that they have not only disclosed my secrets, but also have taken it upon themselves to accuse me of heresy, and have become witnesses against me. I require, therefore, your good advice as to how I will behave myself towards them. You are both my friends, and such as I have always used when I needed counsel. What do you say to the matter?"

"Goodness," said Doctor Barber, "such villains and knaves are worthy to be hanged out of hand without any other law." "Hanging would be too good," said the suffragan, "and if there lacked someone to do the execution, I would be hangman myself."

At these words the archbishop cast up his hands to heaven, and said, "Oh Lord, most merciful God, whom may a man trust now-a-days? What is said is most true, 'Cursed is man who trusts in man.'" There was never man handled as I am. But, O Lord, you have evermore defended me, and given me one great friend and master (meaning the king), without whose protection I would not be able to stand upright even one day. I praise your holy name therefore." And with that he pulled out of his bosom their two letters, and asked, "Do you know these letters, my masters?" With that they fell down upon their knees, and desired forgiveness, declaring how a year before they were tempted to do the same, and so very lamentably weeping and bewailing their doings, sought his grace to pardon and forgive them. "Well," said the gentle archbishop, "God make you both good men; I never deserved this at your hands. But ask God forgiveness, against whom you have highly offended. If such men as you are not to be trusted, what should I do alive? I perceive now, that there is no fidelity or trust among men. I am brought to this point now, that I fear my left hand will accuse my right hand. I need not marvel much at this, for our Savior Christ truly prophesied of such a world to come in the latter days. I beseech him of his great mercy to finish that time shortly." And so departing, he dismissed them both with gentle and comfortable words. This was the last attempt that was made against the archbishop in King Henry VIII's days. For never after did any man dare move against him. Also, after the death of King Henry VIII, under the government of his son, King Edward VI, the estate of Cranmer (who was godfather to the young king) was not impaired at all, but rather more advanced.

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During all the time of King Henry, until the entering of King Edward, it seemed that Cranmer was not yet thoroughly persuaded in the right views of the sacrament. But shortly afterwards, being more confirmed by conference with Bishop Ridley, he so profited, that at last he took upon himself the defense of that whole doctrine. That is, to refute *first* the corporeal presence; *secondly*, the fanciful transubstantiation; *thirdly*, the idolatrous adoration; *fourthly*, the false error of the papists, that wicked men can eat the natural body of Christ; and *lastly*, the blasphemous sacrifice of the mass. In conclusion, he wrote five

books for the public instruction of the church of England. That instruction yet stands to this day, and is received in this church of England.

Against these five books of the archbishop, Stephen Gardiner, the arch-enemy of the gospel, attempted an answer.

The archbishop of Canterbury learnedly and copiously replied to Gardiner, and published his answer abroad to the eyes and judgments of all men, in print.

Afterwards, King Edward fell sick. When he perceived that his death was at hand, and knowing that his sister Mary was wholly wedded to the popish religion, he bequeathed the succession of this realm to the lady Jane Grey, a lady of great birth, but of greater learning. She was niece to King Henry VIII by his sister. This was done with the consent of the council and lawyers of this realm. To this testament of the king, when all the nobles of the realm, states and judges had subscribed, they sent for the archbishop, and required him to also subscribe. But he excused himself, saying that it was otherwise in the testament of King Henry, Edward's father, and that he had sworn to the succession of Mary as then the next heir, and was so bound by this oath, that without manifest perjury, he could not go from it. The council answered that they were not ignorant of that, and they had a conscience as well as he. Moreover, they too were sworn to that testament. Therefore he should not think there was any danger in it, or that he would be in more peril of perjury than the rest of them.

To this the archbishop answered that he was judge of no man's conscience but his own. And therefore, as he would not prejudge others, so he would not commit his conscience to other men, seeing that every man should give account of his own conscience, and not of other men's. As to subscription, he utterly refused to do it before he had spoken with the king himself. The king, therefore, being asked by the archbishop concerning this matter, said that the nobles and lawyers of the realm counselled him to it, and persuaded him that the bond of the first testament could not prevent lady Jane from succeeding him as heir, and the people acknowledge her as their queen. The archbishop then asked leave of the king, that he might first talk with some lawyers who were in the court. When they all agreed that by the law of the realm it might be so, he returned to the king, and subscribed the testament.

Not long after this. King Edward died, to the great sorrow, but greater calamity of the whole realm. He was almost sixteen years old. After his decease it was immediately commanded that the lady Jane, who was very unwilling, should be proclaimed queen. The common people were much opposed to this, not that they favored Mary, but for the hatred they conceived against some of lady Jane's supporters.<sup>647</sup>

Besides this, other causes of discord happened between the nobles and the commons at the same time, for injuries of commons and enclosures, with other inordinate pollings (taxes and levies), and uncharitable dealing between the landlords and tenants. In short, the matter so fell out, that Mary hearing of the death of her brother, was so assisted by the commons, that she soon prevailed. And being established in the possession of the realm, she not long after came to London, and had the lady Jane beheaded, together with her husband, though she was tender in age and innocent of this crime. Yet neither could she by any means be turned from the constancy of her faith, as previously narrated in this history (p. 674 ff).

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<sup>647</sup> Her primary supporter was the fiercely Protestant Duke of Northumberland, who acted as regent. He persuaded Edward VI to alter the line of succession. He also secured the support of key nobles and officials, including the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Edward Montagu. Jane's father, the Duke of Suffolk, initially supported the plan, but he later abandoned her when the situation turned against her. Keep in mind that the Catholic/Protestant divide in Britain persists to this day.

The nobles, except the dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, upon paying fines, were forgiven; only the archbishop of Canterbury excepted. Though he desired pardon, he could obtain none. The queen would not grant to see him, for the old grudge against the archbishop for the divorce of her mother, still remained rankling in her breast. Besides this divorce, she remembered the state of religion, all of which she imputed to the archbishop as the cause.

While these things were going on, a rumor was extensively spread that the archbishop, to curry favor with the queen, had promised to say a dirge mass for the funeral of King Edward. Neither lacking were some who reported that he had already said mass at Canterbury. To stop this rumor, Cranmer published a writing, the tenor of which being expressed before (p. 701), I need not recite it here.

Some copies of this came into the hands of the bishops, who brought it to the council. Having sent it to the commissioners, the matter was known, and Cranmer was commanded to appear.

The archbishop accordingly appeared before the commissioners, bringing an inventory of all his goods, as he was commanded. That done, a bishop of the queen's privy council, who was one of the commissioners, after the inventory was received, mentioned the writing. "My lord," he said, "there is a bill put forth in your name, in which you seem to be aggrieved with setting up the mass again. We do not doubt that you are sorry that it has gone abroad." The archbishop answered him, saying,

"As I do not deny myself to be the very author of that bill or letter, I must confess to you that I am sorry that it went from me as it did. For when I had written it, Master Story got a copy, and it has now come abroad. I understand that the city is full of it. For this I am sorry, that it so passed from my hands. For otherwise I had intended to make it in a larger and more ample manner, and was minded to set it on St. Paul's church door, and on the doors of all the churches in London, with my own seal joined to it."

At these words, when they saw the constancy of the man, they dismissed him, affirming that they had no more at present to say to him, but that shortly he would hear further. Not long after this, he was sent to the Tower, and soon after condemned for treason. Notwithstanding the queen, when she could not honestly deny him his pardon, seeing all the rest were discharged, and especially seeing that he, last of all the others, subscribed to King Edward's request, and that was against his own will, released him from the charge of treason, and accused him only of heresy. This pleased the archbishop right well, because the cause was not his own, but Christ's; not the queen's, but the church's. Thus stood the cause of Cranmer, till at length it was determined by the queen and the council, that he should be taken from the Tower, where he was prisoner, and removed to Oxford, there to dispute with the doctors and divines. Word was sent before to those of Oxford to prepare themselves, and make themselves ready to dispute. Although the queen and the bishops had concluded before what should become of him, it pleased them that the matter should be debated with arguments, that the murder of the man might be covered under some show of disputation.

It was sufficiently declared before (p. 690 f), what this disputation was, how it was handled, what the questions and reasons were on both sides, and also Cranmer's condemnation by the university and the prolocutor. Therefore we will now proceed to his final judgment and order of condemnation, which was on the 12th of September, A.D. 1555, seven days before the condemnation of Bishop Ridley and Master Latimer. The account follows here, faithfully corrected by the report and narration of one who, being both present at it, and also

## Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

a devout favorer of the See and faction of Rome, cannot but be credited by the members of that church.

After the disputations in Oxford between the doctors of both universities, and Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, you heard how sentence condemnatory was passed against them, by which they were judged to be heretics, and committed to the mayor and sheriffs of Oxford. But as the sentence was void in law — for at that time the authority of the pope was not yet received into the land — a new commission was therefore sent from Rome, and a new process framed for the conviction of these reverend and godly men.

[899] A.D. 1556.

The commissioners came down on Thursday, the 12th of September A.D. 1555, in the church of St. Mary. In the east end of the church at the high altar, a solemn scaffold, ten feet high, was erected for Bishop Brooks, who represented the pope. The seat was made so that he might sit under the sacrament of the altar. At the right hand of the pope's delegate, beneath him, sat Doctor Martin, and on the left hand sat Dr. Story, the king and queen's commissioners, who were both doctors of the civil law. Underneath them were other doctors, scribes, and Pharisees also, with the pope's collector, and a number of such like officials.

And thus these bishops, being placed in their pontifical robes, the archbishop of Canterbury was sent for. He came out of the prison to the church of St. Mary, surrounded with armed men, for fear he would escape. He was clothed in a black gown, with his hood on both shoulders, such as doctors of divinity in the university were used to wearing. After he had come into the church, and saw them sitting in their pontifical robes, he did not put off his cap to any of them, but stood still till he was called. Then one of the proctors for the pope called for Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, to appear and answer to what would be laid to his charge; that is to say, for blasphemy, incontinency (lack of self-restraint), and heresy.

Upon this, he was brought nearer to the scaffold where the bishop sat, who represented the pope. He first viewed the place of judgment, and seeing where the king and queen's majesties' proctors were, putting off his cap, he then humbly bowed his knee to the ground, made reverence to the one, and afterwards to the other.

That done, looking the bishop in the face, he put on his bonnet again, making no token of obedience to him at all. The bishop being offended, said to him that it might become him, weighing the authority he represented, to do his duty to him. Doctor Cranmer answered, "He had once taken a solemn oath, never to consent to admitting the bishop of Rome's authority into this realm of England; that he had done it advisedly, and that he meant, by God's grace, to keep it. And therefore he would commit nothing, either by sign or token, which might argue his consent to receiving it. And so he desired the bishop to judge that he did not do it for any contempt toward his person, which he could have been content to honor as well as any other, if his commission had come from as good an authority as theirs." This he answered both modestly, wisely, and patiently, with his cap on his head, not once bowing or making any reverence to him that represented the pope's person, which was greatly marked by the people who were present there.

When they perceived that the archbishop would not remove his bonnet, the bishop proceeded as follows:

"My lord, at present we have come to you as commissioners, and for you, not intruding ourselves by our own authority, but sent by commission, partly from the pope's holiness, partly from the king and queen's most excellent majesties, not to your utter discomfort, but to

your comfort if you will yourself. We come not to judge you, but to put you in remembrance of what you have been, and shall be. Neither do we come to dispute with you, but to examine you in certain matters, which being done, will be related to him who has power to judge you.”

And then this bishop proceeded to exhort Cranmer to return to the church of Rome, and revoke the opinions he had taught. After him, Dr. Martin also addressed Cranmer on the distinction between the civil and ecclesiastical power. When Doctor Martin ended his oration, the archbishop began, as follows:

Cranmer. — “Shall I then give my answer?”

Martin. — “As you think good; no man will hinder you.”

Here the archbishop, kneeling down on both knees towards the west, said first the Lord’s prayer, then rising up he recited the articles of the creed, which done, he commenced with his protestation in form as follows;

*The Faith and Protestation of Doctor Cranmer,  
Archbishop of Canterbury, before the Commissioners.*

“This I profess concerning my faith, and make my protestation, which I desire you to note. I will never consent that the bishop of Rome will have any jurisdiction within this realm.”

Story. — “Take a note of that.”

Martin. — “Mark how you answer. You refuse him, by whose laws you remain in life, being otherwise condemned of high treason.”

Cranmer. — “I protest, before God, I was no traitor, but at my arraignment I pleaded guilty to more than was true.”

Martin. — “That is not to be reasoned about at present. You know you were condemned as a traitor; but proceed.”

Cranmer. — “I will never consent to the supremacy of the bishop of Rome; for I have made an oath to the king, and I must obey the king, by God’s laws. By the Scripture the king is chief, and no foreign person is above him in his realm. There is no subject but to a king. I am a subject; I owe my fidelity to the crown. The pope is contrary to the crown. I cannot obey both; for no man can serve two masters at once, as you declared in the beginning of your oration by the sword and keys, attributing the keys to the pope, and the sword to the king. But I say the king has both. Therefore, whoever is subject to Rome and the laws of Rome, is a perjured man; for the laws of the pope and the judges are contrary to each other. A priest breaking the laws of the realm, will be sued before a temporal judge; by the pope’s laws, the contrary is settled. The pope does the king injury in that the king has his power from the pope. The king is head in his own realm. But the pope claims all bishops, priests, curates, etc. So the pope in every realm, has a realm.

“Again, by the laws of Rome the benefice must be given by the *bishop*; by the laws of the realm, the *patron* gives the benefice. Here the laws are as contrary as fire and water.

“No man can by the laws of Rome proceed in a *praemunire*, and thus the law of the realm is expelled, and the king stands accursed in maintaining his own laws.

“The bishop of Rome is contrary to God, and injurious to his laws; for God commands all men to be diligent in the knowledge of his law. And therefore He has appointed one holy day in the week at the least, for all people to come to church and hear the word of God expounded to them. And that they might better understand it, to hear it in their mother

tongue which they know. The pope does the contrary; for he commands the service to be said in the Latin tongue, which they do not understand. God would have it understood; the pope will not. When the priest gives thanks, God would that the people should do so too, and God wills them to confess altogether; the pope will not.

“Now, as concerning the sacrament, I have taught no false doctrine respecting the sacrament of the altar. For if it can be proved by any doctor within a thousand years after Christ, that Christ’s body is really present there, I will give up. My book was written seven years ago, and no man has brought any authors against it. I believe that whoever eats and drinks that sacrament, Christ is a whole Christ in them: his nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension; but not that which corporeally sits in heaven.

“Now, Christ commands *all* to drink of the cup; the pope takes it away from the laymen. Christ enjoins us to obey the *king*. The bishop of Rome directs us to obey *him*; therefore, unless he is antichrist, I cannot tell what to make of him. For if I were to obey *him*, I cannot obey *Christ*.

“He is like the devil in his doings; for the devil said to Christ; if you will fall down and worship me, I will give you all the kingdoms of the world. Thus he took it upon himself to give that which was not his own.

[900]

Even so, the bishop of Rome gives princes their crowns, which are none of his to give. For where princes obtain their crown either by election, succession, or inheritance, he says that they should have it from him.

“Christ says that antichrist will appear. And who will he be? Whoever advances himself above all other creatures. Now, if there is no one already who has advanced himself in such a way, besides the pope, then in the meantime let him be antichrist.”

Story. — “Does it please you to make an end of this?”

Cranmer. — “For he will be the vicar of Christ, he will dispense with the Old and New Testament also, yes, and with apostasy.

“Now I have declared why I cannot, with my conscience, obey the pope. I do not say this from any hatred I bear toward him who is now in his place; for I do not know him. I pray God to give him grace not to follow his ancestors. Nor do I say this for my defense; but to declare my conscience for the zeal that I bear to God’s word, trodden underfoot by the bishop of Rome. I cast fear aside, for Christ said to his apostles, that in the latter days they would suffer much sorrow, and be put to death for his name’s sake. ‘Do not fear them,’ he says, ‘who kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear Him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.’ Also Christ says, ‘Whoever will save his life shall lose it; and whoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it.’ Moreover, he tells us to ‘confess him before men, and not be afraid; for if we do so, he will stand with us; if we shrink from him he will shrink from us.’ This is a comfortable and terrible saying; this makes me set all fear aside. I say, therefore, the bishop of Rome treads underfoot God’s laws and the king’s.

“The pope would give bishoprics; so would the king. But at last the king got the upper hand, and so all bishops are perjured (falsely sworn) *first* to the pope, and *then* to the king.

“The crown has nothing to do with the clergy! If a cleric comes before a judge, and the judge makes process against him, but not to execute any laws, then if the judge should put him to execution [of the laws], the king is accursed in having [the cleric] maintain his own laws!



Therefore, I say that the judge who first honors the pope, is neither true to God nor true to the king. But I will heartily pray for those counsellors who may inform the queen of the truth. For the king and queen, if they are well informed, will do well.”

Martin. — “As you understand it, then, if they maintain the supremacy of Rome, they cannot maintain England too.”

Cranmer. — “I require you to declare to the king and queen what I have said, and how their oaths stand with the realm and the pope. St. Gregory says, the one who takes it upon himself to be head of the universal church, is worse than the antichrist. If any man can show me that it is *not* against God’s word to hold his stirrup when he takes his horse, and kiss his feet, as kings do, then I will kiss his feet also. And you, for your part, my lord, are perjured; for now you sit as judge for the pope, and yet you received your bishopric from the king; so you have taken an oath to be an adversary to the realm, for the pope’s laws are contrary to the laws of the realm.”

Gloucester. — “You were the cause that I forsook the pope, and swore that he should not be supreme head, and gave it to King Henry VIII. You made me do this.”

Cranmer. — “To that I answer, you report ill of me, and do not say the truth; and I will prove it here before you all. The truth is that my predecessor, bishop Warham, gave the supremacy to King Henry VIII, and said that he ought to have it before the bishop of Rome, and that God’s word would justify him. Men were sent to both the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, to know what the word of God would say concerning the supremacy, and it was reasoned upon, and argued at length. So at last both universities agreed, and set their seals to it, and sent it to King Henry to the court, that he ought to be supreme head, and not the pope. You were doctor of divinity at that time, and your consent was given to it, as appears by your hand (signature). Therefore you misreport me, that I was the cause of your falling away from the pope; for it was your own act. All this was in Bishop Warham’s time, and while he was alive. So that it was three quarters of a year before I had the archbishopric of Canterbury in my hands, and before I could do anything. So that here you have reported about me that which you cannot prove.”

Gloucester. — “We come to examine you, and you, I think, examine us.”

Story. — “Please it your lordship, because it has pleased the king and queen’s majesties to appoint my companion and me to hear the examination of this man before your lordship, to give me leave to talk somewhat in that behalf. I know that in talking with heretics hurt comes to all men; for it wearies the steadfast, troubles the doubtful, and takes in snare the weak and simple. Yet, because he says he is not bound to answer your lordship sitting for the pope’s holiness, because of a *praemunire*, and the word of God, as he terms it, I think it good to say something, so that all men may see how he runs out of his race of reason into the rage of common talk, such as here I trust has done much good. Just as the king and queen’s majesties will be glad to hear of your most charitable dealing with him, so they will be weary to hear the blundering of this stubborn heretic. And where he alleges divinity, mingling *fas nefasque* (right and wrong) together, he should not have been heard. He has alleged many matters against the supremacy of the pope, maliciously. You say that the king in his realm is supreme head of the church. Well, sir, you will grant me that there was a perfect catholic church before any king was christened. Then, if it were a perfect church, it must have a head, which must be before any king was a member of it. For you know Constantine the emperor was the first christened king who ever was. And although you are bound (as St. Paul says) to obey your rulers, and kings have rule over the people, yet it does not follow

that they have cure of souls. For, *a fortiori* (with even greater reason), the head may do what the minister cannot do; but the priest may consecrate, and the king cannot; therefore the king is not head.

“Now as concerning that talk of your conscience, that is no conscience that you profess. And as yet, for all your babble, you have not proved by God’s laws that you should not answer the pope’s holiness.”

Doctor Story said much more to the same effect, as did Doctor Martin also, after which certain interrogatories were administered by the commissioners.

*Interrogatories objected to the Archbishop, with his Answers.*

First it was objected that the aforesaid Thomas Cranmer, yet being free, and before he entered into holy orders, he married one Joan, surnamed Black, or Brown, dwelling at the sign of the dolphin, in Cambridge.

To which Cranmer answered that whether she was called Black or Brown, he did not know, but that he married one Joan there, that he granted.

2. That after the death of the aforesaid wife, he entered into holy orders, and after that he was made archbishop by the pope.

He received, he said, a certain bull from the pope, which he delivered to the king, and was made archbishop by him.

3. That being in holy orders, he married another woman as his second wife, named Anne, and so he was twice married.

To this he acknowledged.

4. In the time of King Henry VIII. he kept the said wife secretly, and had children by her.

To this he also granted; affirming that it was better for him to have his own, than to do like other priests, holding and keeping other men’s wives.

5. In the time of King Edward VI, he brought out the said wife openly, affirming and publicly professing her to be his wife.

He did not deny that he did so, and lawfully might do the same, because the laws of the realm so permitted him.

[901] A.D. 1556.

6. That he was not ashamed to openly boast, that he had his wife in secret many years.

And though he did so, he said, there was no reason why he should be ashamed of it.

7. That the said Thomas Cranmer falling afterwards into the deep bottom of errors, fled and refused the authority of the church, held and followed the heresy concerning the sacrament of the altar, and also compiled, and caused to be set abroad. several books.

When the names of the books were recited to him, he denied no such books which he was the author of. As regards the treatise of Peter Martyr on the sacrament, he denied that he ever saw it before it was abroad; yet he approved and liked the same. As for the Catechism, the Book of Articles, with the other book against Winchester, he granted they were his doings.

8. That he compelled many against their wills to subscribe to the same articles.

He exhorted (he said) those who were willing to subscribe; but he compelled none against their wills.

9. Because he did not cease to perpetuate enormous and inordinate crimes, he was therefore cast into the Tower, and from there was brought to Oxford, at which time it was commonly thought that the parliament should be held there.

To this he said, that he knew no such enormous and inordinate crimes that he ever committed.

10. That in the said city of Oxford he openly maintained his heresy, and there he was convicted upon the same.

There he defended the cause of the sacrament, he said, but denied he was convicted in that.

11. When he persevered in the same, he was pronounced a heretic by the public censure of the University, and his books were pronounced heretical.

That he was so denounced, he did not deny; but he denied that he was a heretic, or that his books were heretical.

12. That he was and is notoriously a promoter of schism, as one who not only himself receded from the Catholic church and the See of Rome, but also moved the king and subjects of this realm to do the same.

As regards his receding, that he freely granted; but such receding or departing (he said) was only from the See of Rome, and there was no matter of any schism in it.

13. That he had been twice sworn to the pope; and Doctor Martin brought out the instrument of the public notary, in which was contained his protestation made when he was to be consecrated, asking if he had protested anything else.

He answered, that he did nothing but by the laws of the realm.

14. That he, the said archbishop of Canterbury, not only offended in the premises, but also in taking upon himself the authority of the See of Rome, in that without leave or license from the said See, he consecrated bishops and priests.

He granted that he executed things which were usually referred to the pope, at the time when that was permitted to him by the public laws and determination of the realm.

15. That when the whole realm had subscribed to the authority of the pope, he alone still persisted in his error.

That he did not admit the pope's authority, he confessed to be true, but that he erred in doing that, he denied.

16. That all and singular of the premises are true.

That likewise he granted, except those things to which he had now answered.

After he had thus answered to the objections, the judges and commissioners, now having accomplished what they came for, were about to rise up and depart. But the bishop of Gloucester, thinking it not best to so dismiss the people, being somewhat stirred by the words of the archbishop, began in the hearing of the people, to thus declaim Cranmer:

“Master Cranmer (I cannot otherwise term you, considering your obstinacy), I am right sorry, I am right heartily sorry to hear such words escape your mouth so unadvisedly. I had conceived a right good hope of your amendment. I supposed that this obstinacy of yours did

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not come from a vain glory, but rather from a corrupt conscience, which was the reason that I hoped so well of your return. But now I perceive by your foolish babble, that it is far otherwise. You are so puffed up with vain glory, such a heresy has crept into your conscience, that I am clean void of hope, and my hope is turned into perdition.

“Although I would of myself reason with you, to satisfy this audience, yet I may not by our commission, nor can I find how I may do it by the Scriptures. For the apostle commands that such a one should not only not be talked with, but also shunned and avoided.

“Nevertheless, although I do not intend to reason with you, but to give you up as an abject and outcast from God’s favor, yet because you have uttered to the annoyance of the people, such pestilent heresies as may do harm among some who are unrefined and unlearned, I think it fitting to say something — not because I hope to have any good at your hands, which I would willingly wish, but that I may establish the simple people who are present, lest being seduced by your diabolical doctrine, they may perish thereby.”

He then endeavored to vindicate his own proceeding. When he ceased, Dr. Martin said:

“You, master Cranmer, have made a goodly process concerning your heretical oath made to the king, but you forget your oath made to the apostolic See. As concerning your oath made to the king, if you made it to him alone, it came to an end by his death, and so you are released from it. If you made it to his successors, the true successors have the empire, and they desire you to dissolve the same, and become a member of Christ’s church again, and it stands well with charity.”

To this the archbishop answered, but the reporter, being a papist, has omitted the answer and he returns to the words of Doctor Story, who imperiously turning to the archbishop said:

“Hold your peace, sir, and so it will right well become you, considering that I gave you license before to say your fancy. Your oath was no oath: for it lacked the three points of an oath.”

They then proceeded with the form of examining witnesses. The archbishop was commanded again to the place from where he came. At his departing, as at his coming in, he made obeisance to Doctor Martin, and to Doctor Story, the queen’s commissioners. Then Doctor Story pointing to the bishop of Gloucester who represented the pope, said that he should rather give reverence to him. But the archbishop departed without giving any obeisance to the bishop. All the others rose up, and went every one to his own residence. And thus the session for that day broke up.

During the examination, Doctor Martin had demanded of Cranmer, who was the supreme head of the church of England?

“Goodness,” said my lord of Canterbury, “Christ is head of this member, as he is of the whole body of the universal church.”

“Why,” replied Dr. Martin, “you made king Henry VIII supreme head of the church.”

“Yea,” said the Archbishop, “of all the people of England, ecclesiastical as well as temporal.”

“And not of the church.” said Martin.

“No,” he said, “for Christ alone is the head of his church, and of the faith and religion of the same. The king is head and governor of his people, which are the visible church.”

“What,” said Martin, “you never dared tell the king so?”

“Yes, that I dared,” replied Cranmer, “and that I did. In the publication of his style, in which he was named supreme head of the church, there was never another thing meant. ‘

[902]

*Doctor Thirleby, and Doctor Bonner, appointed as a new  
Commission to sit upon the Archbishop’s case, on the 14th of February.*

The letter or sentence definitive of the pope was dated about the 1st of January, and was delivered here in England about the middle of February. Upon receipt of the letter, another session was appointed, and the archbishop was summoned to appear on the 14th day of February, before certain commissioners directed down by the queen. The chief of them was the bishop of Ely, Doctor Thirleby. Concerning this Doctor Thirleby it is to be observed here, that although he was not the archbishop’s household chaplain, yet he was so familiarly acquainted with him, so dearly beloved, so inwardly accepted and advanced by him (not like a chaplain, but rather like a brother) that there was never anything in the archbishop’s house so dear — be it plate, jewel, horse, maps, books, or anything else — if Thirleby ever so little commended it, the archbishop by and by either gave it to him, or else afterward sent it to his house. So greatly was the archbishop attached to him, that whoever would obtain anything from him, most commonly would make their suit first to Doctor Thirleby.

With the bishop of Ely, Bonner, bishop of London, was also assigned in the same commission. Coming to Oxford on St. Valentine’s day as the pope’s delegates, with a new commission from Rome, they commanded the archbishop to come before them in the choir of Christ’s church, before the high altar, where they sat in their pontifical robes. They first began, as the custom was, to read their commission. In this it was contained how in the court of Rome, all things being examined — both the articles laid to his charge, with the answers made to them, and witnesses examined on both parts — and council heard on the king and queen’s behalf, as well as on behalf of Thomas Cranmer, so that he lacked nothing pertaining to his necessary defense, etc., as it was in reading. “Oh,” said the archbishop, “what lies are these, that being continually in prison, and never allowed to have council or advocate at home, I should produce witnesses and appoint my council at Rome? God must punish this open and shameless lying.” They read on the commission, *Plenitudine protestatis* (in full protest) supplying all manner of defects in law or process, and giving them full authority to proceed to deprivation and degradation. Upon excommunication, they were to deliver him up to the secular power, without any appeal.

When the commission was read, they proceeded to his degradation. They first clothed and disguised him, putting a surplice on him, and then an albe; after that the vestment of a subdeacon, and every other furnishing, as a priest ready for mass.

When they had apparelled him so far, he said, “What, I think I will say mass.”

“Yes,” said Cosins, one of Bonner’s chaplains, “My lord, I trust to see you say mass for all this.”

“Do you?” He said, “That you will never see, nor will I ever do it.”

Then they invested him with all manner of robes used by a bishop and archbishop at their installation, except that because everything then is most rich and costly, so everything on this occasion was canvas and old cloth, with a miter and a pall of the same kind put on him in mockery; and then the crosier-staff was put in his hand.

This being done in the pope’s pontifical form and manner, Bonner, who for many years had borne, it seemed, no great good will towards Cranmer, and now rejoicing to see this day in

which he might triumph over him and take his pleasure at full, began to use all his eloquence, making his oration to the assembly in this manner:

“This is the man who has ever despised the pope’s holiness, and now is to be judged by him. This is the man who has pulled down so many churches, and now has come to be judged in a church. This is the man who contemned the blessed sacrament of the altar, and now has come to be condemned before that blessed sacrament hanging over the altar. This is the man who, like Lucifer, sat in the place of Christ upon an altar to judge others, and now has come before an altar to be judged himself.”

After all this mockery was finished, they began to degrade him. They first proceeded to take his crosier staff out of his hands, which he held fast and refused to deliver. Imitating the example of Martin Luther, he pulled an appeal out of his left sleeve under the wrist, which he delivered to them there and then, saying, ‘I appeal to the next general council. And in this I have comprehended my cause and the form of it, which I desire may be admitted.’ He asked diverse standers-by, by name, to be witnesses of it.

This appeal being put up to the bishop of Ely, he said, “My lord, our commission is to proceed against you, without any appeal, and therefore we cannot admit it.”

“Why,” Cranmer said, “then you do me even more wrong. For my case is not like every private man’s case. The matter is between the pope and me, and none other. And I think no man ought to be a judge in his own cause.”

“Well,” replied Ely, “if it may be admitted it will,” and so he received it from him. And then Ely began to persuade earnestly with the archbishop to consider Cranmer’s state, and to weigh it well while there was time, promising to become a suitor to the king and queen for him. And so he protested his great love and friendship that had been between them, heartily weeping, so that for a time he could not go on. The archbishop gently replied, he was very well content. And so they proceeded to his degradation. The perfect form of it, with all the rites and ceremonies, was taken out of the pope’s pontifical.

When they came to take off his pall (which is a solemn vesture of an archbishop) Cranmer said, “Which of you has a pall, to take off my pall?” This imported as much as that being his inferiors, they could not degrade him. One of them said that, as they were but bishops, they were his inferiors, and not competent judges. But being the pope’s delegates, they might take his pall. And so immediately they took everything from him. Then a barber clipped his hair round about, and the bishop scraped the tops of his fingers where he had been anointed, in which bishop Bonner behaved himself as roughly and unmannerly as the other bishop was soft and gentle. Last of all, they stripped him out of his gown to his jacket, and put a poor yeoman beadle’s gown upon him, both bare and slovenly made as one could see, and a towns-man’s cap on his head. And so they delivered him to the secular power.

After this pageant of degradation, and all was finished, lord Bonner spoke, “Now you are no lord any longer.” And so, whenever Bonner spoke to the people of Cranmer, he used this term, “This gentleman here, etc.” Thus attired, Cranmer was conveyed to prison, exciting the compassion and pity of every beholder.

While the archbishop was in prison (where he had been kept now for almost three years), the doctors and divines of Oxford busied themselves about him to induce him to recant, trying by all crafty practices and allurements to bring their purpose to pass. And to the intent that they might win him easily, they invited him to the dean’s house of Christ’s-church, in the university, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at the bowls, had his pleasure for walking, and all other things that might bring him from Christ. Over and

besides all this, they secretly suborned men who, when they could not refute him by arguments and disputation, would by entreaty and fair promises, or any other means, allure him to recant — perceiving otherwise what a great wound they would receive if the archbishop stood steadfast in his profession. And again, on the other side, they perceived how great a profit they would get if Cranmer, as the principal standard-bearer, should be overthrown. Because of this, the wily papists flocked about him, with threatening, flattering, entreating, promising, and all other means.

First, they set forth how acceptable that would be, both to the king and queen, and especially how gainful to him and for his soul's health. They added, moreover, how the council and the noblemen bore him good will.

[903] A.D. 1556

They put him in hope that he would not only have his life, but also be restored to his ancient dignity, saying it was but a small matter, and what they required him to do was so easy: only that he would subscribe to a few words with his own hand. If he did that, there would be nothing in the realm that the queen would not easily grant him, whether he would have riches or dignity. Or else, if he would rather live a private life in retirement, in whatever place he desired, without any public ministry, he only need set his name in two words to a little leaf of paper. But if he refused, there was no hope of pardon; for the queen was so purposed, that she would either have Cranmer a catholic, or else have no Cranmer at all. Therefore he should choose whether he thought it better to end his life shortly in the flames now ready to be kindled, than to prolong his life with much honor until the course of nature called him, for there was no middle way.

Moreover, they exhorted him that he should look to his wealth, his estimation, and quietness, saying that he was not so old, but that many years might yet remain to him in this life. If he would not do it in respect of the queen, he might do it for his own sake, and not suffer that other men should be more careful for his health, than he was himself. They said that this was agreeable to his notable learning and virtues which, being joined with his life, would be profitable both to himself and to many others. But being extinct by death would be fruitful to no man. He should take good heed that he not go too far; there was yet time enough safely to restore all things, and nothing was wanting if he wanted not to himself. Therefore they exhorted him to lay hold upon the occasion of his health while it was offered, lest if he refused it now while offered, he might hereafter seek it when he could not have it.

Finally, if the desire for life did nothing to move him, he should remember that to die is grievous at all times. But especially in these years of his, in the flower of dignity, it would be more grievous. But to die in the fire and such torments, is most grievous of all. With these and like persuasions, these fair flatterers did not cease to solicit and urge him, using all means they could, to draw him to their side. His manly constancy resisted their force a great while. But at last, when they made no end of calling and enticing him, the archbishop being overcome — whether through their importunity, or by his own imbecility, or of what mind I cannot tell — at length he put his hand to his recantation. The following is a copy of it:

“I, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, do renounce, abhor, and detest all manner of heresies and errors of Luther and Zuinglius, and all other teachings which are contrary to sound and true doctrine. And I believe most constantly in my heart, and with my mouth I confess one holy and catholic church visible, without which there is no salvation. And of this church I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to be supreme head in earth, whom I acknowledge to be the highest bishop and pope, and Christ's vicar, to whom all Christian people ought to be subject.

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“And as concerning the sacraments, I believe and worship in the sacrament of the altar the very body and blood of Christ, being contained most truly under the forms of bread and wine; the bread through the mighty power of God being turned into the body of our Savior Jesus Christ, and the wine into his blood.

“And in the other six sacraments also (just as in this) I believe and hold as the universal church holds, and the church of Rome judges and determines.

“Furthermore, I believe that there is a place of purgatory, where souls departed are punished for a time, for whom the church godly and wholesomely prays, just as it honors saints and makes prayers to them.

“Finally, in all things I profess that I do not believe otherwise than the catholic church and church of Rome holds and teaches. I am sorry that I ever held or thought otherwise. And I beseech Almighty God, that of his mercy he will grant to forgive me whatever I have offended against God or his church, and I also desire and beseech all Christian people to pray for me.

“And all those who have been deceived either by my example or doctrine, I require them by the blood of Jesus Christ, that they will return to the unity of the church, that we may be all of one mind, without schism or division.

“And to conclude, just as I submit myself to the catholic church of Christ, and to the supreme head of it, so I submit myself to the most excellent majesties of Philip and Mary, King and Queen of this realm of England, etc. and to all other of their laws and ordinances, being ready always as a faithful subject ever to obey them. And God is my witness, that I have not done this for favor or fear of any person, but willingly and of my own mind, to the discharge of my own conscience, as well as to the instruction of others.”

This recantation of the archbishop was no sooner written, than the doctors and prelates without delay had it printed and sent abroad into all men's hands. The queen, having now gotten a time to revenge her old grief, received his recantation very gladly. But she would not relent of her purpose to put him to death.

Cranmer was now in a miserable state. Inwardly, he had no quietness in his own conscience; and outwardly he had no help in his adversaries.

Besides this, on one side was praise, on the other side scorn, on both sides danger. So that, he could neither die honestly, nor yet live dishonestly. And where he sought profit, he fell into double disprofit; so that he could neither avoid secret shame with good men, nor could he avoid the note of dissimulation with evil men.

In the meantime, the queen, taking secret counsel as to how to dispatch Cranmer out of the way, appointed Dr. Cole, and secretly commanded him that against the 21st of March, he should prepare a funeral sermon for Cranmer's burning.

Soon after, the Lord Williams of Thame, and the Lord Chaudois, Sir Thomas Bridges, and Sir John Brown were sent for, with other worshipful men and justices. They were commanded in the queen's name to be at Oxford on the same day, with their servants and retinue, lest Cranmer's death raise any tumult there.

Cole, charged by the queen's commandment, returned to Oxford. As the day of execution drew near, even the day before, he came into the prison to Cranmer, to see whether he abode in the catholic faith in which before he had left him. When Cranmer answered him, that by God's grace he would daily be more confirmed in the catholic faith, Cole departed for that time. On the next day he repaired to the archbishop again, giving no signification as yet of his death, that he was prepared. And therefore in the morning, which was the 21st day of



March appointed for Cranmer's execution, Cole came to him asking if he had any money. When he answered that he had none, Cole delivered to him fifteen crowns to give to the poor, to whom he would. After exhorting him as much as he could to constancy in faith, he departed.

By this, and other like arguments, the archbishop began more and more to surmise what they went about to do. Then because the day was not far past, and the lords and knights who were looked for had not yet come, the Spanish friar came to him, a witness of his recantation, bringing a paper with articles which Cranmer should only profess in his recantation before the people, earnestly desiring him to write the document and the articles with his own hand, and sign it with his name. When Cranmer had done this, the friar desired him to write another copy which would remain with him, and that he did also. The archbishop, however, not being ignorant of what their secret devices tended to, and thinking that the time was at hand in which he could no longer dissemble the profession of his faith with Christ's people, he secretly put in his bosom his prayer with his exhortation written on another paper. He minded to recite it to the people before he would make his last profession of his faith. He feared that if they heard the confession of his faith first, they would not afterwards have allowed him to exhort the people.

[904]

Soon after nine o'clock, the Lord Williams, Sir Thomas Bridges, Sir John Browne, and the other justices, with certain other noblemen who were sent by the queen's council, came to Oxford with a great train. There was also a great concourse of people of both parties, filled with great expectation. For first of all, those who were of the pope's side were in great hope that day to hear something from Cranmer that would establish their opinion. The other part, who were endued with a better mind, could not yet believe that the one who by continual study and labor for so many years, had set forth the doctrine of the gospel, either would or could now in the last act of his life forsake his religion. Briefly, as every man's will inclined, either to this part or to that, so according to the diversity of their desires, every man wished and hoped for that which he was gathered there to hear and behold.

Cranmer at length, because it was a foul and rainy day, was brought from prison to St. Mary's church, the chief church in the university, in this order. The mayor went before, next to him the aldermen in their place and degree; after them was Cranmer, placed between two friars, who saying to and fro certain psalms in the streets, answered one another until they came to the church door. There they began the song of Simeon; and entering into the church, the psalm-saying friars brought him to his standing, and left him there. A stage was set over against the pulpit where Cranmer had his standing, waiting until Cole was ready with his sermon.

The lamentable case of this man gave a sorrowful spectacle to all Christian eyes who beheld him. He that of late was archbishop, metropolitan, and primate of England, and the king's privy counsellor, now being in a bare and ragged gown, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, admonished men not only of his own calamity, but also of their state and fortune. For who would not pity his case and bewail his fortune, and might not fear his own liability, to see such a prelate, so grave a councilor, and of so long continued honor, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and to end his life in so painful a death; and also to descend from such showy and costly ornaments, to such vile and ragged apparel?

In this habit, when he had stood a good while upon the stage, turning to a pillar adjoining nearby, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed to God once or twice, till at length Doctor Cole coming into the pulpit, began his sermon.

It would be too long to detail this sermon, which concluded with a reference to Cranmer's recantation. He glorified God much in it, because it appeared to be only God's work, declaring what conference had been held with him to convert him, and all did not prevail till it pleased God of his mercy to reclaim him, and call him home. In discoursing about this place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doings, thus tempering his judgment and talk of him, so that all the time he flowed in riches and honor, Cranmer was unworthy of his life. And now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But lest he carry with him no comfort, he would diligently labor, he said, and also promised in the name of all the priests who were present, that immediately after Cranmer's death there should be dirges, masses, and funerals executed for him in all the churches of Oxford for the succor of his soul.

With what great grief of mind Cranmer stood all the time hearing this sermon, the outward motions of his body and countenance better expressed than any man can declare — at one time lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, and then again for shame letting them down to the earth. A man might have seen the very image of perfect sorrow lively expressed in him. More than twenty distinct times the tears flowed abundantly, dropping down from his fatherly face. Those who were present testified that they never saw in any child more tears than burst out from him at that time, during the whole sermon; but especially when they recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiseration and pity moved all men's hearts, who beheld so heavy a countenance, and such abundance of tears in an old man of such reverend dignity.

Cole, after he ended his sermon, called back the people who were ready to depart to prayers. "Brethren," he said, "lest any man doubt this man's earnest conversion and repentance, you will hear him speak before you. And therefore I pray you. Master Cranmer, that you will now perform what you promised not long ago; namely, that you would openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith, so that you may take away all suspicion from men, and that all men may understand that you are a catholic indeed."

"I will do it," said the archbishop, "and do it with a good will." By and by, rising up and putting off his cap, he began to speak thus to the people:

"I desire you, well-beloved brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me, to forgive me my sins which I have committed above all men, both in number and greatness. But among all the rest, there is one offense which most of all at this time vexes and troubles me, of which in the process of my talk you will hear more in its proper place."

And then putting his hand into his bosom, he drew out his prayer, and added,

"Good Christian people, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my sins and offenses, which are without number, and great above measure. Yet one thing grieves my conscience more than all the rest, of which, God willing, I intend to speak more hereafter. But however great and many my sins are, I beseech you to pray God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them all."

And here kneeling down, he said:

"O Father of heaven, O Son of God, Redeemer of the world; O Holy Spirit, three Persons and one God, have mercy upon me, most wretched and miserable sinner. I have offended both

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against heaven and earth, more than my tongue can express. Where then may I go, or where shall I flee? I may be ashamed to lift up my eyes to heaven, and on earth I find no place of refuge or succor. To you, therefore, O Lord, I run. To you I humble myself, saying, O Lord my God, my sins are great, yet have mercy upon me for your great mercy. The great mystery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offenses. You did not give your Son, O heavenly Father, unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner returns to you with his whole heart, as I do here at this present time. Therefore have mercy on me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy; have mercy upon me, O Lord, for your great mercy. I crave nothing for my own merits, but for your name's sake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for your dear Son Jesus Christ's sake. And now, therefore, Our Father of heaven, hallowed be your name, etc."

And then rising, he said;

"Every man, good people, desires at the time of his death to give some good exhortation that others may remember it before their own death, and be the better by it. So I beseech God to grant me grace, that I may say something at this my departing, by which God may be glorified, and you be edified.

"First, it is a cause of much grief to see that so many folk dote so much upon the love of this false world, and are so careful for it, while they seem to care very little or nothing for the love of God, or the world to come. Therefore this shall be my first exhortation: "That you do not set your minds overmuch upon this deceiving world, but upon God, and upon the world to come, and to learn to know what this lesson means which St. John teaches, That the love of this world is hatred against God."

[905] A.D. 1556.

"The second exhortation is that, 'next under God you obey your king and queen willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging; not for fear of them alone, but much more for the fear of God — knowing that they are God's ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you. And therefore whoever resists them, resists the ordinance of God.'

"The third exhortation is that you love altogether like brethren and sisters. For alas! It is a pity to see what contention and hatred one Christian man bears to another, not taking each other as brother and sister, but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and practice well this one lesson: 'To do good to all men, as much as it lies in you, and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your own natural loving brother or sister.' For this you may be sure of, that whoever hates any person, and goes about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, surely, and without any doubt, God is not with that man, even if he thinks himself ever so much in God's favor.

"The fourth exhortation will be to those who have great substance and riches of this world, that they well consider and weigh three sayings of the Scripture.

One is of our Savior Christ himself, who says, 'How hard it is for those who have riches to enter into the kingdom of God!' (Luk 18.24) A hard saying, and yet spoken by Him who knows the truth.

"The second is from St. John, who says, 'But whoever has this world's goods, and sees his brother in need, and shuts off his compassion from him, how does the love of God dwell in him?' 1Joh 3.17.

"The third is from St. James, who speaks to the covetous rich men in this manner, 'Come now, you rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that will come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the

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rust of them will be a witness against you, and will eat your flesh as if it were fire. You have heaped treasure together for the last days.' (Jas 5.1-3)

Let those who are rich ponder well these three sentences. For if they ever had occasion to show their charity, they have it now at present, the poor people being so many, and victuals so dear.

“And now, I have come to the last end of my life, upon which hangs all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my master Christ forever in joy, or else to be in pain forever with wicked devils in hell. I see before my eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up. I will therefore declare to you my very faith, how I believe, without any color of dissimulation. For now is no time to dissemble, whatever I have said or written in times past.

“First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, etc. And I believe every article of the catholic faith, every word, and sentence taught by our Savior Jesus Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the new and old testament.

“And now I come to the great thing which so much troubles my conscience, more than anything I ever did or said in my whole life. And that is setting abroad a writing contrary to the truth, which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life if possible. That is, I renounce all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, in which I have written many untrue things. And because my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished for it. For when I come to the fire it shall be first burned.

“And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine.

“And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester. This book teaches so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it will stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine will be ashamed to show her face.”

Here all the bystanders were astonished, marvelled, amazed, and looked one upon another, whose expectation he had so notably deceived. Some began to admonish him of his recantation, and to accuse him of falsehood.

Briefly, it was a victory to see the doctors beguiled of so great a hope. I think there was never cruelty more strikingly or better in time deluded and deceived. For it is not to be doubted that they looked for a glorious victory, and a perpetual triumph, by Cranmer's recantation.

As soon, therefore, as the popish party heard these things, they began to rage, fret, and fume. And so much the more, because they could not revenge their grief. For now they could no longer threaten or hurt him. The most miserable man in the world can die but once. And whereas of necessity he must die that day, though the papists had been ever so well pleased, now being ever so much offended by him, he could not be killed twice. And so when they could do nothing else, lest they say nothing, they did not cease to object to him his falsehood and dissimulation.

To this accusation, he answered, “Ah, my masters, do not take it so. Always since I lived up to now, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity. And never before the time of my recantation have I dissembled.” In saying this, all the tears that remained in his body appeared in his eyes. And when he began to speak more of the sacrament and of the papacy, some of them began to cry out, and especially Cole cried out upon him, “Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away.”

And then Cranmer, being pulled down from the stage, was led to the fire, accompanied with those friars, vexing, troubling, and threatening him most cruelly. “What madness,” they said, “has brought you back into this error by which you will draw innumerable souls with you into hell?” To them he answered nothing, but he directed all his talk to the people. He spoke to someone troubling him on the way, and exhorted him to get him home to his study, and apply to his book diligently, saying that if he diligently called upon God, by reading more he would get knowledge.

But when he came to the place where the holy bishops and martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Ridley, were burnt before him for the confession of the truth, he kneeled down and prayed to God. But he did not tarry long in his prayers, for he put off his garments to his shirt, and prepared himself for death. His shirt was made long down to his feet, which were bare; and his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare that not one hair could be seen upon it. His beard was long and thick, covering his face with marvellous gravity. Such a countenance of gravity moved the hearts both of his friends, and of his enemies.

Then an iron chain was tied about Cranmer. And when they perceived him to be more steadfast than to be moved from his sentence, they commanded the fire to be set to him.

When the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, stretching out his arm, he put his right hand into the flame, which he held so steadfast and immovable, that all men might see his hand burned before his body was touched. His body so abided the burning of the flame with such constancy and steadfastness, that standing always in one place without moving his body, he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound. His eyes were lifted up to heaven, and oftentimes he repeated “this unworthy right hand;” so long as his voice would allow him. And often using the words of Stephen, ‘Lord Jesus, receive my spirit,’ in the greatness of the flame, he gave up the ghost.

This was the end of this learned archbishop whom, lest by subscribing to evil he might have perished, but by well recanting, God preserved him. And lest he might have lived longer with shame and reproof, it pleased God rather to take him away, to the glory of His name, and the profit of His church. So good was the Lord both to his church, in fortifying with it the testimony and blood of such a martyr, and so good also to the man with this cross of tribulation, to purge his offenses in this world — not only of his recantation, but also of his standing against John Lambert (p. 564) and Master Allen (p. 813), or if there were any others, with whose burning and blood his hands had been polluted. But especially he had to rejoice that dying in such a cause, he was numbered among Christ’s martyrs.

[806]

***Archbishop Cranmer’s Letter to the Queen’s Highness.***

“It may please your majesty to pardon my presumption that I dare be so bold to write to your highness. But very necessity constrains me, that your majesty may know my mind by my own writing, rather than by other men’s reports. So it is that upon Wednesday, being the 12th of this month, I was cited to appear at Rome on the eightieth day after, there to answer such matters as would be objected against me on behalf of the king and your most excellent majesty. The Thursday following, these matters were objected against me by Doctor Martin and Doctor Story, your majesty’s proctors before the bishop of Gloucester, sitting in judgment by commission from Rome. But alas! It cannot but grieve the heart of a natural subject, to be accused by the king and queen of his own realm, and especially before a foreign judge, or by authority coming from any person outside of this realm, where the king and queen, as if they were subjects within their own realm, will complain and require justice at a stranger’s hands

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against their own subject, being already condemned to death by their own laws. It is as though the king and queen could not do or have justice within their own realms, against their own subjects, but they must seek it at a stranger's hands in a strange land. The like of which, I think, was never seen. I would have wished to have had some meaner adversaries: and, I think, that death will not grieve me much more, than to have my most dread and most gracious sovereign lord and lady, to whom, under God I owe all obedience, to be my accusers in judgment within their own realm, before any stranger and foreign power. But because in the time of the prince of most famous memory, King Henry VIII, your grace's father, I was sworn never to consent to the bishop of Rome having or exercising any authority or jurisdiction in this realm of England, therefore, lest I allow his authority contrary to my own oath, I refused to answer the bishop of Gloucester sitting here in judgment by the pope's authority, lest I run into perjury.

“Another reason why I refused the pope's authority is this: that his authority, as he claims it, is repugnant to the imperial crown of this realm, and to its laws, which every true subject is bound to defend. First, because the pope says that all manner of power, temporal as well as spiritual, is given first to him by God; and that he gives the temporal power to emperors and kings, to use it under him, such that it is always at his beck and command. <sup>648</sup>

“But contrary to this claim, the imperial crown and temporal jurisdiction of this realm is taken immediately from God, to be used under Him alone, and is subject to none but God alone.

“Moreover, the king in his coronation, and all justices when they receive their offices, are sworn to obey the imperial laws and customs of this realm, which the whole realm is bound to defend and maintain. But contrary to this, the pope by his authority makes void, and commands to blot out of our books, all laws and customs that are repugnant to his laws, and he declares accursed all rulers and governors, all the makers, writers, and executors of all such laws or customs. This appears by many of the pope's laws, one or two of which I will recite. In the decrees, Dist. 10, is written thus, ‘The constitutions or statutes enacted against the canons and decrees of the bishops of Rome or their good customs, are of no effect.’ Also, ‘We excommunicate all heretics of both sexes, whatever name they are called by, and their fathers, and preceptors, and defenders; and also those who will hereafter cause to be observed the statutes and customs made against the liberty of the church, unless they cause the same to be put out of their records and chapters within two months after their publication. Also we excommunicate the statute makers and writers of those statutes, and all the potentates, consuls, governors and counsellors of places where such statutes and customs are made or kept; and also those who will presume to give judgment according to them, or will notify in public form, the matter so adjudged.’

“Now by these laws, if the bishop of Rome's authority which he claims by God, is lawful, then all your grace's laws and customs of your realm, being contrary to the pope's laws, are naught, and your majesty, as well as your judges, justices, and all other executors of the same, stand accursed among heretics, which God forbid! And yet this curse can never be avoided (if the pope has such power as he claims), until such times as the laws and customs of this realm (being contrary to his laws) are taken away, and blotted out of the law books. And even though there are many laws of this realm contrary to the laws of Rome, I named but a few, so as to convict a cleric before any temporal judge of this realm, for debt, felony, murder, or for any other crime. These clerics, by the pope's laws, are so exempt from the king's laws, that they can be sued nowhere except before their ordinary.

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<sup>648</sup> To be completely subservient to someone, ready to do whatever they ask at any time.

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“Also the pope, by his laws, may give all bishoprics and benefices spiritual; which, by the laws of this realm, can be given only by the king and other patrons of the same, except they fall into the lapse.

“By the pope’s laws, the rights of the patron shall be sued only before the ecclesiastical judge; but by the laws of the realm, it shall be sued before the temporal judge.

“To be brief, the laws of this realm agree with the pope’s laws like fire and water. And yet the kings of this realm have provided for their laws by the *praemunire*; so that if any man has hindered the execution of the laws of this realm, by any authority from the See of Rome, he falls into *praemunire*.<sup>649</sup>

“But to meet with this, the popes have provided for their laws by cursing. For whoever hinders the pope’s laws to have full course within this realm, stands accursed by the pope’s power. So that the popes power treads all the laws and customs of this realm under his feet, cursing all who execute them, until such time as they give way to his laws.

“But it may be said that notwithstanding all the pope’s decrees, we still execute the laws and customs of this realm. But not all quietly without any interruption from the pope. And where we do execute them, we do it unjustly if the pope’s power is of force; and for doing that, we stand excommunicated, and will be until we abandon the execution of our own laws and customs. Thus we are well-reconciled to Rome, by allowing such authority whereby the realm stands accursed before God, if the pope has any such authority.

“These things, I suppose, were not fully revealed in the parliament house when the pope’s authority was received again within this realm. For if they had been, I do not believe that either the king or queen’s majesty, or the nobles of this realm, or the commons, would ever have consented to receive again such a foreign authority, so injurious, hurtful, and prejudicial to the crown as well as to the laws and customs and state of this realm, as by which they must acknowledge themselves to be accursed. But none could reveal this matter well but the clergy, and such of them who had read the pope’s laws by which the pope had made himself a god, as it were. These seek to maintain the pope, whom they desire to have as their chief head, to the intent they might have, as it were, a kingdom and laws within themselves, distinct from the laws of the crown, and with which the crown may not meddle. And so, being exempted from the laws of the realm, they might live in this realm like lords and kings, without damage or fear from any man, so long as they please their high and supreme head at Rome. For this consideration, I suppose, some who knew the truth held their peace in the parliament. Whereas, if they had done their duty to the crown and the whole realm, they would have opened their mouths, declared the truth, and shown the perils and dangers that might ensue to the crown and realm.

“And if I were to agree to allow such authority within this realm, by which I must confess that your most gracious highness, and also your realm would ever continue accursed until you cease from the execution of your own laws and customs of your realm, then I could not think myself true either to your highness, or to this my natural country, knowing what I know.

[907] A.D. 1556.

“Ignorance, I know, may excuse other men; but whoever knows how prejudicial and injurious the power and authority which the Pope claims everywhere, is to the crown, laws, and customs of this realm, and yet would allow the same, I cannot see in any way how he can keep his due allegiance, fidelity, and truth to the crown and state of this realm.

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<sup>649</sup> *Praemunire*: the offense of asserting or maintaining papal jurisdiction in England.

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“Another reason I alleged why I could not allow the authority of the pope is this: That by his authority he subverts not only the laws of this realm, but also the laws of God. So that whoever is under his authority, he does not allow them to be purely under Christ’s religion, as Christ commanded. For one example, I brought forth that by God’s laws all Christian people are bound diligently to learn His word, so that they may know how to believe, and how to live accordingly. For that purpose He ordained holidays, when putting aside all other business, they should give themselves wholly to know and serve God. Therefore, God’s will and commandment is that when the people are gathered together, ministers should use such language as the people may understand and profit from, or else hold their peace. For like a harp or lute, if it gives no certain sound that men may know what tune is struck, who can dance accordingly? For all the sound is in vain. So too it is in vain, and it profits nothing, says Almighty God by the mouth of St. Paul, if the priest speaks to the people in a language which they do not know. ‘Though he may edify himself, he does not edify the people.’ But in this I was answered thus: that St. Paul spoke only of preaching — that the preacher should preach in a tongue which the people knew, or else his preaching avails nothing. Yet if preaching avails nothing, being spoken in a language which the people do not understand, then how would any other service avail them, being spoken in the same language? St. Paul did not mean only preaching, as it appears plainly by his own words. For he expressly speaks of praying, singing, and thanking God, and of all other things which the priests say in the churches, to which the people say Amen. This they do not use in preaching, but in other divine service.

“So that, whether the priests recite the wonderful works of God, or the great benefits of God to mankind above all other creatures, or they give thanks to God, or make open profession of their faith, or a humble confession of their sins with an earnest request for mercy and forgiveness, or make suit or request to God for anything — then all the people, understanding what the priests say, might give their minds and voices with them, and say Amen. That is to say, they might admit what the priests say, so that the reciting of God’s universal works and benefits, the giving of thanks, the profession of faith, the confession of sins, and the requests and petitions of the priests and of the people, might ascend up into the ears of God altogether, and be like a sweet savor, aroma, and incense before Him; and thus it was used many hundreds of years after Christ’s ascension. But the aforesaid things cannot be done when the priests speak to the people in an unknown language, and so they (or their cleric in their name) may say Amen, but they cannot tell to what. Whereas St. Paul says, how can the people say Amen, to your giving of thanks, seeing that they do not understand what you say? And thus St. Paul was understood by all interpreters, both Greek and Latin, old and new, school authors and others that I have read, until about thirty years past. At that time Eckius, with others of his sort (see p. 432), began to devise a new exposition, understanding St. Paul to speak of preaching only.

“But when a goodly number of the best learned men reputed in this realm — some favoring the old learning, some the new, as they term it (where indeed what they call the old, is the new, and that which they call the new, is indeed the old) — but when a great number of such learned men of both sorts were gathered together at Windsor for the reformation of the service of the church, it was agreed by both, without controversy (not one saying contrary) that the service of the church ought to be in the mother tongue; and that St. Paul, in the fourteenth chapter of Corinthians, was to be so understood.

“And so St. Paul is to be understood in the civil law, more than a thousand years past, where Justinian, a most godly emperor in a synod, writes in this manner:

‘We command that all bishops and priests celebrate the holy oblation and prayer used in holy baptism, not in a still and close manner, but with a clear loud voice, so that they may be plainly heard by the faithful people, so as the hearers’ minds may be lifted up thereby with



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greater devotion, in uttering the praises of the Lord God. For St. Paul teaches also in the first epistle to the Corinthians, 14.16-17, “Otherwise, when you bless with the spirit, how will the one who occupies the place of the unlearned say Amen at your giving of thanks, seeing that he does not understand what you say? For you truly give thanks well, but the other is not edified.”

And not only the civil law, but all other writers for more than 1500 years, have expounded St. Paul as not speaking of preaching only, but of other service said in the church. Also reason testifies the same, that if men are commanded to hear anything, it must be spoken in a language which the hearers understand, or else (as St. Paul says) what does it avail to hear? So that the pope giving a contrary commandment, that the people coming to the church will hear they know not what, and answer they know not what to, takes it upon himself to command, not only against reason, but also directly against God.

“And again I said, whereas our Savior Christ ordained the sacrament of his most precious body and blood to be received by all Christian people under the forms of bread and wine, and said of the cup, ‘Drink you all of it:’ the pope gives quite a contrary commandment, that no layman shall drink of the cup of their salvation — as though the cup of salvation by the blood of Christ did not pertain to laymen. Whereas Theophilus Alexandrinus (whose work St. Jerome translated about 1100 years past) says that, ‘If Christ had been crucified for the devils, his cup should not be denied them.’ Yet the pope denies the cup of Christ to Christian people for whom Christ was crucified. So that if I obey the pope in these things, I must disobey my Savior Christ.

“But I was answered (as the papists commonly answer) that the whole of Christ’s flesh and blood is contained under the form of bread. So that whoever receives the form of bread, receives Christ’s blood as well as his flesh. Let it be so; yet in the form of bread only, Christ’s blood is not drunk, but eaten; nor is it received in the cup in the form of wine, as Christ commanded, but it is eaten with the flesh under the form of bread. And moreover, the bread is not the sacrament of his blood, but of his flesh only; nor is the cup the sacrament of his flesh, but of his blood only. And so the pope keeps from all lay persons, the sacrament of their redemption by Christ’s blood, which Christ commands to be given to them.

“And furthermore, Christ ordained the sacrament in two kinds, the one separated from the other, to be a representation of his death, where his blood was separated from his flesh, which is not represented in one kind alone. So that the lay people do not receive the whole sacrament by which Christ’s death is represented, as he commanded.

“Moreover, as the pope takes it upon himself to give the temporal sword to kings and princes by his royal and imperial power, so he likewise takes it upon himself to depose them from their imperial states if they are disobedient to him. And he commands the subjects to disobey their princes, absolving the subjects of their obedience, as well as of their lawful oaths made to their true kings and princes, directly contrary to God’s commandment, who commands all subjects to obey their, kings, or their rulers under them.

“One John, patriarch of Constantinople, in the time of St. Gregory, claimed superiority above all other bishops. St. Gregory writes to him, that in this he did injury to his three brethren who were equal with him; that is to say, the bishop of Rome, of Alexandria, and of Antioch, which were patriarchal sees, as well as Constantinople, and they were brethren to one another.

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“But,” says St. Gregory, “if anyone exalts himself above all the rest, to be the universal bishop, he surpasses in pride. And now the bishop of Rome exalts himself not only above all kings and emperors, and above the whole world, but he takes it upon himself to give and take away, to

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set up and pull down, as he thinks good. And just as the devil, having no such authority, yet took it upon himself to give to Christ all the kingdoms of the world if he would fall down and worship him, in like manner the pope takes it upon himself to give empires and kingdoms, which are none of his, to those who will fall down and worship him, and kiss his feet.

“And moreover, his lawyers and followers so flatter him, that they pretend he may command emperors and kings to hold his stirrup when he alights from his horse, and to be his footmen. And that if any emperors or kings give him anything, they give him nothing but what is his own. And that he may dispense against God’s word, against both the old and new testament, against St. Paul’s epistles, and against the gospel. And furthermore, whatever he does, even if he draws innumerable people with him into hell, yet mortal man may not reprove him, because he being judge of all men, he may be judged by no man. And thus he sits in the temple of God, as if he were a god, and names himself God’s vicar; and yet he dispenses against God. If this is not to play antichrist’s part, I cannot tell what is antichrist — which is to say, he is Christ’s enemy and adversary, who sits in the temple of God, advancing himself above all others, yet by hypocrisy and feigned religion, he subverts the true religion of Christ; and under the presence and color of Christ’s religion, he works against Christ. And therefore he has the name of *antichrist*. Now, if any man lifts himself higher than the pope has done, who lifts himself above the whole world; or can be a greater adversary to Christ, than to dispense against God’s laws; and where Christ has given any commandment, to directly command the contrary — that man must be taken for antichrist. But until the time that such a person may be found, men may easily conjecture where to find antichrist.

“Therefore, seeing that the pope thus overthrows both God’s laws and man’s laws, and takes it upon himself to make emperors and kings to be vassals and subjects to him — especially the crown of this realm, with its laws and customs — I see no means how I may consent to admit his usurped power within this realm, contrary to my oath, my obedience to God’s laws, my allegiance and duty to your majesty, and my love and affection for this realm.

“What I have spoken against the power and authority of the pope, I have not spoken (I take God to record and judge) out of any malice I owe to the pope’s person, whom I do not know, but I will pray to God to give him grace, that he may seek above all things to promote God’s honor and glory, and not follow the footsteps of his predecessors in these latter days.

“Nor have I spoken it for fear of punishment, and to avoid the same, thinking it rather an occasion to aggravate than to diminish my trouble. But I have spoken it for my most bounden duty to the crown, liberties, laws, and customs of this realm of England, and most especially to discharge my conscience in uttering the truth, to God’s glory — casting away all fear, by the comfort which I have in Christ, who says, ‘Do not fear those who kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear Him which is able to destroy both body and soul in hell.’ Whoever for fear of losing this life will forsake the truth, will lose everlasting life. And whoever for the truth’s sake will spend his life, will find everlasting life. Christ promises to stand fast with them before his Father, who will stand fast with him here. This comfort is so great, that whoever has his eyes fixed upon Christ, cannot greatly value this life, knowing that he may be sure to have Christ stand by him in the presence of his Father in heaven.

“And as regards the sacrament, I said that because the whole matter stands in the understanding of these words of Christ: ‘This is my body, this is my blood,’ I said that Christ in these words made a demonstration of the bread and wine, and spoke figuratively in calling bread his body, and wine his blood, because he ordained them to be sacraments of his body and blood. And where the papists say contrary to me in those two points, that Christ did not call bread his body, but an uncertain substance, nor did he speak figuratively, in this I said I would be judged by the old church; and whichever doctrine could be proved the elder, I would stand to it. Since I alleged in my book many old authors, both Greek and Latin, who

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continually taught as I do for over a thousand years after Christ, I said that if they could bring out even one old author who says in these two points as they say — I offered this six or seven years ago, and still offer it — I will give way to them.

“But when I bring out any author who says in most plain terms as I do, the other part says that the author did not mean so; as if to say that the author spoke one thing, and meant clean contrary. On the other part, when they cannot find any author who says in words as they say, they say that the author *meant* as they say. Now, whether I or they speak more to the purpose in this, I refer to the judgment of all impartial hearers. Indeed, the old church of Rome, for over a thousand years, neither believed nor used the sacrament as the church of Rome has done in recent years.

“For in the beginning, the church of Rome taught a pure and sound doctrine of the sacrament. But after that the church of Rome fell into a new doctrine of transubstantiation, with that doctrine they changed the use of the sacrament, contrary to what Christ commanded, and to what the old church of Rome used for over a thousand years. Yet to deface the old, they say that the new *is* the old. In this, for my part, I am content to stand to the trial. But their doctrine is so absurd and uncomfortable, I marvel that any man would allow it if he knew what it is. But however they hold the people in hand, what they write in their books has neither truth nor comfort in it.

“For by their doctrine, two bodies are made from one body of Christ; one is natural, having distinct members, with the form and proportion of a man’s perfect body; and this body is in heaven. But the body of Christ in the sacrament, by their own doctrine, must be a monstrous body, having neither distinct members, nor the form, fashion or proportion of a man’s natural body. They teach that such a body is in the sacrament, and goes into the mouth in the form of bread, and enters no further than the form of bread goes, and stays no longer than the form of bread has been digested by natural heat. So that, when the form of bread is digested, the body of Christ is gone. And because evil men are as long in digesting food as good men, the body of Christ (by their doctrine) enters as far, and stays as long in wicked men, as in godly men. What comfort can there be in this to any Christian man, to receive Christ’s unshapen body, and have it enter no farther than the stomach, and to depart as soon as the bread is consumed?

“It seems to me a more sound and comfortable doctrine, that Christ has but one body, and that body has the form and fashion of a man’s true body. That body *spiritually* enters into the whole man, body and soul. And even though the sacrament is consumed, yet the whole Christ remains, and feeds the receiver unto eternal life if he continues in godliness, and never departs until the receiver forsakes Him. As for the wicked, they do not have Christ within them at all, for he cannot be where Belial is. This is my faith, and it seems to me a sound doctrine according to God’s word, and it is sufficient for a Christian to believe in that matter. If it can be shown to me, that the pope’s authority is not prejudicial to the things mentioned before, or that my doctrine in the sacrament is erroneous (which I think cannot be shown), then I never was nor will I be so perverse as to stand willfully in my own opinion; but I will with all humility submit myself to the pope, and willingly kiss his feet.

[909] A.D. 1556.

“Another reason why I refused to accept the bishop of Gloucester as my judge, was on account of his being perjured more than once. First, for being sworn various times to never consent to the bishop of Rome having any jurisdiction within this realm, but to take the king and his successors as supreme heads of this realm, as they are by God’s laws. Then, contrary to that lawful oath, the said bishop sat in judgment by authority from Rome, in which he perjured himself, and was not worthy to sit as a judge.

“The second perjury was that he took his bishopric both from the queen’s majesty, and from the pope, making a solemn oath to each of them. These oaths are so contrary that the one must be perjured. Furthermore, in swearing to the pope to maintain his laws, decrees, constitutions, ordinances, reservations, and provisions, he declared himself an enemy to the imperial crown, and to the laws and state of this realm, by which he declares himself not worthy to sit as a judge within this realm. And for these considerations I refused to accept him as my judge.”

***Martyrs of Suffolk, Essex, and Norfolk***

*An Account of Agnes Potten and Joan Trunchfield.*

In the history of Robert Samuel (p. 811), mention was made of two godly women of Ipswich, in Suffolk, who suffered likewise, and obtained the crown of martyrdom; namely, Agnes Potten, and the wife of one Trunchfield, a shoemaker. They suffered in Ipswich at about the time that Cranmer was burned at Oxford.

Their opinion was that the sacrament was the memorial only of Christ’s death and passion: for (they said) Jesus Christ has ascended into heaven, and is at the right hand of God the Father, according to the Scriptures, and is not in the sacrament.

For this they were burned. Their constancy in suffering was greatly wondered at. Though but women, they so manfully stood to the confession of God’s word, that when they had prepared and undressed themselves for the fire, with comfortable words of the Scripture they earnestly required the people to lay hold on the word of God, and not upon man’s devices and inventions, despising the ordinances and institutions of the Romish antichrist, with all his superstitions and false religion. And while in the midst of the fire, they held up their hands, and called to God constantly, so long as life endured.

*An Account of John Maundrel, John Spicer, and William Coberley.*

After these two women of Ipswich, three men succeeded them, who were burnt in the same month, at one fire, in Salisbury. They did not spare their bodies, to bring their souls to the celestial felicity of which they were thoroughly assured in Christ Jesus, by his promises, as soon as the furious flames of fire had put their body and souls asunder. Their names were, John Spicer, William Coberley, and John Maundrel.

John Maundrel was from his childhood brought up in husbandry. After he came to man’s estate, he dwelt in Buchampton, in the parish of Kevil, in Wiltshire, where he had a wife and children, of good name and fame. After the Scripture was translated into English by William Tyndale, he became a diligent hearer, and a fervent embracer of God’s true religion; so that he delighted in nothing so much as to hear and speak of God’s word, never being without the New Testament about him, although he could not read himself. When he came into any company who could read, his book was always ready. He had a very good memory, so that he could recite by heart most places of the New Testament. His conversation and living also were honest and charitable.

In the days of King Henry VIII, when Doctor Trigonion and Doctor Lee visited the abbey, John Maundrel was brought before Doctor Trigonion at an abbey called Edington, where he was accused of having spoken against the holy water and holy bread, and such ceremonies. And for this was obliged to wear a white sheet around the market, bearing a candle in his hand, in the town of Devizes. <sup>650</sup>

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<sup>650</sup> Edington priory is 3 miles east of Westbury in Wiltshire (southwest England). Devizes is about 10 miles from Westbury, 80 miles west of London, 50 miles east of Cardiff (Wales).

## Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

In the days of Queen Mary, when popery was restored, and God's true religion was put to silence, John Maundrel left his house, and departed into Gloucestershire, and into the north part of Wiltshire, wandering from one to another, to those men he knew feared God. But after a time, he returned to his county. Coming to Anthony Clee, he conferenced with him about returning home. When the other exhorted him by the words of Scripture, to flee from one city to another, he replied again by the words in the 21st chapter of the book of Revelation, of those who are "fearful," etc. He said that he must go home, and so he did. That is where he, with Spicer and Coberley, used to resort and confer together at times.

At length, on the Sunday these men agreed to go to the parish church called Kevil, where seeing the parishioners in the procession follow and worship the idol, they advised them to turn to the living God. After this, the vicar came into the pulpit. Being about to read his bead-roll, and to pray for the souls in purgatory, John Maundrel, speaking with an audible voice, said that that was the pope's pinfold,<sup>651</sup> the other two affirming the same. After this, by command of the priest, they were taken to the stocks, where they remained till the service was done. Then they were brought before a justice of peace, and the next day were carried to Salisbury, and presented before bishop Capon, and W. Jeffrey, chancellor of the diocese. They were imprisoned by him, and often examined about their faith.

They answered that they believed in God the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit, the twelve articles of the creed, the holy Scripture from the first of Genesis to the last of the Revelation.

But that faith the chancellor would not allow; so he opposed them in particular articles: first, whether they believed that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest at mass, there remained no substance of bread nor wine, but Christ's body, flesh and blood, as he was born of the Virgin Mary. They answered, saying that, "The popish mass was abominable idolatry, and injurious to the blood of Christ; but confessing that in a faithful congregation, receiving the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, being duly administered according to Christ's institution, Christ's body and blood is spiritually received by the faithful believer."

Also, being asked whether the pope was supreme head of the church, and Christ's vicar on earth, they answered that the bishop of Rome usurps over emperors and kings, being antichrist and God's enemy.

The chancellor said, "Would you have the church without a head?"

They answered, "Christ was head of his church, and under Christ the queen's majesty." "What," said the chancellor, "a woman head of the church!" "Yes," they said, "within her grace's dominions."

Also, whether the souls in purgatory were delivered by the pope's pardons, and the suffrages of the church.

They said they, "believed faithfully that the blood of Christ had purged their sins, and the sins of those who were saved, unto the end of the world, so that they did not fear the pope's purgatory, nor esteem his pardons."

Also, whether images were necessary to be in the churches, as laymen's books, and saints to be prayed to and worshipped.

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<sup>651</sup> *Pinfold*: a pen where stray animals are confined.

John Maundrel answered that, “wooden images were good to roast a shoulder of mutton, but were bad in the church; whereby idolatry was committed.”

Those articles thus answered, the chancellor read their condemnation, and so he delivered them to the sheriff. Then John Spicer spoke, saying, “Oh, master Sheriff! Now you must be their butcher, that you may also be guilty with them of innocent blood before the Lord.” This was the 23rd of March A.D. 1556. On the 24th of March they were carried out of the common jail to a place between Salisbury and Wilton, where two posts were set for them to be burnt at. On coming to the place, they kneeled down, and offered their prayers privately together, and then being undressed to their shirts, John Maundrel spoke with a loud voice, “Not for all Salisbury;” which words men judged to be an answer to the sheriff, who offered him the queen’s pardon if he would recant.

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After that, in like manner, John Spicer spoke, saying, “This is the most joyful day that I ever saw.” Thus these three godly men were burnt at two stakes, where they most constantly gave their bodies to the fire, and their souls to the Lord, for testimony of his truth.

As to William Coberley, this is to be noted, that his wife also, called Alice, being apprehended, was detained in the keeper’s house while her husband was in prison. There the keeper’s wife, named Agnes Pcnicote, had secretly heated a key in the fire, and laid it in the grass. She then requested Alice Coberley to fetch her the key in all haste. So Alice went, and taking up the key in haste severely burned her hand; and when she cried out at the sudden burning of her hand, the other said, “Ah, you dullard! You who cannot abide the burning of the key, how will you be able to abide burning your whole body?” And so Alice afterwards recanted. But to return again to the story of Coberley, who at the stake was somewhat long in burning — after his body was scorched, and his left arm drawn and taken from him by the violence of the fire, so that the flesh was burnt to the white bone, at length he stooped over the chain, and with his right hand, he knocked upon his breast softly, the blood and matter issuing out of his mouth.

*Six Martyrs of Essex Burned at Smithfield*

About the 23rd of April (A.D. 1556), six constant martyrs of Christ were burned in Smithfield at one fire. They suffered for the profession of the gospel; namely, Robert Drakes, minister; William Tyms, curate; Richard Spurge, sheerman; Thomas Spurge, fuller; John Cavel, weaver; and George Ambrose, fuller.

They were all of Essex, and consequently of the diocese of London, and were sent up, some by the lord Rich and others, to Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who was then lord chancellor of England, about the 22nd of March A.D. 1556. After examination, he sent some of them to the King’s-bench, and others to the Marshalsea, where they remained almost the whole year, until the death of the bishop of Winchester. After Doctor Heath, archbishop of York, was chosen to the office of lord chancellorship, four of these persecuted brethren, now being weary of their long imprisonment, made a supplication to Doctor Heath for their deliverance, the copy of which is as follows:

*To the right reverend Father Thomas, archbishop of York,  
Lord Chancellor of England.*

“May it please your honorable good lordship, for the love of God, to tender the humble suit of your lordship’s poor petitioners whose names are subscribed, who have lain in great misery in the Marshalsea, often for months and more, at the commandment of the late lord chancellor,

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to their utter undoing, with their wives and children. In consideration of this, your lordship's said petitioners most humbly pray and beseech your good lordship, to allow them to be brought before your honor. And there, if any man of good conscience can lay anything to our charge, we trust either to declare our innocence against their accusations, or if otherwise their accusations can be proved true, and we faulty, we are ready to satisfy the law (God helping us) with our deserved punishments, according to your wise judgment, as we hope, full of fatherly mercy towards us and all men, according to your godly office, in which we pray for your godly success to the good pleasure of God, Amen."

Upon receipt of this petition. Sir Richard Read, knight, on the 16th of Jan., was sent to the Marshalsea to examine the four prisoners. And therefore, beginning with Richard Spurge, he received his answers. The effect of these was, that he with others were complained about by the parson of Bocking to the lord Rich, for not coming to their parish church of Bocking, where they resided. And for this they were sent to the late lord chancellor. And further, he said that he did not come to the church since the first alteration of the English service into Latin, because he disliked both it and the mass also, as not consonant and agreeing with God's holy word.

Thomas Spurge being next examined, gave the same answer, in effect, that the other had done. He confessed that he absented himself from the church because the word of God was not truly taught there, nor were the sacraments of Christ duly administered in such a way as was prescribed by the same word. And being further examined about his belief concerning the sacrament of the altar, he said that, if any could accuse him in it, he would answer as God had given him knowledge.

George Ambrose gave the same answer, adding that after he had read the late bishop of Winchester's book, entitled, "*De vera obedientia*" (Of True Obedience), with Bonner's preface, inveighing against the authority of the bishop of Rome, he was much less influenced by their doings than before.

John Cavel answered that the reason why he forbore coming to the church was that the parson there had preached two contrary doctrines. For first, in a sermon that he gave at the queen's first entry to the crown, he exhorted the people to believe the gospel, for it was the truth; and if they did not believe it, they would be damned. But in a second sermon, he preached that the testament was false in forty places. This contrariety was one reason among others, for his absenting from the church.

Robert Drakes was also examined. He was parson of Thundersley in Essex, and had remained there for three years. He was first made deacon by Doctor Taylor of Hadley, at the command of Doctor Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury. Within one year after, by the archbishop and Doctor Ridley, bishop of London, he was admitted minister of God's holy word and sacraments, and presented to the benefice of Thundersley by Lord Rich. At his coming to the bishop of Winchester, he was demanded by the bishop whether he would conform himself to the laws of this realm then in force. To this he said he would obey all laws that stood with the laws of God — and was committed to prison.

### ***The Examination of William Tyms***

It now remains to likewise declare the examination of William Tyms, deacon and curate of Hockley in Essex. But before I come to his examination, here the order and manner of his trouble is first to be opened and laid out: how and by whom he was first apprehended in Essex, and from there sent up to London.

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In Queen Mary's days, two sermons were preached at Hockley in the woods, called Plumborough-wood, and Becheswood. And there was an honest man at the sermons, called John Gye, and his wife. Shortly after it was known to Master Tyrel, who owned the woods, how his woods were polluted with sermons being preached in them, he took it very badly. Shortly after, Master Tyrel came to Hockley to sift the matter, and to know who was at the preachings. Well, many were found faulty; for it is supposed there were a hundred persons at least. So it pleased him to begin first with John Gye, and he asked him where that naughty fellow was who served their parish, one Tyms, "For it is told to me," he said, "that he is the cause of bringing these fellows into the country. Therefore I charge you, Gye, to fetch me this fellow Tyms, for you know where he is." "No," said Gye, "I do not know."

Then another of Master Tyrel's men stepped forward, whose name was Richard Sheriff. He said to his Master; "Sir, I know where he is." "Well," said Master Tyrel, "go to the constables, and charge them to bring him to me."

So this Sheriff being diligent, made sure work, and had Tyms brought before his master with the constables. When he came, Master Tyrel commanded all men to depart; and this was wisely done, for he was not able to open his mouth against Tyms. He kept him there about three hours. Some who listened, heard Master Tyrel say to Tyms:

"I think," he said, "that when I see the blessed crucifix, it makes me think of God."

"Why, Sir," said Tyms, "if an idol, that is made with man's hands, makes you remember God, then how much more should the creatures of God, such as man, being His workmanship, or the grass, or the trees that bring forth fruit, make you remember God?"

[911] A.D. 1556.

Tyrel ended his talk with Tyms in a heat, it appears, for he burst out and called him a traitorly knave.

"Why, Sir," said Tyms, "in king Edward's days you affirmed the truth which I do now."

"Affirm!" said Tyrel, "No, by God's body, I never thought it with my heart."

"Well," said Tyms, "then I pray you, Master Tyrel, to bear with me, for I have been a traitor only a while, but you have been a traitor for six years."

After this Tyms was sent to London to the bishop; and from him to the bishop of Winchester, and so from him to the King's bench.

When Tyms came before the bishop of London, the bishop of Bath was there with him at the time, and William Tyms was examined before them both. God so mightily wrought with this true-hearted man, that he had the means to answer them both; for the constables who brought him before the bishop said that they never heard the like.

Both the bishops grew weary of him, for he had troubled them about six or seven hours. Then the bishops began to flatter him, saying, "Ah, good fellow, you are bold, and you have a good fresh spirit, we would you had learning to match your spirit." "I thank you, my lords," said Tyms, "both of you are learned, and I would that you had a good spirit to match your learning." So thus they broke up.

William Tyms was placed together and coupled with the other five martyrs named above. They were brought together to public examination before Bonner, on the 21st of March, first in the bishop's palace of London, where the bishop in his accustomed manner proceeded against them. He inquired about their faith concerning the sacrament of the altar. They



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answered him, that the body of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar really and corporeally, after the words of consecration were spoken by the priest.

On the 23rd of March, the bishop sent again for Tyms and Drakes, and objected certain articles to them. On the 26th, he sent for the other four, also ministering to them the same articles.

But in conclusion, on the 28th, William Tyms and Robert Drakes, with the others, were brought to the open consistory in St. Paul's, before Bonner, to be condemned for heresy. The bishop began in this way:

“Tyms, I will begin with you first, for you are and have been the ringleader of these companions of yours; you have taught them heresies, and confirmed them in their erroneous opinions, and have endeavored, as much as it lies in you, to make them like yourself. If your fault had not tended to the hurt of others, I would then have used you more charitably, and not have brought you to this open rebuke. I would, according to the rule of Christ in the 18th of Matthew, have told you your fault, between me and you. If you would not hear me, I would not have left you so, but with two or three others I would have exhorted you. If that would not have served, then I would have told the church, etc. But because your fault is open and manifest to the world, and you yourself remain in your error, this charitable dealing is not to be extended towards you. I have therefore thought it good to proceed by another rule, of which St. Paul speaks in 1Tim 5.20. — ‘Rebuke those who sin, before all, so that others also may fear.’ For this cause you are brought before me in the face of this people, to receive judgment according to your deserts. Let me see what you can say, why I should not proceed against you as your ordinary.”

“My lord,” said Tyms, “will you now give me leave to speak?”

“Yes,” said the bishop.

Then Tyms said,

“My lord, I marvel that you would begin with a lie. You call me the ringleader and teacher of this company. But how untruly you have spoken will shortly appear; for there is none of all these my brethren, who are brought here as prisoners, that when they were at liberty and out of prison, they dissented from you and your doings as much as they do at present. And for that cause they are now prisoners. So it is evident that they did not learn their religion in prison. And as for me, I never knew them, until by your commandment I was made a prisoner with them. How then could I be their ringleader and teacher? So that, all the world may see how untruly you have spoken. As for my fault which you make so grievous, whatever you judge about me, I am well assured that I hold no other religion than Christ preached, the apostles witnessed, the primitive church received, and now of late the apostolical and evangelical preachers of this realm have faithfully taught. For this you have cruelly burned them, and now you seek our blood also. Proceed by whatever rule you will. I will not resist; I do not refuse you as my ordinary.”

Then the bishop said,

“I perceive that you will not be counted as their ringleader. What do you say? Will you submit yourself to the catholic church as an obedient child? In so doing you will be received, and do well enough, Otherwise you will have judgment as a heretic.”

Then one of the prisoners said;

“My lord, you are no upright judge, for you judge according to your own will. But if you will judge us according to the holy testament of Christ, which is the word of truth, we will submit

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to your judgment. For we wholly submit ourselves to that word. But as for your judgment, without the truth, God shall condemn it.”

The bishop was offended with this, calling him a “busy knave,” and commanded him to hold his tongue, or else he would be taken away to prison.

Then Tyms answered and said,

“My lord, I do not doubt that I am of the catholic church, whatever you judge about me. But as for your church, you have renounced it before this day, and by corporeal oath promised never to consent to it. Contrary to which, you have received the pope’s authority into this realm, and therefore you are falsely forsworn. Besides this, you have both spoken and written very earnestly against that usurped power, and now you burn men who will not acknowledge the pope to be supreme head.”

“Have I?” replied the bishop, “Where have I written anything against the church of Rome?”

“My lord,” said Tyms, “the bishop of Winchester wrote a very learned oration, entitled, ‘*De vera obedientia*,’ which contains worthy matter against the Romish authority. You wrote a preface to this book, inveighing against the bishop of Rome, reproving his tyranny and falsehood, calling his power false and pretended. The book is extant, and you cannot deny it.”

Then the bishop was somewhat abashed. Looking at those who were present, he spoke very gently, saying;

“Look, here is a goodly matter indeed. My lord of Winchester, being a great learned man, wrote a book against the supremacy of the pope’s holiness, and I also wrote a preface to this book, tending to the same effect. And we did this because of the perilous world that then existed. For then it was made treason, by the laws of this realm, to maintain the pope’s authority, and it was great danger to be suspected as a favorer of the See of Rome. And therefore fear compelled us to bear with the time, for otherwise there would have been no way but one. You know when anyone uttered his conscience in maintaining the pope’s authority, he suffered death for it.”

And then turning his tale to Tyms, he said,

“But since that time, even since the coming in of the queen’s majesty, when we might be allowed to speak our conscience, we have acknowledged our faults; and my lord of Winchester himself was not ashamed to recant at St. Paul’s cross. And also, you yourself see that I do not stand in it, but have willingly submitted myself. You should also do as we have done.”

Tyms said,

“My lord, what you have written against the supremacy of the pope, may be well proved by the Scriptures. But what you do now, is against the word of God, as I can well prove.”

Then Doctor Cooke said;

“Tyms, I pray you let me talk with you a little, for I think we two are learned alike. You speak much of the Scripture, and yet you do not understand it. I will tell you to whom you may be compared.

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“You are like someone who, intending to go on hunting, rises up early in the morning, takes his hounds, and out he goes, up to the hills and down into the valleys. He passes over the fields, over hedge and ditch, he searches the woods and thickets; thus he labors the whole day, without finding any game. At night he comes home, weary of his travel, not having caught anything at all. And thus it fares with you. You labor in reading the Scriptures; you take the

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letter of it, but you do not know the meaning of it. And thus your reading is as unprofitable to you as hunting was to the man I spoke of just now.”

Tyms replied,

“Sir, you have not well applied your similitude; for praise God, I have not read the Scriptures unprofitably. But God, I thank him, has revealed to me so much as I do not doubt is sufficient for my salvation.”

Then the bishop said,

“You boast much of knowledge, and yet you know nothing: you speak much of Scripture, and you do not know what Scripture is. I pray you tell me: How do you know that thing to be the word of God, which you call Scripture?”

To this Robert Drakes answered that he knew it to be the word of God, for “it shows to men their salvation in Christ, and it calls all men back from wicked life, to a pure and undefiled conversation.”

The bishop replied that the heathen writers have taught precepts of good living, as well as the Scripture; and yet their writings are not esteemed to be God’s word. To this Tyms answered,

“The old testament bears witness of those things which are written in the new, for there is nothing taught in the new testament, that was not foreshown in the law and the prophets.”

“I will deny all,” said the bishop, “I will deny all. What do you say then?”

Then the bishop spoke to Doctor Pendleton, saying,

“Master doctor, I pray you say something to these folks that may do them some good.”

Doctor Pendleton covered his face with both his hands, that he might the more quietly devise what to say, but other talk was presently ministered, so he said nothing at that time.

Then the bishop, proceeding at length in form of law, had both his articles and answers openly read. After this, the bishop began to entreat and persuade Tyms to revoke his heresies (as he termed them), and to conform himself to the church of Rome; and not to stick so much to the literal sense of the Scriptures, but to use the interpretation of the old fathers.

To this Tyms answered,

“I will not conform myself to that. And I thank God for this day; for I trust he will turn your cursings into blessings. And what do you have to maintain the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, except the bare letter?”

“We have the catholic church,” said the bishop.

“No,” said Tyms, “you have the popish church of Rome, and the See of Rome is the see of antichrist. And therefore I will not conform myself to that church, nor once consent to it.”

Then the bishop, seeing Tyms’ constant boldness, proceeded to his condemnation. He pronounced sentence upon him, and gave him over to the secular power. Afterwards Bonner called for Robert Drakes, and used the same manner of exhortation towards him.

Drakes said;

“As for your church of Rome, I utterly defy and refuse it, with all its works, even as I refuse the devil and all his works.”

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Then the bishop, using his accustomed order of law, at last pronounced sentence upon him, and so he charged the sheriff with him.

Thomas Spurge was next demanded if he would return to the catholic church. He said as follows:

“As for your church of Rome, I utterly deny it. But I am content to return to the true catholic church, and continue in the same, of which I believe the church of Rome is no part or member.”

Then calling the rest in their order, and receiving like answers upon like demands, the bishop pronounced on them their several judgments. And so he committed them to the sheriffs of London, who sent them to Newgate. They all went there most joyfully, abiding the Lord’s good time there, till they would seal their faith with the shedding of their blood, which they most firmly and willingly performed on the 11th of April.

*A Letter of William Tyms to his faithful Sister in the Lord,  
Parishioner in the town of Hockley, named Agnes Glascock.*

“The grace, mercy, and peace of God our Father, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Savior, with the sweet comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to your everlasting comfort, be with you my dear sister Glascock, both now and evermore, Amen.

“My most dear and entirely beloved sister, even mother I might rightly well call you, for the motherly care which you have always had for me, I have me most heartily commended unto you, giving God most hearty thanks for you, that he has given you so loving a heart to Christ’s poor gospel, and his poor afflicted flock for the same. And as you have full godly begun, so I beseech God to give you power to go forward in the same, and never more to look back, fearing neither fire nor sword; and then I warrant you, you do not have far to run.

“And now (my dear heart), remember well what I have taught you when I was present with you, and also written being absent; no doubt we shall shortly meet again with a most joyful meeting. I go next Friday to the bishop of London’s coal-house, which is the 20th of March, where I think it will be hard for any of my friends to speak with me. However, I trust I will not tarry there long, but shortly afterwards be carried up after my dear brethren and sisters, who have gone before me into heaven in a fiery chariot. Therefore I now take my leave of you, till we meet in heaven; and hasten you after. I have tarried a great while for you, and seeing you are so long a making ready, I will tarry no longer for you. You will find me merrily singing. Holy, holy, holy. Lord God of Sabaoth, at my journey’s end. Therefore now, my dear heart, make good haste, and do not loiter by the way, lest night overtake you. and so you be shut out of the gate with the foolish virgins. And now (my sister), in witness that I have taught you nothing but the truth, here I write my name with my blood, as a testimony to you that I will seal the simple doctrine which I have taught you, with the rest. And thus fare you well. And God defend you from antichrist, and all his ministers, the false priests, Amen.”

The following words were written with his own blood.

“Continue in prayer.      By me, William Tyms, in the  
“Ask in Faith.              King’s-bench for the  
“And obtain your desire.      gospel of Christ.”

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*Another Letter of Tyms to his Sisters,  
Colfox and Agnes Glascock*

“Grace and peace from God the Father of all mercy, through the merits of our dear Savior Jesus Christ, be perceived and felt in your hearts, my dearly beloved sisters in the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Spirit the comforter, both now and evermore. Amen.

“My most dear and entirely beloved sisters in the Lord, after my most hearty commendations, according to my most bounden duty, I do as I am accustomed, or at least bound to do, that is, I give you warning of your enemies, who are the papists; take good heed to them, for they serve a crafty master. Yes, and as St. Peter says, he does not sleep, but goes about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. For your old familiar friends, or worldly companions, when they see that you will not run to the idols’ temple with them, it will seem a strange thing to them, that you do not run to the same excess of riot, as St. Peter says, and therefore they will speak evil of you, rail on you, and persecute you.

[913] A.D. 1556

“But, my dear sisters, let it not trouble you, for it is but to test you, and do not let it seem a strange thing to you. But when they do so, remember why it is, and for whose sake, even because you will not forsake God as they do. For the hatred they bear you, is for the word of God — and then it is God’s cause, and I tell you he will revenge it. Therefore if you are railed on and troubled for his sake, think yourselves most happy. For if you suffer with the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, then you will be sure to be partakers of the same joy that they are in. Indeed, you have heard by the word of God, how cruelly the tyrants have always persecuted the true members of Christ, as he himself promised that they will do till the end of the world.

“By the way I will bring to your remembrance the holy martyr St. Stephen who, for favoring, maintaining and defending the same doctrine that we now suffer for, was called a blasphemer, and stoned to death at Jerusalem. And Christ’s apostles were variously afflicted the whole world over for the same cause, by this evil generation. Antipas, the faithful witness of Christ, was slain at Pergamos. Jason, for receiving Paul and Silas with other disciples and teachers of the gospel, was brought before the council at Thessalonica, and accused as a seditious traitor against Caesar. It is no marvel, therefore, that at this day we are vexed in the same way, for maintaining the same cause, and favoring the teachers of it. Is there any other reward following the true servants of God now, than has been in prior times? No, surely, for so Christ has promised. And if they have persecuted him, they must persecute his members. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, so will they call his household: ‘You shall be hated by all men (says Christ), for my name’s sake.’

“It is no new thing, my dear hearts, to see the true members of Christ handled as they are in our days, just as it is not unknown to you how they are cruelly treated, and blasphemed without any reasonable cause. They must be taken as heretics, who will not follow their traditions. And then they may as well call Christ a heretic, for he never allowed their dirty ceremonies. He never went in a procession with a cope, cross, or candlestick. He never incensed an image, or sang Latin service. He never sat in confession. He never preached of purgatory, nor of the pope’s pardons. He never honored saints, nor prayed for the dead. He never said mass, matins, nor evensong. He never commanded to fast on Friday, nor Vigil, Lent or Advent. He never hallowed church nor chalice, ashes nor palm, candles nor bells. He never made holy water nor holy bread, with such like things. But such dumb ceremonies, not having the express commandment of God, he calls the leaven of the Pharisees, and damnable hypocrisy; admonishing his disciples to beware of them. He curses all those who add such

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beggarly shadows to his word, wiping their names out of the book of life. St. Paul says they have no portion with Christ, who entangle themselves again with such yokes of bondage.

“Therefore, my dear hearts, seeing that our good God has, by the light of his holy word, delivered us from all such dark, blind, dumb, beggarly traditions of men, stand fast in the liberty with which Christ has made you free, and do not entangle yourselves again in the yoke of bondage. But let us always be ready, looking for the coming of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ who, as St. Peter says, ‘will come like a thief in the night.’ And our captain Christ says, ‘If the good man of the house had known in what watch the thief would come, he would have watched, and would not have allowed his house to be broken into.’

“Therefore, my dear hearts, be of good comfort, although the world rage never so sore against you. And for your comfort mark well the great mercy of God, who, according to his promise for the weakness of our nature, has so assuaged the heat of the fire, that our dear brethren who are gone before us, in the sight of all men, have found it rather to be joy than pain. And think you surely God will be as merciful unto you, as he has been unto them; and say with St. Paul, Rom 8.35-37. ‘Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, for your sake we are killed all day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter. No, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him who loved us.’

“Therefore (my dear sisters), if to save your lives, any dissembling gospellers would have you go to the idols’ temple with them, say to them; No, for my master Christ says, ‘whoever would save his life, will lose it.’ And in another place, to comfort us he says, not one hair will fall from our head, unless it is our heavenly Father’s will. And therefore, say that you will not be of that sort who are neither hot nor cold, lest God utterly reject you. But give them this answer, saying as St. Paul says in 2Cor 6.14-18 ‘Do not be unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship has righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion has light with darkness? And what concord has Christ with Belial? Or what part has he who believes, with an infidel? And what agreement has the temple of God with idols? For you are the temple of the living God; as God has said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Therefore come out from among them, and be separate, says the Lord, and do not touch the unclean thing; and I will receive you. And I will be a Father to you, and you shall be my sons and daughters, says the Lord Almighty.’

“Thus, my own comfort in the Lord, as I began, so I make an end, bidding you to beware of your enemies, and take up your cross, and follow your captain Christ in at the narrow gate here by persecution. Then you will be sure to reign and rejoice with him in his everlasting kingdom, which he himself has purchased with his own most precious blood — to whom with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be all honor both now and forever, Amen.

“By me, WILLIAM TYMS.”

About this time, certain commissioners came down to Norfolk and Suffolk, to inquire about matters of religion. There was a supplication to these commissioners then exhibited by some good and well disposed men dwelling about those parts, well worthy the perusal of every Christian man. It follows here, showing the godly nature of the reformation wrought in king Edward’s days.

***A Letter of Supplication to the Commissioners***

*A Supplication submitted by certain Inhabitants  
of the County of Norfolk, to the Commissioners.*

“Inmost humble and lowly wise, we beseech your honors, right honorable commissioners, to tender and pity the humble suit of us poor men, and true, faithful, and obedient subjects who, as we have ever up to now, so we intend, with God’s grace, to continue in Christian obedience to the end (and according to the word of God) with all reverend fear of God, to do our bounden duty to all those superior powers, whom God has appointed over us, doing as St. Paul says in Rom 13,1,2, ‘Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that exist are ordained of God. Whoever therefore resists the power, resists the ordinance of God. And those who resist will receive to themselves damnation.’ These lessons, right honorable commissioners, we have learned from the holy word of God, in our mother tongue.

“First, That the authority of a king, queen, lord, and other their officers under them, is no tyrannical usurpation, but a just, holy, lawful, and necessary estate for man to be governed by, and that the same is from God, the fountain and author of righteousness.

“Secondly, That to obey the same in all things that are not against God, is to obey God; and to resist them, is to resist God. Therefore, just as to obey God in his ministers and magistrates brings life; so to resist God in them, brings punishment and death. The same lesson have we learned from St. Peter, 1Pet 2.13-16, saying, ‘Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake, whether it is to the king, as supreme, or to governors, as to those who are sent by Him for the punishment of evildoers, and for the praise of those who do well.

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“For so is the will of God, that with well-doing you may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men: as free, and not using your liberty as a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God.’

“Therefore considering with ourselves, both that the magistrate’s power is from God, and that for the Lord’s sake we are bound to Christian obedience to them, having now presently a commandment, as though it were from the queen’s majesty; with all humble obedience due to the regal power and authority ordained by God, which we acknowledge to stand wholly and perfectly in her grace, and with due reverence to you her grace’s commissioners, we humbly beseech you with patience and pity to receive this our answer to this commandment now given to us.

“First, right honorable commissioners, we have considered ourselves to be not only Englishmen, but also Christians, and therefore bound by the holy vow made to God in our baptism, to prefer God’s honor in all things, and that all obedience (not only of us mortal men, but even of the very angels and heavenly spirits) is due to God’s word; in so far that no obedience can be true and perfect, either before God or man, that does not wholly and fully agree with God’s word.

“Then we have weighed the commandment concerning the restitution of the previously abolished Latin service, and believe it to dissent and disagree from God’s word, and to command manifest impiety, and the overthrow of godliness and true religion, and to impart a subversion of the regal power of this our native country and realm of England, by bringing in the Romish bishop’s supremacy, with all its errors, superstitions, and idolatry, the wasting of our goods and bodies, destroying of our souls, and bringing with it nothing but the severe wrath of God, which we already feel, and fear lest the same be more fiercely kindled upon us. Therefore we humbly protest that we cannot be persuaded that the same wicked

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commandment should come from the queen's majesty, but rather from some other person, abusing the queen's goodness and favor, and endeavoring to work some design against the queen, her crown, and the realm, and to please the Roman bishop, at whose hands the same person thinks to be advanced hereafter.

"As Haman wrought maliciously against the noble king, Ahasuerus, and as the princes of Babel wrought against the good king Darius, so we think the queen's most gentle heart is abused by some, who seeking themselves and their own vain glory, procure commandments which are against the glory of God. For we cannot have so evil an opinion of her majesty, that she would subvert the most godly and holy religion (so according to God's word set forth by the most noble, virtuous, and innocent king, a very saint of God, our late most dear king Edward, her grace's brother) unless she were shockingly abused. But the authors of this commandment hating reformation, will the destruction of all others, rather than acknowledge their errors and conform according to God's word. For truly, the religion lately set forth by king Edward, is such as every Christian man is bound to confess to be the truth of God, and every member of Christ's church here in England must embrace the same in heart, and confess it with mouth, and if need requires it, lose and forsake not only house, land and possessions, riches, wife, children and friends; but also, if God so calls them, to gladly suffer all manner of persecution, and lose their lives in the defense of God's word and truth set out among us.

"For our Savior, Christ, requires the same of us, saying, 'Whoever therefore is ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation; the Son of man will also be ashamed of him, when He comes in the glory of his Father with the holy angels,' Mark 8.38. And again, he says, 'Whoever therefore confesses me before men, I will also confess him before my Father who is in heaven. But whoever denies me before men, I will also deny him before my Father who is in heaven,' Mat 10.32-33. 'And whoever speaks a word against the Son of man, it will be forgiven him; but whoever speaks against the Holy Ghost, it will not be forgiven him, either in this world, or in the world to come,' Mat 12.32.

"We humbly beseech the queen's majesty, and you her honorable commissioners, do not be offended with us for confessing this truth of God, so strictly given us in charge by Christ; neither bring upon us that great sin that shall never be forgiven, and will cause our Savior Jesus Christ, in the great day of judgment, before his heavenly Father and all his angels, to deny us, and to take from us the blessed price and ransom of his blood-shedding, with which we are redeemed.

"For in that day, neither the queen's highness, neither you, nor any man will be able to excuse us, nor to purchase a pardon from Christ for this horrible sin and blasphemy of casting aside and condemning His word. We cannot agree nor consent to so horrible a sin as this. But we beseech God for his mercy to give us and all men grace to most earnestly flee from it, and rather, if the will of God is so, to suffer all extremity and punishment in this world, rather than to incur such damnation before God.

"Manasseh, who restored again the wickedness of idolatrous religion (put down before by Hezekiah his father) brought the wrath of God upon the people. As the Scripture says. 'Notwithstanding, the Lord did not turn from the fierceness of his great wrath, with which His anger was kindled against Judah, because of all the provocations that Manasseh had provoked him with. And the Lord said, I will also remove Judah out of my sight, as I have removed Israel, and I will cast off this city Jerusalem which I have chosen, and the house of which I said, my name shall be there.' — 2Kng 23.26-27. Jeroboam, who at Bethel and Dan erected a new found service of God, not only sinned himself, but also made all Israel sin with him, so that not only he was damned for commanding, but the wrath of God came upon all Israel for obeying his ungodly commandment. Yet it was not so heinous an offense to bring in an idolatry that was never yet heard of, as after reformation was made by the godly kings and



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princes, by the virtuous and holy bishops, by the prophets and servants of God, to reject and cast off the word and true religion of God, and to receive again a damned impiety.

“This most heinous offense is now offered to us, even though it is painted and colored with the name of *reformation*, the *restoring* of religion, the *ancient faith*, with the name of *catholic church*, of *unity*, *catholic truth*, and with the cloak of *feigned* holiness. These are sheepskins, under which, as Christ says, ravening wolves cover themselves. But Christ desires us to look upon their fruits, by which we may know them. And truly, that is no good fruit, to cast aside God’s word, and to banish the English service out of the churches, and in its place to bring in a Latin tongue that is unknown to the people. This, as it edifies no man, so it has been the occasion of all blindness and error among the people. For before the blessed reformation begun by the most noble prince of godly memory, the queen’s good father; and finished by our late holy and innocent king, her good brother, it is not unknown what blindness and error we were all in; when not one man in all this realm who was unlearned in the Latin, could say the Lord’s prayer in English, or knew any one article of his belief, or recite any one of the ten commandments. And that ignorance, mother of mischief, was the very root and well-spring of all idolatry, unclean monkery, and immorality of unmarried priests, of all vice, drunkenness, covetousness, swearing and blasphemy, with all other wicked sinful living. These brought in the severe wrath and vengeance of God, plaguing us with famine and pestilence. At last the sword consumed and avenged all their impiety and wicked living; and it is greatly to be feared that the same or more grievous plagues will now again follow.

“We cannot therefore consent nor agree that the word of God and prayers in our English tongue, which we understand, should be taken away from us, and in its place a Latin service, we know not what (for none of us understand it) is to be brought in among us again, especially seeing that Christ has said, ‘My sheep hear my voice, and follow me, and I give to them everlasting life.’

[915] A.D. 1556.

“The service in English teaches us that we are the Lord’s people, and the sheep of his pasture, and commands that we do not harden our hearts, as when they provoked the Lord’s wrath in the wilderness, lest He swore to us, as he swore to them, that they would not enter into His rest.

“The service in Latin is a confused noise; which even if it is good (as they say it is) yet to us who lack understanding, what goodness can it bring? St. Paul commands that in the churches all things should be done to edifying, which we are sure is God’s commandment. But in the Latin service nothing is done to edifying, but all is contrary, to destroy those who are already edified, and to drive us from God’s word and truth, and from believing the same, and so to bring us to believe lies and fables, that by tempting and provoking God, we should be brought into that judgment that St. Paul speaks of, saying: ‘Even him, whose coming is according to the working of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all unrighteous deception among those who perish, because they did not receive the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this reason God will send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie; that they all might be damned who do not believe the truth, but took pleasure in unrighteousness.’ 2The 2.9-12.

“Thus, altogether withdrawn from God, we will fall into His wrath through unbelief, till He swears to us as he did to the unfaithful Jews, that such infidels shall not enter into His rest.

“In the administration of the Lord’s supper, which we confess to be the holy communion, and partaking with Christ and his holy congregation, we have learned God’s holy commandments, and at the repeating of every one of them, to ask God mercy for our most grievous transgressions against them, and to ask grace from God, to keep them in time to come, that

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the same may not only outwardly sound in our ears, but also inwardly be written in our hearts by the Holy Spirit.

“We have learned also the holy prayer made for the queen’s majesty, in which we learn that her power and authority is from God. Therefore we pray to God for her, that she and all magistrates under her, may rule according to God’s word, and we her subjects obey according to the same.

“Truly most honorable commissioners, we cannot think these things are evil, but we think them most worthy to be retained in our churches. And we should think ourselves not to have the hearts of true subjects if we were to go about to put away such godly prayers as put us perpetually in memory of our bounden obedience and duty to God and our rulers. For as we think at present, the unquiet multitude have more need to have these things more often and earnestly inculcated upon them, specially given, as they are used in many places to stir and trouble, than to take from them that blessed doctrine by which alone they may be kept in quiet to their salvation.

“Furthermore, we cannot forsake that blessed partaking of the body and blood of our Savior Jesus Christ’s institution, administered with such godly prayers, exhortations and admonitions, teaching us the knowledge of God, the exceeding love and charity of our loving Redeemer Christ, breaking his body upon the cross for our sins, and shedding his most precious blood for our redemption — which in eating of that blessed bread, and drinking of the blessed cup, we assuredly believe that we receive, and are perfectly joined with Christ and his holy catholic church into one body, and into one unity and brotherly love, by which each member faithfully embraces another. We must confess this institution of Christ to be most holy and godly, from which we have the only comfort in conscience against sin and damnation, with the assurance of salvation, and from which has ensued reformation of many heinous sins; much quarrelling, strife, and contention is ended; drunkenness and other vices are reformed in some; and goodness and virtue are increased and nourished.

“In the Latin mass we never had such edifying, but we saw only a great many ceremonies and strange gestures, such as the turning of the priest, crossings, blessings, breathings, washing of hands, and spreading abroad of his arms, with like ceremonies that we do not understand. And concerning the Latin tongue, in which the priest prays, we do not know whether he blesses or curses us. We are not partakers of the sacrament, as Christ’s institution appoints we should be.

“In the administering of the sacrament, the priests alter the institution of Christ, committing theft and sacrilege, robbing us of the cup of Christ’s blood, contrary to Christ’s commandment, saying, ‘Drink you all of this.’

“They also rob us of God’s word, speaking all things in Latin, which does not edify us either in faith or manners. Christ does not command that his supper should be administered in an unknown tongue, but because faith comes by hearing, and hearing comes by God’s word, how can we believe Christ’s word and promise made to us in his holy sacrament, saying, ‘This is my body broken for you, and this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for you, for the remission of sins,’ if the same promises of Christ either are not recited at all, or else are so recited in Latin, that the congregation does not understand, and does not hear what is spoken? St. Paul says, reciting the saying of Isaiah, ‘As I live, says the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God.’ He also says, ‘All tongues must confess, that Jesus Christ is the Lord, to the glory of God the Father.’ The Holy Spirit came upon the apostles in fiery tongues, so that they spoke the tongues of all nations under heaven. St. Paul administered to the Corinthians, and preached to them in their own mother tongue, and rebuked bringing strange tongues into the congregation. We cannot think that to be well,

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which so holy an apostle rebuked. And whatever virtue the Latin tongue has to those who understand it, to us Englishmen, not understanding it, it is altogether without virtue and edifying, and therefore unfit for our churches.

“The priests complain that we laymen do not love them, nor honor them, but it is their own fault. For how would we love those who only seek to keep us in blindness and ignorance, to damn our souls, to destroy our bodies, to rob and spoil our goods and substance, under a color of pretended holiness? We know, right honorable commissioners, what honor is due to such wolves, and how by the authority of God’s word, they are to be fled from, as pestilences to the Lord’s lambs, whom daily they miserably murder.

“But we have rather chosen by this, our meek supplication, to humbly desire the queen’s majesty, and you her honorable commissioners, to again render God’s word to the churches, and permit us to freely enjoy the same. For we certainly know that the whole religion lately set out by the holy saint of God, our late most dear King Edward, is Christ’s true religion written in the holy Scripture of God, and taught by Christ and his apostles to his church. Therefore we cannot with safe consciences allow this refusal of it, and casting it out of our churches. For to refuse, cast off, and reject it, is to cast off Christ himself, and to refuse our part in his blessed body broken for our sins, and his blood shed for our redemption. Whoever does this thing, without repentance, can look for no sacrifice for his sins, but most fearfully wait for the judgment, and for that vehement fire which shall destroy Christ’s adversaries. For if the one who despised the law of Moses was put to death without mercy under two or three witnesses, how much more grievous torments shall one suffer who treads under foot the Son of God, and esteems the blood of the testament (by which he was sanctified) as a profane thing, and contemptuously uses the spirit of grace?

“Therefore, we most humbly pray and beseech the queen’s gracious majesty, to have mercy and pity upon us, her poor and faithful subjects, and not to compel us to do the thing that is against our consciences, and that will so incurably wound us in heart, by bringing into the church the Latin mass and service, so that nothing edifies us, and casting out of Christ’s holy communion the English service, thus causing us to sin against our Redeemer.

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“For those who willingly and wittingly, against their consciences, do so (as it is to be feared many do) they are in a miserable state, until the mercy of God turns them. Which, if he does not, we certainly believe that they will be eternally damned. And just as in this world they deny Christ’s holy word and communion before men, so shall Christ deny them before his heavenly Father and his angels.

“And whereas it is very earnestly required that we go in procession (as they call it), at which time the priests say things in Latin that we are ignorant of, it edifies nothing at all unto godliness. We have learned that to follow Christ’s cross is another matter: namely, to take up our cross and follow Christ in patient suffering for his love, tribulations, sickness, poverty, prison, or any other adversity, whenever it is God’s holy will and pleasure to lay the same upon us. The triumphant passion and death of Christ, by which in his own person he conquered death, sin, and hell, has been most stirringly preached to us, and the glory of Christ’s cross declared by our preachers. We thereby learned the causes and effects of it more vividly in one sermon, than in all the processions we ever went in, or ever will go in.

“When we worshipped the divine Trinity kneeling, and invoked the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit in the Litany, by asking mercy for our sins, and desiring such petitions as the need of our frail estate and this mortal Life requires, we were edified both to know to whom all Christian prayers should be directed, and also to know it is from God’s hand that we receive all things to the salvation of our souls, and the relief of our mortal necessities. And so we humbly

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besech the queen's majesty, that the same most holy prayers may be continued among us — that having our ministers praying in our mother-tongue, and we understanding their prayers and petitions, may answer Amen to them. At evening service we understood our minister's prayers. We were taught and admonished by the Scriptures that were read at that time. In the Latin even-song all this is gone.

“At the ministration of holy baptism, we learned what league and covenant God had made with us, and what vows and promises we had made on our part; namely, to believe in him, to forsake Satan and his works, and to walk in the way of God's holy word and commandments.

“The Christian catechism continually taught and called these things to remembrance, whereas before no man knew anything at all; and many good men of forty years, who had been godfathers to thirty children, knew no more of the godfather's office, than to wash their hands before they departed the church, or else to fast five Fridays with bread and water.

“O, merciful God! have pity upon us. Shall we be altogether cast from your presence? We may well lament our miserable estate, to receive such a commandment to reject and cast out of our churches all these most godly prayers, instructions, admonitions and doctrines; and thus to be compelled to deny God, and Christ our Savior, his holy word, and all his doctrine of our salvation — the candle to our feet, and the light to our steps — the bread coming down from heaven that gives life, which whoever eats it, it will be in him a well-spring, streaming unto eternal life. By this we have learned all righteousness, all true religion, all true obedience towards our governors, all charity towards one another, all good works that God would have us walk in, what punishment abides the wicked, and what heavenly reward God will give to those who reverently walk in his ways and commandments.

“Therefore, right honorable commissioners, we cannot without impiety, refuse and cast from us the holy word of God which we have received, or condemn anything set forth by our most godly late king Edward, and his virtuous proceedings, so agreeable to God's word. And our most humble suit is that this commandment may be revoked, so that we are not constrained to it. For we protest before God, we think if the holy word of God had not taken some root among us, we could not in times past have done that poor duty of ours, which we did in assisting the queen, our most dear sovereign, against her grace's mortal foe who then sought her destruction. It was our bounden duty, and we thank God for the knowledge of his word and grace, that we then did some part of our bounden service.

“And we meekly pray and beseech the queen's majesty, for the dear passion of Jesus Christ, that the same word not be taken away from her churches, nor from us her loving, faithful and true subjects, lest if the same necessity should chance later (which God for his mercy's sake forbid, and ever save and defend her grace, and us all) the lack of knowledge and due remembrance of God's word may be occasion of great ruin to an infinite number of her grace's true subjects. And truly, we judge this to be one subtle part of the devil, enemy to all godly peace and quietness, that by taking God's word from among us, and planting ignorance, he may make a way for all mischief and wickedness. And by banishing the holy gospel of peace, he may bring upon us the heavy wrath of God, with all manner of plagues, such as death, strange sickness, pestilence, murrain (animal plague), most terrible uproars, commotions and seditions. The Lord threatened these things to the Jews for refusing his word, saying,

‘Go, and tell this people, You hear indeed, but do not understand; and you see indeed, but do not perceive. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed. Then I said, Lord, how long? And he answered, until the cities are wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without a man, and the land is utterly desolate.’ Isa 6.9-11.

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And the prophet Micah, considering the contempt of God's word among the Israelites, threatened them thus:

'The day of your watchmen and your visitation comes; now shall be their perplexity. Do not trust in a friend, put no confidence in a guide; keep the doors of your mouth from her who lies in your bosom. For the son dishonors the father, the daughter rises up against her mother, the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law: a man's enemies are the men of his own house.' Mic 7.4-6.

Christ threatened the same plague to the Jews, for refusing his peace proffered them in the gospel. And he wept over the city Jerusalem, which murdered the prophets, and stoned those who were sent to her.

"We are afraid the same plagues will also fall upon us. For whereas up to now, with the receiving of Christ's word and peaceable gospel, we had great blessings from God, especially this Christian concord and holy peace. So that all were at a full and perfect stay in religion; no man offended another; but as the sons of peace, each of us embraced the other with Christian charity. Now, alas for pity, the devil (riding upon the red horse, shown to St. John in the Revelation), has come forth, and power is given to him to take peace from the earth. For now a man can go no place without having malicious busy-bodies curiously search out his deeds, and mark his words. And if he does not agree with them in despising God's word, then they will spitefully and hatefully rail against him and that word, calling it error and heresy, and the professors of it heretics and schismatics, with other odious and spiteful names, such as traitors and not the queen's friends, not favorers of the queen's proceedings. It is as if to love God's word was heresy; and as though to talk of Christ was schismatic; as though none could be true to the queen, who were not false to God; as though none were the queen's friends, but those who spitefully rail on her grace's father and brother, and on God's word that they set forth; as though none favored the queen's majesty, but those who hate all godly knowledge.

"And in very deed, these things that all this turmoil is made for, are mere inventions of popes, brought into the church by their own imaginations, without commandment or example either from Christ, or from his apostles. There is not one word in the Bible, being truly alleged, that maintains them, nor any doctor of antiquity before St. Augustine's days, as it has been sufficiently proved diverse times before the whole parliament and convocation of this realm.

[917] A.D. 1556.

"Yet these, being mere traditions of bishops, are set out for God's commandments; and the queen's authority (given to her by God to maintain his word) must be abused to put down God's word. And you, right honorable justices, and keepers of laws and righteousness, are also abused and made the bishops apparitors,<sup>652</sup> to set forth such Romish trash as is to Christ's dishonor, and against the supreme authority of the regal estate of this realm. And we poor subjects, for speaking of that which is truth, and our bounden allegiance, are daily punished, railed upon, and noted as being seditious, and not the queen's friends.

"But God who is blessed for ever, knows that they slander us, and pull the thorn out of their own foot and put it in ours. For the searcher of hearts knows that we bear a faithful and true heart toward her grace, and to all her proceedings that are not against God and his holy word. And we daily pray to the heavenly Father, to enlighten her grace's royal heart with the glorious light of the gospel, that she may establish and confirm that religion, that her grace's brother, our most dear king, set out among us; and so governing and ruling this her realm in the fear and true way of God, she may long live, and reign over us with prosperity, peace, and honor.

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<sup>652</sup> *Apparitors*: officers who attend upon a magistrate or judge to execute their orders, or in an ecclesiastical context, officers of a spiritual court who serve citations and execute the mandates of the judge.

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“But we cannot think that those men seek either God’s honor, or her grace’s prosperity, or wealth of the realm, who take God’s word from her grace’s faithful subjects, which alone is the root of all love and faithful obedience under her grace, and of all honesty, good life, and virtuous concord among her commons. And this we fear, lest the root being taken away, the branches will soon wither and be fruitless. When the Philistines have stopped up the well-spring, the fair streams that should flow will soon be dried up. All our watchmen, our true preachers, have taught us that as long as we retained God’s word, we would have God our gracious merciful Father. But if we refused and cast off the Lord’s yoke of his doctrine, then we should look for the Lord’s wrath and severe visitation to plague us, as he did the Jews for the like offenses. And St. Paul says, Rom 11.8. ‘God has given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear, to this day.’ And as David said; Psa 69.22-23. ‘Let their table become a snare before them; and let what should have been for their welfare, become a trap. Let their eyes be darkened so that they do not see, and make their loins shake continually.’

“O, merciful God! All this has now come upon us, and daily increased more and more, and we fear that at last it will so bow down our backs, that we will utterly be destroyed. The troublesome spirit of uproars and disquietness daily trouble men’s hearts, and works such disquietness in all places, that no man who loves quietness, can tell where to place himself. Men have eyes, and do not see how grievous an offense it is to cast off the yoke of God’s doctrine, and to bear the heavy burden that unfaithful hypocrites lay upon us. We have ears, and do not hear the warning of God’s word, calling us to true repentance; nor his threats against our impiety. Our most sweet table of Christ’s word and His most holy communion is taken away, and turned to a most perilous snare, through the brawling disputations of men. And just as the idol of abomination betokened final subversion to the Jewish nation; so we fear, this setting aside of the gospel and holy communion of Christ, and the placing in of a Romish religion, betokens that desolation of this noble realm of England is at hand.

“For the plagues of hunger, pestilence and sword, cannot tarry long. Unless we repent and turn back to the Lord, our backs will be so bowed, that like horrible plagues will ensue which were never seen. And this is no marvel. For the like offense was never committed, as to reject and cast off Christ and his word, and to say in plain English, ‘We will not have him to reign over us.’ O Lord, how terrible it is, what follows in the gospel. ‘Those enemies of mine who would not have me reign over them, bring them here, and slay them before me,’ Luk 19.27. God be merciful to us, and move the queen’s majesty’s heart, and the hearts of her honorable council, and your hearts, right honorable commissioners, to weigh these dangers in due time; and to call God’s word into your council. And then you will see how it agrees with this bishop-like commandment. And be as wary to avoid the contempt of the eternal God and the dangers of doing so, as you are prudent and wise in matters of this world. Lest if the Almighty is despised, he will stretch out his arm, which no man can turn, and kindle his wrath, which no man can quench.

“We have humbly opened our consciences to you, doubtless sorely wounded and grieved by this commandment. And we meekly pray and beseech the queen’s majesty, for the precious death and blood-shedding of Jesus Christ our Savior, to have mercy and pity upon us, her grace’s poor commons, faithful and true subjects, members of the same body politic of which her grace is supreme head. All our bodies, goods, lands and lives, are ready to do her grace faithful obedience and true service of all commandments that are not against God and his word. But in things that import a denial of Christ, and a refusal of his word and holy communion, we cannot consent nor agree to it. For we have bound ourselves in baptism to be Christ’s disciples, and to keep his holy word and ordinances. And if we deny him before men, he will deny us before his heavenly Father and his holy angels in the day of judgment. We trust her benign grace will not require this of us.

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“And we humbly beseech her majesty, that we not be forced to it. But as we serve her grace with body and goods, and due obedience, according to God’s commandment, so we may be permitted to freely serve God, and Christ our Savior, and keep for Him our souls, which he has redeemed with his precious blood, so that as Christ teaches, we may render to Caesar what is due to Caesar, and to God what is due to God.

“For we think it is not true obedience to the queen’s highness, nor to any other magistrate ordained by God under her, to obey in the things contrary to God’s word, even if the same is ever so strictly charged in her grace’s name. The bishop of Winchester has truly taught on that point, in his book ‘Of True Obedience,’<sup>653</sup> that true obedience is *in* the Lord, and not *against* the Lord; as the apostles answered before the council at Jerusalem, which commanded them never more to preach in the name of the Lord Jesus. ‘Whether it is right,’ they said, ‘in the sight of God, to hearken to you more than to God, you judge.’ And again they said, ‘We must obey God rather than man.’ Therefore we learn that true obedience is to obey God, King of all kings, and Lord of all lords; and for Him, in Him, and not against him and his word, to obey the princes and magistrates of this world, who are not truly obeyed when God is disobeyed, nor yet are they disobeyed when God is faithfully obeyed.

“Tobias (Tobit) did not disobey his king, even though he acted contrary to his commandment, and contrary to the usage of all others, when they went to Dan and Bethel, and he went to Jerusalem and worshipped in the temple of the Lord. The three young men in Babylon, refusing Nebuchadnezzar’s commandment, pleased God more than the whole multitude that obeyed. And Daniel, who prayed to the God of heaven, contrary to king Darius’s commandment, bore a truer and more faithful heart to the king than those wicked councilors who procured that wicked law, or those who obeyed it for fear or flattery. These two pestilences — fear and flattery — have ever destroyed true obedience to God and man. When wicked, godless men, who do not care if the devil is worshipped, so long as they might get and obtain riches, promotions, dignity, and worldly glory — turn to and fro, as every wind blows. And weak and frail men, fearing loss of goods, punishment, or death, do outwardly in body what their hearts and consciences inwardly abhor. And so they outwardly disobey God, and in their hearts they dissemble with man. This dissimulation we think is worthy of the hatred of all men, and is most unbecoming for Christian men.

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“Therefore, we humbly beseech the queen’s majesty, with pity and mercy, to tender the lamentable suit of us her poor subjects who are sorely hurt by this commandment, and wounded in our consciences, and driven to many miseries, and by the malicious attempts of wicked men suffer great wrongs and injuries, slanders, loss of goods, and bodily vexations. We think it is not good to seek remedy by any unlawful stir or commotion; but we intend, by God’s grace, to obey her majesty in all things that are not against God and his holy word. But to such ungodly commandments as are against God, we answer with the apostles — God must be obeyed rather than man. If persecution ensues, which some threaten us with, we desire our heavenly Father, according to his promise, to look from heaven, to hear our cry, to judge between us and our adversaries, and to give us faith, strength, and patience to continue faithful to the end, and to shorten these evil days for his chosen’s sake. And so we faithfully believe he will.

“Notwithstanding, we trust the queen’s gracious and merciful heart will not allow such tyranny to be done against her poor, innocent, faithful and obedient subjects, who daily pray to God for her; who have no remedy in this world, but to sue to her highness, our most gracious and benign sovereign; whom we pray and beseech, for the dear blood of Christ, to pity our

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<sup>653</sup> *De Vera Obedientia*, mentioned several times earlier, with Bonner’s *Preface* (see p. 910).

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lamentable case and hurt of conscience, and to call back all such commandments as are against God's honor, as the good kings Darius, Ahasuerus, Trajan, Theodosius, and diverse others have done, and permit the holy word of God and true religion — set forth by our most holy and innocent king Edward, a true saint of God — to be restored again to our churches, to be frequented among us. So we will grow and increase in the knowledge of God and of Christ, in true repentance and amendment of life; so will we exhibit true obedience to our lawful magistrates, and all superiors ordained by God; so will love and charity, of late decayed through this commandment, again be restored; the honor of her regal estate be more confirmed and established; and godliness and virtuous life among her loving subjects be increased and maintained.

“And we most heartily pray you — the right honorable commissioners — to be means to the queen's highness, and to her honorable council, that this humble suit of ours may be favorably tendered, and graciously heard and granted. And we will not cease day and night to pray to the heavenly Father, to long preserve her grace and all other magistrates in His fear and love, and in prosperous peace and wealth, with long life and honor, Amen.

“Your poor suppliants, the lovers of Christ's true religion,  
in Norfolk and Suffolk.”

### *An Account of John Harpole and Joan Beach.*

Joan Beach, widow, of Tunbridge, and John Harpole, of Rochester, were examined by Maurice, bishop of the diocese, who condemned them both together to death, by one form of sentence. And thus these two Christian martyrs joined in one confession, being condemned by the bishop, suffered together at one fire in the town of Rochester, where they ended their lives about the 1st of April.

Next after these followed the martyrdom of John Hullier, minister, who first being brought up in the school of Eton, was afterwards a scholar, and in the king's college at Cambridge, he suffered under Doctor Thirleby, bishop of Ely, and his chancellor, for sincerely setting out the light of God's gracious gospel revealed in these our days. In his behalf, this is to be lamented, that among so many fresh wits and stirring pens in that university, so little is left as to the process of his judgment and order of his suffering, who so innocently gave his life in such a cause in the midst of them. By certain letters which he himself left behind, it appears that he was zealous and earnest in the doctrine of truth which every true Christian man ought to embrace. His martyrdom was about the 2d of April.

### ***Martyrdom of six godly Professors at Colchester.***

Not long after the death of Robert Drakes, William Tyms, and the other Essex martyrs executed in Smithfield, as mentioned before, the martyrdom of six other blessed martyrs followed at one fire in Colchester; namely, Christopher Lyster, husbandman; John Mace, apothecary; John Spencer, weaver; Simon Joyne, sawyer; Richard Nichols, weaver; and John Hamond, tanner.

With these six was joined another whose name was Roger Grasbroke; but afterwards he submitted himself. Of those above named, the bishop, because he now grew weary, made a very quick dispatch. He had them brought to his house at Fulham. There in the open church, the same articles were administered to them that were propounded to others. They gave their several answers to these, agreeing altogether in one truth, namely, that they believed that the church of Rome is no part of Christ's catholic church, and that in the true catholic church of Christ there are but two sacraments; that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. They confessed that they were baptized in the



faith and belief of the catholic church, and that their godfathers and godmothers had so professed and promised for them. They confessed that they always were, and still continued in the faith and profession in which they were baptized; and that they neither swerved nor went away from the catholic faith of Christ. However, they confessed that they had disliked and earnestly spoke against the sacrifice of the mass, and against the sacrament of the altar, affirming that they would not come to hear or be partakers of it because they believed that they were set forth and used contrary to God's word and glory. Moreover, that they had spoken against the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, as an oppressor of Christ's church and gospel, and that he should not have any authority in England, and that they never refused, nor then refused to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's catholic church. But they said they had, and then did, and would ever hereafter utterly refuse to come to the church of Rome, or to acknowledge its authority, for putting down the book of God, the Bible, and setting up the Babylonish mass, with all the rest of antichrist's merchandise.

These answers being made by them, the bishop dismissed them till the afternoon. At that time, standing most firmly to their Christian profession, they were tested by various ways and means, if they would revoke their professed faith and return to the unity of antichrist's church. When they refused this, the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation against them, committing them to the temporal power. On receipt of the king and queen's writ, they were accordingly sent to Colchester. On the 28th of April, they most cheerfully ended their lives to the glory of God's holy name, and the great encouragement of others.

*An Account of Hugh Laverock, an old man,  
and John Apprice, a blind man, Martyrs.*

In treating this part of the history, I do not know whether to marvel more at the great and unsearchable mercies of God, with whom there is no respect of persons — for He chooses the poor, lame, and blind, as well as the rich, mighty, and healthful, to set forth his glory — or else to note the unreasonable, or rather unnatural doing of these unmerciful papists (I mean Bishop Bonner and his accomplices) in whom there was so little favor or mercy to all conditions of men, that they spared neither impotent age, nor lame nor blind. This will appear by the following poor creatures, whose names were Hugh Laverock, of the parish of Barking, painter, aged 68, a lame cripple; and John Apprice, a blind man.

These two poor and simple creatures being accused by some neighbor of theirs to the bishop, were sent for by their officer. And so being delivered into the hands of the bishop, on the 1st of May they were examined in his palace at London. There he first propounded and objected against them nine articles, similar to those administered to Bartlet Green and many others, to which they answered with all Christian faithfulness.

Upon this they were again sent to prison, and beside other times, on the 9th of the month, in the consistory of St. Paul's, they were again publicly produced, and there they were labored with to recant their opinions against the sacrament of the altar.

[919] A.D. 1556.

Hugh Laverock said, "I will stand to my answers, and to what I have confessed. I cannot find in the Scriptures, that the priests should lift a cake of bread up over their head."

The bishop then turned to John Apprice, and asked what he would say.

He answered; "Your doctrine that you set forth and teach, is so agreeable with the world, and embraced by the world, that it cannot be agreeable with the Scriptures of God. And you

are not of the catholic church, for you make laws to kill men, and make the queen your hangman.”

At these words the bishop, somewhat irritated, and therefore very loath to delay their condemnation any longer, commanded that they be brought after him to Fulham. There, in the afternoon, in his solemn manner, in the open church, he pronounced the sentence of condemnation against them. And so delivering them into the hands of the temporal officer, he thought to rid himself of them. But he could not so satisfy his conscience before the judgment of God, from the guiltiness of innocent blood.

The poor men now being in the temporal officer’s hands, were not allowed to remain there long. And therefore, on the 15th of May, very early in the morning, they were carried from Newgate in a cart, to Stratford-le-Bow. Most quietly in the fire, they yielded up their souls into God’s hands, praising Him through a lively faith in Jesus Christ, whom they constantly confessed to the end.

At their death, Hugh Laverock, after he was chained, cast away his crutch, and comforting John Apprice his fellow-martyr, said to him; “Be of good comfort, my brother. For my lord of London is our good physician. He will heal us both shortly — you of your blindness, and me of my lameness.” And so these two good saints of God patiently suffered together.

*Three Women burned in Smithfield.*

The next day after the martyrdom of this lame and blind man, three women were brought to the fire. With them also was joined another, who being of the same opinion and constancy with them, was likewise partaker of the same condemnation. Their names were Katharine Hut, widow; Joan Horns, maiden; Margaret Ellis, maiden; and Elizabeth Tackvell, maiden.

When Bishop Bonner entered into an examination of these four women, he objected the same articles to them that he usually administered, as expressed before. The women likewise agreeing in the same unity of spirit and doctrine, accorded in their answers, much agreeing to the others before them. Namely, they answered that matrimony, and baptism, and the Lord’s Supper were sacraments ordained in the church. But whether the others specified in the articles were sacraments (as they heard them called) ordained by God or not, they could not tell. And they said that they were baptized by their godfathers and godmothers, who did not then know so much. But what their godfathers and godmothers then promised in their names they could not tell. They further answered and confessed that as to the mass, they knew no goodness in it; and as to the sacrament of the altar, they believed that Christ’s natural body is in heaven, and not in the sacrament of the altar; and as concerning the See of Rome, they acknowledged no such supremacy in that See, nor did they have anything to do with it. They all refused to be reconciled or united to the church of Rome, or any other church, contrary to that church in which they now stood and professed. They answered likewise that neither the service in Latin, the mass, the matins and evensong, nor the sacraments, were used and administered according to God’s word. And furthermore, that the mass is an idol; nor is the true body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as they make men believe.

After their answers were received, they were produced again about the 13th of April, and at length were brought to their final judgment. There **Katharine Hut**, standing before the bishop, boldly and constantly maintained what she had said before, neither yielding to his fair promises, nor overthrown with his terror. Being required to speak her mind about the sacrament, and to return to the fellowship of the church of Rome, she openly protested, saying, “I deny it to be God, because it is a dumb God, and made with men’s hands.” This

good and faithful martyr of Christ firmly persisting in this, so received her sentence, being condemned by Bonner to the fire. With great constancy she sustained this by the grace and strength of the Lord, and abided for the cause and love of Christ.

**Joan Horns**, brought likewise to her judgment and condemnation, with like firmness and Christian fortitude, declared herself a true martyr and follower of Christ's testament, giving no place to the adversary. Instead, being charged that she did not believe the sacrament of Christ's body and blood to be Christ himself — of which sacrament, contrary to the nature of a sacrament, the adversaries are accustomed to make an idol-service — to this she openly protested her mind, saying, "If you can make your God to shed blood, or to show any condition of a true lively body, then will I believe you. And in the way which you call heresy, I trust to serve my Lord God," etc.

And as to the Romish see, she said, 'My lord (speaking to Bonner) I forsake all her abominations, and may the good Lord deliver us from them.', when the bishop was too weak to remove her from this, her stable and constant assertion, and too ignorant to convince her, he passed sentence upon her. And so this holy virgin and martyr was committed to the secular power, and was offered up with her fellows, a burnt-sacrifice to the Lord.

As to **Margaret Ellis**, she likewise persevered in her confession, and resisted the false errors and heresies of the papists. She was adjudged and condemned by Bonner. But before the time of her burning arrived, she died in Newgate, and thus she departed and slept in the Lord.

The same strength in the grace of the Lord appeared in the other maiden **Elizabeth Tackvell**, whose heart and mind the Lord had so confirmed in his truth, and so armed with patience, that as her adversaries could not convince her by any sufficient knowledge of Scripture, so by no forcible attempts could they remove her confession. Whereupon standing to the death, being condemned in the same way, she gave her life willingly and mildly for the confirmation and sealing of the sincere truth of God's word.

These three innocent and godly women, thus falsely and wrongfully condemned for the just cause of God's gospel, were conveyed to Smithfield on the 16th of May, and there were cruelly bound to the stake. They gave their bodies to the tormentors, but their spirits they commended to God. For His glory they were willing and ready to suffer whatever the cruel hands of their enemies should work against them, dying more joyfully in the flaming fire, than some of those who burned them did in their beds. Such a Lord is God: glorious and wonderful in all his saints.

*An Account of Thomas Drowry and Thomas Croker.*

You heard a little earlier of two men, the one blind and the other lame, who suffered about the 15th of May. Here is not to be forgotten another as godly a pair, who suffered the like martyrdom for the same cause of religion at Gloucester. Of these two, the one was a blind boy, named Thomas Drowry. The virtuous Bishop Hooper (mentioned before, p. 725) had confirmed Thomas in the Lord, and in the doctrine of His word.

With Thomas Drowry, another was also burned in the same place, and at the same fire in Gloucester, about the 5th of May. His name was Thomas Croker, bricklayer.

Concerning the blind boy, I am not certain how long he was in prison. At his examination and final condemnation, he was brought before Doctor Williams, then chancellor of Gloucester, sitting judicially with the register in the consistory. There the chancellor

administered to the boy the usual articles; among which he chiefly urged the article of transubstantiation, saying in effect as follows

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“Do you not believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remains the very real body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar?”

Thomas. — “No, I do not.”

Chancellor. — “Then you are a heretic, and will be burned: but who has taught you this heresy?”

Thomas. — “Yourself, Master Chancellor.”

Chancellor. — “Where, I pray you?”

Thomas. — “Even in yonder place (pointing with his hand, and turning towards the pulpit, standing upon the north side of the church).

Chancellor. — “When did I teach you so?”

Thomas. — “When you preached there” (naming the day) “a sermon to all men as well as to me, upon the sacrament. You said the sacrament was to be received spiritually by faith, and not carnally and really, as the papists have taught before now.”

Chancellor. — “Then do as I have done, and you will live as I live, and escape burning.”

Thomas. — “Though you can so easily dispense with yourself, and mock with God, the world, and your conscience, yet will I not do so.”

Chancellor. — “Then God have mercy upon you; for I will read the condemnation sentence against you.”

Thomas. — “God’s will be fulfilled.”

The registrar being somewhat moved by this, stood up, and said to the chancellor:

“Fie, for shame, man; will you read the sentence against him, and condemn yourself? Away, away, and substitute some other to give sentence and judgment.”

Chancellor. — “No, registrar, I will obey the law, and give sentence myself; according to my office.”

And so he read the sentence condemnatory against the boy, delivering him over to the secular power. On the 5th day of May, he brought the blind boy to the place of execution at Gloucester, together with one Thomas Croker a bricklayer, also condemned for the like testimony of the truth. Both together in one fire, they most constantly and joyfully yielded their souls into the hands of the Lord Jesus.

*Three Persons burned at Beccles.*

After the death of those mentioned above, three men were burnt at Beccles in Suffolk, in one fire, about the 21st of May, namely, Thomas Spicer, John Denny, and Edmund Poole.

Thomas Spicer was a single man, nineteen years of age, dwelling in Winston in Suffolk. The occasion of his being taken was that he would not go to the popish church to hear mass and receive their idol. This was at the command of Sir John Tyrrel, who sent both Spicer and the other two to a dungeon, till they were all brought together before the chancellor of Norwich, and the registrar at the town of Beccles.

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And there the chancellor, after endeavoring all he could to turn them from the truth, and could by no means prevail, minding to give sentence, he burst out into tears, entreating them to remember themselves, and to turn back to the holy mother church, for they were deceived and outside of the truth, and that they should not willfully cast themselves away, with other like words.

Now as he was thus exhorting them, and seemed very loath to read the sentence, the registrar sitting by, being weary of tarrying, called upon the chancellor in haste to rid them out of the way, and to make an end of it. At these words, the chancellor read the condemnation over them with tears, and delivered them to the secular power.

The articles objected were that they did not believe the pope of Rome to be the supreme head of the universal catholic church on earth, immediately under Christ. That they did not believe holy bread and holy water, ashes, palms, and all other like ceremonies used in the church, were good and laudable to stir up the people to devotion. That they did not believe, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, the very natural body of Christ, and no other substance of bread and wine, are in the sacrament of the altar. That they believed it to be idolatry to worship Christ in the sacrament of the altar. That they took bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's passion. That they would not follow the cross in procession, nor be confessed to a priest. That they affirmed no mortal man has in himself the free-will to do good or evil. For this doctrine, these three were condemned, and committed to the secular power. The next day they were all burnt together in the town of Beccles.

While these good men were at the stake, and had prayed, they stated their beliefs. When they came to "the catholic church," Sir John Silliard said to them, "That is well said, sirs. I am glad to hear you say you believe in the catholic church. That is the best word I have heard from you yet."

To this Edmund Poole answered that, "though they believe in the catholic church, yet they do not believe in the *popish* church, which is no part of Christ's catholic church, and therefore no part of their belief."

When they arose from prayer, they all went joyfully to the stake. Being bound, and the fire burning about them, they praised God in such an audible voice, that it was wonderful to all those who stood by and heard them.

### ***The Persecutions in Suffolk.***

By the procurement of Sir John Tyrrel and others of his colleagues, 13 persons were persecuted and driven out of the town of Winston in Suffolk; and 21 persons out of Mendlesham in this same year. The charge against them was that they believed the holy word of God is sufficient to their salvation, they denied the pope's usurped authority, and held that the whole church of antichrist were Christ's adversaries. They refused the abused sacraments, defied the mass, and all popish service and ceremonies, saying that they robbed God of his honor, and Christ of his death and glory. They held, too, that the ministers of the church, by God's word, might lawfully marry. They held the queen to be the chief head, and wicked rulers to be a great plague sent by God on account of sin. They denied man's freewill, and held that the pope's church erred in that point, and many others with them, rebuking their false confidence in works, and their false trust in man's righteousness.

### *The Death of William Sleech.*

On the last day of May 1556, William Sleech, in prison for the doctrine of the Lord's gospel and the confession of his truth, died in the King's Bench. He was buried at the back of the

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prison, for the Romish spirituality did not think him worthy to come within their holy church-yards, in any Christian burial.

*Four Men Condemned at Levies.*

The following June, four martyrs suffered together at Lewes: namely, Thomas Harland, John Oswald, Thomas Avington, and Thomas Read.

In the bishop of London's registers, I find it objected to Thomas Harland, for not coming to church. He answered that, "After the mass was restored, he never had the will to hear it because it was in Latin, which he did not understand."

John Oswald, refused to answer anything, until his accusers were brought face to face before him. He said, "That fire and faggots could not make him afraid. But just as the good preachers who were in King Edward's time had suffered and gone before, so was he ready to suffer and come after."

These four, after long imprisonment in the King's Bench, were burned together at Lewes in Sussex, in one fire, on the 6th of June.

In the same town of Lewes, were burned Thomas Wood, minister, and Thomas Miles, about the 29th of the same month, for resisting the erroneous and heretical doctrine of the pretended catholic church of Rome.

[921] A.D. 1556.

In that month also, William Adherall, minister, imprisoned in the King's Bench, died there and was buried in the back of the prison. Also John Clement, wheelwright, dying in the prison, was buried in the same way on the 25th of June.

The next day, we read of a young man, a merchants servant, who suffered cruel persecution by the papists, and was burnt at Leicester on the 26th of June.

Not long after the death of this servant, eleven men and two women were burned in one fire at Stratford-le-Bow, near London. Their dwellings were in sundry places in Essex. On the 6th of June, Doctor Darbyshire, Bonner's chancellor, ministered the usual articles to them, to which they gave their answers in simplicity and in a good conscience.

When these thirteen persons were condemned, the day was appointed when they would suffer, which was the 27th of June 1556. They were carried from Newgate to Stratford-le-Bow, and there were separated into two separate chambers. Afterwards, the sheriff came to one part, and told them that the other had recanted, and their lives therefore would be saved, exhorting them to do the same, and not to cast themselves away. They answered that their faith was not built on man, but on Christ crucified. Then the sheriff, perceiving no good to be done with them, went to the other part, and said the same to them, that those whom he had been with before, had recanted, and would therefore not suffer death. He counselling them to do the same, and not willfully kill themselves, but to act the part of wise men, etc. They answered as their brethren had done before, that their faith was not built on man, but on Christ and his word, etc. When he saw it did not avail to persuade them (for they were, God be praised, firmly grounded on the rock Jesus Christ) he then led them to the place where they would suffer. And being all there together, they earnestly prayed to God, and joyfully went to the stake, and embraced it very heartily.

The eleven men were tied to three stakes, but the two women were loose in the midst, without any stake, and so they were all burnt in one fire, with such love to each other, and

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constancy in our Savior Christ, that it made all the lookers on marvel. The Lord grant us the like grace in the like need, according to the good pleasure of his will! Amen.

In the company of these thirteen, three more were condemned to die. They answered to the articles that were propounded to the thirteen, in effect as the others did. And thus being in the hands of the secular power, Cardinal Poole sent his dispensation for their lives, by means of which they then escaped.

The Sunday after these sixteen were condemned, Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, preached at St. Paul's Cross, where he declared that these sixteen had as many opinions as there were persons. At hearing of this sermon, they drew up their faith in writing, and signed their names, and directed it to their friends and to the faithful congregation, as follows:

“To all our dearly beloved friends, and the holy congregation of Jesus Christ, even so many as love God, grace be with you, and peace from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. So be it.

“Let it be manifest to all by whom this, our certificate, will be seen, that where on Saturday, the 13th of June, at Fulham, before the bishop of London, sixteen of us, whose names are subscribed hereunder, were condemned to die for the most pure and sincere truth of Christ's truth. This most godly truth has been continually defaced from the beginning by the wicked adversaries of it, and it is even at present likewise daily slandered by the devil and his agents. On this occasion, dearly beloved brethren, we are moved, indeed constrained in the ears of all men, to manifest our belief and also briefly the articles for which we are condemned, to avoid false reports and slanderous tongues which might happen by the most ungodly and uncharitable sermon recently preached at St. Paul's Cross, on Sunday the 14th of June, by Master Fecknam, now dean of the same church. There, in that most worthy audience, he defamed us to be in sixteen differing opinions, which would be a prejudicial thing to all Christian truth. And for a testimonial of this, what is written hereunder will answer our cause. Therefore we pray you who are of God, to judge.

“First, we believe we were baptized in the faith of Christ's church, and incorporated to Him, and made members of his church, in which faith we continue. And although we have erred for a certain time, yet the root of faith was preserved in us by the Holy Ghost, who has reduced us into a full certainty of the same, and we persist in it, and will persist, by God's assistance, to the end. Now mark that although the minister was of the malignant church, his wickedness did not hurt us, for he baptized us in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

“There was both the word and the element, and our godfathers and godmothers renounced for us the devil and all his works, and they confessed the articles of the Christian faith for us, and were also witnesses that we are baptized, not in the faith of the church of Rome, but in the faith of Christ's church.

“There are but two sacraments in Christ's church; that is, the sacrament of baptism, and the Lord's supper. For in these are contained the faith of Christ's church; that is, the two testaments, the law and the gospel. The effect of the law is repentance, and the effect of the gospel is remission of sins.

“2. We believe that there is a visible church in which the word of God is preached, and the holy sacraments are truly administered, visible to the wicked world, even if it is not credited and confirmed by the death of saints, as it was in the time of Elijah the prophet as well as now.

“3. The See of Rome is the See of antichrist, the congregation of the wicked, etc., of which the pope is head under the devil.

“4. The mass is not only a profanation of the Lord's supper, but also a blasphemous idol.

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“5. God is neither spiritually nor corporeally in the sacrament of the altar, and there remains no substance in the same, but only the substance of bread and wine.

“For these, the articles of our belief, we being condemned to die, willingly offer our corruptible bodies to be dissolved in the fire, all assenting and consenting to it with one voice, and in no point dissenting or disagreeing from any of our former articles.

“It is also apparent, let it be known, that being examined about the former articles before the bloody bishop, at the said day and time, we affirmed to believe all that he or they would approve by the Scripture. But he said that he would not stand to prove it with heretics. He said they themselves were the holy church, and that we ought to believe them, or else be cut off like withered branches.

“Signed, Ralph Jackson, Edmund Hurst.  
Henry Adlington. Laurence Parnam.  
Lyon Cawch. Thomas Bowyer.  
William Halliwell. Elizabeth Pepper.  
George Searles. Agnes George.  
John Routh. Thomas Freeman.  
John Derifall. William Stannard.  
Henry Wye. William Adams.”

In the diocese of Lichfield, about the 14th of June in the same year, **John Colstock** who had recently come from London, and was now dwelling at Wellington, though he did not suffer martyrdom, he sustained some trouble. He was attached and examined by the bishop, especially for two points: in holding against the reality of Christ in the sacrament, and against auricular confession made to the priest. Being compelled to recant these, he was enjoined, in the church of St. Cedde, to bear a faggot before the cross, bare-beaded, having a taper in the one hand, and a pair of beads in the other, etc.

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Among many others who in the same diocese and at the same time were suspected and troubled for the same beliefs, were **Thomas Flier** and **Nicholas Ball** of Uttoxeter, **Thomas Pyot** of Chedull, and others.

In the same month, in the prison of the King's-bench in Southwark, one **Thomas Parret** died. He was buried in the back of the prison, on the 27th of June.

Also **Martin Hunt**, in the same prison, died through hunger on the 29th. Likewise dying at that time in the same prison, as I find it recorded, was one **John Norice**, and in the same manner as the other. He was buried at the back of the prison.

After the death of Thomas Parret, Martin Hunt, and John Norice, three were martyred in one fire at St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk; namely, Roger Bernard, Adam Foster, and Robert Lawson.

When **Roger Bernard** came before the bishop, he was asked whether he had been with the priest at Easter to be absolved, and whether he had received the blessed sacrament of the altar, or not? Roger Bernard answered, “No: I have not been with the priest, nor confessed to him, but I have confessed my sins to Almighty God, and I trust He has forgiven me. I will not need to go to the priest for such matters, who cannot help himself.”

Bishop. — “Surely, Bernard, you must go and confess yourself to him.”

Roger. — “That I will not do, by God's grace, while I live.”



Bishop. — “What a stout heretic this is! How pertly he answers ‘.’”

Roger.--” My lord, it does not grieve me to be called a heretic at your hands, for so your forefathers called the prophets and confessors of Christ, long before this time.”

At these words the bishop rose up in a great passion, and bade Bernard to follow him. Then the bishop went and kneeled before what they call the sacrament of the altar. As he was in his prayers, kneeling, he looked back, and asked Bernard why he did not come and do as he did? Bernard answered, “I cannot tell why I should do so.” “Why you stupid fellow,” the bishop said, pointing to the pix over the altar, “whom do you see yonder?”

Roger. — “I see no body there. Do you, my lord.”

Bishop. — “Why, naughty man, do you not see your Maker?”

Roger — “My Maker! No, I see nothing but a few clothes hanging together.”

With that, the bishop rose up sorely displeased, and commanded the jailor to take him away, and to lay enough irons on him. “For,” he said, “I will tame him before he goes from me,” and so he was carried away.

The next day Bernard was brought again before the bishop, who asked him if he remembered himself since the day before, when he was before him?

Roger. — “Yes, my lord, I have remembered myself very well, for the same man I was yesterday, I am this day, and I hope shall be all the days of my life, concerning the matter you talked with me about.”

Then one of the guard standing by, said, “My lord, I pray you, do not trouble yourself any more with him, but let me examine of him. I will handle him in another way, I trust, and make him a fair child before he goes, you will see.” So he was committed to him.

The guard brought Bernard to an inn, where were a great number of priests assembled together, and there they commenced flattering him, and persuading him with enticing words, whatever they could. But when they could not prevail, for the Lord assisted the good poor man, they began to threaten him with whipping, stocking, burning, and such like. Bernard said, “Friends, I am not better than my master Christ and the prophets, which your fathers served in such a way. And for His name’s sake, I am content to suffer the like at your hands, if God so permits, trusting that He will strengthen me in it according to his promise, in spite of the devil and all his ministers.” So when they could not make him relent or yield, they carried him to the bishop, who immediately condemned him as a heretic, and delivered him to the secular power.

**Adam Foster**, 26 years of age, was taken at home in his house, because he would not go to church and hear mass, and receive at Easter, unless he might have it according to Christ’s holy ordinance. Accordingly, he was sent to Norwich, and there he was condemned by bishop Hopton.

**Robert Lawson** was a single man, 30 years of age, a linen weaver by vocation. He was apprehended because he would not go to church to hear mass, and receive their popish idol.

When these three aforesaid martyrs were carried to their deaths at Edmund’s-bury, after they had offered their prayer at the stake, they most triumphantly ended their lives, in such a happy and blessed condition, as notably set forth their constancy and joyful end, to the great praise of God, and their commendation in Him, and also to the encouragement of others in the same cause.

**John Fortune**, otherwise called Cutler, of Hintlesham in Suffolk, was a blacksmith by occupation. They had him in examination before them a little before, on the 20th of April. In spirit he was zealous and ardent, in the Scriptures ready, in Christ's cause stout and valiant, and no less patient in his wrongful suffering than constant in his doctrine. Whether he was burned, or died in prison, I cannot certainly find. It is certain, however, that he was taken away, and he never yielded. You will hear what his examinations and answers were before Doctor Parker and Master Foster, written with his own hand.

*The Examination of John Fortune  
before Doctor Parker and Master Foster.*

“First Doctor Parker asked me ‘if I believed in the catholic faith!’

“And I asked him ‘which faith he meant; whether the faith that Stephen held, or the faith of those who put Stephen to death?’

“Doctor Parker being incited, said, ‘What a naughty fellow this is! You will soon see he will deny the blessed sacrament of the altar.’

“Then Master Foster said, ‘I know you well. You are a busy merchant. What do you say about the blessed mass?’

“I stood still, and made no answer.

“Then Master Foster asked, ‘Why do you not speak, and give the gentleman an answer?’

“And I said, ‘Silence is a good answer to a foolish question.’

“Then the Doctor said, ‘I am sure he will deny the blessed sacrament of the altar also.’

“And I said, ‘I know of none such, but only the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.’

“Then he said, ‘You deny the order of the seven sacraments. Why do you not believe in the sacrament of the altar?’

“And I said, ‘because it is not written in God's book,’

“Then he said, ‘You will not believe unwritten truths.’

“And I said, ‘I will believe that those unwritten truths which agree with the written truth are true. But those unwritten things that are of your own making, and invented from your own brain, I do not believe.’

“‘Well,’ said Master Forster, ‘you will be whipped and burned for this.’

“When I came before the bishop of Norwich, he asked me if I did not believe in the catholic church. I said I believed in that church of which Christ is the head.

“Then the bishop said, ‘Do you not believe that the pope is supreme head of the church?’ And I said, ‘No, Christ is the head of the true church.’

[923] A.D. 1556.

“Bishop. — ‘So I believe also. But the pope is God's vicar on earth, and the head of the church, and I believe that he has power to forgive sins also.’

“Then I said, ‘The pope is but a man, and the prophet David says. Psa 49.7-8, None of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him. For the redemption of their soul is precious, and it ceases forever.’

“Well,’ he said, ‘what do you say to the ceremonies of the church?’

“And I answered, ‘All things which my heavenly Father has not planted, shall be plucked up by the roots,’ says Christ, ‘for they are not from the beginning, nor shall they continue to the end.’

“Bishop. — ‘They are good and godly, and necessary to be used.’

“Saint Paul called them weak and beggarly.’

“Bishop. — ‘No, that is a lie.’

“Hearing that, I said, ‘St. Paul writes thus to the Galatians, ‘Foolish Galatians who has bewitched you, that you seek to be in bondage to these weak and beggarly ceremonies? Now which of you lie? You, or St. Paul? And also it is said that works instituted and enjoined without the commandment of God, do not pertain to the worship of God. According to the text, Mat 15.9. ‘In vain they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.’ And Christ openly rebuked the scribes, lawyers, Pharisees, doctors, priests, bishops, and hypocrites, for making God’s commandments of no effect, to support their own tradition.’

“Bishop. — ‘You lie! There is no such word in all the Scriptures, you naughty heretic. You are worse than all other heretics, for Hooper and Bradford admitted them to be good, and you do not. Away with him!’

“The bishop again asked, ‘What do you believe about the sacrament of the altar? Do you not believe that after the consecration, there is the real substance of the body of Christ?’

“And I answered him, ‘That is the greatest plague that ever came into England.’

“Bishop. — ‘Why so?’

“I said, ‘If I were a bishop, and you were a poor man as I am, I would be ashamed to ask such a question. If it is not God *before* the consecration, then it is not God *after*. For God is without beginning and without ending.’

“Then he said, ‘Behold, what a stiff heretic this is! He has denied all of these together. What do you say? Is it idolatry to worship the blessed sacrament, or not?’

“God is a Spirit, and He will be worshipped in spirit and in truth.’

“Bishop. — ‘I asked you no such question. Answer me directly.’

“I answer that this is the God Mauzzim,<sup>654</sup> that robs God of his honor.’

“Bishop. — ‘It is a pity that the ground bears you, or that you have a tongue to speak. Away with him; for he has spoken too much.’”

In the register of Norwich I find that his sentence of condemnation was drawn and registered; but it is not said whether it was pronounced.

#### *The Death of John Careless in the King’s Bench.*

About the 1st of July, among other prisoners who died in the same year in the King’s-bench, was one John Careless, of Coventry, a weaver. Though by the secret judgment of Almighty God, he was prevented by death from coming to the full martyrdom of his body, yet he is no

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<sup>654</sup> *Mauzzim, or Muhuzzim: god of fortresses, so named in Dan 11.38-39.*

less worthy to be counted in honor and place among Christ's martyrs, than others who suffered most cruel torments.

***The Martyrdom of Julius Palmer, John Gwin, and Thomas Askin.***

About the 16th of July, three godly and constant martyrs suffered at Newbury, among whom was **Julius Palmer**, sometime student and fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford, and afterwards schoolmaster in the town of Reading. There is no one example, in the whole godly fellowship of martyrs, more to be marked, indeed, more to be wondered at than this one, who all King Edward's days was a papist in the University of Oxford. He was so obstinate that he utterly abhorred all godly prayer, and sincere preaching. And he was likewise abhorred by almost all with whom he lived, and (as I deny) pointed at with the finger. Yet afterward, in Queen Mary's time, he suffered a most cruel death at the hands of the papists, at Newbury in Berkshire, for the zealous profession of the blessed truth.

Palmer was born in Coventry, where also his parents dwelt. His father had been mayor of the city, and followed merchandise. How he was brought up in his young and tender years, we do not know, but he was at one time a scholar to one Harley, who taught the free-school of Magdalen College in Oxford. He had a very prompt and ready memory, and a sound and vigorous judgment. He spoke Latin with great facility of utterance, and did not lack competent knowledge in the Greek tongue; so that many times he supplied the place of the Greek reader in his house. He was a subtle disputer, both in the public schools, and also at home. He used to say that he was never so pleasantly occupied as when he came to the hard debating of profound questions in philosophy. So that he has oftentimes watched and spent the whole night in the discussing and searching out the truth of deep and abstruse questions. He greatly abhorred all cavilling, and all frivolous talk. He was not captious (critical), but would reason so soberly and with such probability, that even his adversaries would marvel no less at the dexterity of his invention, than at his propriety and decent behavior. Although he applied to divinity very late, it appears that he recompensed the short time of his study with the greatness of his diligence.

And to speak somewhat of his civil behavior, he was of courteous manners, without curiosity, of a cheerful countenance without high looks, of pleasant speech without affectation; he was affable and humble as any child, and yet quick spirited, and vehement in reasoning. He practiced no deceit towards any man, for he was of such simplicity, that he was more apt to be deceived than to deceive, and he was so great a despiser of all reproaches and injuries, that he would say, 'None were to be counted valiant, but those who could despise injury.'

In private study he was so indefatigable, that ordinarily he rose every morning at four o'clock, and usually did not go to bed before ten at night. As he grew in years and understanding, he came to a bachelor of arts, and at length, to a fellowship in Magdalen College. There he was also admitted to the office of a reader in logic, A.D. 1550. Now, if he had at the first favored sincere religion so much that he followed his book, then we would have had less matter to note in him. But, indeed, he was so addicted to the Romish faith, that his company and conversation was altogether with those who were utter enemies to the gospel of Christ. If he came to common prayer at any time, it was by force and compulsion, for otherwise he did not come. He would not hear sermons himself, nor yet allow his scholars to resort to them, for he was fully persuaded that they might be better occupied at home. The preachers themselves he both disdained and despised, and all those who set forth sound doctrine. So, for his popish pranks he was afterwards expelled from the house.

After this, he was obliged, for his maintenance, to apply himself to be a teacher of children in the house of Sir Francis Knolles. He continued in this avocation till the coming in of Queen Mary. And when her visitors were sent to Magdalen College to displace the fellows who were learned, and to put right catholics (as they called them) in their places, then came this Julius Palmer. He expected to be restored to his living, of which he had been deprived before, thinking that those would restore him, whose faith and religion he defended and maintained to the utmost of his power. And indeed he obtained it. Then, after he was restored to his house in Queen Mary's reign, God dealt so mercifully with him, that in the end, from an obstinate papist, he became an earnest and zealous gospeller.

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When he was restored to his college, even though he began to somewhat favor and taste God's truth by conference and company with certain godly and zealous men, he was not thoroughly persuaded, but in most points, he continued for a while either blind, or else doubtful. Yet he continually discussed in private reasoning, both whatever points he was fully resolved in, and also whatever points he doubted. For such was always his nature, both in papistry and in the gospel, to utterly detest all dissimulation. So that, because of his plainspokenness, he suffered much both in King Edward's, and also in Queen Mary's time.

Now, within a short time, God so wrought in his heart, that he became very inquisitive, and careful to hear and understand how the martyrs were apprehended, what articles they died for, how they were used, and in what way they took their death. It went so far that he did not spare, at his own expense, to send one of his scholars in the company of a bachelor of that house, over to Gloucester to see and understand the whole order of bishop Hooper's death, and to bring him a true report. Some think he did this, because in King Edward's time he used to say that none of them would stand to death for their religion. Thus he learned with what great extreme and horrible cruelty the martyrs of God were tried, and how valiantly they overcame all kinds of torments to the end. He had more experience of this himself afterwards, at the examination and death of those holy confessors and martyrs who were burned at Oxford before his eyes. So that the first hope which the godly conceived of him, was at his return from the burning of bishop Ridley and bishop Latimer. Then, in the hearing of his friends, he broke out into these and similar words; "Oh raging cruelty! O tragic tyranny, and more than barbarous!"

From that day forward he studiously sought to understand the truth. And therefore with all speed he borrowed Peter Martyr's commentaries, and other good books. And so through hearty prayer, and diligent search and meditation on the Scriptures, at length he believed and embraced the truth with great joy. And he so profited in it, that he daily more and more declared it both in word and deed.

At length through God's grace, he grew up to such maturity and ripeness in the truth, that he did not spare to show it in his outward behavior and doings. For when he should keep his bowing measures at the Confiteor<sup>655</sup> (as the custom was) in turning himself to and fro, sometimes eastward, sometimes westward, and afterwards knock his breast at the elevation time — his heart so vehemently rose against these idolatrous adorations, that sometimes he would absent himself from them; and sometimes, being there, he would, even at the sacrificing or consecrating time (as they termed it) get himself out of the church to avoid those ungodly gestures and idolatrous adoration. To be short, seeing that his new life and old living might not well nor quietly stand together, he resolved to depart the house. Being asked by a special

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<sup>655</sup> *Confiteor*: a prayer of confession of sinfulness, used at the beginning of Mass and on other occasions.

friend (who would gladly have persuaded him to stay there longer) where he would go, or how he would live, he gave this answer: "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof. Let the Lord work; I will commit myself to God, and the wide world."

Shortly after he had yielded up his fellowship in Oxford, through God's providence, who never fails those who first seek his glory, he was placed schoolmaster by patent in the grammar-school of Reading. There he was well-accepted by all those who feared God, and favored his word, for his good learning and knowledge, as well as for his earnest zeal and profession of the truth. But Satan, the enemy of all godly attempts, envying his good proceedings and prosperous success in these things, would not allow him to long be quiet there. Therefore he stirred up certain doubled-faced hypocrites against him, who had crept in by dissimulation and crafty insinuation, to understand his secrets, under the pretense of a zeal for the Gospel. Suspecting no deceit, he joyfully embraced these men, making them privy to all his doings. For as he himself was then fervently inflamed with the love of heavenly doctrine, so he had a great desire, by all means possible, to allure and encourage others to the profession of the love of doctrine.

These "faithful and trusty brethren," as soon as they found a good opportunity, did not spare in his absence to rifle his study of godly books and writings. Among these were Palmer's arguments, written against the popish proceedings, and especially against the unnatural and brutish tyranny executed towards the martyrs of God. When they had done this, they were not ashamed to threaten him, that they would exhibit them to the council unless he would, depart from their coasts without delay, and give over the school to a friend of theirs. The truth of this story appears in part by a letter written with his own hand, from prison, eight days before he was burned.

Thus this young man, to save his life, was forced to depart from Reading. And so he took his journey towards Ensham, where his mother dwelt, hoping to obtain at her hands, certain legacies due to him by his father's last will. His mother, understanding his state, as soon as she beheld him on his knees, asking for her blessing as he had been accustomed to do, spoke thus to him: "You will have Christ's curse and mine, wherever you go."

Pausing a little, as one amazed at so heavy a greeting, at length he said, "Oh mother! Your own curse you may give me, which God knows I never deserved; but God's curse you cannot give me, for he has already blessed me."

"No," she says, "You went from God's blessing into the warm sun, when you were banished as a heretic out of that worshipful house in Oxford. And now for the same knavery, you are driven out of Reading too."

"Alas, mother," he said, "you have been misinformed. I was not expelled nor driven away, but freely resigned of my own accord. And I am no heretic, for I do not stand stubbornly against any true doctrine, but defend it to my power. And you may be sure, they usually do not expel or banish, but burn heretics, as they term them."

"Well," she replied, "I am sure you do not believe as your father and I do, and as all our forefathers have done. But as we were taught by the new law in King Edward's days, which is damnable heresy."

"Indeed, I confess," he said, "that I believe that doctrine which was taught in King Edward's time, which is not heresy but truth; nor is it new, but as old as Christ and his apostles."

"If you are at that point," she said, "I require you to depart from my house, and out of my sight, and never take me more for your mother hereafter. As for money and goods I have

none of yours, your father bequeathed nothing for heretics. I have faggots to burn you; more you will not get at my hands. “

“Mother,” he said, “as you have cursed me, I pray God to bless you, and prosper you all your life long.” And with sweet words and an abundance of tears trickling down his cheeks, he departed from her.

Thus poor Palmer, being destitute of worldly friendship, did not know which way to turn his face. Soon after, when he had thought to himself, it came to his mind to return secretly to Magdalen college, on the assured trust and affiance that he had a friend or two in that house.

Afterwards, as he went along, musing and pondering about matters, it came into his head (as he writes in an epistle to one of his friends) to leave his appointed journey, and return secretly to Reading, trusting there, by the help of friends, to receive his quarter's stipend, and convey his property to the custody of some trusty body. He did not come so secretly that his enemies did not have knowledge of it. Without delay they laid their heads together, and consulted what way they might most safely proceed against him. Soon it was concluded that one Master Hampton should resort to him under the pretense of friendship.

Palmer, as he was a simple man, and without any guile, opened to him his whole intent. But Hampton earnestly persuaded him to the contrary, and went away. Palmer not suspecting mischief, called for his supper, and went quietly to bed.

[925] A.D.1556.

But he could not quietly rest there long, for shortly after, the officers came rushing in with lanterns and bills, requiring him in the king and queen's name to make himself ready, and to quietly depart with them. So this young man, perceiving that he was thus betrayed (without opening his lips) was led away as a lamb to the slaughter. He was committed to prison, whom the keeper, like a ravening wolf, greedy for his prey, brought down into a vile, stinking, and dark dungeon, prepared for thieves and murderers. And there he left him for a time, hanging by the hands and feet in a pair of stocks.

In this cave or dungeon he remained about ten days, under the tyranny of this unmerciful keeper.

After this he was brought before the mayor, and there many grievous and enormous crimes were laid to his charge, such as treason, sedition, surmised murder, and adultery.

Palmer answered that if such horrible and heinous crimes could be proved against him, he would patiently submit himself to all kinds of torments that could be devised.

He so clearly overthrew their evidence, and defended his own innocence, that the mayor himself was ashamed that he had given credit to them, so that he sought how they might convey him out of the country secretly.

Then his enemies, afraid that he would escape their hands, charged him with the letters and papers which had been stolen from his study, and they accused him of heresy. Thus Palmer was once again called out of the prison to appear before the mayor and two other justices, to render an account of his faith, and to answer to such articles as were laid against him. It was concluded that he should be sent over to Newbury, to the visitation about to be held there.

On the 16th of July, four or five seats were prepared in the choir of the parish church of Newbury for the visitors, whose names were Doctor Jeffrey, for the bishop of Sarum; Sir Richard Abridges, knight and then high sheriff of the shire; Sir William Ramsford, knight;

John Winchcomb esquire, and the parson of Inglefield. After the prisoners were presented, the commission was read, and other things done in order accordingly. Doctor Jeffrey called to Palmer, and said; “Are you that jolly writer of three half-penny books that we hear of?”

Palmer. — “I know not what you mean.”

Jeffrey. — “Have you taught Latin so long, that now you do not understand English?”

To this he answered nothing.

Then Doctor Jeffrey standing up, said, “We have received certain writings and articles against you, from the right worshipful the mayor of Reading, and other justices, by which we understand that you were convicted of certain heresies.

1. That you deny the pope’s holiness’ supremacy.
2. That you hold there are but two sacraments.
3. That the priest holds up an idol at mass; and therefore you went to no mass since your first coming to Reading.
4. That there is no purgatory.
5. That you are a sower of sedition, and have sought to divide the unity of the queen’s subjects.

Tell me, Palmer, are you the one who wrote this volume?”

Palmer. — “I wrote it indeed, and gathered it out of the Scripture.”

Jeffrey. — “Are you not ashamed to own it? It came from no good spirit, that you both railed at the dead, and slandered a learned and catholic man who is yet alive.”

Palmer. — “If it is a slander, he has slandered himself. For I but report his own writing, and expose the folly in it. And I reckon it is no railing to inveigh against Annas and Caiaphas being dead.”

Jeffrey. — “Do you say so? I will make you recant it, and wring peccavi <sup>656</sup> out of your lying lips before I am done with you.”

Palmer. — “But I know that although of myself I am not able to do anything, yet if you and all my enemies, both bodily and spiritually, would do your worst, you will not be able to bring that to pass. Nor will you prevail against God’s mighty Spirit, by whom we understand the truth, and speak it so boldly.”

Jeffrey. — “Ah, are you full of the Spirit? Are you inspired with the Holy Spirit?”

Palmer. — “Sir, no man can believe except by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, if I were not a spiritual man, and inspired with God’s Holy Spirit, I would not be a true Christian. ‘He that does not have the .Spirit of Christ, is none of his.’ “

Jeffrey. — “I perceive you lack no words.”

Palmer. — “Christ has promised not only to give us a store of necessary words, but with them, such force of matter as the gates of hell shall not be able to confound or prevail against it.”

Register. — “Sir, if you allow him to impudently trifle with you thus, he will never be done.”

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<sup>656</sup> *Peccavi*: an acknowledgment of one’s error or guilt.



Jeffrey. — “Well, you will understand, that I do not I have it in commission at present to dispute with you, nor would it be appropriate that we call again into question those articles wish were already discussed and perfectly defined by our mother the holy church, whom we ought to believe without why or wherefore, as the creed tells us. But the reason why you are now called here, is that you might be examined upon such articles as are administered against you, about your own hand-writing, so that it may be seen whether you will stand to it, or not. What do you say to this?”

Palmer. — “By your holy church you mean the synagogue of Rome, which is not universal, but a *particular* church. I believe the catholic church, yet not for her own sake, but because she is holy — that is to say, a church that has grounded her belief upon the word of her spouse Christ.”

Jeffrey. — “Answer my question directly — Will you stand to your writing, or will you not?”

Palmer. — “If you prove any sentence comprised in it, not to stand with God’s word, I will quickly recant it.”

Jeffrey. — “You impudent fellow, have I not told you that I did not come to dispute with you, but to examine you?”

Here the parson of Inglefield, pointing to the pix, said, “What do you see over there?”

Palmer. — “A canopy of silk broidered with gold.”

Parson. — “Yea, but what is within it?”

Palmer. — “A piece of bread.”

Parson. — “You are as froward a heretic as I ever talked with!” (Here much was spoken concerning confession, and other parts of the mass.)

Parson. — “Do you not believe that those who receive the holy sacrament of the altar, truly eat Christ’s natural body?”

Palmer. — “If the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper is administered as Christ ordained it, the faithful receivers do indeed spiritually and truly eat and drink in it Christ’s very natural body and blood.”

Parson. — “The faithful receivers? You cannot blind our eyes with such sophistry. Do not all manner of receivers, good and bad, faithful and unfaithful, receive the very natural body in the form of bread?”

Palmer. — “No, Sir.”

Parson. — “How do you prove that?”

Palmer. — “By this verse, ‘He that eats me, even he shall live by me.’”

Parson. — “See that silly fellow. Do you not read likewise, ‘Whoever calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved?’ Do none but the godly call upon him? Therefore mark how St. Paul answers you. He says that the wicked eat the true body to their condemnation.”

Palmer. — “I say that St. Paul has no such words.”

Parson. — “See, the impudent fellow denies the plain text. ‘He that eats and drinks *the body* of the Lord unworthily, etc.’”

Palmer. — “I beseech you lend me your book.’

Parson. — “No. “

The Sheriff. — “I pray you lend him your book.” (So the book was given over to him.)

Palmer. — “Your own book has, ‘He that eats *this bread*,’ not *this body*.’ I have shut your lips with your own book.”

Jeffrey. — “It is no matter whether you write bread or body, for we are able to prove that he meant the body. And where you say they eat it spiritually, that is but a blind shift.”

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Palmer. — “What else should I say?”

Jeffrey. — “As holy church says, really, carnally, substantially.”

Palmer. — “And with as good Scripture, I may say *grossly* or *monstrously*.”

Jeffrey. — “You speak wickedly. But tell me, is Christ present in the sacrament or not?”

Palmer. — “He is present.”

Jeffrey. — “How is he present?”

Palmer. — “The doctors say, in an ineffable way. Therefore why do you ask me?”

Sir Richard Abridges, on the same day after dinner, sent for Palmer to come to his lodging. There he exhorted him to revoke his opinions, to spare his young years, wit, and learning, saying, “If you will be conformable, and show yourself repentant, I promise you I will give you food and drink, and books, and ten pounds yearly. And if you will set your mind to marriage, I will procure you a wife and a farm, and help to furnish your farm for you.”

Palmer thanked him very courteously, and answered concerning his religion somewhat at large, but very modestly and reverently. He concluded in the end, that as he had already renounced his living in two places for Christ’s sake, so he would with God’s grace, be ready to surrender and yield up his life also for the same, when God might send time.

Sir Richard. — “Well, Palmer, then I perceive one of us two will be damned. For we are of two faiths, and I am certain there is but one faith that leads to life and salvation.”

Palmer. — “O, Sir, I hope that we both will be saved.”

Sir Richard. — “How may that be?”

Palmer. — “Right well, Sir. For as it has pleased our merciful Savior, according to the parable in the gospel, to call me at the third hour of the day, at the age of twenty-four years, even so I trust he has called, and will call you at the eleventh hour of your old age, and give you everlasting life for your portion.”

Sir Richard. — “Do you say so? Well, Palmer, well, I wish I might have you but one month in my house. I have no doubt that I would convert you, or you would convert me.”

Winchcomb. — “Take pity on your golden years, and pleasant flowers of youth, before it is too late.”

Palmer. — “Sir, I long for those springing flowers that will never fade away.”

Winchcomb. — “If you are at that point, I am done with you.”

The next morning, the 16th of July, Palmer was required to subscribe to certain articles which they had drawn out, as the cause of his condemnation. In the front of them many heinous terms were collected together, such as “horrible, heretical, damnable, devilish and execrable doctrine.” Palmer refused to subscribe to these words, affirming that the doctrine which he professed was not such, but good and sound doctrine.

Jeffrey. — “You may see, good people, what shifts these heretics seek, to escape burning, when they see justice administered to them. But I tell you, this style is agreeable to the law, and therefore I cannot alter it.”

Palmer. — “Then I cannot subscribe to it.”

Jeffrey. — “Will you then crave mercy, if you do not like justice, and revoke your heresy?”

Palmer. — “I forsake the pope, and his popelings, with all popish heresy.”

Jeffrey. — “Then subscribe to the articles.”

Palmer. — “Alter the epithets, and I will subscribe.”

Jeffrey. — “Subscribe, and qualify the matter with your own pen.”

So he subscribed. Whereupon Doctor Jeffrey proceeded to read the popish sentence of his cruel condemnation, and so he was delivered to the charge of the secular power, and was burned the same day in the afternoon, about five o'clock, together with John Quin and Thomas Askew.

Within one hour before they went to the place of execution, Palmer, in the presence of many people, comforted his fellows with these words. “Brethren,” he said, “be of good cheer in the Lord, and do not faint. Remember the words of our Savior Christ, where he says, ‘Happy are you when men revile you and persecute you for righteousness’ sake. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. Fear not those who kill the body, and are not able to kill the soul. God is faithful, and will not allow us to be tempted above what we are able to bear.’ We will not end our lives in the fire, but make a change for a better life. Indeed, for coals we will receive pearls. For God’s Holy Spirit certifies our spirit, that he has even now prepared for us a sweet supper in heaven for His sake who suffered first for us.”

With these and similar words, he not only comforted the hearts of his brethren who were with him, appointed as sheep to be slain, but he also drew plentiful tears from the eyes of many who heard him. And as they were singing a psalm, the sheriff, Sir Richard Abridges, and the bailiffs of the town, came with a great company of men in armor, to conduct them to the fire. When they had come to the place where they would suffer, all three fell to the ground, and Palmer with an audible voice pronounced the 31st psalm. But the other two who were brought out with him from prison, made their prayers secretly to Almighty God.

As Palmer began to arise, two popish priests came behind him, exhorting him yet to recant and save his soul. Palmer answered and said, “Away! away! tempt me no longer. Away from me, I say, all you who work iniquity! For the Lord has heard the voice of my crying.” And so with that they put off their raiment, and went to the stake and kissed it. And when they were bound to the post. Palmer said, “Good people, pray for us, that we may persevere to the end. And for Christ’s sake, beware of popish teachers, for they deceive you.”

As he spoke this, a servant of one of the bailiffs, threw a faggot at his face, so that blood gushed out. The sheriff reviled him for this, calling him a cruel tormentor, and with his walking staff he broke his head, so that the blood likewise ran about his ears. When the fire was kindled, and began to take hold upon their bodies, they lifted up their hands towards heaven, and quietly and cheerfully, as though they had felt no pain, they cried: “Lord Jesus, strengthen us. Lord Jesus assist us. Lord Jesus receive our souls.” And so they continued without any struggling, holding up their hands, and calling upon Jesus until they had ended their mortal lives.

Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

*An Account of a cruel and tyrannical Murder, done by the pretended Catholics, on three Women and an Infant, to wit, the Mother, two Daughters, and the Child, in the Isle of Guernsey, for Christ's true Religion, July 8th, A.D. 1556.*

Among all the histories narrated in this book, though there are many pitiful, several lamentable, others horrible and tragic, yet is there none to be compared either for cruelty, or so far off from all compassion and sense of humanity, as this merciless act of the papists. It was done in the Isle of Guernsey, on three women and an infant; namely, Katherine Cawches, the mother; Willemine Gilbert, the daughter; Perotine Massey, the other daughter; and an infant, the son of Perotine.

But before I come to the purpose of this history, it may be necessary to better explain the matter, to begin first with the origin of this tragic cruelty. The case was this:

On the 17th of May A.D. 1556, in the Isle of Guernsey, in a town called St. Peter's Port, there was a wicked woman named Vincent Gosset. She went to the house of a person dwelling in the town, and entered into a chamber where she saw a cup of silver, and took it away. Immediately after this act was done, she brought the cup to one Perotine Massey, an honest woman dwelling in the town, desiring her to lend her sixpence for it. Perotine seeing the cup or goblet, and suspecting it to be stolen, answered that she would not take it. Nevertheless, knowing of its owner, she took it to restore it to the one it belonged to. And so the woman would not carry it to another, she gave her sixpence.

[927] A.D. 1556.

The next day, the king's officers assembled the justices to inquire about and examine the act of Vincent Gosset, as well as other things. So that, after declaration made by the officers and constable before the justice, for the constable reported to have found the vessel in the house of Perotine Massey, who then dwelt with her mother, Catherine Cawches, and her sister, Willemine Gilbert, their bodies were arrested upon the report, and put in prison, and their moveable goods were taken by inventory. A few days after, these three women, thus abiding in confinement in the castle, made their supplication to the justices to have justice administered to them, if they had offended the law. If not, they beseeched to grant them the benefit of subjects, etc. This supplication put up, they were thereupon appointed to come to their answer on the 5th day of June, in the year aforesaid. On that day, after strictly examining the matter, it was proved that they lived truly and honestly, as became Christian women.

They were found by the neighbors not guilty of what they were charged with, but had always lived as honest women among them — except that they had not been obedient to the commandments of holy church, etc. Upon this trial and verdict of their neighbors, it was adjudged, first, that the said Vincent Gosset, being attainted of felony, and condemned for it, she would be whipped, and after her ear was nailed to the pillory, she would be banished out of the isle without further punishment. As regards the three women, the mother with her two daughters, for not coming to the church, they were returned as prisoners into the castle, on the 1st of July. This is the true account in every point as the case stood, according to the faithful tenor and testimony of the Guernsey men, written with their own hands both in the French and English tongue. In this you see what false surmised matter was pretended against these women, and nothing proved; and how by the attestation of their neighbors, they were fully cleared of the act, and would have been dismissed by the temporal court, had

not the clergy brought matter of religion against them. The clergy exercised such extremity in persecuting these four women, that in no case would they escape their bloody hands, till at length they had brought them (as you will hear) to their final end. For after this declaration (mentioned above) was made known, of their not coming to the church, they were sent to the clergy, with letters of mandate to the dean under their signets, as follows:

“Master dean and justices in your court and jurisdiction, after all amicable recommendations, may it please you to know that we are informed by the deposition of certain honest men, passed before us in the manner of an inquiry, in which inquiry Catherine Cawches and her two daughters have submitted themselves in a certain criminal matter. In this, we are informed that they have been disobedient to the commandments and ordinances of the church, in despising and forsaking the mass and the ordinances of the same, against the will and commandment of our sovereign lord the king and the queen. For which we send you the said matter, in that is a spiritual matter, to the end that you may proceed in this according to your good discretions, and as briefly as you possibly can, and also that it pertained to your office, recommending you to God, who gives you grace to do that which pertains to right and justice. Written the first day of the month of July A.D. 1556.”

After these letters, the women were again brought before the justice, with his assistants. In his presence, being examined about their faith concerning the ordinances of the Romish church, they gave their answers that they would obey and keep the ordinances of the king and queen, and the commandments of the church, notwithstanding that they had said and done to the contrary in the time of king Edward VI, in showing obedience to his ordinances and commandments. After which they were returned to prison. The dean and curate gave their information touching the women, and delivered it to the bailiff and jurats, condemning and reputed them to be heretics, the women neither hearing of any information, nor yet being ever examined as to their faith and religion. When the bailiff and jurats understood that the dean and curates had not examined the women as to their faith, they would not sit in judgment, but ordained the women to come first before the dean and curates to be examined about their faith. And so the officers, at the command of the justices, presented them before the dean and curates. This being accomplished, they were examined separately one from another. After this examination, they were returned again into prison.

Then on the 14th of July 1556, after examination, the dean and the curates delivered before the justice, under the seal of the dean, and under the signs of the curates, a certain act and sentence, the sum of which was that Catherine Cawches and her two daughters were found heretics, and they reputed them as such, and have delivered them to justice, the execution to be done according to the sentence.

When this was done, command was given to the king's officers to go to the castle to bring the women to hear the sentence against them. They said in the ears of all the listeners, that they would see their accusers, and know those who had deposed against them, for they did not know that they had offended the majesties of the king and queen, nor of the church — but they would entirely obey, serve, and keep the ordinances of the king and queen, and of the church, as all good and true subjects are bound to do. Notwithstanding this, the poor women were condemned, and adjudged to be burned until they were consumed to ashes.

After sentence was pronounced, the women appealed to the king and queen, and their honorable council, saying that they were condemned against reason and right, and for that cause they made their appeal. Notwithstanding, they could not be heard, but were delivered by the bailiff to the king and queen's officers, to see the execution done on them according to the sentence.

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When the time arrived that these three good servants and holy saints of God, the innocent mother with her two daughters, would suffer, there were three stakes set up in the place where they were to consummate their martyrdom. At the middle post was the mother, the eldest daughter on the right hand, the youngest on the other. They were first strangled, but the rope broke before they were dead; and so the poor women fell into the fire. Perotine, one of the daughters then being pregnant, to the great horror of those who were present, gave birth to an infant in the midst of the flames, who was taken out of the fire by one W. House, and laid on the grass.

Then the child was carried to the provost, and from him to the bailiff, who gave sentence that it should be carried back and cast into the fire. And so the infant, baptized in his own blood, to fill up the number of God's innocent saints, was both born and died a martyr, leaving behind to the world, which it never saw, a spectacle in which all may see the Herodian cruelty of this generation of popish tormentors.

Now, as this history, for the horrible strangeness of the act, will be hardly believed by some, I have therefore annexed the supplication of the inhabitants of Guernsey, and of the brother of the two sisters, complaining to the queen and her commissioners, concerning the horribleness of the act. That supplication follows here:

*To the Right Honorable, and the Queen's Highness' most gracious  
Commissioners, for hearing and determining matters  
of Religion, and Ecclesiastical causes.*

“Most lamentably and woefully complaining, Matthew Cawches, of the isle of Guernsey, your poor and humble petitioner, shows to your gracious and honorable lordships, that whereas Jaques Amy, clerk, dean of the isle aforesaid, assisted by the curates there, against all order, law, and reason, by color of a sentence of heresy, pronounced against Catherine Cawches, the sister of your honors' said supplicant, and Perotine and Willemine her two daughters, caused the said Catherine, being a poor widow, and her said two daughters, to be burned most cruelly.

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“This was done even though none of the said persons held, maintained, or defended anything directly against the ecclesiastical laws then in being, under the reign of the late queen Mary, but in all things submitted themselves obediently to the laws then in force. And yet the cruelty of the said dean and his accomplices, in perpetrating such murder as aforesaid, raged so far that while the said persons were consumed with violent fire, the said Perotine being burned, she gave birth to a goodly man-child. It was taken up and handled by the officers, and afterwards, in a most despiteful manner, was thrown into the tire, and there it was most cruelly burned with the holy mother. In tender consideration of this, and because this inhuman murder was not in due order of any law, or in any manner according to justice, but of mere malicious hatred, as the true copy of the whole proceedings in this matter, by the said dean and his accomplices, here ready to be shown to your honors, will make very plain and manifest: It may, therefore, please your good and gracious lordships, for the zeal that you bear to justice, and for our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, to have due consideration in justice of such a horrible murder, so cruelly committed as aforesaid, according to the right demerit of it. And that it may please your honorable lordships to order and decree also, that all the goods of all the said parties, by pretense aforesaid wrongfully taken as confiscate, may be delivered to your said poor petitioner, to whom of right they belong. And your honors' said supplicant will daily pray to God for your long preservation, to His glory, and your everlasting health.”

This supplication being presented to the queen's honorable commissioners, in the year 1562 such order was taken that the matter being returned again to Guernsey to be further

## Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

examined, the dean was committed to prison and dispossessed of all his livings. So that in conclusion, both he and all other partakers in that inhuman murder, whether of conscience or for fear of the law, were driven not long after to acknowledge their trespass, and to submit themselves to the Queen's pardon. This submission is still on the rolls, and for this submission they received the pardon of the queen for the horrid act.

### *Three Martyrs burned at Greenstead, in Sussex.*

Near about the same time that these three women with the infant were burned at Guernsey, three others likewise suffered at Greenstead, in Sussex, two men and one woman, on the 18th of July 1556. Their names were Thomas Dungate, John Foreman, and Mistress Tree. For righteousness' sake they submitted themselves to death and torment of the fire, patiently abiding what the furious rage of man could say or work against them.

### *The burning of Thomas Moor, in Leicester.*

As the rage of this persecution spared neither man, woman nor child, wife nor maiden, lame, blind, nor cripple, and as there was no difference either of age or sex considered, so neither was there any condition or quality respected. But whoever he was that did not hold to the pope and the sacrament of the altar, whether learned or unlearned, wise, or unwise, all went to the fire. This may appear by this simple and innocent creature named Thomas Moor, a servant in the town of Leicester, about the age of twenty-four. For speaking certain words, that his Maker was in heaven and not in the pix,<sup>657</sup> he was apprehended. Being brought before his ordinary, he was asked whether he did not believe his Maker to be there, pointing to the high altar. This he denied.

Then the bishop asked, "What then do you believe?"

The young man answered back; "As his creed taught him."

The bishop said to him; "And what is over there that you see above the altar?" Answering, he said; "I cannot tell what you would have me see. I see there fine clothes, with golden tassels, and other gay trappings hanging about the pix."

"Why, do you not believe Christ to be there, flesh, blood, and bone?" asked the bishop.

"No, that I do not," he said.

Upon this, the ordinary making short with him, read the sentence, and condemned this true and faithful servant of Christ to death, in St. Margaret's church in Leicester. He was burnt and suffered a joyful and glorious martyrdom, for the testimony of righteousness, about the 26th of June, 1556.

To this examination of Thomas Moor, we have annexed the answers and examination of one John Jackson, before Doctor Cook, one of the commissioners, for it belongs much to the same time.

### *The Examination of John Jackson before Doctor Cook, on the 11th of March A.D. 1556.*

"First, when I came before him, he railed on me, and called me a heretic. I answered and said, 'I am no heretic.'

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<sup>657</sup> *Pix*: any receptacle in which wafers for the Eucharist are kept.

“Yes,’ he said. ‘For Master Read told me that you were the rankest heretic of all in the King’s bench.’

“I said ‘I do not know him.’

“No,’ he said. ‘Why, he examined you at the King’s bench.’

“I answered him, and said, ‘He examined five others, but not me.’

“Cook. — Then answer me: ‘what do you say to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Tell me.’

“I answered, ‘It is a difficult question to ask me at the first dash, you promising to deliver me.’

“What a heretic is this?’ he said.

“I said, ‘It is easier to call a man a heretic, than to prove him one.’

“Then he said, ‘What church are you of?’

“What church?’ I asked. ‘I am of the same church that is built on the foundation of the prophets and the apostles, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone.’

“You are a heretic,’ he said.

“Indeed,’ I answered. ‘How can that be, seeing that I am of that church? I am sure that you will not say that the prophets and apostles were heretics.’

“No,’ he said, ‘Keeper, away with him.’

“Yet I tarried there long, and talked with him. I said, ‘Sir, I can be content to be tractable, and obedient to the word of God.’

“He answered and said to me that, ‘I did not know what the word of God meant, nor yet whether it was true or not.’

“I answered and said to him, ‘Yes, that I do.’

“By what?’ he asked.

“Hereby,’ I said. ‘Our Savior Christ says, ‘Search the Scriptures; for in them you think you have eternal life, and it is they that testify of me.’

“This is a wise proof,’ he answered.

“Is it so?’ I asked, ‘What do you say then to these words that the prophet David said? ‘What man is he that fears the Lord? Him he shall teach in the way that He chooses. His soul will dwell at ease; and his seed shall inherit the earth. The secret of the Lord is with those who fear him; and he will show them his covenant.’ Psa 25.12-14.

“Cook. — ‘I pray you tell me, who is the head of the Church?’

“I answered, and said, ‘Christ is the head.’

“But who is head on earth?’

“I said, ‘Christ has members here on earth.’

“Who are they?’ he asked.

“I replied, ‘those who are ruled by the word of God.’

“You are a good fellow,’ he said.

“I am what I am,’ I answered.

“Then he said to my keeper, ‘Take him back to prison.’



“I am content with that, ’ I said; and so we parted.”

[929] A.D. 1556

*The Martyrdom of Joan Waste, a blind woman.*

On the first day of August 1556, there likewise suffered at the town of Derby, a certain poor honest godly woman, being blind from her birth, and unmarried, about the age of twenty-two, named Joan Waste, of the parish of Allhallows. Of those who sat upon this innocent woman’s blood, the chief ones were Ralph Baine, bishop of the diocese, and Doctor Draicot, his chancellor, with others. After the bishop and Doctor Draicot had Joan Waste apprehended in the town of Derby, suspecting her to be guilty of certain heresies, she was privately examined, in prison as well as out of prison. After that, being brought to public examination before the bishop, she was burnt in Derby.

This Joan Waste was the daughter of one William Waste, an honest poor man . She was born blind, and continued with her father and mother, during their lives. After their death she lived with Roger Waste, her brother. And in the time of King Edward VI, of blessed memory, she went daily to the church to hear divine service read in the vulgar tongue. And thus by hearing homilies and sermons, she became well-affected to the religion then taught. So at length, having gotten and saved so much money by her labor as would buy her a New Testament, she had one provided for her. Though she was herself unlearned, and unable to read because of her blindness, yet for the great desire she had to understand, and to have imprinted in her memory the sayings of the holy Scriptures contained in the New Testament, she acquainted herself chiefly with one John Hurt, then prisoner in the common hall of Derby for debts.

John Hurt was a sober grave man, seventy years of age. By her earnest entreaty — being a prisoner, and many times idle and without company — for his exercise he daily read to her some chapter of the New Testament. If at any time he were otherwise occupied or prevented through sickness, she would repair to one John Pemerton, cleric of the parish church of All-Saints in Derby, or to some other person who could read. Sometimes she would give a penny or two to those persons who would not freely read to her, appointing to them beforehand how many chapters of the New Testament they should read, or how often they should repeat one chapter for a price.

She so profited by this, that she was able not only to recite many chapters of the New Testament without a book, but could also aptly reprove sin by various places of Scripture, as well as such abuses in religion, that were then too much in use in many persons.

Not long after, through the death of blessed King Edward, followed the woeful ruin of religion in the reign of queen Mary his sister. In this alteration, notwithstanding the general backsliding of the greater part of the whole realm into the old papism again, this poor blind woman continued in a constant consciences. She was zealous in what she had learned, and also refused to communicate in religion with those who taught contrary doctrine to what she had learned in King Edward’s time.

For this she was called before the bishop and Doctor Draicot, who objected against her the usual articles.

She answered that she believed so much as the holy scriptures taught her, and according to what she had heard preached by many learned men. Some of them suffered imprisonment, and some suffered death for that same doctrine, and she asked of them, if they would do so for their doctrine. If they would not, she desired them for God’s sake not to trouble her,

being a blind, poor, and unlearned woman, saying that by God's assistance she was ready to yield up her life in that faith.

And yet notwithstanding, she was pressed by the bishop and Doctor Draicot, with many arguments from Christ's omnipotence, and many times was threatened with grievous imprisonments, torments, and death. The poor woman, desirous to prolong her life, offered to the bishop that if he would, before that company, take it upon his conscience, that the doctrine which he would have her believe concerning the sacrament was *true*, and that at the dreadful day of judgment he would answer for her in this, then she would further answer them.

The bishop answered, "he would." But Doctor Draicot his chancellor, hearing that, said, "My lord, you do not know what you do; you may in no case answer for a heretic." Immediately he asked the poor woman whether she would recant or not, and said she should answer for herself.

The poor woman perceiving this, answered that if they refused to take upon their conscience that what they would have her believe was true, she would answer no further, but desired them to do their pleasure. And so, after certain persuasions, they pronounced sentence against her, and delivered her to the bailiffs of Derby. After they had kept her about a month or five weeks, at length a writ *De haeretico comburendo* (to burn a heretic) came to them. By virtue of this writ, they were appointed by the bishop to bring her to the parish church of All Saints at an appointed day, where Doctor Draicot would give a sermon.

When the day and time had come that this innocent martyr would suffer, Doctor Draicot first came to the church, accompanied with several gentlemen. This done, and all things now in readiness, at last the poor blind servant of God was brought and set before the pulpit, where the doctor having commenced his sermon, and there inveighing against many matters which he called heresies, he declared to the people that this woman was condemned for denying the sacrament of the altar to be the very body and blood of Christ really and substantially, and was thereby cut off from the body of the catholic church. And he said that she was not only blind in her bodily eyes, but also blind in the eyes of her soul. And he said, that as her body would presently be consumed with material fire, so her soul would be burned in hell with everlasting fire, as soon as it will be separated from the body, and there remain, world without end. He said it was not lawful for the people to pray for her. And so with many terrible threats, he made an end of his sermon, and commanded the bailiffs and those gentlemen to see her executed. The sermon thus ended, the blessed servant of God was carried away from the church, to a place called the Windmill-pit, near the town. And holding her brother Roger Waste by the hand, she prepared herself, and desired the people to pray with her, and said such prayers as she had learned, and cried upon Christ to have mercy upon her, as long as life served. In the meantime, Doctor Draicot went to his inn, and there laid down and slept during the whole time of her execution.

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About the beginning of the next month, which was September, a certain godly and devout person, and zealous of the Lord's glory, born in Wiltshire, named **Edward Sharp**, forty years of age or thereabouts, was condemned to martyrdom at Bristol. There he constantly and manfully persisted in the just cause of Christ's gospel, for disliking and renouncing the ordinances of the Romish church. He was tried like pure gold, and made a lively sacrifice in the fire. In his death, as in the death of all his other saints, the Lord be glorified and thanked for his great grace of constancy, to whom be praise forever. Amen.

Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

Next after the martyrdom of Edward Sharp, followed four who suffered at MAYFIELD, in Sussex, on the 24th of Sept., A.D. 1556. These four, being at the place where they were to suffer, after they had made their prayer, and were at the stake ready to abide the force of the fire, they constantly and joyfully yielded their lives for the testimony of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, to whom be praise for ever and ever, Amen.

The day after the martyrdom of these at Mayfield, a young man was put to death at BRISTOL, for the like testimony of Jesus Christ. There he yielded himself to the torments of the fire, giving up his life into the hands of the Lord with such joyful constancy and triumph, that all the church of Christ have just cause to praise God for him.

In the same month, two more godly martyrs were consumed by fire at Wotton Underhedge in GLOUCESTERSHIRE. They died very gloriously in a constant faith, to the terror of the wicked, and the comfort of the godly. So gloriously did the Lord work in them, that death to them was life, and life with an evil conscience was death.

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*An affecting Account of the unmerciful handling of  
William Dangerfield, and Joan his Wife, who with their  
young infant, fourteen days old, were taken out of their House,  
and laid in the common jail among thieves and murderers.*

When I had written the history of the Guernsey women, with the young infant burned with them, and reviewed the burning of the poor blind woman Joan Waste at Derby, I well hoped I would find no more such histories of unmerciful cruelty shown upon weak women, with their children and young infants. But now, coming to the persecution of Gloucestershire, around the parts of Bristol, I find another story of such unmercifulness shown against another woman, which was as far from all charity and humanity as has yet been recited in any other history.

In the parish of Wotton Underhedge, not far from Bristol, one William Dangerfield was dwelling, a right honest and godly poor man. He had nine children by his wife Joan, and she was then lying in childbed with the tenth. This William, after he had been abroad from his house a certain time for fear of persecution, hearing that his wife was brought to bed, repaired home to visit her and to see his children, she now being delivered four days before.

The return of this man was no sooner known to some of his unkind and uncharitable neighbors, than they beset the house, incensed with the spirit of papistry, and took William Dangerfield, and carried him to prison. At length he was brought to the bishop, named Brooks, in whose cruel handling he remained for so long, that his legs were almost fretted off with irons.

After the apprehension of the husband, the wife was likewise taken, with her young child being but fourteen days old, and carried into the common jail. There she was placed among thieves and murderers, where both she and her poor innocent child found so little charity among the papists, that she could never come to any fire, but was driven to warm the clothes that she put about the child, in her bosom.

While the husband and the wife were thus confined in separate prisons, the bishop began to deal not with the woman first, as the serpent did with Eve, but with the man, craftily deceiving his simplicity with fair glossing words, falsely persuading him that his wife had recanted. He asked William why he should stand more in his own conceit, than she did. And so he subtly drew out a form of recantation, with which he deceived the simple soul. Once

William had said he would consent, even though he had not yet recanted, they allowed him to go to his wife, where she lay in the common jail.

Then with melting hearts, opening their minds one to another, when he saw that his wife was not released, and perceiving that he had not done well, he declared to her the whole matter. He told her how he was falsely circumvented by the subtle flatterings of the bishop, saying that she had certainly recanted. And thus deceiving me (he said), he brought this to me — and so he plucked out of his bosom the copy of the recantation. The wife hearing what her husband had done, was sorely grieved, and exclaimed, “Alas! This long have we continued as one, and has Satan so prevailed to cause you to break your first vow made to Christ in baptism?” And so William and his wife Joan parted, with what hearts the Lord knows. Then he began not a little to bewail his promise made to the bishop; and he made his prayer to Almighty God, desiring that he might not live so long as to call evil good, and good evil; or light darkness, and darkness light. And so he departed home towards his house. On the way homeward, it is affirmed that he took his own life, and shortly after departed according to his prayer, having endured in prison for twelve weeks.

After this, his wife Joan continued in prison with her tender infant, till at last she was brought before the bishop to be examined. What her answers were, is not known. However, they did not please the bishop, as it appeared by his increased anger against the poor woman. And also by her long continuance in the prison, together with her tender babe, which remained with her in the jail. The babe was a partaker of her martyrdom, so long ad her milk would serve to suckle it, till at length the child — being starved for cold and famine — was sent away when it was past all remedy. And so it died shortly after. The mother followed not long after. Besides them, the mother of the husband, over eighty years old, being left in the house after their apprehension, also perished there for lack of comfort.

And thus you have in one history the death of four together: first of the husband; after that of the innocent child, then of the old wife; and lastly of the mother. What became of the other nine children, I am not perfectly sure.

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In the month of October following, a shoemaker was burned at the town of Northampton, a true witness and disciple of the Lord, who according to the grace of God given to him, adhered firmly to the sound doctrine and preaching of God’s word, and renounced the false religion of the Romish See.

After him, not long after in the same month of October, three godly confessors also died in the castle of Chichester, being there in bonds for the like cause of Christ’s gospel. They would also have suffered the like martyrdom, had not their natural death, or rather the cruel handling of the papists, taken them away before, who afterwards buried them in the fields.

I read moreover that in this present year, A.D. 1556, a person called Hooke, a true witness of the Lord’s truth was burnt at Chester.

*An Account of five Persons famished in Canterbury Castle.*

Among all the bishops, Bonner, bishop of London, principally excelled in persecuting the poor members and saints of Christ. So too, of all archdeacons, Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, was the sorest and of least compassion (with only Dunning of Norwich excepted). By his unmerciful nature, very many were put to death in the diocese of Canterbury, not only in the time of Queen Mary, but also some in the blessed beginning of our most renowned Queen Elizabeth, as will hereafter appear by the grace of Christ.

## Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

Of those who suffered in Queen Mary's time within the diocese of Canterbury, some have been recited already, with the order and form set down of such articles as were then most commonly administered to them.

Now to proceed in order of time where we left off, next follows the month of November.

In the beginning of it, there were together in the castle of Canterbury, fifteen godly and innocent martyrs. Of that number not one escaped with life, but they were either burned, or else famished in prison. Which is the easier death of these two sorts, God knows; it is hard to judge. Notwithstanding, the truth is that, of these fifteen, ten were burned and suffered in the fire. More about them will follow in the next book. The other five were starved most unmercifully in prison.

### *The Persecution in the Diocese of Lichfield.*

The months of September, November, and December, just as they were troublesome to other places, and especially to the diocese of Canterbury because of the archdeacon, so likewise these months brought no little trouble in the country of LICHFIELD and COVENTRY, through a cruel bishop there called Ralph Baine, and a crueler chancellor named Doctor Draicot. Through their fierce inquisition, there was a great stir among the people, being called to an examination of their faith; many were forced to bear faggots, though they were not put to the torment of death.

[931] A.D. 1556.

Yet, because it may appear what a large number there is in the countries of England abroad, who dislike the pope's Romish laws and religion in their hearts (if they dared utter their minds), I thought to recite the names of those in the aforesaid diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, who were taken in suspicion, and examined for their religion.

First among those who were detected and enjoined to the popish penance — that is, to bear a faggot, candle, and beads about in procession — were Agnes Foreman, detected, examined, and convicted by witness, and bore a faggot on the 12th of September. Likewise eight others for seldom coming to the church, for giving no reverence at the elevation of the sacrament, but looking upon their book, etc. Besides them, eleven priests were deprived of their livings for the like causes: —

Nicholas Cartwright, doctor; Richard Juridan, priest; Edmund Crokell, priest; Thomas Whitehead, priest; William Taylor, priest; Anselme Sele, priest; Richard Slavy, priest, married; Edward Hawkes, priest, married; Robert Aston, priest, deprived; Henry Tecka, priest, deprived; Robert Massey, priest, married and deprived.

Besides these, thirty-three others were detected, accused and examined, although they bore no faggot, but were dismissed.

These persons, with many more following in the next year, although they subscribed and recanted through fear of death, I recite them here so that it might appear what a number there were, not only in the county of Lichfield, but also in other parts, who were set in heart against the pope's proceedings, if fear rather than conscience had not compelled them to the contrary.

### ***The Conclusion of this Eleventh Book.***

And thus, Christian reader, you have the whole persecution of the year 1556, and the fourth year of Queen Mary's reign, with the names and causes of all who suffered martyrdom within the compass of that year. The number of all slain and martyred in diverse places of

## Bk. XI. Persecution and Martyrdom under Queen Mary

England this year, came to over eighty-four persons, of whom many were wives, widows, and maidens — besides those who otherwise by secret practice were made away or driven out of goods and houses, or out of the realm; or else within the realm, were put to penance, and induced to recant by forcible violence. I have only omitted the account of Sir John Cheeke, knight and schoolmaster for some time, of King Edward. The worthiness of this man deserves to have much said of him; but his fall should rather be covered in silence and oblivion. We will only note a word or two about a few things which principally pertain to the present history.

First, Master Cheeke being in Germany, out of all danger of persecution, with many more of his own countrymen and acquaintance, was not only in safety, but also esteemed among the Germans, and also well placed in the city of Strasburg. If he had remained there, giving way to time, rather than to presume upon adventures, perhaps it would have been better for him. But what fatal instigation wrought in his mind I do not know. In the end, it so fell out, that he would take his journey with Sir Peter Carew, from High Germany to Brussels. Having, it is said, King Philip's safe conduct to pass and repass, he came to Brussels to see the Queen's ambassadors. Having brought the Lord Paget on his way towards England, upon returning, between Brussels and Antwerp, he was taken with Sir Peter Carew by the provost marshal, spoiled of their horses, and put into a cart. Their legs, arms, and bodies were tied with halters to the body of the cart, and blindfolded. They were then conveyed to a ship and put under the hatches. And so they were brought to the Tower of London.

Thus the good man being entrapped, and now in the hands of his enemies, he had but one of these two ways to take: either to change his religion, or to exchange his life. There was no other remedy with those papists. Neither could his conscience excuse him, nor truth defend him, nor learning help him.

Although Master Fecknam, whether influenced by the queen, or for his own friendship towards his old acquaintance, took upon himself the defense and commendation of Master Cheeke, speaking in his behalf. Yet no mercy could be had with the queen, but he must recant, and so he did.

Then after his recantation, he was, through the crafty handling of the papists, allured first to dine in company with them, and at length drawn unawares to sit in the council when the poor martyrs were brought before Bonner and other bishops to be condemned. The remorse he felt, so mightily wrought in his heart that not long after he left this mortal life. His fall, although it was full of infirmity, his rising again by repentance was great, and his end was comfortable, the Lord be praised.

END OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

## ACTS AND MONUMENTS

### BOOK XII.

COMPRISING

#### *The persecutions against the faithful and true servants of Christ, from January 1557, in the fifth year of Queen Mary.*

*Cardinal Poole's Visitation in Cambridge, with the condemning, taking up, and burning of the Bones and Books of Bucer and Paulus Phagius, <sup>658</sup> 9th January 1557.*

CARDINAL POOLE,<sup>659</sup> three years after his return to England, having somewhat withdrawn his mind from other affairs of the realm, and having established the Romish religion in all points, began to have an eye toward the university of Cambridge which, among other places, specially seemed to have need of reformation (according to his views). To perform the change, the following men were chosen: Cuthbert Scot, who was consecrated bishop of Chester not long before; Nicholas Ormanet, an Italian, arch-priest of the people of Bodolon in the diocese of Vernon, who was professed in both laws (civil and ecclesiastical), and bore the name of the pope's datary;<sup>660</sup> Thomas Watson, bishop elect of Lincoln; John Christopherson, bishop elect of Chichester; and Henry Cole, provost of the college of Eton. There was good reason why the matter was especially committed to these persons. Ormanet was a man of great estimation with Julius III, who was at that time bishop of Rome, and he was appointed to come to England with Cardinal Poole. That was because, without his knowledge (as one in whom the pope put his chief trust and confidence) the bishop would have nothing done that was of any importance.

These persons, thus appointed (while the visitors were preparing themselves for their journey), sent their letters before them, with the cardinal's citation, to Dr. Andrew Pern, Vice-chancellor of Cambridge. They commanded him to warn all the graduates of the university, in their name, to be in readiness against the 11th of January 1557, between eight and ten o'clock, at the church of St. Mary the Virgin. They required him especially to be there himself, and also to set forward all the rest, to whose charge it belonged to search out all statutes, books, privileges, and monuments pertaining to the university, or to any of the colleges, or finally, to any of themselves. They were to present themselves before these three at the day appointed, and every man was to appear there personally. They were not to fail in this, but to be there, to lay before them, at the same time, such things as might seem necessary to this charge of reforming the university.

This citation of the cardinal, being brought to Cambridge by Master Bullock, was first exhibited in the convocation house of regents, and there openly read by the orator of the university, on the 11th of December 1556. After this, on the 24th of December, the vice-

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<sup>658</sup> Paulus Fagius (Paul Buechelin; 1504–1549), Hebraist. Born at Rheinzabern, in the Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany. He was professor of theology at Strasbourg and later of Hebrew at Cambridge. He resided at Lambeth Palace with Cranmer and Martin Bucer. They began collaborating on a new Latin Bible translation, focusing on the Old Testament for Fagius, and the New Testament for Bucer. However, Fagius died in 1549, cutting short the work.

<sup>659</sup> That is, Reginald Pole, (1500-1558) - English cardinal and last Catholic Archbishop of Canterbury (1556-1558). He was a member of the Plantagenet royal line. He was a great-nephew of Edward IV and Richard III, great-grandson of Richard Neville, 16th Earl of Warwick. Pole's cousin, Henry VIII, funded his education at Oxford University and at Padua, Italy. Pole was appointed papal legate to England in Feb 1536/1537, and created a cardinal by Pope Paul III in Dec 1536. He was sent to organize assistance for the Pilgrimage of Grace, a rebellion against Henry's religious reforms. The effort failed, and the king declared Pole guilty of high treason. After the accession of Queen Mary I in 1553, Pope Julius III appointed Pole papal legate to England, hence "his return to England."

<sup>660</sup> *Datary*: an officer in the Roman Catholic Church who dispensed benefices.

chancellor, with the heads of the houses, meeting together in the schools, it was there concluded that the visitors' costs should be borne by the university and colleges, and also, that no master of any college should allow any of the fellows, scholars, or ministers, to leave the town, but to return before the visitation.

On Friday, the 8th of January, the queen's commissioners sat together in the hall, and read the commission. Then all the high-constables were called to bring in their precepts, and be sworn. Also two persons of every parish of ten or twelve hundred persons, were sworn to inquire about heresy, Lollardy, conspiracy, seditious words, tales, and rumors against the king and queen — also for heretical and seditious books; for negligence and misdemeanors in the church; for observation of ceremonies; for ornaments, and the stock of the church.

***The Bones of Bucer and Phagius Burnt.***

We said that the cardinal thought the university was in need of reformation. The reason why he thought so, was either because it had cast off the yoke of the bishop of Rome, and adhered to the wholesome doctrine of the gospel; or else, that both for the late schism, not yet worn out of memory, and for the doctrine of Martin Bucer — who not long before openly interpreted the holy Scriptures in the university — they saw many who were so corrupted and spotted with this infection, that (even as when fire is spread in a town) unless a speedy remedy is applied, it is not possible to quench it for many days after.

This took place in the year 1556. With the intent, therefore, to make a salve for this sore, the inquisitors of whom we spoke before, came to Cambridge on the 9th of January 1557. And while they were still on their journey, and far from the town, several of the masters and presidents of the colleges met them, and brought them courteously, first into the town, and afterwards to their lodgings.

This day nothing else was done, because it was toward evening before they arrived, and the sun was going down. The next day was spent in recreation after their journey. Nevertheless, so that it would not escape altogether without doing something, they interdicted two churches, namely, St. Mary's where Bucer lay buried (d. 1551), and St. Michael's, where Paul Phagius lay (d. 1549). These two men were dead a good while before.

[933] A.D. 1557.

Paul Phagius had scarcely shown the proof of his wisdom and learning, when he departed to God in 1549. Bucer lived but a short time after. During this period, sometimes by writing, but chiefly by reading and preaching openly, this old man was studious in the word of God. He never spared himself, nor regarded his health. He brought all men into such admiration of him, that his friends could not sufficiently praise him, nor could his enemies in any point find fault with his singular life and sincere doctrine.

Only a few years passed from the burial of Bucer and Phagius, to the coming of these visitors. From the time that the blessed king Edward VI deceased, to that day, the priests never ceased to celebrate their masses and other ceremonies in those churches. They did that without any scruple of conscience, as far as men could perceive. But after these commissioners came, things that were accounted sacred and holy before, began to be denounced as profane and unholy. For they commanded that all those assemblies that would hereafter be made for executing the holy ceremonies, should be removed to the king's chapel, which is a far more stately place than all the others.

Now the 11th of January had come, in which the vice-chancellor of the university, with the masters and presidents of colleges, and all the graduates of every house, were commanded



## Bk. XII. Persecutions in the 5th year of Queen Mary

to appear before the commissioners in their habits. It was commanded that the scholars should also come in their surplices, but that was not done. They assembled in great numbers in Trinity College, having the university cross borne before them. In the gatehouse, a forum was set up and covered with cushions, and carpet placed on the ground for the visitors. There the vice-chancellor, wearing his robes, sprinkled holy water on them, and purposed to incense them, but they refused it there. Notwithstanding, afterward in the queen's college and elsewhere they did not refuse it.

There, master John Stokes, common orator of the university, made an oration in the name of all the rest.

When he was done speaking, the bishop of Chester responded to it, saying,

“They took in right good part, that the university had made so open a declaration of her good will, for which he gave most hearty thanks. Concerning the good wills of the commissioners, there was no cause to mistrust. For their coming there was not to deal at all roughly with those who came to amendment. But both the cardinal himself, and the others also, were fully minded to show favor, devising how to bring all things to peace and tranquility, desiring nothing more earnestly than that those who had erred and gone astray, should return into the right path again. The right reverend father, the lord cardinal, whom he desired to have seen present, wished the self-same thing also, desiring nothing so much as to sustain and hold up that which now was ready to fall, or rather to raise up what had already fallen to the ground — the university. For he gladly takes upon himself the name and duty of her guardian, whom it greatly grieved that the infections of the times past had spread abroad such grievous diseases, that even the university itself was touched with its contagious air. For he would more gladly have come here to visit and greet it, than to correct it, if the weighty affairs of the realm would have permitted it. But now, seeing that he could not so do, he had appointed this commission, in which he had assigned them to be his deputies. The chief object that they wished to attain was that those who had erred should confess their faults, and return into the right way again. For they were in a good stage of healing, who acknowledged themselves to have offended.”

These things being finished, they were brought in procession to the king's college, by all the graduates of the university. There a mass of the Holy Spirit was sung with great solemnity. In this place it was marked that Nicholas Ormanet, commonly surnamed Datary (who, though inferior in estate to Chester being a bishop, yet he was superior to them all in authority), while the mass was celebrating, now standing, then sitting, and sometimes kneeling, observed certain ceremonies which afterwards were required to be observed by all others.

From there they all attended upon the legates to St. Mary's church, which we stated before had been interdicted. In that place, owing to the interdict, although no mass might be sung, yet there was a sermon by Master Peacock, in Latin. It was against heresies and heretics, such as Bilney, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, etc. This being ended, they proceeded to the visitation where, first. Dr. Harvey in the cardinal's name, presented the commission to the bishop of Chester. This being accepted and openly read, the vice-chancellor, with an oration, then presented the certificate under his seal of office, with the cardinal's citation annexed. It contained every man's name in the university and colleges, with the officers and all the masters of houses. Among them was Robert Brassey, master of king's college, a worthy old man, both for his wisdom and his hoary hairs. Hearing his own name recited next after the vice-chancellor's, he said he was present there, as all the others were, because the reformation of his house was wholly reserved to the discretion of the bishop of Lincoln. This was not only by the king's letters patent, but also by grant of confirmation from the bishop of Rome himself, under a penalty if he were to allow any strangers to intermeddle. He

openly protested in discharge of his duty, that unless their commission gave them authority and jurisdiction over the college, either by express words or manifest sense, he utterly exempted himself from being present. They all took his exception with great displeasure, alleging that they were fully authorized for the order of the matter by the cardinal, out of whose jurisdiction no place nor persons was exempted. Therefore, he had done evil to call into question their authority, so well known to all men.

Much pomp and ceremony followed this. At last the time came for the visitation to go to mass. This being finished, with great solemnity they first went to the high altar of the church. And having there saluted their god, and searching whether all were well about him or not, they walked through all the inner chapels of the church. The church goods, the crosses, the chalices, the mass-books, the vestments, and whatever ornaments were besides, were commanded to be brought out to them. When they had sufficiently viewed all things, and had called forth by name every fellow and scholar of the house, they went to the master's lodging where, first swearing them upon a book to answer to all such interrogatories as might be propounded to them (as far as they knew), they first examined the master himself, and afterwards all the rest, every man in his turn. But there were some who refused to take this oath, because they had given their faith to the college before, and also because they thought it against all right and reason to swear against themselves. For it was contrary to all law, that a man should be compelled to betray himself, and not be allowed to keep his conscience free, when there was no manifest proof to be laid to his charge. But much more unjust is that a man should be constrained by force to accuse himself. Nevertheless these persons also, after such altercation, at length (conditionally that their faith given before to the college would not be impeached thereby) were content to be sworn.

The inquisition lasted three days. This was now the third day of their coming, and it was thought that the case of Bucer and Phagius was delayed longer than needed. For they expected to have much altercation and business about the matter. Now, because the present state of the case required great deliberation and advice, the vice-chancellor and the masters of the colleges assembled at the common schools, where every man gave his verdict what he thought appropriate to be done in this matter of Bucer. After much debating, they all agreed together in this determination, that Martin Bucer, while he lived, had not only sown pernicious and erroneous doctrine among them, but had also been a sectary and famous heretic, erring from the catholic church and giving others occasion to likewise fall from that church. A supplication should therefore be made to the lord commissioners in the name of the whole university, that his dead carcass might immediately be dug up, so that inquisition might be made as to his doctrine. This being brought in examination, if his doctrine were not found to be good and wholesome, the law might proceed against him, for it was against the rule of the holy canons, that his body should be buried in Christian burial.

[934]

Yes, and besides that, it was to the open derogation of God's honor, and the violation of his holy laws, with the great peril of many men's souls, and the offense of the faithful, especially in so difficult and contagious a time as that was. Therefore it was not to be allowed that those who utterly dissented from all other men in their living, laws, and customs, should have any part with them in the honor of burial. And therefore the glory of God first and before all things ought to be defended, the infamy which had arisen on them through this be put away with all speed, and no place left at all for those persons to rest in, who even in the same places where they lay, were injurious and noisome to the very elements. Rather, the

place ought to be purged, and all things so ordered as might be to the satisfaction of the consciences of the weak. In executing this, a notable example ought to be given to all men, that no man hereafter should be so bold as to attempt the like.

By common assent they gave the same verdict upon Phagius also. To this writing they annexed another, by which they lawfully authorized Andrew Perne, the vice-chancellor, to be the common factor for the university. He was a man fit for the purpose, both for the office that he bore, and also because, by the testimony of Christopherson, he was deemed to be the most popishly inclined of all others. This supplication, confirmed by the consent of all the degrees of the university and signed with their common seal. The next day, which was the 13th of January, the vice-chancellor put it up to the commissioners.

Note here, good reader, what a feat of conveyance this was, to suborn the university under a pretense of desiring this thing from them by way of petition. For who could say that if they had not done so, the other would never have gone about it by themselves? But this gloss was soon found out. For the commissioners had given the vice-chancellor instructions in writing beforehand. But now, perhaps they thought by this means to remove the ill will of this act from themselves. Thus the vice-chancellor came to the commissioners according to appointment. He had scarcely declared the cause of his coming, when he not only received his suit, but at the same time also received the sentence of condemnation for taking up Bucer and Phagius, fairly copied out by Ormanet Dataray himself. This was to be confirmed by the consent of the degrees of the university; whereupon a solemn convocation was appointed to be held at nine o'clock. The graduates being assembled together, the demand was propounded concerning the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, and grace was asked for this: "Does it please you that Martin Bucer may be exhumed and taken up again, for the heresies now recounted, and many others written, preached, and taught by him, in which he died without repentance, and was buried in Christian burial?" etc. After this grace was granted, the sentence of condemnation was then drawn up by the datary, and openly read. Immediately another grace asked for, and that it might be signed with the common seal. This request was very lightly and easily obtained. And it was no marvel, for after the death of King Edward, since the time that the government of the realm came to the hand of Queen Mary, all those persons who had rejected the Romish religion were driven away, in whom alone rested nearly whatever knowledge and learning was in the whole university. Such a set was put in their place, that all places now swarmed with unlearned chaplains. To them nothing gave greater pleasure than to have all men speak slander and reproach of Bucer.

The next day, namely, the 14th of January, the visitors came to the king's college, first going into the church and offering their prayers there, sitting the entire mass time. The company stood in their copes and sang a solemn respond <sup>661</sup> in honor of the visitors. After the respond, the provost, arrayed in the best cope, made his protestation to them, to whom the bishop of Chester also answered in Latin, declaring that he could not perceive to what purpose his protestation was; notwithstanding they would accept it and bear with him.

Then they went to mass. When ended, the visitors approached to the altar, took down the sacrament, and searched the pix; but first the two bishops censed the sacrament and afterwards examined the chalices, etc.

The next day process <sup>662</sup> went out to cite Bucer and Phagius. This citation was posted in convenient places, to wit, upon St. Mary's church door, the door of the common schools, and

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<sup>661</sup> *Respond*: a versicle or short anthem chanted at intervals during the reading of a lection (a portion of Scripture).

<sup>662</sup> *Process*: a religious summons or formal order that commands someone to appear before an authority.

the cross in the market. In this it was specified that whoever would maintain Bucer and Phagius, or stand in defense of their doctrine, should on the 18th day of the month, stand before the commissioners in St. Mary's church, which was appointed the place of judgment, and there every man would be sufficiently heard what he could say. In the meanwhile Ormanet and Doctor Watson abode at home in their lodging, to take the depositions against the dead men.

As Ormanet was sitting at Trinity College, John Dale of the queen's college came to him, whom he had previously commanded to bring with him the pix in which the bishop of Rome's god of bread is usually enclosed. For Ormanet told them he had a precious jewel (a linen cloth that the pope had consecrated with his own hands) which he promised to bestow upon them as a gift. But Dale, misunderstanding Ormanet, instead of the pix, brought a chalice and the host, which he had wrapped up and put in his bosom. When he arrived, Ormanet demanded if he had brought him the thing he sent him for. To whom he answered he had brought it. "Then give it me," he said. Dale pulled out the chalice and the cake, or host. When Ormanet saw that, he stepped somewhat back, as if it had been in shock, calling him a blockhead, and little better than a madman, demanding what he meant by those things. He said that he did not desire him to bring any of that gear, and that he was unworthy to enjoy so high a benefit [as the gift he brought with him]. Yet notwithstanding, as he had earlier promised to give it to them, he would perform his promise. Upon which, with great reverence and ceremony, he pulled out the linen cloth and laid it in the chalice, and the bread with it, commanding them — both for the holiness of the thing, and also for the one who gave it — to keep it among them, with such due reverence as belonged to so holy a relic.

About the same time, the commissioners had given a commandment to the masters of the colleges, that every man should put in writing what books he had, with the authors' names. And with the intent that every man should execute the commandment without deceit, they had them take an oath. Some executed this commandment exactly and diligently; others, as they deemed it wrong, executed it very reluctantly.

When the day for giving judgment came (namely, the 18th), and neither Bucer nor Phagius would appear at their call in the court, and none put himself forward to defend them, the courteous commissioners would not proceed to judgment, which nevertheless they might have done for the rebelliousness of these two dead men in absenting themselves, But these men being bent altogether toward equity and mercy, would rather show some favor than do the utmost they might by the law. Whereupon the second process was published. The meaning of it did not vary much from the first, but it put off the judgment day to the 26th of the month. Upon that day the vice-chancellor was sent for, with whom they agreed concerning the order of publishing the sentence. And so that no solemnity in the matter would be lacking, they commanded him to warn the mayor of the town to be there at the day-appointed with all his burgesses, which the vice-chancellor did with all readiness.

On the 20th of January, all degrees of the mother university were assembled. And to fill up this pageant, the mayor and townsmen also came. All met together in St. Mary's church to behold what would be determined about these dead men. After long attendance, at length the commissioners came out and went up to a scaffold that was somewhat higher than the rest, prepared for the purpose. When they had taken their places, Doctor Perne, the vice-chancellor, put on a grave countenance and handed them the process that was recently published, to cite them, saying these words:

[935] A.D. 1557

## Bk. XII. Persecutions in the 5th year of Queen Mary

“I bring again to you, right reverend father and commissioners of the most reverend my lord cardinal Poole, this citation executed according to the purport and effect of the same, etc.”

When he had finished, the bishop of Chester, after he viewed the people a little, began as follows:

“You see how sorely the university presses upon us, how earnestly it makes its intercession to us, not only to denounce Buccr and Phagius — who these certain years past have spread most pernicious doctrine among you, to have you be heretics as they are indeed — but also that we will command their dead carcasses, which to this day have obtained honorable burial among you, to be dug up. And then, as it is excellently ordained by the canon law, to be cast into fire, or whatever is more grievous than fire, if anything can be. For the degrees of the university do not deal slightly or slackly with us in this case, but they so press upon us, and follow the suit so earnestly, that they scarcely give us any respite. And I assure you, though this case of itself is such that even the unworthiness of those persons (even if there were no further cause) ought to induce us to do it, moved rather much with these very wholesome petitions, it is fitting and convenient that we should grant it. For however we of ourselves are inclined to mercy in our hearts — which we protest, there is nothing under the sun to us more dear and acceptable — yet notwithstanding, the very law rises up to revenge. So that the common salvation of you all, which the law provides for, must be preferred before the private charity of our minds. Nor should any such negligence overtake on our parts, being scarcely yet escaped out of the shipwreck of our former calamity, that we should now allow this inexpiable mischief to disquiet the consciences of the weak any longer.

“Moreover, it is only reasonable that we should do something at such an earnest entreaty and suit of the university. I need not speak much of ourselves. For if we had desired to undertake this matter, it would have been lawful according to the first citation, to have proceeded to judgment. But because we were willing to have their defenders heard, and the matter be denounced and tried by law, we sent out the second process.

“If we had desired revenge, we might have shown cruelty to those who are alive, of which (alas, more the pity) there are too many who embrace this doctrine. If we thirsted for blood, it was not to be sought in withered carcasses and dry bones. Therefore, you may well perceive it was no part of our wills that we now came here; but it was partly induced at the entreaty of the university, partly moved with the unworthiness of the case itself; but especially for the care and regard we have for your health and salvation, which we covet by all means to preserve.

“For you yourselves are the cause of this business. You gave occasion for this confession, among whom this day ought to be a notable example, to remain as a memorial to those who will come after. In it you may learn not only to shake off the filth which you have taken from these persons, but also to beware that hereafter you fall no more so shamefully as you have done. But I trust God will defend you, and give you minds to keep yourselves from it.

“As concerning the parties themselves, whose case now hangs in law, they carry about the name of the gospel. Whereas, indeed, they wrought nothing else than thievery and deceit. And they were so much the more wicked, in that they sought to cover such shameful acts with the cloak of so fair and holy a name. Therefore, it is not to be doubted, that God will punish this contempt, wicked of itself, and pernicious to you; but to its authors it is shameful and abominable.

“But if God, as he is slow to wrath and vengeance, will wink at it for a time, yet notwithstanding, if we, upon whom the charge of the Lord’s flock leans, should permit such execrable crimes to escape unpunished, we would not live in quiet one hour.”

When he had thus spoken, he recited the sentence out of a scroll, and condemned Bucer and Phagius for heresy.

After the sentence was read, the bishop commanded their bodies to be dug out of their graves. And being degraded from holy orders, he had them delivered into the bands of the secular power. For it was not lawful for such innocent persons as they were, abhorring all blood-shed and detesting all desire of murder, to put any man to death!

They then sent letters to London, in which they notified the cardinal how far they had proceeded in the matter, and also desired his grace, that he would have the writ for the burning of heretics sent to Smith, the mayor of the town. For unless he had the queen's warrant to keep him harmless, he would not have anything to do with the matter.

While this pursuivant <sup>663</sup> went on his journey, they commanded to have brought to them the books which they had earlier ordered to be searched out. For they determined to throw them into the fire, with the bones of Bucer and Phagius.

About the same time, Doctor Watson, taking occasion from the day, because it was high-feast in which the memorial of the purification of the blessed Virgin Mary was usually celebrated, made a sermon to the people. In this he spoke with much reproach of Bucer and Phagius, and of their doctrine. He said that these men, and all the heretics of our time, among other things which they had perniciously put into men's heads, taught them to put away all ceremonies. Whereas, notwithstanding, the apostle himself commanded all things to be done in due order. And at the purification of the blessed Virgin Mary and Joseph, which was done by them as it was upon that day, it was manifestly apparent that Mary and Joseph, with our Savior, then a little babe, observed these rites and ceremonies for catholic men to teach. For (he said) they came to the temple at the same time with wax candles in their hands, in the manner of a procession in good order, with much reverence and devotion. And yet we were not ashamed to laugh and mock at these things with the heretics and schismatics.

As he was telling his tale of Christ, Mary, and Joseph, one of those who heard him, a pleasant and merry fellow, turning himself to someone who stood next to him, said, "And if it is true, what this man preaches, which of them I pray you, bore the cross before them? For that should not be missing in such solemn ceremonies." Not only did this man jest at the preacher's folly, but others also laughed at his preaching these vain and foolish superstitions.

When the pursuivant returned, who was sent to London with the commissioners' letter, he brought with him a warrant for burning Bucer and Phagius. Upon the receipt of it, they appointed the 6th of February to accomplish the matter. When the day came, the commissioners sent for the vice-chancellor, and taking with him Marshall, the common notary, he went first to St. Michael's church, where Phagius was buried. There he called forth Andrew Smith, Henry Sawyer, and Henry Adams, men of the same parish, and bound them with an oath to dig up Phagius's bones, and to bring them to the place of execution. Marshall took their oaths, receiving the same of Roger Smith and William Hasell, the town sergeants, and of John Caper, warden of the same church, for doing the same with Bucer. Smith, the mayor of the town, who would be their executioner (for it was not lawful for them to intermeddle in cases of blood) commanded certain of his townsmen to wait upon him in armor, by whom the dead bodies were guarded. And being bound with ropes, and laid upon

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<sup>663</sup> *Pursuivant*: a state messenger or attendant.

men's shoulders (for they were enclosed in chests, Bucer in the chest that he was buried in, and Phagijs in a new one) they were borne into the midst of the market, with a great train of people following them.

This place was prepared beforehand. A great post was set fast in the ground to bind the carcasses to, and a great heap of wood was laid ready to burn them with. So when they came there, the chests were set on end, with the dead bodies in them, and fastened on both sides with stakes, and bound to the post with a long iron chain, as if they had been alive. Fire was immediately put to them.

[936 ]

As soon as it began to flame around them, a great number of books that were condemned with them were cast into it.

A great multitude of country folk gathered into the town that day (for it was market day). Seeing men carried to execution, and learning by inquiry that they were dead before, partly detested and abhorred the extreme cruelty of the commissioners towards the rotten carcasses, and partly laughed at their folly in making such preparations. 'For what need was there for any weapons, or armed men?' they asked, as if they were afraid that the dead bodies, which did not feel them, would do them some harm. 'Or what purpose does that chain serve with which they are tied, since they might be burnt loose, for it was not to be feared that they would run away.' Thus, every body who stood by found fault with the rruelty of the deed, either sharply or else lightly, according to their different dispositions.

This was the last act of this interlude. And yet there remained a few things to be done, among which was the reconciling of two churches of Our Lady, and of St. Michael, which had been interdicted before.

This was done the next day by the bishop of Chester, with as much solemnity as the law required. But that breadden god, whom Bucer's carcass had chased from there, had not yet returned there again; nor was it lawful for the bishop to come there any more, unless he were brought there with great solemnity. During the whole time of his absence, this god was entertained by the commissioners at Trinity College, and there he continued as a sojourner. For all the graduates of the university came there on the 8th of February with gentleness and courtesy to bring him home again. The bishop of Chester took and carried him, clad in a long rochet, and a large tippet of sarcenet about his neck, in which he wrapped up his little idol of bread.

When this idol or consecrated host was to return home, he did not take the straightest and nearest way, as other folks usually go, but he compassed most of the town, and roamed through so many of the streets, that it was an hour and more before he could find the way into this church again. I believe the ancient Romans observed a custom not much unlike this in their procession, when they made supplications at the shrines of all their gods. The order of this procession was as follows: the masters' regents went before, singing with a loud voice, *Salve feste dies* (hello happy holiday), etc. Next followed the bishop of Chester. On each side of him went Ormanet and his fellow commissioners, with the masters of the colleges, every man bearing a long taper light in his hand. After them, a little space off, followed other degrees of the university. Lastly came the mayor and his townsmen. Before them all went the beadles, crying out to those they met, that they should bow themselves humbly before the host. If any refused to do so, they threatened to send them to prison immediately. Their god being led with this pomp, and pacified with the sacrifice of Bucer and Phagijs, at length settled himself again in his accustomed place! Then the bishop of



Chester prayed that this day might be fortunate to himself, and to all who were present so that from that day forward (now that God's wrath was appeased, and all other things were set in good order), all men should make themselves conformable to peace and quietness — namely, in matters pertaining to religion. After this, they set aside a few days to punish those whom they thought deserved it. Some they suspended from giving voices either to their own preferment, or to the preferment of any other. Some they forbade to have the charge of pupils lest they infect the tender youth with corrupt doctrine and heresy; others they chastised wrongfully without any cause; and many they punished contrary to all right and reason.

Last of all, they published certain statutes by which they would have the university ordered hereafter. In these they enacted many things concerning the election of the officers of the university, of keeping and administering the goods of the university, and of many other things. But especially they handled all religious matters very circumspectly, in which they were so scrupulous that they filled all things either with open blasphemy, or with ridiculous superstition. For they prescribed how many masses every man should attend day by day, and how many paternosters and aves every man should say when he entered the church; and at his entrance, in what manner he should bow himself to the altar; and how to bow to the master of the house; what he should do there, and how long he should wait; how many, and what prayers he should say; what and how he should sing; what meditations others should use while the priest is in his *memento*, mumbling secretly to himself; what time of the mass a man should stand and when he should sit down; when he should curtsy, when exclusively, when inclusively; and they decreed many other superstitious ceremonies, so that it was a sport to behold their superstitions, and would be tedious to recite them now.

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Within two years after all this mummery and wickedness, God beholding us with mercy, called Queen Mary out of this life, the 17th of November 1558. Afterward, her sister Elizabeth succeeded to the kingdom, and again revived the true religion. Whereupon, as the church of Christ began to flourish little by little, so the memory of Bucer and Phagius was restored again by this godly Queen Elizabeth (even though their bones were burnt by cardinal Poole).

***Master Acworth's Oration on the Godly Teaching of Bucer***

On this occasion, Master Ackworth, the orator of the university,<sup>664</sup> delivered a great oration, in which he speaks largely of the holy life and godly teaching of Martin Bucer, and the sorrow that was felt at his death, after which he continued thus:

“As long as the ardent love of his religion flourished (with which we were inflamed), it worked in our hearts an incredible desire for his presence among us. But after the time that the godly man ceased to be any longer in our sight and in our eyes, that ardent and burning love of religion little by little waxed cold in our minds. And according to the times that came after (which were both miserable, and to our utter undoing), it began to be darkened — not little by little, but it altogether vanished away, and turned into nothing. For we fell again into the popish doctrine; the old rites and customs of the Romish church were restored again, not to the beautifying of the Christian religion, but to the utter defacing, violating, and defiling of it. Death was set before the eyes of those who persevered in the Christian doctrine that they had learned before. Those were banished from the realm who would not conform themselves to the

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<sup>664</sup> *The Orator* is "the voice of the Senate." Among his duties is to present on their behalf to the President, and to the entire university body assembled, distinguished personages for the bestowal of degrees *honoris causa*.



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time, and do as other men did. Those who remained were forced either to dissemble, or to hide themselves and creep into corners, or else by drinking of the charmed cup of Circe, as it were, to be turned and altered not only from the nature of man into the nature of brute beasts, but far worse and much more monstrous — from the likeness of God and his angels, into the likeness of devils. And all England was infected with this malady. Conforming ourselves to those most filthy times, we have most shamefully yielded, like faint-hearted cowards who did not have the fortitude to sustain the adversities of poverty, banishment, and death. In our living and conversation, we kept neither the constancy taught us by philosophy, nor yet the patience taught us by the holy Scriptures, and we have done all things at the commandment of others.

“As in every place there was now executed some singular kind of cruelty, so that there was no sort of punishment that could be devised, but it was put in use in one place or other. This was proper or peculiar to Cambridge: to exercise the cruelty upon the dead, which in other places was extended only to the living. Oxford burnt the right reverend fathers, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the noble witnesses of the light of the gospel. Moreover, Rogers and Bradford perished at London, those two lanterns of light. It is hard to say whether in them there were more force of eloquence and utterance in preaching, or more holiness of life and conversation. Many others without number, both there and in other places, were consumed to ashes for bearing record to the truth. For what city is there that has not flamed, I say, not with the burning of houses and buildings but with the burning of holy bodies?

[937] A.D. 1557.

“But Cambridge, after there were no more left alive upon whom they might vomit out their bitter poison, played the mad Bedlam against the dead. The dead men who, when alive, no man was able to find fault with, whose doctrine no man was able to reprove, were indicted by false slanderous accusers, contrary to the laws of God and man. They were sued in the law and condemned; their sepulchers violated and broken up, and their carcasses pulled out and burnt with fire — a thing surely incredible if we had not seen it with our eyes, and a thing that has not lightly been heard of. But the heinousness of this wicked act was spread abroad as a common talk in every man’s mouth, not only in England, but throughout Christendom. Bucer, by the excellency of his wisdom and doctrine, was well known to all men, by our countrymen in a manner besought, by many others entreated and sent for, to the intent that he might instruct our Cambridge men in the sincere doctrine of the Christian religion. Being spent with age, and his strength utterly decayed, he forsook his own country. He did not refuse the tediousness of that long journey; he was not afraid to venture himself upon the sea, but had more regard for the enlarging of the church of Christ, than of all other things. So in conclusion, he came, every man received and welcomed him. Afterward he lived in such a way that it might appear he did not come here for his own sake, but for ours. For he did not seek to drive away the sickness that he had taken by troublesome travel of his long journey: and although his strength was weakened and appalled, yet he did not regard the recovery of his health, but put himself to immoderate labor and intolerable pain, only to teach and instruct us.

“And towards this so noble and worthy a person, while he lived, were shown all the tokens of humanity and gentleness, reverence and courtesy that could be; but when he was dead, the most horrible cruelty that can be imagined. For what can be so commendable, as to grant to the living, a house and abiding place, and to the dead, burial? Or who is he that will find it in his heart to entertain, and to cherish that person in his house with all the kinds of gentleness that he can devise, upon whom he could not grant to bestow burial when he is dead? Again, what an inconstancy is it, with great solemnity, and with much advancement and commendation of his virtues, to bury a man honorably, and soon after to break up his tomb, and pull him out spitefully, and to wrongfully slander him, being dead, who during his life

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time always deserved praise? All these things have happened to Bucer who, while he lived, had free access into the most gorgeous buildings and stately palaces of the greatest princes; and when he was dead, he could not be allowed to enjoy so much as his poor grave. Being nobly laid in the ground, to his eternal fame, he was afterwards, to his utter defacing, spitefully taken up and burned. These things, though they did no harm to the dead (for the dead carcasses feel no pain, nor does the fame of godly persons depend upon the report of vulgar people, and the light rumors of men, but upon the rightful censure and just judgment of God). Yet it shows the extreme cruelty and insatiable desire for revenge in those who offer such utter wrong to the dead. These persons, therefore, whom they have pulled out of their graves and burned, I believe (if they had been alive) they would have cast out of house and home, they would have driven out of all men's company, and in the end, with most cruel torments, they would have torn them in pieces, being nevertheless strangers and aliens, and also being brought here by us, out of such a country where they not only did not need to fear any punishment, but contrariwise, they were always held in much reputation among the noble and honorable, as well as among the vulgar and common people.

“But yet how much more gentle than these men was Bishop Gardiner, otherwise an earnest defender of the popish doctrine? Against his own countrymen he let pass no cruelty whereby he might extinguish with fire and sword the light of the gospel. And yet he spared foreigners, because their right is so holy that there was never a nation so barbarous that it would violate the same. For when he had in his power the renowned cleric, Peter Martyr, then teaching at Oxford, he would not keep him to punish him, but (as I have heard reported) when he wished to go away, he gave him what he needed to bear his charges. So that the thing which he thought he might of right do to his countrymen, he judged unlawful to do to strangers. And though the law of God could not withhold him from the wicked murdering of his own countrymen, yet the law of man bridled him from killing strangers, which has ever appeased the most barbarous, and mitigated all cruelty. Therefore this cruelty has far surmounted the cruelty of all others. To satisfy the insatiable greediness of it, it drew to execution not only strangers brought here at our entreaty and sending for, but even the withered and rotten carcasses dug out of their graves. This was to the intent that the immeasurable thirst which could not be quenched with shedding the blood of those who were alive, might at the least be satisfied in burning dead men's bones. These, my brethren, *these* I say, are the just causes which have so sorely provoked the wrath of God against us, because we have been prone and ready to do extreme injury to the dead; but we have been slow and backward in putting that away. For truly I believe, if I may have liberty to freely say what I think (bear with me, if I chance to say anything unadvisedly in the heat and hasty discourse of my oration) that even *this* place, in which we have so often assembled, being defiled with that new kind of wickedness such as man never heard of before, is a hindrance to us when we call for the help of God, by means of which our prayers are not accepted — prayers which we make to appease the Godhead, and to win Him to be favorable to us again.

“The blood of Abel shed by Cain, calls and cries from the earth that sucked it up. Likewise, the undeserved burning of these bodies, calls upon Almighty God to punish us, and it cries that not only the authors of so great a wickedness, but also the ministers of it are impure, the places defiled in which these things were perpetrated, the air infected which we take into our bodies, with the effect that by sundry diseases and sicknesses we may receive punishment for such execrable wickedness.”

When Acworth, after much more godly exhortation had made an end of his oration, Master James Pilkington the queen's reader of the divinity lecture, going up into the pulpit, also gave a sermon in which he enlarged upon the long-continued cruelties and persecutions by the popes of Rome. He said,

“In the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, they used too much cruelty, and too much violence. For however it went with the doctrine of Bucer, certainly they could find nothing of which to accuse Phagius, in that he wrote nothing that came abroad except for a few things that he had translated out of the Hebrew and Chaldee tongues into Latin. After his coming into the realm, he never read, he never disputed, he never preached, he never taught. For he died soon after, so that in that time he could give no occasion for his adversaries to take hold of by which to accuse him, whom they never heard speak. In that they hated Bucer so deadly for the allowable marriage of the clergy, it was their own malice conceived against him, and a very slander raised by themselves. For he had for his defense in that matter (over and besides other helps) the testimony of pope Pius II, who in a certain place says that upon weighty considerations, priests’ wives were taken from them, but for more weighty causes were to be restored again. And also the statute of the emperor, called the ‘Interim,’ by which it is enacted that those of the clergy who were married, should not be divorced from their wives.”

***Peter Martyr’s Wife Dug up and Burnt at Oxford.***

*An Account of the conduct of the Papists towards Peter Martyr’s Wife at Oxford, taken up from her grave, and buried in a dunghill.*

And so that the one university might not mock the other, similar cruelty was displayed upon the dead body of Peter Martyr’s wife, at Oxford. She was an honest, grave, and sober matron while she lived, and always a great helper of poor people.

[938]

In the year 1552, she departed this life, to the great sorrow of all those needy persons whose necessities she had often liberally relieved. Now, when Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, Nicholas Ormanet, datary; Robert Morwen, president of Corpus Christi College; and Cole and Wright, doctors of the civil law, came there as the cardinal’s visitors, among other things they had in commission to take up this good woman again out of her grave, and to consume her carcass with fire; having no doubt that she was of the same religion which her husband had professed when he read the king’s lecture there. And to make a show that they would do nothing disorderly, they called all those before them who had any acquaintance with her or her husband. They administered an oath to them, that they should not conceal whatever was demanded. In short, their answer was that they did not know what religion she was, as they did not understand her language, she being a German.

After these visitors had concluded the business they came for, they went to the cardinal again, notifying him that upon due inquiry, they could learn nothing upon which by the law they might burn her. Notwithstanding, the cardinal did not leave the matter so. He wrote his letters a good while after to Marshall, then dean of Frideswide’s, that he should dig her up, and lay her outside of Christian burial, because she was interred near to St. Frideswide’s relics, held in great reverence in that college. Doctor Marshall, calling his men together in the evening, with spades and mattocks, <sup>665</sup> had her taken up and buried in a dunghill.

However, when it pleased God under good Queen Elizabeth, to give quietness to his church which had been so long persecuted, then Doctor Parker, archbishop of Canterbury; Edmund Grindall, bishop of London; and Richard Goodrick, with others — her majesty’s high commissioners in matters of religion, who were not ignorant of how far the adversaries of the truth had transgressed the bounds of all humanity in violating the sepulcher or grave of that good and virtuous woman — commanded certain members of that college in which this

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<sup>665</sup> *Mattock*: A kind of pick that is used for digging; has a flat blade set at right angles to the handle.

spiteful deed was done, to take her out of that place where she lay. And solemnly, in the face of the whole town, they buried her again in a more decent monument. The body being dead, no great estimation was to be had of how or where the bones were laid; yet some reverence was to be used toward her for womanhood's sake. Besides this, to say the truth, it was a great shame that her husband, who at king Edward's request had travelled so far from the place in which he dwelt quietly, and had taken such great pains, being an old man, reading and setting forth the truth all that he could, with learning to teach and instruct, and so well deserved of that university — should be so rewarded as to have his wife laid in a dunghill. Though treated with such ingratitude, she was a godly woman, a stranger, good to many, especially to the poor, and hurtful to none either in word or deed, without just deserving, and contrary to their own law.

To all good natures, the act seemed odious; and by those who were endued with humanity, it was utterly to be abhorred. Therefore, Master Calfield, then sub-dean of the college, diligently provided that she was restored from the dunghill to her proper place again. Yes, and he mixed her bones with Frideswide's, so that in case any cardinal would be so mad as to later remove this woman's bones again, it would be hard for them to discern her bones from the other's.

### ***The Persecutions in Canterbury and Colchester***

And thus much touching the acts of this cardinal in both universities. It will not be impertinent here to adjoin the articles set out by him to be inquired upon within his diocese of Canterbury. By these it may better appear what yokes of fruitless traditions were laid upon the poor flock of Christ, to entangle and oppress them with loss of life and liberty. We omit those that concerned the *clergy* as too long. The following, which refer to the *laity*, will suffice to show the nature of this visitation. The following were to be inquired into:

- Whether any manner of person, of whatever estate, degree, or condition he may be, holds, maintains, or affirms any heresies, errors, or erroneous opinions contrary to the laws ecclesiastical, and the unity of the catholic church.
- Whether any person holds, affirms, or says that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, there is not contained the real and substantial presence of Christ; or by any manner of means disdains and despises the said blessed sacrament, or refuses to reverence or worship it.
- Whether they disdain or despise by any manner of means any other of the sacraments, rites, or ceremonies of the church, or refuse or deny auricular confession.
- Whether any absent themselves, or refrain without urgent and lawful impediment, from coming to the church to reverently hear the divine service upon Sundays and holydays.
- Whether being in the church, they do not apply themselves to hear the divine service, and to be contemplative in holy prayer, and not to walk, jangle, or talk in the time of divine service.
- Whether the churches are sufficiently garnished and adorned with all necessary ornaments and books, and whether they have a cross in their church, of a decent stature, with Mary, and John, and an image of the patron of the same church.
- Whether in the time of Easter last, any were not confessed, or did not receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, or behaved themselves irreverently in receiving it.
- Whether any keep any secret conventicles, preachings, lectures, or readings in matters of religion, contrary to the laws.
- Whether any do not duly keep the fasting and ember days now.
- Whether the altars in the churches are consecrated or not.

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- Whether the sacrament is carried devoutly to those who fall sick, with light, and with a little sacring bell.<sup>666</sup>
- Whether there is a lamp or a candle burning before the sacrament. And if there is not, that it be provided for expeditiously.
- Whether any keep, or have in their custody, any erroneous or unlawful books.
- Whether any have or despise, or disdain the authority or jurisdiction of the pope's holiness, or the See of Rome.

### *Ten Martyrs burned in the Diocese of Canterbury.*

Mention was made a little earlier of the persecution in Kent. We declared that fifteen persons were condemned and imprisoned in the castle of Canterbury, for God's word. Of these fifteen, we showed five were famished to death in the castle and buried in the highway, about the beginning of November. The other ten, in the month of January 1557, were committed to the fire, and there consumed to ashes by Thornton, called bishop or suffragan of Dover, and by Nicholas Harpsfield, the arch-deacon of the province.

The names of these ten godly and Christian martyrs are these: — John Philpot, of Tenterden; William Waterer, of Beddingden; Stephen Kempe, of Norgate; William Hay, of Hithe; Thomas Hudson, of Salenge; Matt. Bradbridge, of Tenterden; Thomas Stevens, of Beddingden; Nich. Final, of Tenderden; William Lowick, of Cranbroke; and Wm. Prowting, of Thornham.

Of these ten, six were burned at Canterbury about the 15th of January. Two others at Wye, about the same month; and two more were burned at Ashford, on the 16th of January.

They all agreed together in their answers to the articles objected to them, if not in the same words, yet in effect. First in granting the church of Christ, and denying the church of Rome; denying the seven sacraments; refusing the mass; hearing the Latin service; praying to saints; justification by works, etc.

The month following, which was February, another commission came out from the king and queen, to kindle up the fire of persecution, as though it were not hot enough already. I thought it not proper to omit the contents of that commission.

[939] A.D. 1557.

This was not for lack of material (of which I have too much), but that the reader may understand how kings and princes of this world — just as in the first persecutions of the primitive church under Valerian, Decius, Maximin, Diocletian, Licinius, etc., so now also in these latter perilous days — have set out all their main force and power, with laws, policy, and authority to the uttermost they could devise against Christ and his blessed gospel. And yet, notwithstanding all these laws, constitutions, injunctions, and terrible proclamations that were provided against Christ and his gospel, Christ still continues, his gospel flourishes, and truth prevails. Kings and emperors are overthrown in their own purposes; their devices dissolved; their councils confounded — as examples make manifest, of this age and of all times and ages. But now let us hear the intent of this commission, as follows:

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<sup>666</sup> *Sacring bell*: a small bell rung during the elevation of the host or chalice at Mass.

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*A Commission given by King Philip and Queen Mary,  
to persecute the poor Members of Christ.*

“Philip and Mary, by the grace of God king and queen of England, etc. To the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor, Thomas, bishop of Ely, etc., etc.

“Because diverse devilish and slanderous persons have not only invented and set forth many false rumors, tales, and seditious slanders against us, but also have sown many heresies and heretical opinions, and set forth many seditious books within this our realm of England, meaning thereby to stir up division, strife, contention, and sedition, not only among our loving subjects, but also between us and our said subjects, with various other outrageous misdemeanors, enormities, contempts, and offenses daily committed and done, to the disquieting of us and our people, we — minding the due punishment of such offenders, and the repressing of such like offenses, enormities, and misbehaviors from now forward, having special trust and confidence in your fidelity, wisdom, and discretion — have authorized, appointed, and assigned you to be our commissioners, and by these presents we give full power and authority to you, and three of you, to inquire by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as well as by witnesses and all other means and politic ways you can devise, of all and singular heretical opinions, lollardies,<sup>667</sup> heretical and seditious books, concealments, contempts, conspiracies, and all false rumors, tales, seditious and slanderous words or sayings, raised, published, invented, or set forth against us, or either of us, or against the quiet governance and rule of our people and subjects, by books, lies, tales, or otherwise, in any county, key, bowing,<sup>668</sup> or other place or places within this realm of England, or elsewhere in any place or places beyond the seas; and of the bringers-in, utterers, buyers, sellers, readers, keepers, or conveyors of any such letter, book, rumor, and tale, and of all and every one of their coadjutors, counsellors, comforters, procurers, abettors, and maintainers, giving to you and three of you, full power and authority by virtue of this, to search out and take into your hands and possessions, all manner of heretical and seditious books, letters, and writings, wherever they or any of them are found, in printers’ houses and shops as well as elsewhere, willing you, and each of you, to search for the same in all places according to your discretions.

“And also to inquire, hear, and determine all and singular enormities, disturbances, misbehaviors, and negligences committed in any church, chapel, or other hallowed place within this realm, and also for and concerning taking away or withholding any lands, tenements, goods, ornaments, stocks of money, or other things belonging to any of the same churches and chapels, and all accounts and reckonings concerning the same.

“And also to inquire and search out all those persons who obstinately refuse to receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, or to come to their parish churches, or other convenient places appointed for divine service, and all those who refuse to go on procession, to take holy bread, or holy water, or otherwise misuse themselves in any church or other hallowed place, wherever any of the same offenses have been, or hereafter will be committed within this said realm.

“Nevertheless, our will and pleasure is that when, and as often as, any person or persons hereafter being called or brought before you, obstinately persist or stand in any matter of heresy or heretical opinion, that you or three of you then immediately take order, to see that the same person or persons so standing or persisting, are delivered and committed to his ordinary, there to be used according to the spiritual and ecclesiastical laws.

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<sup>667</sup> *Lollardies*: the doctrines or practices of the Lollards, who followed the teachings of John Wycliffe.

<sup>668</sup> *Key*: a small, low-elevation, sandy island or exposed sandbar; *bowing*: the area under a bowed (arched) bridge — the phrasing is equivalent to “every nook and cranny.”

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“And we also give to you, or three of you, full power and authority, to inquire and search out all vagabonds, and masterless men, baretors,<sup>669</sup> quarrelers, and suspected persons, abiding within our city of London, and ten miles compass of the same, and all assaults and affrays<sup>670</sup> done and committed within the same city and compass.

“And further, to search out all wastes, decays, and ruins of churches, chancels, chapels, parsonages, and vicarages in the diocese of the same, being within this realm, giving you and every one of you full power and authority by virtue of this, to hear and determine the same, and all other offenses and matters specified and recited above, according to your wisdom, consciences, and discretion — willing and commanding you, or any three of you, from time to time, to use and devise all such politic ways and means for the trial and searching out of the premises, as by you, or three of you, will be thought most expedient and necessary: and upon inquiry and due proof being had, known, perceived, and tried out, by the confession of the parties, or by sufficient witnesses before you, or three of you, concerning the premises or any part of them, or by any other requisite ways or means, to give and award such punishment to the offenders, by fine, imprisonment, or otherwise, and to take such order for redress and reformation of the premises, as to your wisdoms, or three of you, will be thought appropriate and convenient.

“Further willing and commanding you, and every three of you, in case you find any obstinate or disobedient person or persons, either in their appearance before you, or three of you, at your calling or assignment, or else in not accomplishing, or not obeying your decrees, orders, and commandments in any thing or things, regarding the premises or any part of them, to commit the same person or persons so offending to ward (jail), there to remain, till by you or three of you, he is discharged or delivered, etc.

And so forth, with other similar matter as follows:

*The Apprehension of twenty-two Prisoners at Colchester.*

After this tyrannical proclamation or commission thus given out at London, which was on the 8th of February, in the third and fourth years of the king and queen’s reign, these new inquisitors, especially some of them, began to take it upon themselves not a little; so that all quarters were full of persecution, and prisons were almost full of prisoners in the diocese of Canterbury.

In the meantime, around Colchester, the wind of persecution began to rise fiercely. So that twenty three men and women were apprehended together at one time; one escaped. The other twenty-two were driven up like a flock of Christian lambs to London, two or three of them at most were leaders, ready to have their skins plucked off for the gospel’s sake. Notwithstanding, the bishops, fearing to put so many to death at once, sought means to deliver them. And so they did, drawing out a very easy submission for them, or rather allowing them to draw it out themselves. Notwithstanding, several of them afterward were taken again, and suffered, as you will hear shortly. Those who met them by the way coming up, saw them in the fields, separated in such a way that they might easily have escaped. When they entered into the towns, their keepers called them back into array, going two by two, having a band or line going between them, which they held in their hands, every one of them having another cord about his arm, as though they were tied.

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<sup>669</sup> *Baretor*: someone prone to berate, contend, dispute or argue; a wrangler.

<sup>670</sup> *Affray* or *fray*: a noisy fight or quarrel.



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And so these fourteen men and eight women were carried up to London, the people along the way praying to God for them, to give them strength. At their entering into London, they were bound, and so they came into the city.

The twenty-two prisoners thus sent from Colchester to London, were brought at length to bishop Bonner. As to the order and manner of their coming and bringing, Bonner himself writes to Cardinal Pole as follows:

“May it please your good grace, with my most humble obedience, reverence, and duty, to understand that going to London last Thursday, and thinking to be troubled only with Master Germaine’s matter, and such other common matters as are usual, which was enough to weary a right strong body, the following day I had to comfort my heart with letters from Colchester, that either that day, or the following day, I would have twenty-two heretics sent there, indicted before the commissioners. And so indeed I had. I was compelled to bear their charges, as I did of the other, both of which cost me over twenty nobles,<sup>671</sup> a sum of money that I thought full evil bestowed. And these heretics, notwithstanding they had honest catholic keepers to conduct and bring them up to me, went quietly and obediently all the way from Colchester to Stratford-le-Bow. Yet coming to Stratford they began to take great liberty, and to do as pleased themselves, for they began to have their own guard, which generally increased till they came to Aldgate, where they were lodged on Friday night.

“Although I gave order that the said heretics should be with me very early on Saturday morning, to the intent they might quietly come and be examined by me, yet it was between ten and eleven o’clock before they would come, and they would take no way but through Cheapside; so that they were brought to my house with about a thousand persons. This I took to be very strange, and spoke to Sir John Gresham to tell the mayor and the sheriffs that this thing was not well allowed in the city. These naughty heretics, coming all the way through Cheapside, both exhorted the people to take their part, and they had much comfort from the crowd. Having entered into my house, and talked with, they showed themselves desperate and very obstinate. Yet I used all the honest means I could to win them, having some learned men talk with them. However, I found nothing in them but pride and willfulness. I thought to have them all go to Fulham, and there to give sentence against them. Nevertheless, perceiving that your grace was offended by my last doing, I thought it my duty, before I proceeded further, to notify your grace, and know your good pleasure, which I beseech your grace I may do by this trusty bearer. And thus I most humbly take my leave of your good grace, beseeching Almighty God always to preserve the same. At Fulham, December 26th, 1556.

“Your grace’s most bounden bedesman <sup>672</sup> and servant,  
“EDMUND BONNER.”

It is to be understood by this letter of Bishop Bonner’s to the cardinal, what good will was in this bishop to have the blood of these men, and to have passed sentence of condemnation against them, if the cardinal had not somewhat, as it seemed, stayed his cruelty. Concerning the cardinal, although it cannot be denied by his acts and writings, that he was a professed enemy, and not other than a papist — yet, again, he was none of the bloody and cruel sort of papists. This may appear, not only by staying the rage of this bishop, but also by his letters written to Cranmer; and also by the complaints of some papists accusing him to the pope, as the tolerator of the heretics, and by the pope’s letters sent to him, calling him up to Rome, and setting Friar Peto in his place, had not Queen Mary by special entreaty, kept him out of the pope’s power. And besides, it is also thought of him that towards his latter end, a little

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<sup>671</sup> *Noble*: a coin worth 10 shillings in 1550, ten days’ wages for a skilled tradesman.

<sup>672</sup> *Bedesman*: a male who is paid to pray for the soul of another.



before his coming from Rome to England, he began to somewhat favor the doctrine of Luther, and was no less suspected at Rome; and furthermore, there at Rome he converted a certain learned Spaniard from popery to Luther's side. Notwithstanding, the pomp and glory of the world afterwards carried him away to play the papist as he thus did. But to return to our account of this godly company again. As to their confession, which they sent up in writing, it would be too tedious to recite the whole. Briefly touching the article of the Lord's Supper, for which they were chiefly troubled, they wrote thus:

*The Supper of the Lord.*

“Whereas Christ at his last supper, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, ‘Take, eat, this is my body.’ And ‘likewise took the cup,’ etc. We understand it to be figurative speech, as most of his language was in parables and dark sentences, so that those who are carnally minded would see with their eyes, and not perceive; and hear with their ears, and not understand. He signified by this, that as he broke the bread among them, being but one loaf, and they were all partakers of it, so we through his body, in that it was broken and offered upon the cross for us, are all partakers of it. His blood cleanses us from all our sins, and has pacified God's wrath towards us, and made the atonement between God and us, if we walk in the light from then on, even as he is the true light.

“And in saying further, ‘Do this in remembrance of me,’ it is a memorial and token of the suffering and death of Jesus Christ. And he commands it for this reason: so that the congregation of Christ should come together to show his death, and to thank and laud him for all his benefits, and magnify his holy name, and so break the bread, and drink the wine, in remembrance that Christ has given his body, and shed his blood for us.

“Thus you may well perceive, though Christ called the bread his *body*, and the wine his *blood*, yet it does not follow that the substance of his body should be in the bread and wine; as many places in Scripture are spoken by Christ and the apostles, in a similar phrase of speech, as in John 15, ‘I am the true vine.’ Also in John 10, ‘I am the door.’ And as it is written in the 9th to the Hebrews, and in Exodus 24, how Moses took the blood of the calves, and sprinkled both the book and all the people, saying, ‘This is the blood of the covenant or testament.’ And also in the 5th chapter of Ezekiel, how the Lord said to him concerning the third part of his hair, saying, ‘This is Jerusalem, etc.’

“Thus we see the Scriptures, how they are spoken in figures, and ought to be spiritually examined, and not as they would have us say, that the bodily presence of Christ is in the bread. This is a blasphemous understanding of the godly word, and is contrary to all holy Scriptures. Also we see that great idolatry has sprung out of the carnal understanding of the words of Christ, ‘This is my body;’ and still springs up daily, to the great dishonor of God; so that men worship a piece of bread for God, yes, and hold that to be their maker.”

After this confession of their faith and doctrine being written and exhibited, they also devised a letter in the form of a short supplication, or rather an admonition to the judges and commissioners, requiring that justice and judgment, according to the rule of God's word, might be ministered to them.

Though the request of these men was so just, and their doctrine so sound, yet all this could not prevail with the bishop and other judges. That sentence would have proceeded against them immediately, had not the goodness of the Lord better provided for his servants, than the bishop had intended. For as they were now under the edge of the axe, ready to be condemned by sentence, it was thought otherwise by the cardinal, and some other wiser heads. Fearing lest by the death of so many together, some disturbance might arise among

the people, it was decreed among themselves, that they would rather make some submission or confession, and so be sent back home.

[941] A.D. 1557

*Five Godly Martyrs burned in Smithfield.*

To proceed further in this history of persecuted martyrs, next in order follow five others burned at London, in Smithfield, April 12th, 1557; namely, Thomas Loseby; Henry Ramsey; Thomas Thirtel; Margaret Hide; and Agnes Stanley.

Being apprehended for not coming to their parish churches, they were sent to Bonner, bishop of London, and by his command on the 27th of January, were examined before Doctor Darbishire, then chancellor to the bishop, upon the usual articles.

Their answers were that they confessed there was one true and catholic church in which they steadfastly believed, and thought that the church of Rome was no part or member of it. In the church, they believe there are but two sacraments; that is to say, baptism, and the supper of the Lord. Moreover, they acknowledged themselves to be baptized into the faith of that true church. And here all men should mark the subtlety of these popish divines, who intermixing certain points of faith and of the true church, with the idolatrous and superstitious mummerly of their Romish synagogue, often cause the poor and simple people, for lack of knowledge, to fall into their crafty nets. For after they made them grant that there is a true church with the sacraments (though not in such number as they would have them), and also, that they were baptized into the faith of the church, that is, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, they craftily descend from the faith of the Trinity, to their idolatrous mass, and to other superstitious ceremonies. They would make them grant that now, in denying these, they have severed themselves from the faith of the true church into which they were baptized; which is most false. For though the true light of God's gospel and holy word was shockingly darkened, and in a manner utterly extinguished, yet the true faith of the Trinity, by the merciful providence of God, was still preserved, and we were baptized into the faith of it, and not into the belief and profession of their idolatry and vain ceremonies.

These things not being thoroughly weighed by these poor, yet faithful and true members of Christ, caused some of them to ignorantly grant that when they came to the years of discretion, and understood the light of the gospel, they separated themselves from the faith of the church — meaning none other than only to separate themselves from the popish and erroneous trash which now defiled the church of Christ, and not from their faith received in baptism. In their answer to the other articles, they constantly affirmed this in express words, declaring the mass and sacrament of the altar to be most wicked blasphemy against Christ Jesus, and contrary to the truth of his gospel. And therefore they refused to assent and to be reconciled to it again.

These answers being taken by the chancellor, they were dismissed for that time. But the bishop, taking the matter into his own hands, on the 6th of March, propounded other new articles to them. To these they all answered severally, with faithfulness to the truth.

After this, on the 1st of April, they were again brought before the bishop in his palace at London, where little appears to have been done, except to know whether they would stand to their answers, and whether they would recant or not. But when they refused to recant, the bishop had them brought into the open consistory on the 8rd of April. There, seeing their

constancy and steadfastness, he demanded particularly of every one what they had to say, and why he should not pronounce the sentence of condemnation.

**Thomas Loseby** answered first, “God give me grace and strength to stand against you, and your sentence, and also against your law, which is a devouring law, for it devours the flock of Christ. And I perceive there is no way with me but death, unless I would consent to your law, and believe in that idol the mass.”

Next answered **Thomas Thirtel**, saying, “My lord, I say this: if you make me a heretic, then you make Christ and all twelve apostles heretics: for I am in the true faith and right belief, and I will stand in it, for I know full well I shall have eternal life.”

**Henry Ramsey** said, “My lord, would you have me go from the truth? I say to you, that my opinions are the very truth, which I will stand to, and not go from them. And I say to you further, that there are two churches upon the earth, and we (meaning himself and other true martyrs and professors of Christ) are of the true church, and you are not.”

**Margaret Hide** answered saying, “My lord, you have no cause to give sentence against me: for I am in the true faith and opinion, and will never forsake it; and I wish that I were stronger in it than I am.”

Last of all **Agnes Stanley** answered, and said, “I would rather have every hair of my head burned, if it were ever worth so much, than to forsake my faith and opinion, which is the true faith.”

The time now being spent, they were commanded to appear again in the afternoon in the same place. This commandment being obeyed, the bishop first called for THOMAS LOSEBY.

In his accustomed manner, the bishop commanded that his articles and answers to be read. In reading from them, when the sacrament of the altar was mentioned, the bishop with his colleagues put off their caps; at which Loseby said, “My lord, seeing you put *off* your cap, I will put *on* my cap,” which he accordingly did. Afterwards, the bishop continued in his accustomed persuasions. Loseby said to him, “My lord, I trust I have the spirit of truth, which you detest and abhor, for the wisdom of God is foolishness to you.”

Then the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation against him; and delivering him to the sheriff, he called for MARGARET HIDE.

She said, “I will not depart from my sayings till I am burned. And my lord, I would see you instruct me in some part of God’s word, and not give me instructions about the holy bread and holy water, for it is no part of the Scripture.”

But to make short work, he used his final reason, which was the sentence of condemnation. Therefore putting her aside, he called for AGNES STANLEY.

Upon the bishop’s like persuasions, she gave this answer. “My lord, where you say I am a heretic, I am none; nor will I believe you, nor will any man who is wise believe as you do. And as for these that you say are burnt for heresy, I believe they are true martyrs before God. Therefore I will not go from my opinion and faith, as long as I live.” She then received the like sentence that the other had.

And the bishop then turning to THOMAS THIRTELL, likewise received from him this final answer: “My lord, I will not hold with your idolatrous ways. For I say, the mass is idolatry, and I will adhere to my faith and belief so long as the breath is in my body.” Upon which words he was also condemned as a heretic.

## Bk. XII. Persecutions in the 5th year of Queen Mary

Last of all, HENRY RAMSEY was demanded if he would stand to his answers, or else recant them, come home again, and be a member of their church. He answered, "I will not go from my religion and belief as long as I live. And my lord, your doctrine is wrong, for it is not agreeable to God's word."

After these words, the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation against him and the rest, and charged the sheriffs of London with them. Being so commanded, on the 12th of April, they brought them into Smithfield where, in one fire, they all most joyfully and constantly ended their temporal lives, receiving the life eternal.

### *Three burned in Saint George's-fields, in Southwark.*

After these, in the month of May three others followed who suffered in St. George's-field, in Southwark; namely, William Morant, Stephen Gratwick, and one King.

Among other histories of the persecuted and condemned saints of God, I find the condemnation of none, more strange nor unlawful than of this Stephen Gratwick. For,

1. He was condemned by the bishop of Winchester, and the bishop of Rochester, who were not his ordinaries.
2. When he appealed from these incompetent judges to his right ordinary, his appeal was not admitted.
3. When they had no other way to color their proceedings, they suborned one of the priests to come in as a counterfeit and a false ordinary, and sit upon him.

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4. Being openly convinced and overturned in his own arguments, the bishop of Winchester, Doctor White, would neither yield to the force of truth, nor allow any of the audience even once to say, 'God strengthen him.'
5. As they brought in a false ordinary to sit upon him; so they pretended false articles against him, which were no part of his examinations, but of their own devising, to have his blood.
6. And lastly, having no other ground nor just matters against him, but only for saying these words; 'That which I said, I have said,' they read the sentence of death upon him.

And this was the dealing of these men, who would be reputed as catholic fathers of the spirituality, successors of the apostles, disciples of Christ, pillars of the holy church, and leaders of the people. Of whose doings and proceedings, whether they were conformable to the example of Christ and his apostles, I leave others to discuss, referring the decision to those who know the institution of Christ's religion and doctrine.

### *The account of this matter is written by Stephen Gratwick himself, as follows.*

"On the 25th of May 1557, I came before the bishop of Winchester, into St. George's church in Southwark. Then he called me before him, and said:

"How does the matter stand with you now? Are you content to revoke your heresies which you have maintained and defended here within my diocese? And also, last Sunday you stood up in the face of the whole church maintaining your heresies, so that you have offended within my diocese. Now, being your ordinary, you must answer to me directly, whether you will revoke them or not?"

“Gratwick. — ‘My lord, these articles which you have objected against me are not mine, but of your own making. Therefore these are objections which you lay against me as snares to get my blood. Therefore I desire you to allow my lawful appeal to my own ordinary; for I have nothing to do with you. And where you charge that I have offended within your diocese, it is not so. I have not attempted either to preach or teach within your diocese. For I was apprehended by my own bishop, and sent as a prisoner into your diocese, by the consent of the council and my own ordinary. Therefore you have no cause to prevent my lawful appeal.’

“And with that, in came the bishop of Rochester, who was received by the bishop of Winchester with much gladness. Next followed the archdeacon of Canterbury.

“Winchester. — ‘Sir, I am very glad of your coming. For here I have one before me, who has appealed to you, being his ordinary.’

“Archdeacon Canterbury. — ‘I know this man very well. He has been before me several times.’

“Gratwick. — ‘My lord, I am not of his diocese, not by five miles. I dwell in the diocese of the bishop of Chichester; and therefore I am not of his diocese.’

“Then the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Rochester, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, consulted together, and laughed. They said, ‘my ordinary would be here by and by.’ They then sent for a counterfeit instead of my ordinary; and then I saw them laugh. So I spoke to them and said:

“Gratwick. — ‘Why do you laugh? Are you confederated together for my blood, and triumph in this? You have more cause to look weightily upon the matter. For here I stand before you upon life and death. But you declare yourselves to be what you are, for you are clothed in lambs’ apparel. But I would to God that you had coats according to your assembly here, which is scarlet gowns, for here I perceive you are bent to have my blood.’

“And then the counterfeit bishop came rushing in, who was the hired servant to deliver me into the hands of the high priest. The bishop hearing him come, inquired who was there. And he said, ‘My lord of Chichester.’ Then the bishop with haste rose up and said:

“Winchester. — ‘You are most heartily welcome,’ and he requested him to sit down. Then the bishop of Winchester said to me, ‘Behold, here is your ordinary. What do you have now to say to him?’

“Counterfeit. — ‘Here you stand before my lords and me on trial of your faith, and if you bring the truth, we will give way to you.’

“Then I demanded of him whether he meant [truth] by authority, or by the judgment of the Spirit of God in his members? And he answered me, by authority as well as by the Spirit.

“Then I said. ‘Now will I turn your own argument upon you. For Christ came before the high priests, scribes, and pharisees, bringing the truth with him, being the very truth himself, which truth cannot lie. Yet both he and his truth were condemned, and had no place with them — and also the apostles, and all the martyrs who died since Christ. Therefore I turn your own argument upon you, answer it if you can.’

“Then he with a great heat of choler, said to the bishop of Winchester, ‘Object some articles against him, for he is obstinate, and would gladly get out of our hands. Therefore hold him to some particular.’

“Then the counterfeit ordinary spoke again, and said, ‘My lord, ask him what he says to the sacrament of the altar.’ Then the bishop asked me, as he requested of him.

“Gratwick. — ‘My lord, I believe that in the sacrament of the supper of the Lord, truly administered to the worthy receiver in both kinds according to the institution of Christ, he eats mystically by faith the body and drinks the blood of Christ.’ Then I asked him if it were not the truth. And he said, ‘Yes.’ Then I said, ‘Bear witness of the truth.’

“Then the bishop of Winchester, whose head being subtlest, said, ‘My lord, do you not see how he creeps away with his heresies, and covers them secretly? Note how here he separates the sacrament of the altar from the supper of the Lord, meaning it is not the true sacrament. And also how he condemns our administration in one kind, and allows that the unworthy receiver does not eat and drink the body and blood of Christ. But he will answer directly. What do you say about the administration of the priests every day for themselves, and they administer in both kinds?’

“I answered, ‘You have two administrations, for I am sure at Easter you minister in but one kind, and therefore it is not according to the institution of Christ, but according to your own imaginations.’

“Winchester. — ‘Why, then, what do you say to these words, “Take, eat, this is my body.” These are the words of Christ. Will you deny them?’

“Gratwick. — ‘My lord, they are the words of Scripture, I affirm and do not deny them.’

“Rochester. — ‘Why, then, you do confess in the sacrament of the altar, that there is a real presence, the self-same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and is ascended up into heaven?’

“Gratwick. — ‘My lord, what do you mean now? Do you not also mean a visible body? For of necessity, if it is a real presence and a material body, then it must be a visible body also.’

“Winchester. — ‘No, I say, it is a real presence, and a material body, and an *invisible* body too.’

“Gratwick. — ‘My lord, then it must be a fantastical body. For if it were a material and invisible body, as you affirm, then it *must* be a fantastical body. For it is apparent that Christ’s human body was visible and seen.’

“Then the bishop broke out and said, ‘When did you see him? I pray you, tell me.’

“To that I answered and said, ‘That is a weak argument. Because our corporeal eyes cannot comprehend Christ, does it follow that he is invisible, just because we cannot see him?’

“And with that the bishop began to grow weary of his argument, and shifted his talk to Judas in eating the sacrament. He said, ‘He ate him wholly, as the apostles did.’ And then I asked him if he meant Christ’s flesh and blood, of which he speaks in the 6th of John, and says, ‘Whoever eats my flesh, and drinks my blood, has eternal life in me.’ To that he answered, ‘Yes.’

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“‘Then,’ I said, ‘of necessity Judas must be saved, because he ate the flesh, and drank the blood of Christ, as you have affirmed. And also all the ungodly who die without repentance are saved, because they have eaten your sacrament, which you say is the flesh and blood of Christ. Therefore of necessity they will receive the benefit of it, that is, eternal life. This is a great absurdity to grant. And then of necessity it must follow that all who do not eat, and do

not drink of your sacrament, will finally perish and be damned. For Christ says, 'Unless you eat my flesh, and drink my blood, you can have no life in you.' And you have said of your sacrament, that it is the same flesh and blood that Christ speaks of. And here I prove that all children who die under the age to receive the sacrament, by your own argument, must be damned. This is a horrible blasphemy to speak. Now here I turn your own argument upon you. Answer it if you can.'

"Winchester. — 'My lord, do you not see what deceitful arguments he brings in here against us, mingled with sophistry, and keeps himself in an advantage, so that we can get no hold upon him? But I say to you, you perverse heretic, I see now, you are a perverse fellow. I had a better opinion of you. But now I see we lose our time about you, and yet I answer you that St. Paul opens the 6th of John plainly, if you will see. For he says, 'They eat Christ's body, and drink his blood unworthily,' and that was the cause of their damnation.'

"Gratwick. — 'My lord, take heed that you do not add to the text, for whoever adds to the text is accursed of God, and I am sure that here you have brought more than St. Paul has spoken. For he does not say, because they have eaten his body, and drank his blood unworthily; but St. Paul says, 'Whoever eats this *bread*, and drinks this *cup* of the Lord unworthily, will be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.' Note, my lord, he does not say as you have affirmed, but quite the contrary.'

"And with that they were all in a great rage. The bishop of Winchester said I belied the text. And then I called for the text. He said, 'I asked you even now if you understood Latin, and you said, whether I can or not, the people will bear witness in English.' And so I called again for the testament, whether it was Latin or English, for the trial of the text. When the bishop of Winchester saw that I did not care which of the translations I had, he stood up, thinking to beguile some simple man who had a book there, and bade one who had an English testament to bring it in, so that he might get some hold on him who would bring a testament. But God disappointed him, and so he began to rail upon me, and said my subtle arguments would not serve. For if I would not answer directly, I would nevertheless be excommunicated. 'For,' he said, 'I see a mad toy in your head; you glory much in your talk, and think now that the people have come about you, that you will encourage them with your constant heretical opinion. For on the last day when you were before me, on Sunday, in St. Mary Overy's church, you reprov'd my sermon there, and had at least a thousand by you, to bid God strengthen you. But now let me see him here who dares open his mouth to bid God to strengthen you. He shall die the death that you will die.'

"To that I answered, 'My lord, I know your cruelty extends more largely than your pity. I have good experience to say so, for you keep men in prison a year or two, taking their books from them, permitting them not so much as a testament to look upon for their soul's comfort, which all men ought to have. And so you treat them more like brute beasts than Christian men.'

"Winchester. — 'No, Sir, we will use you as we would use a child; for if the child would hurt himself with the knife, we will keep the knife from him. So because you will damn your souls with the word, you will therefore not have it.'

"Gratwick. — 'My lord, you bring a foolish argument to maintain and cover your fault. Are you not ashamed to make the *word* the cause of our damnation? I never knew any man but you, who did not affirm our *sins* to be the cause of our damnation, and not the *word*, as you say. Therefore if your argument is good, then this is good also: because some men abuse drink, the benefit of drink should be taken from all men,' or any other good gift.'

Bk. XII. Persecutions in the 5th year of Queen Mary

“Winchester. — ‘My lords, we lose much time here, for this fellow is perverse, speaking nothing but sophistry and perverse questions, so that we can get no advantage upon him.’

“Then my counterfeit ordinary spoke, as someone half asleep all this while. Yet now with haste he said, ‘Read these articles against him once more, and if he will not answer them, take him upon his first words; ‘That which I said, I have said.’”

“Winchester. — ‘Why, this fellow is perverted. We will get no more at his hands than we have already. Therefore let us pronounce sentence against him, for we but lose our time.’

“Gratwick. — ‘No good, my lord. Seeing that you will necessarily have my blood, let me say a little more for myself. On Sunday last, when I was before you, you preached this which was a truth, and agreeable to the doctrine of the apostle St. James. You said, ‘If any man thinks himself a religious man, and does not bridle his tongue, that man’s religion is vain.’ And so, my lord, you standing there in the pulpit, seduced your tongue to slander us poor prisoners in iron bonds, burdening us with the sect of Arians, and with the sect of Herodians, and with the sect of Anabaptists, and with the sect of Sacramentaries, and with the sect of Pelagians. And when we stood up to clear ourselves, you said you would cut out our tongues and have us pulled out of the church by force. But there you gave yourself a shrewd blow. For in the meantime your tongue slandered your neighbor. For, my lord, I will give my life against all these heresies which you burdened us with there, even as I will give my life against that in which I now stand before you.’

“Winchester. — ‘If you will not yield, I will pronounce sentence against you,’ and so he proceeded onward apace, cursing and banning in Latin — so that I told him, ‘If the people might hear it in English, they would think you an uncharitable bishop.’ And then I said, ‘Stay, my lord, and note what you do. For you have neither temporal law nor spiritual here against me in any cause.’ Then a gentleman stepped forward and said to my lord, ‘Take heed what you do: for he says here that you have no title or cause why you should condemn him.’ Then the bishop looked about him again, and asked me if I would recant. I asked him, ‘What should I recant?’ At last his chaplains cried out, ‘Stop, stop, my lord: for now he will recant.’ And then the bishop asked me again. And I answered and said, ‘My lord, my faith is grounded more steadfastly than to change in a moment. No process of time can alter me, unless my faith were like the waves of the sea.’ And so the bishop made an end of it, and delivered me into the hands of the sheriff, to be carried prisoner to the Marshalsea again. When I was condemned, I desired God with a loud voice, that He would not lay my blood to their charge, if it were His good will. And so then they refused my prayer, and sent me away. I began to talk as I went, and they cried, ‘Cut out his tongue, or stop his mouth!’ So I was brought to the Marshalsea, and put in iron bands. Therefore I pray to God that those to whom this present writing comes, may take an example by my death. So be it.

“By me, Stephen Gratwick, condemned  
for God’s everlasting truth.”

Thus this Christian martyr, being wrongfully condemned by the bishop of Winchester, was burned with W. Moraunt and one King, in St. George’s-fields, about the latter end of May.

*Seven Martyrs burned at Maidstone.*

After the proclamation was sent and set forth by the king and queen in the month of February, the storm of persecution began in all places, yet in no place more than in the diocese of Canterbury. On the 18th of June, seven Christian and true faithful martyrs of Christ were burned at Maidstone, namely: — Joan Bradbridge, of Staplehurst; Walter



Appleby, of Maidstone; Petronil, his wife; Edmund Allen, of Frittenden; Katherine, his wife; John Manning's wife, of Maidstone; and Elizabeth, a blind maiden.

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The general articles and order of their condemnation did not differ much from the usual manner, and also their answers. Not much of these has come to hand, except that of Edmund Allen.

*The Examination of Edmund Allen.*

This Allen was a miller, of the parish of Frittenden in Kent, and in a year when many poor people were likely to starve, he fed them, and sold his corn cheaper by half than others did. He did not only that, but also fed them with the food of life, reading the Scriptures to them, and interpreting them. This being known to the popish priests, he was soon complained about to the justices, and brought before Sir John Baker, knight. He committed both him and his wife to ward, but not long after they were let out, I know not how. And so they went over to Calais where, after they had continued a certain time, he began to be troubled in his conscience. Shortly afterwards he returned home, where there was a cruel priest named John Tailor.

Tailor was informed that Edmund Allen and his wife had returned, and were not at mass-time in the church. At the time he was in the midst of his mass, on a Sunday, a little before the elevation. Almost at the lifting up of his Romish god, he turned to the people in a great rage, and commanded them with all speed to go to Allen's house, and apprehend them, and he would come to them with as much haste as possible. He well performed this promise. For he had no sooner made an end of the service, and the vestments were off his back, than he was shortly at the house. There, laying hands on Allen, he had him brought again to Sir John Baker, with a grievous complaint of his exhorting and reading the Scriptures to the people. And so Allen and his wife were sent to Maidstone prison. They were no sooner in prison, than Sir John Baker sent certain of his men to their house [to seize their goods]. Thus good Edmund Allen and his wife, being maliciously accused, wrongfully imprisoned, and cruelly spoiled and robbed of their goods, were brought before Sir John Baker, the justice, to be examined. He taunted and reviled Edmund without any mercy or pity, and asked him if those were the fruits of his gospel, to have conventicles, to gather people, to make conspiracies, to sow sedition and rebellion. And thus he began to reason with him:

Baker. — "Who gave you authority to preach and interpret? Are you a priest? Are you admitted to that? Let me see your license."

Martin Collins, Sir John Baker's schoolmaster, said, "Surely he is an errant heretic, and worthy to be burned."

Allen. — "It may please your honor to give me leave to answer in the cause of my faith. I am persuaded that God has given me this authority, as he has given it to all other Christians. Why are we called Christians, if we do not follow Christ, if we do not read his law, if we do not interpret it to others who do not have so much understanding? Is Christ not our father? Will the son not follow the father's steps? Is Christ not our master? And will the scholar be prohibited to learn and preach his precepts? Is Christ not our redeemer? And will we not praise his name, and serve Him who has redeemed us from sin and damnation? Did not Christ, being but twelve years of age, dispute with the doctors, and interpret the prophet Isaiah? And yet, notwithstanding, he was neither of the tribe of Levi, who were priests, but

of the royal tribe of Judah. Neither had he taken any outward priesthood. Therefore, if we are Christians, we must do the same.”

Collins. — “Observe, your honor, what a knave this is, who compares himself with Christ.”

Baker. — “Let him alone, he will pump out shortly an infinite heap of heresies. Have you any more to say for yourself? Why did you teach the people, not being a priest?”

Allen. — “Because we are all kings to rule our affections, priests to preach out the virtues and word of God, as Peter writes, and lively stones to give light to others. For just as out of flintstones comes forth that which is able to set the whole world on fire; so out of Christians should spring the flame of the gospel, which should inflame the whole world. If we must give a reckoning of our faith to every man, and now to you who demand it, then we must study the Scriptures, and practice them. What does it avail a man to have meat if he eats none; and apparel if he wears none; or to have an occupation and teaches none; or to be a lawyer and utters none? Shall every artisan be allowed, yes, and *commanded* to practice his skill and science, and the Christian forbidden to exercise his? Does not every lawyer practice his law? Is not every Christian a follower of Christ? Will ignorance, which is condemned in all sciences, be practiced by Christians? Does not Saint Paul forbid any man’s spirit to be quenched? Does he prohibit any man who has any of those gifts which he mentions in 1Cor 14, to practice the same? He forbids only women, but not men. The Jews never forbade anyone. Read the Acts of the Apostles. The restraint was made by pope Gregory IX, as I heard someone, a learned man, preach in King Edward’s days.”

Collins. — “This villain is mad. By my priesthood, I believe he will say that a priest has no more authority than another man. Does a priest not bind and loose?”

Allen. — “No; my sin binds me, and my repentance looses. God alone forgives sin, and no priest. For every Christian, when he sins, binds himself; and when he repents, he looses himself. If any other is loosed from his sin by my exhortation, I am said to loose him; and if he perseveres in sin, notwithstanding my exhortation, I am said to bind him, even though it is God who binds and looses, and gives the increase. Therefore Christ says; ‘Truly I say to you, whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them.’ Mat 18.18, 20. Neither does the pope have any keys except the keys of error. For the key that opens the lock to God’s mysteries and to salvation, is the key of faith and repentance.”

Then they reviled him, and laid him in the stocks all the night. Some who were better-minded, being offended by such extremity, desired Allen to keep his conscience to himself, and to follow Baruch’s counsel in the sixth chapter. “Therefore, when you see the multitude of the people worshipping them behind and before, say in your hearts, O Lord, it is you alone that ought to be worshipped.” <sup>673</sup>

With this he was persuaded to go to hear mass the next day. And suddenly, before the consecration, he went out in the church-yard and considered with himself, that such a little cake between the priest’s fingers could not be Christ, nor a material body, neither did it have soul, life, sinews, bones, flesh, legs, head, arms, nor breast. He lamented that he was seduced by the passage in Baruch, which his conscience told him was no Scripture, or else it

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<sup>673</sup> [The book of Baruch is part of the Jewish Apocrypha, included in the Septuagint version.](#)

had another meaning. After this, he was brought again before Sir John Baker, who asked him why he refused to worship the blessed sacrament of the altar.

Allen. — “It is an idol.”

Collins. — “It is God’s body.”

Allen. — “It is not.”

Collins. — “By the mass it is.”

Allen. — “It is bread.”

Collins. — “How do you prove that?”

Allen. — “When Christ sat at his supper, he gave them bread to eat.”

Collins. — “Bread! knave?”

Allen. — “Yes, bread, which you call Christ’s body. Did he still sit at the table, or was he both in their mouths, and at the table? If he was in their mouths, *and* at the table, then he had two bodies, or else he had a fantastical body; which is an absurdity.”

Baker. — “Christ’s body was glorified, and might be in more places than one.”

[945] A.D. 1557,

Allen. — “Then he had more bodies than one, by your own placing of him.”

Collins. — “You ignorant ass! The schoolmen say that a glorified body may be everywhere.”

Allen. — “If his body was not glorified till it rose again, then it was not glorified at his last supper; and therefore it was not at the table, and also in their mouths, by your own reason.”

Collins. — “This rebel will believe nothing but Scripture. How do you know that it is the Scripture, except by the church?”

Baker. — “Away with him.”

Then he was carried to prison, and afterwards burned. And thus much touching the history of Edmund Allen and his wife. They with five other martyrs — namely, five women and two men — were burned together at Maidstone, on the 18th of June 1557.

*Seven Martyrs burned at Canterbury,  
three Men, and four Women.*

Among such infinite seas of troubles in these most dangerous days, who can withhold himself from bitter tears, to see the rage of these pretended catholics who, never being satisfied with blood to maintain their carnal kingdom, presume so highly to violate the direct law of God’s commandments, in slaying the simple lambs of the glorious church of Jesus Christ? And that was for their true testimony of a good conscience, <sup>1Pet 3.21</sup> in confessing the immaculate gospel of their salvation. What heart will not lament the murdering mischief of these men who, for lack of work, so vent their cruelty on poor women, whose weakness the more strength it lacks by natural imperfection, the more it ought to be helped, or at least pitied, and not oppressed by men who are stronger, and especially by priests who should be charitable.

But blessed be the Lord Omnipotent, who has supernaturally endowed from above such weak creatures with such manly fortitude, to so constantly withstand the uttermost extremity of these pitiless persecutors. This may appear here by the martyrdom of seven persons, four women and three men, burned together at Canterbury, the 30th of June.

Bk. XII. Persecutions in the 5th year of Queen Mary

These were John Fishcock; Nicholas White; Nicholas Pardue; Barbara Final, widow; Bradbridge's widow; Wilson's wife; and Benden's wife.

It would be too tedious to exactly and particularly prosecute the several histories of every one of these godly martyrs. But neither can I pass over untouched the cruel and unchristian handling of Alice Benden during her imprisonment, and partly also some actors in the matter, being her own natural brethren.

*The tragic handling of Alice Benden.*

First Alice Benden was brought before Master Roberts, of Crambroke, in Kent, on the 14th of October 1556. He demanded why she would not go to the church. She answered that she could not do so with a good and clear conscience, because there was much idolatry committed against the glory of God. For saying this, receiving many mocks and taunts, she was sent to prison, where she lay fourteen days.

Then the bishop called her before him, and asked her if she would go home, and go to the church? She answered; "If I would have done so, I need not have come here." "Then will you go home, and be shriven (confessed) by your parish priest?" She said, "No," she would not. "Well," he said, "go your way home, and go to the church when you will." To this she answered nothing. But a priest who stood by, said 'She says that she will, my lord.' Therefore he let her go, and she came directly home.

On the following Saturday, her husband desired her to go to church; which she refused to do. Therefore, on the Sunday, fourteen days later, going to the church, he came into the company of several inhabitants of the parish. Through his forward talk and behavior among them, her husband had her sent to Sir John Gilford, who ordered her to prison again.

[945]

Yes, and more to utter his own shame, they said her husband took money from the constable to carry her to prison — the price of his wife's blood, meaning indeed to carry her to prison himself. But having much more care for his honest and good reputation, than he had regard for his own infamy, and no less ashamed of his very rude and unnatural doings, she chose rather to commit herself willingly into the hands of her enemies, than have the world be witness against her husband of so wicked an act. Therefore she went to the constable, desiring him to go with her. He answered that he could not so do, but granted her his boy to go with her, with whom she went to prison; namely, to the castle of Canterbury, according to the commandment. Afterwards she was placed in still stricter confinement.

This prison was within a court, where the prebends' chambers were located. It was a vault beneath the ground. Before the window it was enclosed with a fence about four and a half feet in height, three feet distant from the window. So that looking from beneath, she might only see those who stood at the fence. After this, her brother often sought for her, with no less danger of life than diligence. But for the unknown situation of the place, it being but rarely used for a prison, and the matter being as closely kept, as it was secretly done, he could never come to understand her being there. Then, through God's merciful will and unsearchable providence, he came there very late in the morning, while her keeper had gone to the church to ring the bell (for he was a bell-ringer). He chanced to hear her voice as she poured out to God her sorrowful complaints, saying the Psalms of David. He could not otherwise relieve her, except by putting money in a loaf of bread, and sticking it on a pole. And so he reached it out to her; for he could sustain her neither with food nor drink. And

this was five weeks after her coming here. All this time no creature was known to come to her, more than her keeper.

While in that prison she lay only upon a little short straw, between a pair of stocks and a stone wall. She was allowed three farthings a day, that is, halfpenny bread, and a farthing drink; nor could she get any more for her money. Therefore she desired to have her whole allowance in bread, and used water for her drink. Thus she lay for nine weeks. During all this time she never changed her apparel; by which she became at the last, a most piteous creature to behold.

At her first coming into this place, she grievously bewailed with great sorrow and lamentation, and reasoned with herself why her Lord God, with his heavy justice, allowed her to be separated from her loving fellows, into such extreme misery.

She continued in these dolorous mournings till one night, as she was in her sorrowful supplications, repeating this verse of the Psalm; "Why are you cast down, O my soul?" And again, "The right hand of the most high can change all," she received comfort in the midst of her miseries. After that, she continued very joyful until her delivery.

About the 25th of March 1557,<sup>674</sup> she was called before the bishop. He demanded of her, whether she would now go home, and go to the church or not, promising her great favor if she would be reformed and do as they did.

She answered, "I am thoroughly persuaded, by the great severity that you have already shown me, that you are not of God; nor can your doings be godly. And I see that you seek my utter destruction," showing how lame she then was, having taken cold, and for lack of food while she lay in that painful prison. Thereby she was not able to move herself without great pain.

Then the bishop delivered her from that filthy hole, and sent her to Westgate. After she had changed her clothes, and was kept clean for a while, her skin wholly peeled off. There she continued till the latter end of April. At that time they committed her to the prison called the castle, where she continued till her martyrdom, which was on the 19th of June.

[946]

With this Alice Benden, the other blessed martyrs named above were also burned, being seven in number. Being brought to the place where they were to suffer for the Lord's cause at Canterbury, they undressed themselves joyfully for the fire. Being ready, they all, like the communion of saints, kneeled down and made their humble prayers to the Lord with such zeal and affection, that even the enemies of the cross of Christ could not but praise them. When they had made invocation together, they rose and went to the stake. There, in the midst of the flames, they yielded their souls and lives gloriously into the hand of the Lord.

Bradbridge's wife had two children named Patience and Charity. When she was condemned by the bishop to be burned, she said to him that even if he must burn her, yet she trusted he would take and keep Patience and Charity, meaning her two children. "No," said the bishop, "by the faith of my body, I will meddle with neither of them."

*The Troubles of Matthew Plaise.*

To these holy martyrs of Kent specified above, of which seven suffered at Maidstone, and seven at Canterbury, I thought it not out of place to add the examination of Matthew Plaise.

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<sup>674</sup> Apparently she had been there since mid-November.

He was a weaver, of the same county of Kent, and a faithful Christian. Being apprehended and imprisoned likewise for the testimony of a good conscience, in the castle of Canterbury, he was brought to examination before the bishop of Dover, and Harpsfield, the archdeacon, as may be read and seen in his own writing. The following are extracts from it:

“Archdeacon. — ‘What do you say to the catholic church, which has so long continued, except for the nine or ten years that this heresy has sprung up here in this realm?’

“I said, no man can accuse me of anything spoken against the catholic church of Christ.

“‘Then,’ the bishop said, ‘do you not believe the creed?’

“Plaise. — ‘Yes, truly, I believe my creed, and all that is written in the testament of Christ, with the rest of the Scriptures.’

“‘Then,’ he says, ‘you confess that there is a catholic church. I am glad of that. But tell me, are the king and queen of that church, or not?’

“‘Well,’ I said, ‘now I perceive you go about to be both my accuser and also my judge, contrary to all right. I confess that Christ has a church on earth, which is built upon the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head of it. And as regards the king and queen, I answer that I have nothing to do with any man’s faith but my own. Nor did I come here to judge; for I do not judge myself, but the Lord must judge me.’

“‘Then,’ he said: ‘is there no part of that church here in England?’

“Plaise. — ‘Well, I perceive you would gladly have something to lay to my charge. I will tell you where. Christ says, ‘Where two or three are gathered together in his name, there is he in the midst of them.’

“Then the commissary asked me if I did not remember St. Paul, who rebuked the Corinthians for their evil behavior, and because they made no distinction of the Lord’s body, and to prove his matter, he brought in how Jesus called himself bread, in the 6th of John. So Paul said, ‘As often as you eat of this bread unworthily, you eat and drink your own damnation, because you make no distinction of the Lord’s body.’ For thus Christ said, ‘The bread that I will give you is my flesh.’ Now it is not bread, but it is his flesh. And thus he alleged every Scripture falsely, to support the matter.

“Then I said, I believed the words of St. Paul very well, even as he had spoken them. For thus he says, ‘Whoever eats and drinks unworthily, eats and drinks damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord’s body.’

“Commissary. — ‘What is the cause that he eats his own damnation?’

“I said, ‘St. Paul declares it plainly with these words, ‘If you had judged yourselves, you should not have been judged by the Lord.’

“Then the archdeacon said, ‘he marvelled why I would not say that he called the bread his body, seeing that Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, with many others, called it his body.’

“I said, ‘you have condemned them as heretics, and you would have me agree with them, because you would kill me.’

“Then he said, ‘In that they said it was his body, they said the truth.’

“I asked why they were killed, seeing that they said the truth?’

“Then the bishop said, ‘that he had all their answers, and that they did not believe as they said.’ For they said, ‘Christ called it his body, but it was not his natural body. But you will answer me by and by, whether it is his body or not, or else I will anger you.’

“Then I said, ‘I had answered him by the word already, and believed it also. Therefore, if he condemned me for that, my life was not dear to me, and I was sure he would not escape punishment. For God will be revenged upon such murderers.’

“Then the archdeacon began with Moses’ rod, how God commanded him to lay it down, and it was turned into a serpent. Seeing that this was done by Moses, being but a man, how much more Christ, being both God and man, took one thing, and gave another to his disciples.”

“I said ‘his comparison was nothing alike, for Moses’s rod when it was laid down, he saw that it was turned into a very serpent indeed. But in this sacrament, no man can see that either quality or quantity is changed.’

“Then the bishop said that my opinion and faith, was like the Capernaites. <sup>675</sup>

“I said, ‘Theirs was more like their opinion than mine.’ “

What became of this Matthew Plaise afterward, whether he died in prison, or was executed, or delivered; I have no certain knowledge.’

### ***The History and Martyrdom of Richard Woodman***

#### *Ten Martyrs burnt in one fire at Lewes.*

In the town of Lewes, ten faithful servants of God were put in one fire, the 22nd of June. Six of them were men, and four were women.

Of this number, Richard Woodman was the first. Here follows his declaration, in his own words, of his apprehension first, by his enemies; then of his deliverance out of Bishop Bonner’s hands; then of his second taking by the procurement of his father, brother, kinsfolks, and friends; also of his examinations and answers before the bishops; and lastly of his condemnation.

Richard Woodman, was about thirty-one years of age. By occupation he was an iron maker. He dwelled in the parish of Warbleton, in the county of Sussex, and diocese of Chichester. The occasion of his first apprehension was this:

There was one Fairbanke, who at one time had been a married priest, and served the cure of Warbleton. where he had often persuaded the people not to credit any other doctrine but that which he then preached, taught, and set forth in king Edward’s days. But afterwards, in the beginning of queen Mary’s reign, Fairbanke preached quite contrary to what he had taught before.

Whereupon, Richard Woodman, hearing him in the church of Warbleton, preach so contrary to himself, admonished him about his inconsistency — how he had taught them one thing, and now another; and he desired him to teach them the *truth*. For these words he was apprehended, and brought before Master John Ashburnham and other justices of the peace in Sussex. He was committed by them to the King’s-bench, where he continued from June, for almost a year and a half. And from there he was transferred by Doctor Story into Bonner’s coal-house, where he remained for a month before he came to examination.

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<sup>675</sup> *Capernaites*: those who questioned the literal meaning of Jesus’s words in the Gospel of John, chapter 6.



At length, the same day when Master Philpot was burned (which was on the 18th of December), Woodman with four other prisoners was delivered and set at liberty by Bonner himself. Notwithstanding, shortly after he was sought again. At last he was discovered and taken by means of his father, brother, and others. And so he was sent up again to London to Bishop Bonner, where he remained in the coal-house eight weeks.

[947] A.D. 1557.

He was then examined six times, and twenty-six times before then. So that in all there were thirty-two examinations, from his first apprehension to his condemnation. Regarding the whole discourse, as the matter is somewhat strange, you will hear him testify both of the manner of his troubles, and also his examinations, as recorded by himself.

*A true Certificate written by Richard Woodman, etc.*

“Gentle reader, here you will perceive how the Scriptures are partly fulfilled on me, being one of the least of God’s poor lambs. First, you will understand, that since I was delivered out of the bishop of London’s hands, which was in the year 1555, and the same day that Master Philpot was burned, which was the 18th of December, I lay in his coal-house one day short of eight weeks. And before that, I was almost a year and a half in the King’s bench after my first apprehension, for reproving a preacher in the pulpit. That was in the parish of Warbleton, where I dwelt. Therefore I was at two sessions<sup>676</sup> before I was sent to prison; and I was carried to two more sessions while I was in prison, twice before the bishop of Chichester, and five times before the commissioners. Then I was sent to Bonner’s coal-house, and called before him many times, as it appears by my examinations which I have written down. The bishop of Chichester now has these examinations, for they were found in my house when I was taken, in which is contained all the talk which I had before them. Also, in London there are those who had copies of the same from me, when I was in the coal-house.

“And it pleased God to deliver me, with four others, out of the bishop’s hands. He required nothing else of us but that we should be honest men, and members of the true catholic church that was built upon the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head of the true church. We all affirmed that we were members of the true church, and purposed by God’s help in this to die. Hereupon we were delivered; but he desired us many times to speak good of him.

“After I was delivered, the papists said that I had consented to them, for which they made themselves glad. This was the least part of my thought, as they well-perceived, and knew the contrary a while later. For I went from parish to parish, and talked with thirteen or fourteen of them, who were the main ones in the country. I vexed them so, that with the commissioners they complained of me to the lord chamberlain.

“Then within three days after, my lord sent to take me. I was at the plough, right in the way as they were coming to my house. I came to them and spoke to them, asking them how they did. And they said, ‘they arrested me in the king and queen’s name, and that I must go with them to their master the lord chamberlain.’ These words made my flesh tremble. But I answered them, that I would go with them. Yet I desired, ‘that they would go to my house with me, so that I might break my fast, and put on other clothes,’ and they said I might. Then I remembered myself, saying in my heart; ‘Why am I thus afraid? They can lay no evil to my charge. If they kill me for well-doing, I may think myself happy. I remembered how before, I was content to gladly die in that quarrel, and so I had continued ever since; and would I now fear to die? God forbid that I should, for then all my labor would be in vain.’

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<sup>676</sup> In 16th-century ecclesiastical courts, *session* refers to a formal meeting or judicial sitting of a court to hear cases.



Bk. XII. Persecutions in the 5th year of Queen Mary

“So by and by I was persuaded, I praise God, considering it was but the frailty of my flesh, which was loath to forego my wife and children, and goods. For I saw nothing but present death before my eyes. And as soon as I was persuaded in my mind to die, I had regard for nothing in this world, but was as cheerful and glad, and joyful, I praise God, as I ever was. This battle did not last a quarter of an hour; but it was sharper than death itself for the time.

“So when I had my breakfast, I desired them to show their warrant, thinking thereby I might have seen why I was arrested, so that I might the better answer for myself when I came before their master. One of them answered that they did not have their warrant there. These words astonished me, and it was put in my mind that I need not go with them unless they had their warrant. Then I said to them, ‘That is a marvel, that you would come to take a man without a warrant.’

“Then one of them said, ‘We do not have the warrant here, but it is at my house; the worst is, you can but make us fetch it.’ Then I said, ‘Fetch it if you will; but if you come into my house before you have it, it is at your hazard.’ So I shut my door, and went my way out at the other door. They got help to watch my house, while one of them brought the constable and many more, thinking to have taken me in my house, and carried me away with a license. But I was gone before, as God would have it. Notwithstanding, they sought every corner of my house, but could not prevail. I suspected they would search it again that night, so I kept abroad. And indeed, seven of his men and the constable came and searched my house.

“Then I supposed that they would search the whole country for me, and guard the sea-coast, lest I go over. And then I thought they would not suppose I would dare be near home. So I told my wife that I would make my lodging in a wood, not more than a bow-shot from my house, as I did indeed, even under a tree. And there I had my bible, my pen, and my ink, and other necessaries, and I continued there six or seven weeks, my wife bringing me food daily, as I had need. Indeed, I thought myself blessed by God, that I was counted worthy to lie in the woods for the name of Christ. Then word came into the country that I was seen and spoken to in Flanders, whereupon they left lying in wait for me. For they had searched the whole country for me, and the sea-coast from Portsmouth to Dover, even as God put in my mind they would.

“So when all was hushed, I went abroad among our friends and brethren. At length, I went beyond the sea, both into Flanders and France. But I thought every day it would be seven years before I was at home again. So I returned home as soon as it was possible. I was there only three weeks. But as soon as I had come home, and once it was known among the priests, they could not abide it, but procured warrants against me, sometimes having my house searched twice in a week.

“My father and brethren, with whom I had some difference about property, informed the sheriff of my arrival. and they sent men to apprehend me.

“They had taken a man of mine, and two of my children who were abroad in the land, and kept them with them till their hour was appointed to come in. Then a little girl, one of my children, saw them come together, and came running in, and cried, ‘Mother, mother, yonder come twenty men.’ Sitting in my bed, I heard the words, and suspected straightway that I was betrayed. I stirred out of my bed and whipped on my hose, thinking to have gone out of the doors before they had come. My wife, being amazed at the child’s words, looked out the door, and they were hard by. Then she clapped to the door, and barred it fast, even as I came out of my chamber into the hall, and so barred the other door. The house was beset all round straightway, and they bade us open the doors, or else they would break them in pieces. Then I had no alternative, but either I must show myself openly, or make some other remedy.

“Now there was a secret place in my house that was never found, though it was searched at least, I dare say, twenty times, and sometimes almost by twenty men, both by night and by

day. Into that place I went. And as soon as I was in, my wife opened the door, by which they came and asked for me; she said I was not at home. Then they asked her why she shut the door, if I was not at home. She said because she had been made afraid several times with those who came to search us; and therefore, she shut the door. 'For it is reported (she said) that whoever can take my husband, will hang him or burn him straightway. And therefore I doubt they will serve me or my children so; for I think they may do so to us as well as to him.'

[948]

"Well,' they said, 'we know he is in the house, and we must search it, for we are the sheriff's men; let us have a candle. It is told to us that there are many secret places in your house.' So she lit a caudle, and they sought up and down, in every corner that they could find, and had given up. Many of them had gone out of my house into the church-yard, and there they were talking with my father and with some that he had brought with him.

"Now when they could not find me, one of them went to him who gave them word that I was at home, and said, 'We cannot find him.' Then he asked them whether they had sought over a window that was in the hall, for that same place I had told him of myself. For many times when I came home, I would send for him to keep me company. Yet, as it chanced, I had not told him the way into it. Then they began to search anew, and so in the end I was taken."

And thus much touching the cause and effects of the troubles of Richard Woodman. Now let us see his examinations, as written by himself.

"First, you will understand that I was sent from the sheriffs to London, on the 12th of April 1557, and on the 14th, I was brought before the bishop of Chichester, and Dr. Story, and Dr. Cooke. So the sheriff's men delivered my warrant and me to the bishop. Then the bishop asked me what my name was. 'My name (I said) is Richard Woodman.'

"So after a very lengthy examination he at last professed great kindness for me.

"Chichester. — 'I protest before God, I would have you do as well as my own soul and body. Be content to be reformed. God has done his part on you. Do not cast yourself away. Remember your wife and children, and the poor who lack your occupation. Follow your vocation. Remember you are not called to be a teacher nor a preacher. St. Paul says, 'Let every man walk in the way he is called, and abide in it.' Remember you are called to another vocation, for God's sake, walk in it. It is not your office to do as you have done. You might do as much good as any man might do in all the country, by your example. And if you would follow the laws of the catholic church, it would be an occasion to bring a great many into the true church, who are out of it, as you are.'

"Woodman. — 'I would not have you say that I am out of the church of God, for I am not; but I allow the church of God according to his word. Yes, if I were abroad, and could win anyone into the true church, who are out, by any means that I could, I would be very glad. For God knows I love all people as myself. And where you say I have been a preacher, it is not so. I never took any such thing upon myself, as it is well known. But as for teaching, I cannot deny that. For it becomes every man to teach and instruct his household in the fear of God, and all others as far as he can, who desire it of him. And where you have blamed me for reading the Scriptures, and leaving my vocation, I did not leave my vocation in reading the Scriptures. For I trust I followed my vocation the better for it. And the greatest reason that I was compelled to read the Scriptures, was because the preachers and teachers were so changeable.'

"Chichester. — 'No, did you not preach at a fair?'

“Woodman. — ‘No surely, but it was so reported. I was at a fair indeed. While I was in prison, I had leave from the council to go home and pay my debts, and then I went to a fair to sell cattle. There I met some poor men that I had set to work, and from love they asked me how I did, and how I got away from imprisonment. I showed them how God had dealt with me, and how he would deal with all those who put their trust in Him; and this they called preaching. And since that, it has been reported that I have baptized children and married folks, which I never did, for I was never a minister. And if I had so done, I would have done contrary to the order of the apostles, as God forbid I should.’

“Chichester. — ‘I have heard say the contrary.’

“Woodman. — ‘I have shown you the truth, and no man living will be able to prove the contrary.’

“Chichester. — ‘You said you did not disallow the true catholic church.’

“Woodman. — ‘No, that I do not.’

“Chichester. — ‘Why then do you not go to the church? I am informed that you do not come there.’

“Woodman. — ‘I trust I am in the true church every day. But to tell you the truth. I do not come to the church where most resort. For if I did, I would offend and be offended. For the last time I was there, I offended many, and was offended myself. Therefore, for conscience’ sake I would not come there. Therefore look to it, for I am now in your hands, and you ought to be a house of defense against my enemies. For if you allow them to kill me, my blood will be required at your hands. If you can find any just cause in me worthy of death, by God’s word, you may condemn me yourself, and not offend God. Therefore look to it. Do not deliver me into their hands.’

“Chichester. — ‘I tell you truth, I can do little in the matter; but I will send for you and talk with you.’

“Then he desired the sheriffs men to stay for dinner with him. But this man, he said, may dine with me also. So we stayed for dinner with him, and had no further talk pertaining to me for two hours or more. But he conversed with me, how I understood many Scriptures, and about bishops’ and priests’ marriages, and whether St. Paul had a wife or not. I answered, ‘It is a thing that I have little to do with, as concerning marriage; but I am very well content to talk with you in the matter, as far as my poor learning will serve.’ So when he had talked with me about several Scriptures, he liked my remarks well. He asked me what I said of St. Paul, whether he was married or not? I answered, ‘I can prove by the Scriptures that he was never married.’

Chichester. — ‘How do you prove that?’

“Woodman. — ‘I will prove it well enough, by God’s help. Yet I will prove that St. Paul might have had a wife, as well as the other apostles had.’

“Chichester. — ‘What, did the apostles have wives?’

“Woodman. — ‘Yes, all, save Paul and Barnabas, as I understand it. For these are Paul’s words,

‘Am I not an apostle? Am I not free? Have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord? Are you not my work in the Lord? If I am not an apostle to others, yet doubtless I am to you; for you are the seal of my apostleship in the Lord. My answer to those who examine me is this: do we not have the right to eat and to drink? Do we not have the right to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as

other apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas? Or is it only I and Barnabas, who do not have the right to forbear working?' 1Cor 9.1-6.

So this text proves that Paul and Barnabas were unmarried. But Paul declares that the rest had wives, and that they likewise had a right to have them, but they found no need for it. He also declares, in the seventh chapter of the same epistle, that whoever has no power over his own flesh, may marry; 'For it is better to marry than to burn.' 'Therefore, to avoid fornication,' he says, 'let every man have his wife.' He says, 'Let every man have his wife, and every woman her husband.' By this place of Scripture, I understand that bishops and priests may have wives, because they are men. But I think truly, whoever can abstain, 'having power over his own will, does best; but if he marries he does not sin.'

"So then he debated the Scriptures with me, that a bishop or a priest should not have a wife. But I proved by several Scriptures both in the old law and in the new, that women were at first made for the help of men, which was spoken generally to all men. 'Therefore,' I said, 'every man may live with a woman, and not sin, in honest matrimony, bishops and deacons, as well as other men, which you call priests, if they are true ministers of Jesus Christ, and of that order that bishops and deacons were, in Paul's time. For Paul declares to Timothy 'that a bishop should be the husband of one wife,' and how they should be honestly apparelled, and how they should bring up their children, and likewise the deacons. This, I said, proves more plainly that both bishops and deacons had wives in the apostles' time, which he could not deny. But then he alleged that no bishop or priest might take a wife after he had taken upon himself that office; but if he had a wife *before* he took the office, he might keep his wife, and bring up his children according to St. Paul's meaning to Timothy.

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"Woodman. — 'I think Paul's meaning in that place was that a man who has had two wives might not be made a bishop or a deacon. But that place does not prove that a bishop or a deacon may not marry after they are made bishops and deacons. For I am sure that Paul was in the state of a bishop when he said he had the right to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as the other apostles had. Here Paul declares that it was in his power to have a wife *after* he had the office of a bishop, which was not his right if he had been forbidden by God. Thus have I shown you my mind in this behalf, both of Paul, and also for the marriages of bishops and priests, as I understand the Scriptures. However, it is a thing which I have little to do with. But as you required me to give you my mind in that matter, so I have done.

"Chichester. — 'I am glad that you have said as you have done. Many affirm boldly that Paul had a wife, and yet cannot prove whether he did or not, by the Scriptures; but you have said very well. I am glad that you are contented to be ruled by God's word. And if you will be contented likewise in other matters, no doubt you will do well. Therefore, gentle Woodman, so be ruled. God has given you a good understanding. I protest before God, I would have you do as well as my own soul and my body, and so would all the worshipful men in the country, as they have reported to me.'

"Woodman, — 'Why, my lord, I take God to record, whom I trust to serve, that I would be as glad to live in rest and peace as any man in all the world, if I might. And I am contented to be reformed of anything that I hold, if it can be proved that it is not agreeable to God's word. And the truth is, I have talked with a dozen priests at least, since I was delivered out of prison, and they have not been able to certify me in anything that I have asked them. And therefore they have complained to the sheriff and justices, making tales and lies about me,

to turn me to displeasure. I promise you, there are as many unlearned priests in your diocese, as in any one diocese in England I think — the more it is to be lamented.

“Chichester. — ‘I promise you, I much lament it myself. For I hear say no less, and it is true what you say. I would that I could remedy it, but I cannot. But I will do the best that I can when I come into the country, and I will be glad to talk with you some other time, when I am somewhat better at ease. You see I am very tender now; as I have been this half year and more. Come to dinner; our dinner is ready. I did not have you stay for any great cheer that you will have, nor would I have you think that I go about to win you with my food. But you are welcome with all my heart. Come sit down.’

“I thanked him and went to dinner. And there I and a merchant-man dined with him, plus one of the sheriff’s men, and no more. And we had good cheer, God be praised. We had no talk of the Scriptures during the dinner; but when dinner was done, the bishop said:

“Chichester. — ‘Now call Doctor Story’s man. For the commissioners have committed you to prison. But I will send for you before long, and I pray God I may do you good. I would be very glad of it.’

“Woodman. — ‘If it please you to send for me, I will be very glad to talk with you, for I like your talk well. And then if it please your lordship to examine me upon any particular matter, I will show you my mind in it, by God’s grace, without dissimulation. But I pray you let me have nothing to do with Doctor Story, for he is a man without reason.’

“Chichester. — ‘Well, before you go, what do you say to the seven sacraments? Let me hear what you say to them, that I may be more willing to send for you again.’

“Woodman. — ‘I do not know seven sacraments.’

“Chichester. — ‘Then what will I talk with you about? How many do you know?’

“Woodman. — ‘I know but two; one the sacrament of baptism, and the other the supper of the Lord. But if you can justly prove by God’s word that there are more than two, I stand to be convinced.’

“Chichester. — ‘If I do not prove seven by God’s word, then do not believe me.’ And so he bade me farewell.

“Then the sheriff’s two men and one of Doctor Story’s men carried me to Doctor Cook, who commanded them to carry me to the sheriff’s prison. He said, ‘He will be called before us again shortly and all his fellows, and we will dispatch them from troubling the country any more.’

“And so I was brought to the Marshalsea, where I am now cheerful, God be praised, looking for the judgment of my flesh. For they intend to dispatch me shortly, if God gives them leave. But God has their hearts in his hands, and they can do nothing to me except as God gives them leave. Therefore I commit my cause to God alone, and I am sure not one hair of my head will perish without my heavenly Father’s will, though I bear ever so much trouble. ‘For if we live, we live at the Lord’s will; and if we die, we die to the Lord’s will. So whether we live or die, we are the Lord’s.’ Blessed be his name there for.

“Therefore, dear brethren and sisters, to whom this writing of mine comes, be of good cheer, and ‘do not fear what man can do to you. For they can but kill the body; but fear Him who has power to kill both body and soul.’ And yet once again I bid you to be of good cheer. For the sheriff, with several other gentlemen and priests, while I was at the sheriff’s house, said to me that all the heretics in the country hung on me, as the people in times past hung upon

St. Augustine or St. Ambrose, or such like. ‘Therefore,’ they said, ‘look well to it. You have a great thing to answer for.’ To which I answered, ‘I pray that God may lay nothing more to my charge, than He will do for heresy,’ as I am sure he will not. For he has set my sins as far from me, as it is from the east to the west. So that I am sure they will never come near to me anymore. It is their imagination and thought, that if they might win me to them, they would win a great many likewise. And thinking to kill me if they cannot win me, as I trust in God and am sure they never will, by God’s grace, if it were possible for them to kill me ten times. For I am so linked to Christ in a chain by faith, that it is impossible for men to separate us, neither for life nor death, for which I praise my Lord God. And no doubt their full intent and purpose is to kill me, thinking thereby to make others afraid. This death of my body would be best of all for me, if God were so pleased. But if I may live for the comfort of others, his name be praised. I know what he can do; but what he *will* do, I do not know. But if death is offered me, so that I cannot refuse it without displeasing God, then I trust in God I will not offend my brethren in receiving death, but it will rather be an occasion for the strengthening of their faith, by choosing and receiving it, and doing that with joy. For as Christ has given his life for us, so we ought to give our lives for the defense of the gospel, and the comfort of our brethren. And whereas the bishop says he will prove there are seven sacraments, have no doubt, he will never be able to do it, no more than he has proved other arguments with me already.”

*The second Examination of Richard Woodman before the Bishop of Chichester, two of his Chaplains; and Doctor Story, on the 27th of April.*

“After this, I was sent for on the 27th of April, to the bishop of Chichester. When we were in the bishop’s hall, we had not stayed long, when the bishop sent for me. When I came before him, I did my duty to him as much as I could.

“Chichester. — ‘You are welcome; how do you do?’

“Woodman. — ‘Well, I praise God, thanking your lordship for the gentle talk that you had with me at my last departing from you.’

“Chichester. — ‘What do you say respecting the seven sacraments? For there we left off, and there we will begin again. You said then there were but two. What do you say now to it? Will you deny all but two?’

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“Woodman. — ‘I say now as I said then. You said there are seven sacraments; and I said, I knew but two. But if you could prove seven by God’s word, the when I came, I would grant them. And you said, if you could not prove them by God’s word, I should not believe them. Now I have come to see how well you can prove them.’ (With this he was moved to anger, and all his chaplains.)

“Chichester. — ‘By God and my truth I believe he thinks I cannot prove them. What do you say to the sacrament of matrimony?’

“Woodman. — ‘Why, my lord, St. Paul says to Timothy that a bishop should be faultless, and you use much swearing, which is a great fault in a bishop, of all others, who should be an example to the flock.’ Then he and his prelates were in a great rage with me, because I reproved him for his swearing.

“Chichester. — ‘What! I perceive this man is worse than he was the last day. What, he takes it upon himself to teach me to speak, as though I could not tell what I had to do.’

Bk. XII. Persecutions in the 5th year of Queen Mary

“Priest. — ‘So I think, my lord, he is as stout a fellow, indeed, as we have seen.’

“Woodman. — ‘Yes, I am stout, because I do what I am commanded. I dare not for my life hold my peace. For otherwise I would bear your sin, which I will not do, nor any of you all, I tell you plainly.’

“Chichester. — ‘Where do you find that you are commanded to reprove me?’

“Woodman. — ‘If you see your brother sin, reprove him: if he repents, you have won your brother.’

“Chichester. — ‘I will never talk with him more. Go call Doctor Story. Let him do with him what he will. He has been with his fellows in the Marshalsea, and now he is worse than he was before. I had some hope in him the other day, but now I see none.’

“Woodman. — ‘No, I praise God, my faith does not hang upon men, but upon God.’

“Priest. — ‘No, my lord, I think he is not the worse for *them*; but I fear they are the worse for *him*.’

“Woodman. — ‘Well, my lord, look well to it: will you deliver me to other men to shed my blood, and so think to wash your hands of me, as Pilate did by Christ.’ Nay, you cannot be so discharged.’

“Chichester. — ‘I have nothing to do with you. But out of my gentleness I have sent for you, because you said you would declare your mind in any particular manner I would demand of you.’

“Woodman. — ‘Why, I do not refuse to do so, if you demand it of me.’

“Chichester. — ‘I am not consecrated yet. Therefore, my lord cardinal may examine you, and condemn you, or my lord of London. For you are now in his diocese.’

“Woodman. — ‘Yes, my lord, the matter is even so? Then I perceive where you go about. You accuse me to others, and they go about to kill me.’

“Chichester. — ‘I do not go about to kill you, but would be glad to hear your mind on the sacraments. And if you do not understand them aright, I would be glad with all my heart to show you how I understand them.’

“Woodman. — ‘If you would talk with me to do me good, I would be content to hear you, and show you my mind; otherwise I would be loath.’

“Chichester. — ‘No, I will promise you, if I can do you no good, I will do you no harm. What do you say to the sacrament of matrimony? Is it a sacrament or not? What do you think?’

“Woodman. — ‘I think it is a holy institution ordained by God in paradise, and it is to continue so to the world’s end.’

“Chichester. — ‘Behold, now you will see how you are deceived in that, as you are in all the rest. Come here. You can read Latin, I am sure.’

“Woodman. — ‘Yes, I can read Latin, but I understand very little.’

“Chichester — ‘Come to me; you will see that St. Paul calls it a holy sacrament. For these are the words, ‘For this cause a man will leave his father and mother, and will be joined to his wife, and the two will be one flesh. This is a great sacrament.’

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“Woodman. — ‘I remember such a saying, but St. Paul does not call it a sacrament. Rather he says, ‘It is a great mystery.’

“Chichester. — ‘Where does he say so?’

“Woodman. — ‘I am not sure in what text it is, but I am sure these are St. Paul’s words, and that he does not call it a sacrament in all his writings.’

“Chichester. — ‘What! the last day you were full of Scriptures, — here it is written! and there it is written! We can recite the Scriptures as well as you. Therefore, if we are sure it is written, it is no great matter for the place. Come here; I will show you the place.’

“Woodman. — ‘I looked, and it was written *sacramentum* in the Latin, and a *great mystery* in the English translation.’<sup>677</sup>

“Chichester. — ‘I grant it to be a mystery. What is a *mystery*?’

“Woodman. — ‘A mystery is unseen. For Paul says that he speaks concerning Christ and the church. So the great mystery that he speaks of, I take to be the faith of those who are married, which is hidden in Christ, which we do not see, but Christ does. The deed which is done in the church, the outward marriage, we see, but the inward marriage of the heart we do not see. Therefore Paul calls it a mystery. And therefore, if it is a sacrament, it is invisible to us; it is not seen as other sacraments are.’

“Chichester. — ‘No, I tell you it is a *visible* sacrament, seen as the others are; for is not the marriage *seen*? Are not the man and woman *seen*?’

“Woodman. — ‘My lord, I pray you, what is a *sacrament*?’

“Chichester. — ‘It is a sign of a holy thing.’

“Woodman. — ‘I think you have certified me very well. There need not be a sign of a holy thing, where the holy thing itself is present.’ (Then his chaplains would have interrupted me.) I said, ‘There need not be a sign of a thing where the thing itself is present. Matrimony is itself a holy thing, and it is ended outwardly, and needs no more signs but themselves. Therefore it cannot be a sacrament as others are.’

“Chichester. — ‘Follow your vocation; you have a little learning. ‘We have an altar of which you may not eat.’ (1Cor 10.18) What does St. Paul mean by this?’

“Woodman. — ‘There is no man so foolish as to eat stones, I suppose.’

“Chichester. — ‘What a mocker and scorner you are, to say no man would be so foolish as to eat stones? It is a plain mockery.’

“Woodman. — ‘Why, my lord, you said I had no learning, nor understanding. Therefore it becomes you to make things plainer to me, and not ask me such dark questions, and yet blame me too. I think it is too much.’

“Chichester. — ‘I dare say you know what it means well enough. The greatest fool in my house will understand my meaning better than you do.’

“Some of his men stood not far off, talking together beside a window. He called one of them by his name.

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<sup>677</sup> Roman Catholics claimed the English translation was in error, based on Jerome’s Latin Vulgate bible. But in the original Greek, it is *musterion*, or mystery. Thus the Latin Vulgate is the problem, not the English translation.



Bk. XII. Persecutions in the 5th year of Queen Mary

“Chichester. — ‘Come here. I say to you, you will not eat of this table. What do I mean by this?’

“The man. — ‘My lord, you would not have me eat of this table,’ laying his hand upon it. With this answer he made all in the house laugh, and I could not refrain, but burst out with laughter and said:

“Woodman. — ‘He has expounded the matter almost as well as I.’

“Chichester. — ‘He means well enough, if you would understand him. Answer me again, to make it more plain. I say to you, you shall not eat of this table. What do I mean by this?’

“The Man. — ‘That you would not have me eat this table.’

“These words made them all laugh. With that the bishop was almost angry, because the answer proved no better. He said —

“Chichester. — ‘He means that I would not have him eat any of the food that is set upon this table. What do you say? Do you not mean so?’

“The Man. — ‘Yes, my lord, that was my meaning indeed.’

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“Woodman. — ‘Yes, my lord, now that you have told him what you mean, he can say so too. And so could I have done, as little wit as I have, if you had said, St. Paul meant that no man might eat of that which was offered upon the altar, except the priests.’

“Chichester. — ‘Well, let this matter pass, and let us return to the principal again. What do you say to the sacrament of the altar?’

“Woodman. — ‘You mean the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ?’

“Chichester. — ‘I mean the sacrament of the altar, and so I say.’

“Woodman. — ‘You mean Christ to be the altar, do you not?’

“Chichester. — ‘I mean the sacrament of the altar in the church. What, is it so strange to you?’

“Woodman. — ‘It is strange to me indeed, if you mean the altar of stone.’

“Chichester. — ‘It is that altar that I mean.’

“Woodman. — ‘I do not understand the altar so.’

“Chichester, — ‘No, I think so indeed: and that is the reason that you are deceived. I pray you, how do you understand the altar then?’

“Woodman. — ‘If you will give me leave till I am done, I will show you how I understand the altar, and where it is.’

“Chichester. — ‘Yes, you will have leave to say your mind as much as you will.’

“Woodman. — ‘It is written, ‘That if any two of you agree on earth as concerning anything that you ask, it will be done for you by my Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them.’ — Mat 18.19-20. This agrees with the 5th of Matthew where Christ says, ‘If you bring your gift to the altar, and there remember that your brother has anything against you; leave your gift there before the altar, and go your way. First be reconciled to your brother, and then come and offer your gift.’ (The priests would have interrupted me, but the bishop bid them to let me alone.) ‘I pray you, let me make an end, and then find fault with me if you can. Now to the matter. In

these two places of Scripture, I prove that *Christ* is the true altar, upon which every true man and woman ought to come and offer their gifts. First, wherever the people are gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in their midst; and where he is, there is the altar, so that we may be bold to come and offer our gift, if we are in love and charity. If we are not, we must leave our offering there, and first go and be reconciled to our brother, and agree with him quickly, and so forth, and then come and offer the gift. Say in your heart, without dissimulation, that you ask God and all the world forgiveness from the bottom of your heart, intending never to offend them any more. Then all such believers may be bold to come and offer their gift, their *prayer*, on the altar, where the people of God are gathered together. Thus have I shown you my mind, both about the altar, and about the offering, as I understand it.'

"Chichester. — 'Do you understand the offering and the altar so? I never heard any man understand it so. No, not Luther the great heretic, who was condemned by a general council, and his picture burned.'

"Woodman. — 'If he were a heretic, he did not understand it so indeed. But I am sure all Christians ought to understand it so.'

"Chichester. — 'Who will be judge between us in this matter?'

"Woodman. — 'The 12th of John declares who will be judge in the last day.'

"Chichester. — 'You mean the word will judge the word. How can that be?'

"Woodman. — 'St. Peter says, the Scripture has no private interpretation. But one Scripture must be understood by another.'

"Chichester. — 'You will understand it one way, and I will understand it another way. And who will be judge between us then?'

"Woodman. — 'The true church of God is able to solve all doubts; to whom I refer it.'

"Chichester. — 'I am glad you say so, if you will say so indeed.'

"Woodman. — 'My lord, I never meant otherwise.'

"Chichester. — 'The church of God allows the sacrament of the altar.'

"Woodman. — 'What do you offer now upon the altar?'

"Chichester. — 'We offer up in the blessed sacrament of the altar, the body of Christ to pacify the wrath of God the Father.'

"Woodman. — 'St. Paul says to the Hebrews, in the 10th chapter, 'We are sanctified by the offering of the body of Jesus Christ upon the cross once for all; and every priest is daily ministering, and oftentimes offers one manner of offering, which can never take away sins.' And that is the offering that you use to offer. As far as I can see, you are priests in the order of Aaron, who offered up sacrifices for their own sins, and the sins of the people.'

"Then they made a great laughter, and said; 'This is a heretic, indeed. It is time he was burned.' These words moved my spirit, and I said to them, 'Judge not, lest you be judged. For as you judge me, you shall be judged yourselves. For what you call heresy, I serve God truly with, as you all will know well when you are in hell, and have blood to drink, and will be compelled to say for pain, 'This was the man that we jested about, and whose talk we thought foolishness, and his end to be without honor. But now we may see how he is counted among the saints of God, and we are punished.' These words you will say, being in hell, if you do not repent with speed, if you consent to the shedding of my blood. Therefore look to it; I give you counsel.'"

Bk. XII. Persecutions in the 5th year of Queen Mary

“Story. — ‘I can say nothing to him, but he is a heretic. I have heard him talk this hour and a half, and can hear no reasonableness in him.’

“Woodman. — ‘Judge not, lest you be judged. For as you judge, you will be judged yourself.’

“Story. — ‘What, are you preaching? You will preach at a stake shortly with your fellows. My lord, trouble yourself no more with him.’

“With those words, someone brought word that the abbot of Westminster had come to dine with the bishop, and many other gentlemen and ladies. Then there was rushing away with speed to meet him. Dr. Story then said to my keeper:

“‘Carry him back to the Marshalsea, and let him be kept close, and let nobody come to speak with him.’

“And so they departed. Then one of the priests began to flatter me, and said, ‘For God’s sake remember yourself. God has given you a good wit. You have read the Scriptures well, and have borne them well in memory. It would be a great pity you went amiss.’

“Woodman. — ‘What a flatterer you are, to say my wit is good, and that I have read the Scriptures well. But even now you said I was a heretic, and despised me. If I am a heretic, I can have no good wit as you have confessed. But I think your own conscience accuses you. God give you grace to repent, if it is his will.’

“After this, on the 12th of May, I was brought before Dr. Langdale, when we had a long conference, of which the following was a part:

“Langdale. — ‘What do you think of those who have died long ago, your grandfather, with their fathers before you? You judge them to be damned?’

“Woodman. — ‘I judge no man. But the 12th of John declares who it is that judges, and who will judge at the last day. The father shall not bear the son’s offenses, nor the son the father’s offenses; but that soul who sins will die, as the prophet says. And again, we may not follow a multitude to do evil, says the prophet. And Christ says in the 12th of Luke, that his flock is a little flock.’

“Langdale. — ‘What! you are full of Scriptures I think, and you call for your accusers as though you were afraid to utter your mind to me. But I would have you not be afraid to talk with me; for I mean no more hurt to you than I do to myself, I take God to record.’

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“Woodman. — ‘I cannot tell, it is hard trusting to fair words. When a man cannot trust his father nor brother, nor others who have been his familiar friends, but finds they deceive him, a man may lawfully follow the example of Christ towards those whom he never saw before, saying, Be as wise as serpents, and harmless as doves. Beware of men, for they go about to betray you And that makes me suspect you much, because you blame me for answering with the Scriptures.’

Then they entered into a long examination respecting baptism, and afterwards about the sacrament of the altar, as it was called.

“Langdale. — ‘Well, what do you say to the sacrament of the altar?’

“Woodman. — ‘I say, I know no such sacrament, unless Christ is the altar that you mean.’

“Langdale. — ‘Did Judas not eat the body of Christ? What do you say? Did he not?’

“Woodman. — ‘Well, what do you say yourself? Did Judas eat the body of Christ, or not?’

“Langdale. — ‘Yes, I say Judas did eat the body of Christ.’

“Woodman. — ‘Then it must follow that Judas has everlasting life. For Christ says in the 6th of John, ‘Whoever eats my flesh, and drinks blood, has eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day.’ If Judas did eat Christ’s body, I am sure you cannot deny that he both ate his flesh, and drank his blood; and then Judas is saved by Christ’s own words. Therefore, now you are compelled to say that it was not Christ’s body, or else that Judas is saved. Let us see how you can avoid this argument.’

“Langdale. — ‘Judas is damned, and yet he ate the body of Christ: but he ate it unworthily; and therefore he is damned.’

“Woodman. — ‘Where do you find that Judas ate the body of Christ unworthily?’

“Langdale. — ‘They are St. Paul’s words. 1Corinthians chap. 11.’

“Woodman. — ‘I desire you, for God’s sake, mark my words. If St. Paul spoke any such words there, or in any other place; if there are any such words written in the whole Bible, that a man ever ate the body of Christ unworthily, then say that I am the falsest man who ever you heard speak. These are the words of St. Paul: ‘Whoever eats this *bread*, and drinks this *cup* unworthily, eats and drinks his own damnation, because he does not discern the Lord’s body. That is, because he presumes to eat the sacrament of the Lord’s body without faith, making no distinction between the sacrament and other bread and drink. And that is St. Paul’s meaning, and not that any man does or can eat the body of Christ unworthily. For whoever eats the body of Christ has everlasting life, as it is said in the 6th of John.’

“Langdale. — ‘I will never talk with him more; for he is the most unreasonable man that I ever talked with in all my life.’

After this Woodman was dismissed, and again examined three times. He details the last examination thus:

“Be it known to all men, by this present writing, that I, Richard Woodman, sometime of the parish of Warbleton, in the county of Sussex, was condemned for God’s everlasting truth, July 16th, 1557, by the bishop of Winchester, in the church of St. Mary Overy’s, in Southwark. Sitting there with him at the same time were the bishop of Chichester, the archdeacon of Canterbury, Doctor Langdale, Master Roper, with a fat priest, I cannot tell his name. All these consented to the shedding of my blood on this occasion, as hereafter follows.

“I affirmed that Judas received the sacrament with a sop, and the devil at the same time. And because I would not be sworn upon a book, to answer directly to such articles as he would declare to me. And because I would not believe that neither bread nor wine remained after the words of consecration, and said that the body of Christ could not be received by any but the faithful, I was condemned.

“Winchester. — ‘You were before us on Monday last past; and there you affirmed certain heresies. What do you say now? Do you still hold them, or will you revoke them?’

“Woodman. — ‘I held no heresies then, nor do I now, as the Lord knows.’

“Winchester. — ‘No. Did you not affirm that Judas received bread? This is a heresy.’

“Woodman. — ‘Is it heresy to say Judas received no more than bread? I said, he received more than bare bread, for he received the sacrament that was prepared to show forth the Lord’s death, and because he presumed to eat without faith, he received the devil with it, as

the words of Christ declare. After he ate the sop, the devil entered into him, as you cannot deny.’

“Winchester. — ‘Hold him a book. I will have you answer directly, whether Judas ate the body of Christ or not?’

“Woodman. — ‘I will answer no more, for I am not of your diocese.’

“Chichester. — ‘I pray you let us hear your faith.’

“Woodman. — ‘I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible, and in one Lord Jeius Christ, my Savior, very God, and very man. I believe in God the Holy Spirit, the comforter of all God’s elect people, and that he is equal with the Father and the Son. I believe in the true catholic church, and all the sacraments that belong to it. Thus have I rendered account of my hope that I have of my salvation.’

“Winchester. — ‘And what do you believe about the blessed sacrament of the altar?’

“Woodman. — ‘I pray you be contented, for I will not answer to any more questions; for I perceive you go about to shed my blood.’

“Winchester. — ‘No, hold him a book. If he refuses to swear, he is an anabaptist, and will be excommunicated.’

“Woodman. — ‘I will not swear for you; excommunicate me if you will.’

“Winchester. — ‘I will have to deal with you, and I say you are a strong heretic.’

“Woodman. — ‘Indeed, all truth is heresy with you; but I am content to show you my mind, how I believe in the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, without flattering. I will not meddle with any other man’s belief on it.’

“Harfsfield. — ‘Why, I am sure all men’s faith ought to be alike.’

“Woodman. — ‘Yes, I grant you so, that all true Christians’ faith ought to be alike. But I will answer for myself.’

“Harfsfield. — ‘Well, let us hear what you say to it.’

“Woodman. — ‘I believe that when I come to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, if it is truly ministered according to Christ’s institution, coming in faith (as I trust in God I will whenever I come to receive it), and believing that Christ was born for me, and that he suffered death for the remission of my sins, and that I will be saved by his death and blood-shedding, and I receive the sacrament of bread and wine in that remembrance, that then I receive, mystically by faith, a whole Christ, God and man. This is my belief on the sacrament.’

“Priest. — ‘What a fool you are, ‘mystically by faith?’ You cannot tell what mystical is.’

“Woodman. — ‘If I am a fool, so take me. But God has chosen such fools of this world to confound such wise men as you are.’

“Priest. — ‘I pray you, what is mystically?’

“Woodman. — ‘I take mystically to be the faith that is in us, that the world does not see, but only God.’

“Winchester. — ‘He cannot tell what he is saying. Answer to the sacrament of the altar, whether it is not the body of Christ before it is received, and whether it is not the body of Christ to all who receive it? Tell me, or else I will excommunicate you.’

“Woodman. — ‘I have said as much as I will say, excommunicate me if you will. I am not of your diocese. The bishop of Chichester is my ordinary. Let him do it, if you needs to have my blood, so that it may be required at his hands.’

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“Chichester. — ‘I am not consecrated yet, I told you when you were with me.’

“Then the bishop of Winchester and the archdeacon of Canterbury spoke, saying: ‘We go not about to condemn you, but to save your soul, if you will be ruled and do as we would have you do.’

“Woodman. — ‘To save my soul? No, you cannot save my soul. My soul is saved already. I praise God for it. No man can save my soul, but Jesus Christ; and he it is that has saved my soul, before the foundation of the world was laid.’

“Priest. — ‘What a heresy that is, my lord; here is a heresy. He says his soul was saved before the foundations of the world were laid. You cannot tell what you say. Was your soul saved before it existed?’

“Woodman. — ‘Yes. I praise God, I can tell what I say, and I say the truth. Look in the first of the Ephesians, and there you will find it, where Paul says, ‘Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ, according as he has chosen us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before him in love.’ Eph 2.3-4. These are the words of St. Paul, and I believe they are most true. And therefore, it is my faith that saves, in and by Jesus Christ, and not you, or any man.’

“Priest. — ‘What? Faith without works? St. James says, ‘Faith without works is dead,’ and we have free will to do good works.’

“Woodman. — ‘I would not have any of you think I disallow good works. For a good faith cannot be without good works. Yet ‘not of ourselves, but it is the gift of God.’ (Eph 2.8) As St. Paul says to the Philippians, ‘For it is God who works in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.’ Phi 2.13

“Winchester. — ‘Make an end of this; answer me. Here is your ordinary, the archdeacon of Canterbury; he was made your ordinary by my lord cardinal, and he has authority to examine you about your faith upon a book, to answer to such articles as he will lay to you. And I pray you do not refuse it; for the danger is great if you do.’

“Woodman. — ‘I do not know much. If you will give me time to learn the truth of it, if it is as you say, I will tell you my mind in anything that he will demand of me.’

“Priest. — ‘All that my lord and we tell you, is truth.’

“Woodman. — ‘I will believe none of you all, for you are turncoats and changelings, neither hot nor cold, as St. John says.’

“Winchester. — ‘What, are we turncoats and changelings? What do you mean by that?’

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“Woodman. — ‘I mean, that in King Edward’s time you taught the doctrine that was sent forth then, every one of you, and now you teach the contrary. And therefore I call you turncoats and changelings, as I may truly.’

“Winchester. — ‘He is the naughtiest heretic I ever knew. I will read the sentence against him.’

“Woodman. — ‘Will you? Why will you? You have no just cause to excommunicate me. And therefore, if you condemn me you will be condemned in hell, if you do not repent: and I praise God, I am not afraid to die for God’s sake, if I had a hundred lives.’

“Winchester — ‘Well, what do you say? Will you confess that Judas received the body of Christ unworthily? Tell me plainly.’

“Woodman. — ‘My lord, if you, or any of you all can prove before this whole audience in all the bible, that any man ever ate the body of Christ unworthily; then I will argue with you in all things that you will demand of me. Of this matter I desire all this people to be witness.’

“Priest. — ‘Will you? That we will agree well enough. St. Paul says so.’

“Woodman. — ‘I pray you where does he say so? Recite the words.’

“Priest. — ‘In the 11th chapter of the first to the Corinthians, he says: ‘Whoever eats of this bread, and drinks of this cup unworthily, eats and drinks his own damnation, because he makes no distinction of the Lord’s body.’”

“Woodman. — ‘Do these words prove that Judas ate the body of Christ unworthily? I pray you let me see them. These are the words you said. Good people hearken well to them. ‘Whoever eats of this bread, and drinks of this cup, unworthily. He does not say, whoever eats of this body unworthily, or drinks of this blood unworthily. But he says; whoever eats of this bread, and drinks of this *cup* unworthily (which is the sacrament) eats and drinks damnation to himself, because he makes no distinction between the sacrament which represents the Lord’s body, and other bread and drink. Here, good people, you may all see that they are not able to prove their sayings are true.’

“Winchester. — ‘You are a rank heretic indeed. Are you an expounder? Now I will read sentence against you.’

“Woodman. — ‘Judge not, lest you be judged. For as you have judged me, you shall be judged yourself.’ Then he read the sentence. ‘Why,’ I said, ‘will you read the sentence against me, and cannot tell why?’

“Winchester. — ‘You are a heretic, and therefore you will be excommunicated.’

“Woodman. — ‘I am no heretic, I take heaven and earth to witness, I reject all heretics; and if you condemn me, you will be damned, if you do not repent. But God give you grace to repent all, if it is his will.’

“And so he read the sentence in Latin, but what he said, God knows, and not I. God be the judge between them and me. When he was done, I would have spoken my mind to them, but they cried out, ‘Away, away with him.’ So I was carried to the Marshalsea again.”

*Extracts from a Godly Letter of Richard Woodman.*

“Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from his Son, our Savior alone, Jesus Christ, by the operation and working of the Holy Spirit, be multiplied plenteously upon you, dear sister Roberts, that you may more joyfully bear to the end the cross of Christ that you are

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under, to your only comfort and consolation; and to all our brethren and sisters who are round about you, both now and ever. Amen.

“In my most humble way I commend me to you, and to all our brethren and sisters in those parts, who love our Lord unfeignedly, notifying you that I and all my brethren with me are cheerful and joyful, for which we praise God, looking daily to be liberated from these our mortal bodies, according to the good pleasure of our heavenly Father; praising God also for your constancy, and gentle benevolence that you have shown to God’s elect people in this troublesome time of persecution, which may be a sure pledge and token of God’s goodwill and favor towards you, and to all others who hear of it. For blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. Therefore the fruits always declare what the tree is. For a good man or woman, out of the good treasure of their heart, brings forth good things.

“Oh, may all people well perceive now that this is the time that our master Christ speaks of, that the father would be against the son, and the son against the father, and one brother against another! that brother will deliver brother to death. Yes, and that the wicked will say all manner of wicked sayings against us for his name’s sake? I have well found this by experience. I praise God therefore, that he has given me strength to bear it. For I think there can be no evil devised that has not been imagined against me, and that is by my familiar friends, as David says. But I praise my Lord God, they are not able to prove any of their sayings true.

“But my trust is, that all the people of God will be ruled by the counsel of St. John, saying, My sheep will hear my voice, they will not hear strangers, meaning thereby that you should not believe strangers, counting them as strangers who go about subverting the gospel. For I have no distrust, by God’s help, but only that all the world will see and know that my blood will not be dear in my own sight, whenever it pleases God to give my adversaries leave to shed it. I earnestly believe that God, who has begun this good work in me, will perform it to the end, as he has given me grace and will always, to bear this easy yoke and light burden. This I have always found, I praise my Lord God.

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“For when I have been in prison, wearing at one time bolts, sometimes shackles, other times lying on the bare ground, sometimes sitting in the stocks, sometimes bound with cords, that my whole body has been swollen, much like to be overcome for the pain that has been in my flesh, sometimes obliged to lie outside in the woods and fields, wandering to and fro with few, I say, who dared keep my company for fear of the rulers; sometimes brought before the justices, sheriffs, lords, doctors, and bishops; sometimes called dog, devil, heretic, traitor, thief, deceiver, with diverse other like terms. Yes, and even those who ate of my bread, and who most should have been my friends by nature, have betrayed me. Yet for all this I praise my Lord God, who has separated me from my mother’s womb, all this that has happened to me has been easy, light, and most joyful of any treasure that ever I possessed. For I praise God they are not able to prove one jot or tittle of their sayings to be true. But in that way which they call heresy, I serve my Lord God, and at all times, before whomever I have been brought, God has given me a mouth and wisdom, which all my adversaries have not been able to resist. I praise God for it.

“Therefore, dear sister, be of good comfort, with all your brethren and sisters, and take no thought what you will say, for it will be given to you the same hour, according to the promises, as I have always found, and as you and all others of God’s elect will well find, when the time is full come. And whereas I and many others have hoped that this persecution would have been at an end before this time, now I perceive that God will have a further trial to root out all dissemblers, so that no man would rejoice in himself, but he who rejoices will rejoice in God.



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“Therefore, if prophecy should fail, and tongues should cease, yet love must endure. For fear has painfulness, but a perfect love casts out all fear. I have no distrust of this love, but God has poured it upon you so abundantly, that nothing in the world will be able to separate you from God. Neither high nor low, rich nor poor, life nor death, shall be able to separate you from Christ. But by him I trust you will enter into the new Jerusalem, there to live forever, beholding the glory of God with the same eyes that you now have, and all other faithful people who continue to the end. Give all honor and glory to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, three persons and one God, to be honored now and ever, Amen.”

After these examinations, Richard Woodman was judged by sentence of condemnation, and so deprived of his life. With him were also burned nine others, five men and four women, at Lewes, on the 22nd of June 1557.

***Other Martyrdoms in Colchester, Somerset, and Norfolk***

*The Martyrdom of Richard Lush.*

In the registers of Gilbert, bishop of Bath and Wells, I find a certificate made to king Philip and queen Mary, concerning one Richard Lush, there condemned and given to the secular power to be burned for heresy. His affirmations in the certificate are as follow:

- “1. For denying the verity of the body and blood of Christ, in the sacrament of the altar.
- “2. For denying auricular confession is to be made to the priest.
- “3. For affirming there are only three sacraments; namely, baptism, the Lord’s supper, and matrimony.
- “4. For refusing to call the Lord’s supper by the name of ‘sacrament of the altar.’
- “5. For denying purgatory, and saying that prayer and alms do not profit the dead body.
- “6. That images are not to be allowed in the church; and that all who kneel to images are idolaters.
- “7. That those who were burned of late, for religion, died God’s servants and good martyrs.
- “8. For condemning the single life of priests, and other votaries.
- “9. For denying the universal and catholic church; meaning the church of Rome.”

For these assertions he was condemned, and committed to the sheriffs; and also a certificate was directed by the bishop to the king and queen. By this we understand that Richard Lush, thus condemned by Bishop Brown, was there burned and executed; unless, perhaps he died in the meantime, or was taken away in the prison.

*Simon Miller, Martyr at Norwich.*

In the month of July ensued the martyrdom of Simon Miller. This Simon was of the town of Lynn, a godly and zealous man in the knowledge of the Lord and of his truth, detesting and abhorring the contrary religion then set forth. He came from Lynn to Norwich where, standing in the hearing of the people, coming out from their popish service in the church, he began to ask them where he might go to have the communion. At these words (many marvelling greatly to hear and see his boldness), one who was an evil-disposed papist said that if he would go to a communion, he would bring him where he should be forwarded in his purpose. Upon this, he was brought to the chancellor of Norwich who, after a few words, committed him to prison.

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In the meanwhile as he was in examination, he had his confession in his shoe, written on paper. A piece appearing above his shoe, it was seen and taken out. The chancellor, asking if he would stand to the confession of the faith contained in it, he constantly affirmed it. Upon this, he was committed till the time arrived for examination. He then continued constant in his purpose, and the defense of God's truth. So he was condemned and committed to the fire, about the 13th of July.

*Elizabeth Cooper, Martyr.*

With this Simon Miller, one Elizabeth Cooper was also burned, a pewterer's wife, dwelling in St. Andrew's parish in Norwich, where she had recanted before. Being greatly troubled inwardly, at last she came to St. Andrew's church, the people being at their popish service. Standing up there, she revoked her recantation made in that place before, and was heartily sorry that she ever did it. She desired that the people not be deceived, or take her previous doings for an example, etc. These or similar words she spoke in the church, and went home.

Then one Bacon cried out, saying, "Master sheriff, will you allow this?" And repeating the same, he urged him to go from the church to her house. At his knocking, she came down, and was taken and sent to prison.

This good woman being condemned, was at the stake to be burned with Simon Miller. When the fire came to her, she shrunk a little at it, with a voice crying, "Ah!" When Simon Miller heard her, he put his hand behind him toward her, and bid her to be strong and of good courage: "For, good sister," he said, "we will have a joyful and a sweet supper." Being, it seemed, strengthened at this, she stood as still and as quiet as one most glad to finish that good work which she had begun.

So, at last, she ended her life with her companion joyfully, committing her soul into the hands of Almighty God.

*The Martyrdom of Five Men and five Women, at Colchester.*

Mention was made a little earlier of twenty-two who were sent up as prisoners together from Colchester to London. Through a gentle submission, they were afterwards released and delivered.

In the number of these twenty-two, was William Munt, of Muchbentley, in Essex, husbandman, along with Alice, his wife, and Rose Allen, his daughter. Coming home again to their house, they refrained from the service of the popish church, and frequented the company of good men and women who gave themselves diligently to reading, invoking, and calling upon the name of God through Christ. By this, they so fretted the priest of the town, named Thomas Tye, and others like him, that putting their heads together, they resolved to persecute these godly people.

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Therefore, Thomas Tye sought out where the persecuted met. For in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, Tye did not come to the church for over twelve months, but frequented the company of godly men and women. The sequel showed him to be a false brother.

So partly knowing the places, he further inquired of others about them. Being sufficiently instructed for his purpose, he secretly wrote the following letter to Bonner, bishop of London.

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*A Letter to Bonner, Bishop of London, from Thomas Tye, Priest.*

“Right honorable lord, according to my bounden duty, done in a most humble way, these will be to signify to your lordship the state of our parts, concerning religion. And first, since the twenty-two heretics dismissed from you came down, the detestable sort of schismatics were never so bold since the king and queen’s majesty’s reign, as they now are at this present time. In Muchbentley, where your lordship is patron of the church, since William Munt, and Alice, his wife, with Ruse Allen, her daughter, came home, they not only absent themselves from the church and service of God, but they daily allure many others away from it, who before outwardly showed signs and tokens of obedience.

“They assemble together on the Sabbath day, during the time of divine service, sometimes in one house, and sometimes in another; and there they keep their secret conventicles and schools of heresy. The jurates say the lords’ commission is out, and they are discharged from their oath. The quest-men in your archdeacon’s visitation allege that because they were once presented and are now sent home, they have no more to do with them, nor any other. Your officers say (namely, Master Boswel) that the council did not send them home without a great consideration. I pray God, some of our officers are not favorers of heretics. The rebels are stout in the town of Colchester.

“The ministers of the church are coughed at in the open streets, and called knaves. The blessed sacrament of the altar is blasphemed and railed upon in every house and tavern. Prayer and fasting is not regarded. Seditious talks and news are rife, both in town and country, in as ample and large a manner as though no honorable lords and commissioners had been sent to reform it. The occasion rises partly because of John Love, of Colchester-heath (a perverse place). This John Love was twice indicted for heresy, and thereupon fled with his wife and household. His goods were seized within the town of Colchester, for the king and queen’s majesty’s use. Nevertheless, the said John has come home again, and nothing is said or done to him. Upon which the heretics are wonderfully encouraged, to no little discomfort of good and catholic people, who daily pray to God for the profit, unity, and restoration of his church again. This thing will come sooner to pass, through the travel and pains of such honorable lords and reverend fathers as your lordship is, to whom I wish long life and continuance, with increase of much honor. From Colchester, the 18th of December.

“Your humble bedesman,  
“THOMAS TYE, Priest.”

When, Judas-like, this wicked priest had thus wrought his malice against the people of God, the storms began to rise against them, and William Munt and his company were forced to hide themselves. But soon after, the enemy surrounded the house, and went into the chamber where Munt and his wife lay. Mrs. Munt hearing that, and being very sick, desired that her daughter might first fetch her some drink, for she was very ill. So her daughter, Rose Allen, took a stone vessel in one hand, and a candle in the other, and went to draw drink for her mother. As she came back through the house, Tyrrel met her. He desired her to give her father and mother good counsel, and notify them to be better catholic people.

Rose. — “Sir, they have a better instructor than I, For the Holy Spirit teaches them, I hope, who I trust will not allow them to err.”

Tyrrel. — “Why, are you still in that mind, you naughty hussy? It is time to look at such heretics indeed.”

Rose. — “Sir, with what you call heresy, I worship my Lord God; I tell you the truth.”

Tyrrel. — “Then I perceive you will burn, gossip, with the rest, for company’s sake.”

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Rose. — “No, sir, not for company’s sake, but for my Christ’s sake, if I am so compelled. And I hope that in his mercy, if he calls me to it, he will enable me to bear it.”

Tyrrel (turning to his company). — “Sirs, this gossip will burn: do you not think so?”  
“Goodness, sir,” said one, “prove her, and you will see what she will do by and by.”

Then Tyrrel, taking the candle from her, held her wrist, and the burning candle under her hand, burning cross-wise over the back of her hand, till the very sinews cracked asunder.

During this time, he often said to her, “Why will you not cry? You young hussy, will you not cry?” To which she always answered that “she had no cause, she thanked God, but rather to rejoice. He had more cause to weep, than she, if he considered the matter well.” In the end, when the sinews broke, he then thrust her from him violently, using very insulting language. But she quietly allowed his rage for the time. At last she said, “Sir, have you done what you will do?” And he said, “Yes, and if you think it is not well, then mend it.”

Rose. — “Mend it? No indeed, the Lord mend *you* and give you repentance, if it is his will. And now if you think it good, begin at the feet, and burn the head also. For the one who set you to work will pay you your wages one day, I warrant you.” And so she went and carried her mother drink, as she was commanded. After searching the house for more company, they also found there one John Thurston, and Margaret his wife, whom they carried with the rest to Colchester castle immediately.

Rose Allen, when she was a prisoner, told a friend of hers this cruel act of Tyrrel; and showing him the manner of it, she said, “while my own hand was burning, having a stone vessel in my other hand, I might have struck him on the face with it, if I would. But I thank God, with all my heart, I did not do it.”

And that Tyrrel is not alone in this kind of cruelty. Another example of a blind harpist’s hand, burned by Bishop Bonner, is testified to by Valentine Dingley, who declared how Bonner, having this blind harpist before him, said that, “Such blind abjects, who follow a sort of heretical preachers, when they come to feeling the fire, will be the first who will flee from it.”

The blind man said to him, that, “if every joint of him were burned, yet he trusted in the Lord not to flee.” Then Bonner, secretly signifying to certain of his men what they should do about him, they brought him a burning coal. This coal being put into the poor man’s hand, they closed it fast again, and so was his hand piteously burned. Among the doers of this act was the said Valentine Dingley, who reports it.

But to return to William Munt, in the same prison at Colchester with him and his family, was also joined another faithful brother named John Johnson, alias Aliker, of Thorp, in the county of Essex, thirty-four years of age.

The other six prisoners lay in Mote-hall, in Colchester. Their names were William Bongeor, glazier; Thomas Benold, tallow-chandler; W. Purcas, fuller, a young man; Agnes Silverside, alias Smith, widow; Helen Ewring, who was one of the twenty-two prisoners mentioned earlier; the sixth of this company was Elizabeth Folks, a young maiden, twenty years of age. These six were imprisoned in the town prison of Colchester, called Mote-hall, as the other four were, in the castle.

There were several examinations of these good men before many justices, priests, and officers.

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WILLIAM BONGEOR said that the sacrament of the altar was bread, is bread, and so remains bread. To this he stood, and also against all the rest of their papistic doctrine. And so he had sentence read against him.

THOMAS BENOLD affirmed the same in effect; so he also had sentence read against him.

W. PURCAS of Docking said that when he received the sacrament, he received bread for a holy use, that teaches the remembrance that Christ died for him. To this he stood, and against other popish matters of theirs; and so he also had sentence read against him.

AGNES SILVERSIDE said that she loved no consecration. This good old woman, being sixty years of age, answered everything with such sound judgment and boldness, that it rejoiced the hearts of many, and especially to see the patience of such a reverend old age, against the taunts and checks of her enemies. To this she also stood, and had sentence read against her in like manner.

HELEN EWING answered the same in effect as the others did, clearly denying all the laws set forth by the pope, with her whole heart. Against her also, sentence was read.

ELIZABETH FOLKS, the young maiden, being examined whether she believed the presence of Christ's body is in the sacrament substantially and really, or not, answered that she believed that it was a substantial lie, and a real lie. The priests' and others were very angry at these words, and asked her again whether after the consecration, the body of Christ did not remain in the sacrament. And she answered that before consecration and after, it is but bread. Then they examined her about confession to the priest, of going to church to hear mass, of the authority of the bishop of Rome, etc. To all of these she answered that she would neither use nor frequent any of them, by the grace of God, but utterly detest and abhor them from the bottom of her heart, and all such trumpery.

Then they read the sentence of condemnation against her. At that time Doctor Chadsey so wept, that the tears trickled down his cheeks. The sentence being read, she kneeled down on both her knees, lifting up her hands and eyes to heaven, with fervent prayer in an audible voice, praising God that she was ever born, to see that most blessed and happy day that the Lord would count her worthy to suffer for the testimony of Christ. And Lord, she said (if it be your will) forgive those who have done this against me, for they know not what they do. Then rising up, she exhorted all those on the bench to repentance. And in the end she told them all, laying her hand upon the bar, if they did not repent their wicked doings, that undoubtedly the very bar would be a witness against them at the day of judgment, that they had shed innocent blood that day.

WILLIAM MUNT, of the age of sixty-one, said that the sacrament of the altar was an abominable idol, and that if he were to observe any part of their popish proceedings, he would displease God, and bring His curse upon himself. And therefore for fear of His vengeance, he dared not do it. This good father was examined about many things. But God be thanked, he stood to the truth, and in the end he had sentence of condemnation read against him.

JOHN JOHNSON made answer in such a way, that the papists counted him none of theirs, and therefore condemned him with their bloody sentence, as they had done the rest. John Johnson affirmed that in receiving the sacrament, according to Christ's institution, he receives the body of Christ spiritually, etc.

ALICE MUNT, being examined, said and confirmed the same in effect as her husband did, and was therefore also condemned by their sentence in like manner.

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ROSE ALLEN, the daughter, at the age of twenty, being examined about auricular confession, going to the church to hear mass, of the seven popish sacraments, etc. answered stoutly that they stank in the face of God, and she dared not have anything to do with them for her life. Neither was she, she said, any member of theirs; for they were the members of antichrist, and so would have (if they did not repent) the reward of antichrist. Being asked further, what she could say of the See of the bishop of Rome, whether she would obey his authority or not, she answered boldly that she was none of his. "As for his See," she said, "it is for crows, kites, owls, and ravens to fly in; for by the grace of God I will not live in that See, nor will I have anything to do with it." Then they read the sentence of condemnation against her, and so they sent her back to prison, to the rest, where she sang with great joy, to the wonder of many.

Thus these poor condemned lambs, being delivered into the hands of the secular power, were committed again, every one to the prison from which they came, where they remained with much joy and great comfort in continual reading, and invoking the name of God, ever looking and expecting the happy day of their dissolution. During this time the cruel papists did not leave their mischievous attempts against them. For Bonner, shortly after, got a writ for the burning of the good creatures.

The writ being received, the bailiffs appointed the day of the execution to be the 2nd of August. It was agreed among them, that those in Mote-hall should be burned in the forenoon, and those at the castle, in the afternoon.

The 2nd of August 1557, between six and seven o'clock in the morning, the six forenamed were brought from Mote-hall to a plat of ground nearby the town-wall of Colchester. All things being prepared for their martyrdom, they kneeled down, and made their humble prayers to God — but not as they would, for the cruel tyrants would not allow them. When they had made their prayers, they rose, and made themselves ready for the fire. Elizabeth Folks, when she had plucked off her petticoat, would have given it to her mother, who came and kissed her at the stake, and exhorted her to be strong in the Lord; but the wicked men would not allow her to give it. Therefore, taking the petticoat, she threw it away from her, saying, "Farewell all the world, farewell faith, farewell hope (and so taking the stake in her hand)", and welcome charity." Being at the stake, and one of the officers nailing the chain about her, in striking the staple, he missed the place, and struck her with a great stroke of the hammer on her shoulder-bone. At this she suddenly turned her head, lifting up her eyes to the Lord, and prayed smilingly, and gave herself to exhorting the people again.

When all six were likewise nailed at their stakes, and the fire set about them, they clapped their hands for joy in the fire, so that the standers by (who were thousands by estimation) cried generally; "The Lord strengthen them, the Lord comfort them, the Lord pour his mercies upon them," with such like words as was wonderful to hear.

Thus they yielded up their souls and bodies into the Lord's hands, for the true testimony of his truth. The Lord grant we may imitate the same in the like service, for His mercy's sake. Amen.

In like manner, in the afternoon, there were brought forth into the castle-yard, to a place appointed for it, William Munt, John Johnson, Alice Munt, and Rose Allen. These godly and constant persons, after they had made their prayers, and were joyfully tied to the stakes, called upon the name of God. Earnestly exhorting the people to flee from idolatry, they suffered their martyrdom with such triumph and joy, that the people rejoiced no less to see it, than at the others who were burnt the same day in the morning.

*The Death of George Eagles, Martyr.*

Among other martyrs of singular virtue and constancy, one George Eagles deserves admiration. This man, just as he had preached the power of the Lord before, in those most bright and clear days of king Edward VI, so afterward in the tempestuous time and fall of the church, he expressed and uttered his manly spirit. For wandering abroad into far countries, wherever he could find any of his brethren, he most earnestly encouraged and comforted them — now tarrying in this town, and sometimes abiding in that, for some months together, as occasion served; sometimes lodging in the country, and sometimes living in fields and woods, for fear of discovery.

[957] A.D. 1557.

Oftentimes he lay abroad at night without cover, spending most of his time in devout and earnest prayer.

Now, when he had profited Christ's church in this way, by going about and preaching the gospel for a year or two, and especially in Colchester and the quarters thereabout, his secret enemies lurked and laid in wait for him. So that spies were sent out who hid in commandment, that wherever they found him, they were to bring him either alive or dead.

But when their attempt could not prevail, and all was in vain, his adversaries went about another way to complete their enterprise of taking him. For in the queen's name a grievous edict was proclaimed throughout four shires — Essex, Suffolk, Kent, and Norfolk — promising twenty pounds to the party that took him. So at length it came to pass that, being seen at Colchester, he was pursued and taken.

The next day he was carried to London, and was then brought down to Chelmsford to the sessions. There he was indicted and accused of treason, because he had assembled companies together, contrary to what the laws and statutes of the realm provided in that case. For an edict was ordained a little earlier, that if more than six men flocked together secretly, they would be arrested for treason. So his indictment was for treason, adding, "for you prayed that God would turn queen Mary's heart, or else take her away."

He denied that he prayed that God would take her away, but he confessed that in his prayer, he prayed God would turn her heart. Well notwithstanding, he was condemned as a traitor, although the real cause was religion.

*The Martyrdom of Richard Crashfield.*

About this time, a godly man and constant martyr of Christ, called Richard Crashfield, suffered at Norwich. His examinations before the chancellor, named Dunning, he penned with his own hand.

'What do you say, sirrah,'<sup>678</sup> said the chancellor, 'to the ceremonies of the church?'

"Then I said, 'What ceremonies?'

He said, 'Do you not believe that all the ceremonies of the church are good and godly?'

My answer was, 'I believe so many as are grounded in the testament of Jesus Christ.'

'Tush, he said, 'Do you believe in the sacrament of the altar?'

"I said, 'I did not know what it was.'

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<sup>678</sup> *Sirrah*: a contemptuous term of address to an inferior man or boy; often used in anger.

“Then he said, ‘Do you believe that Christ took bread, gave thanks, broke it, and said, Take, eat, this is my body?’

“‘Yes, truly,’ I said, ‘and even as Christ spoke, so he performed the work.’

“He said, ‘Do you not believe this: that after the words are spoken by the priest, the substance of Christ’s body, flesh and blood, is there? What do you say? Do you not believe this? Speak man.’

“‘I do believe,’ I said, ‘that Christ’s body was broken for me upon the cross, and his blood shed for my redemption, of which the bread and the wine are a perpetual memory, the pledge of his mercy, the ring and seal of his promise, and a perpetual memory for the faithful to the end of the world.’ So then I was remanded into prison until the next day.

“The day following, I was brought forth again. Then the chancellor said to me, ‘Richard, What do you say? Are you otherwise minded than you were yesterday?’ I answered, ‘Yes.’

“Then he said, ‘What do you say, can you not find it in your heart, when you come to the church, to kneel down before the crucifix, and make your prayer?’

“I answered, and said, ‘No,’ reciting the commandment of God forbidding it.

“He said, ‘Have you not read or heard, that God commanded an image to be made?’

“I asked, ‘What image?’

“He said, ‘The bronze serpent.’

“I said, ‘Yes, I have heard it read, how God commanded it to be made, and likewise to be broken down.’

“Then Doctor Bridges said, ‘Why did God command the seraphim and cherubim to be made?’

“I said, ‘I cannot tell; I would gladly learn.’”

“Then the chancellor said, ‘But what do you say to this? Can you find it in your heart to fall down before the picture of Christ, which is the crucifix?’

“I said, ‘No, I fear the curse of God. For it is written that God curses the hands that make them, yes and the hands that make the tools with which they are carved.’

“Then the chancellor asked, ‘What do you say to confession to the priest? When were you last confessed?’

“I said, ‘I confess myself daily to the eternal God, whom I most grievously offend.’

“Then the chancellor asked. ‘Do you not take confession to the priest, to be a good thing?’

“I answered, ‘No, but rather wicked.’

“‘The singing, and playing on the organ; is it not good and godly?’

“I said, ‘I can perceive no godliness in it.’

“Then he asked, ‘Why, is it not written in the Psalms, that we should praise God with hymns and spiritual songs?’

“I said, ‘Yes, spiritual songs must be had. But yours are of the flesh, and of the spirit of error. For to you it is pleasant and glorious, but to the Lord it is bitter and odious.’

“Then the chancellor said, ‘Why, is it not written, My house is a house of Prayer?’ Isa 56.7.



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“I said, ‘Yes. It is also written that ‘you have made it a den of thieves.’ Luk 19.46.”

“With that, the chancellor looked at him and asked, ‘Have we?’

“I answered and said, ‘Christ said so.’ Then I was remanded to prison.

“The following Thursday Doctor Bridges was sent to me to examine me about my faith. He asked me many questions concerning transubstantiation. At last he said:

“‘What did Christ give you? Was it bread, or was it not?’

“I said, ‘Christ took bread, and gave thanks, and gave it, and they took bread and ate. And St. Paul makes it more manifest, where he says, ‘As often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you show the Lord’s death till he comes.’ 1Cor 11.26. St. Paul does not say here as you say. For he says, ‘As often as you eat this *bread*.’ He does not say *body*.’

“‘What do you say to the bread that Christ gave? Let me have your mind on that.’

“I answered, ‘I have said my mind on it.’

“Then the chancellor said, ‘No, we will have your mind more plainly.’

“I said, ‘My faith is fully grounded and established, that Christ Jesus, the Easter Lamb, has offered his blessed body for a sacrifice to God the Father, as the price of my redemption. For by that one sacrifice all the faithful are sanctified. He is our only advocate and mediator, and he has made perfect our redemption. This he has done alone, without any of your daily oblations.’

“Then Doctor Bridges started up, and said, ‘Truth, your words are true indeed. You take well the *literal* sense. But you must understand this, that just as you said, Christ offered his body upon the cross, which was a bloody sacrifice, and a visible sacrifice, so likewise we daily offer the self same body that was offered upon the cross, not bloody and visible, but invisible, to God the Father.’

“‘Do you offer Christ’s body?’ I asked. ‘Why then, Christ’s sacrifice was not perfect. But Christ is true, when all men are liars.’

“He answered and said, ‘The church has power to do it.’

“I answered, ‘Why, Christ says, ‘I lay down my life that I may take it up again. No man takes it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again.’— John 10.17-18, Therefore Christ the Son of God offered his body *once for all*. If you presume to offer his body daily, then your power is above Christ’s power.’”

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This godly young man, not long after his condemnation, was brought to the stake, where he entered his blessed martyrdom with much patience and constancy.

*Fryer, and a Sister of George Eagle’s.*

About the same time and month, someone named Fryer, with a woman who was the sister of George Eagles, suffered the same martyrdom at Rochester, by the unrighteous papists. May the Lord, of his mercy, abate and cut short their tyranny, turning that wicked generation, if it is his will, to a better mind.

*The Death of Mistress Lewis.*

Mistress Joyce Lewis, born a gentlewoman, was delicately brought up in the pleasures of the world, having delight in gay apparel, and similar foolishness. She was married to Thomas Lewis of Mancetter, in Warwickshire. At the beginning of queen Mary's time, she went to the church, and heard mass as others did. But when she heard of the burning of that most godly and learned martyr, Laurence Sanders, who suffered in Coventry, she began to take more heed to the matter. She inquired earnestly of those whom she knew feared God, the cause of Sanders' death. When she perceived it was because he refused to receive the mass, she began to be troubled in conscience, and grew very unquiet. And because her house was nearby Master John Glover's house, who was mentioned before,<sup>679</sup> a man of blessed memory, and a singular example of unfeigned godliness, she often resorted to him, and desired him to tell her the faults that were in the mass, and other things that at that time were urged as necessary to salvation.

Perceiving both her unquiet mind, and also the desire she had to know the truth, he most diligently instructed her in the ways of the Lord. By this godly counsel, it happened that she began to grow weary of the world, and thoroughly sorrowful for her sins. She was inflamed with the love of God, desirous to serve him according to his word, purposing also to flee from those things which displeased the Lord her God. And because she had learned the mass is evil and abominable, she began to hate it. And when at a time she was compelled by the furiousness of her husband to come to the church, at the same time when the holy water was cast, she turned her back towards it, and showed herself to be displeased. Whereupon she was accused before the bishop for despising their sacraments.

Immediately, a citation was sent for her to her husband's house, to appear before the bishop. The summoner who brought the citation delivered it to her husband, who looking at it and perceiving what it was, was moved with anger, willing the summoner to take the citation back with him, or else he would make him eat it. The summoner refused to take it back, for he thought no man dared have been so bold to trouble him. But in the end Lewis compelled the summoner to indeed eat the citation, by setting a dagger to his heart. And when he had eaten it, he had him drink to it, and so he sent him away. But immediately after, Lewis with his wife were commanded to appear before the bishop, where Lewis submitted himself. Desiring the bishop to be good to him, he excused himself in the best manner he could. Whereupon the bishop was content to receive his submission, with the condition that his wife submit herself also. But she stoutly told the bishop that by refusing the holy water she had neither offended God, nor any part of his laws. At these words the bishop was grievously offended. Yet because she was a gentlewoman, he would not take her at the worst, as he said. He gave her one month's respite, binding her husband to one hundred pounds to bring her back to him at the month's end; and so they were both let go.

When they came to their own house, Mistress Lewis gave herself to most diligent prayer. And invoking the name of God, she continually resorted to Master John Glover, who most diligently instructed her with God's word.

When the month had almost expired, her husband carried her to the bishop, where she was examined, and found more resolved than she was before death was threatened. To begin

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<sup>679</sup> In the account of Robert and John Glover, on page 814, they are erroneously stated to have been of the town of *Manchester*, whereas they were of *Mancester* or *Mancetter*, a village in Warwickshire, about twelve miles from Coventry, and the detailed account of their sufferings, to which the reader was referred, is written, not by a Rev. *Mr. Hitchin*, Incumbent of Mancliester, but by the *Rev. Benjamin Richings*, Vicar of *Mancetter*, who has collected a number of particulars of these martyrs, not recorded by Foxe. — Ed.

with, she was sent to such a loathsome prison, that a maid who was appointed to keep her company swooned in the prison.

Thus being kept in prison, and often examined, at length she was brought in judgment, and pronounced a heretic worthy to be burned. When the bishop reasoned with her as to why she could not come to the mass, to receive the sacraments and sacramentals of the Holy Spirit, she answered, "Because I do not find these things in God's word, which you so urge and magnify as things most needful for men's salvation. If these things were commanded in the same word of God, I would with all my heart receive, esteem, and believe them." The bishop answered, "If you will believe no more than is in the Scripture, concerning matters of religion, you are in a damnable case." She was wonderfully amazed at these words, and moved by the Spirit of God, she told the bishop that his words were ungodly and wicked.

After her condemnation, she continued a whole twelve months in prison, because she was committed to the sheriff who was recently chosen. He could not be compelled to put her to death during his tenure, as he affirmed. All the time she was in prison, her behavior was such, both in words and deeds, that all those who had any spark of godliness or honesty, greatly lamented her case.

Now when the time drew near which God had appointed for her deliverance, the writ for burning her being brought down from London, she desired certain of her friends to come to her, with whom she consulted how she might behave herself, so that her death might be more glorious to the name of God, comfortable to his people, and also most discomfortable to the enemies of God. "As for death," she said, "I do not greatly heed it. When I behold the amiable countenance of Christ, my dear Savior, the face of death does not greatly trouble me." During this time she also reasoned most comfortably out of God's word, about God's election and reprobation.

In the evening, before the day of her suffering, two of the priests of Lichfield came to the under-sheriff's house where she lay, and sent word to her by the sheriff that they had come to hear her confession; for they would be sorry that she would die without that. She sent them word that she had made her confession to Christ her Savior, at whose hands she was sure to have forgiveness of her sins. Concerning the cause for which she would die, she had no cause to confess that, but rather to give to God the most humble praise, that he made her worthy to suffer death for his word. And concerning the absolution they were able to give to her, being authorized by the pope, she rejected it even from the bottom of her heart. When the priests heard this, they said to the sheriff, "Well, tomorrow her resolution will be proved and tried. For although she has now some friends who whisper in her ears, tomorrow we will see who dares to be so hardy as to come near her." And so they went their ways in anger, that their confession and absolution was treated as nothing.

All that night she was wonderfully cheerful and happy, with a certain gravity, spending the time in prayer, reading, and talking with those who had purposely come to her, to comfort her with the word of God.

[959] A.D. 1557.

About three o'clock in the morning, Satan, who never sleeps, especially when death is at hand, began to stir himself busily, shooting at her that fiery dart which he is prone to do against all who defy him. He questioned her, how she could tell that she was chosen to eternal life, and that Christ died for her? I grant that he died, said Satan, but how can you tell that he died for *you*? When she was troubled with this suggestion, those who were about her counseled her to follow the example of St. Paul, where he says, "Who loved me, and gave

himself for me.” — Gal 2.20. Also, that her vocation and calling to the knowledge of God’s word, was a manifest token of God’s love towards her, especially that the Holy Spirit of God was working in her heart the love and desire towards God to please Him, and to be justified by him through Christ, etc. By these and like persuasions, and especially by the comfortable promises of Christ, brought out of the Scripture, Satan was put to flight, and she was comforted in Christ.

About eight o’clock, the Sheriff came to her into her chamber, saying these words, “Mistress Lewis, I have come to bring you tidings of the queen’s pleasure, which is that you will live no longer than one hour in this world. Therefore prepare yourself. At these words, being so grossly uttered, and so suddenly by such an officer as him, she was somewhat abashed. Therefore one of her friends and acquaintance standing by, said these words, “Mistress Lewis, you have great cause to praise God, who grants to take you out of this world so speedily, and to make you worthy to be a witness of His truth, and to bear record to Christ, that He is the only Savior.”

After which she said, “Master Sheriff, your message is welcome to me, and I thank my God that he will make me worthy to venture my life in his cause.” And thus Master Sheriff departed. Within one hour he came back with swords and staves; and when he came up into the chamber, one of her friends desired him to give him leave to go with her to the stake, and to comfort her. The sheriff granted it at that time, but afterwards he was sorely troubled for it when she was dead.

Now, when she was brought through the town, a great multitude of people were present. Being led by two of her friends, she was brought to the place of execution. Because the place was far off, and the throng of the people was great, and she was not accustomed to the fresh air (being so long in prison), one of her friends sent a messenger to the sheriff’s house for some drink. After she had prayed three separate times, in which prayer she desired God most instantly to abolish the idolatrous mass, and to deliver this realm from papistry (at the end of which prayers, most of the people cried Amen — yes, even the sheriff who stood by her, ready to cast her into the fire for not allowing the mass, said Amen at her prayer, with the rest of the people). When she had thus prayed, she took the cup into her hands, saying, “I drink to all those who unfeignedly love the gospel of Jesus Christ, and wish for the abolishment of papistry.” When she had drunk, those who were her friends also drank. After that, a great number, especially the women, drank with her. Afterwards they were put to open penance in the church by the cruel papists, for drinking with her.

When she was tied to the stake with the chain, she showed such cheerfulness that it passed man’s reason, being so devoid of any fear, and so patient, that most of those who had honest hearts lamented, and even with tears bewailed the tyranny of the papists. When the fire was set upon her, she neither struggled nor stirred, but only lifted up her hands towards heaven, being dead very speedily. For the under-sheriff, at the request of her friends, had provided such inflammable stuff, that she was suddenly dispatched out of this miserable world.

This among other things may not be forgotten: that the papists had appointed some to rail upon her openly, and to revile her, both as she went to the place of execution, and also when she came to the stake. Among others, there was an old priest who had a pair of writing tablets to note the names of the women who drank from her cup, and also to describe her friends by their apparel, for he could not learn their names. Afterwards, he inquired for their names. And so immediately afterward, process was sent out for them, both to Coventry and other places. But God, whose providence does not sleep, defended them from the hands of

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these cruel tyrants. To which God, with the Son and the Holy Spirit, be honor and glory for ever, Amen.

*The Martyrdom of Ralph Allerton, James Auston, Margery Austoo, and Richard Roth, burned at Islington.*

I find that about the 17th of September, these four constant professors of Christ were burned at Islington, near London. Among them, it appears that Ralph Allerton confessed that coming into his parish of Bentley, and seeing the people sitting there either gazing about, or else talking together, he exhorted them that they should fall to prayer, and meditate on God's most holy word, and not sit idly. They willingly consented. Then, after prayer had ended, he read to them a chapter of the New Testament, and so he departed.

He continued in this exercise until Candlemas. And then being informed that he might not do so by the law, for he was not a priest or minister, he left off, and kept himself close in his house. Afterwards, certain men sworn for the inquiry into such matters, came to his house, and arrested him for reading in the parish of Welley.

After his examination, he was sent up to the council. And Bonner, by threatenings and other subtle means, so abused the simple heart of this man, that at Paul's cross, Bonner made him openly recant his former profession. This brought such bondage and terror of soul and conscience, and so cast him down, that if the Lord, whose mercies are immeasurable, had not supported and lifted him up again, he would have perished forever. But the Lord gave him not only hearty and unfeigned repentance, but also a most constant boldness to profess again, even to the death, his most holy name and glorious gospel. Therefore he was again apprehended, and sent to Bonner, before whom he was examined on the 8th of April, and at other times.

The following articles were objected against him and confessed by him.

"1. That he was of the parish of Muchbentley, and so of the diocese of London.

"2. That the 10th of January last, when Master John Morant was preaching at St. Paul's, the said Ralph Allerton there openly submitted himself to the church of Rome, with its rites and ceremonies.

"3. That he consented and subscribed to the same submission, as well as to one other bill, in which he granted that if he were at any time to turn again to his former opinions, it should then be lawful for the bishop to immediately denounce and adjudge him as a heretic.

"4. That he had subscribed to a bill, in which he affirmed that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration are spoken by the priest, there still remains material bread and material wine; and that he believes that the bread is the bread of thanksgiving and the memorial of Christ's death; and that when he receives it, he receives the body of Christ spiritually in his soul, but material bread in substance.

"5. That he had openly affirmed, and also advisedly spoken that which is contained in the former fourth article above.

"6. That he had spoken against the bishop of Rome, with the church and See of the same, and also against the seven sacraments and other ceremonies and ordinances of the same church, used then within this realm.

"7. That he had allowed and commended the opinion and faith of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and others recently burned within this realm, and believed that their opinions were good and godly.

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“8. That he had affirmed, at various times, that the religion used within this realm at the time of his apprehension was neither good, nor agreeable to God’s word, and that he could not conform himself to it.

“9. That he had affirmed, that the book of common prayer set forth in the reign of King Edward VI, was in all parts good and godly; and that the said Allerton and his fellow prisoners, daily used among themselves in prison some part of the book.

“10. That he had affirmed, that if he were out of prison, he would not come to mass, matins, nor evensong, nor bear taper, candle, or palm, nor go in procession, nor would he receive holy water, holy bread, ashes, or pax, or any other ceremony of the church then used within this realm.

“11. That he had affirmed, that if he were at liberty he would not confess his sins to any priest, nor receive absolution from him; nor yet would he receive the sacrament of the altar, as it was then used.

“12. That he had affirmed, that praying to saints and prayers for the dead were neither good nor profitable, and that a man is not bound to fast and pray, except at his own will and pleasure; that neither is it lawful to reserve the sacrament,<sup>680</sup> or to worship it.

“13. That the said Allerton has, according to his affirmations, abstained and refused to come to his parish church ever since the 10th of January last, or to use, receive, or allow any ceremonies, sacraments, or other rites then used in the church.”

To all these articles Allerton answered affirmatively, denying precisely none of them; except to this clause contained in the twelfth article, “that a man is not bound to fast and pray except at his own will and pleasure.” He said that he had affirmed no such thing, but he confessed that he had not fasted nor prayed so often as he was bound to do. And to this answer he also subscribed in this way: “Unless it is proved otherwise by the holy Scripture, I affirm these articles to be true. By me Ralph Allerton.”

Other articles were afterwards objected. When he would not recant, Bishop Bonner pronounced the sentence of condemnation, and delivered him to the temporal officers. They reserved him in their custody until the 17th of September, at which time both he and the other three mentioned before, were all burned.

*James Austoo, and Margery his Wife.*

These two, once they were delivered into the pitiless hands of Bonner, their examinations were not long deferred. For on the 16th of July 1557 they were brought before him. He demanded of James Austoo, among other questions, where he had been confessed in Lent, and whether he had received the sacrament of the altar at Easter?

He answered, “Indeed he had been confessed by the curate of Allhallows, but that he had not received the sacrament of the altar; for he rejected it from the bottom of his heart.”

“Why,” said the bishop, “do you not believe that in the sacrament of the altar there is the true body and blood of Christ?”

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<sup>680</sup> Reserving the sacrament: the practice of preserving a portion of the consecrated Eucharistic bread (and occasionally wine) after the celebration of the Mass, for later use — primarily for administering Holy Communion to the sick, dying, or those unable to attend Mass.

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“No,” said Austoo, “not in the *sacrament* of the altar; but in the *supper* of the Lord, to the faithful receiver is the very body and blood of Christ, by faith.”

Bonner, not well pleased with this talk, then asked the wife how she liked the religion that was then in England?

She answered, “She believed it was not according to God’s word, but false and corrupted.”

Then he again asked her if she would go to the church and hear mass?

She said that, “She rejected the mass with all her heart, and that she would not come into any church in which there were idols.”

After this the bishop objected certain articles to them, which being read, and their constancy in the faith perceived, Bonner pronounced the sentence of condemnation against them, and delivering them to the sheriff, he rid his hands of them.

*Richard Roth.*

Richard Roth, being apprehended and brought to the bishop of London, was examined on the 4th of July. The bishop earnestly labored to induce him to believe that there were seven sacraments in Christ’s church, and that in the sacrament of the altar, after consecration, there remained the very substance of Christ’s body and blood, and none other. Roth gave only this answer, “If the Scripture so taught him, and he might be so persuaded by the same, he would so believe; otherwise not.” But at another examination he declared plainly that, “in the sacrament of the altar, as it was then used, there was not the very body and blood of Christ, but that it was a dead God; and that the mass was detestable, and contrary to God’s holy word and will, from which faith and opinion he would not go or decline.”

The bishop objected against him that, “He was a comforter of heretics; and had written a letter to that effect to some who were burned at Colchester.” His letter follows here:

*A Letter written by Richard Roth.*

“O, dear brethren and sisters, how much you have to rejoice in God, that He has given you such faith to overcome this blood-thirsty tyrant thus far! And no doubt He who has begun that good work in you, will fulfill it to the end. O, dear hearts in Christ, what a crown of glory you will receive with Christ in the kingdom of God! O, that it had been the good will of God that I had been ready to go with you. For I lie in my lord’s prison in the day; and in the night I lie in the coal-house, away from Ralph Allerton, or any other — and we look every day for when we will be condemned. For he said that I would be burned within ten days before Easter. But I lie still at the pool’s brink, and every man goes in before me. But we await patiently the Lord’s leisure, with many bonds, in fetters and stocks, by which we have received great joy in God. And now fare you well, dear brethren and sisters in this world; but I trust to see you in the heavens, face to face.

“Oh brother Munt, with your wife and my dear sister Rose, how blessed are you in the Lord, that God has found you worthy to suffer for his sake! with all the rest of my dear brethren and sisters, known and unknown. O, be joyful even unto death. Do not fear it, says Christ; for I have overcome death, he says. Oh dear hearts! Seeing that Jesus Christ will be our help, oh tarry the Lord’s leisure. Be strong; let your hearts be of good comfort, and wait still for the Lord. He is at hand. Yes, the angel of the Lord pitches his tent round about those who fear him, and delivers them whichever way he sees best. For our lives are in the Lord’s hands; and they can do nothing to us before God allows them. Therefore, give all thanks to God.

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“Oh dear hearts! You shall be clothed with long white garments on mount Sion, with the multitude of saints, and with Jesus Christ our Savior, who will never forsake us. Oh blessed virgins! You have played the wise virgin’s part, in that you have taken oil in your lamps, that you may go in with the bridegroom when he Comes, into the everlasting joy with him. But as for the foolish, they will be shut out, because they did not make themselves ready to suffer with Christ, nor went about to take up His cross. Oh dear hearts! How precious will your death be in the sight of the Lord! For dear is the death of his saints. O fare you well, and pray. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen, Amen. Pray, pray, pray.

“By me, RICHARD ROTH,  
“written with my own blood.”

This letter he confessed that he had written with his blood, having no ink, and that he meant to have sent it to those who were condemned at Colchester for the gospel of Jesus Christ, and were afterwards burned there.

[961] A.D. 1557.

He was (as mentioned before) condemned and delivered to the sheriff. And on the 17th of September, they all most joyfully ended their lives in one fire, at Islington, for the testimony of Christ.

*Agnes Bongeor and Margaret Thurston, two godly Christian Women,  
burned at Colchester, for the sincere Profession of Christ’s Gospel.*

A little earlier (p. 954), mention was made of ten who suffered martyrdom at Colchester. At that time there were two women, Margaret Thurston, and Agnes Bongeor, who should have suffered with them. They were likewise condemned at the same time and place that the other ten were, but Margaret Thurston was deferred for that time.

Agnes Bongeor was also kept back at that time, because her name was wrongly written in the writ. But when she saw herself so separated from her prison fellows, what piteous moans that good woman made, and how bitterly she wept; what strange thoughts came into her mind; how naked and desolate she esteemed herself, and into what depth of despair and care her poor soul was brought, it was piteous and wonderful to see. This all came because she did not go with them to give her life in the defense of her Christ; for of all things in the world, life was least looked for at her hands.

However, a short time later a writ came from London for burning them, which was executed the 17th of September.

When these good women were brought to the place in Colchester, where they would suffer, they fell down on their knees, and made their humble prayers to the Lord. This being done, they rose and went to the stake joyfully, and were immediately chained. After the fire had compassed them about, with great joy and glorious triumph they gave up their souls, spirits, and lives into the hands of the Lord, under whose government and protection, for Christ’s sake, we beseech him to grant us his holy defense and help forevermore. Amen.

*John Kurde, Martyr.*

John Kurde, a shoemaker of the parish of Syrsam in Northamptonshire, was imprisoned in Northampton castle for denying the popish transubstantiation. For this they pronounced sentence of death against him, in the church of All Saints, in Northampton, in August A.D. 1557. And in September following, he was burned. A popish priest standing by, whose name was John Rote, vicar of St. Giles’ in Northampton, declared to him that if he would recant,



he was authorized to give him his pardon. His answer was, that “he had his pardon by Jesus Christ.”

*John Noyes, Martyr.*

In the month of September the blessed martyr John Noyes suffered.

Thomas Lovel, chief constable of Hoxton, in Suffolk, and the under-constables of Laxefield, and two others, were commanded that day to be before the justices and high sheriff. And there they were commanded by the justices to inquire in their town, if there were any who would neglect to come to their service and mass; and further, to examine the reason why they would not come, and thereupon to bring a certificate to the justices, within fourteen days next ensuing. They therefore took counsel how to arrest John Noyes.

So they took him and carried him to the justices the next day. The justices and the sheriff threw him into the dungeon, and there he lay some time. Then he was carried to Norwich, before the bishop, where these positions were ministered to him:

- “1. Whether he believed that the ceremonies used in the church were good and godly, to stir up men’s minds to devotion.
- “2. Whether he believed the pope is supreme head of the church here on earth.
- “3. Whether he believed the body of our Lord Jesus Christ is in the sacrament of the altar, in the forms of bread and wine, after the words of consecration.”

To these he answered that he thought the natural body of Christ was only in heaven, and not in the sacrament, etc. For his answers sentence was at last read by the bishop against him.

In the meantime, his brother-in-law, one Nicholas Fisk, of Dinnington, going to comfort him as he remained prisoner in Norwich, in a Christian exhortation, asked him if he feared death when the bishop gave judgment against him. Noyes answered, “He thanked God he no longer feared death at that time, than he or any other did who was at liberty.” Then Nicholas requested him to show the cause of his condemnation. Upon which John Noyes wrote with his own hand as follows:

“I said that I could not believe that in the sacrament of the altar there is the natural body of Christ — that same body which was born of the Virgin Mary; but that the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is received by Christian people in remembrance of Christ’s death, as a *spiritual* food, if it is ministered according to Christ’s institution. The bishop said that, ‘The sacrament was God, and must be worshipped as God.’ So the chancellor said also. Then I answered, my lord, I cannot so believe.”

He was sent to Laxefield to be burned, and on the next morning he was brought to the stake. The fire in most places of the street was put out, except that smoke was spotted by Thomas Lovel, proceeding from the top of a chimney. The sheriff went to that house, broke open the door, got some fire, and brought it to the place of execution. When John Noyes came to the place where he was to be burned, he kneeled down and said the 50th Psalm, with other prayers. Then they bound him to the stake; and being bound, John Noyes said, “Do not fear those who kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.” Mat 10.28.

When he saw his sister weeping and moaning for him, he bade her that she should not weep for him, but weep for her sins.

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Then one Nicholas Cadman, a valiant champion in the pope's affairs, brought a faggot and set it against him. John Noyes took up the faggot, kissed it, and said, "Blessed be the time that ever I was born, to come to this."

Then he delivered his psalter to the under-sheriff, desiring him to be good to his wife and children, and to deliver that book to her. The sheriff promised he would, notwithstanding he never performed his promise. Then John Noyes said to the people, "They say they can make God from a piece of bread. Do not believe them." Then he said, "Good people, bear witness that I believe I will be saved by the merits and passion of Jesus Christ, and not by my own deeds." And so the fire was kindled, and burned about him. Then he said, "Lord have mercy upon me. Christ have mercy upon me. Son of David have mercy upon me."

*A Letter John Noyes sent to comfort his Wife  
as he lay in Prison.*

"You desired that I would send you some tokens, that you might remember me. As I read in the New Testament, I thought it good to write to you certain places of the Scripture for a remembrance. St. Peter says, 'Beloved, do not think it strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened to you: But rejoice to the extent that you are partakers of Christ's sufferings; that when his glory will be revealed, you may also be glad with exceeding joy. If you are reproached for the name of Christ, happy are you; for the Spirit of glory and of God rests upon you. On their part He is evilly spoken of, but on your part He is glorified.' — 1Pet 4.12-14. 'For it is better, if it is the will of God, that you suffer for doing good than for doing evil.' — 1Pet 3.17.

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"But let none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil-doer, or as a busybody in other men's matters. Yet if any man suffers as a Christian, let him not be ashamed; but let him glorify God on this behalf. For the time has come that judgment must begin at the house of God. And if it first begins with us, what will the end be of those who do not obey the gospel of God? And if the righteous one is scarcely saved, where will the ungodly and the sinner appear? Therefore let those who suffer according to the will of God, commit the keeping of their souls to Him in doing good, as to a faithful Creator.' — 1Pet 4.15-19.

"St. Paul says, 'Yes, and all who would live godly in Christ Jesus will suffer persecution.' — 2Tim 3.12. 'St. John says, 'Do not love the world, nor the things that are in the world. If any man loves the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world. And the world passes away, and the lust of it: but he that does the will of God abides forever.' — 1John 2.15-17.

"St. Paul says, 'If then you are risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sits at the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth.' — Col 3.1-2.

"Our Savior Christ says, 'But whoever offends one of these little ones who believe in me, it would be better for him that a millstone were hung about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depths of the sea.' — Mat 18.6.

"The prophet David says, 'The righteous cry out, and the Lord hears, and delivers them out of all their troubles.' — Psa 34.17.

"O fear the Lord, you His saints: for there is no want for those who fear him.' — Psa 34.9.

"Evil will slay the wicked: and those who hate the righteous will be desolate.' — Psa 34.21.

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“Oh that my people had hearkened to me, and Israel had walked in my ways; I would soon have subdued their enemies, and turned my hand against their adversaries.’ — Psa 81.13-14.

“Our Savior Christ says, ‘The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple that he be like his master, and the servant like his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more will they call those of his household.’— Mat 10.24-25.

“St. Paul says, ‘Do not be unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship has righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion has light with darkness? And what concord has Christ with Belial? or what part does he have who believes with an infidel? And what agreement does the temple of God have with idols? For you are the temple of the living God. As God has said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Therefore come out from among them, and be separate, says the Lord, and do not touch the unclean thing. And I will receive you, and will be a father to you, and you shall be my sons and daughters, says the Lord Almighty.’— 2Cor 6.14-18.

“ But as it is written, eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man, the things which God has prepared for those who love Him.’ 1Cor 2.9.

“ For you know that you were not redeemed with corruptible things, such as silver and gold, from your vain conversation received by tradition from your fathers; but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot.’ — 1Pet 1.18-19.

“ Nor is there salvation in any other: for there is no other name under heaven given among men, by which we must be saved.’ — Act 4.12.

“Christ says, ‘Therefore take no thought, saying, what shall we eat? what shall we drink? or, with what shall we be clothed? (For after all these things the Gentiles seek.) For your heavenly Father knows that you need all these things. But seek first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added to you.’ — Mat 6.31-33.

“So fare you well, wife and children; and leave worldly care, and see that you are diligent to pray.”

*The Martyrdom and Suffering of Cecily Ormes,  
burnt at Norwich for the Testimony and Witness of Christ’s Gospel.*

About the 23d of September, Cecily Ormes, wife of Edmund Ormes, worsted weaver, in St. Laurence parish, suffered at Norwich. She was 32 years of age or more. She was taken at the death of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper, already described (p. 954), for she said she would pledge them in the same cup that they drank. For so saying, Corbet took her and sent her to the chancellor. When she came before him, he asked her what she said to the sacrament of Christ’s body. She said she believed it was the sacrament of the body of Christ. Yes, said the chancellor, but what is it that the priest holds over his head? She answered him and said, it is bread. At this, the chancellor sent her to the bishop’s prison, with many threatening and hot words.

The 23d of July she was called before the chancellor again, who sat in judgment with Master Bridges and others. The chancellor offered her, if she would go to the church and keep her tongue, that she would be set at liberty, and believe as she would. But she told him she would not consent; for if she did, she said God would surely plague her. Then the chancellor told her he had shown more favor to her than ever he did to anyone, and that he was loath to condemn her, considering that she was an ignorant, unlearned, and foolish woman. But not weighing his words, she told him if he did, he would not be so desirous of her sinful flesh, as by God’s grace, she would be content to give it in so good a quarrel. Then he rose, and read

the bloody sentence of condemnation against her. And so he delivered her to the secular power of the sheriffs of the city.

This Cecily Ormes was a very simple woman, yet zealous in the Lord's cause. Twelve months before she was taken, recanted, but was never after quiet in conscience, until she was utterly driven from all their popery. Between the time that she recanted and the time she was taken, she had gotten a letter to give to the chancellor, to let him know that she repented of her recantation from the bottom of her heart, and would never do the same again while she lived. But before she could exhibit her bill, she was taken and sent to prison. She was burnt the 23d of September. When she came to the stake, she kneeled down, and made her prayers to God. That being done, she rose up and said "Good people, I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, three persons and one God. This I do not, nor will I recant. But I utterly recant, from the bottom of my heart, the doings of the pope of Rome, and all his popish priests. I utterly refuse and will never have anything to do with them again by God's grace. And good people, I would not have you think of me, that I believe in order to be saved, because I offer myself here to death for the Lord's cause. But I believe to be saved through the death and passion of Christ; and my death is and shall be a witness of my faith to all of you present here. Good people, as many of you who believe as I believe, pray for me." Then she came to the stake, and laid her hand on it, and said, "Welcome the cross of Christ."

This being done, looking on her hand, and seeing it black with the stake, she wiped it on her clothes, for she was burnt at the same stake that Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper were burned at. Then, after she had touched it with her hand, she came and kissed it, and said, "Welcome the sweet cross of Christ," and so she gave herself to be bound to it. After the tormentors had kindled the fire, she said, "My soul magnifies the Lord, and my spirit rejoices in God my Savior." In so saying, she set her hands together right against her breast, casting her eyes and head upward. And so she stood, heaving up her hands little by little, till the very sinews of her arms yielded, and then they fell.

[963] A.D. 1557.

But she gave her life to the Lord, as quietly as if she had been in a slumber, or as one feeling no pain. So wonderfully did the Lord work with her. His name be praised for evermore. Amen.

*The Trouble and Disturbance among  
good Men and Women at Lichfield.*

After the death and martyrdom of Mistress Joyce Lewis, specified a little above (p. 958), several good men and women in Lichfield, eleven in number, were vexed and in trouble before the bishop and his chancellor, for kissing Mistress Lewis, and drinking to her at the time of her death. They were adjudged heretics because they prayed and drank with Mistress Lewis. But especially Agnes Penifather sustained the most trouble, for she accompanied Mistress Lewis to her death. Agnes was examined further by the bishop, as to what words she had spoken to two priests of the church of Lichfield, concerning Mistress Lewis after her burning. Agnes said that being asked by the two priests at her father's house in Lichfield, why she wept for such a heretic, whose soul they said was in hell, she gave this answer: that she thought the blessed martyr was in a better case than the two priests were.

With these words, being charged and commanded to submit herself to such penance as they would enjoin her, she refused. And therefore she was commanded to close prison, the

sheriffs being charged with her under pain of one hundred pounds, that none might have any access to her. At length, at the persuasion of her friends, she was compelled to do as the others had done before.

***The Persecutions in the Diocese of Chichester.***

And now from Lichfield we come to Chichester. No little trouble and persecution raged there, as in other countries. For what place was there in all the realm, where the pope's ministers did not murder someone or other? Just as this plague of the pope's tyranny was general to all parts of England, so in the diocese of Chichester many were condemned and martyred for the true testimony of righteousness, within the compass of queen Mary's reign. In the number of those martyrs were these:

John Foreman, John Warner, Christian Grover, Thomas Athoth, a priest, Thomas Avington, Dennis Burgis, Thomas Ravensdale, John Milles, Nicholas Holden, John Hart, Margery Morice, Anne Try, John Oseward, Thomas Harland, James Morice, Thomas Dougate, John Ashedon. All these were brought to the stake and burned in the usual way.

*The Examination of Thomas Spurdance, one of Queen Mary's Servants,  
before the Chancellor of Norwich.*

"The bishop's chancellor asked me 'if I had been with the priest, and confessed my sins to him?'

"And I said, 'No, I had confessed my sins to God; and God says, 'In whatever hour a sinner repents and is sorry for his sins, and asks Him forgiveness, He will no longer account his sin to him,' and that is sufficient for me."

"Then said the chancellor, 'You deny the sacrament of penance.'

"I said, 'I do not deny penance, but I deny that I should show my sins to the priest.'

"Then the chancellor said, 'That is denying the sacrament of penance.'

"Have you received the blessed sacrament of the altar at Easter?' he asked.

"And I said, 'No.'

"And why have you not?' he asked.

"I said, 'I dare not meddle with you in it, as you use it.'

"Why? Do we not use it truly?' he asked.

"I said, 'No: for the holy supper of the Lord serves for the Christian congregation, and you are none of Christ's members. Therefore I dare not meddle with you, lest I be like you.'

"Why? Are we none of Christ's members?' asked the chancellor.

"I said, 'Because you teach laws contrary to God's laws.'

"What laws are those?' he asked.

"I said, 'These three articles to which you swear the people, are false and untrue; and you do evil to swear the people to them.'

"Then he said, 'Good people, take no heed to his words: for he is a heretic, and he teaches you disobedience.' And so he would no longer speak of that matter.

"Then he said, 'What do you believe about the blessed sacrament of the altar? Do you believe that after it is consecrated, it is the very same body that was born of the Virgin Mary?'

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“I said, ‘No, not the same body in substance; for the same body has a substance in flesh, blood and bones, and was a bloody sacrifice; this is a dry sacrifice.’

“And I asked, ‘Is the mass a sacrifice?’

“To which a doctor who sat by him answered, ‘It is a sacrifice both for the quick and the dead.’

“Then I said, ‘No, it is no sacrifice. For St. Paul says, that Christ made one sacrifice once for all: and I believe in no other sacrifice, except that one sacrifice that our Lord Jesus Christ made once for all.’

“Then the doctor said, ‘That sacrifice that Christ made, was a wet sacrifice, and the mass is a dry sacrifice.’

“Then I said, ‘That same dry sacrifice is a sacrifice of your own making. It is your sacrifice; it is none of mine.’

“Then the chancellor said, ‘He is a heretic, he denies the sacrament of the altar.’

“Then I said, ‘Would you know what I believe about the holy supper of our Lord?’

“He said, ‘Yes.’

“Then I said, ‘I believe that if I come rightly and worthily as God has commanded me, to the holy supper of the Lord, I receive him by faith, by believing in him. But the bread is not God, and the bread that is yonder in the pix is not God. God does not dwell in temples made with hands, nor will He be worshipped with the works of men’s hands. Therefore you truly do evil to have the people kneel down and worship the bread. For God never bid you hold it above your heads, nor did the apostles have such a use.’

“Then the chancellor said, ‘He denies the presence in the sacrament. Write this article also. He is a very heretic.’

“Then I said, ‘The servant is not greater than his master. For your predecessors killed my master Christ, the prophets and apostles, and holy virtuous men. And now you also kill the servants of Christ, so that all the righteous blood that has been shed, even from righteous Abel until this day, will be required at your hands.’

“‘Well,’ said the chancellor, ‘take him away.’”

At another examination of Spurdance, before the bishop at his house, the following passed.

“The bishop said, ‘Sirrah, do you not believe in the catholic faith of holy church?’

“And I said, ‘I believe Christ’s catholic church.’

“‘Yes,’ he said, ‘in Christ’s church, of which the pope is the head? Do you not believe that the pope is supreme head of the catholic church?’

“And I said, ‘No. I do not believe that he should be above the apostles, if he takes them to be his predecessors. For when a thought came among the apostles, who should be the greatest when their master was gone, Christ answered them for their thoughts. “The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and those who exercise authority over them are called benefactors. But you will not be so. Rather, he who is greatest among you, let him be like the younger; and he that is chief, like one who serves.” — Luk 22.25-26. How is it then, that the pope would climb so high above his fellows? And also, we were sworn in my master King Henry’s time, that to the uttermost of our power, we should never consent to the pope again.

And therefore, just as he has nothing to do here in England, so neither in his own country — no more than a bishop has in his diocese.’

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“Yes,’ said the bishop, ‘what of that?’ We were then in error and sin; now we are in the right way again, and therefore you must come back home with us, acknowledge your fault, become a Christian man, and be sworn to the pope as our supreme head. Will you be sworn to the pope? What do you say?’

“Then I said, ‘No, I warrant you, by the grace of God, not as long as I live. For you cannot prove by the Scripture that the pope is head of the church.’

“No?’ he said; ‘Yes, I think he is. For like the bellwether which wears the bell is head of the flock of sheep, even so the pope is the head of the church of Christ. The bees in the hive, when they have gone out, have a queen bee to bring them back home to the hive. Even so the pope, when we have gone astray and wandered from the fold (from the hive, etc.), he is ordained as our head by succession of Peter, to bring us back home to the true church. As you now, my good fellow, have wandered long out of the way like a scattered sheep, hear that bellwether, therefore, and come back home with us to your mother the church.’

“I answered him, ‘My lord, all this is but natural reason, and not Scripture:. But since you cannot prove the pope to be authorized by Scripture, you do not answer me as I thought you would.’

“Ha,’ said he, ‘I see well that you are stout, and will not be answered. Therefore you will be compelled by law, whether you will or not.’

“My lord,’ I said, ‘so your forefathers treated Christ and his apostles. They had a law, and by their law they put him to death. So likewise, you have a law which is tyranny, and by that law you would force me to believe as you do. But the Lord I trust will assist me against all your beggarly ceremonies, and make your foolishness known to all the world one day.’

“Then he asked, ‘When were you last at church, and went in procession, and did the ceremonies of the church?’

“And I said, ‘Never; not since I was born.’

“No!’ he said. ‘How old are you?’

“And I said. ‘I think about forty.’

“Why,’ he said, ‘How did you use yourself at church twenty years ago?’

“I said, ‘As you do now.’

“And even now,’ he said, ‘you said you did not use the ceremonies since you were born.’

“I did no more,’ I said, ‘since I was born anew. As Christ said to Nicodemus, Unless you are born again, you cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.’

“Then a doctor who sat by said, ‘He is a true anabaptist: for that is their opinion plain.’

“No, sir, you say falsely,’ I said, ‘I am no anabaptist. For they deny children to be baptized, and I do not.’

“Well,’ said the bishop, ‘why do you not go to the church, and do the ceremonies?’

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“And I said, ‘Because they are contrary to God’s word and laws, as you yourself have taught. But now you say it is good again. I think if there were a return tomorrow, you would again say that is false which you hold now. Therefore, I may well say there is no truth in you.’

“Then the bishop said, ‘You are a stubborn fellow, and a heretic, and a traitor.’

“‘No,’ I said, ‘I am no traitor, for I have done, I think, better service to the imperial crown of England than you.’

“‘If you had done such good service,’ he said, ‘you would be obedient to the laws of the realm.’

“‘And so I am,’ I said, ‘There is no man alive (I thank God) who can justly accuse me of ever being disobedient to any civil laws. But you must consider, my lord, that I have a soul and a body, and my soul is none of the queen’s; only my body and my goods are the queen’s. And I must give my soul to God, and all that belongs to it. That is, I must obey the laws and commandments of God; and whoever commands laws contrary to God’s laws, I may not do them for the losing of my soul, but must obey God rather than man.’

“And he said, ‘Why do you not do these laws then? Are they not agreeable to God’s law?’

“And I said, ‘No, you cannot prove them to be God’s laws.’

“‘Yes,’ he says, ‘that I can.’

“‘Then,’ I said, ‘if you can prove by the word of God that you should have any graven images made, to set in your churches as laymen’s books, or to worship God by them, or that you should have such ceremonies in your churches as you have, prove them by the word of God, and I will do them.’

“‘Then,’ he said, ‘it is a good and decent order to furnish the church. Just as when you go to dinner, you have a cloth on the table to furnish the table before the food is set upon it, so these ceremonies are a pleasing decent order in the church, among Christian people.’

“‘These,’ I said, ‘are inventions and imaginations out of your own brain, without any word of God to prove them. For God says. Behold what you think is good in your own eyes; if I command the contrary, it is abominable in my sight.<sup>681</sup> And these ceremonies are against God’s laws. For St. Paul says they are weak and beggarly, and rebuked the Galatians for doing them.’

“‘Well,’ he said, ‘if you will not do them, seeing that they are the laws of the realm, you are a heretic and disobedient. And therefore come back home and confess your faults with us, that you have been in error, etc. Will you do so?’

“And I said, ‘No, I have not been in error. For the spiritual laws were never more truly set forth than in my master King Edward’s time, and I trust to God I will never forsake them while I live.’

“‘Well, then take him away,’ said the bishop.

This above named Thomas Spurdance was one of Queen Mary’s servants. He was taken by two of his fellow servants, who carried him to one Master Gosnal, who sent him to Bury, where he remained in prison. Afterwards, in the month of November, he was burned.

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<sup>681</sup> There is no such verse, but what Spurdance is expressing is the Regulative Principle (Deu 12.32).



*The Martyrdom of three Witnesses of Christ.*

Not long after the martyrdom of the two good women at Colchester, three faithful witnesses of the Lord's Testament were tormented and put to death in Smithfield, at London, the 18th of November: John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, Richard Gibson.

These three were produced before Bonner, bishop of London, the 5th of November 1557, and had the usual articles administered to them by him and his officers.

JOHN HALLINGDALE being demanded by Bonner, whether he firmly believed that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is really and truly the very body and blood of our Savior Christ, or not. He answered that he neither in the time of the said King Edward VI, nor at present, believed that in the sacrament there is really the very body and blood of Christ. For he said that if he had so believed, he would have received the same (as others had done), which he did not, because he had believed, and then believed, that the very body of Christ is only in heaven, and nowhere else. And further, Hallingdale said that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and generally all who had recently been burned as heretics, were no heretics at all, because they truly preached the gospel. He grounded his faith and conscience upon their preaching, as he said, according to the saying of St. John in Rev 18.24, where he says that, "the blood of the prophets, and of the saints, and of all who were slain upon the earth," was found in the Babylonish church — by which, he said, is understood the church where the pope is the head. Then Bonner read the bloody sentence of condemnation.

[965] A.D. 1557.

WILLIAM SPARROW was produced before the bishop on the same day, and had the usual articles laid to him. He answered with constancy and faithfulness, and finally said that the laws now used (meaning the ecclesiastical laws) are nought and abominable, and that the mass is nought and abominable.<sup>682</sup> The bishop immediately read the sentence of condemnation upon him, and delivered him to the secular power.

RICHARD GIBSON also suffered with these two. He was accused to Bonner because in the prison he was never confessed, nor was he received at the popish altar. So he was called for, and sustained sundry conflicts and examinations as to his faith and religion. First he seemed to make a certain submission. He was not delivered from prison till the day of his burning. The articles first objected and administered to him by the bishop, were these:

"1. That the said Richard Gibson, prisoner in the Compter, in the Poultry, in the diocese of London, has behaved himself otherwise than became a faithful Christian man, and a good subject of this realm of England, in words and deeds, in diverse conditions and points, contrary to the order, religion, and faith of Christ's catholic church, and contrary to the order of this realm, to the pernicious and evil example of the inhabitants of the city of London, and the prisoners in the prison of the said Compter in the Poultry, and greatly to the hurt and damage of his own soul, offending especially in the following articles. By reason of which the said Richard Gibson was and is of the jurisdiction of the said bishop of London, and is subject to the said jurisdiction, to answer to his offenses and transgressions underwritten, according to the order of the law.

"2. That the said Richard Gibson has irreverently spoken against the pope, and See, and church of Rome, and likewise against the whole church of this realm of England, and against the seven sacraments of the catholic and whole church of Christendom, and against the

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<sup>682</sup> *Nought: immoral and worthless.*

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articles of the Christian faith here observed in this realm of England, and against the commendable and laudable ceremonies of the catholic church.

“3. That the said Richard Gibson has commended, allowed, defended, and liked, both Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and also all other heretics here in this realm of England, according to the ecclesiastical laws condemned as heretics, and also liked all their heretical and erroneous, damnable, and wicked opinions, especially against the sacrament of the altar, and the authority of the pope and See of Rome, with the whole religion of it.

“3. That the said Richard Gibson has comforted, aided, assisted, and maintained both by words, and otherwise, heretics and erroneous persons, or at least suspected and infamous for heresy and errors condemned by the catholic church, to continue in their heretical and erroneous opinions aforesaid, favoring and counselling the same to his power.

“5. That the said Gibson has affirmed and said that the religion and faith commonly observed, kept, and now used here in this realm of England, is not good and laudable, nor in any way agreeable to God’s word and commandment.

“6. That the said Gibson has affirmed that the English service, and the books commonly called the books of Communion, or Common Prayer, here set forth in this realm of England in the time of King Edward VI, were in all parts and points good and godly, and that the same only, and no other, ought to be observed and kept in this realm of England.

“7. That the said Gibson has affirmed, that if he were once let out of prison and at liberty, he will not come to any parish church, or ecclesiastical place, to hear matins, mass, evensong, or any divine service now used in this realm of England, nor come to procession upon the accustomed times and days, nor at any time bear any taper or candle, nor receive ashes at any time, nor bear palm at any time, nor receive pax at mass time, nor receive holy water or holy bread, nor observe the ceremonies or usages of the catholic church, here observed or commonly kept in the realm of England.

“8. That the said Gibson has affirmed that although he has liberty, and the presence of a priest convenient and fitting, he is not bound at any time to confess his sins to the said priest, nor to receive the absolution of his sins at his hands, not to receive from him the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, in such form as is now used within this realm of England.

“9. That the said Gibson has affirmed, that prayer to saints, or prayers for the dead, are not laudable, available or profitable; and that no man is bound at any time or in any place to fast or pray, but only at his own will and pleasure; and that it is not lawful to reserve or keep the said sacrament of the altar, nor in anyway to adore and worship it.”

Such were the charges against him. But the greatest matter which he was charged with, was for not coming to confession, and for not receiving the sacrament of the popish making, and upon these charges he was condemned to be burned.

Thus this valiant soldier, fighting for the gospel and sincere doctrine of Christ’s truth and religion, against falsehood and error, was committed with his fellows to the secular power.

And so these three godly men, John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Master Gibson, being thus appointed to the slaughter, were the twelfth day after their condemnation, i.e., on the 18th of Nov., burnt in Smithfield, in London. Being brought to the stake, after their prayers made, they were bound with chains, and wood was set to them, and afterward fire. Being compassed about with it, and the fiery flames consuming their flesh, at last they gloriously and joyfully yielded their souls and lives into the holy hands of the Lord, to whose tuition and government I commend you, good reader, Amen.

*The Martyrdom of John Hough, Minister, and Margaret Mearing.*

In this furious time of persecution, these two constant and faithful martyrs of Christ were also burned: JOHN ROUGH, a minister, and MARGARET MEARING.

This Rough was born in Scotland. Because some of his kinsfolk would have kept him from his right of inheritance which he had to certain lands, at the age of seventeen, in spite and rather to displease his friends, he professed himself into the order of the Black friars at Sterling, in Scotland. There he remained for sixteen years, until such time as the Lord Hamilton, Earl of Arran and governor of the realm of Scotland, got him out of his order, so that as a secular priest, he might serve him as his chaplain.

Rough remained in the earl's service one whole year. During that time it pleased God to open his eyes, and to give him some knowledge of His truth. And thereupon he was sent by the governor to preach in Ayr, where he continued four years. Then, after the death of the cardinal of Scotland, he was appointed to abide at St. Andrew's. There he had assigned to him a yearly pension of twenty pounds from King Henry VIII. At last, weighing with himself his own danger, and also abhorring the idolatry and superstition of the country, and hearing of the freedom of the gospel within this realm of England, he determined not to tarry in Scotland any longer. Therefore, he came first to Carlisle, and from there to the duke of Somerset, who was then lord protector of England. By his assignment, he had appointed to him out of the king's treasury, twenty pounds of yearly stipend.. He sent as a preacher to settle at Carlisle, Berwick, and Newcastle. There, according to the laws of God and also of this realm, he had taken a countrywoman of his to be his wife. From there he was called by the archbishop of York at that time, to a benefice in the town of Hull. There he continued until the death of that blessed and good king Edward VI.

But in the beginning of the reign of queen Mary, he fled with his wife into Friesland, and dwelt there at a place called Norden, laboring for his living, in knitting caps, hose, and such things, till about the end of October before his death. At that time, lacking yarn and other such necessary provision for the maintenance of his occupation, he came over to England again, to provide for the same here.

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The 10th of November he arrived in London, where hearing of the secret society, and holy congregation of God's children assembled there, he joined himself to them. Afterwards being elected their minister and preacher, he continued most virtuously exercised in that godly fellowship, teaching and confirming them in the truth of the gospel of Christ. But in the end, such was the providence of God, who disposes all things to the best, that on the 12th of December, he with Cuthbert Simson and others, through the crafty and traitorous suggestion of a false hypocrite and dissembling brother, were apprehended by the vice-chamberlain of the queen's house, at the Saracen's head in Islington. There the congregation had then proposed to assemble themselves for their godly and accustomed exercises of prayer, and hearing the word of God. The vice-chamberlain, after he had apprehended them, carried Rough and Simson to the council, who charged them with assembling together to celebrate the communion or supper of the Lord. And therefore, after sundry examinations, they sent Rough to Newgate. But they sent his examinations to the bishop of London.

Bonner, now minded to make quick dispatch, sent for Rough within three days, and in his palace at London, he ministered many articles to him, as follows:

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“1. That you, John Rough, directly spoke against the seven sacraments, used commonly and reverently, as things of estimation and great worthiness in the catholic church: and also reprov'd and condemn'd the substance of the said sacraments, but especially the sacrament of the altar, affirming that the very body and blood of Christ is not really and truly in it: and that confession to the priest, and the absolution given by him, as the minister of Christ, for sins, is not necessary or available in any way.

“2. You have disliked and reprov'd the religion and ecclesiastical service as it is now used in this realm, and allow'd the religion and service used in the latter years of King Edward VI. And so much as it has lain in you, you have by word, writing, and deed, set forwards, taught, and preach'd the same openly, and affirm'd in sundry places, that the said English service and doctrine contained in it, is agreeable in all points to God's word, and to the truth, utterly condemn'd the Latin service now used in the queen's reign, and inducing others by your example to do the same.

“3. You have in sundry places within this realm commended and approv'd the opinion and doctrine of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer, concerning the sacrament of the altar, affirming that there remain in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, material bread and material wine, without any transubstantiation.

“4. You have in sundry places of this realm, since the queen's reign, minister'd and receiv'd the communion as it was used in the late days of King Edward VI, and you know or have credibly heard from diverse persons who still keep books of the said communion, and have used the same in private houses outside of the church, and you entertain opinions against the sacrament of the altar.

“5. That in sundry places of this realm you have spoken against the pope of Rome, and his apostolic See, and have plainly scorn'd and despis'd the authority of the same, disliking and not allowing the faith and doctrine of it, but directly speaking against it, and by your example you have induc'd others, the subjects of this realm, to speak and do the same.

“6. You do know, and have been conversant with all, or a great part of those Englishmen who have fled out of this realm because of religion, and have consented and agreed with them in their opinions, and have succored, maintained, and help'd them, and have been a conveyer of their seditious letters and books into this realm.”

He was examin'd upon these, and other similar articles, and was faithful and consistent in his confession of the truth, concluding with these words, in effect, “That their orders were nothing at all, and that he, being a priest, might lawfully marry, and that his children which he had by his wife were lawful. And concerning the service then used, he utterly detest'd it, saying that if he were to live so long as Methusalem,<sup>683</sup> he would never come to the church to hear the abominable mass and other service, being as it was then.”

Upon these words the bishop proceeded to the actual degradation of Rough, exempting him from all the benefits and privileges of their church. After condemn'd him as a heretic, he committed his body to the secular power who, taking him into their charge and custody, carried him to Newgate.

Moreover, as regards Master Rough, this is further to be noted, that he said he had liv'd thirty years, and yet had never bow'd his knee to Baal; and being before Bonner, he affirm'd that he had been at Rome twice, and there had seen plainly with his eyes, which he had heard of many times before, namely, that the pope was the very antichrist. For there he

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<sup>683</sup> [An interesting spelling of Methuselah \(Gen 5.21\), the oldest man in Scripture.](#)

saw him carried on men's shoulders, and the false-named sacrament borne before him. Yet more reverence was given to him there, than to that which they accounted to be their god. When Bonner heard this, rising up, and making as though he would have torn his garments. "Have you," he said, "been at Rome, and seen our holy father, the pope, and do you blaspheme him in this way?" And with that, flying upon him, he plucked off a piece of his beard. After making speedy haste to his death, he burnt Rough half an hour before six o'clock in the morning.

*Margaret Mearing, Martyr.*

In the company of John Rough, one Margaret Mearing was burned. As the register mentions, she was at the appointed day and time brought forth with Rough to examination. The bishop having no private matters to charge her with, he objected against her those common articles mentioned above, on the 18th of December. To these she answered:

"That there is here on earth a catholic church, and that the true faith of Christ is observed and kept in the same church. That there are only two sacraments in the church, namely, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacrament of baptism. That she was baptized in the faith and belief of the said church, renouncing there, by her godfathers and godmothers, the devil and all his works. That when she came to the age of fourteen, she did not know what her true belief was, because she was not then of discretion to understand the same, nor yet was she taught it. That she had not gone from the catholic faith at any time. But she said that the mass was abominable before the sight of God, and before the sight of all true Christian people, and that it is the plain cup of fornication, and the whore of Babylon. And as concerning the sacrament of the altar, she said that she believed there were no such sacrament in the catholic church. Also she said that she utterly abhorred the authority of the bishop of Rome, with all the religion observed in the same antichrist's church. That she had refused to come to her parish church, because the true religion of Christ was not then used in the same. And she further said that she had not come to the church for the last year and three-quarters, nor did she mean to come any more to the same in these idolatrous days."

These answers then being registered, they were again propounded against her on the 20th of December, and there, being demanded if she would stand to her answers, she said, "I will stand to them unto the death; for the very angels of heaven laugh you to scorn, to see your abomination that you use in the church." After these words, the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation against her. And then delivering her to the sheriffs, she was carried to Newgate with John Rough. From there they were both led to Smithfield, the 22nd of December, and there most joyfully gave their lives for the profession of Christ's gospel.

[967] A.D. 1558.

*The Suffering of Cuthbert Simson,  
Deacon of the Christian Church in London.*

Next after the martyrdom of John Rough, who was minister of the congregation mentioned above, the deacon of that godly company or congregation in London, named Cuthbert Simson, also succeeded in like martyrdom, being committed to the fire, in the year of our Lord 1558, the 28th of March.

This Cuthbert Simson was a man of a faithful and zealous heart to Christ and his true flock, in that he never ceased laboring and studying most earnestly, not only how to preserve them without corruption from the popish religion, but also his care was very vigilant, how to keep them together without peril or danger of persecution.

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*A true Report how he was used in the Tower of London,  
being sent there by the Council, the 13th of December,  
written by himself.*

“On the Thursday after I was called before the constable of the Tower, and the recorder of London, Mr. Cholmley, they commanded me to tell whom I desired to come to the English service. I answered, I would declare nothing. Whereupon I was set in a rack of iron, for three hours.

“Then they asked me again if I would tell them. I answered as before. Then I was loosed, and carried back to my lodging. The Sunday after, I was brought to the same place again, before the lieutenant and the recorder of London, and they examined me. I answered as before. Then the lieutenant swore I would tell. They bound my two fore-fingers together, and put a small arrow between them, and drew it through so fast that the blood followed, and the arrow broke.

“Then they racked me twice. Then I was carried back to my lodging. Ten days later the lieutenant asked me if I would not confess that which they had asked me. I said, I had said as much as I would. Then five weeks later he sent me to the high-priest, where I was greatly assaulted. At his hands I received the pope’s curse, for bearing witness of the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

“And thus I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, with all those who unfeignedly call upon the name of Jesus, desiring God, of his endless mercy, through the merits of his dear Son, Jesus Christ, to bring us all to his everlasting kingdom. Amen. I praise God for his great mercy shown to us. Sing hosanna to the Highest with me. God forgive me my sins. I ask all the world forgiveness, and I forgive all the world, and thus I leave this world, in hope of a joyful resurrection.”

Now, this is further to be noted, that Bonner in his consistory, speaking of Cuthbert Simson, gave this testimony of him to the people, saying, “I say to you, that if he were not a heretic, he is a man of the greatest patience who yet ever came before me. For I tell you, he has been racked three times in one day in the Tower. Also in my house he has felt some sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience broken,” etc.

With Simson, Hugh Foxe and John Devenish were likewise apprehended, and also suffered. Being brought to their examinations with Simson before Bonner, bishop of London, the 19th of March, they had the usual articles ministered to them by the officer.

They all answered, “That the church is grounded upon the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head corner-stone. That in Christ’s catholic church there are but two sacraments, that is, baptism and the supper of the Lord. That they will speak against the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and likewise against the authority of the See of Rome. And they all refused to acknowledge the authority of the See of Rome to be lawful and good.”

These three blessed witnesses of Jesus Christ, Simson, Foxe, and Devenish, as they were apprehended together at Islington, so all three suffered together at Smithfield, about the 28th of March, in whose perfect constancy the same Lord, in whose cause and quarrel they suffered, Giver of all grace, and Governor of all things, be exalted for ever, Amen.

*The Martyrdom of William Nichol.*

We find in all ages from the beginning, that Satan has not ceased at any time to molest the church of Christ with one affliction or other, to the trial of their faith. Yet never so apparently at any time to all the world, as when the Lord has permitted Satan power over the bodies of his saints, to the shedding of their blood, and the perverting of their religion.

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For then he does not sleep from murdering the same, unless they will fall down with Ahab and Jezebel to worship him, and so kill and poison their own souls eternally — as we have felt, heard, and seen practiced upon God's people in these miserable days of queen Mary. Among them we find recorded an honest, good, simple, poor man, one William Nichol. He was apprehended by the champions of the pope, for speaking certain words against the cruel kingdom of antichrist. On the 9th of April 1558, he was butcherly burned and tormented at Haverford West, in Wales, where he ended his life in a most happy and blessed state. He gloriously gave his soul into the hands of the Lord, whose goodness be praised for ever, Amen.

This William Nichol was so simple a good soul, that many esteemed him half foolish. What he was we do not know, but of this we are sure, that he died a good man, and in a good cause, whatever they judge about him. And the more that simplicity and feebleness of wit appeared in him, the more beastly and wretched it declares their cruel and tyrannical conduct. The Lord give them repentance, if it is His blessed will, Amen, Amen.

*The Martyrdom of William Seaman, Thomas Carman,  
and Thomas Hudson.*

Immediately after William Nichol, succeeded in that honorable and glorious vocation of martyrdom, three constant godly men at Norwich, in Norfolk. They were cruelly and tyrannically put to death for the true testimony of Jesus Christ, on the 19th of May, 1558, Their names were William Seaman; Thomas Carman; and Thomas Hudson.

WILLIAM SEAMAN was a husbandman, twenty-six years of age, dwelling in Mendlesham, in the county of Suffolk. At various times he was sought by the commandment of Sir John Tyrrel, knight, and at last he was taken and brought before his persecutor. When Seaman came, Tyrrel asked him why he would not go to mass, and receive the sacrament, and worship it? William answered by denying it was a sacrament, but said it was an idol, and therefore he would not receive it. After this, Sir John Tyrrel sent him to Norwich, to Hopton the bishop, and there after conference and examination was had with him, the bishop read his bloody sentence of condemnation against him. He delivered him to the secular power, who kept him to the day of martyrdom. This said William Seaman left behind him, when he died, a wife and three very young children. And with these young children his wife was persecuted out of the town of Mendlesham, because she would not go to hear mass; all her corn and goods were seized and taken away.

THOMAS CARMAN who, it is said, pledged Richard Crashfield at his burning (see p. 957), and was apprehended for it, was a prisoner in Norwich. He was examined with the rest and brought before the bishop about the same time. He answered no less in his master's cause than the others had. And therefore he had the same reward that the others had, which was the bishop's condemnation. He was also delivered to the secular power, who kept him with the others until the day of slaughter.

THOMAS HUDSON was of Hailes in Norfolk, thirty years of age, by occupation a glover. He was a very honest but poor man, having a wife and three children, always laboring truly and diligently in his vocation. He bore so good a will to the gospel, that in the days of king Edward VI, two years before queen Mary's reign, he learned to read English, in which he greatly profited about the time of the alteration of religion.

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For when queen Mary came to reign, and had changed the service in the church, he then avoided all their ceremonies of superstition. He absented himself from his house, and went into Suffolk a long time, and remained there travelling from one place to another, as occasion offered. At last he returned to Norfolk, to his house at Hailes, to comfort his wife and children, who were troubled because of his absence.

Now, when he came home, and perceived his continuance there would be dangerous, he and his wife devised to make him a place among his faggots (wood-pile) to hide himself in. There, for half a year, he remained all day instead of in his chamber, reading and praying continually. And his wife, like an honest woman, being careful for him, used herself faithfully and diligently towards him.

In the meantime the vicar of the town came by, named Berry, who was one of the bishop's commissaries. He was a very evil man, and inquired of Hudson's wife for her husband. She answered, as if not knowing where he was. Then Berry berated her, and threatened to burn her, for she would not betray her husband as to where he was. After that, when Hudson understood it, he grew more zealous every day, and continually read and sang psalms, to the wonder of many — the people openly resorting to him, to hear his exhortations and vehement prayers.

At last he openly walked abroad in the town for certain days, and the constables understanding this, went to catch him.

Now, when Hudson saw them coming, he said; "Now my hour is come. Welcome friends, welcome. You are those who will lead me to life in Christ. I thank God. And the Lord enable me to this for His mercy's sake." For his desire was, and he ever prayed, that if it were the Lord's will, he might suffer for the gospel of Christ. Then they took him, and led him to Berry the commissary, who was vicar of the town. Berry first asked him where he kept his church for the previous four years. To which Hudson answered, "Wherever he was, there was the church."

Berry. — "Do you not believe, in the sacrament of the altar? What is it?"

Hudson. — "It is worms' meat; my belief is in Christ crucified."

Berry. — "Do you not believe the mass puts away sins?"

Hudson. — "No, God forbid; it is a patched monster, and a disguised puppet."

At these words Berry stamped, fumed, and showed himself as a madman. He said, "Well, you villain, you. I will write to the bishop, and trust to it that you will be handled according to your deserts." "Oh, Sir," Hudson said, "there is no Lord but God, though there are many lords and many gods." With that Berry pushed him back with his hand. One Richard Cliffar, standing by, said "I pray you. Sir, be good to the poor man." At these words Berry was madder than before. Then he asked Hudson whether he would recant, or not. Hudson said, "The Lord forbid; I would rather die many deaths than to do so."

These three Christians and constant martyrs, William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson, after they were condemned, were carried out of prison on the 19th of May 1558, to the place where they would suffer. This was outside Bishopsgate, at Norwich, called Lollards' Pit. All of them being there, they made their humble petitions to the Lord. That being done, they rose and went to the stake. And all three standing with their chains about them, immediately Thomas Hudson came forth from them under the chain, to the great wonder of many. By this, various people feared and greatly doubted him, for some thought he would recant. Others judged rather that he went to ask for further delay, and desired



conference. And some thought he came forth to ask some for his parents' blessing. So some thought one thing, and some another. But his two companions at the stake cried out to comfort him as they could, exhorting him in the bowels of Christ to be of good cheer, etc.

But Hudson felt more in his heart and conscience than they could conceive in him. For alas, good soul, he was compassed (God knows) with great distress and grief of mind. And therefore, being very careful, he humbly fell down upon his knees, and prayed vehemently and earnestly to the Lord, who at the last, according to his old mercies, sent him comfort. And then he rose he with great joy, like a man newly changed even from death to life. He said, "Now I thank God, I am strong, and do not heed what man can do to me." So going back to the stake with his fellows, in the end they all suffered the death together most joyfully, constantly, and manfully. They were consumed in fire, to the terror of the wicked, the comfort of God's children, and the magnifying of the Lord's name, who therefore be praised forever, Amen.

After this, commissary Berry made great stir about others who were suspected in the town of Hailes, and had two hundred go on their knees to the cross at Pentecost, besides other punishments.

*The Martyrdom of three Godly Persons burnt at Colchester.*

You have heard (good reader) of the three who were burnt at Norwich, whose blood did not quench the persecuting thirst of the papists. For immediately after, even on the 26th of the same month, the like murder was also seen at Colchester; of two men and a woman, lying there in prison appointed to the slaughter. They were brought forth the same day, to a place prepared for them to suffer, and accordingly gave their lives for the testimony of the truth. Their names were William Harris, Richard Day, and Christiana George.

These three good souls were brought to the stake, and there joyfully and fervently made their prayers to the Lord.

At last, being settled in their places, and chained to their posts, with the fire flaming fiercely round about them, like constant Christians, they triumphantly praised God, and offered up their bodies as a living sacrifice to his holy Majesty — in whose habitation they now have their everlasting tabernacles. His name be praised for evermore. Amen.

In the month of June, the following proclamation came out, short but sharp, from the king and the queen, against wholesome and godly books. They were wrongfully condemned in the proclamations, under the false title of heresy and sedition.

*Proclamation by the King and Queen,*

"Whereas diverse books, filled with heresy, sedition, and treason, have of late, and are daily brought into this realm out of foreign countries and places beyond the seas, and some also covertly printed within this realm, and cast abroad in sundry parts of it, whereby not only God is dishonored, but also encouragement is given to disobey lawful princes and governors. The king and queen's majesties, for redress of this, do by this, their present proclamation, declare and publish to all their subjects, that whoever, after the proclaiming of it, is found to have any of the said wicked and seditious books, or upon finding them, do not immediately burn the same, without showing or reading them to any other person, shall in that case be reputed and taken as a rebel, and shall without delay be executed for that offense, according to the order of martial law.

"Given at our Manor of St. James's, the 6th of June.

"JOHN CAWOOD, Printer."

***The Martyrs of Islington***

*The taking of certain Godly Men and Women  
praying together in the Fields about Islington.*

Secretly, in a back close in the field by the town of Islington, a certain company of godly and innocent persons, men and women, were collected and assembled together, forty in number. Sitting there together at prayer, and virtuously occupied in the meditation of God's holy word, a certain man came by who was unknown to them. Looking over to them, he stopped and greeted them, saying that they looked like men who meant no hurt.

[969] A.D, 1558.

Then one of the company asked the man if he could tell whose close that was, and whether they might be so bold as to sit there. Yes, he said, for you seem to me to be persons who intend no harm; and so he departed. Within a quarter of an hour after, the constable of Islington comes, with six or seven others accompanying him in the same business, one with a bow. another with a bill, and others likewise with their weapons. These six or seven persons the constable left a little behind him in a close place, to be ready if there should be a need, while he with one other went before and viewed them. So doing, he came through the company, looking and viewing what they were doing, and what books they had. And so going a little forward, and returning back again, he bade them to deliver their books. Understanding that he was constable, they did not refuse to do so. With that, the rest of his fellows came forward, who bade them stand, and not depart. They replied that they would be obedient and ready to go wherever they would have them, and so they were first carried to a brewhouse only a little way off, while some of the soldiers ran to the nearest justice at hand. But the justice was not at home; whereupon they went to Sir Roger Cholmley. In the meantime, some of the women among the forty, escaped from them, some in the close, and some before they came to the brewhouse. For they were so carried, ten with one man, eight with another, and some with more, some with less, in such a way that it was not hard for them to escape, whoever would. In brief, twenty-seven were carried to Sir Roger Cholmley. The recorder taking their names on paper and calling them one by one, Twenty-two of those who answered, were sent to Newgate.

Word was sent to them by the keeper, that if they would hear a mass, they would all be delivered; of these twenty-two, thirteen were burnt. The first seven were brought out to examination before Bonner, and having their condemnation, they were burnt in Smithfield. The other six followed not long after, and suffered at Brentford. Two died in prison during Whitsun-week. <sup>684</sup>

Seven of those who remained, escaped with their lives, although not without much trouble. And yet, as God would have it, without burning.

Concerning the examination and condemnation of those who were apprehended at Islington, first seven were produced before Bonner on the 14th of June, to answer to such articles and interrogatories as would be ministered to them.

*Articles.*

“1. That you, being within the city and diocese of London, have not, according to the common custom of the catholic church of this realm of England, come to your own parish church, nor yet to the cathedral church of this city and diocese of London, to devoutly and Christianly hear

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<sup>684</sup> Whitsun: the seventh Sunday after Easter.

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the matins, the mass, the evensong, sung or said there in the Latin tongue, in the common usage and manner of the church of this realm.

“2. That you have not come to any of the said churches to pray, to go in procession, or to exercise yourselves there in godly and laudable exercises.

“3. That you have not duly conformed yourselves to all the laudable customs, rites, and ceremonies of any of the said churches.

“4. You have not been confessed of your sins at due times and places to your own curate.

“5. You have not received at your said curate’s hands (as of the minister of Christ) absolution of your sins.

“6. You have not at due times and places reverently and duly received the sacrament of the altar of your curate.

“7. You have not faithfully and truly believed that in the said sacrament of the altar, there is really and truly the very body and blood of Christ.

“8. You have not by your mouth, nor otherwise by your deed, expressed or declared in any way, that without wavering or doubting, you think and believe that the faith and religion now observed in the church of England, is a true faith and religion in all points.

“9. You have not made any signification that you indeed approve, or allow in any way, the common service in Latin, here observed and kept in the church of this realm of England.

“10. You have not believed, nor do you believe at present, that the service in Latin, commonly used and observed in the church of this realm, is good and lawful, and not against the word of God.

“11. You have in times past, liked, allowed, and approved as good and godly, and so you like, allow, and approve at present, the service in English, the books of common prayer, the books of communion, and the religion set forth and used in the time of king Edward VI, especially as it was set forth and used in the latter days of the said king Edward.

“12. You have in times past been very desirous, and so are at present, that the said English service, the said book of common prayer, the said book of communion, and the said religion and faith so set forth and used in king Edward’s time, might now be restored again, set forth and used, and yourself freely at your liberty, without any restraint or hindrance to use it, and also in all points and things to do in this, as you did, especially in the latter days of Edward VI.

“13. You have of late been charitably sent to by me, the bishop of London, and also exhorted by mouth, that — where of late you left your churches, and went in the time of divine service into the fields and profane places, to read English psalms, and certain English books — you would leave off that, and being out of prison, and at your liberty, you would come into your own parish churches, there to hear matins, mass, and evensong, according to the common order of the churches of this realm, and to make due confession of your sins to your own curate, and receive absolution of your sins at his hands (as from the minister of Christ, having sufficient authority in this), hear mass, receive the sacrament of the altar with a true faith, according to the belief of the catholic church, and observe all other rites and customs of the said catholic church used in this realm of England, in going in procession after the cross, as well as otherwise generally.

“14. You being so required, have refused, and still refuse to do so, saying, among other vain and light words, that because you were imprisoned for six weeks, not knowing what you were charged with, your petition should be and was, that you might first answer to your former

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cause, and then you would be ready to answer me, the said bishop, to all that should be laid to your charge by me.”

After faithfully and courageously answering to all these articles, they were remanded to prison till the day of continuation, on which day the bishop dissevering them from one another, proceeded with them severally, beginning with REINALD EASTLAND, who there declared that he had been uncharitably treated since his imprisonment. Then being required to reconcile himself again to the catholic faith, and go from his opinions; he said, that he knew nothing why he should recant; and therefore would not conform himself in that behalf, &c., and so the sentence was read against him, and he given to the secular power.

After him, JOHN HOLIDAY was called in. Likewise being notified to renounce his heresies, as they called them, and to return to the unity of their church, he said that he was no heretic, nor did he hold any heresy or opinion contrary to the catholic faith. He likewise persisted in this. The sentence was pronounced against him, condemning him to be burnt.

Next to him, HENRY POND was condemned, with the same sentence, because he would not submit himself to the Romish church, saying to Bonner, that he had done or spoken nothing of which he was or would be sorry, but that he held the truth of God, and no heresy, etc.

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Next after him followed JOHN FLOYD, who likewise denied being of the pope’s church. He spoke his mind about the Latin service, that the prayers made to saints is idolatry, and that the service in Latin is profitable to none, but only to those who understand Latin. Moreover, being charged by Bonner of heresy, and saying that whatever he and such others do now-a-days, is all heresy. For this he was condemned with the same sentence, and so was sent away by the secular power.

Then ROBERT SOUTHAM, MATTHEW RICARBY, and last of all ROGER HOLLAND were severally produced.

Roger Holland, with his fellows, standing to their answers, and refusing to acknowledge the doctrine of the Romish church, were all together condemned, the sentence being read against them. And so all seven were sent away to Newgate by secular magistrates, on the 17th of June. Not long after, about the 27th of the month, they were taken to Smithfield, and there ended their lives in the glorious cause of Christ’s gospel. Their particular examinations did not come to our hands, except for the examinations of Roger Holland. These follow here, as we received them from certain persons who were present at the time.

Register. — “What do you say? Will you submit yourself to my lord, before you are entered into the book of contempt?”

Holland. — “I never meant anything else than to submit myself to the magistrate, as I learn from St. Paul to the Romans, chap. 13.” And so he recited the text.

Chadsey. — “Then I see you are no anabaptist.”

Holland. — “I do not yet mean to be a papist; for they and the anabaptists agree on this point, not to submit themselves to any other prince or magistrate, than those who must first be sworn to maintain them and their doings.”

Bonner. — “I perceive you will not be ruled by any good counsel for anything that either I, or your friends, or any other can say.”

Holland. — “I may say to you, my lord, as St. Paul said to Felix, and to the Jews. It is not unknown to my master with whom I am an apprentice, that I was of your blind religion that is now taught, and obstinately and willfully remained in this until the latter end of Edward’s reign. Having that liberty under your auricular confession, I had no qualms about sin, but trusted in the priest’s absolution. For money, he also did some penance for me. After I had given this, I cared no further about what offenses I did, no more than he could after he had my money, whether he tasted bread and water for me or not. So that swearing and all other vices, I did not consider as dangerous offenses, so long as I could have them absolved for money. I observed your rules of religion so strictly, that I would have ashes on Ash-Wednesday, even though I had done ever so much wickedness at night. And although I could not in good conscience eat flesh on the Friday, yet in swearing, drinking, or gambling all night long, I had no qualms at all.

“Thus was I brought up, and in this I have continued till now. Of late, God has opened the light of his word, and called me by his grace to repentance of my former idolatry and wicked life. And now I am unlearned as to your antiquity, unity, and universality; I have no sophistry to shift my reason with. But the truth I trust I have, which needs no painted colors to set her forth. The antiquity of our church is not from pope Nicholas, or pope Joan, but our church is from the beginning, even from the time that God said to Adam, that the seed of the woman would break the serpent’s head. And so on to faithful Noah; to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to whom it was promised that their seed would multiply as the stars in the sky; and so on to Moses, David, and all the holy fathers who were from the beginning, to the birth of our Savior Christ. All those who believed these promises were of the church, though the numbers were oftentimes but few and small, as in Elias’ time (Elijah), when he thought there was none left but him, who had not bowed the knee to Baal — when indeed God had reserved seven thousand who never had bowed their knees to that idol.

“And I trust there are seven hundred thousand more than I know of, who have not bowed their knees to the idol of your mass; the upholding of which is your bloody cruelty, while you daily persecute Elias and the servants of God, forcing them, as Daniel was forced in his chamber, to secretly serve the Lord their God. And even as we are forced by your cruelty into the fields to pray to God, that his holy word may once again be truly preached among us, and that He would mitigate and shorten these idolatrous and bloody days in which all cruelty reigns. Moreover, in our church there have been the apostles and evangelists, the martyrs and confessors of Christ, who have at all times and in all ages been persecuted for the testimony of the word of God. But what antiquity can you show for upholding your church and religion? Indeed, the mass, that idol and chief pillar of your religion, is not yet 400 years old, and some of your masses are younger, such as that mass of the traitor Thomas à Becket, in which you pray that you may be saved by the blood of St. Thomas.

“And as for your Latin service, how are we of the laity the better for it? I think whoever might hear your priests mumble up their service, even if he well understood Latin, yet he would understand only a few words, the priests so chomp and chew them, and post so fast, that neither they understand what they say, nor those who hear them. And in the meantime the people, when they should pray with the priest, are set to their beads to pray our Lady’s Psalter. So crafty is Satan to devise these dreams of his, which you defend with faggot and fire, to quench the light of the word of God, which, as David says, should be a lantern to our feet. And again, how shall a young man direct his ways, if not by the word of God? And yet you hide it from us in an unknown tongue. St. Paul would rather have five words spoken in the church with understanding, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue. And yet you would have your Latin service and praying in a strange tongue, of which the people are

utterly ignorant, to be of such antiquity? The Greek church, and a good part of Christendom besides, never received your service in an unknown tongue, but in their own natural language, which all the people understand — nor yet your transubstantiation, your receiving the sacrament in only one kind, your purgatory, your images, etc. As for the unity which is in your church, what else is it but treason, murder, poisoning one another, idolatry, superstition, and wickedness? What unity was in your church when there were three popes at once? Where was your head of unity when you had a woman pope?”

Here he was interrupted, and would not be allowed to proceed. The bishop said, “these words of yours are blasphemy, and only by means of your friends have you been allowed to speak. You are overly disrespectful to teach anyone here. Therefore, keeper, take him away,”

The day that Henry Pond and the rest were brought again to be examined, Doctor Chedsey said, “Holland, I trust you have now better considered the church than you did before.”

Holland. — “I consider thus much — that outside of the church there is no salvation, as the ancient doctors say.”

Bonner. — “That is well said. But you mean, I trust, the church of Rome?”

Holland. — “I mean that church which has Christ for her head; which also has his words and his sacraments according to his word and institution.”

Chedsey. — “Is that a testament you have in your hand?”

Holland. — “Yes, it is the New Testament. You will find no fault with the translation. It is your own translation; it is according to the great bible.”

Bonner. — “What are you saying? How do you know it is the testament of Christ, but only by the church? For the church of Rome has and does preserve it, and it has made decrees, ordinances, and true expositions out of it.”

Holland — “No, the church of Rome has and does suppress the reading of the testament. And what true exposition, I ask you, did the pope make of it when he set his foot on the emperor’s neck, and said, ‘You shall tread upon the lion and adder; the young lion and the dragon you shall trample under feet.’” — Psa 91.13.

[971] A.D. 1558.

Then the bishop said — “Such unlearned wild heads as you and others, would be expositors of the Scripture. Would you then have the ancient and learned — as there are some here, as well as I — should be taught by you?”

Holland. — “Youth delights in vanity. My wildness has been somewhat more provoked by your doctrine, than I ever learned out of this book of God. But my lord, I think some of the old doctors say, — If a poor layman brings his reason and argument out of the word of God, he is to be credited before the learned, even if they are ever so great doctors (theologians). For the gift of knowledge was taken from the learned doctors, and given to poor fishermen. Notwithstanding I am ready to be instructed by the church.”

Bonner. — “That is very well said. But you must understand that the church of Rome is the catholic church.”

The last examination of Roger Holland was when he with his fellow prisoners were brought into the consistory, and there excommunicated, except for Roger. Now the bishop, hoping to win him with fair and flattering words, began in this manner:

Bonner. — “I have at various times called you to my house, and have conferred with you, and not being learned in the Latin tongue, it appears to me that you have a good memory, and very sensible talk, but are somewhat overhasty, which is a natural failing in some men. And surely they are not the worst-natured men. For I myself am now and then hasty, but my anger is soon past. So I have a good opinion of you, that you will not throw yourself headlong from the church of your parents and your friends who are here, very good catholics, as it is reported to me. And as I mean you good, so play the wise man’s part, and come home like the lost son, and say, I have run into the church of schismatics and heretics, from the catholic church of Rome. And then you will, I warrant you, not only find favor at God’s hands, but the church that has authority, will absolve you, and put new garments on you, and kill the fatling to make good cheer with you. That is, in so doing, as food refreshes and cherishes the body, so you will find as much quietness of conscience in coming home to the church, as the hungry son did who had been fed with the hogs, as you have done with these heretics who sever themselves from the church. I give them a homely name, but they are worse (putting his hand to his cap for reverence sake) than hogs. For they know the church, and will not follow it. If I said thus much to a Turk, he would, I think, believe me. But if I did not bear you and your friends good will, I would not have said so much as I have done, but I would have left my ordinary alone with you. Well, what do you say? Do you not believe, that after the priest has spoken the words of consecration, there remains the body of Christ really and corporeally under the forms of bread and wine? I mean the self-same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, that was crucified upon the cross, and that rose again the third day?”

Holland. — “Your lordship says, the same body which was born of the Virgin Mary, which was crucified upon the cross, which rose again the third day. But you leave out, *which ascended into heaven*. And the Scripture says he will remain there until he comes to judge the quick and the dead. Then he is not contained under the forms of bread and wine.”

Bonner. — “I perceive my pains and good will, will not prevail, and if I were to argue with you, you are so willful that you would talk to no purpose the next seven years. Answer whether you will confess the real and corporeal presence of Christ’s body in the sacrament?”

Holland. — “My lord, although God by his sufferance has here placed you, to set forth his truth and glory in us, his faithful servants — notwithstanding, your meaning is far from the zeal of Christ: and, notwithstanding all four words, you have the same zeal that Annas and Caiaphas had, trusting to their authority, traditions, and ceremonies, more than to the word of God.”

Bonner. — “If I allowed him, he would fall from reasoning to raving, like a frantic heretic.”

Holland. — “I beseech you all to bear witness with me what I say, for you will do so before the judgment seat of God. And you, my dear friends (turning to his kinsmen) I pray you show my father what I say, so that he may understand I am a Christian man. I say and believe, and am fully persuaded by the Scriptures, that the sacrament of the supper of our Lord, ministered in the holy communion according to Christ’s institution — I being penitent and sorry for my sins, and minding to amend and lead a new life, and so coming worthily to God’s table in perfect love and charity — there receive by faith the body and blood of Christ. And though Christ, in his human nature, sits at the right hand of his Father, yet by faith, I say, his death, his passion, his merits are mine, and by faith I dwell in him, and he in me. And as for the mass, transubstantiation, and worshipping the sacrament, they are mere impiety and horrible idolatry.”

Bonner. — “I thought so much, how he would prove as blasphemous a heretic as I ever heard. How irreverently he speaks of the blessed mass.”

And so he read his sentence of condemnation, adjudging Roger to be burned. All this while Roger was very patient and quiet. And when he was to depart, he said, “My lord, I beseech you to allow me to speak two words.” The bishop would not hear him, but ordered him away.

Then Holland began to exhort his friends to repentance, and to think well of those who suffered for the testimony of the gospel. With that, the bishop came back, charging the keeper that no man should speak to them without license; and if they did, they should be committed to prison. In the meantime, Roger spoke to the people, exhorting them to stand in the truth; adding that God would shorten these cruel and evil days for his elect’s sake.

On the day they suffered, a proclamation was made that none should be so bold to speak a word to them, or receive anything from them, or to touch them, upon pain of imprisonment, without either bail or surety, with other cruel threatening words contained in the proclamation. Notwithstanding, the people cried out, desiring God to strengthen them. And they likewise still prayed for the people, and for the restoring of His word. At length, Roger embracing the stake and the reeds, said these words:

“Lord, I most humbly thank your majesty, that you have called me from the state of death, to the light of your heavenly word, and now to the fellowship of your saints, that I may sing and say, holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts. And Lord, into your hands I commit my spirit. Lord bless these your people, and save them from idolatry.”

And so he ended his life, looking up to heaven, praying and praising God, with the rest of his fellow saints. For whose joyful constancy the Lord be praised.

*The Martyrdom of six, who suffered at Brentford.*

Not long after the death of the seven godly martyrs that suffered in Smithfield, six other faithful witnesses of the Lord’s true testament were martyred at Brentford, seven miles from London, the 14th of July 1558. These six were in that company which was apprehended in a close nearby Islington (as specified above) and sent to prison: namely, Robert Mills; Stephen Cotton; Robert Dynes; Stephen Wight; John Slade; and William Pikes.

These six martyrs had their articles ministered to them by Thomas Darbyshire, Bonner’s chancellor. At those times, though they were severally examined, they all had one set of articles ministered to them — the same articles that were ministered to John Holiday, Henry Pond, and their company.

They answered that they had not and would not attend the churches where there was mass, and that, because their rites, customs, and ceremonies are against the word of God, they would not observe or keep any part of them.

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And that they will not come to such churches, nor allow their religion, so long as the cross is crept to and worshipped, and images are in the church. That there are not seven sacraments, but only two sacraments, namely, baptism and the supper of the Lord. That they do not allow the popish service then set forth, because it is against the truth, and in a strange language, which the common people do not understand. And that if they might receive the sacrament as they did in king Edward VI’s days, they would return with all their hearts.



When these good men were produced before Bonner's chancellor, and had the articles administered to them, and they had given their answers to them, the chancellor commanded them to appear before him again on the 11th of July, at St. Paul's church. When they came, he required of them whether they would turn from their opinions to the mother holy church. And if not, that then, if there were no cause to the contrary, he might proceed with the sentence of condemnation. They all answered that they would not go from the truth, nor relent while they lived. Then he charged them to appear before him again the next day in the afternoon, between one and two o'clock, to hear the definitive sentence read against them, according to the ecclesiastical laws then in force. At that time, sitting in judgment, he condemned these good poor lambs, and delivered them over to the secular power. They received and carried them to prison immediately, and kept them in safety there till the day of their death.

The day after, a writ was sent to burn them at Brentford. This was accordingly accomplished, the 14th of July. Being brought there, they made their humble prayers to the Lord Jesus, undressed themselves, and went joyfully to the stake, to which they were bound. The fire flaming about them, they yielded their souls, bodies, and lives into the hands of the omnipotent Lord, for whose cause they suffered, and to whose protection I commend the gentle reader, Amen.

*The Scourging of Thomas Hinshaw.*

In the godly number mentioned above, who were apprehended at Islington while they congregated together for their exercise of prayer and reading, was Thomas Hinshaw. He was a young man, aged nineteen or twenty years, apprentice in St. Paul's churchyard. He was carried with the rest to the constables of Islington. There every one of them was searched, and led immediately to the chief justice, Master Cholmley, dwelling in the Old Bailey, in London. Thomas Hinshaw was sent by him to Newgate, and there he remained prisoner about eight weeks. At last was sent for to Bonner, bishop of London, and examined by him, Harpsfield, and Cole. After this examination he was sent back to Newgate, where he remained the following three weeks. This time having passed, he was sent for again before the bishop, on a Saturday, and talked much with him, to little purpose. Also the day after, which was Sunday, they persuaded with him very much in like manner. Perceiving they could not bend him to their will, in the afternoon the bishop took Hinshaw with him to Fulham, where immediately after his coming, he was set in the stocks. He remained there the whole first night, with bread and water.

The next morning the bishop came and examined him himself. Perceiving no yielding to his mind, he sent Harpsfield to talk with him. After long talk, in the end Harpsfield fell to raging words, calling Thomas Hinshaw a peevish boy, and asked him whether he thought he went about to damn his soul, or not, etc. Thomas answered that he was persuaded that they labored to maintain their dark and devilish kingdom, and not for any love of truth. Then Harpsfield, in a mighty rage, told the bishop. The bishop fumed and fretted. Scarcely being able to speak for his anger, he said, "Do you answer my archdeacon so, you naughty boy? I will handle you well enough, be assured." So he sent for a couple of rods, and had Thomas kneel against a long bench in an arbor in his garden, where Thomas, without any force, offered himself to the beating. He abided the fury of Bonner, so long as the cruel bishop could endure with breath, and till he was obliged to cease for weariness. He had two willow rods, but he wasted one of them, and so he left off.

Now, after this scourging, Thomas Hinshaw notwithstanding, sustained many conflicts and examinations. At last he was brought before the bishop in his chapel at Fulham, where he

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had procured witnesses, and gathered articles against Thomas, which the young man denied, and would not affirm, nor consent to any interrogatory.

The articles were: — “Concerning palms, ashes, holy bread, holy water, auricular confession, receiving the sacrament at Easter, hearing divine service then set forth, etc. — whether he had received all these, or whether he would receive them or not. Also, what he thought of the service set forth in king Edward’s time, in his latter days, and especially, what he thought of the verity of Christ’s body in the sacrament.”

In all his answers, Thomas kept an upright conscience, and entangled himself with none of their ceremonies.

Not long after his examination, he fell sick of a burning ague (fever). The sickness endured for twelve months or more, so that in the meantime, queen Mary died. He shortly after recovered, and thus escaped death.

*The History of Richard Yeoman, Curate at Hadley.*

This Richard Yeoman had been Dr. Taylor’s curate, a godly devout old man of seventy years, who had dwelt in Hadley many years. He was well-versed in the Scriptures, and gave godly exhortations to the people. Dr. Taylor left his cure with him at his desire. But as soon as Master Newall had gotten the benefice, he drove Yeoman away, and set a popish curate in his place to maintain and continue their Romish religion. Then Yeoman wandered a long time from place to place, moving and exhorting all men to stand faithfully to God’s word, to earnestly give themselves to prayer, to bear with patience the cross now laid upon them for their trial, to confess the truth before their adversaries with boldness, and to wait for the crown and reward of eternal felicity with an undoubted hope. But when he perceived his adversaries to lie in wait for him, he went into Kent. And with a little packet of laces, pins, points, and such things, he travelled from village to village, selling them to sustain himself, his poor wife and children.

At last a justice of Kent took poor Yeoman, and set him in the stocks a day and a night. But having no evident matter to charge him with, he let him go again. So he came back to Hadley secretly, and tarried with his poor wife, who kept him secretly in a chamber of the town house (commonly called the Guildhall) for more than a year. All of this time the good old father abode in a chamber locked up all day, and spent his time in devout prayer, reading the Scriptures, and carding wool which his wife spun. His wife also went and begged bread and food for herself and her children; by such poor means they sustained themselves. Thus the saints of God sustained hunger and misery, while the prophets of Baal lived in jollity, and were pampered at Jezebel’s table.

At the last, parson Newal perceived that Richard Yeoman was so kept by his poor wife, and taking the bailiff’s deputies and servants with him, he came in the night time and seized Yeoman, and set him in the stocks until it was day.

After this, they took Richard Yeoman and John Dale (whom they had previously taken), pinioned and bound like thieves, set them on horseback, and bound their legs under the horses’ bellies. And so they carried them to the jail at Bury, where they were bound in irons. Because they continually rebuked popery, they were thrown into the lowest dungeon, where John Dale died through the sickness of the prison, and being badly kept. His body, when he was dead, was thrown out and buried in the fields. He was forty-six years of age, a weaver by occupation, well-learned in the holy Scriptures, faithful and honest in all his conversation,

and steadfast in his confession of the true doctrine of Christ as set forth in king Edward's time.

[973] A.D. 1558.

For these he joyfully suffered prison and chains, and he departed in Christ from this worldly dungeon to eternal glory, and to the blessed paradise of everlasting felicity.

After John Dale was dead, Richard Yeoman was removed to Norwich prison, where he was examined about his faith and religion. He boldly and constantly confessed himself to be of the faith and confession that was sent forth by the late king of blessed memory, holy king Edward VI, and from that he would not vary. Being required to submit himself to the holy father the pope, he said, "I reject him, and all his detestable abominations: I will in no way have anything to do with him, or anything that pertains to him." The chief articles objected to him were his marriage, and the mass sacrifice. When he continued steadfast in his confession of the truth, he was condemned, degraded, and not only burned, but most cruelly tormented in the fire. So he ended his poor and miserable life, and entered into the blessed bosom of Abraham, enjoying with Lazarus the comfortable quietness that God has prepared for his elect saints.

*The History of John Alcock.*

There was also in Hadley a young man named John Alcock. This young man, after the martyrdom of Doctor Taylor, and the taking of Richard Yeoman, first used to read the service in English in the church of Hadley. At length, after parson Newall came, when the parson came by with procession, Alcock would not once remove his cap, nor show any sign of reverence, but stood behind the font. Newall, perceiving this when he was almost out of the church door, ran back again and caught him, and called for the constable.

Then Robert Rolfe came, with whom this young man worked. He asked "What has he done, that you are in such a rage with him?"

"He is a heretic and a traitor," said the parson, "and he despises the queen's proceedings. Therefore, I command you, in the queen's name, have him put in the stocks, and see he is forthcoming."

"Well," said Rolfe, "he will be forthcoming. Proceed in your business, and be quiet."

"Take him to the stocks," said the parson.

"I am constable," said Rolfe, "and I may bail him, and will jail him. He will not be put in the stocks, but he will be forthcoming." So the parson went out with his holy procession, and so went to mass.

After this, Rolfe brought Alcock to the parson, who at first asked him, "Fellow, what do you say to the sacrament of the altar?"

"I say," he said, "as you use the matter, you make a shameful idol of it, and you are false idolatrous priests, the whole sort of you."

"I told you he was a stout heretic," said the parson.

Now, after long talk, the parson committed Alcock to prison. The next day he rode up to London, and carried the young man with him. And so the young man came to Hadley no more. But after long imprisonment in Newgate, and after many examinations and troubles — because he would not submit himself to ask forgiveness of the pope, and be reconciled to the Romish religion — he was cast into the lower dungeon, where with bad keeping and

sickness, he died in prison. Thus he died a martyr for Christ's truth, which he heartily loved and constantly confessed. He received the garland of a well-fought battle at the hand of the Lord. His body was cast out, and buried in a dunghill. For the papists were alike in all things. Therefore they would not so much as allow dead bodies to have an honest and convenient sepulture (burial).

*Thomas Benbridge, Martyr.*

Thomas Benbridge, a gentleman, though he might have lived a pleasant gentleman's life in the wealthy possessions of this world, yet to follow Christ, he would rather enter into the strait gate of persecution, to the heavenly possession of life in the Lord's kingdom, than to enjoy present pleasures here with an unquiet conscience. Therefore, manfully standing against the papists for the defense of the sincere doctrine of Christ's gospel, he did not spare himself to confirm the doctrine of the gospel. For this cause, being apprehended as an adversary of the Romish religion, he was immediately taken to examination before Doctor White, bishop of Winchester.

The usual articles were objected against him, to all of which he answered as became a Christian man. For this he was condemned, and brought to the place of martyrdom by the sheriff. There, standing at the stake, he began to untie his points, and prepare himself; then he gave his gown to the keeper. His jerkin<sup>685</sup> was laid on with gold lace, fair and brave, which he gave to Sir Richard Pecksal, the high sheriff. His cap of velvet he took off from his head, and threw it away. Then lifting his mind to the Lord, he made his prayers.

That done, now being fastened to the stake, Doctor Seaton wanted him to recant, so he would have his pardon. But when he saw that it did not prevail, the doctor desired the people not to pray for him unless he would recant, no more than they would pray for a dog.

Master Benbridge stood at the stake with his hands together, in such manner as the priest holds his hands in his memento. Doctor Seaton came to Thomas again, and exhorted him to recant, to whom he replied, "Away, Babylonian, away!"

Then one who stood by said, "Sir, cut out his tongue."

When they saw he would not yield, they bade the tormentors to set the fire, and yet he was nothing like covered with faggots. First, the fire took away a piece of his beard, but he did not shrink at all. Then it came on the other side and took his legs, and the stockings of his hose being leather, made the fire pierce all the sharper, so that the intolerable heat made him cry out, "I recant:" and suddenly he thrust the fire from him. Having two or three of his friends nearby, who wished his life, they stepped to the fire, and helped to take him from it. For their labor they were sent to prison. The sheriff also, of his own authority, took him from the stake, and sent him back to prison again, for which he was sent to the Fleet. But before he was taken from the stake, Seaton wrote articles to have him subscribe to them, such as to the pope, the sacrament, and such other trash. But Master Benbridge made much ado before he would subscribe them, so that Doctor Seaton desired them to set him afire again. Then with much pain and grief of heart, Benbridge subscribed to them upon a man's back. That being done, he had his gown given back to him, and so he was led to prison. Being in prison, he wrote a letter to Doctor Seaton, and recanted those words he spoke at the stake, to which he had subscribed, for he was grieved that he ever subscribed to them.

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<sup>685</sup> *Jerkin*: a sleeveless and collarless jacket. The points were decorative cords or ribbons, often tipped with metal aiglets, that were threaded through eyelets on the jerkin and the hose (breeches) to secure the lower garment in place.

Bk. XII. Persecutions in the 5th year of Queen Mary

He was that same day, seven nights after, burnt indeed, where the vile tormentors rather broiled him than burned him. The Lord give his enemies repentance.

*The Martyrdom of four, burned at Bury St. Edmunds.*

In this year, which was the last of Queen Mary's reign, Doctor Hopton being bishop of Norwich, and Doctor Spenser his chancellor, four Christian martyrs were wrongfully put to death: John Cooke, a sawyer; Robert Miles, alias Plummer, a shearman; Alexander Lane, a wheelwright; and James Ashley.

The examination of these persons, before the bishop of Norwich, and Sir Edward Walgrave, was partly upon the following articles:

First, Sir Edward Walgrave called John Cooke to him, and said, "How is it that you do not go to church?"

John Cooke said, "I have been there."

Sir Edward said, "what is the reason that you do not go there now, in these days?"

John Cooke said, "because the sacrament of the altar is an abominable idol, and the vengeance of God will come upon all those who maintain it."

[974]

Sir Edward said, "O you rank traitor. If I had as good a commission to cut out your tongue, as I have to sit here this day, you would be sure to have it cut out." Then he commanded the constable to take him away, saying, he was both a traitor and a rebel.

Then he called Robert Miles, and said, "why is it that you do not go to church?"

Robert Miles answered, "because I will follow no false gods."

Then the bishop commanded him aside, and called Alexander Lane before him, and asked him, "How does it chance that you would not go to the church?"

He said, "his conscience would not permit him to do so."

Then Sir Edward asked, "What do you believe?" Lane said, "even as it is written in God's book." Then Sir Edward commanded him to state his belief, and Lane being somewhat abashed, stated his belief, but he missed unawares, 'born of the Virgin Mary.'

Then Sir Edward said, "What! Was he not born of the Virgin Mary?"

"Yes (Lane said), I would have said so." "No," said Sir Edward, "you are one of Cooke's scholars," and so he commanded him away, and to come before him the next day.

In like manner they also passed with James Ashley, whom they warned the next day to likewise appear before them. So appearing again, they had their condemnation. And thus these four blessed martyrs and servants of Christ, innocently suffered together at St. Edmund's Bury, about the beginning of August, not long before the sickness of queen Mary.

*The Martyrdom of Alexander Gouch and Alice Driver.*

Master Noone, a Justice in Suffolk, hunting after good men to apprehend them, understood about one Gouch, of Woodbridge, and Driver's wife, of Grosborough, to be at Grosborough together, a little from his house. Immediately he took his men with him, and went there, and diligently searched for them. The poor man and woman were compelled to step into a

hayloft to hide themselves from their cruelty. At last they came to search the hay for them, and by searching it with pitchforks, at last found them. So they took them and led them to Melton jail, where remaining a time, at the length they were carried to Bury against the assize. And being examined there about matters of faith, they boldly stood to confess Christ crucified, defying the pope with all his papistical trash. Among other things, Driver's wife likened queen Mary in her persecution, to Jezebel; and so in that sense she called her Jezebel. For this, Sir Clement Higham, being chief Judge there, adjudged her ears to be immediately cut off, which was accomplished accordingly. She joyfully yielded herself to the punishment, and thought herself happy that she was counted worthy to suffer anything for the name of Christ.

After the assize at Bury, they were carried to Melton jail again, where they remained a time. This Alexander Gouch was thirty-six years of age, or thereabouts. By occupation he was a weaver of shredding coverlets, dwelling at Woodbridge in Suffolk, and born at Uxford in the same county. Driver's wife was a woman about the age of thirty, and dwelt at Grosborough, where they were taken, in Suffolk. Her husband was in husbandry. These two were carried from Melton jail to Ipswich, where they remained and were examined.

*The Examination of Driver's Wife, before Doctor Spenser,  
the Chancellor of Norwich.*

First, coming into the place where she was to be examined, with a smiling countenance. Doctor Spenser asked, "Why, woman, do you laugh us to scorn?"

Driver. — "Whether I do or not, I might well enough, to see what fools you are."

Then the chancellor asked her why she was brought before him, and why she was laid in prison.

Driver. — "Why? I think I do not need to tell you. For you know better than I."

Spenser. — "No, by my pledge, woman, I do not know why."

Driver. — "Then you have done me much wrong, she said, 'to thus imprison me, and know no cause why. For I know no evil that I have done, I thank God, and I hope there is no man who can accuse me of any notorious fact that I have done.'"

Spenser. — "Woman, woman, what do you say to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Do you not believe that it is very flesh and blood, after the words of consecration are spoken?"

At those words she held her peace, and gave no answer. Then a great priest who stood by asked her why she did not answer not the chancellor. With that, Driver's wife looked at him austerely, and said, "Why, priest, I did not come to talk with you, but I came to talk with your master. But if you would have me talk with you, command your master to hold his peace." And with that the priest put his nose in his cap, and never spoke another word. Then the chancellor bade her to answer to what he demanded of her.

Driver. — "Sir," she said, "pardon me though I gave no answer. For I cannot tell what you mean. For in all my life, I never heard nor read of any such sacrament in all the Scripture."

Spenser. — "Why, what Scriptures have you read, I pray you?"

Driver. — "I have, I thank God, read God's book."

Spenser. — "Why, what manner of book is that which you call God's book.""

Driver. — "It is the Old and New Testament. What do you call it?"

Spenser. — "That is God's book, indeed, I cannot deny."

Driver. — “That same book have I read throughout, yet never could find any such sacrament there. And for that reason I cannot give you an answer to that thing which I do not know. Notwithstanding, for all that, I will grant you a sacrament, called the Lord’s supper. And therefore seeing I have granted you a sacrament, I pray you show me what a sacrament is.”

“Spenser. — “It is a sign.” And one Doctor Gascoine being nearby, confirmed the same, that it was the sign of a holy thing.

Driver. — “You have said the truth. Sir, it is a sign indeed. And therefore seeing it is a sign, it cannot be the thing signified also. Thus far we agree. For I have granted your own saying.”

Then Gascoine stood up, and made an oration with many fair words, to little purpose, but offensive and odious to the minds of the godly. In the end of which, he asked her if she did not believe the omnipotence of God, and that He was almighty, and able to perform what he spoke. She answered, “yes,” and said, “I do believe that God is almighty, and able to perform what he spoke and promised.”

Gascoine. — “Very well. When he said to his disciples, ‘Take, eat, this is my body,’ he was able to perform what he spoke, and God is not used to lying.”

Driver. — “I pray you, did he ever make any such promise to his disciples, that he would make the bread his body?”

Gascoine. — “Those are the words. Can you deny it?”

Driver. — “No, they are the very words indeed. I cannot deny it; but I pray you, was it not bread that he gave to them?”

Gascoine. — “No, it was his body.”

Driver. — “Then was it his body that they ate over night?”

Gascoine. — “Yes, it was his body.”

Driver. — “What body was it then that was crucified the next day?”

Gascoine. — “It was Christ’s body.”

Driver. — “How could that be, when the disciples had eaten him over night? Unless he had two bodies, as by your argument he had; one they ate over night, and he was crucified the next day. Such a doctor! such doctrine! Are you not ashamed to teach the people that Christ had two bodies? In Luke 22.19 it is said, ‘he took bread, and gave thanks, and broke it, and gave it to them, saying, this is my body which is given for you: do this in *remembrance* of me.’

[975] A.D. 1553.

Saint Paul says, ‘Do this in *remembrance* of me: for as often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you do show the Lord’s death till he comes;’ 1Cor 11.26. And therefore I marvel that you do not blush before all this people.”

With that, Gascoine held his peace, and gave no answer. Then the chancellor lifted up his head from his cushion, and commanded the jailer to take her away.

The next day she came before them again, and the chancellor asked her what she said to the blessed sacrament of the altar.

Driver. — “I will say nothing to it: for you will neither believe me nor yourselves. For yesterday I asked you what a sacrament was, and you said it was a sign. And I said that was true, confirming it by the Scriptures, so that I did not depart from your own words. And now

you come and ask me again, of such a sacrament as I told you I never read of in the Scriptures.”

Spenser. — “You lie, naughty woman, I did not say that it was a sign.”

Driver. — “Why, masters, are you not the men that you were yesterday? Will you eat your own words? Are you not ashamed to lie before this whole multitude present here, who heard you speak the same?”

Then after much more, they were unable to answer. She then said, “Have you no more to say? God be honored. You are not able to resist the Spirit of God in me, a poor woman. I was an honest poor man’s daughter, never brought up in the university, as you have been, but I have driven the plough before my father, many a time. Yet, notwithstanding, in the defense of God’s truth, and in the cause of my master Christ, by his grace I will set my foot against the foot of any of you all, in the maintenance and defense of the same. And if I had a thousand lives, they would go for payment of it.” So the chancellor rose up, and read the sentence of condemnation in Latin, and committed her to the secular power. And so she went to prison again as joyful as the bird of day, praising and glorifying the name of God.

*Alexander Gouch, Martyr.*

At this time Alexander Gouch was also examined, chiefly about the sacrament and other ceremonies of the popish church. And because his belief was that Christ had ascended into heaven, and remains there, and that the sacrament was the remembrance of his death and passion, and for refusing the mass, and refusing the pope to be supreme head of Christ’s church — for these causes was he condemned, and died with Alice Driver, at Ipswich, the 4th of November 1558.

These two godly persons, having come to the place where the stake was set, being in their prayers, and singing psalms both of them together, Sir Henry Dowell, the sheriff, was very much offended with them. He desired the bailiffs of Ipswich to bid them make an end of prayers; they were kneeling on a broom faggot. When one of the bailiffs commanded them to make an end, saying, “On, on, have done with it; make an end, nail them to the stake,” they still continued in prayer. Then Sir Henry sent for one of his men, whose name was Richard Cove, that they should make an end to their prayers.

Then Gouch stood up and said to the sheriff, “I pray you, master sheriff, let us pray a little while, for we have but a little time to live here.”

Then said the bailiff, “Come on; take them to the fire.”

Then Gouch and Alice Driver said, “Why, master sheriff, and master bailiff, will you not allow us to pray?”

“Away (said Sir Henry); to the stake with them.”

Then being tied to the stake, and the iron chain being put about Alice Driver’s neck, she said “O here is a goodly neckerchief, blessed be God for it.”

Then several persons came and took them by the hands as they were bound standing at the stake. The sheriff cried out, “Lay hands on them! Lay hands on them!” With that, a great number ran to the stake. The sheriff seeing that, let them all alone, so that not one was taken.



*Three Persons burned at Bury.*

Although our history hastens to the happy death of queen Mary, yet she did not die so soon that some were not burned beforehand. And more would have been burned soon after, if God's provision had not prevented her with death. In the number of those who suffered in the same month when queen Mary died, were three who were burned at Bury. Their names were Philip Ilumfrey, John David, Henry David.

Concerning the burning of these three, here it is to be noted that Sir Clement Higham, about a two weeks before the queen died, sued out a writ for the burning of these three godly and blessed martyrs — notwithstanding that the queen was not known to be past any remedy for her sickness.

*The Martyrdom of a Godly Woman, at Exeter.*

In such an innumerable company of godly martyrs who in sundry quarters of this realm were put to torments of fire in queen Mary's time, it is hard to so exactly recount every particular person who suffered, that some will not escape us, either unknown or omitted. Yet I cannot pass over a certain poor woman, burned under the queen's reign, in the city of Exeter. During her examination she spoke with great boldness and said,

“Do you not damn souls, (she asked) when you teach the people to worship idols, stocks and stones, the work of men's hands? and to worship a false god of your own making from a piece of bread, and teach that the pope is God's vicar, and has power to forgive sins? and that there is a purgatory, when God's Son has purged all by his passion? and say that you *make* God, and *sacrifice* him, when Christ's body was a sacrifice once for all? Do you not teach the people to number their sins in your ears, and say they are damned, if they do not confess all; when God's word says, ‘Who can number his sins?’ Do you not promise them trentals and dirges, and masses for souls, and sell your prayers for money, and make them buy pardons, and trust to such foolish inventions of your own imaginations? Do you not work altogether against God? Do you not teach us to pray upon beads, and to pray to saints, and say they can pray for us? Do you not make holy-water and holy-bread to frighten devils? Do you not do a thousand more abominations? And yet you say, you come for my profit and to save my soul. No, not one of you has saved me. Farewell to you, with your salvation.”

At length they condemned her, and delivered her over to the secular power. The indictment being given and read, was that she should go to the place from where she came, and from there be led to the place of execution, then and there to be burned with flames till she was consumed. She lifted up her voice and thanked God, saying, “I thank you my Lord God, this day I have found that which I have long sought.” But such outcries and such mockings were never seen before upon a poor silly woman; all of which she took most patiently. And yet they pretended this favor after her judgment: that her life would be spared if she would turn and recant.

“No, that I will not do,” she said. “God forbid that I should lose the life eternal for this carnal and short life. I will never turn from my heavenly husband, to my earthly husband; from the fellowship of angels, to mortal children. And if my husband and children are faithful, then I am theirs. God is my father, God is my mother, God is my sister, my brother, my kinsman, God is my most faithful friend.”

Then she was delivered to the sheriff. And innumerable people beholding her, she was led by the officers to the place of execution, outside the walls of Exeter, where again these superstitious priests assaulted her. She asked them to have no more talk with her, but still cried out, “God be merciful to me a sinner, God be merciful to me a sinner.” And so while

they were tying her to the stake, thus she still cried, and would give no answer to them, but took her cruel death with much patience, consumed as she was with the flames and fire.

[976]

And so ended this mortal life, as constant a woman in the faith of Christ, as ever was upon the earth. She was as simple a woman to see to as any man might behold; of a very little and short stature, somewhat thick, about fifty-four years of age. She had a cheerful countenance, so lively, as though she had been prepared for the day of her marriage to meet the Lamb; most patient in her words and answers; sober in apparel, food and drink, and would never be idle. She was a great comfort to as many as would talk with her; good to the poor; and in her trouble, when money was offered to her, she said she would take none, for she said, "I am going to a city where money bears no mastery. While I am here, God has promised to feed me." Thus her mortal life was ended. For her constancy, God be everlastingly praised, Amen.

*Martyrdom of three at Bristol.*

In writing of the blessed saints who suffered in the bloody days of queen Mary, I almost passed over the names and story of three godly martyrs who, with their blood, likewise gave testimony to the gospel of Christ, being condemned and burnt in the town of Bristol. Their names were Richard Sharpe, Thomas Benion, and Thomas Hale.

First, RICHARD SHARPE, weaver of Bristol, was brought before Master Dalby, chancellor of the town or city of Bristol, the 9th of March A.D. 1556. After examination concerning the sacrament of the altar, he was persuaded to recant. On the 29th of the month he was enjoined to make his recantation before the parishioners in his parish church. When he had done this, he felt in his conscience such a tormenting hell, that he was not able to quietly work in his occupation. Some time after, on a Sunday, he came into his parish church, called Temple. After high mass, he came to the choir door, and said with a loud voice; "Neighbors, bear me record that yonder idol (pointing to the altar) is the greatest and most abominable that ever was; and I am sorry that I ever denied my Lord God." Then the constables were commanded to apprehend him. None stepped forward, but allowed Richard to go out of the church. Afterwards, he was apprehended at night and carried to Newgate. Shortly after, he was brought before the lord chancellor, for denying that the sacrament of the altar is the body and blood of Christ, and for saying it was an idol. He was therefore condemned to be burned. He was burnt the 7th of May 1557, and died godly, patiently, and constantly, confessing the articles of our faith.

The Thursday in the night before Easter. A.D. 1557, one David Herris, alderman, and John Stone, came to the house of one THOMAS HALE, a shoemaker of Bristol. They had him rise out of his bed, and brought him out his door. Thomas Hale said, "You have sought my blood these two years, and now much good you do with it." Being committed to the watchman, he was carried to Newgate, brought before the chancellor, and committed by him to prison. After, he was condemned to be burnt for saying the sacrament of the altar is an idol. He was burned the 7th of May, with Richard Sharp. He godly, patiently, and constantly embraced the fire with his arms.

Richard Sharpe and Thomas Hale were burned both together in one fire, and bound back to back.

THOMAS BENION, a weaver, at the command of the commissioners, was brought by a constable before Master Dalby, chancellor of Bristol, the 13th of August 1557. He committed

him to prison for saying there was nothing but bread in the sacrament, as they used it. Therefore he was condemned to be burnt for denying five of their sacraments, and only affirming two: that is, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacrament of baptism. He was burnt the 27th of the month, and died godly, constantly, and patiently, confessing the articles of our Christian faith.

***The Last Martyrs to Suffer under Queen Mary***

*The Martyrdom of five Christians, who suffered  
the last of all others in the time of Queen Mary.*

The last who suffered in queen Mary's time, were five at Canterbury, burned about six days before the death of queen Mary. Their names follow hereunder: John Corneford, of Wortham; Christopher Brown, of Maidstone; John Harst, of Ashford; Alice Smith; Katherine Knight, otherwise called Katherine Tynley, an aged woman.

To close up the final rage of queen Mary's persecution, for the testimony of that word for which so many had died before, these five gave up their lives meekly and patiently, suffering the violent malice of the papists. These papists might either have spared them, or else deferred their death, knowing of the sickness of Queen Mary. Yet such was the implacable spite of that generation, that there are some who say, the archdeacon of Canterbury being at London, and understanding the danger of the queen, made all haste home to dispatch these persons whom he had in his cruel custody.

The reason they were judged to the fire, was for believing the body of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar, unless it is received. They said, moreover, that we receive another thing besides Christ's body which we see, and is a temporal thing according to St. Paul, 'The things that are seen, are temporal,' etc. Also for saying that it is idolatry to creep to the cross, and that St. John forbade it, saying, 'Keep yourselves from idols.' Also for confessing that we should not pray to our lady, and other saints, because they are not omnipotent.

For these and other such articles of Christian doctrine, the five were committed to the fire.

These godly martyrs, in their prayers, which they made before their martyrdom, desired of God, that their blood might be the last that would be shed, and so it was.

Among such young women as were burned at Canterbury, it is recorded about a certain maid — and it is supposed to be this Alice Smith, mentioned here, or else it is Agnes Snoth (for they were both burned) — that when she was brought to be executed, being at the stake, she called for her godfather and godmothers. The justice, hearing her, sent for them; but they dared not come. Notwithstanding, the justices had the messenger go again, and to show them that they would incur no danger from it.

Then, hearing that, they came to know the matter of their being sent for. When the maid saw them, she asked them what they had promised for her, and so she immediately recited her faith, and the commandments of God. She requested of them, if there was anything more that they had promised in her behalf. They said, "No."

"Then (she said), I die a Christian woman, bear witness of me." And so, cruelly, she was consumed in fire. She joyfully gave up her life for the testimony of Christ's gospel, to the terror of the wicked and comfort of the godly, and also to stop the slanderous mouths of those who falsely quarrel against the faithful martyrs, for going from that religion in which they were first baptized by their godfathers and godmothers.

Bk. XII. Persecutions in the 5th year of Queen Mary

*The Condemnation of John Hunt and Richard White,  
who were to be burnt, but escaped by the death of Queen Mary.*

Besides these martyrs, there were many imprisoned in other places of the realm, of whom some were only recently taken and not yet examined. Some began to be examined, but were not yet condemned. Others were both examined and condemned, but for lack of the writ, they escaped.

There were also others, both condemned and also having the writ brought down for their burning. Yet, by the death of the chancellor, the bishop, and of queen Mary, happening together at about the same time, they most happily and marvellously were preserved, and lived many years after. In the number of them were John Hunt and Richard White, imprisoned at Salisbury.

These two good men, and faithful servants of the Lord, had remained in prison at Salisbury for two years and more. During that time they were often called to examination by the bishops and priests. I thought it unnecessary to insert all the examinations here, for the length of them. Nor did I think it good to leave no memory at all of them, but to express some part that was not unworthy to be recounted.

[977] A.D. 1558.

*The Examination of Richard White.*

The bishop of Salisbury at that time was Dr. Capon. The bishop of Gloucester was Dr. Brookes. These, with Dr. Geffery, the chancellor of Salisbury, and a great number of priests were sitting in judgment. Richard White was brought before them.

Gloucester. — “Is this the prisoner?”

Chancellor. — “Yes, my lord.”

Gloucester. — “Friend, why did you come here?”

White. — “My lord, I trust to know the cause. For the law says, ‘In the mouth of two or three witnesses every word must be established.’ “

Dr. Capon. — “Did I not examine you as to your faith when you came here?”

White. — “No, my lord, you did not examine me, but commanded me to the Lollard’s Tower, and that no man should speak with me. Now I request to know my accuser.”

Geffery. — “You will confess your faith before you depart; and therefore say your mind freely, and do not be ashamed to do so.”

White. — “I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, because it is the power of God to salvation for all who believe; and St. Peter says, ‘Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asks you a reason for the hope that is in you, with meekness and fear.’ 1Pet 3.15. Who will have the examination of me?”

Gloucester. — “I will oppose you upon certain articles, and principally upon the sacrament of the altar. What do you believe about the blessed sacrament of the altar? Do you not believe that the real, carnal, and corporeal presence of Christ is in the same, even the very same Christ who was born of the Virgin Mary, who was hanged on the cross, and who suffered for our sins?” At these words they all took off their caps, and bowed their bodies.

White. — “My Lord, what is a sacrament? “

Gloucester. — “It is the thing itself which it represents.”

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White. — “My Lord, that cannot be; for whoever represents a prince, cannot be the prince himself.”

Gloucester. — “How many sacraments do you find in the Scriptures, called by the name of sacraments?”

White. — “I find two sacraments in the Scriptures, but not called by the name of sacraments. But I think St. Augustine first gave them the name of sacraments.”

Gloucester. — “Then you do not find that word *sacrament* in the Scriptures?”

White. — “No, my Lord.”

Gloucester. — “Did not Christ say, This is my body? and are not his words true?”

White. — “I am sure the words are true; but you play with me as the Devil played with Christ. For he said, ‘If you are the son of God, cast yourself down; for it is written. He shall give his angels charge concerning you: and in their hands they shall bear you up, lest at any time you dash your foot against a stone.’ Mat 4.6. — ‘You shall tread upon the lion and adder; the young lion and the dragon you shall trample underfoot.’ Psa 91.13. These words the devil left out, because they were spoken against himself. And yet even so, you cite the Scriptures.”

Gloucester. — “Declare your faith upon the sacrament.”

White. — “In Christ there are two natures, a divine and a human nature; so likewise there are two natures in the sacraments of Christ’s body and blood, which I divide into two parts — that is, external and internal. The external part is the element of bread and wine, according to the saying of St. Augustine. The internal part is the invisible grace, which is represented by the same. So there is an external receiving of the same sacrament, and an internal. The external is with the hand, the eye, the mouth, and the ear. The internal is by the Holy Spirit in the heart, which works in me by faith. By this I apprehend all the merits of Christ, applying myself wholly to my salvation. If this is true, believe it; and if it is not, reprove it.”

Gloucester. — “Do you not believe that after the words of consecration, the natural presence of Christ’s body is there?”

White. — “My lord, I will answer you if you will answer me one question. Is this not an article of our belief: ‘He sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty?’ If he has come from there to judgment, say so.”

Gloucester. — “No. But if you will believe the Scriptures, I will prove to you that Christ was both in heaven and on earth at one time.”

White. — “As he is *God*, he is in all places; but as for his *manhood*, he is in but one place.”

Gloucester. — “St. Paul says, 1Cor 15.8. ‘Last of all he was seen of me also, as one born out of due time.’ Here St. Paul says he saw Christ, and St. Paul was not in heaven.”

White. — “St. Paul’s chief purpose was by this place to prove the resurrection. But how do you prove that Christ, when he appeared to St. Paul, was not still in heaven, just as he was seen by Stephen, sitting at the right hand of God? St. Augustine says, the head that was in heaven, cried for the body and members who were on the earth, and said, ‘Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?’ And was not Paul taken up into the third heaven, where he might see Christ, as he witnesses, 1Cor 15.8. For there he only says he saw Christ; but concerning the

place, he says nothing. Therefore this place of Scripture does not prove that Christ was both in heaven and on earth at one time.”

Gloucester. — “I told you before he would not believe. Here are three opinions, the Lutherans, the Oecolampadians, and we catholics. If you Oecolampadians have the truth, then the Lutherans and we catholics are out of the way. If the Lutherans have the truth, then you Oecolampadians and we catholics are out of the way. But if we catholics have the truth, as we have indeed, then the Lutherans and you Oecolampadians are out of the way, as you are indeed, for the Lutherans call you heretics.”

White. — “My lord, you have troubled me greatly with the Scriptures.”

Gloucester. — “Did I not tell you that it was not possible to remove him from his error. Away with him to the Lollard’s Tower, and dispatch him as soon as you can.”

Then John Hunt and Richard White, after many examinations and long captivity, at length were called for, and brought before Dr. Geffery the bishop’s chancellor, to be condemned. The high-sheriff was named Sir Anthony Hungerford, who then being at the sessions, was charged with these two condemned persons, and with other malefactors likewise condemned at the same time, to see the execution of death ministered to them.

Not long after this, the writ came down to burn the above-named Richard White and John Hunt. But the under-sheriff receiving the writ, said; “I will not be guilty (he said) of these men’s blood.” He immediately burnt the writ, and departed his way. Within four days afterward, the chancellor died. Richard White and John Hunt, after the death of the chancellor, the bishop also having died a little before, continued in prison till the happy coming in of queen Elizabeth. And so they were set at liberty.

*A Chapter or Treatise concerning those who were scourged  
and whipped by the Papists in the true cause of Christ’s Gospel.*

And thus through the merciful assistance and favorable aid of Christ our Savior, you have (good reader), as in a general register, the history if not of all, yet most — or at least I trust not many are omitted — of those good saints and martyrs who have lost their lives, and given their blood, or died in prison for the testimony of Christ’s true doctrine and sacraments, from the time of the cruel statute first given out by king Henry IV, to this present time, and especially under the reign of queen Mary.

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Now, after this bloody slaughter of God’s good saints and servants, let us proceed to cover somewhat, those who for the same cause of religion have been, although not put to death, yet whipped and scourged by the adversaries of God’s word. We first begin with Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairefax, who were pitifully rent and tormented with scourges and stripes for faithfully standing to Christ and his truth.

*The Scourging of Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairefax.*

After the first recantation of Doctor Crome for his sermon on the tenth chapter to the Hebrews, in which he proved very learnedly by the same place of Scripture and others, that Christ was the only and sufficient sacrifice to God the Father for the sins of the whole world, and that there was no more sacrifice to be offered for sin by the priests. This was because Christ had offered his body on the cross, and shed his blood for the sins of the people, and that was once for all. For this sermon he was apprehended by Bonner, and brought before Stephen Gardiner and others of the council, where he promised to recant his doctrine at St.

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Paul's Cross, the second Sunday after Easter. Accordingly, he was there and he preached, with Bonner and all his doctors sitting before him. But he so preached and handled his matter, that he verified his former saying, rather than denying any part of what he had preached before. For this, the protestants praised God, and heartily rejoiced.

But Bishop Bonner with his champions were not pleased. Notwithstanding, they took him home with them, and so handled him, that they made him come to St. Paul's Cross again the next Sunday.

And because the magistrates would now hear him, and be witness of his recantation — which was most blasphemous, to deny that Christ's sacrifice was sufficient for penitent sinners, and to say that the sacrifice of the mass was good, godly, and a holy sacrifice, propitiatory and available both for the quick and the dead — because (I say) they would have the nobles hear this blasphemous doctrine, that generation of vipers procured all the chief of the council to be present.

At this time, between his first sermon and the last, and while Dr. Crome was imprisoned in the month of July, one Richard Wilmot, an apprentice in Bow-lane, aged eighteen years, was sitting at his work in his master's shop. Lewis, a Welshman, one of the guard, came into the shop. Someone asked him what the news was at the court. He answered that the old heretic, Dr. Crome, had recanted before the council, and that on Sunday next he would be at Paul's Cross again, and there declare it.

Then Wilmot sitting at his master's work, and hearing him speak these words, and rejoice in the same, began to speak to him, saying that he was sorry to hear these news. For (he said) if Crome were to say otherwise than he had said, then it is contrary to the truth of God's word, and contrary to his own conscience, which will accuse him before God.

Lewis answered and said that he had preached and taught heresy; and therefore it was fitting that he should revoke it in such a place.

Wilmot told him that he would not say so, nor did he hear him preach any doctrine contrary to God's written word, but that he proved his doctrine, and did that sufficiently by the Scriptures.

Lewis then asked him how he knew that.

Wilmot answered, by the Scriptures of God, in which he will find God's will and pleasure, what He wills all men to do, and what not to do; and also he should prove and try all doctrines by them, and the false doctrine from the true.

Lewis said, it had never been merry since the bible was in English: and that he was both a heretic and a traitor who had it translated into English (meaning Cromwell) and therefore he was rewarded according to his deserts.

Wilmot answered that he thought it pleased God to raise up Cromwell from a low estate, and to place him in high authority, so that he might do that which all the bishops in the realm never did, in restoring again God's holy word. I having been hidden from the people long before in a strange tongue, and now coming abroad among us, it will bring our bishops and priests in less estimation among the people. Lewis asked why so?

Wilmot said, because their doctrine and living was not according to God's word.

Then Lewis said, 'I never heard but that all men should learn from the bishops and priests, because they are learned men, and have been brought up in learning all the days of their

lives. Therefore they must know the truth, and our fathers believed their doctrine and learning, and I think they did well, for the world was far better then than it is now.'

Wilmot answered, I will not say so. For we must not believe them just because they are bishops, nor because they are learned, nor because our fathers followed their doctrine. For I have read in God's book, how bishops and learned men have taught the people false doctrine, and likewise the priests from time to time, and indeed our forefathers believed those people. As they taught, and as they thought, so the people thought, But for all this, Christ calls them false prophets, thieves, and murderers, blind leaders of the blind, commanding the people to take heed of them, lest they both fall into the ditch. Moreover, we read that the bishops, priests and learned men, have commonly been resisters of the truth from time to time, and have always persecuted the prophets in the old law, as their successors persecuted our Savior Christ and his disciples in the new law. We must take heed therefore, that we credit them no further than God would have us, nor follow them nor our forefathers otherwise than He commands us. For Almighty God has given to all people, to kings and princes, as well as to bishops, priests, learned and unlearned men, a commandment and law to which he wills all men to be obedient. Therefore, if any bishop or priest preaches or teaches, or any prince or magistrate commands, anything contrary to his commandment, we must take heed how we obey them. For it is better for us to obey God than man.

"Goodness, Sir," said Lewis, "you are a holy doctor indeed. By God's blood if you were my man, I would set you about your business a little better, and not allow you to look at books; and so would your master if he were wise." And with that, in came his master, and a young man with him, who was a servant with Mr. Daubney in Watling-street. His master asked what the matter was.

Lewis said, "that he had a knavish boy here for his servant, and how that if he were his, he would hang him, rather than keep him in his house."

Then his master, being somewhat moved, asked his fellows what was the matter.

They said, they began to talk about Dr. Crome.

Then his master "asked him what he had said, swearing a great oath, that he would make him tell him.

Wilmot said, "that he trusted he had said nothing, by which either he or Master Lewis might justly be offended. I pray," said Wilmot, "ask him what I said."

"Goodness," said Lewis, "he said this: 'That Dr. Crome preached and taught nothing but the truth, and how if Dr. Crome recants next Sunday, he would be sorry to hear it, and that if he does, he is made to do it against his conscience.' And moreover, he said, 'that we must not follow our bishops' doctrine and preaching, for,' he says, 'they are hinderers of God's word, and persecutors; and how Cromwell did more good (that traitor) in setting forth the bible, than all our bishops have done these hundred years.' "

Then Wilmot said that, "in many things Lewis made his tale worse than it was." His master hearing of this, was in a great fury, and berated him, saying that, "either he would be hanged or burned, swearing that he would take away all his books and burn them."

A young man standing by hearing this, began to speak on his part to Lewis; and confirmed all the sayings of the other (Wilmot).



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This young man was learned. His name was Thomas Fairefax. Lewis, hearing this man's speech as well as the other's, went his way in a rage to the court.

[979] A.D. 1558.

On the morrow Wilmot and Fairefax were sent for, to come to the Lord Mayor, Sir Roger Cholmley. who was with the mayor. He asked him, "What do you say to Dr. Crome's sermon made at the cross the last day? Did you not hear it?"

Wilmot. — "Yes; and in that sermon he deceived a great number of people."

Cholmley. — "How so?"

Wilmot. — "They expected that he would have recanted his doctrine that he had taught before, and he did not, but rather confirmed it."

Cholmley. — "Yes Sir, but what do you say now to him? For he recanted before the council; and has promised on Sunday next to be at the cross again. What do you think about that?"

Wilmot. — "If he did so, I am the sorrier to hear it."

Cholmley. — "But what do you say? Was his first sermon heresy or not?"

Wilmot. — "No; I suppose it was not heresy. For if it were, St. Paul's epistle to the Hebrews was heresy, and Paul would be a heretic who preached such doctrine. But God forbid that any Christian man should so think of the holy apostle; nor do I think so."

Cholmley. — "Why, how do you know that St. Paul wrote those things that are in English now, to be true, whereas Paul never wrote English or Latin?"

Wilmot. — "I am certified that learned men of God, who sought to advance His word, translated the same out of the Greek and Hebrew into Latin and English, and they dared not presume to alter the sense of the Scripture of God, and the last will and testament of Christ Jesus."

Then the lord mayor, being in a great fury, asked him what he was doing reading such books? And he said that, "It was a pity that his master allowed him to do so, and that he was not set better to work by it. In brief, he said to him that he had spoken evil of my lord of Winchester and Bonner, those reverend and learned fathers and councillors of this realm, for which he saw no other remedy but that he must suffer."

At length through entreaty, he granted them this much favor: that they would not die, but would be tied to a cart's tail, and be whipped for three market days through the city. Thus they came home that day, and went another day. The mayor and the wardens of the company kneeled before them to have this public punishment released, as they were servants of so worshipful a company, and that they might be punished in their own hall,<sup>686</sup> before the wardens and the company. At length it was granted with a condition (some said), as will be declared shortly.

The next day Wilmot and Fairefax were sent to the hall, before the masters, both their masters being present. Laid to their charge were the heinous offenses committed by them, how they were both heretics and traitors, and deserved death for the same. This was declared with a long process by the master of the company, whose name was Master Brookes. He declared what great labor and suit the mayor and the wardens had made for them, to save them from death, which (he said) they deserved, and from open shame, which

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<sup>686</sup> *Hall*: in the 16th century England, a hall served as a central hub for political and administrative functions.

they should have had — being judged by the council to be whipped three days through the city at a cart's tail. The mayor and wardens had labored to deliver them from these two dangers, but not without great suit and also cost. For he said, the company promised a hundred pounds <sup>687</sup> to the council for their mercy and favor shown towards them, being of such a worshipful company. Notwithstanding, he said, we must see them punished in our hall among ourselves, for their offenses. After these and many other words, Master Brookes commanded them to prepare themselves to receive their punishment.

Then they were taken aside, and stripped from the waist upward, one after another. In the midst of the hall, where they used to make their fire, there was a great ring of iron, to which a rope was tied fast, and one of their feet was tied to it.

Then two men came, disguised in mummer's apparel, with visors on their faces, and they beat them with great rods until the blood flowed.

Thus we have briefly recited this little tragedy, in which we may note the malice of the enemies at all times toward those who profess Christ and take His part, of whatever estate or degree they may be. This is according to the apostle's saying, "It is given to you not only to believe, but also to suffer with Him," <sup>Phi 1.29</sup> to Whom be honor and glory, Amen.

*The Scourging of Thomas Green, as written by himself.*

"In the reign of Queen Mary, I, Thomas Green, being brought before Doctor Story, by my master, whose name is John Wayland, a printer, for a book called *Antichrist*, which had been distributed to certain honest men. He asked me where I got the book, and said I was a traitor. I told him I got the book from a Frenchman. Then he asked me more questions, but I told him I would tell him no more. Then he said it was not heresy, but treason, and that I should be hanged, drawn and quartered. And so he called for Cluny, the keeper of the Lollard's tower, and bade him set me fast in the stocks.

"I was not in the Lollard's-tower two hours, when Cluny came and took me out, and carried me to the coal-house. There I found a Frenchman lying in the stocks. He took him out, and put a bolt and a fetter on my right leg, and another on my left hand. And so he set me cross-fettered in the stocks, and took the Frenchman away with him. There I lay a day and a night. On the morrow after he came and said, 'Let us shift your hand and your leg, do that you may not become lame.' He made as though he pitied me, and said, tell me the truth, and I will be your friend.

"And I said, I had told the truth, and would tell no other. Then he put only my leg in the stocks, and went his way. There I remained six days.

"Then Doctor Story sent for me, and asked whether I would tell him the truth, where I got the book. I said I had told him of a Frenchman.

"Then Story scoffed at me and then said there was, 'brother in Christ, and brother in Christ.' He reviled me, and called me a heretic, and asked me if I obtained the book from him in Newgate. I said no, and told him I met him as I went about my business in the street. He asked me how I was doing. So falling into communication, he showed me that book, and I desired that he would let me have it.

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<sup>687</sup> One hundred pounds in 1558 is worth about \$75,000 today. It was paid by the civil authorities to the Church Council, in effect paying a ransom. The Church had monetized its "mercy."

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“Then he called for Cluny, and bade him lay me fast in the coal-house, saying that he would make me tell another tale at my next coming. And so I lay in the stocks day and night, except when I ate my food; and there I remained ten days before I was called for again.

“Then Dr. Story sent for me again, and asked if I would yet tell him the truth. I said, I could tell him no other truth than I had, nor would. And while I was standing there, two were brought in whom I took to be prisoners.

“Then Mrs. Story fell into a rage, and swore a great oath, that it would be a good deed to put a hundred or two of these heretic knaves in a house, and I myself, she said, would set it on fire. So I was committed to prison again, where I remained fourteen days, and came to no answer.

“After this, being brought out again, Story burdened me with my faith, and said I was a heretic. Whereupon the chaplain asked me how I believed. Then I began to recite the articles of my belief, but he bade me let that alone. Then he asked me how I believed in Christ. I answered him that I believed in Christ who died and rose again the third day, and sits at the right hand of God the Father.

“Whereupon Story asked me mockingly, what is the right hand of God? I answered him that I thought it was His glory. Then he said, ‘So they all say.’ He asked me when he would be weary of sitting there. Then my lord of Windsor’s chaplain interfered, asking me what I said about the mass. I said, I never knew what it was, nor what it meant, for I did not understand it, because I never learned any Latin. And since the time that I had any knowledge of it, I had been brought up in nothing but reading English, and with those men who have taught the same — with many more questions, which I cannot repeat.

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“Moreover he asked me if the very body of Christ, flesh, blood and bone, were not in the mass, after the priest had consecrated it. And I answered him, as for the mass I cannot understand it; but in the new testament I read, that as the apostles stood looking after the Lord when he ascended up into heaven, an angel said to them, Even as you see him ascend up, so shall he come again. And I told them another sentence, where Christ says, The poor you will have always with you, but me you will not always have.

“Then the chaplain put to me many more questions, to which I could give him no answer. Among all the others, he brought Chrysostom and Jerome for his purpose. I answered him, that I neither minded nor was able to answer their doctors, nor did I know whether they alleged them rightly or not. But I would answer to that which is written in the new testament. Here they laughed me to scorn, and called me a fool, and said they would reason no more with me.

“Then Doctor Story called for Cluny, and bade him to take me away and set me fast, and let no man speak with me. So I was sent to the coal-house; where I had not been a week, before there fourteen prisoners came in. But I was still kept alone without company, in a prison called Salthouse, having a bolt and a fetter upon my leg, and my hands manacled together with irons. There I continued ten days, having nothing to lie on but bare stones or a board.

“In the end he commanded me to be stripped, he standing by me. He called for two of the beadles,<sup>688</sup> and for whips to whip me. The two beadles came with a cord, and bound my hands together, with the one end of the cord bound to a stone pillar. Then one of my friends,

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<sup>688</sup> *Beadles*: low-level officials in a church, who are responsible for keeping order and carrying out minor duties.

Nicholas Priestman, hearing them call for whips, hurled in a bundle of rods, which seemed to somewhat pacify the mind of his cruelty; and so they scourged me with rods. But as they were whipping me, Story asked me if I would go to my master again, and I said no. He said, 'I perceive now he will be worse than he ever was before;' but he let me alone. He said, 'I will find him out if he is in England,' with many other things which I cannot repeat. When they were done whipping me, they bade me pay my fees, and go my way."

Doctor Story commanded that Green should have a hundred stripes; but the gentlemen so entreated, that he did not have that many. Story said, "if I might have my will, I would surely cut out his tongue."

*The Scourging of James Harris.*

In this society of the scourged professors of Christ, there was also one James Harris of Billericay, in Essex, a stripling seventeen years of age. Being apprehended and sent up to Bonner, he was strictly examined. In these examinations he was charged with not having come to his parish church for one year or more. He confessed that once, for fear, he had been at the church, and there he had received the popish sacrament of the altar, for which he was heartily sorry, detesting it with all his heart.

After this and similar answers, Bonner persuaded him to go to confess and be absolved. The lad consented to go. But when he came to the priest, he stood still, and said nothing. Why, asked the priest, do you say nothing? What should I say? Asked Harris. You must confess your sins, said the priest. My sins, he says, are so many that they cannot be numbered. With that, the priest told Bonner what he had said. And out of his accustomed devotion, Bonner took the poor lad into his garden. There, with a rod taken out of a cherry tree, he most cruelly whipped him.

*The Whipping of a Beggar at Salisbury.*

To these events specified above, is also to be added the miserable whipping of a certain poor starved beggar. Because he would not receive the sacrament at Easter in the town of Colingborough, he was brought to Salisbury to the chancellor, Doctor Geffery. He cast him into the dungeon, and afterward had him miserably whipped by two catchpoles.<sup>689</sup> The sight made all godly hearts rue it, to see such tyranny shown upon such a simple poor man, for those who saw him, reported that they never saw a simpler creature, but what pity can move the hearts of merciless papists?

Besides these, many others also suffered similar scourging and whippings of their bodies, for faithfully standing in the truth. It would be too lengthy to recite the details of more. It may be said of them, as it is written of the apostles in the Acts, "Who departed from the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus."

*Treatise about those who, being pursued in Queen Mary's time,  
were in great danger; and yet, through the good Providence of God,  
they were mercifully preserved.*

Although the secret purpose of Almighty God, who disposes all things, allowed a great number of his faithful servants, both men and women of all ages and degrees, to fall into the enemies' hands, and to abide the brunt of this persecution — to be tried with rods, whips, racks, fetters, famine, with the burning of hands, with plucking off beards, and also with the burning of both hand, beard, body, etc. — yet *notwithstanding*, there were some again, and

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<sup>689</sup> *Catchpole*: officers of the law who made arrests, especially of debtors.

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a great number of them, who miraculously, by the merciful providence of God, against all men's expectation, were safely delivered out of the fiery rage of this persecution. This was either by quitting the realm, or shifting their location, or the Lord so blinded the eyes of the persecutors, or disposed the opportunity of time, or worked some such means or other for his servants, that not only should it stir them up to perpetual thanks, but also that it may move all men to both behold and magnify the wondrous works of the Almighty.

About the time it began to be known that queen Mary was sick, several good men were in prison in various quarters of the realm, among whom was William Living (with his wife), and John Lithall, of whom something now remains to be said.

*The Trouble and Deliverance of John Lithal, Minister.*

It happened that certain books were in the custody of John Lithall. So the constable of the ward of Southwark, with others of the queen's servants, were sent to his house. Breaking up his doors and chests, they took away all his books, writings, and bills of debts, which he never got back. All this while, Lithall was not at home.

The next Saturday, after he returned, and was known to be at home, John Avaes and certain of the queen's servants beset his house all night, with such a careful watch, that as Lithal went out of doors in the morning, thinking to escape their hands, John Avaes burst out upon him and cried, "Stop the traitor, stop the traitor!"

And so John Avaes came running to him, with others who were with him, saying, 'Ah sirrah, you are a pretty traitorly fellow indeed. We have had some trouble getting to you.' To whom Lithal answered that he was a truer man to the queen's majesty than Avaes. 'For you,' he said, 'are commanded by God to keep holy the Sabbath-day, and you seek to shed your neighbor's blood on the Sabbath-day. Remember that you must therefore answer to God.' But Avaes said. 'Come on you villain, you must go before the council.' So Lithall was brought into St. Paul's church-yard to the bishop's chancellor.

Among a great deal of other matter in the examination of Lithall by this chancellor, the following conversation passed between them, as recorded by Lithall himself:

"Chancellor. — 'You boast much, every one of you, of your faith and belief. Let me hear therefore, in effect, what you believe.'

"Lithall. — 'I believe to be justified really by Christ Jesus, according to the saying of St. Paul to the Ephesians, without either deeds or works, or anything that may be invented by man.'

[981] A.D. 1558.

"Chancellor. — 'Faith cannot save without works.'

"Lithall. — 'That is contrary to the doctrine of the apostles.'

"Chancellor. — 'Keeper! Take this fellow to prison.'

"Then John Avaes, and Cluny, the keeper, took me into St. Paul's, and would have me see the apostles' mass."

"Lithall. — 'I know of none that the apostles had, and therefore, I will see none.'

"Cluny and John Avaes. — 'Come and kneel down before the rood (cross), and say a Paternoster, and an Ave in the worship of the five wounds.'

"Lithall. — 'I am forbidden by God's own mouth to kneel to any idol or image; therefore, I will not.'

“Then they pulled me with great force, the one having me by one arm, and the other by the other arm; but God gave me strength, his name be praised for it.

“Then when they could not make me to kneel before the rood, or witness the mass,’ a great company gathered about us, and all were against me. Some spit on me, and said, ‘fie on you heretic; and others said it was a pity that I was not burned already.’

“Then they carried me to Lollard’s-tower, and hung me in a great pair of stocks, in which I lay three days and three nights, till I was so lame that I could neither stir nor move.

“Then I offered the keeper a certain amount of money and gold that I had about me, to release me out of the stocks. He said I would not be ruled by him, either to see mass, or to kneel before the rood, and therefore, I should remain lying there. But I said, I would never do the thing that would be against my conscience. ‘And though you have lamed my body, yet my conscience is whole, I praise God for it.’ So shortly after, he let me out of the stocks, more for the love of my money, than for any other affection. And within four or five days my wife got leave from the chancellor to come to me, to bring me such things as were needful for me, and there I lay for five weeks and odd days. In that time, my neighbors and friends made suit to the chancellor for my deliverance. The bishop at that time, they said, was at Fulham, sick. So about twenty of my neighbors being there, the chancellor sent for me to come to his own house out of the Lollard’s tower, and he said as follows:

“Chancellor. — ‘Here are some of your neighbors who have been with me to entreat for you, and they have informed me that you have been a very honest and quiet neighbor among them. I think it is God’s will that I should deliver you before my lord comes home. For if he comes, and you go home again, I will be burned in your stead. For I already know his mind in that matter.’

“Lithall. — ‘I give you hearty thanks for your gentleness, and my neighbors for their good report.’

“Chancellor. — ‘If your neighbors will be bound for your returning whenever you are called for; and also if you will be an obedient subject, I will be content to deliver you.’

“Neighbors. — ‘If it please your worship, we will be bound for him in body and goods.’

“Chancellor. — ‘I will require no such bond from you, but only that two of you will be bound for twenty pounds a-piece, that he will come to answer when he is called.’

“Lithall. — ‘Where do you find, Mr. Chancellor, in all the Scriptures, that the church of God bound any man for the profession of his faith? You have heard this profession from me, that all our justification, righteousness, and salvation comes only and freely by the merits of our Savior Jesus Christ, and all the inventions and works of men, however glorious they may be, are altogether vain, as the wise man says.’

“Chancellor. — ‘Look, where he is now [who said so]? I put no such matter to you, for I believe as you do in this. Yet St. James says that, ‘A man is justified by works.’

“Lithall. — “St. James spoke to those who boasted of their faith, and showed no works of faith. But O, Mr. Chancellor, remember I pray you, how all the promises and prophecies of the holy Scripture, even from the first promise that God made to Adam, to the end of the Revelation of St. John, testify that in the name of Jesus, and only by his merits, all who believe will be saved from all their sins and offenses. ‘I am sought by those who did not ask for me. I am found by those who did not seek me. I said, Behold me, behold me, to a nation that was not called by my name. I have spread out my hands all day to a rebellious people,

who walk in a way that was not good, according to their own thoughts.’ Isa 65.1-2. And when the jailer asked St. Paul, what he should do to be saved, the apostle said, ‘Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and you shall be saved, and your house.’ Act 16.31. Again, St. John says in the Revelation, that there was none, either in heaven or on earth, nor under the earth, who was able to open the book nor its seals, but only the Lamb Jesus, our only Savior. And St. Paul says, ‘So Christ was offered once to bear the sins of many; and to those who look for him, he will appear the second time without sin unto salvation.’ Heb. 9.28.

“Chancellor. — ‘With vain glory you recite much Scripture, as all the sort of you do; but you have no more understanding than sheep.’

“Then they made the bond and sealed it, and wanted me to seal it also. I said that I would not, nor could I observe the bond, and therefore I would not set my hand to it.

“Chancellor. — ‘It is a pity that you have so much favor shown to you. And yet, for these honest men’s sakes, I will discharge you.’ “

Notwithstanding all these dissembling words of the chancellor, pretending to set Lithall at liberty for the favor of his sureties, it was no such thing. Nor was it any zeal for charity that moved him to do so. But it was only fear of the time, understanding the dangerous and unrecoverable sickness of queen Mary, which then began to assuage somewhat the cruel proceeding of these persecutors, by which they dared not do that they would.

*William Browne.*

William Browne, parson of Little Stanham, in the county of Suffolk, gave a sermon after the burial of our good king Edward. And in his sermon he said, “A report is going about, that our good king was buried with a mass by the bishop of Winchester, having a miter upon his head. But if it were so, he said, they are all traitors who do so, because it is both against the truth, and the laws of this realm, and it is great idolatry and blasphemy, and against the glory of God; and those who do so are no friends either to God, the king, or yet to the realm.” For preaching this, the bailiffs took men with them to the parson’s house. They took him in the night, and they kept him with watchmen until it was day. After a while, he got his liberty. But because he would not go to mass, his living was taken away, and he and his wife were constrained to flee here and there, for his life and conscience.

### ***The Examination of Elizabeth Young***

*Elizabeth Young.*

Elizabeth Young, coming from Emden to England, brought certain books with her, and circulated them in London. For this she was brought to examination thirteen times before the inquisitors of heretical depravity.

She was first brought before Lord Hussy, who examined her about many things. First, where she was born, and who was her father and mother.

Elizabeth Young. — “Sir, this is but vain talk, you have not put me in prison to know who is my father and mother. But I pray you go to the matter that I came here for.”

Hussy. — “Why did you go out of the realm?”

Elizabeth. — “To keep my conscience clean.”

Hussy. — “When were you at mass?”

Elizabeth. — “Not these three years.”

Hussy. — “Then, were you not there three years before that?”

Elizabeth. — “No, sir, nor three years before that.”

Hussy. — “How old are you?”

[982]

Elizabeth. — “Forty and upwards.”

Hussy. — “Twenty of those years you did go to mass.”

Elizabeth. — “Yes, and I might have gone twenty more, and yet come home no wiser than I went, for I did not understand it.”

Hussy. — “Why will you not go to the mass?”

Elizabeth. — “Sir, my conscience will not allow me: for I would rather all the world should accuse me, than my own conscience.”

After this she was twice examined by Doctor Martin, who used her very badly and insulted her. Then she was brought before the bishop of London, and Sir Roger Cholmley and others. Then the bishop said, “Why will you not swear before a judge? That is the right trade of the anabaptists.”

Elizabeth. — “My lord, I will not swear that this hand is mine.”

“No?” asked the bishop. “And why not?”

Elizabeth. — “My lord, Christ says, ‘That whatever is more than yes, yes, or no, no, it comes from evil.’ And moreover, I do not know what an oath is; and therefore, I will take no such thing upon me.”

Cholmley. — “Twenty pounds, it is a man in a woman’s clothes; twenty pounds, it is a man.”

Bonner. — “Do you think so, my lord?”

Cholmley. — “Yes, my lord.”

Elizabeth. — “My lord, I am a woman.”

Bishop. — “Swear her upon a book, seeing that it is but a question asked.”

Cholmley. — “I will lay twenty pounds, it is a man.”

Then Doctor Cooke brought her a book, commanding her to lay her hand upon it.

Elizabeth. — “No, my lord, I will not swear; for I do not know what an oath is. But I say that I am a woman, and I have children.”

Bishop. — “We do not know that; therefore swear.”

Cholmley. — “Lay your hand upon the book; I will lay on mine: and so he laid his hand upon the book.”

Elizabeth. — “I will not lay mine so.”

Then the bishop spoke a word in Latin, out of St. Paul, concerning swearing.

Elizabeth. — “My lord, if you speak to me of St. Paul, then speak English, for I do not understand you.”

Bishop. — “I dare swear that you do not.”

Elizabeth. — “My lord, St. Paul says, ‘that five words spoken in a language that may be understood, are better than many in a foreign or strange tongue which is unknown.’”



After this she was brought before the bishop's chancellor, who requested what her age was.

Elizabeth. — “Forty years and upwards.”

Chancellor. — “Why, you are a woman of fair years. Why would you meddle with the Scriptures? It is necessary for you to believe, and that is enough. It is more fitting for you to meddle with your distaff,<sup>690</sup> than to meddle with the Scriptures. What is your belief? I would hear it; for it cannot be good.”

Elizabeth. — “Sir, if it will please you to hear, I will declare it to you. But I pray you that you will take your pen and write it down, and then examine it. And if you find anything in it that is not fit for a Christian woman, then teach me better, and I will learn it.”

Chancellor. — “Well said; but who will judge between you and me?”

Elizabeth. — “The Scripture.”

Chancellor. — “Will you stand by that?”

Elizabeth. — “Yes. sir.”

Chancellor. — “Well, go your way out at the door a little while, for I am busy, and I will call for you back shortly.”

Then he called me back and said, ‘Now, woman, the time is too long to write. Say your mind, and I will bear it in my head.’

Then Elizabeth began, and declared her faith to him.

Chancellor. — “Woman, do you not believe that you receive the body of Christ, really, corporeally, and substantially?”

Elizabeth. — “These words, *really* and *corporeally*, I do not understand. As for *substantially*, I take it that you mean I should believe that I should receive his human body (which is at the right hand of God, and can occupy no more places at once) and that I do not believe.”

Chancellor. — “You must believe this, or else you are damned.”

Elizabeth. — “Sir, can you give me belief or faith?”

Chancellor. — “No, God must give it you.”

Elizabeth. — “God has given me no such faith or belief.”

Chancellor. — “I could make you believe, except that you have a cankered heart, and *will not* believe.”

Elizabeth. — “You said even now, that faith or belief comes from God.”

Chancellor. — “Christ says, ‘For my flesh is food indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.’ “ Joh 6.55.

Elizabeth. — “Christ preached, saying, ‘Unless you eat the flesh of the son of man, and drink his blood, you will have no life in you.’ Joh 6.53. And the Capernaïtes murmured at it. And his disciples also murmured, saying among themselves, ‘This is a hard saying; who can hear it?’ Christ understood their meaning, and said, ‘Does this offend you? What if you see the son of man ascend up to where he was before? It is the spirit that quickens; the flesh profits nothing.\* Joh 6.61-63. I pray you, sir, what does Christ mean by that?”

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<sup>690</sup> *Distaff*: The sphere of work by women.

Bk. XII. Persecutions in the 5th year of Queen Mary

Chancellor. — “O, God forbid! Would you have me interpret the Scriptures? We must leave that for our old ancient fathers, who have studied Scriptures a long time, and have the Holy Spirit given to them.”

Elizabeth. — “Christ’s flesh and blood is food and drink for my soul, the food of my soul. For whoever believes that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, has died and shed his blood for his sins, his soul feeds on that forever.”

Chancellor. — “When you receive the sacrament of the altar, do you not believe that you receive Christ’s body?”

Elizabeth. — “Sir, when I receive the sacrament which Christ instituted and ordained the night before he was betrayed, and left among his disciples, as often (I say) as I receive it, I believe that spiritually, and by faith, I receive Christ. And I know Christ himself to be the author of this sacrament, and none but him. And this same sacrament is an establishment to my conscience, and an augmenting to my faith.”

Chancellor. — “Why, did Christ not take bread, and give thanks, and broke it, and give it to his disciples, saying, ‘Take eat, this is my body.’ Did he give them his body or not?”

Elizabeth. — “He also took the cup, and gave thanks to his Father, and gave it to his disciples saying, ‘Drink you all of it; for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.’ Mat 26.27-28. Now I pray you, sir, let me ask you one question. Did he give the *cup* the name of his blood, or the wine that was *in* the cup?”

Then was he very angry, and said: “Do you think you have a hedge-priest in hand?”

Elizabeth. — “No, sir, I take you not to be a hedge-priest. I take you for a doctor.”

Chancellor. — “So I think. You would take it upon yourself to teach me.”

Elizabeth. — “No, sir. But Christ said: ‘Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me;’ but a remembrance is not of a thing present, but absent. Also St. Paul says, ‘As often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you show the Lord’s death till he comes.’ 1Cor 11.26. Then we may not look for him here, until his coming again at the latter day. Again, is this article of our belief not true? ‘He sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from there he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead?’ But if he will not come before he comes to judgment, then how is he present here in your sacrament of the altar?”

Chancellor. — “What do you say concerning prayer for the dead? Is it not fitting that if a man is dead, his friend commends his soul to God?”

Elizabeth. “There is no Christian man who would commend his friend nor his foe to the devil. And whether it is good to pray for him when he is dead or not, I do not say. But I am sure that it is good when he is *alive*.”

[983] A.D. 1558.

Chancellor. — “Then you do not admit that prayer is good for them when they are dead, and lying in purgatory. Is it not fitting that prayer be made to God for them?”

Elizabeth — “Sir, I never heard of purgatory in the Scriptures; but in the Scripture I have heard of heaven.”

Chancellor. — “Why, you have nothing but the skimming of the Scriptures. Our ancient fathers could find out in the bottom of the Scriptures that there is a purgatory. Indeed, they

could find it in the new testament, that a priest will take the sacrament, and go to the altar, and make an oblation, and offer it up every day.

Elizabeth. — “Sir, that could never be found in the Bible or testament, as far as I could ever hear.”

Chancellor. — “Whom do you hear read either the bible or testament, but sorts of schismatics and hedge-priests (who have brought into the church a communion which was never heard of in any place in the world but here in England), who have deceived the king and all the nobility, and the whole realm?”

Elizabeth — “Sir, it is a vile name that you give them all.”

Chancellor. — “Where are all the hedge knaves now, that they do not come to answer?”

Elizabeth. — “Answer! Why, they have answered both with the Scriptures, and also with their blood. And then where were you that you did not come forth to answer in their times? I never knew any of you who were troubled, but two. And that was not for God’s word, it was for their disobedience.”

Chancellor. — “No, I pray you? Did you not know that we were killed, hanged, burned and beheaded?”

Elizabeth. — “Sir, I never knew that any of you was ever hanged, killed, burned, or beheaded.”

Chancellor. — “No? Did you never hear that the bishop of Rochester lost his head for the supremacy of the bishops of Rome?”

Elizabeth. — “Then he did not die for God’s word.”

Chancellor. — “Well, you will believe nothing but that which is written in God’s word. Where can you find the sabbath written in the Scripture, by the name of the sabbath? For I will prove the right sabbath day to be *Saturday*. Or where can you find the articles of the creed in the scripture by the name of the articles? Or where can you find in the Scripture, that Christ went down into hell?”

Elizabeth. — “What place or part in the Scripture can YOU find to disprove any of these things?”

Chancellor. — “You have read a little in the bible or testament, and you think that you are able to reason with a doctor who has gone to school thirty years. I think if I had thus talked much with a Jew, as I have done with you, he would have turned before this time. But I may say by you, as Christ said by Jerusalem, saying; ‘O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often I would have gathered your children together, even as a hen gathers her chickens under her wings, and you would not.’ And so we would gather you together in one faith, and you will not. And therefore your own blood be upon your own heads; for I can do no more but teach you. You are one of the rankest heretics that I ever heard; for you believe nothing but what is in the Scripture, and therefore you are damned.”

Elizabeth — “I do believe all things written in the Scripture, and all things agreeable with the Scripture given by the Holy Spirit to the church of Christ, set forth and taught by the church of Christ. And will I be damned because I believe the truth, and will not believe an untruth?”

Chancellor. — “Do you not believe that the pope of Rome is the supreme head of the church, immediately under God in earth?”

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Elizabeth. — “No, sir. No man can be the head of Christ’s church; for Christ himself is the head and his word is the governor of all who are of that church, wherever they are scattered abroad.”

Chancellor — “Do you not believe that the bishop of Rome can forgive you all your sins — heretical, detestable, and damnable — that you have done from your infancy to this day?”

Elizabeth. — “Sir, the bishop of Rome is a sinner as I am, and no man can forgive me my sins, but only he that is without sin, and that is Jesus Christ, who died for my sins.”

Chancellor. — “Have you not desired God to defend you from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities?”

Elizabeth. — “Yes, that I have. ‘

Chancellor. — “And are you not sorry for it?”

Elizabeth. — “No, sir, not at all.”

Chancellor — “Have you not said that the mass is wicked, and the sacrament of the altar is most abominable?”

Elizabeth. — “Yes, that I have.’

Chancellor. — “And are you not sorry for it?”

Elizabeth. — “No, sir.”

Chancellor. — “Are you not content to go to the church, and hear mass?”

Elizabeth. — “I will not go to the church, either to mass or matins, till I may hear it in a tongue that I can understand. For I will no longer be fed in a strange language.”

Chancellor. — “Did my lord send for you by name, and will you not go to mass?”

Elizabeth. — “No, sir, I will never go to mass till I understand it, by the leave of God.”

Chancellor. — “Understand it? Why, who the devil can make you understand Latin, you being so old?”

Suit was afterwards made by her friends for her, and she was liberated after giving sureties.

*Elizabeth Lawson.*

In the town of Bedfield, in the county of Suffolk an ancient godly matron was dwelling, named Elizabeth Lawson. about sixty years of age. This Elizabeth was apprehended as a heretic by the constables of the same town, named Robert Kitrich and Thomas Elas, in the year of our Lord 1556, because she would not go to church to hear mass, and receive the sacrament, and believe in it.

First, they laid her in a dungeon; after that she was carried to Norwich; and from there to Bury jail, where at last she was condemned to be burnt. In the meantime, Sir John Sylliard had her brought home to his house, he being high-sheriff that year. There she was harshly kept, and wrapped in irons, till at length, when they could by no means move her to recant, she was sent to prison again, with shameful revilings.

Thus she continued in prison for two years and three quarters. In the meantime, her son was burnt, and many more, for which she would often say: “Good Lord, what is the reason that I may not yet come to you with your children? Well, good Lord, your blessed will be done, and not mine.”

Bk. XII. Persecutions in the 5th year of Queen Mary

Not long after this followed the death of queen Mary, after whom succeeded our present queen. At that time, this Elizabeth Lawson still remained in Bury prison. At last she was bailed upon sureties, or else she could not be delivered. For being a condemned person, neither the temporal, nor the spiritual authority, would discharge her without sureties.

*William Wood, of Kent.*

The examination of William Wood, in the parish of Stroud, in Kent, before Doctor Kenall, chancellor of the diocese of Rochester, Doctor Chedsey the mayor of Rochester, and Master Robinson the scribe, the 19th of October, in the second year of queen Mary, in St. Nicholas church in Rochester — written by himself.

Robinson. — “You are presented, because you will not come to the church, nor receive the blessed sacrament of the altar. What do you say? Have you received it, or have you not?”

Wood. — “I have not received it, nor dare I receive it, as you now minister it.”

Kenall. — “You heretic, what is the reason that you have not received the blessed sacrament of the altar?”

And at this they all put off their caps and made low obeisance.

[984]

Wood. — “There are three reasons that make my conscience afraid, so that I dare not receive it. The first is, Christ delivered it to his twelve apostles and said, Take, eat, and drink you all of this, etc., and you eat and drink it up all alone. The second reason is, you command it to be worshipped, contrary to God’s commandment, ‘You shall not bow down nor worship.’ The third reason is, you minister it in a strange tongue, contrary to St. Paul’s doctrine, ‘I would rather speak five words with understanding, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue;’ by which the people are ignorant of the death of Christ.”

Kenall. — “You heretic, will you have any plainer words than these, ‘Take, eat, this is my body?’ Will you deny the Scripture?”

Wood. — “I will not deny the holy Scriptures, God forbid; but with my heart I faithfully believe them. St. Paul says, God calls those things that are not, as though they were; and Christ says, ‘I am a vine; I am a door.’ St. Paul says, ‘The rock is Christ.’ All of these are figurative sayings, in which one thing is spoken, and another thing is understood.”

Robinson. — “You make a very long talk about this matter. Learn, Wood, *learn*.”

Kenall. — “No, these heretics will not learn. Look how this heretic glories in himself. You fool. Are you wiser than the queen and her council, and all the learned men of this realm?”

Wood. — “I think you would be loath to have such glory, if your life and goods were taken away for it. Where you mock me, and say that I am wiser than the queen and her council, St. Paul says, ‘The wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. If any man among you seems to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise,’ — 1Cor 3.18- 19.”

Kenall. — “Do you not believe that after these words are spoken by a priest, ‘This is my body,’ there remains no more bread and wine, but the very flesh and blood of Christ, as he was born of the Virgin Mary, really and substantially, in quantity and quality as he hung upon the cross?”

Wood. — “I pray you, master chancellor, give me leave, for my instruction, to ask you one question, and I will answer you afterward.”

Kenall. — “If it is some wise question, I warrant you.”

Wood. — “God spoke to the prophet Ezekiel, saying, ‘You son of man, take a razor, and shave off the hair of your head and of your beard, and take one part and cast into the air; take the second part and put it into your lap; and take the third part and cast it into the fire. And this is Jerusalem.’ <sup>Eze 5.1-5</sup> I pray you, master chancellor, was this *hair* that the prophet cast into the fire, or was it *Jerusalem*?”

Kenall. — “It *signified* Jerusalem.”

Wood. — “Even so, this word of Christ, ‘This is my body,’ is not to be so understood, that Christ’s carnal, natural, and real body in quantity and quality, as it was born of the Virgin Mary, and as he was crucified upon the cross, is present or enclosed in the sacrament; but it *signifies* Christ’s body. As St. Paul says, ‘As often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you show the Lord’s death till he comes.’ 1Cor 11.26. What would the apostle mean by this phrase, ‘till he comes,’ if he were already here carnally, naturally, corporeally, and really, in the same quantity and quality as he was born of the Virgin Mary, and as he hung on the cross, as you say? But St. Paul says, ‘You show the Lord’s death *till he comes*.’ This proves that he is *not* here, as you would have us believe.”

Doctor Chedsey. — “I will prove that Christ is here present under the form of bread, but not in quantity and quality.”

Kenall said — “Yes, he is present here in quantity and quality.”

Chedsey. — “He is here present under a *form*, and not in quantity and quality.”

“Yes,” said Kenall.

“No,” said Chedsey.

“I will prove him here in quantity and quality,” said Kenall.

“I will prove the contrary,” said Chedsey,

These two doctors were so earnest in this matter, the one to affirm, the other to deny, contending and raging so sorely, one at the other, that they foamed at the mouth. One was ready to spit in the other’s face. So that in great fury and rage, the two doctors rose up from the judgment seat, and Doctor Kenall immediately departed out of the church in great rage and fury.

Wood. — “Behold, good people, they would have us believe that Christ is naturally, really, in quantity and quality, present in the sacrament, and yet they cannot tell themselves, nor agree between themselves how he is there.”

At these words the people made a great shout, and the mayor stood up and commanded the people to be quiet, and to keep silence. And the God who delivered St. Paul out of the hands of the high priests, by the contention that was between the Pharisees and Sadducees, even so delivered Wood at that time out of the mouths of the papists, by means of the contention of these two doctors. Blessed be the name of the Lord, who has promised to lay no more upon His own, than he will make them able to bear; and in the midst of temptation, he can make a way for His own to escape out of all dangers.

Many other similar examples of God's helping hand have been declared about his elect saints and children, in delivering them out of danger by wonderful and miraculous ways, some by one means, some by another.

***The Preservation of Lady Elizabeth from Queen Mary***

*The Preservation of the Lady Elizabeth, now Queen of England,  
from extreme Calamity and Danger of Life, in the time of Queen Mary.*

Whatever can be recited concerning the admirable working of God's hand in defending and delivering any person out of thralldom, never was there any example in which the Lord's mighty power has more admirably and blessedly shown itself, to the glory of his own name, to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the public felicity of this whole realm, than in the escape of our sovereign lady, now queen, then lady Elizabeth, in the time of queen Mary, her sister.

First here is to be noted, that queen Mary before she was crowned, would go nowhere that she did not have Elizabeth by the hand, and would send for her to dinner and supper. But after she was crowned, she never dined nor supped with her, but kept her aloof from her. After this, upon the rising of Sir Thomas Wyatt, as mentioned before (p. 688), the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney were charged with false suspicion. Whereupon queen Mary, whether for that surmise, or for what other cause I do not know, being offended with the lady Elizabeth, at that time living in her house at Ashbridge, sent to her three of her counsellors, to wit: Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, with their retinue and troop of two hundred and fifty horsemen. At their sudden and unprovided coming, they found her sick in bed, and very feeble and weak of body. When they came, ascending to her grace's chamber, they desired one of her ladies to declare to her grace, that persons had come from the court, who had a message from the queen.

Her grace was right glad of their coming. However, being very sick, and the night far spent, she requested them by the messenger, that they would return there in the morning. To this they answered that they must see her, in whatever state she was in. The lady in waiting being alarmed, went to show her grace their words, but hastily following her, they came rushing into her grace's chamber unbidden.

At their coming so suddenly into her bed-chamber, her grace being not a little amazed, said to them, "Is the haste such that it might not have pleased you to come tomorrow in the morning?"

They answered that they were sorry to see her in that case. "And I (she said) am not glad to see you here at this time of the night." They answered that they came from the queen to do their message and duty, which was to this effect: that the queen's pleasure was that she should be at London, the 7th of the present month. She said, "No creature is more glad than I to come to her majesty, being sorry that I am not in a state at this time to wait on her, as you yourselves see, and can testify."

[985] A.D. 1558.

"Indeed we see it true," (they said), "what you say; for which we are very sorry. But we let you understand that our commission is such that we must bring you with us, either alive or dead." She being amazed, sorrowfully said that their commission was very sore; yet she hoped it to be otherwise, and not so peremptory. "Yes, truly," they said. Whereupon, calling for two physicians. Doctor Owen and Doctor Wendy, they demanded of them whether she might be removed from there with life, or not. Their answer and judgment was that there

was no impediment in their judgment to the contrary, but that she might travel without danger of life.

In conclusion, they required her to prepare for the next morning at nine o'clock, to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the queen's litter for her. After much talk, the messengers declared that there was no prolonging of times and days. They departed to their chamber, being entertained and cheered, as pertained to their worships.

The next morrow at the time prescribed, they had her come as she was, very faint and feeble, and in such a case that she was ready to swoon three or four times between them. What should I say here, what cannot well be expressed, what a heavy house there was to behold the irreverent dealing of these men, but especially the bodily fear and captivity of their innocent lady and mistress.

Now to proceed in her journey from Ashbridge, all sick in the litter. She came to Redborne, where she was guarded all night. From there to St. Albans, to Sir Ralph Rowlet's house, where she tarried that night, both feeble in body and comfortless in mind. From that place they passed to Master Dod's house, at Mymys, where they also remained that night. And so from there she came to Highgate, where being very sick, she tarried that night and the next day. During this time of her abode, many pursuivants and messengers came from the court; but for what purpose I cannot tell.

From that place she was conveyed to the court, where many gentlemen came by the way to meet her, to accompany her highness, who were very sorry to see her in that state. But especially there was a great multitude of people standing by the way, who then flocked about her litter, greatly lamenting and bewailing her state. Now when she came to the court, her grace was straightway shut up there, and kept a close prisoner a fortnight. This was till Palm-Sunday — seeing neither king nor queen, nor lord, nor friend, all that time, except then lord chamberlain, Sir F. Gage, and the vice-chamberlain, who were attendant to the doors. About this time Sir William Sentlowe was called before the council. It was laid to his charge, that he knew of Wyatt's rebellion, which he firmly denied, protesting that he was a true man both to God and his prince, defying all traitors and rebels. But being strictly examined, in conclusion he was committed to the Tower.

The Friday before Palm-Sunday, the bishop of Winchester, with nineteen others of the council, came to her grace from the queen's majesty, and charged her with Wyatt's conspiracy. She utterly denied this, affirming that she was altogether guiltless. Not being content with this, they charged her grace with the business made by Sir Peter Carew, and the rest of the gentlemen of the west country. This she also utterly denied, clarifying her innocence in this.

In conclusion, after long debating these matters, they declared to her that it was the queen's will and pleasure that she should go to the Tower, while the matter was further tried and examined.

Being alarmed at this, she said that she trusted the queen's majesty would be a more gracious lady to her, and that her highness would not otherwise conceive of her, but that she was a loyal woman. She furthermore declared to the lords, that she was innocent in all those matters in which they had charged her, and she desired them, therefore, to request of the queen, her sister, that she being a loyal woman in thought, word and deed towards her majesty, she might not be committed to so notorious and doleful a place, protesting that she would request no favor at her hand, if she were to be proved to have consented to any such



kind of matter as they laid to her charge. Therefore, in brief, she desired their lordships to think of her what she was, and that she might not be so extremely dealt with for her truth.

The lords answered that “there was no remedy, for the queen’s majesty was fully determined that she should go to the Tower.” With this, the lords departed, their caps hanging over their eyes. Not long after, within an hour or a little more, four of the lords of the council came — the lord treasurer, the bishop of Winchester, the lord steward, and the earl of Sussex — along with the guard, who were guarding the chamber next to her. They secluded all her gentlemen and yeomen, ladies and gentlewomen, except for one gentleman usher, three gentlewomen, and two grooms of her chamber. There were appointed in their places, three other men of the queen’s, and three waiting women, to attend upon the lady Elizabeth, so that none of her own household would have access to her grace.

At this time there were a hundred northern soldiers in white coats, watching and guarding about the gardens all that night. A great fire was made in the midst of the hall, and a certain two lords were watching there also, with their band and company.

On the following Saturday, two lords of the council, one was the earl of Sussex, came and notified her grace that she must go to the Tower. The barge was prepared for her, and the tide was now ready, which tarries for nobody. In a heavy mood, her grace requested of the lords that she might tarry another tide, trusting that the next would be better, and more comfortable. But one of the lords replied that neither time nor tide was to be delayed.

And when her grace requested him that she might be allowed to write to the queen’s majesty, he answered that he dared not permit that, adding, that in his judgment it would hurt rather than profit her grace in doing so.

But the other lord, more courteous and favorable (who was the earl of Sussex) kneeling down, told her grace that she would have liberty to write, and as he was a loyal man, he would deliver it to the queen’s highness, and bring an answer to it, whatever came of it. Whereupon she wrote; but she could in no case be allowed to speak with the queen — to the lady Elizabeth’s great discomfort, being no offender against the queen’s majesty.

And thus the time and tide passed away for that season, and they secretly appointed all things ready, so that she might go with the next tide, which fell about midnight. But for fear she might be taken by the way, they dared not depart. So they remained till the next day, being Palm-Sunday.<sup>691</sup> About nine o’clock these two returned again, declaring that it was time for her grace to depart. She answered, “if there is no remedy, I must be contented,” and she desired the lords to go on before her. Having come into the garden, she cast her eyes towards the window, thinking to have seen the queen, which she could not. She said, “she marvelled much about what the nobility of the realm meant, who would allow her to be led into captivity in that way, the Lord knew to where, for she did not.” In the meantime, a commandment was given in all London, that everyone should keep to the church, and carry their palms, so that she might be conveyed to the Tower in the meantime without any concourse of people.

After all this, she took her barge with the two lords, three of the queen’s gentlewomen, and three of her own — her gentleman usher, and two of her grooms. They were lying and hovering on the water a certain time, for they could not shoot the bridge. The bargemen were very unwilling to shoot through it as soon as they did, because of the danger of it. For

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<sup>691</sup> [Palm Sunday in the year 1558 fell on March 25th.](#)

the stern of the boat struck upon the ground, the fall was so great, and the water was so shallow, that being under the bridge, the boat stayed there a while.

[986]

At landing she first stopped and refused to land at those stairs where all traitors and offenders customarily used to land. Nor well could she, unless she were to go over her shoes. The lords had gone out of the boat before, and asked why she did not come. One of the lords went back to her, and brought word that she would not come.

Then one of the lords said that she should not refuse; and because it rained, he offered her his cloak, which she refused. So coming out, having one foot on the stair, she said, "Here lands as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs. And before you, O God, I speak it, having no other friends but you alone."

The same lord answered again, "If it were so, it was the better for her." At her landing there was a great multitude of their servants and warders standing in their order. "What needed all this?" she asked. It is the usual, said some, to be so when any prisoner came there. "And if it is for my cause," she said, "I beseech you that they may be dismissed." At this, the poor men kneeled down, and with one voice desired God to preserve her grace. The next day they were released from their cold coats.

After this, passing a little further on, she sat down on a cold stone, and rested herself there. The lieutenant then present, said to her, "Madam, you would do best to come out of the rain, for you sit unwholesomely." She then replied, "It is better sitting here, than in a worse place; for God knows, I do not know where you will bring me." With that, her gentleman usher wept. She demanded from him what he meant to so uncomfortably use her, seeing that she took him to be her comfort, and not to dismay her, especially for she knew the truth to be such that no man should have cause to weep for her. But she went forth into prison.

The doors were locked and bolted upon her, which did not a little discomfort and dismay her grace. At that time she called to her gentlewoman for her book, desiring God not to allow her to build her foundation upon the sands, but upon the rocks, by which all storms might have no power against her. The doors being thus locked, and she close shut up, the lords had great conference how to keep guard and watch, every man declaring his own opinion in that behalf, agreeing to keep her straitly and circumspectly.

Then the lord of Sussex, swearing, said, "My lords, let us take heed, and do no more than our commission will bear us out in, whatever happens hereafter. And further, let us consider that she was the king our master's daughter. And therefore, let us use such dealing, that we may answer for it hereafter, if it so happens; for dealing justly is always answerable." To this the other lords agreed that it was well said by him, and thereupon departed. Being in the tower, within two days commandment was brought that she should have mass within her house. One Master Young was then her chaplain. And because there was none of her men who was so well learned to help the priest say the mass, it was stopped for that day.

The next day two of her yeomen, who had long gone to school before, and were learned, had two ABC's provided,<sup>692</sup> and delivered them, so that they might help the priest with the ABC's. One of the yeomen, holding the ABC in his hand, pretending ignorance at *Kyrie eleison*,<sup>693</sup> set up the priest, making as though he could answer no further.

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<sup>692</sup> ABC: the three-year cycle of Scripture readings used in the liturgy at Sunday mass (A, B, and C cycles).

<sup>693</sup> *Kyrie eleison*: a transliterated Greek phrase, said or sung in Christian services, meaning "Lord, have mercy."

It would make a pitiful and a strange history, here by the way, to touch and recite what examination and rackings of poor men there were to discover that knife that would cut her throat — what gaping among my lords of the clergy, to see the day in which they might wash their goodly white rochets in her innocent blood; but especially the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, then lord-chancellor, ruler of the roast, who came to her within five days, with many other of the council, and examined her about the talk that was at Ashridge, between her and Sir James Acroft, concerning her removing from there to Dunnington castle, requiring her to declare what she meant by it.

At first, being so suddenly asked, she did not well remember any such house. But in a while, well-advising herself, she said, “Indeed, I do remember now that I have such a place, but I was never in it in all my life. As for anyone who has recommended it to me, I do not remember.”

Then to force the matter, they brought out Sir James Acroft. The bishop of Winchester demanded of her what she said to that man. She answered that she had little to say to him, or to the rest who were then prisoners in the tower. “But, my lords,” she said, “you examine every mean prisoner about me, in which I think you do me great injury. If they have done evil, and offended the queen’s majesty, let them answer to it accordingly. I beseech you, my lords, do not join me in this sort with any of these offenders. And concerning my going to Dunnington castle, I do remember that bastard Hobby and my officers, and you Sir James Acroft, had such talk. But what is that to the purpose, my lords, except that I may go to my own houses at all times.”

The lord of Arundel kneeling down, said, “Your grace says true, and certainly we are very sorry that we have so troubled you about such vain matters.” She then said, “My lords, you sift me very narrowly; but I am well assured, you will not do more to me than God has appointed, and so God forgive you all.”

At their departure Sir James Acroft kneeled down, declaring that he was sorry to see the day in which he would be brought as a witness against her grace. “But I assure your grace,” he said, “I have been marvellously tossed and examined touching your highness, which the Lord knows is very strange to me. For I take God to record, before all your honors, I do not know anything of that crime that you have laid to my charge, and will take my death upon that, if I should be driven to so strict a trial.”

That day, some of her own officers, who had made provision for her diet, brought it to the outer gate of the tower, the common soldiers receiving it. This was no small grief to the gentlemen. Therefore they requested to speak with the lord chamberlain, who was then constable of the tower. Coming before his presence, they declared to his lordship, that they were much afraid to bring her grace’s diet, and to deliver it to such persons as those were who received it, beseeching his honor to consider her grace, and to give such an order that her meals might at all times be brought in by those who were appointed to it. “Yes, sirs,” he said, “and who appointed *you* this office?” They answered, “her grace’s council.” “Council;” he said, “There is none of them who has to do either in that case, or anything else within this place. And I assure you, that as she is a prisoner, she will be served by the lieutenant’s men, as the other prisoners are.” At this, the gentlemen said “that they trusted for more favor at his hands, considering her personage. And that they did not mistrust but that the queen and her council would be better to her grace than to do so.” And with that, they showed themselves to be offended at the ungrateful words of the lord chamberlain towards their lady and mistress.

At this he swore by God, striking himself upon his breast, that if they either frowned or shrugged at him, he would put them where they would see neither sun nor moon. Thus taking their leave, they desired God to bring him into a better mind toward her grace, and departed from him.

Upon the occasion of this, her grace's officers made great suit to the queen's council, that some might be appointed to bring her diet to her, and that it might no longer be delivered to the common soldiers of the tower. This being reasonably considered, it was granted by them. One of her gentlemen, the clerk of her kitchen, and her two purveyors there, were appointed to bring in her provision once a day. All of which being done, the warders ever waited upon those who brought them.

The lord chamberlain himself always being with them, circumspectly and narrowly watched and searched what they brought, and gave heed that they should have no talk with any of her grace's waiting servants; and so he guarded them both in and out.

[987] A.D. 1558.

In this way, having remained a whole month in close prison, and being very ill at ease, the lady Elizabeth sent for the lord chamberlain and Lord Chandos, to come and speak with her. She requested them, "that she might have liberty to walk in some place, for she felt unwell." They answered, "that they were sorry that they could not satisfy her grace's request, for they had received a commandment to the contrary, which they dared not break in any way." Furthermore, she desired of them, "if that could not be granted, that she might only walk into the queen's lodging." They answered, "No; not even that could by any means be obtained without a further suit to the queen and her council." "Well," she said, "my lords, if the matter is so hard, that they must be sued for so small a thing, and that friendship is so strict, God comfort me." And so they departed. She still remained in her old dungeon, without any kind of comfort, except God.

The next day, the Lord Chandos came again to her grace, declaring that he had sued to the council for further liberty. Some of them consented, but others dissented because there were so many prisoners in the tower. But in conclusion, they all agreed that her grace might walk into those lodgings, on condition that he and the lord chamberlain, and three of the queen's gentlewomen accompanied her, that the windows be shut, and she not be allowed to look out from any of them. She contented herself with this, and gave him thanks for his good will in that behalf.

Afterwards liberty was granted to her grace to walk in a little garden, the doors and gates being shut up — which notwithstanding, was as much discomfort to her, as the walk in the garden was pleasant and acceptable. At the times of her walking there, the prisoners on that side were strictly commanded not to speak or look out the windows into the garden, till her grace had gone out again. Thus her grace, with this small liberty, contented herself in God, to whom be praise for this.

During this time, a little boy, a man's child kept in the tower, was accustomed to resort to their chambers, and many times to bring her grace flowers, which he likewise did to the other prisoners who were there. Whereupon naughty and suspicious heads, thinking to make and wring out some matter from this, one time called the child to them, promising him figs and apples, and asked him when he had been with the earl of Devonshire, not ignorant of the child's usual frequenting to him. The boy answered that he would go there by and by. They further demanded of him, when he was with the lady Elizabeth's grace. He answered, every day. Furthermore, they examined him as to the lord of Devonshire, sent by

him to her grace. The child said, I will go and know what he will give me to carry to her. Such was the discretion of the child, being but four years of age. "This is a crafty boy," said the lord chamberlain. "What do you say, my lord Chandos?" "I pray you, my lord," said the boy, "give me the figs you promised me." "No," he said, "You will be whipped if you come to the lady Elizabeth any more, or to the lord Courtney." The boy answered, "I will bring my lady, my mistress, more flowers." Whereupon the child's father was commanded to permit the boy to come up into their chambers no more.

The next day, as her grace was walking in the garden, the child peeping in at a hole in the door, cried out to her, saying; "Mistress, I can bring you no more flowers." At which she smiled, but said nothing, understanding what they had done.

The 5th of May, the constable of the tower was discharged from his office, and one Sir Henry Benifield<sup>694</sup> was placed in his stead, a man unknown to her grace, and therefore the more feared. So sudden a charge was no little amazement to her. He brought with him a hundred soldiers in blue coats, by which she was marvellously discomfited. She demanded of those who were about her, whether the lady Jane Grey's scaffold was taken away or not? An answer was given that the scaffold was taken away, and that her grace need not doubt any such tyranny; for God would not allow any such treason against her person. Being content with this, but not altogether satisfied, she asked what Sir Henry Benifield was about, and whether he was of that conscience or not, that if her murdering were secretly committed to his charge, he would see to the execution of it.

She was answered, that they were ignorant what manner of man he was. However they persuaded her that God would not allow such wickedness to proceed. "Well," she said, "God grant it be so. For you, O God, can mollify all such tyrannous hearts, and disappoint all such cruel purposes; and I beseech You to hear me, your creature, who am your servant and at your commandment, trusting by your grace to ever remain so."

On Trinity Sunday, the 19th of May, she was removed from the tower, to Woodstock, where she was enclosed. Every day sixty soldiers guarded and warded both within and without the walls; and there were forty soldiers in the night outside the walls, during the time of her imprisonment there.

At length she had gardens appointed for her walk, which was very comfortable to her grace. But always when she recreated herself in them, the doors were fast locked up, in as strict a manner as they were in the tower, with at least five or six locks between her lodging and her walks. Sir Henry himself kept the keys, and trusted no man with them. Whereupon she called him her "jailer." Kneeling down, he desired her grace not to call him so, for he was appointed there to be one of her officers. "From such officers," she said, "good Lord deliver me."

After her grace had been there a time, she made suit to the council that she might be allowed to write to the queen. This was at last permitted. So Sir Henry Benifield brought her pen, ink, and paper. Standing by her while she wrote (which he straitly observed) when she was weary, he would carry away her letters, and bring them back when she called for them.

About this time, her grace was requested by a secret friend, to submit herself to the queen's majesty. She answered that she would never submit herself to those whom she never

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<sup>694</sup> That is, Sir Henry Bedingfeld (1505–1583), also spelled Bedingfield, of Oxburgh Hall, King's Lynn, Norfolk, was a Privy Councillor to King Edward VI and Queen Mary I, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and (in 1557) Vice-Chamberlain of the Household and Captain of the guards. With Henry Jerningham he was among the principals who rallied to Mary's cause following the death of Edward VI in 1553 and helped to set her on the throne (see p. 706).

offended. “For,” she said, “if I have offended and am guilty, then I crave no mercy, but the law, which I am certain I would have had before this, if it could be proved against me. For I know myself to be out of danger of it, wishing that I were as clear out of the peril of my enemies. And then I am assured I would not so be locked and bolted up within walls and doors as I am. God give them a better mind when it pleases Him.”

Thus this worthy lady, oppressed with continual sorrow, was not permitted to have recourse to any friends that she had, but remaining in the hands of her enemies, she was left desolate and utterly destitute of all that might refresh a sorrowful heart, fraught full of terror and thralldom. No wonder that at one time, from her garden at Woodstock, hearing a milk-maid singing pleasantly, she wished herself to be a milk-maid as she was, saying that this maid’s case was better, and her life happier than hers.

After these things, she was to be removed to Hampton Court. Sir Henry Benifield and his soldiers, with the lord of Tame, and Sir Ralph Chamberlane, were guarding and waiting upon her; the first night leaving from Woodstock she came to Ricot. In this journey such a mighty wind blew, that her servants were glad to hold down her clothes about her: insomuch that her hood was twice or three times blown from her head. Whereupon, desiring to return to a certain gentleman’s house near there, she was not allowed to do so by Sir Henry Benifield, but was constrained under a hedge to trim her head as well as she could.

After this, the next night they journeyed to Master Dormer’s, and so on to Colebrook, where she stopped all that night at the George. Coming to Colebrook, sixty of her grace’s gentlemen and yeomen met her by the way, much to all their comforts. They had not seen her grace for such a long season before. Notwithstanding, they were commanded in the queen’s name to immediately depart the town. This was no little heaviness both to them and to her grace, who was not allowed once to speak with them.

[988]

So that night all her men were taken from her, except her gentleman usher, three gentlewomen, two grooms, and one of her wardrobe. The soldiers were watching and guarding about the house, and she was close shut up within her prison.

The next day her grace entered Hampton Court, the doors being shut upon her. She was guarded with soldiers, as before, and was there a fortnight at least, before anyone had recourse to her. At length, the lord William Haward came, who treated her grace honorably. Stephen Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, also came and kneeled down, and requested that she would submit herself to the queen’s grace, and in so doing he had no doubt that her majesty would be good to her. She answered, “that rather than do so, she would lie in prison all the days of her life — adding that she craved no mercy at her majesty’s hand, but rather she desired the law, if she had ever offended her majesty in thought, word or deed. And besides this, in yielding I would speak against myself, and confess myself to be an offender, which I never was towards her majesty, by occasion of which the king and the queen might ever hereafter conceive an evil opinion of me. And therefore I say, my lords, it would be better for me to lie in prison for the truth, than to be abroad and suspected by my sovereign.” And so they departed, promising to declare her message to the queen.

On the next day, the bishop of Winchester came again to her grace, and kneeling down he declared that the queen marvelled that she would so stoutly use herself, not confessing that she had offended — so that it should seem that the queen’s majesty had wrongfully imprisoned her grace.

“No,” said the lady Elizabeth, “it may please her to punish me as she thinks good.”

“Well,” said Gardiner, “her majesty desires me to tell you, that you must tell another tale before you are set at liberty.”

Her grace answered, “that she would as soon be in prison with honesty and truth, as to be abroad, suspected by her majesty. And this that I have said, I will stand to, for I will never belie myself.”

A week after, the queen sent for her grace, at ten o'clock at night, to speak with her. For she had not seen her for two years before. Yet for all that, she was amazed at the sudden sending for her. And thinking it had been worse than afterwards it proved to be, she desired her gentlemen and gentlewomen to pray for her, because she could not tell whether she would ever see them again or not.

When she was conducted to the queen's bed-chamber where her majesty was, her grace kneeled down, and desired God to preserve her majesty, not mistrusting that she would prove herself as true a subject towards her majesty, as ever anyone did, and desired her majesty even to so judge of her. And she said that her majesty would not find her to the contrary, whatever report had otherwise gone of her.

The queen answered, “You will not confess your offense, but stand stoutly to your truth; I pray God it may so fall out.”

“If it does not,” said the lady Elizabeth, “I request neither favor nor pardon at your majesty's hands.” “Well,” said the queen, “you still persevere in your truth; probably you will not confess but that you have been wrongfully punished.”

“I must not say so to you (if it please your majesty).”

“Why then,” said the queen, “perhaps you will to others.”

“No, if it please your majesty, I have borne the burden and must bear it. I humbly beseech your majesty to have a good opinion of me, and to think me to be your true subject, not only from the beginning, but for ever, as long as life lasts.” And so they departed with very few comfortable words from the queen, in English. But what she said in Spanish, God knows. It is thought that king Philip was there behind a cloth, and not seen, and that he showed himself a friend in that matter, etc.

Thus her grace departing, she went to her lodging again, and that weekday she was released by Sir Henry Beniheld, her jailer as she termed him, and his soldiers. And so her grace being set at liberty from imprisonment, she went into the country. She had appointed Sir Thomas Pope to go with her, one of queen Mary's counsellors, and one of her gentlemen ushers, Master Gage. And thus narrowly was she looked to all of queen Mary's time. And this is the history of her highness's imprisonment.

### ***The Death of Queen Mary.***

But enough of this matter, and too much. Now let us return to where we left before, which was at the death of queen Mary. After her decease, her sister, lady Elizabeth, succeeded to the right of the crown of England. Mary being sick long before, on the 17th of November, at three or four o'clock in the morning, Mary yielded her life to nature, and her kingdom to queen Elizabeth, her sister.



## Bk. XII. Persecutions in the 5th year of Queen Mary

As regards the manner of her death, some say that she died of a tympany,<sup>695</sup> some (by her much sighing before her death) supposed she died of thought and sorrow. Her council seeing her sighing, and desirous to know the cause (to the end that they might minister the more ready consolation to her), feared, they said, that she took that thought for the king's majesty, her husband, who had gone from her. To them she replied, "Indeed that may be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pierces my oppressed mind." But what that was, she would not express to them.

Afterward she opened her mind more plainly to Master Rice and Mistress Clarentius, who then being most familiar with her, and most bold about her, told her that they feared she took thought about king Philip's departing from her.<sup>696</sup> "Not that only (she said), but when I am dead and opened, you will find Calais lying in my heart, etc." And here is an end of queen Mary and of her persecution.

This may be truly affirmed about this queen, and left in story for a perpetual memorial or epitaph for all kings and queens who succeed her — that before her, there was never read in history of any king or queen of England since the beginning of the kingdom, under whom, in time of peace, by hanging, beheading, burning, and prisoning, so much Christian blood, so many Englishmen's lives spilled within this realm, as under queen Mary for those four years, and I beseech the Lord, may it never be seen again.

When she first began to stand for the title of the crown, and had not yet wrought resistance against Christ and his gospel, but had promised her faith to the Suffolk men, to maintain the religion left by her brother, king Edward, so long God went with her, and by means of the gospellers, He brought her to the possession of the realm. But after that, breaking her promise with God and man, she began to take part with Stephen Gardiner, giving over her supremacy, to the pope. God's blessing left her, nor did anything thrive well with her afterward, during the whole time of her reign.

She would need to bring in king Philip, and by her strange marriage with him, make the whole realm of England subject to a stranger. And all that notwithstanding, she could not bring it to pass to set the crown of England upon his head. With king Philip, the pope and his popish mass also came in. With him, her purpose was to restore the monks and nuns to their places; nor was there a lack of all kinds of attempts to the utmost of her ability. And yet God stopped her from her will.

Furthermore, where other kings are usually renowned by some worthy victory and prowess achieved by them, let us now see what valiant victory was gotten in queen Mary's days. King Edward, her blessed brother, how many rebellions did he suppress in Devonshire, in Norfolk, in Oxfordshire, and elsewhere? What famous victory in his time was gotten in Scotland? King Edward the third, by princely power, obtained Calais for England, which had been kept by the English ever since — till at length queen Mary came, who lost Calais from England again. The affairs of queen Mary have had no great and good success.

[989] A.D. 1559.

Never was any woman more disappointed than queen Mary was in her hope of children, for which she was so desirous, and of which the nation was so often in expectation (from the

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<sup>695</sup> *Tympany*: A swelling or distension, especially of the abdomen.

<sup>696</sup> Philip II of Spain left Mary I of England in August 1554, shortly after their marriage, to return to the Netherlands and assume his father Charles V's responsibilities there. He never returned to England after that, despite Mary's emotional pleas and repeated hopes for his return.



accounts given out from the court). And yet, how was the whole realm deluded? And in the meanwhile, where were all the prayers, the solemn processions, the devout masses of the Catholic clergy? Why did they not prevail with God, if their religion was so goodly as they pretend? If their masses '*Ex opere operato*,'<sup>697</sup> are able to fetch Christ from heaven, and to reach down to purgatory, then how did it chance that they could not reach to the queen's chamber to help her in her travail, if she had been with child indeed? And if not, then how did it come to pass that the whole popish church of England so erred, and was so deeply deceived? Queen Mary, after all these manifold plagues and corrections, which might sufficiently admonish her of God's disfavor provoked against her, would still not cease her persecution. But it still continued more and more to revenge her popish zeal upon the Lord's faithful people, setting fire to their poor bodies by dozens and half dozens.

Whereupon God's wrathful indignation increasing more and more against her, did not cease to touch her more nearly with private misfortunes and calamities. For after He had taken from her the fruit of children (which she desired chiefly and above all things), He then bereft her of that which, of all earthly things, should have been her chief stay of honor, and staff of comfort — that is, He withdrew from her the affection and company even of her own husband, by whose marriage she had promised to herself before, whole heaps of such joy and felicity. But now the Omnipotent Governor of all things so turned the wheel of her own spinning against her, that all her high buildings of such joys and felicities resulted in a castle fallen down. Her hopes being confounded, her purposes disappointed, and now being brought to desolation, she seemed to have neither the favor of God, nor the hearts of her subjects, nor yet the love of her husband. She did not have children by him while she had him; neither could she now enjoy him whom she had married; nor yet was she at liberty to marry any other whom she might enjoy. Mark here (Christian reader) the woeful adversity of this queen, and learn with it what the Lord can do when man's willfulness is compelled to resist Him, and will not be ruled.

At last, all these admonitions had no place with the queen, nor did they move her to revoke her bloody laws, nor stay the tyranny of her priests, nor yet to spare her own subjects — but the poor servants of God were most pitifully drawn daily by heaps, like sheep to the slaughter. When no other remedy would serve, it so pleased the heavenly majesty of Almighty God to cut her off by death, who in her life so little regarded the life of others. He gave her throne, which she abused to the destruction of Christ's church and people, to another, who could more temperately and quietly guide the same, after Mary had reigned here for five years and five months. The shortness of these years and reign, we scarcely find equalled in any other king or queen since the Conquest, except in king Richard III (p. 367).

In closing up the story, I thought to insert this summary of the unlucky and rueful reign of queen Mary — not to detract from her place and royal state to which she was called by the Lord — but only to this intent and effect: that because she would set herself so confidently to work and strive against the Lord and his proceedings, all readers and rulers may not only see how the Lord therefore worked against her, but also be warned, and learn what a perilous thing it is for men and women in authority, upon blind zeal and opinion, to stir up persecution in Christ's church, to the effusion of Christian blood. Else in the end, it may prove with them (as it did here), that while they think to persecute heretics, they stumble at

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<sup>697</sup> *Ex opere operato*: Latin meaning "by the work worked." Roman Catholic belief that the sacraments confer grace in and of themselves when validly effected by the priest — not as the result of the recipient's faith alone.

the same stone as the Jews did in persecuting Christ and his true members to death, to their own confusion and destruction.

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***The Accession of Queen Elizabeth.***

And now to enter on the time and history of queen Elizabeth. In her advancement and her princely governance, it cannot be sufficiently expressed what felicity and blessed happiness this realm has received, in receiving her at the Lord's almighty and gracious hand. For though there have been many kings and rulers over this realm, I could never find in our English chronicles what may be written about our noble and worthy queen. Her coming in was not only so calm, so joyful, and so peaceable, without shedding any blood, but also her reign up to now (reigning more than twenty-four years <sup>698</sup>) has been so quiet, that as yet (the Lord have all the glory) to this present day, her sword is spotted and polluted with no drop of blood.

I let pass the coronation of our most noble and Christian princess, which was the 15th of January 1559. Also I passed over the triumphant passage and honorable entertainment of our most dread sovereign through the city of London, with such celebrity, prayers, wishes, welcomings, cries, tender words, pageants, interludes, declamations and verses, as the like has not commonly been seen, arguing and declaring a wonderful earnest affection of loving hearts toward their sovereign. Letting these pass, I say, with many other things, we will now begin with the conference at Westminster between the popish bishops, and the learned men who had been exiled to Germany in the days of Mary.

*The Conference at Westminster, the last day of March, on certain Questions  
or Articles of Religion proposed, and the breaking up of the same,  
by the Papists' defaults, at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth.*

So it pleased the queen's most excellent majesty, having heard of the diversity of opinions in certain matters of religion, among sundry of her loving subjects, and being very desirous to have these reduced to some godly and Christian concord (by the advice of the lords and others of the privy council, for the satisfaction of doubtful persons, as well as for the knowledge of the very truth in certain matters of difference) to have a convenient chosen number of the best learned of either part, to confer together about their opinions and reasons, and thereby to come to some good and charitable agreement. Hereupon, by her majesty's commandment, certain of her privy council declared this purpose to the archbishop of York (who was also one of the same privy council) and requested of him that he would impart the same to some of the bishops, and to choose eight, nine, or ten of them, and that there should be the same number named of the other part. And further, they declared to him (it was then supposed) what the matter should be. As for the time, it was thought best to be as soon as possible, so that it might be agreed upon.

After a certain number of days had past, it was signified by the said archbishop, that there were appointed by those of the bishops to whom he had imparted this matter, nine persons; that is to say, five bishops and four doctors of each part. Their names are underwritten:

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<sup>698</sup> This is obviously from the 1583 edition by Foxe, which was his final edition.

*The Papists.*

Bishop of Winchester,  
Bishop of Lichfield,  
Bishop of Chester.  
Bishop of Carlisle,  
Bishop of Lincoln,  
Dr. Cole,  
Dr. Harpsfield,  
Dr. Langdale,  
Dr. Chedsey.

*The Protestants.*

Bishop of Chichester,  
Dr. Coxe,  
Mr. Whitehead,  
Mr. Grindall,  
Mr. Horne,  
Mr. D. Sands,  
Mr. Gest,  
Mr. Aelmer,  
Mr. Jewell.

They were content, at the queen majesty's command, to show their opinions, and as the said archbishop termed it, to render an account of their faith in those matters which were mentioned, and to do that especially in writing. Although he said they thought the same was so determined, that there was no cause to dispute them. The matter which they would talk upon, was comprehended in these three propositions specified hereunder.

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1. It is against the word of God, and the custom of the ancient church to use a tongue unknown to the people in common prayer, and the administration of the sacraments.
2. Every church has authority to appoint, take away, and change ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, so long as the same is to edification.
3. It cannot be proved by the word of God, that in the mass a propitiatory sacrifice is offered up for the quick and the dead.

It was hereupon fully resolved by the queen's majesty, with the aforesaid advice, that according to their desire, it should be in writing on both parts, to avoid much altercation in words; and that the bishops would, because they were superiors in degree of authority, first declare their minds and opinions on the matter, with their reasons in writing. And the other number, also being nine men of good degree in schools (and some having been in high office in the church of England), if they had anything to say to the contrary, should the same day declare their opinions in like manner. And so each of them would deliver their writings to the other, to consider what was to be improved in them. And the same would declare again in writing at some other convenient day, with the same order to be kept in all the rest of the matters. All of this was fully agreed upon with the archbishop of York, and it was also so signified to both parties.

Immediately upon this, many of the nobility and states of the realm, understanding that such a meeting and conference would be taking place, and that in certain matters, upon which some laws might be grounded (the court of parliament consequently following), they made earnest means to her majesty, that (1) the parties of this conference might put down and read their assertions in the English tongue, and (2) that it would be done in the presence of those of the nobility and others of her parliament house, to better satisfy and enable of their own judgments, to address and conclude about those laws which might depend upon them.

This also, being thought very reasonable, was signified to both parties, and so it was fully agreed upon. The day appointed for the first meeting was to be Friday, the last day of March

in the forenoon, at Westminster church. At this day and place, both for good order and for the honor of the conference, by the queen's commandment, the lords and others of the privy council were present, and a great part of the nobility also. Notwithstanding that this former order had been appointed and consented to by both parties, yet the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues alleged that they had mistaken that their assertions and reasons should be written. And so they only recited out of the book, saying their book was not then ready written, but they were ready to argue and dispute. And therefore they would for that time repeat in speech, that which they had to say to the first probation.

This variation from the former order, and especially from that which they themselves had before required by the archbishop in writing, adding to it the reason of the apostle, that to contend with words is profitable for nothing, except to the subversion of the hearer, seemed to the queen's council somewhat strange. And yet it was permitted without any great reprehension, because they excused themselves with mistaking the order, and agreed that they would not fail to put it in writing, and according to the former order, delivered it to the other part. And so the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues appointed doctor Cole, dean of St. Paul's, to be the utterer of their minds, partly by speech only, and partly by reading from written authorities. And at certain times, being informed by his colleagues what to say, he made a declaration of their meanings and their reasons to their first proposition.

This being ended, they were asked by the privy council if any of them had any more to be said, and they said, "No." So the other party was permitted to show their minds, which they did according to the first order, exhibiting all that which they meant to be propounded, in a written book which, after prayer and invocation made most humbly to Almighty God for enduing them with his Holy Spirit, and a protestation also to stand to the doctrine of the catholic church built upon the Scriptures, and the doctrine of the prophets and the apostles. This was distinctly read by one Robert Home, bachelor in divinity, late dean of Durham, and afterwards bishop of Winchester. The copy of their protestation follows here as it was penned and exhibited by him, also with their preface.

"Because it is thought good to the queen's most excellent majesty (to whom in the Lord all obedience is due) that we should declare our judgment in writing upon certain propositions; we, as it becomes us to do in this, most gladly obey.

"Seeing that Christ is our only master, whom the Father has commanded us to hear; and seeing also his word is the truth, from which it is not lawful for us to depart, no not one hair's breadth, and against which (as the apostle says) we can do nothing; we do in all things submit ourselves to this truth, and attest that we will affirm nothing against the same.

"And because we have for our mother, the true and catholic church of Christ, which is grounded upon the doctrine of the apostles and prophets, and is governed by Christ the head, in all things, we reverence her judgment; we obey her authority as becomes children; and we devoutly profess, and in all points follow the faith which is contained in the three creeds; that is to say, of the Apostles, of the Council of Nice, and of Athanasius.

"And seeing that we never departed either from the doctrine of God, which is contained in the holy canonical Scriptures, nor yet from the faith of the true and catholic church of Christ; but have preached truly the word of God, and have sincerely ministered the sacraments according to the institution of Christ, to which our doctrine and faith most of our adversaries also subscribed many years past (although now as unnatural, they have revolted from the same), we desire that they render account of their backsliding, and show some reason why they not only resist that doctrine which they have professed before, but also persecute the same by all means they can. We do not doubt that through the equity of the queen's most excellent

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majesty, we will be treated more gently in these disputations than in years late past, when we were handled most unjustly and scantily in the common manner of men. As for the judgment of the whole controversy, we refer to the most holy Scriptures, and the catholic church of Christ (whose judgment to us ought to be most sacred). Notwithstanding, by the *catholic* church we do not understand the Romish church, to which our adversaries attribute such reverence, but that which St. Augustine and other fathers affirm, ought to be sought in the holy Scriptures, and which is governed and led by the Spirit of Christ.

“It is against the word of God, and the custom of the primitive church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in common prayers and administration of the sacraments.

“By these words, ‘the word of God,’ we mean only the *written word of God*, or *canonical* Scriptures.

“And by the *custom of the primitive church*, we mean the order most generally used in the church for five hundred years after Christ, in which times the most notable fathers lived, such as Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Basel, Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, etc.

“This assertion above written, has two parts.

“First, that the use of a tongue not understood by the people, in common prayers of the church, or in the administration of the sacraments, is against God’s word.

“The second, that the same is against the use of the primitive church.

“THE FIRST PART is most manifestly proved by the 14th chapter of the epistle to the Corinthians, almost throughout the whole chapter. In this chapter St. Paul treats this matter purposely. And although some cavil that St. Paul does not speak of praying in that chapter, but of preaching, yet is it most evident to any impartial reader of understanding, and also appears by the exposition of the best writers, that he plainly speaks there not only of preaching and prophesying, but also of prayer and thanksgiving, and generally of all other public actions which require any speech in the church or congregation.

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“For of praying he says: I will pray with my spirit, and I will pray with my understanding; I will sing with my spirit, and I will sing with my understanding. And of thanksgiving (which is a kind of prayer) ‘you give thanks well, but the other is not edified.’ And ‘how will he who occupies the place of the unlearned, say Amen to your thanksgiving, when he does not understand what you say?’ And in the end, descending from particulars to a general proposition, concludes that ‘all things ought to be done to edification.’ This much is clear by the very words of St. Paul; and the ancient doctors Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and others, so understand this chapter, as it appears by their testimonies, which will follow afterwards.

“Upon this chapter of St. Paul, we gather the following reasons or arguments.

1. “All things done in the church or congregation, ought to be so done that they may edify the same.

“But the use of an unknown tongue in public prayer or administration of sacraments, does not edify the congregation.

“*Therefore* the use of an unknown tongue, in public prayer or administration of sacraments, is not to be had in the church.

“The first part of this reason is grounded upon St. Paul’s words, commanding all things to be done to edification.

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“The second part is also proved by St. Paul’s plain words. First, by this similitude. ‘If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who will prepare himself for the battle; so likewise you, except you utter by the tongue words easily understood, how will it be known what is spoken, for you will speak into the air.’ 1Cor 14.8-9. That is to say, in vain, and consequently without edifying.

“And afterwards in the same chapter he says, ‘how will he who occupies the place of the unlearned, say amen, at your giving of thanks, seeing that he does not understand what you say? For you truly give thanks well, but the other is not edified.’ 1Cor 14.16-17.

“These are St. Paul’s words, plainly proving that a tongue not understood, does not edify. And therefore, both parts of the reason being thus proved by St. Paul, the conclusion follows necessarily.

2. “Nothing is to be spoken in the congregation in an unknown tongue, unless it is interpreted to the people, so that it may be understood. For, Paul says, ‘if there is no interpreter (for whoever speaks in an unknown tongue), let him keep silence in the church.’ And therefore the common prayers and administration of sacraments, that are neither done in a known tongue, nor interpreted, are against the commandment of Paul, and are not to be used.

3. “The minister in prayer or in the administration of sacraments, using a language not understood by the hearers, is barbarous and an alien to them, which is accounted a great absurdity by St. Paul.

4. “It is not to be counted a Christian common prayer, where the people present do not declare their assent to it by saying Amen, in which is implied all other words of assent.

“But St. Paul affirms that the people cannot declare their assent in saying Amen, unless they understand what is said, as stated before.

“*Therefore* it is no Christian common prayer, where the people do not understand what is said.

5. “St. Paul would not in his time, allow a strange tongue to be heard in the common prayer in the church, notwithstanding that such speech was then a miracle, and a singular gift of the Holy Spirit, whereby infidels might be persuaded and brought to the faith; much less is it to be allowed now among Christian and faithful men, especially being no miracle or special gift of the Holy Spirit.

6. “Some will perhaps answer that to use any kind of tongue in common prayer or in the administration of sacraments, is an indifferent thing.

“But St. Paul says the contrary. For he commands all things to be done for edification; he commands to keep silence if there is no interpreter; and in the end of the chapter, he concludes this: ‘If any man thinks himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write to you are the commandments of the Lord.’ And so shortly to conclude, the use of a strange tongue in prayer and administration is against the word and commandment of God.

“To these reasons, grounded upon St. Paul’s words, which are the most firm foundation of this assertion, diverse other reasons may be joined, gathered out of the Scriptures and otherwise.

7. “In the Old Testament, all things pertaining to the public prayer, benedictions, thanksgivings, or sacrifices, were always in their vulgar and natural tongue. In the 2d Book of Chronicles, chap. 29, it is written that Hezekiah commanded the Levites to praise God with the Psalms of David, and of Asaph the prophet, which doubtless were written in Hebrew, their vulgar tongue. If they did so in the shadows of the law, then much more should we do the same, who (as Christ says) must pray in spirit and in truth.

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8. “The final end of our prayer (as David says) is that the people may tell the name of God in Sion, and his praises in Jerusalem.

“But the name and praises of God cannot be set forth to the people, unless it is done in such a tongue as they may understand; therefore common prayer must be had in the vulgar tongue.

9. “The definition of public prayer out of the words of St. Paul, is ‘I will pray with the spirit, I will pray with the understanding also;’ common prayer is to lift up our common desires to God with our minds, and to testify the same outwardly with our tongues.

10. “The administration of the Lord’s supper and baptism are, as it were, sermons of the death and resurrection of Christ.

“But sermons to the people must be given in such language as the people may perceive; otherwise they would be given in vain.

11. “It is not lawful for a Christian man to abuse the gifts of God; but whoever prays in the church in a strange tongue, abuses the gifts of God. For the tongue serves only to express the mind of the speaker to the hearer.

“The heathen and barbarous nations of all countries and sorts of men, however wild they were, evermore made their prayers and sacrifices to their gods in their own mother tongue. This is a manifest declaration that it is the very light and voice of nature.

“Thus much upon the ground of St. Paul and other reasons out of the Scriptures, joining with it the common usage of all nations, as a testimony of the law of nature.

“Now for THE SECOND PART of the assertion, which is, that the use of a strange tongue in public prayer and in the administration of sacraments, is against the custom of *the primitive church*. It is a matter so clear, that the denial of it must proceed either from great ignorance, or else from willful malice.

“For first of all Justin Martyr, describing the order of the communion in his time, says, ‘on the Sunday, assemblies are made both of the citizens and country people, at which the writings of the apostles and the prophets are read, as much as possible. Afterwards, when the reader ceases, the head minister makes an exhortation, exhorting them to follow these honest things. After this, we rise altogether and offer prayers. These being ended (as we have said) bread and water are brought out. Then the head minister offers prayers and thanksgivings, as much as he can, and the people answer Amen.’

“These words of Justin, who lived about one hundred and sixty years after Christ, declare plainly, that not only the Scriptures were read, but also that the prayers and the administration of the Lord’s Supper were done in an understood tongue.

“The liturgies both of Basel and Chrysostom declare that in the celebration of the communion, the people were appointed to answer to the prayer of the minister, sometimes ‘Amen,’ sometimes, ‘Lord have mercy upon us,’ sometimes, ‘and with your spirit,’ and, ‘we lift up our hearts to the Lord,’ etc. They could not have made these answers if the prayer had not been made in an understood tongue.

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“And for further proof, let us hear what Basil writes in this matter to the clerics of Neo-Caesarea. ‘As regards what is laid to our charge in psalmodies and songs, with which our slanderers fray the simple, I have this to say: that our customs and usages in all churches are uniform and agreeable. For in the night, the people arise with us, go to the house of prayer, and in travail, tribulation, and continual tears, they confess themselves to God. And at last, rising again, they go to their songs or psalmody, where being divided into two parts, they

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sing by course together, both deeply weighing and confirming the matter of the heavenly sayings, and also stirring up their attention and devotion of heart, which by other means are alienated and plucked away. Then appointing one to begin the song, the rest follow, and so with diverse songs and prayers, they pass over the night. At the dawning of the day, all together, even as it were with one mouth and one heart, they sing to the Lord a song of confession, every man framing to himself fitting words of repentance.’

“If you will flee from us from now on for these things, you must also flee both the Egyptians and the Libyans. You must eschew the Thebans, Palestines, Arabians, the Phoenicians, the Syrians, and those who dwell beside the Euphrates — and to be short, all those with whom watchings, prayers, and common singing of psalms are held in honor.”

The following is the testimony of St. Ambrose, written upon the 14th chapter of the 1st epistle to the Corinthians, upon these words: “If you bless or give thanks with the spirit, how will he who occupies the place of the unlearned, say Amen at your giving of thanks, seeing that he does not understand what you say?”

“That is,” says Ambrose, “if you speak the praise of God in a tongue unknown to the hearers. For the unlearned hearing that which he does not understand, does not know the end of the prayer, and he does not answer, Amen. That is as much as to say, “it is true,” that the blessing or thanksgiving may be confirmed. For the confirmation of the prayer is fulfilled by those who answer, Amen — so that all things spoken might be confirmed in the minds of the hearers, through the testimony of the truth.”

“Afterward upon these words, he says, “If one who does not believe or is unlearned, for when he understands, and is understood, hearing God to be praised and Christ to be worshipped, he sees perfectly that the religion is true, and to be revered, in which he sees nothing is to be done colorably, nothing in darkness, as it is among the heathen, whose eyes are covered, so that they do not see the things which they call holy, might perceive themselves to be deluded with many vanities. For all falsehood seeks darkness, and shows false things for true. Therefore with us nothing is done secretly, nothing covertly, but one God is simply praised, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus, by whom are all things. For if there is none who can understand, or by whom he may be tried, he may say there is some deceit and vanity which is therefore sung in tongues (that are not understood) because it is a shame to open it.”

“Then there are the testimonies out of St. Jerome, upon that place of Paul, ‘Whoever occupies the place of the unlearned, etc.’

“It is the layman,” he says, “whom Paul understands here to be in the place of the ignorant man, who has no ecclesiastical office. How will he answer Amen to the prayer that he does not understand?”

“And again Jerome says: — “This is Paul’s meaning: If any man speaks in strange and unknown tongues, his mind is not without fruit and profit to himself, but whoever hears him is not profited.”

“And in the end of his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians, he says this:

“That Amen signifies the consent of the hearer, and it is the sealing up of the truth. Paul in the first epistle to the Corinthians teaches, saying. ‘But if you bless in spirit, who stands in the place of the ignorant, how will he answer Amen at your prayer, seeing that he does not know what you say?’ By this he declares that the unlearned man cannot answer that what is spoken is true, unless he understands what is said.”

“And again Chrysostom says.



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“In prayers you may see the people offer largely, both for the possessed and the penitents. For the priests and the people pray together commonly, and all in one prayer, a prayer full of mercy and pity. And excluding out of the priest’s limits all those who cannot be partakers of the holy table, another prayer must be made, and all in one way prostrate themselves upon the earth, and all again in one way rise up together. Now, when ‘the peace’ is given, we all in like manner salute one another, and the priest in the reverend mysteries wishes well to the people, and the people to him. For ‘and with your spirit,’ is nothing else but this. All things that belong to the sacrament of thanksgiving, are common to all. But he does not give thanks alone, but all the people with him.”

“Hereby it may appear that the priest did not communicate alone, nor did he pray alone, nor did he have any peculiar prayer, but such as was common to them all, such as they all understood, and all were able to say it with the priest, which could not have been, if he had used a strange tongue in the ministration of the sacraments.

“Dionysius describing the manner of the ministration of the Lord’s supper, says that, ‘hymns were said by the whole multitude of the people.’

“Cyprian says, ‘The priest prepares the minds of the brethren, with a preface before the prayer saying, ‘Lift up your hearts.’ So that while the people answer, ‘We have our hearts lifted up to the Lord,’ they may be admonished that they ought to think of none other than of the Lord.’

“St. Augustine says: ‘We ought to understand what this should be, that we may sing with the reason of man, not with the chattering of birds. For owls, and jays, and ravens, and magpies, and other such birds, are taught by men to mimic what they do not know. But to sing with understanding, is given by God’s holy will to the nature of man.’

“The same Augustine also says, ‘No speech is needed when we pray, except perhaps as the priests do, to declare their meaning — not that God, but that *men* may hear them; and so, being put in remembrance by consenting with the priests, they may hang upon God.’

“To these testimonies of the ancient writers, we will join one constitution of Justinian the emperor, who lived 527 years after Christ:

‘We command that all bishops and priests celebrate the holy oblation, and the prayers used in holy baptism, not speaking low, but with a clear and audible voice, which may be heard by the people, so that thereby the minds of the hearers may be stirred up with greater devotion in uttering the praises of the Lord God. For so the holy apostle teaches in his first epistle to the Corinthians, saying, ‘Truly, if you only bless or give thanks in *spirit*, how does he who occupies the place of the unlearned say, Amen, at the giving of thanks unto God? For he does not understand what you say. You truly give thanks well, but the other is not edified.’ And again, in the epistle to the Romans, he says, ‘With the heart a man believes unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.’ Therefore for these causes it is convenient that among other prayers, those things also which are spoken in the holy oblation, are uttered and spoken by the most religious bishops and priests to our Lord Jesus Christ our God, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, with a loud voice. And let the most religious priests know this: that if they neglect any of these things, neither the dreadful judgment of the great God and our Savior Jesus Christ, nor will we when we know it, rest and leave it unrevenged.’

“Out of the constitution of Justinian the emperor, three things are worthy to be noted.

“First, That the common prayer and ministration be done with a loud voice, so that it may be heard and understood by the people, is a means to stir up devotion in the people, contrary to

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the common assertion of Eckius<sup>699</sup> and other adversaries, who affirm that ignorance makes a great admiration and devotion.

[993] A.D. 1559.

“Secondly, That Justinian makes this matter of not ordering common ministrations and prayers so that it may be understood by the people, not a matter of indifference, but such a thing that it must be answered for at the Day of Judgment.

“Thirdly, That this emperor, being a Christian emperor, not only constitutes ecclesiastical matters, but also threatens revenge and sharp punishment to the violators of the same.

“These are sufficient to prove that it is against God’s word, and the use of the primitive church, to use a language that is not understood by the people, in common prayer and in the ministrations of the sacraments. therefore it is to be marvelled at, not only how such an untruth and abuse first crept into the church, but also how it is maintained so stiffly to this day, and upon what ground these, who would be thought guides and pastors of Christ’s church, are so loath to return to the origin of St. Paul’s doctrine, and the practice of the primitive catholic church of Christ.

“The God of patience and consolation, give us grace to be like-minded towards one another in Christ Jesus, that all agreeing together, we may with one mouth praise God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.”

“(Signed by) John Scory, John Jewell, Richard Coxe, Robert Home, David Whitehead, John Aelmer, Edmund Grindall, Edmund Gest.

And the same having ended with some likelihood, it seemed, that it was very acceptable to the audience; some of the bishops began to speak contrary to their former answer, that they now had much more to say to this matter, in which although they might have been well reprehended for such cavilling, yet for avoiding of any more mistaking of orders in this conference, and so that they would utter all that which they had to say, it was both ordered and agreed upon by both parties, in the full audience, that upon the following Monday, the bishops would bring their reasons in writing to the second assertion, and the last also, if they could. And they were first to read the same; and that being done, the other party would likewise bring theirs. And being read, each of them would deliver the writings to the other. In the meantime, the bishops would put in writing, not only that which Doctor Cole had uttered that day, but all such other matters as they otherwise could think of for the same. And as soon as they possibly might, to send the book regarding that first assertion to the other party, and they would receive from them that writing which Mr. Home had read there that day. And on Monday it would be agreed what day they should publish their answers regarding the first proposition. Thus both parties assented, and the assembly was quietly dismissed.

### *The Order of the Second Day’s Conference.*

The Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, the archbishop of York, the duke of Norfolk, and all the council being set, the bishops on the one side, and the protestants — that is, the late banished preachers — on the other side, thus began the lord keeper:

“My lords and masters, I am sure you remember well at our last meeting, what order of talk and writing was appointed to be had this day in this assembly, which I will not refuse now to repeat again for the shortness of it. It was that you appointed that on both sides you would

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<sup>699</sup> Johann Eck (Eckius) was a German Roman Catholic theologian and the most prominent opponent of Martin Luther during the Protestant Reformation.

bring in English writing, what you had to say on the *second* question, and to read the same in this appointed place. Therefore, begin my lords.”

Winchester (papist). — “I am determined for my part that there will be now read, what we have to say for the *first* question.”

Lord Keeper. — “Will you not then proceed in the order appointed to you?”

Winchester. — “I have, as I said, provided for the first question or proposition. And we would suffer prejudice if you do not permit us to treat that first, and so we would come to the second question, and this is the order we would use. I judge all my brethren are so minded.”

Bishops. — “We are so determined.”

Lord Keeper. — “I do not know what you would do for your determined order. But you ought to look to what order is appointed for you to keep, which you break by this means, and little regard.”

Winchester. — “Since our adversaries party, if it please your grace and honors, have so confirmed their assertion and purpose, we suffer a prejudice or damage, if you do not permit us the like.”

At this, Doctor Watson, bishop of Lincoln, being very desirous to speak, said to the bishop of Winchester; “I pray you let me speak (which was permitted him). We are not used impartially, since you do not allow us to open in present writing what we have to say for the declaration of the first question, in so far that what you take for the information of the same, was not meant at all for that purpose. For what Master Cole spoke in this last assembly, was not prepared to strengthen our cause, but he made his oration from himself, and *ex-tempore*, that is, with no fore-studied talk.”

At the bishop’s words, the nobility and others of the audience much frowned and grudged, since they all well knew that Master Cole spoke out of a writing which he held in his hand, and often read out of the same, and that was in the same places which the bishops informed him, and appointed him to, with their fingers. All of these things well declare the matter to be premeditated, and not done *ex-tempore*, for Master Cole was appointed by them to be their speaker. Whereupon, this statement of the bishop of Lincoln was taken the worse. Notwithstanding, he went onward complaining, and said, “We are also badly ordered as regards the time. Our adversaries’ part having warning long before, and we were warned only two days before the last assembly in this place. What with this business, and other trouble we have been driven to, we have been occupied the whole of last night. For we may in no way betray the cause of God, nor will we do so, but sustain it to the uttermost of our powers, as we ought to so endeavor by all manner of means. But as to this, we now lack impartial using.”

Lord Keeper. — “Take heed that you do not deceive yourselves when it comes to a just trial of the matter, and then it is proved against you that you complain without cause, when the order and your manner towards it is duly weighed. I am willing and ready to hear you in the order taken and appointed for you to reason in this; and further or contrary to that, I cannot deal with you.”

Lichfield (papist). — “Let us suffer no disorder or injury in this, but be heard with that impartiality that is convenient and fitting that we should have here.”

Lord Keeper. — “I pray you, sirs, hear me, and mark it well. It was concluded by my lords of the council, who you well know of, that their writing, which you are now so willing to have heard, should have been read the first day, and then we understood that Master Cole had said what you would have him say, and as much as you willed him to say, and upon that impartiality among us, I judge you were asked in the end of Master Cole’s recital, whether that which he spoke was what you would have him say; and you granted it. Then, whether you would have him say any more on the matter, you answered, ‘No,’ whereupon the other part was heard. You hearing it, then indeed, without any good impartiality or plain dealing, yet pretended that you had more to say. So mark with how small an equity you used yourselves.”

Bishops. — “We indeed had more to say, if we might have been fairly heard.”

Lord Keeper. — “Give me leave I say, and look what gains you would have if your present request were to be granted to you, who call so much about impartial using, how you would use those other men. For many who are here present, were then away. So you would have your writing now read to those who did not hear this.

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Mark whether it would not have been more fitting if you had provided it against the first day, when they orderly read theirs, since, to my knowledge and as far as I have had to do with the matter, both sides (I am sure) were warned at one time. However, to satisfy your importunity and earnestness of this crying out to have your first writing heard, I might well allow, if it so pleased the rest of the queen’s most honorable council, that you dispatch the work of the second question, appointed for this day, and give us your writing for the first, so that when the day comes that each of you will answer the other in confirmation of the first question, then the same day you will have time to read this first writing of yours, which you would now so gladly read.” To this order, all the council willingly condescended.

Lichfield. — “No, my lords, they reading one, and we two books in one day, we would not have time enough to read them both. It would occupy too much time.”

Lord Keeper. — “For my part I might well stay at the hearing of them both, and so I judge would the rest of the council, and likewise the whole audience.” At this saying, there was a shout, crying out on all sides. “Yes, yes, we would hear it gladly.”

Lincoln. — “We cannot read them both at one time. For their writing, I am sure, would require an hour and a half, if it is as long as their last one was, and then our answer would require no less time after the first question.”

Lord Keeper. — “I have shown you we could be well contented to wait out the time, when it comes to it. Therefore, you need not to be so crafty in this. We are granting you this much, and yet you will obey no orders. I cannot tell what I will say to you.”

Lincoln. — “We have been terribly troubled in the order of this disputation. For, first it was appointed us by my lord the archbishop, that we should dispute, and that would be in Latin. And then we had another commandment, that we should provide a Latin writing. And now at last, we are desired to bring forth our writings in English.”

At these words the lord keeper of the great seal, the archbishop, with all the council were much surprised, and many murmured at such a wrong report of the order which was plainly given. Whereupon, the lord keeper answered; “I marvel greatly about the using of yourself in this point, since I am assured the order was never otherwise taken, than that you should bring forth in English a writing of what you had to say for your purpose.”

Bk. XII. Persecutions in the 5th year of Queen Mary

Hereupon the bishops of Lichfield and Chichester, to excuse my lord of Lincoln, said; “We so understood the order, my lords.”

Lord Keeper. — “How likely is that, since that it was so plainly told you? But to end these delays, I pray you follow the order appointed, and begin to address the second question.”

Lichfield. — “We were appointed this day by your honors, to bring in what we had to say on the first question.”

At this statement, the audience much grudged, who heard the former talk, contrary to his report.

Lord Keeper. — “The order was given, because your writings were not ready the last time, that you should yield the same to these men (meaning the protestants) as soon as you might, and upon the receipt of your writings, you would have theirs. And this day you would address the second question, and the third, if you had enough leisure. This was the order, my lords, unless my memory greatly fails me.” The whole council affirmed the same.

Lincoln. — “We were desired then to bring in this day, our writing for the first question also.”

Lord Keeper. — “Ah! sirs, if you are so hard to be satisfied, and to incline to the truth, let my lords here say what was then determined.”

Archbishop of York. — “You are to blame for delaying this issue, for there was a plain decreed order given for you to address the second question. Therefore leave your contention in this, and show what you have to say on the second question.”

Lord Keeper. — “Go to now, begin my lords.”

Lichfield. — “It is contrary to the order in disputations, that we should begin.”

Chester. — “We have the negative, they the affirmative, therefore they must begin.”

Lichfield. — “They must first say what they can bring against us, since we are the defending part.”

Chester. — “So is the school manner, and likewise is the manner in Westminster-hall, that the plaintiffs part should speak first, and then the accused party answer.”

Lichfield. — “I pray you let the proposition be read, and then let us see who has the negative part, and so let the other begin.”

Lord Keeper. — “The order was given that you should begin.”

Lichfield. — “But then we would act against the school order.”

Lord Keeper. — “My masters, you much enforce the school orders. I wonder greatly at this, since various orders are oftentimes taken for the exercise of youth, and ought to maintain a fashion, and many prescriptions, which we do not need to recite here, much less observe. We have come here to keep the order of God, and to set forth His truth, and to this end we have taken as good order as we might, which it does not lie in me to change.”

Carlisle (papist). — “We are of the catholic church, and abide in it, and stand in possession of the truth; and therefore they must say what they have to allege against us, and so we are to maintain and defend our cause.”

Lichfield. — “Yes, even so the matter must be ordered.”

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Chester. — “When they bring anything against us, it is sufficient for us to deny it. Therefore they must begin.”

Lichfield. — “And when they affirm anything, and we say no, the proof belongs to them. And so it behoves them to first show what they affirm, and for what cause and purpose.”

Lord Keeper. — “Here rests our purpose and the whole matter: whether you will begin, if they do not, since it was determined that you should begin.”

Lichfield. — “We heard of no such order.”

Lord Keeper. — “No? And yet in the first question you began willingly. How does it come to pass that you will not do so now?”

Chester. — “Then we had the affirmation, which since our adversaries now have it, they should presently begin.”

The protestants denied this, saying that on the first day they had the negative, yet they did not refuse to begin.

Lord Keeper. — “If you have anything to say to the purpose, my lords, say on.”

Lichfield. — “A particular sort of men can never break a universal church, which we now maintain. And as for these men, our adversary’s part, I never thought they would have done so much as to have named themselves to be of the *catholic church*, claiming the name as we do.”

Protestants. — “We do so, and we are of the *true catholic church*, and maintain the verity of it.”

Lincoln. — “Yet you would overthrow all catholic order.”

Horne (protestant). — “I wonder that you hesitate so much as to who should begin.”

Lincoln. — “You count it requisite that we should follow your orders, as we have taken the questions at your hands, in the sort that you have assigned them.”

Lichfield. — “Yes, even so we are driven to do now.”

Lord Keeper. — “No, I judge that if you mark the matter well, the questions are neither of their propounding them to you, nor of your device to them, but offered equally to you both.”

Horne. — “Indeed, my lords of the queen’s most honorable council, these questions or propositions were proposed to us by your honors, and they then having the pre-eminence, chose for themselves the negative; and yet they freely began first. Now again, why do they not do the same? “

[995] A.D. 1559.

Lichfield being angry that Horne should speak so strictly against them, went quite away from the matter, saying, “My lord keeper of the great seal, and you, the rest of the queen’s most honorable council, I hope that you all, and the queen’s majesty herself, are inclined to favor the verity in all things, and the truth of the catholic church, which we must, will, or cannot do otherwise than to earnestly maintain to the uttermost of our power, and to this purpose let us now well weigh who are of the true catholic church; they, or we.”

Lord Keeper. — “Stop! you now go away from the matter, and make questions of your own.”

Lichfield not yet straying from his digression, said, ‘We must go to work, and try that first, what church they are of. For there are many churches in Germany. Master Horne, Master Horne, I pray you, which of these churches are you of?’

Horne. — “I am of Christ’s catholic church.”

Lord Keeper. — “You should not in this way run into voluntary talk of your own inventing, nor devise new questions of your own appointment, and thereby enter into that talk — you should not so to do. But say on, if you have anything to say in this matter.”

Lichfield. — “No, we must first thus go to work with them as I have said, if we would search a truth. However, we have no doubt of the truth, for we assuredly stand in it. These men come in, and they pretended to be doubtful. Therefore they should first bring what they have to impugn or withstand us with.”

Winchester. — “Let them begin; so we will go onward with our matter.”

Chester (papist). — “Otherwise, my lords, if they were not to begin, but to end the talk, then the verity on our side would not be so well marked. For they would depart, having spoken last, with the rejoicing triumph of the people.”

Winchester. — “Therefore, I am resolved that they will begin before we say anything.”

Chester. — “I am sorry, my lords, that we should stand so long on this matter with your honors, and make so many words, and so much ado with you whom we ought to obey. However, there is no fairness if they do not begin; and surely we think it fitting that for their parts, they should give way to us.”

Lichfield. — “Yes, that they should, and they ought to do so where any fairness is used.”

Aelmer (protestant). — “We gave way to you, did we not? And we do not deprive you of the pre-eminence, because you are bishops. Therefore, I pray you, *begin*.”

Bishops. — “A goodly giving way, I assure you; Oh yes, goodness, you give way.” Such words they used, with more scoffs.

Lord Keeper. — “If you make this assembly to have gathered in vain, and will not go to the matter, let us rise and depart.”

Winchester. — “Contented, let us be gone. For we will not give over on this point. I pray you, my lords, do not require at our hands that we should be any cause of hindrance or delay to our religion, or give any such evil example to our posterity, which we would do if we gave over to them, which in no way we may, or will do.”

Lord Keeper. — “Let us then break up, if you are thus minded.”

With these words the bishops were straightway rising. But then the lord keeper said, “Let us see whether every one of you is thus minded. How is it with you, my lord of Winchester? Will you not begin to read your writing?”

Winchester. — “No, surely, I am fully determined, and fully at a point in this, whatever my brethren may do.”

Then the Lord Keeper asked how the bishop was called, who sat next to Winchester in order. It was the bishop of Exeter. Being inquired as to his mind in this, he answered that he was none of them. Then the lord keeper asked the others in order — first Lincoln, who said he was of the same mind that Winchester was of; and likewise answered Lichfield, Coventry, Dr. Cole, and Dr. Chedsey. Then Chester, being asked his sentence, said, “My lords, I do not

say that I will not read it, if you command us; but we should not do it. Yet I desire your honors not to take it so, as though I would not have read it. I do not mean so.”

Lord Keeper. — “What do you say to it, my lord of Carlisle?”

Carlisle. — “If they should not read theirs this day, so that our writing may be last read, then I am contented that ours will be read first.”

Lord Keeper. — “So you would make orders yourselves, and appoint that we should spend one day in hearing you.”

Then the abbot of Westminster was asked his mind. He said, “If it please your honors, I judge that my lords here stay most on this point: they fear that when they begin first, and the other answers upon it, no more time will be given them to speak, which my lord dislikes.”

Lord Keeper. — “How can it be otherwise in a talk appointed in such an assembly and audience? Do you think that answering one another can be continued when it should in that sort have an end? “

Lichfield. — “It must be so in disputation to seek out the truth.”

Lord Keeper. — “But what do you say, my lord Abbot, are you of the mind it will be read?”

Abbot. — “Yes truly, my lord, I am very well pleased with it.”

Harpsfield being inquired of his mind, thought as the others did.

Lord Keeper. — “My lords, since you are not willing, but refuse to read your writing in the order taken, we will break up and depart. And because you will not have us hear you, you may perhaps shortly hear from us.”

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Thus have we declared the order and manner of this communication or conference at Westminster, between these two parties, in which if any law or order were broken, then judge, good reader, where the fault was. And consider what these papists are about. If you take away from them their sword and authority, you see all their cunning, how soon it lies in the dust, or else why would they not abide the trial of writing? Why would they not, or why *dared* they not stand to the order agreed upon? Should we say it is more from ignorance, or from stubbornness in them, or both together? First, being gently and favorably required to keep the order appointed, they would not. Then secondly, being (as it appeared by the Lord Keeper’s words) pressed more earnestly, they did not regard the authority of that place, nor their own reputation, nor the credit of the cause, but utterly refused to do so. And finally, every of them, again being particularly apart, and required distinctly by name to understand their opinions in this, all of them except one (which was the abbot of Westminster, having more consideration of order and of his duty of obedience, than the others) utterly and plainly denied to have their book read — some of them more earnestly than others, and also some other more indiscreetly and irreverently than others.

About this time, at the beginning of the flourishing reign of queen Elizabeth, a parliament was summoned and held at Westminster, in which there was much debating about matters of religion. Great study was employed on both parts, the one to still retain, the other to impugn the doctrine which had been established before, in queen Mary’s time. But here it is especially to be noted that no industry was lacking on the papists’ side to hold fast to that which they most cruelly from time to time had studied, and by all means practiced to come by. Yet notwithstanding, such was the providence of God at that time, that for lack of the



other bishops whom the Lord had taken away by death a little earlier, those who were left could do less; and in very need, God be praised, they did nothing at all in effect.

Although there was some diversity of judgment and opinion between parties in this parliament, yet notwithstanding, through the merciful goodness of the Lord, the true cause of the gospel had the upper hand, the hopes of the papists were frustrated, and their rage abated. The order and proceedings of king Edward's time concerning religion were revived; the supremacy of the pope was abolished; and the articles and bloody statutes of queen Mary were repealed. Briefly, the furious fire-brands of cruel persecution which had consumed so many poor men's bodies, were now extinct and quenched.

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Finally, the old bishops were deposed, for they refused the oath in renouncing the pope, and did not subscribe to the queen's just and lawful title. In their stead and places, first for cardinal Poole, succeeded Doctor Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury; in the place of Heath, succeeded Doctor Young; instead of Bonner, Edmund Grindall was bishop of London; for Hopton, Thurlby, Tunstall, Pates, Christopherson, Peto, Coates, Morgan, Feasie, White, Oglethorpe, etc., were placed Doctor John Parkhurst, in Norwich; Doctor Coxe, in Ely; Jewell, in Salisbury; Pilkenton, in Durham; Doctor Sands, in Worcester; Master Downam, in Westchester; Bentam, in Coventry and Lichfield; David, in St. David's; Ally, in Exeter; Horne, in Winchester; Story, in Hereford; Best, in Carlisle; Bullingham, in Lincoln; Seamlar, in Peterborough; Bartlet, in Bath; Gest in Rochester; and Barlo, in Chichester, etc.

### ***Massacre of the Protestants in France***

*A Brief Note concerning the horrible Massacre  
in France, A.D. 1572.*

Here, before closing up this book, in no case should the tragic and furious massacre in France be unremembered, in which so many hundreds and thousands of God's good martyrs were murdered. But because the true narration of this lamentable story is set forth in English at large in a book by itself, and extant in print already, it will be less needed now to discourse that matter with any new repetition — only a brief mention of summary notes for remembrance may suffice.

And first, for brevity's sake, to bypass the massacre by the Romish catholics in Orange against the protestants — most fiercely and unawares breaking into their houses, and there, without mercy, killing man, woman, and child. Some of them being spoiled and naked, they threw out of their lofts into the streets; some they smothered in their houses with smoke; some were killed with sword and weapon, sparing none. The carcasses of some they threw to the dogs, etc. This was A.D. 1570, in the reign of Charles IX.

Likewise to pass over the cruel slaughter at Rome where, the protestants being at a sermon outside the city walls, upon the king's edict, the Roman catholics in a fury ran upon those who were coming home, and slew over forty of them at least; they wounded many more. This example at Rome, stirred up the papists in Dieppe to also practice the same rage against the Christians there returning from the sermon. Their slaughter would have been greater, had they not more wisely been provided with weapons before, for their own defense in time of need. All of this happened about the same year mentioned, A.D. 1570. But these, with similar incidents, I briefly pass over, to enter now into the matter premised above — that is, to briefly address the horrible and most barbarous massacre wrought in Paris. Such

## Bk. XII. Persecutions in the 5th year of Queen Mary

was never heard of before, I suppose, in any civil dissension even among the heathen. In a few words, I will touch the substance of the matter.

After long troubles in France, the Roman catholic side, foreseeing no good to be done against the protestants by open force, began to devise how to entrap them by crafty means, and that was in two ways.

The one was by pretending that a power was sent into the lower country, of which the admiral was to be the captain. It was not that the king meant it indeed, but only to understand thereby, what power and force the admiral had under him, who they were, and what their names were.

The second was by a certain marriage suborned between the prince of Navarre and the king's sister. To this pretended marriage, it was devised that all the chief protestants of France would be invited, and meet in Paris. Among them, they began with the queen of Navarre, mother to the prince who would marry the king's sister, attempting by all means possible to obtain her consent to it. She was then at Rochelle, and was allured by many fair words to repair to the king. At length she consented to come, and was received at Paris, where after much ado, she was at length won to the king's mind, and provided for the marriage. Shortly after, she fell sick and expired within five days — not without suspicion, as some said, of poison. But her body being opened, no sign of poison could be found there, except that a certain apothecary boasted that he had killed the queen by certain venomous odors and smells confected by him.

After this, the marriage still going forward, the admiral, prince of Navarre, Conde, with diverse other chief men of the protestants, induced by the king's letters and many fair promises, were at last brought to Paris. There they were received with great solemnity, but especially the admiral. To make the matter short, the day of the marriage came, which was the 18th of August 1572. This marriage being celebrated and solemnized by the cardinal of Bourbon, on a high stage outside the church walls, the prince of Navarre and Conde came down, waiting for the king's sister; she was then at mass. This done, they resorted all together to the bishop's palace for dinner. At evening they were lead to a palace in the middle of Paris to supper. Not long after this, on the 22nd of August, the admiral came from the council table. On the way he was struck with a discharge from a pistol, charged with three pellets, in both his arms. He being thus wounded, and yet still remaining in Paris, although the Vidam gave him counsel to flee away, it so fell out that certain soldiers were appointed in various places of the city to be ready at a watch-word, at the commandment of the prince. Upon this watch-word being given, they burst out to the slaughter of the protestants, beginning with the admiral himself. Being wounded with many sore wounds, he was cast out of the window into the street, where his head being first struck off, was embalmed with spices to be sent to the pope. The savage people raging against him, cut off his arms, and so drew him through the streets of Paris for three days. They dragged him to the place of execution outside of the city. There they hung him up by his heels, to the greater display and scorn of him.

After the martyrdom of this good man, the armed soldiers with rage and violence ran upon all others of the same profession, slaying and killing all the protestants they knew or could find within the city gates. This bloody slaughter continued for many days, but the greatest slaughter was especially in the three first days, in which over ten thousand men, women, old and young, were slain, as the history says, of all sorts and conditions. The bodies of the dead were carried in carts to be thrown into the river: so that not only was the river all stained with them, but also whole streams in certain places of the city ran with the blood of the slain

bodies. So great was the outrage of that heathenish persecution, that not only the protestants, but also certain of those whom they thought were indifferent papists, were put to the sword with the protestants.

And this uproar was not contained only within the walls of Paris, but it extended further into other cities and quarters of the realm, especially Lyons, Orleans, Toulouse, and Rouen. In these cities it is almost incredible, and scarcely ever heard of in any nation, what cruelty was shown, what numbers of good men were destroyed – to the extent that within one month, at least thirty thousand religious protestants were slain.

Furthermore, it is to be noted here, that when the pope first heard of this bloody stir, he made such joy with his cardinals at Rome – with their procession, with their firing guns, and singing *Te Deum* – that in honor of that festival act, a jubilee was commanded by the pope, with great indulgences, and much solemnity. By this you have to discern and judge here, with what spirit and charity these Roman catholics are moved to maintain their religion, which otherwise would fall to the ground without any hope of recovery. Likewise in France, there was no less rejoicing on the 28th of the month. The king commanded public processions to be made throughout the city, with bonfires, bell ringing, and singing. There the king himself, with the queen his mother, and his whole court resorting to that church together, gave thanks and laud to God, for so worthy a victory on St. Bartholomew's day against the protestants, whom they thought to be utterly overthrown and vanquished in the whole realm forever.

[997] A.D. 1572-1674.

And indeed, to man's thinking it might appear no less a victory after such a great destruction of the protestants, having lost so many worthy and noble captains as were then cut off. Many, revoking their religion out of fear, returned to the pope; many fled out of the realm; those who would not turn, kept themselves secret, and dared not be known or seen. So that it was past all hope of man, that the gospel would ever have any more place in France. But such is the admirable working of the Lord, where man's help and hope most fail, that He most shows his strength and help, as is to be seen and noted here. For the very small remnant on the gospel side, being brought to utter desperation, were now ready to give over to the king; and many had already gone against their conscience, yielding to the time. Yet the Lord, out of his goodness, so worked that many were stayed and reclaimed again through the occasion of those in Rochelle. Hearing of the cruel massacre in Paris, and the slaughter at Toulouse, most constantly with valiant hearts (the Lord so working) they thought to stand to their defense against the king's power. By their example certain other cities hearing of it, took no little courage to do the same. Being confederated together, they exhorted one another to be circumspect, and take good heed of the false dissembling practices of the merciless papists, who intend nothing but blood and destruction.

These things thus passing at Rochelle, and the king hearing of it, he commanded captains Strozzius and Gardius to see to Rochelle. After this he sent a nobleman, one Bironius, requiring of the Rochelle-men to receive him as their governor under the king. Great consultation was had. At length the Rochelle-men began to condescend upon certain conditions. This not being easily granted, and especially hearing in the meantime what was done to others of their fellows who had submitted themselves, they thought it better to stand to the defense of their lives and consciences, and to venture the worst. Whereupon a great siege and battery began to be laid against Rochelle, both by land and sea. This was A.D. 1572, about the 4th of December. It would require another volume to describe all

things that passed on either side during the time of this siege, between the king's party and the town of Rochelle.

To briefly run over some parts of the matter, in January of the following year, A.D. 1573, commandment was given by the king to all and sundry nobles and peers of France, upon great punishment, to address themselves in a most forcible way to the assaulting of Rochelle. Upon this, a great concourse of all the nobility, with the whole power of France, was assembled there. Among them was the prince of Anjou, the king's brother, accompanied by his other brother, duke Alencon, Navarre, Conde, and a great number of other states besides. Thus the whole power of France was gathered against one poor town. If the mighty hand of the Lord had not stood on their side, it would have been impossible for them to escape.

During the time of this siege, which lasted about seven months, what skirmishes and conflicts were on both sides would require a long treatise to describe. To make it short, seven principal assaults were made against the poor town of Rochelle, with all the power that France could make. In all these assaults, the pope's side always had the worst of it. Concerning the first assault I find it written that within twenty-six days, there were discharged against the walls and houses of Rochelle, thirty thousand shot of iron bullets and globes, whereby a great breach was made for the adversary to invade the city. But such was the courage of those within, not only of the men, but also of the women, armed with spits, fire, and whatever other weapons came to hand, that the adversary was driven back, with no small slaughter of their soldiers. And of the townsmen, only sixty persons were slain and wounded. Likewise in the second assault, the adversary attempted to invade the town, but through the industry of the soldiers and citizens, and also of the women and maids, the invaders were forced at length to fly away faster then they came. All the assaults that followed had no better success. By this, consider, gentle reader, what great distress these good men were under, not only of Rochelle, but of other cities also, during the seven months mentioned above, if the mighty hand of the Lord Almighty had not sustained them.

And especially at the siege of Sanser. This city was terribly battered and razed with gunshot of great cannons, and field-pieces, having at one siege no less than three thousand bullets and gunshots flying upon them. With these, the crests of their helmets were pierced, their sleeves, their hose, their hats were pierced, their weapons in their hands were broken, their walls shaken, their houses torn down. And yet not one person was slain or wounded with all this, except at the first a certain maiden was struck down and died, with the blast of the shot flying by her.

What number were lost on both sides during this seven months' war, it is not certainly known. Of the king's camp, what number were slain may be conjectured by this, that 132 of their captains were killed.

To close up this tragic story concerning the breaking up of this seven months' siege, it thus fell out that shortly after the seventh assault given against Rochelle, which was A.D. 1573, about June, word came to the camp, that duke Anjou, the king's brother, was proclaimed king of Poland. There was great joy in the camp at this. On this occasion, the new king, more willing to have peace, entered into negotiation with those of Rochelle. Just as he showed himself not ungentle toward them, so he found them not unconformable to him in return. Whereupon a certain peace agreement was concluded between them on certain conditions. The new Polish king soon proffered this agreement to the French king his brother, not without some suit and intercession to have it ratified. Also the king himself, partly being weary of these costly wars, was more willing to assent to it. And thus at length, through the

Lord's great work, the king's royal consent, in the form of an edict, was set down in writing, and confirmed by the king . It contained twenty-five articles. In these were included certain other cities of the protestants, granting to them the benefits of peace, and liberty of religion. This edict or mandate sent down from the king, was solemnly proclaimed at Rochelle by his herald at arms, Bironius, in the king's name, the 24th of June A.D. 1573.

The following year, 1574, two things seemed fatal and famous — the death of Charles IX, the French king, and also, most of all, the death of Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, brother to the duke of Guise. I find little mention in histories of the manner of the cardinal's death. Regarding the king's death, although Richard Dinothus says nothing, likely for fear, because being a Frenchman, his name is expressed and known. But another history (whom the said Dinothus follows) which bears no name, says that he died the 25th of May, on Whitsun evening, at the age of twenty-five.

The constant report so goes, that his blood gushing out at various parts of his body, he tossed in his bed, and tossing out many horrible blasphemies, he laid on pillows with his heels upward and head downward. This voided so much blood at his mouth, that in a few hours he died. This story, if it is true, as recorded and testified, may be a spectacle and example to all persecuting kings and princes polluted with the blood of Christian martyrs. And thus much briefly touching the late terrible persecution in France.

### ***THE CONCLUSION OF THE WORK.***

And thus to conclude this present history, good Christian reader, not for lack of matter, but rather to shorten the matter for the largeness of the volume, I stay here for this present time, without the further addition of more discourse, not to over-weary you with longer tediousness, nor to overcharge the book with longer prolixity (wordiness).

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Up to here I have set forth the acts and proceedings of the whole church of Christ, namely, of the church of England, although not in such particular perfection that nothing has surpassed us — yet in such general sufficiency, that I trust not very much has escaped us which is necessary to be known, regarding the principal affairs, doings, and proceedings of the church and churchmen. In this may be seen the whole state, order, descent, course and continuance of the same, the increase and decrease of true religion, the creeping in of superstition, the horrible troubles of persecution, the wonderful assistance of the Almighty in maintaining His truth, the glorious constancy of Christ's martyrs, the rage of the enemies, the alteration of times, the trials and troubles of the church, from the first primitive age of Christ's gospel, to the end of queen Mary, and the beginning of this our gracious queen Elizabeth. During the time of her happy reign, which has continued (through the gracious protection of the Lord) for twenty-four years, as my wish is, so I would be glad if the good will of the Lord were so, that no more matter of such lamentable histories may ever be offered hereafter to write upon.

But so it is, I cannot tell how, the older the world grows, the longer it continues, the nearer it hastens to its end, the more Satan rages, giving still new matter for writing books and volumes. It is such that if all were recorded and committed to history, that up to now has happened within the said compass of this queen's reign in Scotland, Flanders, France, Spain, and Germany, besides our own country of England and Ireland, with other countries, I truly suppose one Eusebius or Polyhistor, whom Pliny writes of, would not suffice for it. But more may be said of these incidents and occurrences hereafter, as it pleases the Lord to

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give grace and space. In the meantime, the grace of the Lord Jesus work with you, gentle reader, in all your studious readings. And while you have time, so employ yourself to read, so that by reading you may learn daily to know that which may profit your soul; teach you experience; arm you with patience; and instruct you in all spiritual knowledge more and more, to your perpetual comfort and salvation in Christ Jesus our Lord; to whom be all glory for ever and ever, Amen.

**APPENDIX I.**  
***Massacre of Protestants on St. Bartholomew's Day***  
**In Paris and other French cities.**

*Of the coming of the Queen of Navarre to the City of Paris,  
with her Sickness and Death there.*

*By John Foxe*

That noble and virtuous lady, Jane de Albert, queen of Navarre, before she could be drawn to come to Paris to solemnize the marriage of her son, the prince of Navarre, with the sister of Charles IX, then king of France, she received letters upon letters from the said king, to accompany the prince her son in that solemnity. Now, though she had some doubts regarding her son's marriage with someone of another religion,<sup>700</sup> the king assured her that all things would be so wrought, that it would give her good satisfaction and content, promising that he would get a dispensation from the pope to that end. But when the queen understood that the king was minded to have this marriage solemnized at Paris, she would by no means hear of it: "For I will not," she said, "put any confidence in that so mutinous people, being the sworn enemies of both myself and mine."

Still the king persisted in his suit for obtaining the same at her hands. And also having intelligence by some of his agents, that the queen of Navarre began to waver a little, he solicited her yet once again to come, assuring her that all things would be carried out in such a peaceful way, that she would have no cause to complain. At length the queen came from Rochelle to Blois, in March 1572, with great attendance. It is incredible to think what welcome she had on all sides, especially from the king and his brethren, etc. who, when all was done, could yet say to his mother, "Now, madam, have I not acquit myself well? Leave me alone, and I will bring them all into the net."

The following April, the articles were concluded concerning the marriage of the prince of Navarre with the king's sister. In the beginning of May, the king again invited the queen of Navarre to come to Paris, for preparing the things fitting for this marriage. She accordingly yielded, and departing from Blois on the 6th of May, she came to Paris on the 15th. She immediately became ill and died in a few days, with some suspicion of being poisoned.<sup>701</sup>

*The Death of the Admiral at Paris, and  
the Massacre of the Protestants.*

After the death of the queen, certain princes were solicited by the king to give their attendance at Paris to solemnize the marriage of the prince of Navarre (now made king by the death of his mother), according to the ceremonies which pertained to it. Among the rest, letters were directed to the admiral by the king himself, to come to this marriage. These were delivered to him by Cavagues,<sup>702</sup> in which the king assured him he would not tarry long behind him; willing him not to be afraid of the fury of the Parisians, nor of their threats which they had formerly uttered against him. For he was not ignorant of the deadly hatred they bore him. And therefore he wrote to the mayor of the city, to look to it at his peril, that the admiral would have no wrong offered to him by the citizens, either at his entrance or his

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<sup>700</sup> She and her son were Protestants, and his fiancée was Roman Catholic.

<sup>701</sup> A popular rumor maintained that Jeanne had been poisoned by Catherine de' Medici. However, an autopsy showed she died of complications from tuberculosis, a disease she had suffered from for years.

<sup>702</sup> Cavagnes was a Huguenot nobleman who was among the Protestant leaders targeted during the massacre.

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continuance in the city. For of all the cities in that kingdom, Paris is the most superstitious, and easily moved to sedition. And therefore the admiral, being of a contrary religion, could expect but ill welcome at his coming there; especially because at his solicitation, the cross of Gastines <sup>703</sup> was removed from the street of St. Dennis.

The queen-mother and the duke of Anjou wrote to the mayor also, and likewise to the rest of the magistrates, to the same effect — but especially to their servants, some of whom had a little light given them regarding that scheme. To be short, they endeavored to take all rubs out of his way, so that he might fall into the trap with less mistrust.

### *Attack on the Admiral at Paris.*

The admiral, not thinking there were any perils, resolved to take his journey to Paris. He did not lack sundry notifications from his own followers, and other well-wishers of his in the kingdom, who honored him much, desiring that although he had no sinister opinion of the king, of his mother, or any of theirs, yet at least he should take into consideration the place where he went, and among what enemies he was now to venture himself. But always leaning upon the testimony of a good conscience, and being confident in God's providence, he was not moved by these warnings. So he took his journey to Paris with very few attendants. Having come there, he was honorably received by the king, and by his brethren, and by the queen-mother, with others also.

The marriage of the king of Navarre with the king's sister being solemnized on the 17th and 18th of August 1572, and all the triumphs and feastings accompanying it being finished, the admiral determined to take his leave at court, and so return homewards.

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The deputies of the reformed churches brought him, all of a sudden, their request to present their grievances to the king, in regard to the many wrongs the reformed churches had sustained. And therefore they instantly sought that he would not leave the court till some order might be taken to redress them.

These, with other impediments, were the occasions of detaining him there.

Mauravell <sup>704</sup> came to Paris while these feasts lasted, having presented his service first to the king and his mother, the duke of Anjou, and the duke of Guise. After he spoke with the king and queen, another one called Chain, was commanded to direct him to the house from which the blow would be given. He left him with a woman in that house. She was forbidden not only to ask his name, but also to so much as inquire for what cause he was lodged there.

On Friday, the 22nd of August, in the morning, Mauravell trimmed up his harquebus,<sup>705</sup> watching secretly for the admiral's coming.

The admiral left the Louvre, meeting the king coming out of a chapel, which is in front of the Louvre. He passed from there to play at tennis. He had scarcely gone a hundred paces from the place, as he was returning to his lodging on foot to dine there, when he was confronted by some twelve or fifteen gentlemen reading a petition. Out of the window of a lodging (where Villemur, tutor to the duke of Guise usually lay) he was shot with a harquebus

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<sup>703</sup> Croix de Gastines was a monumental cross erected in Paris in 1569 on the site of the demolished house of Philippe de Gastines, a Huguenot executed for allegedly holding a Protestant Last Supper.

<sup>704</sup> Or Maurevert, was the assassin hired by the Catholic faction, specifically the House of Guise, to kill Admiral Gaspard II de Coligny, who was a leading Huguenot figure.

<sup>705</sup> *Harqebus*: a heavy musket fired from a rest or support.



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charged with three brass bullets. One of them took off the forefinger of his right hand, and he was hurt with another in his left arm. Feeling himself thus wounded, he had some of his followers enter that house, and to discover who had done that, or who set him on work to do it — and then to notify the king of it, giving him to understand how well his commandment was observed.

Now, while they were busy forcing open the door, the murderer fled out by a back way, escaping from there out of the gate of St. Anthony. There someone attended him, holding a Spanish gennet (small horse), brought from the duke of Guise's stable, upon which he galloped away, yet not without some difficulty. For thus fleeing in some fear, he fell off his horse twice or three times.

A gentleman seeing the admiral hurt, came to support his left arm, binding up the wound with his handkerchief; and thus the admiral was conducted to his lodging, which was some twenty paces distant from there. In his passing by, a gentleman said it was to be feared the bullets were poisoned: to which the admiral replied, "All must be as it pleases God."

The king hearing of the admiral's hurt, left his game where he had been playing with the duke of Guise. Throwing away his racket, it seemed in anger, and with a sad and heavy countenance, he withdrew himself into his chamber. The duke of Guise followed him a little while later.

The king of Navarre, the prince of Conde, with many other of the protestant religion, having notice of the admiral's hurt, complained to the king of this untimely accident. They entreated that they might have leave to depart out of the city, seeing they could expect little safety there. The king moaned to them about the mischance that had happened, swearing and protesting that he would execute such impartial justice upon the offender, and on all his accomplices, as might make the admiral and all his friends content. Only he wished them to stay, promising before long to provide for their security.

The surgeons and physicians were quickly sent for, among whom was Ambrose Pare, the king's surgeon, a very expert man. He began first with the admiral's finger, which put him to much pain, in that the scissors were not sharp enough to cut it off at once. Besides this, he was glad to stop and open the wound three times. And then he came to the left arm, making incisions in two places into which the bullet had pierced. The admiral endured all this with an undaunted countenance, and wonderful patience, while those which stood by and saw him so mangled, could not refrain from tears. Captain Mouius held him with both his arms about the middle, and Cornaton held his hands. Seeing their dismay, he exclaimed, "My friends, why do you weep? I think myself happy to be thus handled in the cause of God." And shortly, casting his eyes upon a minister named Merlin, he said, "Here you see, my friends, God's blessings. I am hurt indeed; but I know it has come to pass by the will of my Heavenly Father, humbly thanking his Majesty that he is pleased to honor me so far as to suffer anything for his holy name. Let us pray to him, that he would grant to me the gift of perseverance."

Then looking upon the said minister, who wept over him. "Oh, Master Merlin (he says), what, will you not comfort me?" "Yes, sir, (he says), for in what may you take greater comfort than in calling to mind how greatly God has always honored you in esteeming you worthy to suffer rebuke for his name's sake, and true religion?" The admiral replied; "Alas, if God were to deal with me according to my deserts, he might have put me to worse torments than these. But blessed be his holy name, in that he is pleased to take pity on me, his poor and unworthy servant." Then said another to him, "Be of good cheer, sir, for seeing God has

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spared your more noble part whole, you have cause in this to magnify his goodness. In these wounds you have received from God a testimony of his love, rather than of his displeasure, seeing that he has preserved your head and comprehension safe."

Then Merlin said. "Sir, you do well in turning your thoughts away from the one who has committed this outrage upon you, in looking only to God; for no doubt it is his hand that has struck you. Therefore, for the present, cease to think on the malefactor." "I assure you, (said the admiral), I freely forgive him from the bottom of my heart, and those also who are his abettors; being fully persuaded that none of them could have done me the least hurt, no, even if with violent hands they had put me to death. For what is death itself to God's children, but an assured passage to an eternal rest and life? "

Now as the said minister declared how the evils which happen to the children of God in this present life, often incite and quicken them to pour out their prayers into the bosom of the Almighty, the admiral presently with a loud voice and ardent affection, prayed thus:

"Lord God, and heavenly Father, have pity upon me for your goodness and mercy's sake; do not remember, Lord, the sins of my past life, nor the offenses which I have committed against you; for if you narrowly mark our sins, the looseness of our behavior and disloyalties in transgressing your holy commandments. Lord, who would stand? Who is able to bear the weight of your displeasure? I renounce all idol gods; I acknowledge you to be the only true God, and worship you alone, O Eternal Father, in your eternal son, Jesus Christ. I beseech you for His sake, that you would give me your Holy Spirit, and with that, the gift of patience. I put my trust in your free mercy. For in that consists the stay and prop of all my hope, whether I die now at present, or live for the time to come. Behold, Lord, here I am. Do with me as it pleases you; having this confidence in You: that if I now depart from here, you will receive me into the blessed rest of your kingdom. If it pleases you to lengthen my days here on earth, O heavenly Father, give me grace that I may spend the remainder of it in setting forth the glory of your holy name, and in maintaining, to the utmost of my power, your pure worship and service. Amen."

Having ended this prayer. Merlin asked him, if it pleased him that the minister of Christ should now pray with him and for him. He said to him, "Yes; with all my heart I ask you to begin." While Merlin pronounced the prayer, applying the same to the present occasion, the admiral, with his eyes looking up to heaven, expressed the ardency of his affection in consenting to it. The prayer being ended, Merlin began to propound to the admiral the examples of the martyrs, showing that from Abel to Abraham, and subsequently up to now, whoever earned themselves in any degree of faithfulness in the House of God, felt at one time or other the smart of afflictions in diverse kinds.

[1000] A.D. 1572.

The admiral answered that when he called to mind the sufferings of the patriarchs and martyrs, it greatly comforted him, and helped him somewhat to allay the sharpness of his afflicted estate.

The king of Navarre and the prince of Conde, having bitterly bewailed this outrage committed upon the admiral (as you heard before), about two o'clock in the afternoon, the king, accompanied with the queen-mother, his brother, and others of the lords, went to visit the admiral.

The king, with tears, seemed to be exceedingly sorry for what had come to pass, promising him, with one blasphemous oath upon another, to revenge the fact, no less than if it had been committed upon his own person. He asked the admiral to come and take up his

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lodging with him in the Louvre, for his greater security and safety. Whereupon the admiral, after some discourse made to the king in secret, gave him most humble thanks for so great a favor as to visit him in his own person.

Upon the motion made by the king, Mazilles his chief physician was called, the king demanding of him, whether the admiral might safely be removed from there into the Louvre or not? His answer was that it could not be done without danger. Some of the admiral's friends thought it fitting to request a guard of soldiers to be assigned to him by the king, for his better security. The king answered that he liked that suggestion well, being fully determined to provide for the admiral's safety as his own, and would preserve him no less than the apple of his eye. After the king called for the bullet of brass with which the admiral was hurt, that he might see it, he asked whether he was not put to great pain when his finger was cut off, and likewise regarding the dressing of his arm. Now as Cornaton showed the bullet, having his sleeve all bloody, (because he was appointed to hold the admiral's arm while it was being dressed) the king asked if that was the admiral's blood, and whether so much blood issued out of his wounds? He added (after Cornaton's answer), he never saw a man in his life show greater constancy and magnanimity of spirit than the admiral did.

Then the queen-mother was desirous to see the bullet, saying, "I am glad the bullet is taken out; for I remember when the duke of Guise was killed before Orleans, the physician told me that if the bullet was gotten out, there was no danger of death even if it were poisoned."

Then Cornaton answered, we have foreseen that, madam. For being careful to prevent that danger, the admiral had a medicine given him to expel the poison, if perhaps any such thing should be.

The Saturday before the admiral was slain, he began to be somewhat cheered, so that the surgeons and physicians let it be known that they would warrant the admiral's life, because his arm, having lost but little of its strength, would soon be healed. This news was brought to the king, who seemed to entertain it joyfully. The newly married wife also came to visit the admiral. But all this was but a show before death. For that night there was heard a great clattering of armor in the city, and many torches were lighted everywhere, borne by many of the people. Some gentlemen, whose lodgings were near to the admiral's, rose and went out, asking some of their acquaintance, why there were so many up in arms at that hour of the night? They answered that the king much desired to see a castle assailed and defended (devised only in sport), to make him content. Passing further on, they came to the Louvre, where they likewise saw many torches lighted, and troops of armed men.

The guard there could no longer contain themselves, but began to pick a quarrel with them. And as one of the said gentlemen was about to speak, a Gascoine soldier struck at him with a partizan; and then they fell upon the rest. The noise of this spreading, the queen-mother said that, seeing it is not possible to restrain any longer the fury of the soldiers from breaking out, she said, "Let the bell of the church of St. Germain be tolled."

The admiral coming to the knowledge of this uproar (though he had but few of his followers about him), was not moved much by this; trusting (as he often used to say) upon the king's favor, of which he had large experience. Also he knew that when the Parisians understood how much the king disliked their folly, even if they had an intention to do him some mischief, yet they would be quieted as soon as they saw Cosseins and his guard.

This Cosseins was appointed by the duke of Anjou to defend the admiral's lodging, in which the old proverb was verified, that "the wolf was set to keep the sheep."

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About break of day, August 24th, A.D. 1572, St. Bartholomew's day, they began to knock at the door where the admiral lay. La Bonne, who lay not far from him, having the keys, and thinking there were some who came with a message from the king to the admiral, came down quickly and opened the door. Cosseins quickly fell upon him and stabbed him with his dagger, so that he died. Then Cosseins' harquebusiers rushed into the house, killing whoever they met; others fled. Cornaton, awaking with the noise that he heard at the door (for he lay in the next chamber), ran there, causing the Swiss and other officers to fortify it. Cosseins hearing that, cried out to him to open it in the king's name. He so handled the matter, that with the help he had, he forced the door open, and gained the stairs. The admiral and those who were with him, noting how they shot off pistols and guns, and finding themselves enclosed in their enemies' hands, fell to prayer, begging pardon of God for their sins.

The admiral rising out of his bed, and putting on his nightgown, commanded Merlin, the minister, to make the prayer. Also calling earnestly upon Jesus Christ, his God and Savior, he commended his spirit into his hands. The one who testified of these things, and made report it, coming into the chamber and being asked by the admiral what the tumult meant, said, "Sir, God is now summoning us to look to our end." The admiral seeing what would be the outcome, answered, "I have long since expected death; save yourselves if possible, for you cannot secure me. I commend my soul into the hands of the merciful God." Those who were present and escaped, have affirmed that the admiral was no more frightened at death, which he saw present before his eyes, than if there had been no likelihood of it at all.

Immediately, everyone in the chamber getting up to the top of the house, and having found a window near the roof, saved themselves there. But the greater part, who were beneath in the room next to the admiral, were slain; others miraculously escaped. Meanwhile, Cosseins having made his way, he had certain Swiss of the duke of Anjou's guard enter the house.

Besine, Cosseins, and Sarlabor, with their targets in one hand, and their naked swords in the other, broke open the admiral's chamber door. Besine (who was afterwards slain himself by one Bertoville on the way, after he escaped from prison) came towards the admiral, holding the point of his sword to his breast. He said, "Are you not the admiral?" "I am the man," he said, with an undaunted courage, as the murderers afterwards confessed. Then beholding the naked sword, the admiral said, "Young man, you should somewhat respect my years, and my infirmity of body; but it is not you who can shorten my days." Besine desperately thrust the admiral through the body with his sword, and then struck him with it on the head; each of the rest had one a blow at him, so that he quickly fell down, wounded to death.

While this mischief was enacting, the duke of Guise being below in the base court, with other Romish catholic lords, cried to the murderer above, "Besine, are you done?" "It is done," he said. Then the duke replied, "Monsieur, our knight (meaning king Henry's bastard) will not believe it unless he sees it with his eyes. Throw him down out of the window."

Then Besine and Sarlabor, lifting up the body of the admiral, threw him down to them, where he lay naked on the ground, exposed to all sorts of scorn and mocks of the multitude, some trampling on him with their feet.

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Now, because the blow which Besine had given the admiral on his head, had so covered his face with blood issuing from it that his visage could not be discerned, the duke of Guise stooped down, took his handkerchief, and wiping the admiral's face with it, said, "It is he, I know him well enough." And giving this poor dead body a spurn on the head with his foot

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(whom all the murderers in France feared while he lived) he passed from there, encouraging his soldiers, saying, "We have made a good beginning. Now let us go on to the rest, for the king has so commanded, the king has so commanded," repeating it twice.

An Italian of the duke of Never's guard cut off the admiral's head, and brought it to the king and queen-mother. Being embalmed, it was sent to Rome to the pope, and to the cardinal of Lorraine, who was there at that time. The common people on Monday following, cut off his hands. And then, in this woeful plight, his body was dragged up and down for three days in the gutters throughout the streets. He was at the last carried out of the city to a gibbet in Mount Faucon, where they hanged him by the feet. From there, some who were well disposed, going together in the night to this gibbet, took down the body of the admiral. They interred it so secretly that whatever the papists did, they could never find it; it remained buried. So they were glad to make a body of straw, and hung that up instead of the body itself, rather than have none at all.

This Sunday morning, all who were popishly affected, took liberty to kill and rob. It was credibly reported that the number of the slain that day and the two following days, in the city of Paris and in the suburbs, totalled more than ten thousand — counting lords, gentlemen, presidents, counsellors, advocates, lawyers, scholars, physicians, merchants, tradesmen, women, and children. The streets were covered with dead bodies. The river was dyed with blood. The gates and entrance into the king's palace were painted with the same color. But the blood-thirsty were not yet satisfied. Going from house to house with their associates, where they thought to find any Huguenots, they broke open the doors, then cruelly murdered whomever they met, sparing neither sex nor age. Carts were laden with dead bodies of young maidens, women, men, and children. These were discharged into the river, which was in a way covered all over with the slain, and dyed red with their blood, which also streamed down the streets from sundry parts of the city.

One of the massacrers having snatched up a little child in his arms, the poor babe began to play with his beard, and to smile upon him. But instead of being moved to compassion with it, this barbarous wretch wounded it with his dagger, and so cast it all wounded and bleeding into the river.

To proceed further, and to fully relate all the tragic acts committed in this massacre at Paris — to set down the thundering of guns and pistols, the lamentable voices and outcries of the slain, the roarings and horrible blasphemies of these murderers and devils incarnate, would be enough to cause the paper on which they were described, either to blush or weep.

Therefore, not to keep the reader any longer in this, having many things of like nature to present to your view, we will pass from the dolorous city of Paris, to other cities in France, and set before you, as in a mirror, a company of horrible and rueful spectacles.

### *Massacres committed at Meaux in Brie.*

Let us begin then with those of Meaux in Brie, which is not more than a day's journey from Paris.

The poor protestants in this city were destined to drink this cup of martyrdom, after their brethren and sisters in the city of Paris. Therefore, on the same Sunday, the 24th of August, about four o'clock in the afternoon, a post was sent to Meaux with letters, accompanied with a seditious fellow called Le Froid. Having come there, the packet was presented to Monsieur Louis Cosset, the king's attorney there. Upon the receipt of it, this attorney hastened here and there personally, to notify whichever cut-throats had their hands in pillaging and

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robbing those of the protestant religion in the first, second, and third troubles.<sup>706</sup> He commanded that they should be ready to come from their houses armed, at seven o'clock, and then to have the gates of the city instantly shut.

The time having come, which was about supper-time, the gates were shut, and then they began to execute their cruelties in sundry parts of the city. Thus that night was passed, not without uproars and strange events.

The next day Monday, about three o'clock in the morning, these good catholics began to pillage the houses of the protestants of the best things they had, which continued till eight o'clock, because they loved their trade so well. The principal of all the spoils were conveyed into the court and house of Louis Cosset; yet these were only the beginning of sorrows.

After robbing and spoiling, they commenced shutting up the protestants in prison. Those being filled, and the murderers having Cosset as their captain (who usually carried in each hand a pistol ready to discharge), they went into the prison on Tuesday, the 26th of August, about five or six o'clock at night, with swords, daggers, and butchers knives.

Near to this prison there was a great court, enclosed on every side, with walls and a very strong gate. In a corner of it is a large pair of winding stairs, containing twenty-five or thirty steps, by which they go up to the judgment hall, to the seat of justice. The murderers were assembled into this court. This done, Cosset went up into his seat. Then they had a scroll or bill, containing the names of the prisoners imprisoned there. They were called over one by one, numbering two hundred and more, as some of the murderers have since reported when they impudently bragged about their horrible impieties and injustices.

Then the attorney, laughing, began to call for the first man named in the bill. Being brought out, and seeing naked swords before him, he fell down and craved forgiveness of his sins at the hands of God. He was suddenly butchered by five or six men.

One Quintin Croyer, an elder of the reformed church, being called out, and seeing many of his companions massacred before his eyes, kneeled down, praying God to pardon these murderers. At this prayer, they fell to laughing. Not being able to pierce with their daggers a jerkin of double buff which he wore, and which they were loth to spoil (for it was good booty) they cut apart the points, and then gave him five or six stabs with a dagger into his body. And so this good man, wounded to death and calling upon God, rendered up his spirit into the hands of Him who gave it.

Faron Haren, a man zealously affected toward religion, had been sheriff of the city in the first troubles. By his endeavors, he had chased the mass out of Meaux for a time. He was mortally hated by these seditious papists. And therefore they were not content to simply kill him, but first cut off his nose, ears, and other parts. Then giving him many small thrusts into diverse parts of the body, they forced him to and fro among them, as if he had gone through the pikes. But being weakened, and not able to hold out any longer from the loss of blood that issued from all parts of his body, he fell with his face to the ground. Calling upon the name of the Lord, he received infinite gashes and wounds after he was dead.

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<sup>706</sup> [The French Wars of Religion began in March 1562, ten years earlier, with the Massacre of Vassy. Forces loyal to the Duke of Guise attacked a group of unarmed Huguenots \(French Protestants\) worshipping in a barn in the village of Vassy, killing several hundred. This sparked widespread conflict between French Catholics and Protestants, marking the start of a series of eight civil wars that lasted until 1598.](#)

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By this time it grew late. Therefore these bloodsuckers, having almost wearied themselves in worrying these poor lambs and sheep of Christ,<sup>707</sup> deferred the execution of the rest till after supper. It was also to take some breathing and refreshment, so as to murder the rest with greater alacrity. For the blood of the slain was reeking on the swords and arms of the murderers (their sleeves being tucked up), somewhat hindering their proceeding. After they had drunk wine to their fill, they meant to return and make themselves drunk with blood also! <sup>Rev 17.6</sup> That they might shed blood more freely, they took butchers with them, and great axes with which they struck down their oxen. And in the presence of this honest attorney, they felled these poor prisoners one after another.

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The prisoners called upon God, and cried so loud for mercy, that the whole city was in a way rung by it. This massacre lasted from nine o'clock at night till it was midnight. And because many prisoners still remained alive, they deferred their bloody business till the next day.

But this may suffice to describe this massacre at Meaux in Brie. We will now pass on to the city of Troyes in Champaign, and there take notice by the way, what cruelties were executed in that place.

### *Persecution of the Faithful at Troyes, in Champaign.*

News coming to Troyes of the massacre executed at Paris, most of the judges and officers of the king were sent to the bailiff of Troyes, with a commandment to diligently search from house to house for all those of the protestant religion, and to imprison as many as they could meet with.

In this city there was a merchant named Peter Belin, a man of turbulent nature. This Belin was at the massacre in Paris on St. Bartholomew's day. From there he was sent with letters from the king, dated the 28th of August, to the mayor and sheriffs of Troyes, to have all these persecutions cease, and the prisoners to be set at liberty. On the 3rd of September he came to Troyes with these two letters (which had first been published in Paris) with a commandment to deliver them to the foresaid magistrates, and be proclaimed there also.

But at the first entrance into the city, he began to ask, so that all might hear him, whether they had not executed the Huguenots there, as they had done in Paris. This was his language through the streets till he came home. But even some of the papists, who were not so cruelly minded, demanded of Belin what were the contents of the king's letters, of which they had some inkling before. But like a madman swelling with choler, he re that whoever said they contained anything tending to pacification, lied. Hastening therefore to the bailiff's house at Troyes, after he had delivered him the packet and whispered somewhat in his ear, he put him on to see this execution done. Now, so that this might the better as lawful, the help of the executioner of Troyes was requested, whose name was Charles.

Yet, showing himself more just and humane than the rest he, peremptorily refused to have his hand in an act tending to such great cruelty. He answered that it was contrary to his office to execute any man before sentence of death had first been pronounced by the magistrates. If they had such a sentence to show against any of the prisoners, he was ready to do justice. Otherwise he would not presume, without a warrant, to bereave any man of his life. And so with these words he returned home to his house.

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<sup>707</sup> *Worrying: what wild dogs do as they tear at the flesh of their prey, ripping it apart.*

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Now although this answer, proceeding from such a kind of person, whose office and custom it was to shed blood, might somewhat have assuaged and reduced the rage of the most barbarous tiger in the world, yet the bailiff seeing it, was further enraged. Upon this he sent for one of the jailers of the prison who kept those of the protestant religion. But the man being sick of a tertian ague,<sup>708</sup> Martin de Bures was sent to know his pleasure.

The bailiff told him at large what Belin had signified to him in private, and also that all the protestant prisoners must be put to sudden death so that the place might be purged of them. This, he said, you must not fail to do. But, said the bailiff, so that the blood may not run into the streets, you must have a trench dug in the midst of the prison, and set certain vessels at the two ends of it to receive the blood.

But this De Bures, for some considerations, such as thinking the king's letters (of which he had had some intelligence) might be proclaimed, made no haste to perform his charge. He acquainted no man with anything that had passed between the bailiff and him — not even Perennet the keeper, who then lay sick in his bed.

The next day, Tuesday, which was the 4th of September, the bailiff came into the prison about seven or eight o'clock. Calling for Perennet, he asked of him with a smile, "Perennet, is it done?" Perennet knowing nothing, more or less, asked of him what? Then the bailiff said, "Why, are the prisoners not dispatched? Thereupon he was ready with his dagger to have stabbed him. But coming a little better to himself, he told Perennet what his purpose was, and how he was to behave himself concerning the execution of it, telling him by all means not to forget to make the trench. At these words, Perennet stood amazed. Though otherwise he was a fellow eager enough by himself to commit any outrages against the protestants, he notified the bailiff that such an inhuman act could not be committed over to him, fearing lest in the time to come, justice might be followed against him by the parents or allies of the prisoners. No, no, said the bailiff, do not fear. I will stand between you and all harm. Others of the justices have consented to this besides myself, and would you have better security than that?"

A while later, the jailer coming into the court of the prison where the prisoners were abroad recreating themselves, had every one of them resort to his cabin or hole because, he said, the bailiff will come by and by, to see whether the keepers have done as he commanded them; which they did. Then these poor sheep began to fear they were destined to the slaughter, and therefore went immediately to prayer. Perennet instantly called his companions about him, reporting to them what the bailiff had given him in charge. Then they all took an oath to execute the same. But approaching near to the prisoners, they were so surprised with fear, and their hearts so failed them, that they stood gazing at one another, having no courage to commit such a barbarous cruelty. And so they returned to the jailer's lodge from which they came, without doing anything.

But instead of laying this to heart, as a notice and warning sent to them from above — and as if from a set purpose they meant to resist the checks of their own consciences, and so kick against the goads — they sent to the tavern for sixteen pints of the best wine, Troyes measure, with sheep's tongues and other viands. And thus intoxicating their brains with wine, they drew a list or catalogue of all the prisoners, which they delivered to Nicholas Martin, one of their confederates. He was to call the prisoners forward as he saw their names set down in the scroll. And thus, as they came forward, they massacred them.

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<sup>708</sup> *Tertian ague: a raging fever, with symptoms similar to Malaria.*



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Ludot, one of the prisoners, being called forth as his turn came, presented himself before them with a cheerful countenance, calling upon the name of the Lord. Now as he was to receive the stroke of death from these desperate blood-spillers, he prayed them to forbear a little, till he had taken off his doublet, which he usually put on when any tumult grew in the city. Having unlaced it, he presented his naked breast to them, received the blow, and fell down dead.

But poor Meurs did not escape so cheaply. For his turn having come, he was no sooner in their sight, than one of them drove at him with the point of his halbert, repeating the thrust often, hoping to have killed him, yet he could not. The poor man seeing himself thus dealt with by the caitiff, and no end made of it, took hold with his hands on the point of the halbert, and himself pointing to the seat of the heart, cried to the murderer with steadfast voice, "Here, soldier, here, right at the heart, right at the heart!" and so he finished this life.

However, in this massacre, these two just mentioned, for brevity's sake, are only named. Yet by what immediately follows, you may perceive there were not a few who suffered in this tragedy.

The massacre being ended, the murderers made a great pit at the back of the chapel of the prison, into which they cast the bodies one upon another, some of them still breathing. One, called Mauferre, lying in the midst of them, was seen to raise up himself above his fellow martyrs in this pit. They immediately threw earth upon him, smothering him, being but half dead. Because the order which the bailiff set down was not observed, namely, making a trench in the prison to receive the blood which was shed, it ran in such abundance out at the prison door, and from there through a channel into a river nearby, that the river was turned the color of blood.

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Some of the papists themselves, taking notice of this, and being ignorant of the fact, were so terrified by it, that they ran along the street, crying out and pointing at everyone they met, to behold this horrible and lamentable spectacle. Whereupon many hastening to the prison, could conjecture nothing else but that the prisoners had slain one another.

This was quickly rumored through the city, so that some went to inform the lieutenant and bailiff of it. But it was as if they had run to the wolves to tell them the sheep were devoured.

While this savage cruelty was being committed in the prison, one Bartholomew Carlet, a cooper, was a prisoner there for his debts. In the former troubles, he had exercised most notorious cruelties against those of the protestant religion. He was called in by these murderers to be one of their associates. Of the whole troop of murderers in Troyes, he was a principal one. He executed his part in so bloody a manner that (as he himself afterwards often acknowledged) he slaughtered thirty of these poor innocents with his own hands — so far had he grown past shame or common honesty. But his cruel work was so pleasing to certain of the popish religion at Troyes, that for a recompence, they paid his debt, and set him free from prison. This was done by taking up a collection for him in certain parishes.

The day after, which was the 5th of September, this worshipful bailiff of Troyes, so that he might apply the plaster when the parties were dead, had the king's letters (which he had received on the 30th of August) published in all the corners of the city, with the sound of trumpet. The bailiff was present in person at the publication. As the notary read the contents to him, he pronounced them jeeringly — not with a full and audible voice, as matters of such consequence ought to be read.

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### *Of the Massacre at Orleans.*

It now remains that we proceed to the city of Orleans, and take notice of whether the papists there were less cruel than those of Paris. But the historian says, "When I call to mind what has been the report of those who were present at that time in Orleans, it made the hair stand upright on my head." Yet because it is fitting that posterity be acquainted with the fury of these monsters in nature, we will commit to writing that of which we have been credibly informed.

On Saturday, the 23rd of August, letters were sent from the king to Orleans, to Sieur de la Renic, president of Dijon, to prevent all disorders, murders, etc., with the command that he should notify the citizens how the admiral was hurt, as also assure the protestants that before long, such justice would be executed on the actors, that all France should take warning by it not to attempt the like.

This was carefully performed by the Sieur de la Renic the same day. He had those of the best rank of both religions present at the publishing of the king's mind. The faithful, thinking themselves secure, were quiet. On the sabbath day, three hundred men, women, and children assembled in the place appointed for their meeting.

But on the same day, towards night, a new order came to the justice, mayor, and sheriffs of the said city, by which they were enjoined to take up arms, and to gather whatever strength they could, with an express charge to make havoc of those of the protestant religion. To this purpose, the captains of twelve companies were appointed to be the leaders of the rest, divided into forty-eight squadrons.

One of these blood-suckers, called Texier, came with a small troop to a counsellor's house of Orleans, whose name was Dechampeaux, lord of Bonilli. He invited himself and his company to supper with him. Dechampeaux bid them all a kindly welcome, making them good cheer, being ignorant of what had happened at Paris. But supper having ended, and all of them risen from the table, Texier told him to deliver his purse. Dechampeaux laughing at this, thinking he had been in jest, this cruel and unthankful guest, with blasphemous oaths, told him in few words what had happened in the city of Paris, and what preparation there was among the Roman catholics of Orleans, to cut off and root out the protestants there. Dechampeaux, seeing there was no time now to contest with him, gave money to this thief. To requite the courtesy and good entertainment he had been shown, Texier imbrued his hands in the blood of his host and neighbor, a man of as good and upright a carriage as anyone in the whole city. Afterwards, with his troop, Texier pillaged the whole house.

The 26th of August, the murderers began the execution about the ramparts, in such a strange way, that anyone with but a spark of humanity left in him, would be moved out of compassion to abhor and detest it. In these quarters there were many of the protestant religion. All night long nothing was heard but the shooting off of guns and pistols, forcing open doors and windows, fearful outcries of men, women, and little children, the trampling of horses and rumbling of carts hurrying dead bodies to and fro; the street swarming with aberrant exclamations by those of the common sort, with the horrible blasphemies of the murderers, laughing horribly at their furious exploits; some crying, "Kill them all, and then take the spoil;" others, "Do not spoil, but kill them all."

On Wednesday the massacre began more fiercely, and so it continued to the end of the week, not sparing to break these and similar jests upon the poor sufferers: "Where now is your God? What has become of all your prayers, and psalms now? Let your God, whom you called upon, save you if he can." Indeed, some of them, who in times past had been

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professors of the same religion, while they were slaughtering the poor innocents, dared sing to them in scorn, the beginning of the 43rd psalm: "Judge me, O God, and plead my cause." Others striking them said, sing now, "Have mercy on me O God." This is the language they used with these poor people in Paris and elsewhere. But these execrable outrages in no way daunted the courage of the faithful from dying steadfast in the faith.

Regarding the multitude of the slain, the murderers boasted that in this city they caused more than 12,000 men to perish: also 150 women, with a great number of children, nine years old and upward. But as some have since reported of themselves, there were 18,000 murdered, besides women and children. The manner of their death was first to shoot them with pistols, then strip them of their clothes, and either drown or else bury the dead bodies in pits, namely, those who dwelt around the walls. They were also armed with knives and poniards;<sup>709</sup> and in like manner, with javelins and partizans,<sup>710</sup> with which they murdered these poor, meek, and harmless creatures.

On Tuesday, at night, certain of this bloody crew came and knocked at the door of someone who was a doctor of the civil law, called Taillebous. Opening a casement, and somewhat understanding what they had to say to him, came down immediately, and opened the door to them. At the first greeting, they told him he must die. Whereupon he fell to prayer, and he did that with such constancy and affection, that the murderers being astonished, and restrained by a secret celestial power, they contented themselves only with taking his purse, in which there was fifteen crowns. And so they left him, offering him no more violence.

The following day, certain scholars resorting to his lodging, requested of him that they might see his library. Having brought them into it, one asked about this book of his, and another about another book, which he willingly gave them. At length they told him they were not as yet satisfied; their purpose was to kill him. Prostrating himself on the ground, and having ended his prayer, he wanted them to kill him there. But they forced him out of his own house, from which he went on with an undaunted courage, till in the way he lighted upon the body of a certain shoemaker, newly wounded, lying gasping for breath.

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At this sight, starting back as one somewhat appalled, he prayed them to kill him there. Yet they would not, but constrained him to pass on forward. Having come to the schools of the civil law, he said, at least let me die in front of this place where I have taught so long. But they furiously repulsed him more than before, and made him go further with them, where at length they knocked him down.

A rich burgess of the city, named Nicholas Bougars Sieur de Neva, a man of singular worth, and highly esteemed by all, was deadly sick at that time. Some of the murderers came into his chamber with a purpose to kill him; but seeing him in that state, they spared him. Yet finding Noel Chaperon there, an apothecary who brought him his medicine, they cut off one of his arms, then drew him into the open marketplace, where they made an end of him.

The next day someone came to the lodgings of someone who was sick, who till then was accustomed to visit him. Now as he was entering, he met the mother of the sick party at the door, going to mass. Coming up into the chamber, he stabbed the sick man with a dagger in many places, and so he killed a dying man. Then, with all silence, as if he had done no such act, wiping his dagger, he went downstairs again, and meeting someone at the door who

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<sup>709</sup> *Poniard*: a dagger with a slender blade.

<sup>710</sup> *Partizan*: a pike with a long tapering double-edged blade with lateral projections.

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came to visit the one who was sick, this fellow greeted and passed by him, without any change either in his behavior or countenance.

A cook, having hidden himself for three whole days, was forced by hunger to come out, for want of food. But while he went about to escape one death, he fell into the talons of these lions, who devoured him, and did that quickly.

Francis Stampel, a rich merchant, was threatened with having his throat cut if he did not give the murderers money. But having none on him, and being taken by them out of his house, he called for pen and ink. He wrote a letter to his wife, wishing her to immediately send him his ransom. No sooner had he sealed the letter, than the murderers deprived him of both it and his life, laughing at what they had done. Though they got a round sum of money from his widow, she could not obtain from them the body of her dead husband.

But to fill up the measure of their cruelty, so that those of the protestant religion might taste of it to the utmost, the papists were not content to be murderers themselves, but constrained those of the protestants who had revolted through fear, to play the murderers also. Thus placing these wicked revolters into the forefront of their companies, and arming them with weapons fit for the purpose, they pressed them to march on before them, and to give the first onset, crying out to them, "Strike them down, strike them down; are they not of your brethren and holy sisters?" And if they refused to do as they were commanded, their turns were likely to be next.

The massacres committed at Bourges and la Charite, are passed over in silence, because the history requires at this time to touch only upon those things which are most remarkable, and will follow later.

Yet one thing should not be forgotten, which fell out in the city last mentioned. There was one John Sarrazin, seventy years of age and more, who for a long time had exercised the office of a deacon in the reformed church. He so faithfully performed this office, that he was esteemed a father of the poor. This good old father was set upon on Tuesday night, in his own house, the 4th of September 1572, and struck with swords by these furious murderers. Looking upon them with a venerable and smiling countenance, he said them, "My friends, what will you do with me? Have I ever offended any of you? If I have, let him speak." But nothing could prevail with these savage monsters to soften their stony hearts. For with a more than brutish rage, they fell upon this grey head and poor withered carcass. To fence off the blows, he crept under his bed, where one of these rake-hells,<sup>711</sup> his next door neighbor and godson, gave him such a thrust with his sword into the belly, that his bowels spilled out.

The poor man, seeing himself thus wounded, and perceiving who had done it, said, "Ah, godson, do you use me thus? I never hurt you, but have done you good." He languished from this hurt for two days and two nights. During that time, as we learned from his wife, who attended him all the while, he did not cease with great zeal, to call upon God, thinking himself happy to have suffered that outrage for His name. And so, not long after, he yielded up his spirit into the hands of God who gave it.

### *The horrible Massacre of the Faithful at Lyons, in France.*

On Wednesday, the 27th of August 1672, about six o'clock in the morning, Sieur Mandolet, governor of Lyons, was informed of the massacre at Paris. Within an hour and a half, a soldier passing through the streets, made it known to the people, that the admiral and all

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<sup>711</sup> *Rakehell*: someone who is unrestrained by convention or morality; profligate.

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the protestant princes were slain. By and by the gates of the city were shut, and guards of soldiers placed here and there.

But lest the protestants be moved by such an unusual and unexpected shutting up of the gates (as in the time of open war), the Roman catholics had it reported that it was all done to secure the protestants. Some gave too much credit to this report (for besides the ordinary guard of the governor, and that of the citadel, with the 300 harquebusiers of the city, which all amounted to about 1000), many of the city were gathered to them besides, likewise with arms. They were commanded that if they saw any of the protestant religion coming abroad, even if only with their swords girded to them, to immediately cut them off with the rest also. But having inured themselves to an incredible modesty and patience, the protestants did not give the least appearance of defending themselves, seeing a tempest now near at hand which they knew could not arise without a special providence of God.

The following day, notwithstanding all these fair shows, they evidently perceived that their lives were at the mercy of the papists, who had sucked the blood of many of them in the first troubles. For though they found no more passage for themselves out of the city than they did the preceding day, now they might not either freely go out or come in on their necessary occasions. If they presented themselves in the streets, they were clapped up in prison; for this reason they were obliged to keep to their houses. Night having come, the papists made a secret search in the protestants' dwelling houses — some they rifled, others were ransomed, and the rest imprisoned. Many of them never coming there, were either killed in the corners of the streets with daggers, or else cast into the river; some of these (who were still living when this history was in writing) were saved by swimming, being carried down by the current of the stream, half a mile beneath the city. On Friday after, there was a proclamation, with the sound of trumpets, in all the chief places of the city. The sum of it was that, "those of the protestant religion were to appear before the governor at his house, there to be informed what the king's pleasure was concerning them." Most of them, being too credulous, did not fear to make their appearance at the place assigned, from which they were soon after committed to various prisons. The following night there were heard from all parts of the city lamentable cries and shriekings, not only of those who were massacred in their houses, but of others half wounded to death, whom they forced to the river.

From that time forwards, there were such murders and outrages committed throughout the city, that it seemed hell was set open; and the devils coming from there in the likeness of men, ran roaring to and fro in the streets.

On Sunday, which was the last of August, about eight o'clock in the morning, the rest, who were not massacred the Friday before, were then made an end of.

About one o'clock the same day, commandment was given that under every ancient, twenty-five armed men, with twelve porters, should be gathered to conduct them to St. George's gate, which is by the archbishop's house. In this gate, in which the great massacre was to be executed, were more than 350 prisoners.

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The keys of the archbishop's house, in which so many prisoners were enclosed, were delivered to this murderous crew. They joyfully offered themselves to perform so horrible a business, which the ordinary executioner refused, and common soldiers abhorred to undertake. When it was first propounded to the soldiers, they answered peremptorily that they would never do it.

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The executioner alleged that, "If according to the course of justice, the sentence of death had been denounced against them, he knew what he had to do; but for this purpose of theirs," he told them that he thought "they might have only too many executioners in the city to satisfy their desire." The soldiers answered, "They thought it more than inhuman to cut the throats of those who never offended them. But if the prisoners had made any insurrection or sedition in the city, then they might have some color of reason to do it. Otherwise they not mean to stain the honor of their profession (which is accompanied with nobleness of spirit) with so villainous an act, more befitting butchers than soldiers."

But Mandelot and his accomplices were not so scrupulous. For within three hours, Le Clou, captain of the harquebusiers of the city, came with an enraged troop, etc., the greater part of which were furnished with short swords and hangers (daggers).

As soon as Le Clou entered into the great court, he gave the prisoners to understand, with a loud voice, that "They must die." Turning himself towards his slaughtermen, he said, "On, on, go in, and get to your work." But first he did not forget to demand the prisoners' purses for his booty. When he pocketed these, he got into a gallery, there he satisfied his hellish lust in taking a view of this rueful spectacle.

The murderers began to fall upon the poor prisoners with such barbarous cruelty, hacking and hewing them in so furious a manner, that within less than an hour they were all cut in pieces; not so much as one escaped their hands. All these for the most part were massacred on their knees, and lifting up their eyes and hands to God for mercy, while they had their hands and fingers cut off.

### *The Death and Martyrdom of Francis le Bossu, together with his two Sons,*

Among all those who confessed the name of Jesus Christ, and gave their lives for his truth, a certain merchant of hats and caps, called Francis le Bossu, well deserves to be set in the first rank, with his two sons. For while he stood in the blood of his brethren, being besmeared with it, and spirting in his face, as it were, he encouraged his children to take their death willingly and patiently, using this speech:

"Children, we are not to learn now that it has always been the portion of believers to be hated, cruelly used, and devoured by unbelievers — as Christ's simple sheep, by ravening wolves. If we suffer with Christ, we will also reign with him. Let not these drawn swords terrify us; they will be but a bridge by which we will pass over out of a miserable life, into immortal blessedness. We have breathed and lived long enough among the wicked; let us now go and live with our God; let us joyfully march after this great company which has gone before us here, and let us make way for those who follow after."

When he saw the murderers come, he clasped his arms about his two sons, and they likewise embraced their father; as if the father meant to be a buckler for his children, and the children as if by the bond of nature (which binds them to defend his life from where they received it) they meant to ward off the blows which were coming towards their father, even if with the loss of their own lives. When the massacre was ended, all three were found dead, thus embracing one another.

Now after this furious assault, these impudent creatures went up and down the city, showing their white doublets all besprinkled with blood, boasting, that some had killed a hundred, some more, some less. Immediately the great gates of the archbishop's house were set wide open for all comers. Surely there was none of them (if they were of the most devout Romanists) who did not have their hearts wounded and pierced within them, to see so

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hideous a slaughter. And indeed, some of them were heard to say, when they beheld such an inhuman and cruel act, that "certainly they were not men, but devils in the habit of men, who had done this."

The next morning, which was Monday, the first of September, the remainder of the corpses, which were cast into the water, were put into great boats. Being rowed over to the other side of the river Saon, they were all cast on shore there. The corpses were also spread upon the ground near the abbey of Esnay, like dung upon the earth. The monks would not allow them to be buried in their church-yard, esteeming them unworthy of burial. They also feared that so many put together would be a means to infect the air, and therefore they gave a sign to have them thrown into the river.

Now as the multitude were dragging them in there, an apothecary came and informed them that money might be made from the grease that was taken out of their bodies. Then the most corpulent bodies were quickly sought out. When they had ripped them up, a great quantity of that commodity gotten from there, was sold by these merchants for three shillings per pound. And then, not knowing how to wreak their malice any further upon them, after many derisions and scorns which the bystanders, especially the Italians, had done to these poor despised carcasses, they were tumbled into a great pit, and the rest were thrown into the river.

Those of Dauphiny, of Languedoc, and Provence, were amazed to see so many bodies floating on the water, some dismembered, others fastened together with long poles, others lying on the shore, some having their eyes put out, others their noses, ears, and hands cut off, stabbed with daggers in every part of their bodies, so that some among them had no human shape remaining. Indeed, so great a number of these mangled corpses presented themselves on the port of Tournon, that the men and women of the place made an outcry, as if the enemies had been at their gates.

Not many months after, when all these bloody tragedies were ended, the pope sent a legate to the king, named cardinal Ursin. This legate was received with great solemnity at Lyons, and the streets were hung with tapestry. Now, having heard mass at St. John's church, and returning by the same door which he went in at, the greatest number of the murderers attended his coming there. As he passed by, they all kneeled down for his absolution. But the legate did not know the reason why they kneeled thus before him. One of the principal agents kneeling there among them, told the legate that they were those who had been the actors in the massacre. When the legate perceived that to be the cause, he absolved them all with making the sign of the cross.

### *Persecution at Angiers, in France.*

As soon as the massacre began at Paris, a gentleman of Paris, named Monsoreau, obtained a passport, with letters to massacre those of the protestant religion at Angiers. Being disappointed of his prey in one place, he came to the lodging of a reverend and learned minister named John Mason, surnamed de Launay, Sieur of Riviere. Meeting his wife at his entrance into the house, he greeted her and kissed her, as it is the manner in France, especially among the courtiers. He asked her where her husband was? She answered that he was walking in his garden; and then directed him the way to him.

Monsoreau, having lovingly embraced La Riviere, said to him, "Do you know why I have come? The king has commanded me to kill you immediately, and has given me express charge to do it, as you will know by his letters." After these words, he showed him a pistol, ready charged. Riviere replied that he "did not know in what he had offended the king; but

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seeing that you seek my life, give me a little leave to cry to God for mercy, and to recommend my spirit into His hands.”

Having made a short prayer, he willingly presented his body to the murderer, who shot him with his pistol, and he shortly died.

[1007] A.D. 1572.

Not long after, the king sent Puygaillard, who drowned nine or ten, and among others, the wife of this minister, de la Riviere, named above. She expressed a singular constancy of faith even to her last breath.

This minister and martyr formerly mentioned, surnamed Launay, was the eldest son of Sieur de Launay, a man exceedingly rich and wealthy, but an obstinate papist. When the old man saw how his son was inclined to be a professor of the gospel, he threatened to disinherit him unless he would abjure. He promised, on the contrary, to bestow great matters upon him, and to marry him honorably, if he would be ruled by him. His son refusing all of this, his father's love was turned into hatred, insofar that the young man was forced to flee to Paris. There in time he was called to be a minister of the first reformed church planted in that city, under the reign of King Henry II. From that reformed church other churches in diverse cities in France fetched their light.

### *Persecution at Rouen.*

When the murderers began to play their parts in this city, they counselled those of the protestant religion to get themselves into the prisons, as places of the greatest security from the fury and rage of the people. But those who followed this advice, found that they were ready to be devoured there like poor sheep, by these greedy wolves, at their pleasure.

Those who were murdered in the city in just a few days — some in their houses, and others in the prisons — amounted to 6000, besides more than 50 women upon whom they exercised no less cruelty than upon the men.

For brevity's sake, their names are omitted here. The dead bodies being piled together, they were conveyed in dung carts out of the city, and thrown by heaps, one upon another, into great pits dug for that purpose. Their garments being washed from their blood in the river, by certain poor women, were afterwards distributed here and there to the poor by the papists, so that they might seem to mingle with their unjust cruelty, some works of justice and charity.

### *The Shameful fall of a Minister named Du Rosier.*

Within a mile of Paris there is a place where the protestants who dwelt thereabouts, usually assembled to hear sermons, and to participate in the sacraments. Hughes Sureau (called Du Rosier) was placed over this flock as overseer.

In times past, he was a minister at Orleans. He was discharged from there, as someone of a contentious spirit, and given to affect novelties. In the process of time, he came to be the established minister of this foresaid church, near to Paris.

Hearing the news of the massacre, he fled with the rest, for company. Being apprehended, he began to waver, persuading many prisoners to revolt as he had done. This caused him afterwards, if his repentance was sound, to utter these words in a book which I have, in which he bitterly lamented his woeful fall. “The murderers, by their cruel hands, murdered men's bodies, while their souls escaped safe; but by my persuasions I have been a killer of souls, in turning them from the truth which they professed before.”



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The judge who had him in bonds, sent letters to Paris, to give notice of his apprehension, and also of some apparent signs which gave the judge hope of the minister's conversion.

The king sent for him shortly after. Being brought into the king's presence, he subscribed instantly to an abjuration, with a detestation of the Huguenot's profession. Before the king of Navarre and the prince of Conde, he maintained the Romish religion, and consented to it with the Sorbonists, who were present there at the time. A few years before, he had learnedly defended the truth against them.

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In this abjuration, he endeavored to confute many articles which were maintained by Calvin and Beza, against the Romish religion. In these disputes, this minister being of a prompt wit and having the ability to express himself well, handled the matter so cunningly, that the king of Navarre, his sister the princess, and the prince of Conde so far yielded, that within five or six days they went to mass, and received absolution from the cardinal of Bourbon.

The points about which this Rosier disputed, were these: 1. Concerning the marks of the church; 2. Of the trinity of persons; 3. Of the incarnation of Jesus Christ; 4. Of Christ's descent into hell. 5. Of original sin; 6. Of the providence of God; 7. Of predestination and reprobation; 8. Of man's freewill; 9. Of justification; 10. Of succession; 11. Of intercession of saints; 12. Of the sacrifice of the mass; and lastly, of transubstantiation. The Sorbonists had this confession printed, to which the ministers of the reformed religion would not grant an answer. They knew that the one who made it, acted contrary to his own conscience, adding nothing to it which had not been confuted a thousand times.

Upon his repentance, he afterwards revoked all this, as is to be seen by his book printed here in London, in the French tongue, in the year 1573. I have this confession of his in my custody, which was contrary to his abjuration.

Now, regarding the prince of Conde, the king propounded three things to him: either to go to mass, to die, or else perpetual prison — and therefore to think well to himself, which of the three he liked best. The prince answered, as it is reported, "That by God's grace he would never choose the first; as for the latter two, he referred himself to the king's pleasure."

### *A Massacre at Toulouse, in France.*

On Sunday, which was the eighth day after the massacre of Paris, about eight o'clock in the morning, the chief of the papists received intelligence of what had passed, with letters directing them what they were to do. Then a council was called, at the breaking up of which the great gates of the city were shut; only the wickets were left open, at which those were set to watch as they thought fit. Soon after it was rumored throughout the city, that the protestant lords and gentlemen were massacred at Paris. The protestants at Toulouse noting this, having gone forth about five o'clock in the morning to hear the sermon at Castanet, some thought it fit not to return, but to resort to some other place. Others resolved to go back again, so that they might take order about their affairs. These being ill-advised, were allowed to enter peaceably, leaving their swords and daggers at the gate. At evening, soldiers were placed here and there. But because many counsellors and chief men of the protestants were still abroad, and so that they might better entrap them, the next day the gates were not so carefully looked to. Whoever would, might come in and go out at their leisure, without being questioned at all. This was done to draw in the simple people who wandered up and down the fields. The first president, called Dasis, a subtle-headed man, sent to the counsellors abroad to come in, promising them their safety upon his word, showing that

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their absence only incensed the inhabitants of Toulouse more against them. It was granted indeed, that there had been a massacre at Paris, but that was upon some private quarrel, so that the king was not minded for that to break his edict of pacification.

Some of them were persuaded and returned; others apprehending danger, resolved to retire to Montauban, Realmont, and elsewhere. On the following Tuesday, that they might hold those whom they had gotten within the walls, and draw in those who as yet kept themselves without, they had it published, with the sound of trumpets, that the king's will was that none of the protestant religion should be molested. The presidents, with others, were present at this proclamation, accompanied by a guard of soldiers. This caused many of the protestants, especially the counsellors, to suspect some treachery. They therefore hastened to the first president to know what these things meant. He answered, it was only to restrain the people from making a tumult. But perceiving that they could not by their cunning catch the birds who kept aloof, they wreaked their malice upon those they had in their hands.

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On the next Wednesday, about ten o'clock in the morning, having separated their troops into different quarters, they had them enter into the houses of the protestants, whom they imprisoned in sundry prisons of the city. This business took them all that Wednesday. The guard was doubled at the gates. One of the parliament, with a merchant who was a papist, were deputed as commanders at the gates, to examine all those who went out, and to put back those who meant to escape. There was also a charge given, that none should dare to conceal any of the protestants, as they would answer for it. By these means, many were discovered and imprisoned. Among them were five or six counsellors, men excellently learned, who comforted the rest. They were thus detained three weeks. In the meanwhile, the murderers set upon the neighboring cities.

The three weeks having expired, they put all these prisoners together into the Conciergerie, which is a special prison. After this they began to manifest themselves. For the reason they had deferred the slaughter of them so long was that they might obtain authority from Paris. This was brought to them by their deputies, whose names were Delpech and Madron, rich merchants of the city. These came with a warrant from the king, that if the massacre was not finished, then they should not defer any longer to put his will into execution. They showed themselves all too forward and ready for this.

On Saturday morning, before the sun was up, certain scholars who were night-walkers, with seven or eight other vile fellows, armed with axes and butchers' knives, entered into the said Conciergerie, and had the prisoners called down one after another. They massacred them beneath, at the foot of the stairs of the Conciergerie, not permitting them so much leisure as to speak, much less to pray. It was thought that they massacred 300. Afterwards, spoiling them of all they had, they stripped them out of their clothes and shirts, and left them naked. They were exposed to the view of all for two days, while great pits were dug, in which the corpses, thus cruelly massacred, were cast naked one upon another. The counsellors whom they had imprisoned, after they were massacred, were hanged in their long gowns upon a great elm, which was in the court of the palace. In the meanwhile, all the houses of the protestants were sacked and pillaged.

Many among these, because of the barbarous cruelties used against their brethren, abjured daily.<sup>712</sup> Now, because the Sorbonists provided a form of abjuration to that purpose, for

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<sup>712</sup> *Abjure*: to formally reject or disavow a formerly held belief, usually under pressure.

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saving the lives of those who recanted, it will not be impertinent to insert it here. It was printed at Paris by Nicholas Roffet.

“The abjured, minding to return into the lap of our holy mother, the Roman church, must present themselves first to their parsons or curates, to be directed by them what they ought to do. Afterwards, they are to be sent from there to their reverend bishop and diocesan, or his official, to pronounce the said abjuration in the following manner and form:

“1. I \_\_\_\_, such a one, of such a diocese, and dwelling in such a place, acknowledge by the grace of God the true catholic and apostolic faith from which I have willfully gone astray and separated myself; and now desiring to return into the true sheepfold, which is the catholic, apostolic, and Roman church, I profess to have abjured, and here before you my superior, I do abjure and detest all the Huguenot errors of Luther, Calvin, and all heresies whatever, with which up to now I have been infected and defamed, consenting now to the doctrine of our holy mother, the church, beseeching you in the name of God, and of his Son, Jesus Christ, and of the glorious Virgin Mary his mother, with all the saints and she-saints in Paradise, that it will please you to receive me into the fold of the Christian flock and people of God, who live under the obedience of the pope, ordained Christ's vicar in the said church, submitting myself patiently to hear, and willingly to perform the penance you will think fit to impose upon me, absolving me from all offenses committed while I lived in such errors, for which I here ask pardon of God, of the said church, and of you my pastor (set over me by God the Creator) to absolve me with such penance as you will judge to be available for the satisfaction of my sins and offenses. And that it may be seen that I have made, and do make this abjuration from the heart.

“2. I further confess, before God and you, that I believe all that is contained in the Apostles', Athanasian and Nicene creeds, with all the confessions of faith besides, allowed and approved by the councils of the catholic, apostolic, and Roman church, and so forth as it follows in those creeds.

“3. I also believe, acknowledge, and confess whatever is contained in the old and new testament, approved by the said holy catholic, apostolic, Roman church, according to the sense and interpretation of the holy doctors, and received by them, rejecting wholly all other interpretations as false and erroneous.

“4. I acknowledge the seven sacraments of the said church to have been instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, as necessary for the salvation of mankind, although all of them are not of necessity to be conferred upon all; namely, I acknowledge that the seven sacraments are baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, which is the holy sacrament of the altar, penance, extreme unction, orders, and marriage; and that of them, baptism, confirmation, and orders, cannot be reiterated without sacrilege; that the said sacraments confer grace, and have those effects which the church has taught, and that the form and use according to which they are administered to Christians is holy and necessary.

“5. I further acknowledge that the holy mass is a sacrifice and oblation of the true body and blood of Jesus Christ, under the forms of bread and wine mingled with water; which bread and wine under the foresaid forms are in the mass, by the words of consecration there pronounced by the priest, transubstantiated and changed into the said body and blood of Christ; although the qualities and accidents remain in the said forms after consecration; and that the mass is profitable and available both for the living and for the dead.

“6. I acknowledge and confess the concomitance, namely, that in receiving the body of Christ under the form of bread only, I then likewise receive the blood of Jesus Christ.

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"7. I confess that prayer to, and intercession of saints for the living and for the dead, is holy, good, and profitable for Christians, and in no way contrary to the honor of God.

"8. That prayers made in the church for the faithful departed are beneficial for them, for the remission of sins, and the mitigating of their pains deserved for the same.

"9. That there is a purgatory, where the souls of those who are detained there are relieved by the prayers of the faithful.

"10. I confess that honor ought to be given to the saints reigning with Christ in heaven, that they ought to be prayed to, and that they make intercession for us to God, and that their relics ought to be worshipped.

"11. That the commandments and traditions of the said church, consisting in divine ceremonies, are holy and good, such as fastings, abstinence from meats, observation of feasts, and other ecclesiastical rites, and ought to be observed according to the traditions of the apostles and ancient fathers, continued from the primitive times, and since brought into the church by the decrees of councils, received from them long ago or lately. Also, that I will and ought to obey them as prescribed and authorized by the Holy Spirit, the ordainer of those things which serve to the upholding of Christian religion, and of the holy catholic and apostolic Roman church.

"12. I likewise believe and consent to all the articles concerning original sin and justification.

[1009] A.D. 1572.

"13. I also steadfastly believe that the pictures of Christ, of his holy mother, and of all the saints, ought to be retained in the church, that the uses of them are very profitable, and that they ought to be worshipped.

"14. I confess that the power of indulgences and pardons is left to the church by Jesus Christ, and the use of them is greatly available. And I also acknowledge the church of Rome to be the chief mother of all churches, and that she has the Holy Spirit for her guide; and that all private and pretended inspirations contradicting the same, are of the devil, the prince of dissension, who would rend asunder the seamless coat of Jesus Christ.

"Lastly, I strictly promise to observe and keep whatever was decreed and ordained by the last Council of Trent, and I promise before God and you, never to depart from the catholic and apostolic Roman church. And if I do, which God forbid, I submit myself to the correction and canons of the said church, made, decreed, and ordained against them which fall into apostasy.

"To which abjuration and confession, I have subscribed with my hand, etc."

Some of those who for fear abjured, afterwards relented. Others grew more and more hardened, that in going often to mass they took part with the priests and murderers, as if they had never made any profession at all of the truth.

### *Persecution at Bordeaux.*

Soon after the massacre at Paris, tidings of it came to Bordeaux. It happened there one morning, as the protestants were taking a boat to hear a sermon in a meadow where they usually met, about three miles from Bordeaux, between the river of Garonne and the brook of La Jalla, that the governor Mountferrand commanded them to come back. He had the skill to cloak it under a plausible pretense; namely, that they might not be set upon there by the multitude.

After their return, a strong watch and ward was set at the gates, so that none of the protestants would have leave to pass unless he had a passport from the governor. Yet means

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were made for the escape of their ministers, without being perceived. They went to Medox, expecting what the outcome of this business at Bordeaux would be. Having intelligence of what was executed there, they stayed a number of days and nights, hiding themselves in the rocks and marshes until they had an opportunity to take shipping, and sail to England.

Instantly thereupon, the lord of Montpensat arrived at Bordeaux from the king. At his first coming, he feigned as if he meant to settle all things in peace. Yet underhandedly, he worked in such a way with the governor, that a massacre was resolved upon. He was solicited to this by a Jesuit called Edmund Angier, who out of the pulpit used to horribly and bitterly thunder and inveigh against the remissness and faint-heartedness of the governor. It went so far that on St. Michael's day (as they called it), he spoke of the angels by whom God executes his judgments. He cried out by way of interrogation, "Who executed God's judgments upon the Huguenots in Paris? The angel of God. Who has executed the like upon other cities in this kingdom? The angel of God." In a word, he never ceased, in public and private, to solicit the papists of Bordeaux to follow the example of the Parisians. And then, day by day, he menaced those of the protestant religion with the approaching of an utter ruin and desolation, if they did not quickly return into the bosom of the Roman church. If they refused this offer now, they should not be received when they would.

Many being terrified with these threats, and also by the entreaties of their kindred — who set before them the imminent danger which hung over their heads — revolted and abjured. The lord of Montpensat had Master William Blanck, an advocate in the court of parliament, called before him. He was counsellor to him and to his father-in-law. He exhorted and persuaded him to return to the unity of the Roman church.

Le Blanck answered that he, "had sufficiently weighed and compared all things together, before he took upon himself the profession of that religion which he now professed, which was the true religion, acknowledging it to far exceed the other in every respect."

Montpensat hearing this, rebuked him sharply, saying that, "He then thought himself wiser than the king, and all those who professed as his majesty did." It went so far that those who stood about Le Blanck began to handle him roughly; so that he had much to do to escape with his life, if Montpensat had not rescued him from that danger, because he had come there upon his word. The governor said, "If I had been there, I would have slain him."

The governor being pressed to dispatch this massacre at Bordeaux, did not know what to do. For on the one side, La Sieur de Vesins, with sundry others coming from the court, assured him that the king wondered why the business was deferred so long — showing that he could not perform a more acceptable service to the king than this. On the other side, Strossi, who hovered about Rochelle, to take it, wished him to be well-advised what he did, whatever command he had to the contrary — foreseeing, perhaps, that if he went forward with his execution, the people of Rochelle would have held Strossi in such favor that the governor's project would have been defeated; and so it would be no small prejudice to the king's affairs. This put the governor in hope that he would stand between him and all perils.

For the truth is, the army by sea, which was prepared against Rochelle, lay for a time at Bordeaux, under the pretense of conquering Florida. They would have been ready enough to conduct a general massacre there, but were afraid the Rochellers would be incensed by it.<sup>713</sup>

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<sup>713</sup> In other words, Strossi was waiting for the governor of Bordeaux to act first.

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Yet, in conclusion, having balanced things on both sides, the governor was persuaded by the lord Montpensat to execute the massacre. To this purpose, an oath was taken, and a catalogue was made of what they meant to spoil.

On Saturday then, which was the 3rd of October 1572, the governor having assembled together all the scum of the city to aid and assist him in so barbarous an act, commanded them, with other soldiers, to be ready shortly after dinner to put the king's command into execution. They were very eager for this, coming in their liveries, attended by captains of tens, who taught them what they had to do.

Most of the murderers had red hats given to them by Peter Estounach. For this, and also for the blood with which they dyed their arms, they were called *the red band*. Others called them *the cardinal's band*. The governor commanded them to kill all those of the protestant religion, especially those who had taken up arms, and not to spare one.

The governor, intending to show them the way, went to the house of Master John Guilloch, lord of Obiere, counsellor in the court of parliament, to execute the hatred he had long since conceived against him. He was about to escape out at a back door, when they caught and brought him into the outer court in front of his house, in the presence of the governor, who killed him with a sword. This done, the man's house was wholly pillaged.

At that time, they brought a certain minister out of the Conciergerie, who a few days before, coming from the country Saintong to Bordeaux (he thought for his better safety), was apprehended and imprisoned there. As soon as he came out of the prison, they killed him before the gates of the palace.

Master William Savin's house (he was a counsellor of the parliament, and also a protestant) was forced open, pillaged, and spoiled, and himself cruelly murdered. His clerk, called Simonet, seeing his master about to be killed, embraced and comforted him. Being asked whether he was of the protestant religion, he answered yes, and would die with his master for the same. Thus they were slain in one another's arms.

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### *The cruel Martyrdom of Du Tour, a Deacon of the Protestant Church.*

A deacon of the reformed church, called Du Tour, an old man who, in the days of his ignorance, had been a priest in the popish church. Being sick in his bed, he was dragged out into the open street. It being demanded of him whether he would go to mass, and thereby save his life. He freely answered, "No, especially now, drawing so near my end, both in regard to my years and grievous sickness. I hope I will not so far forget the eternal salvation of my soul, as for fear of death to prolong this life for a few days. For so I would buy a short term of life at too dear a cost." Hearing him say so, they killed him instantly.

It was lamentable to see the poor protestants wandering up and down, not knowing where to save their lives. Some were rejected by their own parents and kinsfolks, who shut their doors against them, pretending they did not know them. Others were betrayed and delivered up by those to whose trust they had committed themselves. Many were saved, even by priests and others, from whom a man would have expected no such security. Some were saved by their very enemies, whose hearts abhorred such detestable outrages.

The whole city was full of terrors and horrible threats against those of the protestant religion, saying that the king's commandment was that he would not have so much as one of

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them left in his kingdom. And if any refused to go to mass, a hole should be dug for him in the earth, in which he should immediately be buried without any more ado.

Thus we have taken a view of the extreme afflictions and oppressions of the reformed churches in many parts of France, in which within a few weeks well near 30,000 were put to death.

### *The Famine at Sancerre*

Now, in the year 1573, many places to which the faithful fled for refuge were assailed by open war; namely, in the first place, Sancerre — the history of which you have here in a short view, presented before you in what follows.

Being surrounded by irreconcilable enemies, from about the beginning of April, the lack of victuals (food) caused them to gather together all the asses and mules they had in the city. They were eaten up in less than a month.

Then they came to horses, cats, rats, moles, mice and dogs. After these were spent, they fell to eating ox and cow-hides, sheep-skins, parchment, old shoes, bullocks and horse-hoofs, horns, and lanterns, ropes and horse harnesses, leather girdles, etc.

In the end of June, a third of the besieged had no bread to eat. Those who could get hemp-seed, ground it, or stamped it in mortars, and made bread of it. They did the same with all sorts of herbs, mingling it with bran if they had it. They ate the meal of chaff, nut-shells, and of slate, excrements of horses and men; even the offal which lay in the streets was not spared.

The 29th of July, a poor man and his wife were executed for having eaten the head, brains, and entrails of a young child about three years old, which died of hunger, having made ready the other parts to eat at another meal. An old woman lodging in their house, eating a part of this mournful diet, died in prison, within a few hours after her imprisonment.

They were found guilty of other offenses, but this aggravated the same even more. All children under twelve years of age died. It was lamentable to hear the pitiful voices uttered by poor parents for the misery in which their eyes beheld their languishing and dying infants. To this purpose you may take notice here of a memorable accident. A boy ten years old, being ready to give up the ghost, seeing his father and mother weeping over him (whose arms and legs when they handled them, felt as if they had been dried sticks) said to them, why do you weep thus, in seeing me famished to death? Mother, he says, I ask you for no bread, I know you have none. But seeing it is God's will that I must die this death, let us be thankful for it. Did not the holy man Lazarus die of famine? Have I not read it in my bible? Uttering these, with like speeches, he yielded up the ghost.

That all the people did not die of famine in the end of this month, was because of certain horses which were reserved for service if necessary, and six cows which were left to give milk for the sustenance of young infants. These beasts were killed, and their flesh sold for the relief of those who were living, with a little corn — which by stealth some brought into the city. So that a pound of wheat was sold for half-a-crown.<sup>714</sup>

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<sup>714</sup> Half a crown in 1570 could buy several loaves of bread, a substantial amount of cheese, a leg of lamb, or a side of beef. It could also cover the cost of a week's worth of household fuel (coal or wood).

## I. Massacre of Protestants on St. Bartholomew's Day

Only 84 persons died by fight in Sancerre, but of the famine killed more than 500. Many soldiers got out of the city as they were able, fleeing from the famine; they chose rather to die by the sword of the enemy. Some of these were slain, others imprisoned, and the rest were put to death by the executioner.

But when all help of man failed, the king having sworn that he would make them eat one another, the King of kings delivered them by his wonderful providence. For at this instant, the ambassadors from Poland came into France, to accept the duke of Anjou as their king. At their entreaty (which could not well be denied) poor Sancerre, more than half famished, was now set at liberty by raising the siege. For the inhabitants were determined to leave their bones there, rather than yield themselves into their enemies' hands, as they had often threatened them with a general massacre. Whereas now, by the king's appointment, they were permitted to pass out of the city armed. If any would tarry, they would not be molested. They had liberty granted to dispose of their affairs as they pleased, with the promise that neither their persons nor their property would be injured.

### *The Siege of Rochelle*

Now let us come to the city of Rochelle, which at this instant was strongly besieged by the forces of France, both by sea and land, with about 40-50,000 men. Yet in the end, it too was delivered by the immediate hand of God, though not without many hot conflicts. The ambassador of Poland arriving in France on the 17th of June, a truce was suddenly made. Articles of peace were drawn up and sent to the king, who consented to them, and returned an answer in the form of an edict. He granted to those of Rochelle, Montauban, Nismes, and other cities which stood upon their defense, liberty for the exercises of religion. The rest were to live peaceably in their houses, and to minister in them the sacrament of baptism and marriage as they had usually done, so long as their assemblies did not exceed ten in number, besides the parents.

He restored to the Rochellers and others their rights and privileges, letting fall all the decrees given out against them, approving of their defensive war; giving them leave, according to their ancient custom, to retain their towers and fortresses in their cities, men and ammunition, even to have governors among them, provided that they were such that there was no cause to suspect or take exception to them.

By virtue of this edict, on the 10th of July, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, the lord of Biron entered into the city, at the gate called De Coigne, with a herald of arms and four of the king's trumpeters. At this hour, peace was proclaimed in its most eminent places. The lord of Biron was accompanied by the lieutenant of the city, and the lord of Villiers. After this, dining at the mayor's house, he soon after retired, being conducted along till he was outside the city.

The same day, many small vessels laden with biscuits, corn, meal, fish, and other provision, entered into the haven. At this siege, the duke D'Amaule lost his life, with Cosseins (who had broken into the admiral's lodging and began the massacre at Paris), besides many great lords, gentlemen, captains, lieutenants, and ancients, sixty in number. Most of them had their hands imbrued in those other bloody massacres. Having come there, however, they received their reward — namely, either immediate death, or wounds so incurable that they did not escape with their life.

[1011] A.D. 1585.



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### ***The Bull of Pope Sixtus the Fifth.***

*A note touching a Bull of Pope Sixtus the Fifth, in which the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Conde, were declared Heretics, etc. with their Censure by the Parliament of Paris.*

In September 1585, Pope Sixtus V, by a bull sent from Rome, condemned the king of Navarre and the prince of Conde as heretics. He excommunicated them, degrading them and their successors from their dignities, especially laying claim to the crown of France, absolving their subjects from their oath of allegiance, and exposing their countries to be a prey for those who could first subdue them.

The court of parliament of Paris made a notable remonstrance to the king concerning these bulls, in which they sought to maintain the privileges of the Galilean church.<sup>715</sup> Among other things, the words that follow are very remarkable.

The court thinks that these bulls are set forth in a style altogether of a new stamp, and so contrary to the modesty of former popes, that they can in no way discern in them the spirit of a successor of the apostles. And therefore (as the deputies of the court added),

“We can neither find by our registers, nor by any antiquity, that the princes of France ever subjected themselves so far to the authority of the pope, nor that the subjects have taken such knowledge of the religion of their princes. The court, therefore, cannot determine anything thereupon, unless the pope can first of all cause his pretended right in the translation of kingdoms to appear, which kingdoms were established and ordained by God before the name of a pope was heard of in the world; that he does not manifest to us what title (right) he has to intermeddle with the matter of the succession of a young and vigorous prince who, for all the pope knows, may yet have his succession in his loins; that he does not show with what appearance of justice or equity he should deny that privilege which is allowed to those who are accused of heresy against the decrees of ancient canons; namely, that no man should be held as a heretic, until his defense is fully and freely heard, till he has received frequent admonitions from many synods, and thereupon sentenced by a council lawfully assembled.”

They further added that seeing the pope, instead of instruction, breathes forth nothing in his bulls but destruction, changing his shepherd's crook into a terrible thunderbolt, to scatter rather than sweetly call the erring flock into the bosom of the catholic church, the court cannot safely allow or entertain a bull so pernicious and opposite to the general good of the whole Christian world, and to the sovereignty of the crown of France. Indeed, they were further of the opinion that this bull deserved to be thrown into the fire and burned, and the solicitors or upholders of it, for example's sake, to be severely chastised; humbly beseeching the king to maintain his edicts in his own kingdom in peace.

This remonstrance (*i.e.*, the objection of the court) had little effect. For not long after, the king being solicited by the principal of the league, set forth a declaration on the 7th of October, upon the edict published the previous July, in which having confiscated the body and goods of those of the protestant religion, with their associates, who in any province had taken arms against the fury of the league, it was ordained that those of the protestant religion were to depart out of the kingdom within six months, unless they were to fully abjure within fifteen days after the said declaration.

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<sup>715</sup> The "Galilean Church" refers to the Roman Catholic Church in France, characterized by its distinct spirit of independence from and resistance to centralized papal authority. This later became known as *Gallicanism*.

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The parliament, allowing themselves to be carried down by the violence of this stream, accepted and admitted this edict. The princes framed an opposition against the pope's bull, appealing from it as a wrong done to them, offering to make it appear in a free and lawful council, that the pope had maliciously belied them in calling them heretics. So, as if he refused this fair and lawful course propounded by them, they would hold and esteem him for that great antichrist, and would proclaim an open irreconcilable war against him. This opposition was affixed and set up at Rome on the 7th of November.

Not long after, among those of the protestant religion who were imprisoned, others were more severely handled. Among many, we will here take notice of two honorable women, whose memory ought to be celebrated in this history of the martyrs; namely, Radagonde, daughter of Master John Foucoult, attorney in the parliament of Paris, widow, forty years of age, and Claude Foucoult her sister, about thirty-six. They were apprehended the 29th of October 1585, the one from the village of Pierrepit near Paris, and the other in the suburbs of Saint Germain, and brought prisoners into Chastelet. This was because they refused to go to mass, and would not abjure and forsake the true religion. Being severed one from the other in prison, they were examined on sundry articles, to which they gave their direct answer according to the word of God.

Then being put together, they were accused of disobeying the king's commandment, which was that those of the protestant religion were either to depart the kingdom by such a time, or else abjure. They answered, that they were willing to leave the kingdom, if they might obtain a convenient time to put into order what little they had there. But the council refused to yield to their request, and they were shut up again. The 7th of November, in the presence of the lieutenant, and also of the advocate for the king, and a Sorbonist, they pleaded their innocence. These men, getting no advantage against them, but being rather confounded by the wisdom of God's Spirit speaking by these two sisters, went and complained to the king, that they were obstinate heretics. This was in the beginning of 1586.

They continued in prison for many weeks, cumbered with many disputes, yet remaining unshaken. The Friday before Easter, the king himself went to see them, asking them whether they would conform themselves to the catholic apostolic Roman church (as he called it). With such reverence and obeisance as became them, they gave him their reasons why they could not so do, confirming them by texts of holy Scripture. His second question was, why they had not obeyed his last edict. The widow answered, "Sir, I have three small children to care for; and whereas your majesty allotted those of the protestant religion the term of fifteen days, after six months had ended, to depart the kingdom; I have done my utmost to take up such monies as were due me. But those who were indebted to me, neglected to pay me. Besides, the one who kept my vineyards of Pierrepit, to quit himself of me, accused me of heresy, causing my sister and myself to be imprisoned here, where we have lain for six months. And if our petition presented by us finds no acceptance in your majesty's sight, we most humbly beseech you to grant that we may be freed from prison, and we will be gone instantly out of the kingdom, according to your majesty's edict."

"The date is past," said the king. "Nor will I show you any favor, unless you promise to go to mass." He was much displeased in seeing their constancy. Now at the same time, there was presented before him one surnamed Richelot, who had been apprehended that very day in which the women were taken for the cause of religion, to whom the king did not use many words. Only, in conclusion he said, nothing was lacking but faggots to burn him. Richelot abjured that same day in which these two sisters were executed. The king had five or six Sorbonists who attended on him there. They offered to reason with the prisoners, by

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occasion of a word spoken by the widow. But the king prevented it, saying, we have not come here to dispute. Let them be laid waste, and none allowed to come to them.

Within half an hour, the duke of Longueville came to visit them, saying that he was sorry for their affliction, counselling them to go to mass, alleging, it is written, "You shall obey your prince, and if he forces you to do it against your conscience, he shall answer for it." He added that they were to remember their sex, and therefore to be teachable upon the point of obedience. They answered that no earthly potentate had any warrant to command Christians to sin against their consciences.

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They further besought him to be a means for them to the king, that they might be delivered. But the only answer he gave them was this: That if they would not return, the king would not deliver them. Also, there was great likelihood, after their long detention in prison, that they must be executed in the end.

The next day, being Easter Eve, the queen, with the duchess of Joyeuse, came into Chastelet to visit the prisoners. But instead of speaking to the two sisters herself, she sent them a wicked apostate named Mathew de Launy. He was a minister turned popish priest, and one whom the league made no small use of. Loading these honorable sisters with injuries and reproachful speeches, calling them dogs and devils incarnate, and worthy to be burnt, he so left them and never came back any more. Soon after the day of the barricades, which is a defense made of earth and stones heaped up, serving to stop a street or any passage, the judges of Chastelet adjudged them to be hanged, and their bodies to be burned to ashes. They appealed to the court from this sentence, and were brought into the Conciergerie, which is the name of a common jail belonging to Paris.

On the evening before Saint John Baptist's day, in the month of June, the common people in Paris made fires as they traditionally did (among other insolences), and in various parts of the city, they burnt a picture representing the queen of England.

The next day the curates and preachers began to thunder in their sermons, saying that it was not enough to burn the pictures of heretics, but to burn the bodies of the obstinate prisoners. This so enraged the tumultuous sort of people, that the following day, flocking together into the court of the palace, they threatened the presidents and the council, that some mischief would follow unless they condemned these two prisoners to die. A gentle answer was returned to this factious crew, with a promise that the business would not long be delayed.

The next day, the eldest son of Radagonde presented a petition to the duchess of Nemours, daughter to the late lady of Ferrare. Her grace solicited the duke of Guise, her son, for the prisoners. His answer was that he did not come to Paris to petition the king in favor of those of the protestant religion. And even if he would do so (in regard to the services which the prisoners had done to his grandfather) yet he could not, fearing lest the mad multitude might set upon him.

The 28th of June, the court having confirmed the sentence given at Chastelet, they sent them back there to be executed. So about noon they were gagged, because the maiden professed that if they brought her into any idols' temple, she would raise her voice so loudly against the same, that everyone would hear it. About three o'clock they were led as sheep to the slaughter, where they constantly persisted in the profession of the true religion.

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The widow, having ascended the ladder, shook out of her hands a wooden cross, which they had by force affixed to it. The multitude were so provoked by this, that they began to throw stones and staves at her. The hangman having turned her off the ladder, cut the rope by and by, letting her fall half dead into the fire, in which she yielded up her soul into the hands of God, as did her sister also.

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Having now come to the year 1588, it gives us just occasion to call to mind that miraculous deliverance of our noble queen and country, from the intended invasion of the Spaniards the same year. The memorial of this, so that it might be continued to succeeding ages, deserves to be inserted here by way of history, as in its due and proper place. Of this deliverance it may truly be said (all things considered) that it was the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. The true relation of it follows next.

**APPENDIX II.**  
***Preparations for invading England,  
by the Spaniards and other Roman Catholics***

*A brief discourse touching the great preparations made  
for that “invincible” navy intended for invading and surprising  
the realm of England, together with their utter overthrow.*

*By John Foxe*

The queen of England had intelligence from sundry places, of the great and diligent preparation of the king of Spain in diverse parts, both by sea and land, not only of the strongest ships in all places within his dominions, but of all sorts of provision necessary for so mighty a fleet, as he intended to set forth. And these rumors of war, which before were only slight, daily increased. At last it was certainly confirmed by the news on all sides, that in Spain an invincible navy was being preparing against England; that the most famous captains in military knowledge, and the best soldiers were sent for from Italy, Sicily, even from America. For the pope and some religious Spaniards (*i.e.* bound by vows), and English fugitives, now recalled to the minds of the Spaniards the idea of surprising England, this purpose having been interrupted by the Portugal wars.<sup>716</sup> They earnestly exhorted the king to do God this service, that had done so much for him. Now that he enjoyed Portugal with the West-Indies, and many rich islands, to add England to all of these would be a special act of service to God, fit for his catholic majesty. By this means he might add these flourishing kingdoms to his empire, and so keep the Low Countries in peace, and secure the navigation to both the Indies. The preparations of Spain were so great, that no power was able to resist it. They made the king believe it was an easier matter to overcome England, than to overcome Holland, because the navigation from Spain to England was much shorter than to the Netherlands. And by surprising England, the other would easily follow.

Hereupon consultation began of the best way and means to oppress England. The marquis of Santa Cruz, who was chief commander in the navy, advised first to make sure some part of Holland or Zealand by the land forces of the duke of Parma, and by sending before him some Spanish ships to take some place all of a sudden, where the Spanish navy might have a staging ground, and from there the invasion might begin with convenience. For in the English sea, which is troublesome, the winds often changing and the tides unknown, the navy could not be in safety. Parma agreed with him, who much urged this expedition. Yet others disliked this counsel as a matter of great difficulty and danger, taking a long time, with much labor, great expense, and uncertain success. They said it could be performed neither secretly nor openly, and might easily be hindered by the English. The marquis and duke thought that with the same labor and expense, England might be won. And the victory would be sure if a well prepared army from Spain might, with a strong navy, be landed on the Thames side, and suddenly surprise London, the chief city, by an unexpected assault. This seemed a thing that could be effected most easily.

The duke of Parma built ships and a great number of small broad vessels in Flanders, by the command of Philip. Each one was able to transport thirty horse, with bridges fitted for each; and he hired mariners from the eastern part of Germany. He provided long pieces of wood sharpened at the end, and covered with iron, with hooks on one side; and 20,000 vessels, with a huge number of faggots. He placed a ready army in Flanders: 103 companies of foot

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<sup>716</sup> [The Spanish-Portuguese Wars were a series of conflicts driven by a struggle for dynastic control over Portugal following the death of King Sebastian in 1578.](#)

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soldiers, and 4000 horsemen. Among these were 700 English fugitives who were treated with the greatest contempt. Nor was Stanley respected or heard, who was set over the English; nor Westmoreland,<sup>717</sup> nor any others who offered their help. Rather, for their impiety towards their own country, they were shut out from all consultations, and rejected as ill-omened men, not without detestation. And Pope Sixtus V, who would not be wanting in such a purpose, sent cardinal Allen into Flanders, and renewed the declaratory bulls of Pius V and Gregory XIII. He excommunicated Queen Elizabeth, deposed her, absolved her subjects from all allegiance; and as if it had been against the Turks and infidels, he published in print, a conceit in which he bestowed plenary indulgences out of the treasure of the church upon all those who would join their help against England (besides a million in gold to be distributed, one-half in hand, and the other half when either England, or some famous haven in it, was won). By this means, many foreign princes and nobles were induced to engage in this war.

Queen Elizabeth, so that she might not be taken by surprise, prepared as great a navy as she could; and with singular care and providence, she made ready all things necessary for war. And she herself, who was ever most judicious in discerning men's wits and aptness, and most happy in making a choice when she made it on her own judgment, and not by the advice of others, destined the best and most serviceable to each separate employment.

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Over the whole navy she appointed the lord high admiral, Charles Howard, in whom she reposed much trust. She sent him to the west parts of England where Sir Francis Drake, whom she made vice-admiral, joined him. She commanded Henry Seymour, the second son to the duke of Somerset, to watch upon the Belgic shore, with forty English and Dutch ships, so that the duke of Parma might not come out with his forces. Yet some were of the opinion that the enemy was to be expected and set upon by land forces, according to what was resolved upon deliberation in the time of Henry VIII, when the French brought a great navy upon the English shore.

For the land fight, 20,000 were placed on the south shores; and two armies besides were mustered of the choicest men of war. One of these, which consisted of 1000 horse, and 22,000 foot soldiers, was commanded by the earl of Leicester, and encamped at Tilbury, on the side of the Thames, for the enemy was resolved first to set upon London. The other army was governed by Lord Hunsdon, consisting of 31,000 foot soldiers, and 2000 horsemen, to guard the queen.

The queen visited the camp at Tilbury. The following account of it is given by Richard Leigh, a seminary priest, who was executed for high treason while the Spanish Armada was on the sea.

“She had an army encamped near the seaside, on the river Thames. After the army had come there, she would not by any advice be stayed. But for the comfort of her people, and to show her own magnanimity of heart, she went to the camp which was at that time between the city of London and the sea, under the charge of the earl of Leicester, placing herself between the enemy and her city. And there she reviewed her army, passing through it diverse times, and lodging on the borders of it. She returned again and dined in the army. First viewing from place to place the people, as they were lodged by their countries and quartered by their several camps. Afterwards, when they were all reduced into battle, prepared, as it were, for a fight, she

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<sup>717</sup> Thomas Stanley and Charles Neville, 6th Earl of Westmorland, opposed Queen Elizabeth I. They were involved in the Northern Rebellion of 1569, which aimed to depose Elizabeth and restore Catholic rule in England.

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rode round about with a general's staff in her hand, only accompanied by the general and three or four others attending her. Yet to show her state (I well marked it) she had the sword carried before her by the earl of Ormond. There she was generally saluted with cries, with shouts, with all tokens of love, of obedience, of readiness, and willingness to fight for her, as seldom the like has been seen in any army, considering she was a queen. All of this tended to show a marvellous concord in a mutual love between a queen and her subjects, and of reverence and obedience of subjects to their sovereign; all of which she requited with very princely thanks, and a good speech.

“I could enlarge the description of this with many more particulars of my own sight; for I went there as many others did; and all that day, wandering from place to place, I never heard any word spoken of her, but in praising her for her stately person and princely behavior, and in praying for her life and safety, with cursing all her enemies, both traitors and all papists, with an earnest desire to venture their lives for her safety. And besides such particular acclamations, the whole army in every quarter, so devoutly at certain times sang in her hearing in very tunable manner, diverse psalms that were put in the form of prayers, in praise to Almighty God — in no way to be disliked — that she greatly commended them, and with very earnest speech thanked God with them. This that I write, you may be sure, is not with any comfort, but to give you these manifest arguments, that this queen neither discontents her people, nor do her people show any discontent in anything they are commanded to do for her service, as up to now has been imagined.”

The Lord Grey, Sir Francis Knolls, Sir John Norris, Sir Richard Bingham, Sir Roger Williams, men of known military experience, were chosen to confer on the land fight. These thought fit that all those places should be fortified which were the easiest to land in, either out of Spain, or out of Flanders — such as Milford Haven, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portland, the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, the open side of Kent called the Downs, the mouth of the Thames, Harwich, Yarmouth, Hull, etc. That trained soldiers throughout all the maritime provinces should meet, upon a warning given, to defend these places; that they should, by their best means and power, hinder the enemy from landing. If the enemy should land, then they should they waste the country all about, and spoil everything that might be of any use to them, so that they might find no more victuals than what they brought with them; and that, by continual skirmishes, the enemy would find no rest day or night. But they should not try any battle until the various captains had met together with their companies, and one captain were named to command in every shire.

### **Prior Negotiation Between England and the King of Spain.**

Two years before, the duke of Parma, considering how hard a matter it was to end the Belgic war, so long as it was continually nourished and supported with aid from the queen, he moved for a treaty of peace, by means of Sir James Croft, one of the privy council, a man desirous of peace; and Andrew Loe, a Dutchman. He professed that Philip had delegated authority to him for this purpose. But the queen, fearing that there was some cunning in this seeking of peace, so that the friendship between her and the confederate princes might be dissolved, and so that they might secretly be drawn to the Spaniards, deferred that treaty for some time. But now that the war which both sides were preparing for might be turned away, she was content to treat for peace, but so as to still hold the weapons in her hand.

For this purpose, in February, delegates were sent into Flanders: the earl of Derby, Lord Cobham, Sir James Croft, Dr. Dale, and Dr. Rogers. These were received with kindness on the duke's behalf, and they presently sent Dr. Dale to him, so that a place might be appointed for their treating, and that they might see the authority delegated to him by the Spanish king. He appointed a place *near* to Ostend, but not *in* Ostend, which then was held



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by the English against the king. He promised to show his delegated authority once they were met together. He wished them to make good speed in the business, lest something fall out in the meantime which might trouble the motions of peace. Richardot <sup>718</sup> spoke somewhat more plainly, that he did not know what should be done against England in the interim.

Not long after, Dr. Rogers was sent to the prince, by an express command from the queen, to know the truth whether the Spaniards had resolved to invade England, which he and Richardot seemed to signify. He affirmed that he did not so much as think of the invasion of England, when he wished that the business might proceed with speed; and was offended with Richardot, who denied that such words fell from him.

On the 12th of April, the count Aremberg, Champigny, Richardot, D. Maesius, and Garnier, delegated by the prince of Parma, met the English, and yielded to them the honor both in walking and sitting. And when they affirmed that the duke had full authority to treat for peace, the English moved that first a truce might be made. They refused this, alleging that this would be hurtful to the Spaniards, who for six months had maintained a great army which could not be dismissed upon a truce, but upon absolute peace. The English urged that a truce was promised before they came into Flanders. The Spaniards, against that, held that six months earlier a truce was promised, which they granted, but it was not admitted. Nor was it in the queen's power to undertake a truce for Holland and Zealand, who attempted hostility daily. The English moved instantly, that the truce might be general for all the queen's territories, and for the kingdom of Scotland. But they would have it only for four Dutch towns which were in the queen's hands; that is, Ostend, Flushing, Bergen-op-Zoom, and the Briel — and these were only during negotiations and twenty days after; and in the meantime, it might be lawful for the queen to invade Spain, or for the Spaniards to invade England, either from Spain or Flanders.

[1014] A.D. 1588.

At last, when the English could not obtain a cessation of arms, and could by no means see the charter by which the duke of Parma was authorized to negotiate peace; they proposed these things: that the ancient leagues between the kings of England and the dukes of Burgundy might be renewed and confirmed; that all the Dutch might fully enjoy their own privileges; that they might serve God with freedom of conscience; that the Spanish and foreign soldiers might be sent out of Holland, so that neither the Dutch nor their neighboring nations might fear them. If these things were granted, the queen would come to equal conditions concerning the towns which she now held (that all might know she took up arms not for her own gain, but for the necessary defense of both herself and the Dutch) so long as the money which is owing for them is repaid. To this they answered that there would be no difficulty in renewing the old leagues when they might have a friendly conference about it; that concerning the privileges of the Dutch, there was no reason why foreign princes should take care about which privileges were most favorably granted not only to reconciled provinces and towns, but even to those who by force of arms were brought into subjection; and that foreign soldiers were held upon urgent necessity, since Holland, England, and France, were all in arms.

Regarding those towns taken from the king of Spain, and repaying the money, they answered that, "Spain might demand as many myriads of crowns to be repaid by the queen, as the Belgic war had cost since the time that she favored and protected the Dutch." At this

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<sup>718</sup> [Jean Richardot \(1540-1609\) was in charge of the delegation that met with the envoys of Queen Elizabeth at Bourbourg in 1587, in a feigned attempt to end hostilities between England and Spain.](#)



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time, Dr. Dale, by the queen's command, went to the duke of Parma. He gently expostulated with him regarding a book printed there, that was recently set out by cardinal Allen. In this book, he exhorts the nobles and people of England and Ireland to join themselves to the king of Spain's forces, under the conduct of the prince of Parma, for the execution of the sentence of pope Sixtus V against the queen, declaring her a heretic, illegitimate, and cruel against Mary queen of Scots. Her subjects were commanded by this bull, to help Parma against her. For at that time, a great number of those bulls and books were printed at Antwerp, to be dispersed throughout England. The duke denied that he had seen such a bull or book, nor would he do anything by the pope's authority. As for his own king, he must obey him. "Yet (he said) he so observed the queen for her princely virtues that, after the king of Spain, he offered all service to her. He said he "had persuaded the king of Spain to yield to this treaty of peace, which is more profitable for England than Spain. For if they should be overcome, they would easily repair their loss; but if you are overcome, the kingdom is lost." Dale replied, "Our queen is sufficiently furnished with forces to defend the kingdom. A kingdom will not easily be gotten by the fortune of one battle, seeing that the king of Spain, in so long a war, is not yet able to recover his ancient patrimony in the Netherlands."

"Well (said the duke), even if so, these things are in God's hands."

After this, the delegates contended among themselves by mutual replications (pleadings), weaving and unweaving the same web. The English were earnest in this, that freedom of religion might be granted for at least two years to the confederate provinces. They answered, "That as the king of Spain had not entreated for English catholics, so they hoped the queen, in her wisdom, would not entreat anything from the king of Spain which might stand against his honor, his oath, and his conscience."

Then they demanded the money due from the states of Brabant. It was answered that, "The money was lent without the king's authority or knowledge. But let the account be taken of how much the money was, and how much the king has spent in these wars, and then it may appear who should look for repayment."

Thus the English, of set purpose, were driven off from time to time, until the Spanish fleet had come near the English shore, and the noise of guns were heard from the sea. Then they had leave to depart, and they were, by the delegates, honorably brought to the borders near Calais. The duke of Parma had in the meantime brought all his forces to the sea's shore.

Thus this conference came to nothing; undertaken by the queen, as the wiser then thought, to avert the Spanish fleet. It was continued by the Spaniard, so that he might surprise the queen, being (he supposed) unprovided for, and not expecting the danger. So both of them tried to use time to their best advantage.

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When the Spanish fleet was collecting in the Tagus,<sup>719</sup> the command had been given to the marquis of Santa Cruz, an officer of distinguished merit. But he died before the preparations were completed. About the same time, the duke of Paliano, who was the second in command, also died. The chief command was then conferred upon Don Alphonso de Gusinan, duke of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman unacquainted with the art of war. Don Martinez de Recalde, a veteran of great experience, was appointed vice-admiral. In addition to the fleet that was preparing at Lisbon, the duke of Parma had been commanded to build a number of vessels at Dunkirk, Newport, and Antwerp, and also to assemble a large army to

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<sup>719</sup> *Tagus: a river in the Iberian Peninsula flowing into the North Atlantic.*

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assist in the invasion of England. The Spanish fleet being at last well-furnished with men and every munition of war, so as to be considered the most powerful that had ever been seen upon the sea, and called by that arrogant title, “the Invincible Armada.” It consisted of 130 ships, and some smaller vessels in which there were upwards of 30,000 sailors and soldiers, and 3,000 pieces of cannon.

On the 30th of May, they sailed from the river Tagus. Proposing to hold their course to the Garonne in Galicia,<sup>720</sup> were beaten and scattered by a tempest. Three galleys, by the skill of David Gwin, an Englishman, and by the perfidiousness of the Turks who rowed, were safely carried to the coast of France. After some days, the fleet, with much ado, came to the Garonne and other harbors near adjoining. The report was that the enemy was so scattered by this tempest, that the queen was persuaded she was not to expect that fleet this year. Sir Francis Walsingham, her secretary, wrote to the lord admiral, that he should lay up four of the greatest ships, as if the war had been ended. But the lord admiral did not easily give credit to that report. Yet with a gentle answer, he entreated Walsingham to believe nothing hastily in so important a matter. As also that he might be permitted to keep those ships with him which he had, even if it were at his own expense. Finding a favorable wind, he made sail towards Spain, to surprise the enemy’s disabled ships in their harbors. When he was not far from the shores of Spain, the wind turned. Being charged to defend the English shore, and fearing that the enemy might be driven unseen to England by the same wind, he returned to Plymouth.

Now, with the same wind, on the 12th of July, the duke of Medina with his fleet, departed from the Garonne. And after a few days, he sent Roderigo de Telle into Flanders, to notify the duke of Parma that the fleet was approaching, and therefore he was to make himself ready. For Medina’s commission was to join himself with the ships and soldiers of Parma. And then, under the protection of his fleet, he was to bring them into England, and put his land forces on the banks of the Thames.

On the sixteenth day (says the relator) there was a great calm, and a thick cloud was upon the sea till noon. Then the north-wind blew roughly, and again the west-wind till midnight, and after that the east. The Spanish navy was scattered, and hardly gathered together until they came within sight of England on the 19th of July. On that day, the lord admiral was informed by Flemming, who had been a pirate, that the Spanish fleet had entered into the English Channel, and was spotted near the Lizard.<sup>721</sup> The lord admiral brought forth the English fleet into the sea, but not without great difficulty — only by the skill, labor, and alacrity of the soldiers and mariners, everyone laboring; even the lord admiral himself put his hand to this work.

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The next day the English fleet viewed the Spanish fleet coming along, with towers like castles in height, her front crooked like the fashion of the moon, the horns of the front were extended one from the other, about seven miles, or as some say, eight miles apart, sailing with the labor of the winds, the ocean as it were groaning under it. Their sail was but slow, and yet at full sail before the wind. The English were willing to let them hold on their course. When they had passed by, they got behind them, and so got the help of the wind.

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<sup>720</sup> *Garonne*: A river that rises in the Pyrenees and flows northwest to the Bay of Biscay.

<sup>721</sup> *Lizard*: A peninsula in southern Cornwall, in southwest England.

## II. Attack by the Spanish Armada, and its Destruction

On the **21st of July**, the lord admiral of England sent a pinnace before,<sup>722</sup> called the *Defiance*, to announce war, by shooting off some cannons. Being himself in the *Ark Royal*, the English flag-ship or Admiral, he set upon a ship which he took to be the Spanish Admiral; but it was the ship of Alfonso de Leva. He bestowed much shot upon it. Presently Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher came in upon the Spanish hindmost ships, which Recalde commanded. They thundered upon these. Recalde labored as much as he could to stay his men, who fled in their navy, until his ship, beaten and much battered with many shot, hardly recovered the fleet. Then the duke of Medina gathered together his dispersed fleet, and setting up more sail, they held on their course. Indeed, they could do no other, for the English had gotten the advantage of the wind, and their ships were much more nimble, and ready with incredible speed to come upon the enemy with a full course of guns, and then to turn and return, and be on every side at their pleasure. After a long fight, and each of them having had some trial, as of their own courage, so of the Spaniards also. The lord admiral thought it good not to continue the same any longer, as forty ships were then absent, which at that instant had scarcely drawn out of Plymouth harbor.

On the following night, the *St. Katharine*, a Spanish ship, being greatly injured in the fight, was received into the midst of the navy to be mended. Here a great Cantabrian ship of the squadron of Oquendo, in which was the treasure of the camp, was set on fire by an explosion of gunpowder. Yet it was quenched in time by the ships that came to help her. Of these that came to help the fired ship, one was a galleon, in which was Pedro de Valdez. The foremast of this galleon was caught in the tackling of another ship, and broken. These two vessels were taken by Drake. On board there was a great sum of money, viz. 55,000 ducats. He sent Valdez to Dartmouth, and distributed the money among the sailors. This Valdez, coming into Drake's presence, kissed his hand, and told him they had all resolved to die, if they had not been so happy as to fall into his hands, whom he knew to be noble. On this night, Drake had been appointed to set out lights, but he neglected it, as he was led to give chase to some German merchant ships, which he mistook for vessels in the service of the enemy. This neglect obliged most of the English fleet to lay to until the morning. Drake and the rest of the squadron did not come up with the admiral until the next evening, because the admiral with only the *Bear* and *Mary Rose*, had closely followed the Spaniards during the night; and in the morning, he found himself separated from the rest of his ships.

The duke of Medina spent the following day re-ordering his fleet. Alfonso de Leva was commanded to form a junction of the first and last squadron. After this, every ship had its station assigned, according to that prescribed form which was appointed in Spain; it was instant death to the commander to forsake his station without sufficient cause. This done, he sent Glich, an ensign, to the duke of Parma, to declare to him what state they were in, and that they had left the Cantabrian ship of Oquendo to the wind and sea, after having taken out the mariners, and put them in other ships. Yet it seems that he had not taken care of all. For that ship, the same day, with fifty lamed mariners and soldiers, and half burnt, again fell into the hands of the English, and was carried to Weymouth.

On the **23rd of July**, the Spaniards having a favorable north wind, tacked about and bore down upon the English. The English, being much readier in the use of their ships, immediately changed their course, and having gotten advantage of the wind, they came to the fight on both sides. They fought for a while confusedly, with variable success. While on the one side, the English with great courage delivered the London ships which were surrounded by the Spaniards, on the other side, the Spaniards by valor freed Recalde from

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<sup>722</sup> *Pinnace*: a boat for communication between ship and shore.

## II. Attack by the Spanish Armada, and its Destruction

the extreme danger he was in. This day, the loss, by the good providence of God, fell upon the Spanish side. Their ships were so high that the shot went over our English ships; and the English having such a fair mark at their taller ships, never shot in vain. Amidst these encounters, Cope, an Englishman, being caught in the midst of the Spanish ships, could not be recovered, but perished, although he revenged himself with great honor. Thus for a long time the English ships with great agility were sometimes upon the Spaniards, giving them the one side, and then the other, and presently were off again, and still took the sea, to make themselves ready to come in again. Whereas the Spanish ships, being of great burden, were troubled and hindered, and stood to be marks for the English bullets. For all that, the English admiral would not permit his men to board their ships, because they had a full army in their ships, which he did not. Their ships were so many in number, and so much larger and higher, that if they had come to grapple, as some would have had it, the English being much lower than the Spanish ships, would have had the worst of those who fought from the higher ships. And if the English had been overcome, the loss would have been greater than the advantage of a victory. For ours being overcome, would have put the kingdom in hazard.

On the **24th of July** they gave up fighting on both sides. The English admiral sent some small barques to the nearest shore, to get a supply of provisions. He divided his navy into four squadrons. The first was under his own government; the next commanded by Drake; the third by Hawkins; and the last by Forbisher. He selected out of every squadron the swiftest ships, which on different sides might set upon the Spaniards in the night. But a sudden calm took them, and so that advice was without effect.

On **the 25th**, being St. James's day, Santa Anna the galleon of Portugal, not being able to hold course with the rest, was set upon and taken by some small English ships. To its aid came Leva, and Diego Tellez Enriquez with their galleasses.<sup>723</sup> The admiral and the lord Thomas Howard spying these, made in against the galleasses (the calm was so great that they were drawn in by boats with cords) and so beat upon the galleasses with great shot, that it was with much ado, and not without great loss, that they recovered the galleon. The Spaniards reported that their admiral's ship that day was in the hindmost company. Having come nearer the English ships than before, it was sorely beaten with the English great ordnance, many men slain in her, and her great mast overthrown. After that, the admiral of Spain, accompanied by Recalde and others, set upon the English admiral, who by the benefit of the wind, suddenly turned and escaped. The Spaniards held on their course again, and sent to the duke of Parma, that with all speed he should join his ships with the king's fleet. In this day's contest, the English write that they had stricken the lantern from one of the Spanish ships, the stern from another, and had sorely beaten a third, doing much harm to her; that the *Non-Pareil*, and the *Mary Rose* fought a while with the Spaniards: and the *Triumph* being in danger, other ships came in good time to help her.

The next day the lord admiral knighted the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, John Hawkins, and Martin Forbisher, for their valor displayed in the last fight. After this they resolved not to set upon the enemy until they came into the straits of Calais, where Henry Seymour, and William Winter, stayed for their coming. Thus with a fair gale, the Spanish fleet went forward, and the English followed.

[1017] A.D. 1558.

This great Spanish Armada was so far from being esteemed invincible, in the opinion of the English, that many young men and gentlemen, hoping to be partakers of a famous victory

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<sup>723</sup> *Galleasse*: large, low-built sailing vessels that had both sails and oars.

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against the Spaniards, provided ships at their own expense, and joined themselves to the English fleet. Among them were the earls of Essex, Northumberland, and Cumberland, and sirs Thomas and Robert Cecil, Henry Brook, William Hatton, Robert Carew, Ambrose Willoughby, Thomas Gerard, Mr. Arthur Gage, and other gentlemen of good note and quality.

On the **27th of July**, at evening, the Spaniards cast anchor near Calais, being admonished by their skillful seamen that if they went any further, they might be endangered by the force of the tide, of being driven into the north sea. Near to them stood the English admiral with his fleet, within a great gun's shot. To the admiral, Seymour and Winter now joined their ships; so that now there were 140 ships in the English fleet, able and well-furnished for fight, for sail, and to turn whichever way was needful. And yet there were but 15 of these which bore the burden of battle and repulsed the enemy. The Spaniard, as he had often done before, so now with great earnestness, sent to the duke of Parma to send 40 fly boats, without which they could not fight with the English, because of the greatness and slowness of their own ships, and the agility of the English ships. He was entreated by all means to now come to sea with his army. That army was now to be protected, as it were, under the wings of the Spanish Armada, till they were landed in England.

But the duke was unprovided, and could not come out at an instant. The broad ships with flat bottoms, then full of holes, must be mended. Victuals were lacking and must be provided. The mariners, long kept against their wills, began to shrink away. The ports of Dunkirk and Newport, by which he must bring his army to the sea, were now so beset with the strong ships of Holland and Zealand, which were furnished with great and small ammunition, that he was not able to come to sea, unless he would come upon his own apparent destruction, and headlong cast himself and his men willfully into danger. Yet he omitted nothing that might be done, being an eager and industrious man, and inflamed with a desire to overcome England.

But queen Elizabeth's prudence and care, prevented both the diligence of the duke of Parma, and the credulous hope of the Spaniards. For by her commandment, the next day the admiral took eight of his worst ships, charged the ordnance in them up to the mouth with small shot, nails, and stones, and dressed them with wild-fire, pitch, and rosin, and filled them full of brimstone and some other matter fit for fire. These being set on fire under the direction of Young and Prowse, were secretly in the night, by the help of the wind, set full upon the Spanish fleet, and sent in among them as they lay at anchor, on Sunday, the **28th of July**.

When the Spaniards saw them come near, the flame shining and giving light all over the sea; they supposed those ships, besides the danger of fire, to have been also furnished with deadly engines, to make horrible destruction among them. They lifted up a most hideous, woeful cry. Some pulled up their anchors, some for haste cut their cables. They raised their sails, worked their oars, and stricken with panic and terror, they fled in great haste most confusedly. Among them, their flag ship, floating upon the seas, her rudder broken, in great danger and fear, drew towards Calais. Sticking in the sand, it was taken by Sir Amias Preston, Sir Thomas Gerard, and Mr. Harvey. Don Hugo de Moncada the captain, was slain; the soldiers and mariners were either killed or drowned. There was found a great store of gold in her, which fell to be the prey of the English. The ship and ordnance fell to the share of the governor of Calais.

The Spaniards report that the duke, when he saw the fire-ships coming, commanded all the fleet to pull up their anchors, and that as soon as the danger was past, every ship should



## II. Attack by the Spanish Armada, and its Destruction

return again to its station. He himself returned, giving a sign to the rest by shooting off a gun. This was heard but by a few, for they were scattered far off, some into the open sea, some through fear were driven upon the shallows of the coast of Flanders.

Over against Graveling,<sup>724</sup> the Spanish fleet began to gather themselves together. But Drake and Fenner came upon them, and battered them with great ordnance. Fenton, Southwel, Beeston, Cross, Riman, and soon after, the lord Admiral, the lord Howard, and the lord Sheffield, came in, and all joined together. The duke of Medina, and the admirals Leva, Oquendo, Recalde, and others, with much ado getting themselves out of the shallows, sustained the English force as well as they could, until most of their ships were pierced and torn; the galleon *St. Matthew*, commanded by Diego Pienientelli, coming to the aid of the *St. Philip*, was pierced and shaken with the reiterated shots of Seymour and Winter, and driven to Ostend. It was at last taken by the Flushingers. The *St. Philip* came to the same end; so did the galleon of Biscay, and diverse others.

On the last day of this month, the Spanish fleet, striving to recover the straits again, were driven toward Zealand. The English left off pursuing them, as the Spaniards thought, because they saw them in a manner thrown away, and supposing that they could not avoid the shallows of Zealand. But the wind turning, the Spaniards got out of the shallows, and then began to consult what was best for them to do.

It was determined, that as they had no hope that the duke of Parma would be able to get out to their assistance, as he himself was blockaded by lord Henry Seymour and the Hollanders, their only chance of safety was to sail northwards, and by making the circuit of the British isles, return to Spain.

Every sail was now set, and the remaining ships of the armada stood out to sea. They were followed by the English admiral as far as the Frith of Forth in Scotland. After the Spaniards had passed the Orkneys, a violent storm arose which so disheartened the mariners that they allowed many of their ships to be driven on the adjacent coast. Many were also shipwrecked on the coast of Ireland, and were either killed on the spot, or only reserved to perish by the hands of the executioner. During the tempest, one division of the armada was driven back into the English Channel where the ships were separately engaged. After a feeble resistance they were either taken by the English cruizers,<sup>725</sup> or by the vessels belonging to Rochelle. Such was the fate of a fleet which was considered invincible. In the space of a single month it was nearly destroyed either by their enemy, or by the tempest, and very few of the ships were ever permitted to return to their own country. Thus God miraculously defended us against the dangerous intentions of our enemies.

Queen Elizabeth, after the signal success which had attended her arms, came to St. Paul's church to give public thanksgiving, in a chariot drawn with two horses. Her nobles accompanied her with a very gallant train through the streets of London, which were hung with blue cloth. The companies standing on both sides were in their liveries; the banners that were taken from the enemy were spread. She heard the sermon, and public thanks were rendered to God with great joy. This public joy was augmented when Sir Robert Sidney, returning from Scotland, brought from the king assurance of his noble mind and affection to the queen, and to religion. Just as he had established this in sincerity, so he purposed to maintain it with all his power. Sir Robert Sidney was sent to him when the Spanish fleet was coming, to congratulate and to give him thanks for his ready affection towards the

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<sup>724</sup> *Graveling* (i.e., *Gravelines*): a fortified town in northern France, located between Calais and Dunkirk.

<sup>725</sup> *Cruizer* (or *cruiser*): fast and well-armed ships used for raiding and patrolling in times of war.

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maintenance of the common cause; and to declare how ready the queen would be to help him if the Spaniards should land in Scotland. Also that he might recall to memory, with what strange ambition the Spaniard had gaped for all Britain, urging the pope to excommunicate Sidney, to the end that he might be thrust from the kingdom of Scotland, and from the succession in England. And she gave him notice of Mendoza and the pope's nuncio (ambassador), who threatened Sidney's ruin if they could work it. Therefore she warned him to take especial heed to the Scottish papists.

The king pleasantly answered that he looked for no other benefit from the Spaniard, than that which Polyphemus promised to Ulysses,<sup>726</sup> to devour him last, after his fellows were devoured.

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<sup>726</sup> *Ulysses*: legendary Greek king of Ithaca and hero of Homer's epic poem *the Odyssey*.

**APPENDIX III.**  
***Discovering the Gunpowder Treason,***  
***with the examination of some of the prisoners.***

*Containing a discourse regarding the manner of the discovery.*<sup>727</sup>

*By John Foxe*

While this land and its entire monarchy flourished in a most happy and plentiful peace, at home as well as abroad, sustained and conducted by these two main pillars of all good government, Piety and Justice, no foreign grudge, nor inward whispering of discontentment appeared in any way. The king<sup>728</sup> was returning from his hunting exercise at Royston, on the occasion of the meeting of parliament drawing near, which had been twice prorogued already. This was partly regarding the season of the year, and partly the term. As the winds are ever stillest immediately before a storm; and as the sun often shines hottest to foretell a shower to come; so it was at that time of greatest calm, that secretly hatched thunder began to cast forth the first flashes and flaming lightnings of the approaching tempest. For the Saturday of the week immediately preceding the king's return, which was on a Thursday (only ten days before the parliament), lord Monteagle, son and heir to the lord Morley, being in his own lodging, ready to go to supper at seven o'clock at night, one of his footmen (whom he had sent on an errand across the street) was met by an unknown man who delivered him a letter, charging him to put it into his master's hands.

My lord no sooner received this, than he opened it, and perceived it was of an unknown and somewhat illegible hand, and without date or superscription, called one of his men to help him to read it. But no sooner did he perceive the strange contents of it, though he was somewhat perplexed as to what construction to make of it (whether it was a matter of consequence, as indeed it was, or whether it was some foolishly devised pasquinade<sup>729</sup> made by some of his enemies, to scare him from his attendance at the parliament) yet as a most dutiful and loyal subject, he concluded not to conceal it, whatever might come of it. Whereupon, notwithstanding the lateness and darkness of the night in that season of the year, he quickly repaired to his majesty's palace at Whitehall, and there he delivered the same to the earl of Salisbury, his majesty's principal secretary. The said earl of Salisbury, having read the letter and heard the manner of it the coming to his hands, greatly encouraged and commended my lord for his discretion. He told him plainly that whatever the purpose of the letter might prove hereafter, yet this accident put him in mind of diverse advices he had received from beyond the seas, with which he had acquainted the king himself, as well as diverse of his privy councilors. They concerned some business the papists were about both at home and abroad, making preparation for some combination among them against this session of parliament, enabling them to deliver at that time to the king some petition for toleration of religion. This would be delivered in some such order, and so

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<sup>727</sup> The Gunpowder Treason was a failed conspiracy by a group of English Catholics, led by Robert Catesby and Guy Fawkes, to assassinate King James I during the State Opening of Parliament, the 5th of November 1605.

<sup>728</sup> James I of England (1566–1625) was a devout Protestant, raised in the Protestant faith despite his Catholic mother, Mary, Queen of Scots. He was a prolific writer on Protestant theology and strongly supported the Anglican Church, advocating for an episcopal structure in both England and Scotland. His belief in the divine right of kings led him to view himself as a unifying figure, aiming to reconcile religious divisions rather than promote militant Protestantism. He was the first Stuart king of England, reigning from 1603 until his death in 1625. He was also James VI of Scotland, having ascended the Scottish throne at just 13 months old in 1567 after his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, was forced to abdicate. He was anointed by John Knox (c. 1514–1572). James I commissioned the *King James Bible*, published in 1611, stabilizing the English language and the text of Scripture for the next 400 years.

<sup>729</sup> *Pasquinade*: a composition that imitates or misrepresents somebody's style, usually in a humorous way.



### III. The Gunpowder Treason – Guy Fawkes

well backed, that the king would be loath to refuse their request — like sturdy beggars craving alms with one open hand, but carrying a stone in the other, in case of refusal. And therefore the earl of Salisbury concluded with the lord Monteagle, that he would, in regard of the king's absence, impart the same letter to some more of his majesty's council. My lord Monteagle approved of this, only adding this request, by way of protestation, that whatever the event of it might prove, it should not be imputed to him. It proceeded upon too light or too sudden an apprehension, that he delivered this letter, being only moved to it as a demonstration of his ready devotion and care for the preservation of his majesty and the state. And thus the earl of Salisbury presently acquainted the lord chamberlain with the said letter. Whereupon those two, in the presence of lord Monteagle, called to mind the former intelligence already mentioned, which seemed to have some relation with this letter. The tender care which they ever carried to the preservation of his majesty's person, made them apprehend that some perilous attempt thereby appeared to be intended against the same. This more nearly concerned the lord chamberlain to take care of, in that it belongs to the charge of his office to oversee all places of assembly where his majesty is to repair, as well as his highness's own private houses. Therefore the said two counsellors concluded that they should join to themselves three more of the council, to wit, the lord admiral, the earls of Worcester and Northampton, to also be particularly acquainted with this accident. All of them having concurred together to the re-examination of the contents of the said letter, they concluded that however slight a matter it might at first appear to be, yet it was not absolutely to be dismissed in respect to the care which it behoved them to take for the preservation of his majesty's person.

[1011] AD. 1585

Therefore they resolved to acquaint the king himself with the letter before they proceeded to any further inquisition in the matter. This was for two reasons. First, for the expectation and experience they had of his majesty's fortunate judgment in clearing up obscure riddles and doubtful mysteries, and secondly, because more time would be given in the meanwhile for the practice to ripen, if there really was any, by which the discovery might be clearer and more evident, and the ground for proceeding upon it would be safer, more just, and easier. And so, according to their determination, the said earl of Salisbury repaired to the king in his gallery on Friday (All-hallow's day), in the afternoon. This was the day after his majesty's arrival. None but himself was present with his highness at that time. There, without any other speech or judgment given about the letter, but simply relating the form of its delivery, he presented it to his majesty. Its contents follow:

“My lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care for your preservation. Therefore I would advise you as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And do not think slightly of this notice; but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there is no appearance of any stir, yet I say, this parliament will receive a terrible blow, and yet they will not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be dismissed, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm. For the danger is past as soon as you have burnt the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it; to whose holy protection I commend you.”

The king no sooner read the letter, than after a little pause, and then reading it over again, he delivered his judgment about it, saying that he thought it was not to be dismissed. For the style of it appeared to be more quick and pithy than is usual in any pasquinade or hoax (the superfluities of idle brains). But the earl of Salisbury, perceiving the king to apprehend it deeper than he looked for, knowing his nature, told him that he thought by one sentence

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in it, that it was likely to be written by some fool or madman, reading to him this sentence, “For the danger is past as soon as you have burnt the letter,” which he said was likely to be the saying of a fool. For if the danger was past as soon as the letter was burnt, then the warning was necessarily of little avail, when the burning of the letter might make the danger avoided. But the king, on the contrary, considering the former sentence in the letter, “That they should receive a terrible blow at this parliament, and yet would not see who hurt them,” joining it to the sentence immediately following, already alleged, conjectured from these that the danger mentioned would be some sudden danger by blowing up powder. For no other insurrection, rebellion, or other private and desperate attempt could be committed or attempted in the time of the meeting of parliament. And the authors of it would be unseen, unless it was by blowing up powder, which might be performed by one base knave in a dark corner. Whereupon he was moved to interpret and construe the latter sentence in the letter (alleged by the earl of Salisbury) against all ordinary sense and construction in grammar. As if these words, “For the danger is past as soon as you have burnt the letter,” should be closely understood as the sudden effects of the danger, which would be as quickly performed and at an end, as that paper would be, blazing up in the fire. He turned that word “as soon,” to the sense of, “as quickly.” And therefore he wished that before his going to the parliament, the under-rooms of the parliament-house might be well and narrowly searched.

But the earl of Salisbury, wondered at his majesty’s comments, which he knew to be so far contrary to his ordinary and natural disposition. He was someone who leaned rather on the other side, in not apprehending or trusting due notices of practices and perils when he was truly informed of them. By this means he had many times drawn himself into many desperate dangers. Rightly interpreting this extraordinary caution at this time, proceeded from the vigilant care he had for the whole state, more than of his own person, both of which could have perished together if this design had succeeded. The earl thought it good to still dissemble to the king, if there had been any just cause for such apprehension. And so, ending the purpose with some merry jest on this subject, as his custom was, he took his leave for that time. Though he thus seemed to neglect it, his customary and watchful care of the king and the state still boiling within him, he could not be at rest till he acquainted the lords with what had passed between the king and himself in private.

Whereupon, they were all so earnest to remind his majesty of the same purpose, that it was agreed the earl would repair to his highness the next day, being Saturday. This he did in the privy gallery, renewing the memory of the letter; the lord chamberlain was then present with the king. At that time, it was determined that the lord chamberlain should, according to his custom and office, view all the parliament houses, both above and below, and consider what likelihood or appearance of any such danger might possibly be gathered by the sight of them, as well as staying idle rumors. As for being better able to discern any mystery, the nearer that things were in readiness, his journey there was ordained to be deferred till the afternoon before Parliament sat down, which was on the following Monday. At that time (according to this conclusion) he went to the parliament house, accompanied by my lord Monteaule, being zealous in the king’s service, earnest and curious to see the outcome of that accident of which he had the fortune to be the first discoverer. There, having viewed all the lower rooms, he found in the vault under the upper house, a great store and provisions of billets (crates), faggots, and coals. Inquiring from Whynniard, the keeper of the wardrobe, to what use he had put those lower rooms and cellars, he was told that Thomas Percy <sup>730</sup> had hired both the house and part of the cellar or vault under the same, and that

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<sup>730</sup> Thomas Percy was a leader in the treasonous conspiracy, with Robert Catesby, John Wright, *et al.*

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the wood and coal, under which were hidden thirty-six barrels of gunpowder, great and small, besides great bars of iron, pieces of timber, and massive stones covered over with faggots, were Percy's own provision. Whereupon the lord chamberlain, casting his eye aside, perceived a fellow standing in a corner there, calling himself the Percy's man, and keeper of that house for him. But indeed it was Guido (Guy) Fawkes, the owner of that hand which would have enacted that monstrous and hellish tragedy.

The lord chamberlain, looking upon all things with great suspicion, cast in outward appearance only a careless and reckless eye (as became so wise and diligent a minister). He quickly addressed himself to the king in the privy gallery where, in the presence of the lord treasurer, the lord admiral, the earls of Worcester, Northampton, and Salisbury, he made his report of what he had seen and observed there. He noted what Monteagle had told him, and that he no sooner heard Thomas Percy named as the possessor of that house, than considering both his backwardness in religion, and the old dearness in friendship between himself and Percy, he greatly suspected the matter, and that the letter might come from him. The lord chamberlain also said that he did not wonder a little at the extraordinary great provision of wood and coal in that house, when Thomas Percy so seldom had occasion to remain long in town. Likewise it seemed to him in his mind, that this man looked like a very tall and desperate fellow.

This could not help but increase the king's former apprehension and jealousy. Whereupon he insisted (as before) that the house should be narrowly searched, and that those billets and coals should be searched to the bottom, it being most suspicious that they were laid there only to cover the gunpowder. All the counsellors then present were also of this same mind.

[1020] A.D. 1605.

But as to the manner of making the search, it was long debated. For on the one side, they were all so jealous for the king's safety, that they all agreed that there could not be too much caution used for preventing his danger. Yet on the other side they were all extremely loath and delicate that in case this letter should prove to be nothing but the evaporation of an idle brain, then a curious search being made, and nothing found, it might not only turn to the general scandal of the king and the state, as being so suspicious of every light and frivolous toy, but likewise lay an ill-favored imputation upon the earl of Northumberland, one of his majesty's greatest subjects and counsellors, this Thomas Percy being his kinsman and most confident familiar. And they were rather curious on this point, knowing how far the king detested to be thought suspicious or jealous of any of his good subjects, even of the meanest degree. And therefore, though they all agreed upon the main ground, which was to provide for the security of the king's person, yet they greatly differed in the circumstances by which this action might best be carried out, with the least noise and occasion for slander. But the king himself still persisting that there were diverse shrewd appearances, and that a narrow search of those places could prejudice no man who was innocent, he at last plainly resolved that either all the parts of those rooms must be narrowly searched, and no possibility of danger left unexamined, or else he and they must all resolve not to meddle in it at all, but to plainly go the next day to the parliament, and leave the success to fortune. This he believed they would be loath to take upon their consciences. For in such a case as this, half doing was worse than not doing at all.

Whereupon it was at last concluded that nothing should be left unsearched in those houses. and yet for the better color and staying of rumor, in case nothing were found, it was thought appropriate that upon a pretense of Whynniard's missing some of the king's stuff or

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hangings which he had in keeping, all these rooms should be narrowly ripped for them. And to this purpose, Sir Thomas Knevet was employed, a gentleman of his majesty's privy chamber. He was a justice of peace in Westminster, and one whose ancient fidelity to both the late queen and our new sovereign, have had large proof. According to the trust committed to him, he went about, the midnight preceding the parliament house, accompanied by as small a number as was fit for that errand. But before his entry into the house, finding Thomas Percy's alleged man standing outside the doors, his clothes and boots on at so dead a time of night, he resolved to apprehend him, as he did. Afterwards he went forward to searching the house. After he had some of the billets and coals overturned, he first found one of the small barrels of gunpowder, and afterward all the rest, numbering thirty-six barrels, great and small. Thereafter, searching the fellow whom he had taken, he found three matches ready upon him, and all other instruments fit for blowing up the powder. This made him instantly confess his own guiltiness, declaring also to him, that if he had happened to be within the house when he took him at the ending of his work, as he was immediately before, he would not have failed to blow him up, house and all.

Thus after Sir Thomas had the wretch securely bound, and well-guarded by the company he had with him, he returned to the king's palace, and gave warning of his success to the lord chamberlain and earl of Salisbury. They immediately warned the rest of the council that lay in the house, as soon as they could get themselves ready, and came with their fellow councilors to the king's bedchamber. It was at that time nearly four o'clock in the morning. At the first entry at the king's chamber door, the lord chamberlain, no longer able to conceal his joy for preventing so great a danger, told the king in a confused haste, that all was found and discovered, and the traitor was in hands and fast bound.

Then, order first being taken to send for the rest of the council that lay in the town, the prisoner himself was brought into the house. A short while later, the council examined him. Seeming to put on a Roman resolution, both to the council and to every other person who spoke with him that day, he appeared so constant and settled upon his grounds, that we all thought we had found some new Mutius Scaevola <sup>731</sup> born in England. For notwithstanding the horror of the fact – the guilt of his conscience, his sudden surprising, the terror which should have been stricken in him by coming into the presence of so grave a council, and the restless and confused questions that every man vexed him with all that day – his countenance was far from being dejected. He often smiled in a scornful manner, not only avowing the fact, but repenting only, with the said Scaevola, his failing in its execution. He said of this, that the devil, and not God, was the discoverer. He answered quickly to every man's objection, scoffed at any idle questions propounded to him, and jested at those he thought had no authority to examine him. All that day the council could get nothing out of him regarding his accomplices, refusing to answer to any questions he thought might reveal the plot, and laying all the blame on himself. As to this, he said he was moved only for religion and conscience' sake, denying the king was his lawful sovereign, nor the anointed of God, in respect to which he was a heretic. He gave himself no other name than John Johnson, servant to Thomas Percy. But the next morning, being carried to the Tower of London, he did not remain there more than two or three days, being re-examined two or three times in that space. The rack was merely offered and shown to him, when the mask of his Roman fortitude visibly began to wear and slide off his face. Then he began to confess

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<sup>731</sup> Gaius Mucius Scaevola was a legendary Roman hero known for his bravery during the siege of Rome by the Etruscan king Lars Porsena, c. 509 BC. He attempted to assassinate the king, but mistakenly killed an attendant. To show his courage, he burned his own hand in a fire, earning the nickname "Scaevola," which means "left-handed."

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part of the truth, and thereafter he opened the whole matter, as it appears by his depositions, which immediately follow.

*The True Copy of the Declaration of Guido (Guy) Fawkes,  
taken in the presence of the Counsellors whose Names are underwritten.*

“I confess that a practice in general was first broken to me against his majesty for the relief of the catholic cause, and not invented or propounded by myself; and this was first propounded to me about Easter, twelve months ago, beyond the seas in the Low Countries, by Thomas Winter. He thereupon came with me into England, and there we imparted our purpose to three other gentlemen, namely, Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, and John Wright. All five were consulting together about the means of executing the same, and taking a vow among ourselves for secrecy.

[The vow was this: “You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose directly or indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that will be proposed to you to keep secret; nor desist from the execution of it until the rest give you leave.” After this, being confessed and receiving absolution, the forementioned received the sacrament by the hands of Gerrard, the Jesuit present there.]

“Catesby propounded to have it performed by gunpowder, and by making a mine under the upper house of Parliament. We made this choice because religion having been unjustly suppressed there, it was fittest that justice and punishment should be executed there.

“This being resolved among us, Thomas Percy hired a house at Westminster for that purpose, near adjoining the parliament-house, and there we began to make our mine about the 11th of December 1604.

“The five who first entered into the work were Thomas Percy, Robert Catesby, Thomas Winter, John Wright, and myself. Soon after we took to us Christopher Wright, having sworn him also, and taken the sacrament for secrecy.

“When we came to the very foundation of the wall of the house, which was about three yards thick, and found it a matter of great difficulty, we took to us another gentleman, Robert Winter, in like manner with oath and sacrament, as aforesaid.

“It was about Christmas when we brought our mine to the wall, and about Candlemas we had wrought the wall halfway through. While they were in working, I stood as sentinel to spot any man who came near, of which I gave them warning, and so they ceased until I gave notice again to proceed.

[1021] A.D. 1605.

“All seven of us lay in the house, having shot and powder, being resolved to die in that place, before we would yield or be taken.

“As they were working on the wall, they heard a rushing in the cellar, of removing coals, upon which we feared we had been discovered. They sent me to the cellar. Finding the coals were being sold, and that the cellar was to be let, viewing the commodity of it for our purpose, Percy went and hired the same for yearly rent.

“Before this, we had provided and brought into the house twenty barrels of powder, which we removed into the cellar, and we covered the same with billets and faggots, which were provided for that purpose.

“About Easter, the parliament being prorogued till October next, we dispersed ourselves. I retired into the Low Countries, by advice and direction of the rest, to acquaint Owen with the

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particulars of the plot, and also lest by my longer stay I might have grown suspected, and so come into question.

“In the meantime Percy, having the key to the cellar, laid more powder and wood into it. I returned about the beginning of that September. Then receiving the key again from Mr. Percy, we brought in more powder, and billets to cover it again. And so I went for a time into the country till the 30th of October.

“It was further resolved among us, that the same day that this act would have been performed, some others of our confederates would have surprised the person of the lady Elizabeth, the king’s eldest daughter, who was kept in Warwickshire at the lord Harrington’s house, and quickly have proclaimed her queen, having a project of a proclamation ready for that purpose. We made no mention in it of altering religion, nor would we have avowed the deed to be ours, until we had power enough to make our party good; and then we would have avowed both.

“Concerning duke Charles, the king’s second son, we had sundry consultations how to seize his person. But because we found no means to compass it (the duke being kept near London, where we did not have enough forces) we resolved to serve our turn with the lady Elizabeth.”

#### *Commissioners.*

Nottingham,	Worcester,
Suffolk,	Devonshire,
Northampton,	Salisbury.

Before the above discourse was ready to go to press, Thomas Winter was apprehended and brought to the Tower. He made a confession, agreeing in substance with the former one of Fawkes, only more at large in some circumstances. I thought it good to insert it here, to further clarify the matter, and for the greater benefit of the reader.

#### *Thomas Winter’s Confession, taken the 23rd of November, in the year 1605, in the presence of the Councillors, whose Names are under-written.*

“My most Honorable Lords,

“Not out of hope to obtain pardon; for speaking of my temporal part in this, I may say the fault is greater than can be forgiven. Nor affecting here the title of a good subject, I must redeem my country from as great a danger, as I have hazarded bringing her into, before I can purchase any such opinion. Only, at your honors’ command, I will briefly set down my accusation, and how far I have proceeded in this business, which I will more faithfully do, since I see such courses are not pleasing to Almighty God, and that all, or the most material parts, have already been confessed.

“I remained with my brother in the country from Alhallowtide <sup>732</sup> until the beginning of Lent, in the year of our Lord 1603, the first year of the king’s reign. About that time Catesby sent there, entreating me to come to London, where he and my other friends would be glad to see me. I desired him to excuse me, for I found myself not very well disposed. And (which had never happened to me before) the messenger returned without my company. Shortly I received another letter, to come anyway. At the second summons I presently came up, and found him with Mr. John Wright at Lambeth, where he told me how necessary it was not to forsake our country (for he knew then I had a resolution to go over); but to deliver her from

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<sup>732</sup> Allhallowtide is a Christian season that includes three days: All Hallows' Eve (Halloween) on Oct 31st, All Saints' Day on Nov 1st, and All Souls' Day on Nov 2nd, dedicated to honoring saints and all faithful departed Christians.

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the servitude in which she remained, or at least to assist her with our uttermost endeavors. I answered that I had often risked my life on far lighter terms, and now would not refuse any good occasion in which I might do service to the catholic cause. But for myself, I knew no probable means to succeed. He said that he had thought to himself of a way, at one instant, to deliver us from all our bonds, and also without any foreign help, to replant again the catholic religion. With this, he told me in a word, that it was to blow up the parliament house with gunpowder. For, he said, in that place they have done us all the mischief, and perhaps God has designed that place for their punishment.

“I wondered at the strangeness of the concept, and told him that it was true, that this struck at the root, and would breed a confusion fit to beget new alterations. But if it were not to take effect (as most things of this nature miscarried), the scandal would be so great which the catholic religion might sustain by it, that not only our enemies, but also our friends would condemn us with good reason. He told me the nature of the disease required so sharp a remedy, and asked me if I would consent to it. I told him, yes, in this or whatever else, if he resolved upon it, I would venture my life. But I proposed many difficulties, such as lack of a house, and of someone to carry the mine, noise in the working, and such like. His answer was, ‘Let us make an attempt, and where it fails, pass no further. But first,’ he said, ‘because we will leave no peaceable and quiet way untried, you will go over and inform the constable, of the state of the catholics here in England, entreating him to solicit his majesty at his coming here, that the penal laws may be recalled, and we be admitted into the rank of his other subjects. With this, you may bring over some confident gentlemen, such as you understand will be best able for this business; and he named to me Master Fawkes. Shortly after, I passed over the sea and found the constable at Bergen near Dunkirk, where by help of Master Owen, I delivered my message. His answer was that he had strict command from his master, to do all good offices for the catholics, and for his own part, he thought himself bound in conscience to do so, and that no good occasion should be omitted, but say nothing to him of this matter.

“Returning to Dunkirk with Master Owen, we spoke about whether he thought the constable would faithfully help us or not. He said he believed that they sought only their own ends, taking small account of catholics. I told him that there were many gentlemen in England, who would not forsake their country until they had tried their uttermost, and would rather venture their lives than forsake her in this misery. And to add one more to our number, as a fit man both for counsel and execution of whatever we should resolve, we wished for Master Fawkes, of whom I had heard good commendations. He told me the gentleman deserved no less, but was at Brussels. And that if he did not come before my departure, as perhaps he might, he would send him into England shortly after. Soon after that, I went to Ostend, where Sir William Stanley had not arrived, but came two days later. I remained with him three or four days, in which time I asked him whether, if the catholics in England were to do anything to help themselves, he thought the archduke would second them? He answered, no. For all those parts were so desirous of peace with England, that they would endure no speech of other enterprises. Nor was it fit, he said, to set any project afoot now that the peace is concluding. I told him there was no such resolution, and so I fell to discoursing about other matters, until I came to speak of Master Fawkes, whose company I wished over into England.

[1022] A.D. 1605.

“I asked of his sufficiency in the wars, and told him we would need men such as he if occasion required. He gave very good commendations of him. As we were thus discoursing, and I was ready to depart from Newport, upon taking my leave of Sir William, Master Fawkes came into our company, newly returned, and greeted us. This is the gentleman, said Sir William, that we wished for, and so we embraced again. I told him, some good friends of his wished his company in England, and that if he was pleased to come to Dunkirk, to which I was then



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going, we would have further conference. So taking my leave of them both, I departed. About two days later Master Fawkes came to Dunkirk, where I told him that upon a resolution, we were to do something with England, if the peace with Spain did not help us, but as yet we had resolved upon nothing. Such or like talk we passed at Graveling, where I lay for a wind. And when it served, we both came in one passage to Greenwich, near which we took a pair of oars, and so came up to London, and came to Master Catesby, whom we found in his lodging. He welcomed us into England, and asked me what news from the constable. I told him, good words, but I feared the deeds would not correspond. This was the beginning of Easter term, and about the middle of the term (whether sent for by Master Catesby, or upon some business of his own) Master Thomas Percy came up. The first word he spoke (after he came into our company) was, ‘Shall we always *talk* (gentlemen), and never *do* anything?’ Master Catesby took him aside, and told him something about what was to be done, so that first we might all take an oath of secrecy, which we resolved to do within two or three days. So that there we met behind St. Clements – Master Catesby, Master Percy, Master Wright, Master Guy Fawkes, and myself. And having given each other the oath of secrecy upon a primer,<sup>733</sup> in a chamber where nobody else was, we later went into the next room, heard mass, and received the blessed sacrament upon the same.

“Then Master Catesby disclosed to Master Percy and I, together with Jack Wright, and tell to Master Fawkes, the business for which we took this oath, which they both approved. And then Master Percy was sent to take the house which Master Catesby had learned, in my absence, belonged to one Ferris. With some difficulty, in the end he obtained it, and became as Ferris was before, a tenant to Whynniard. Master Fawkes went under the name of Master Percy’s man, calling him Johnson, because his name was the most unknown. He received the keys of the house, until we heard that the parliament was adjourned to the 7th of February. At which time we all departed our several ways into the country, to meet again at the beginning of Michaelmas term.<sup>734</sup> Before this time it was also thought convenient to have a house that might answer to Master Percy’s, where we might make provision of powder and wood for the mine, which being made ready there in a night, should be conveyed by boat in a night to the house by the parliament, because we were loath to make that suspicious by often going in and out. There was none that we could devise so fit as Lambeth, where Master Catesby often lay. And to be the keeper of it (by Master Catesby’s choice) we received Keyes into our number, as a trusty honest man. This was about a month before Michaelmas.

“Some fortnight later, towards the beginning of the term. Master Fawkes and I came to Master Catesby at Moorecrofts, where we agreed that now it was time to begin and set things in order for the mine. So Master Fawkes went to London. The next day he sent for me to come over to him. When I came, the reason was that the Scottish lords were appointed to sit in conference of the union in Master Percy’s house. This hindered our beginning until a fortnight before Christmas, by which time both Master Percy and Master Wright had come to London, and against their coming, we had provided a good part of the powder; so that all five of us entered with tools fit to begin our work. We had provided ourselves with baked meats so there was less need to send abroad for them. We entered late in the night, and were never seen, only Master Percy’s man, until Christmas eve. At that time we worked under a little entry to the wall of the parliament house, and underpropped it with wood as we went.

“While we were together, we began to fashion our business, and discoursed about what we should do after this deed was done. The first question was how we might surprise the next heir. The prince <sup>735</sup> perhaps would be at the parliament with the king his father. How should

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<sup>733</sup> *Primer*: a prayer or devotional book intended for laity, initially an abridgment of the breviary and manual.

<sup>734</sup> *Michaelmas*: a day of feasting on September 29th, the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel.

<sup>735</sup> The prince (son of James I) was the future King Charles I (Roman Catholic), only five years old at the time.



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we then be able to seize on the duke? Master Percy undertook this burden, that by his acquaintance with another gentleman, he would enter the chamber without suspicion. And having some dozen others at several doors to expect his coming, and two or three on horseback at the court gate to receive him, he would undertake (the blow being given, until which he would attend in the duke's chamber) to carry the prince safely away. For he supposed most of the court would be absent, and those who were there, were not suspecting, or had not provided for any such matter. As for the lady Elizabeth,<sup>736</sup> it would be easy to surprise her in the country, by drawing friends together at a hunt near the lord Harrington's, and Ashby, Master Catesby's house, not being far off, was a fit place for preparation.

"The next was for money and horses, which if we could provide in any reasonable measure (having the heir apparent, and advance knowledge by four or five days), was odds sufficient.

"Then what lords we should save from the parliament. This was first agreed in general, as many as we could who were catholics, or so disposed. But later we descended to speak of particulars.

"Next what foreign princes we should acquaint with this beforehand, or join with afterward. For this point we agreed on, that first we could not enjoin princes to that secrecy, nor oblige them by oath, so as to be secure of their promises. Besides, we did not know whether they would approve of the project or dislike it. And if they did allow for it, to prepare beforehand might beget suspicion; and not to provide until after the business was enacted, the same letter that carried news of the thing done, might as well entreat their help and furtherance. Spain is too slow in her preparations to hope for any good from in the first extremities; and France was too near and too dangerous. With the shipping of Holland, we feared that, of all the world, they might be the ones to make away with us.

"But while we were in the middle of these discourses, we heard that the parliament would be adjourned anew until after Michaelmas. Upon these tidings we broke off both discourse and working until after Christmas. About Candlemas<sup>737</sup> we brought over in a boat the powder, which we had provided at Lambeth, and laid it in Percy's house, because we were willing to have all our dangers in one place.

"We also worked another fortnight in the mine against the stone wall, which was very hard to break through. At that time we called in Kit Wright; and near to Easter, as we worked on it the third time, opportunity was given to hire the cellar, in which we resolved to lay the powder and leave the mine.

"Now, the charge of maintaining us all for so long together, besides the cost of several houses which had been hired for different uses, and buying powder, etc., had lain heavy upon Master Catesby alone to support, it was necessary for him to call in some others to ease his costs. And to that end, he desired leave that he, with Percy, and a third, whom they would call, might acquaint whomever they thought fit and willing to aid the business. For many, he said, may be content that I should know, but who would not have the whole company be acquainted with their names. To this we all agreed.

"After this, Fawkes laid into the cellar (which he had newly taken) a thousand billets, and five hundred faggots, and covered the powder with that, because then we might have the house free to allow anyone to enter who would. Catesby wished us to consider whether it would not

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<sup>736</sup> Elizabeth (of Bohemia) was the only surviving daughter of James I; she was nine years old at the time. She later married Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and became known as the "Winter Queen."

<sup>737</sup> Candlemas: a festival celebrating the purification of the Virgin Mary and the presentation of Christ in the Temple, observed on February 2nd.

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now be necessary to send Master Fawkes over, both to absent himself for a time, and also to acquaint Sir William Stanley and Master Owen with this matter.

[1023] A.D. 1605.

“We agreed that he should (provided that he gave it them with the same oath that we had taken before) viz., to keep it secret from the whole world. The reason why we desired that Sir William Stanley should be acquainted with it, was to have him with us as soon as we could. And for Owen, that he might hold good correspondence afterward with foreign princes. So Fawkes departed about Easter for Flanders, and returned at the latter end of August. He told me that when he arrived at Brussels, Sir William Stanley had not returned from Spain, so that he uttered the matter only to Owen, who seemed well pleased with the business. But he told him that surely Sir William would not be acquainted with any such plot, now having business a-foot in the court of England. But he himself would always be ready to tell it to him, and send him away as soon as it was done.

“About this time Percy and Catesby met at Bath, where they agreed that the company still being but a few, Catesby should have the others’ authority to call in whomever he thought best. By this authority he later called in Sir Everard Digby, though at what time I know not, and last of all Francis Tresham. The first promised, as I heard Catesby say, 1500 pounds; the second 2000 pounds; Percy himself promised all that he could get from the earl of Northumberland’s rents, which was about 4000 pounds, and to provide ten swift horses.

“Meanwhile Fawkes and myself alone bought some new powder, suspecting the first to be wet, and conveyed it into the cellar, and set it in order as we resolved it should stand.

“Then the parliament was prorogued anew until the 5th of November. So we all went down until some ten days before, when Catesby came up with Fawkes to a house by Enfield-Chase called White-Webs, where I came to them. Catesby wished me to inquire whether the young prince came to the parliament. I told him that I heard his grace would not be there. Then we must have our horses beyond the water, said Catesby, and provision for more company to surprise the prince and leave the duke alone.

“Two days later, being Sunday night, someone came into my chamber and told me that a letter had been given to my lord Monteagle to this effect: that he wished his lordship’s absence from the parliament, because a blow would be given there. This letter he quickly carried to my lord of Salisbury.

“On the morrow I went to White-Webs, and informed Catesby, assuring him with this, that the matter was disclosed, and wishing him in any case to forsake his country. He told me he would see further as yet, and resolved to send Fawkes to try to the uttermost, protesting that if it were his case, he would take the same risk.

“On Wednesday, Fawkes went and returned at night, of which we were very glad.

“On Thursday, I came to London. On Friday, Catesby, Tresham, and I met at Barnet, where we questioned how this letter might have been sent to my lord Monteagle, but could not conceive of it. For Tresham forswore it was not him, whom we suspected.

“On Saturday night, I met Tresham again in Lincoln’s-inn-Walks, where he told such things that my lord of Salisbury might use to the king, as I gave the affair up for lost the second time, and repeated the same to Catesby. Hereupon he was resolved to be gone, but stayed to have Percy come up, whose consent in this we wanted. On Sunday, Percy being dealt with to that end, determined to abide the uttermost trial.

“This suspicion of all hands put us into such confusion, that Catesby resolved to go down into the country the Monday that Master Percy went to Sion. Percy resolved to follow the same

### III. The Gunpowder Treason – Guy Fawkes

night, or early the next morning. About five o'clock Tuesday, the younger Wright came to my chamber, and told me that a nobleman called the lord Monteagle had said arise and come to Essex-house, for I am going to call up my lord of Northumberland — saying with this, that the matter is discovered. 'Go back, Master Wright,' I said, 'and learn what you can about Essex-Gate. Shortly after, he returned and said, 'Surely all is lost. For Lepton has gotten on horseback at Essex-door. And as he parted, he asked if their lordships would have any more with him. Being told no, he rode as fast up Fleet-street as he could. 'Go then,' I said to Percy, 'for surely it is for him they seek, and bid him be gone; I will stay and see the uttermost.' Then I went to the court-gate and found them strictly guarded, so that nobody could enter. From there I went down towards the parliament house, and in the middle of King's-street found a guard standing, who would not let me pass. As I returned I heard one say, 'There is a treason discovered, in which the king and the lords would have been blown up.' So then I was fully satisfied that all was known, and went to the stable where my horse stood, and rode into the country.

"Catesby had appointed our meeting at Dunchurch. but I could not overtake them until I came to my brother's, which was Wednesday night. On Thursday we took the armor at my lord Windsor's, and went that night to one Stephen Littleton's house. The next day (being Friday), as I was early abroad, my man came to me and said that a heavy mischance had separated all the company. For Catesby, Rookwood, and Grant were burned with gunpowder, upon which sight the rest dispersed. Littleton wished me to flee, and so would he. I told him I would first see the body of my friend and bury him, whatever befell me. When I came, I found Catesby reasonably well, Percy, both the Wrights, Rookwood, and Grant. I asked them what they resolved to do. They answered, 'We mean to die here.' I said again, I would take whatever part they did. About eleven o'clock the company came to beset the house. And as I walked into the court, I was shot in the shoulder, which lost me the use of my arm. The elder Wright was stricken dead by the next shot; after him the younger Wright; and fourthly, Ambrose Rookwood was shot. Then Catesby said to me (standing before the door they were to enter) 'stand by me, Tom, and we will die together.' 'Sir,' I said, 'I have lost the use of my right arm, and I fear that will cause me to be taken.' So as we stood close together, Catesby, Percy, and myself, those two were shot (as far as I could guess, with one bullet) and then the company entered upon me, hurt me in the belly with a pike, and gave me other wounds, until one came behind and caught hold of both my arms."

#### *Commissioners:*

Nottingham, Suffolk, Northampton, Marr, Worcester, Levrnshire,  
Salisbury, Dunbar, Popham. Also, Edw. Coke, W. Waad.

The names of those who were first in the treason, and labored in the mine:

#### *Esquires.*

Robert Catesby, and Robert Winter,

#### *Gentlemen.*

Thomas Percy, Thomas Winter, John Wright, Christopher Wright,  
Guido Fawkes, and Bates, Catesby's man.

Those who were made acquainted with it, though not personally laboring in the mine, nor in the cellar:

Everard Digby, knight.

#### *Esquires:*

Ambrose Rookwood, Francis Tresham;  
John Grant, gentleman, and Robert Keyes.

**The Fate of the Other Conspirators.**

But here, let us leave Fawkes in a lodging fit for such a guest, and taking time to advise upon his conscience, and turn to that part of the history which concerns the fortune of the rest of his partakers in that abominable treason. The news was no sooner spread abroad that morning, which was on a Tuesday, the 5th of November, which was the first day designed for that session of parliament. The news, I say, of such a strange and unlooked-for accident, was no sooner divulged, than some of these conspirators — namely, Winter and the two Wrights — thought it high time for them to hasten out of town.

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For Catesby had gone the night before, and Percy at four o'clock in the morning, the same day of the discovery. And all of them held their course with more haste than good speed, to Warwickshire towards Coventry. There, on Wednesday morning, about the same hour that Fawkes was taken in Westminster, one Grant, a gentleman, having associated with some others of his opinion (all violent papists and strong recusants), came to a stable of one Benock, a rider of great horses. Having violently broken it open, they carried along with them all the great horses that were in it, numbering seven or eight, belonging to different noblemen and gentlemen of that county, who had put them into that rider's hands to be made fit for their service. And so both that company of those who fled out of London, as also Grant and his accomplices, met together at Dunchurch, at Sir Everard Digby's lodging, on the Tuesday night after the discovery of this treacherous attempt. Regarding this, Digby had likewise, for his part, appointed a hunting match for the next day, which was Wednesday — though his mind was Nimrod-like upon a far different manner of hunting, one more bent on the blood of reasonable men than brute beasts.

This company and hellish society thus convened, finding their purpose discovered and their treachery prevented, resolved to run a desperate course. And since they could not prevail by so private a blow, [they hoped] to practice by a public rebellion, either to attain their object, or at least to save themselves in the throng of others. Therefore, gathering all the company they could to themselves, and pretending it was the quarrel of religion, they intercepted such provision of armor, horses, and powder as the time permitted. They thought, to augment their number piece by piece by running up and down the country — dreaming they had the virtue of a snow-ball which, being little at the first and tumbling down from a great hill, grows to a great quantity by increasing itself with the snow it meets on the way. They also thought that first beginning this brave show in one part of the country, they could by their sympathy and example, stir up and encourage the rest of their religion to rise in other parts of England, as they had done there. But when they had gathered their force to the greatest, they did not come to eighty in number. Yet they were troubled all the hours of the day to keep and contain their own servants from stealing from them, who notwithstanding all their care, left them daily. They were far inferior to Gideon's host in number, but their faith in the justness of their quarrel was far more.

And so, after this popish troop had wandered a while through Warwickshire to Worcestershire, and from there to the edge and borders of Staffordshire, this gallantly armed band did not have the honor to at last be beaten by the king's lieutenant, or the extraordinary commissioners sent down for the purpose. It was only the ordinary sheriff of Worcestershire by whom they were all beaten, killed, taken, and dispersed. In this you have to note the following circumstance, which so admirably and so lively displays the greatness of God's justice, that it could not be concealed without betraying, in a manner, the glory due to the Almighty for the same.

### III. The Gunpowder Treason – Guy Fawkes

Many of the king's proclamations were posted after these traitors with all possible speed, declaring the odiousness of that bloody attempt, and the necessity to preserve Percy alive if possible, together with the assembly of that wicked crew, who now were no longer secret conspirators, but open and avowed rebels. Yet the distance of the journey (which was over 100 miles) together with the extreme deepness of it, joined with the shortness of the day, was the reason that the hearty and loving affections of the king's good subjects in those parts prevented the speed of his proclamations. For on the third day after the flight of these rebels – which was the next Friday after the discovery of the plot – most of them were surprised by the sheriff of Worcestershire at Holbeach, about noon, and that was in the following manner.

Grant, one of those I mentioned before, taking the great horses, had not stirred from his own house all the preceding time, till the morning after the attempt had been put into execution. Then laying his account outside his host, as the proverb goes,<sup>738</sup> thinking their plot had without fail received their hoped-for success the day before, he took, or rather stole their horses, as I said before. Thus he was enabled, with so many of that soul-less society who still remained in the country near about him, to make a sudden surprise upon the king's eldest daughter, the lady Elizabeth, who had her residence near that place, at the lord Harrington's house. They thought to have used her for the color of their treacherous design (his majesty, her father, her mother and male children, all being destroyed above). And to this purpose, that Nimrod-like Digby had also provided his hunting match against the same time, so that numbers of people flocking together on the pretense of it, they might more easily have brought to pass the sudden surprise of her noble person.

Now, the violent taking of those horses long before daylight seemed to be so great a riot in the eyes of the common people (who knew of no greater mystery), and the bold attempting of it engendered such a suspicion of some following rebellion in the hearts of the wiser sort, that both great and small began to stir and arm themselves upon this unlooked-for incident. Among them was Sir Fulke Grevill the elder, a knight, as became one both so ancient in years and good reputation. And by his office, being deputy-lieutenant of Warwickshire, though unable in his body, yet by the zeal and true fervency of his mind, he first apprehended this foresaid riot was nothing but the sparkles and sure indication of a subsequent rebellion. Whereupon he both courageously and honestly gave orders to get into his own hands the ammunition and armor of all those gentlemen about him who were either absent from their own houses, or in doubtful guard, and also sent direction to the towns about him. So that thereupon followed the striking of Winter by a poor smith, who had likewise been taken by these vulgar people; but he was rescued by the rest of his company. Winter, perceiving that the country before them had notice of them, hastened away with loss in their own sight. Sixteen of their followers had been taken by the townsmen, and sent immediately to the sheriff at Warwick, and from there to London.

But before twelve or sixteen hours had passed, Catesby, Perry, the Winters, Wrights, Rookwood, and the rest were assured that their main plot had failed and was disclosed, upon which they had built the golden mountains of their glorious hopes. They then took their last desperate resolution to flock together in a troop and wander, as they did, for the reasons before mentioned. But on the one part, the zealous duty to their God and their sovereign had been so deeply imprinted in the hearts of all the lowliest and poorest sort of the people (although they then knew of no further mystery than such public misbehaviors as

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<sup>738</sup> "laying an account outside the host" metaphorically means sharing private financial or personal details with someone who is not trustworthy, which the Bible warns against (Pro 10.14; 11.13).

### III. The Gunpowder Treason – Guy Fawkes

their own eyes taught them), that notwithstanding all their fair shows and pretense of their catholic cause, no creature, man or woman, through all the country, would so much as once willingly give them a cup of drink, or any sort of comfort or support, but with execrations they detested this band. On the other part, the sheriffs of the shires through which they wandered, convening their people with all possible speed, hunted as hotly after them as the badness of the way and the unprovided state of their people could permit them on such sudden notice. And so at last, after Sir Richard Verney, sheriff of Warwickshire, had carefully and straitly chased them into the confines of his country, some of the meaner sort were apprehended by him. Sir Richard Walsh, sheriff of Worcestershire, likewise dutifully and hotly pursued them through his shire. Having gotten certain information about their taking harbor at the house named above, he sent trumpeters and messengers there, commanding them in the king's name to surrender to him, his majesty's minister.

[1025] A.D. 1605.

Knowing no more at that time of their guilt than was publicly visible, he promised upon their dutiful and obedient surrendering to him, to intercede at the king's hand to spare their lives. He received from them only this scornful answer, that he would need better assistance than of those few persons who were with him, before he could be able to command or control them. They were better witnesses to themselves of their inward evil consciences.

But here the wondrous work of God's justice happened. As this message passed between the sheriff and them, the zeal of the sheriff and his people was justly kindled and augmented by their arrogant answer. And so they prepared themselves to give a furious assault. The other party making themselves ready within the house to perform their promise by a defense that was just as resolute; it pleased God, that in mending the fire in their chamber, one small spark should flee out and light among less than two pounds of powder which was drying a little from the chimney, thereby blowing it up. It so maimed the faces of some of the principal rebels, and the hands and sides of the others (also blowing up a great bag full of powder which had not directly caught fire) that they were disabled and discouraged by it from any further resistance. And in respect to Catesby himself, Rookwood, Grant, and several others of greatest note among them, they were thereby not only made unable to defend themselves; but also wonderfully struck with amazement in their guilty consciences, calling to memory how God had justly punished them with that same instrument which they had intended to use for effectuating so great a sin. This was according to the old Latin saying, "*In quo peccamus, in eodem plectimur.*"<sup>739</sup> They all quickly fell down upon their knees, praying God to pardon them for their bloody enterprise (see the wonderful power of God's justice upon guilty consciences). And thereafter giving up any further opposition, they opened the gate, allowed the sheriff's people to rush in furiously among them, and desperately sought their own destruction. The three principal ones among them joined backs together (Catesby, Percy, and Winter), of whom two were slain with one shot, Catesby and Percy, and the third, Winter, was taken alive.

And thus these resolute and high-aspiring Romanists, who dreamed of no less than the destruction of king and kingdoms, promised themselves no lower an estate than the government of great and ancient monarchies. But they were miserably defeated and quite overthrown in an instant, falling into the pit which they had prepared for others. And so they fulfilled that sentence which his majesty had in a manner prophesied about them in his oration to the parliament. Some were slain. Others, mortally wounded, were stripped of

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<sup>739</sup> Translation: *In what we sin, we are punished in the same way.*

### III. The Gunpowder Treason – Guy Fawkes

their clothes and left lying miserably naked; and so they died from cold rather than from the danger of their wounds. The rest who were either whole, or only slightly hurt, were taken and led prisoners by the sheriff, the ordinary minister of justice, to the jail, the common prison for even the basest malefactors, where they remained till they were sent up to London. They were met with a huge confluence of people of all sorts, desirous to see them like the rarest sort of monsters — fools to laugh at them, women and children to wonder, all the common people to gaze, the wiser sort to satisfy their curiosity in seeing the outward examples of such unheard of villainy; and generally, all sorts of people to satiate their eyes with the sight of them, whom in their hearts they so far wondered at and detested — thus serving as a fearful and public spectacle of God's fierce wrath and just indignation.

*An Act for a public Thanksgiving to Almighty God,  
every Year, on the 5th day of November.*

Because Almighty God has in all ages shown his power and mercy in the miraculous and gracious deliverance of his church, and in the protection of religious kings and states, and because no nation of the earth has been blessed with greater benefits than this kingdom now enjoys, having the true and free possession of the gospel under our most sovereign lord king James, the most great, learned, and religious king who ever reigned in it, enriched with a most hopeful and plentiful progeny proceeding out of his royal loins, promising continuance of his happiness and profession to all posterity

— which many malignant and devilish papists, Jesuits, and seminary priests, much envying and fearing, conspired most horribly when the king's most excellent majesty, the queen, the prince, and all the lords both spiritual, temporal, and commons would have been assembled in the upper house of parliament on the 5th day of November in the year of our Lord 1605, to suddenly have blown up the said whole house with gunpowder,

— an invention so inhuman, barbarous, and cruel that the like was never heard of before, that it was purposely devised and concluded to be done (as some of the principal conspirators confess) in the said house where sundry necessary and religious laws for the preservation of the church and state were made, which they falsely and slanderously term *cruel laws enacted against them and their religion*, both place and persons should be all destroyed and blown up at once,

— which would have turned to the utter ruin of this whole kingdom, had it not pleased Almighty God, by inspiring the king's most excellent majesty with a divine spirit, to interpret some dark phrases of a letter showed to his majesty, above and beyond all ordinary construction, thereby miraculously discovering this hidden treason not many hours before the appointed time for the execution of it,

— Therefore the king's most excellent majesty, the lords spiritual and temporal, and all his majesty's faithful and loving subjects, most justly acknowledge this great and infinite blessing to have proceeded merely from God's great mercy, and ascribe all honor, glory, and praise to his most holy name.

— And to the end that this unfeigned thankfulness may never be forgotten, but be held in perpetual remembrance, that all ages to come may yield praises to his Divine Majesty for the same, and have in memory this joyful day of deliverance,

*Be it therefore enacted* by the king's most excellent majesty, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all and singular ministers in every cathedral or parish church, or other usual



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place for common prayer within this realm of England and the dominions of the same, shall always on the 5th day of November, say morning prayer, and give to Almighty God thanks for this most happy deliverance; and that all and every person and persons inhabiting within this realm of England and the dominions of the same, shall always upon that day diligently and faithfully resort to the parish church or chapel where the said morning prayer, preaching, or other service of God shall be used and ministered.

And because all and every person may be put in mind of this duty, and be better prepared for the said holy service, be it enacted by the aforesaid authority, that every minister shall give warning to his parishioners publicly in the church at morning prayer, the Sunday before every such 5th day of November, for the due observation of the said day; and that after morning prayer or preaching on the said 5th day of November, they read distinctly and plainly this present act.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

*A Prayer and Thanksgiving for the happy Deliverance  
of his Majesty, the Queen, the Prince, and the State of Parliament, etc.*

“Almighty God, who have in all ages shown your power and mercy, in the miraculous and gracious deliverances of your church, and in the protection of righteous and religious kings, and states professing your holy and eternal truth, against the wicked conspiracies and malicious practices of all the enemies of it. We yield to you from the very ground of our hearts, all possible praise and thanks for your wonderful and mighty deliverance of our gracious sovereign king James, the queen, the prince, and all the royal branches, with the nobility, clergy, and commons of this realm, assembled together at present in parliament, appointed as sheep to the slaughter by popish treachery, and that was in a most barbarous and savage manner, no age yielding an example of like cruelty intended towards the Lord’s anointed and His people.

[1026] A.D. 1605.

“Can this your goodness, O Lord, be forgotten, worthy to be written on a pillar of marble, that we may ever remember to praise you for the same, as the fact is worthy of a lasting monument, so that all posterity may learn to detest it? From this unnatural conspiracy, not our merit, but Your mercy, not our foresight, but Your providence has delivered us; not our love to you, but Your love to your anointed servant, and your poor church, with whom you have promised to be present to the end of the world. And therefore not to us, not to us, Lord, but to Your name be ascribed all honor, and glory, in all churches of the saints, throughout all generations. For You, Lord, have discovered the snares of death; You have broken them and we are delivered. Be still our mighty Protector, and scatter our cruel enemies who delight in blood. Infatuate their counsel, and root out that Babylonish and antichristian sect which says with Jerusalem, ‘Down with it, down with it, even to the ground.’ And to that end, strengthen the hands of our gracious king, the nobles and magistrates of the land with judgment and justice, to cut off those workers of iniquity (whose religion is rebellion, whose faith is faction, whose practice is murdering of souls and bodies), and to root them out of the confines and limits of this kingdom, so that they may never prevail against us and triumph in the ruin of your church; and give us grace by true and serious repentance, to avert these and like judgments from us. This, Lord, we earnestly crave at your merciful hands, together with the continuance of your powerful protection over our dread sovereign, the whole church, and these realms, and the speedy confusion of our implacable enemies, and that is for your dear Son’s sake, our only mediator and advocate. Amen.”

Those of the conspirators who were taken prisoners, were afterwards brought to trial on the following **indictment**:



### III. The Gunpowder Treason – Guy Fawkes

“Whereas our sovereign lord the king appointed a parliament to be held at his city of Westminster by the advice and assent of his council, for diverse, weighty and urgent occasions concerning his majesty, the state, and defense of the church and kingdom of England,

“Henry Garnet, superior of the Jesuits within the realm of England, also called by the several names of Wally, Darcy, Roberts, Farmer, and Henry Philips; – Oswald Tesmond, Jesuit, otherwise called Oswald Greenwell; – John Gerrard, Jesuit, also called by the several names of Lee and Brook; – Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, gentlemen; – Guy Fawkes, gentleman, otherwise called Guy Johnson; Robert Keyes, gentleman; and Thomas Bates, yeoman, late servant to Thomas Catesby, esq.; together with the said Robert Catesby, and Thomas Percy, esquires; John Wright and Christopher Wright, gentlemen, recently slain,

“in open rebellion and insurrection against his majesty; and Francis Tresham, esq., recently dead; as false traitors against our said sovereign lord the king, traitorously met and assembled themselves together; and being so met, the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other Jesuits, maliciously, falsely, and traitorously moved and persuaded the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as well as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, that our said sovereign lord the king, the nobility, clergy, and whole commonalty of the realm of England (papists excepted) were heretics; and that all heretics were accursed and excommunicated; and that no heretic could be king; but that it was lawful and meritorious to kill our said sovereign lord the king, and all other heretics within this realm of England, for the advancing and enlargement of the pretended and usurped authority and jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, and for restoring the superstitious Romish religion within this realm of England; to which traitorous persuasions, the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, Thomas Bates, Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, traitorously yielded their assents;

“and that thereupon the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and diverse other Jesuits; Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates; and also the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, traitorously among themselves concluded and agreed that with one blast, as it were, with gunpowder, to suddenly blow up and tear in pieces our sovereign lord the king; the excellent, virtuous, and gracious queen Anne, his dearest wife; the most noble prince Henry, their eldest son, the future hope and joy of England; and the lords spiritual and temporal; the reverend judges of the realm; the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the parliament, and diverse other faithful subjects and servants of the king in the said parliament, for the said causes aforesaid, to be assembled in the parliament-house, and all of them, without any respect of majesty, dignity, degree, sex, age, or place, most barbarously, and more than bestly, traitorously and suddenly to destroy and swallow them up;

“and further, they most traitorously conspired and concluded among themselves, that not only the whole royal issue male of our said sovereign lord the king should be destroyed and rooted out, but that the aforesaid persons, together with diverse other false traitors who were to be traitorously assembled with them, should surprise the persons of the noble ladies Elizabeth and Mary, daughters of our said sovereign lord the king, and should falsely and traitorously proclaim the said lady Elizabeth to be queen of this realm of England;

“and thereupon they would publish a certain traitorous proclamation in the name of the said lady Elizabeth, in which, as it was specially agreed between and by the said conspirators, that no mention should be made at first of the alteration of religion established within this realm of England; neither would the said false traitors in this, acknowledge themselves to be the authors, or actors, or devisers of the most wicked and horrible treasons, until they had gotten

### III. The Gunpowder Treason – Guy Fawkes

sufficient power and strength for the assured execution and accomplishment of their said conspiracy and treason; and that then they would avenge and justify the said most wicked and horrible treasons, as actions that were in the number of those '*Quae non laudantur nisi peracta*' (who are not to be commended before they are accomplished) – but by the said feigned and traitorous proclamation, they would publish that all and singular abuses and grievances within this realm of England should be reformed for the satisfaction of the people;

“and that for the better concealing, as well as for the more effectual accomplishing of the said horrible treasons, the said Thomas Winter, Guy Pawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as well as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and John Tresham, by the traitorous advice and procurement of the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other Jesuits, traitorously further concluded and agreed that the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as well as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, should thereupon severally and traitorously receive their corporeal oaths upon the holy evangelists, and the sacrament of the Eucharist, that the aforesaid would traitorously conceal and keep secret, and not reveal them directly nor indirectly, by words or circumstances; nor would they desist from the execution and final accomplishment of the said treasons, without the consent of some three of the aforesaid false traitors first being had in that behalf;

“and that thereupon, the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as well as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, traitorously took these corporeal oaths separately, and received the sacrament of the Eucharist aforesaid, by the hands of the said Henry Garnet, John Gerrard, Oswald Tesmond, and other Jesuits;

“and further, that the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, together with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham,

[1027] A.D. 1605.

“by the like traitorous advice and council of the said Henry Garnet, John Gerrard, Oswald Tesmond, and other Jesuits, to more effectually accomplish and finally execute the said treason, traitorously among themselves, concluded and agreed to dig a certain mine under the said house of parliament, and there secretly, under the said house, to bestow and place a great quantity of gunpowder.

“and that according to the said traitorous conclusion, the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, together with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, afterwards secretly, not without great labor and difficulty, dug and made the said mine into the midst of the foundation of the wall of the said house of parliament, the said foundation being three yards thick, with a traitorous intent to bestow and place a great quantity of gunpowder in the aforesaid mine, so as aforesaid, to be traitorously made for the traitorous accomplishing of their aforesaid traitorous purposes;

“and that the said Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, together with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, finding and perceiving the said work to be a great difficulty because of the hardness and thickness of the said wall, and understanding a certain cellar under the said parliament-house, and adjoining to the house of the said Thomas Percy, was then to be farmed out for a yearly rent, the said Thomas Percy, by the traitorous procurement of the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other Jesuits, Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as well as the said Robert Catesby, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, traitorously hired the cellar aforesaid for a certain yearly rent and term; and then those

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traitors removed twenty barrels full of gunpowder out of the said house of the said Thomas Percy, and secretly and traitorously bestowed and placed them in the cellar aforesaid under the said parliament-house, for the traitorous effecting of the treason and traitorous purposes aforesaid;

“and that afterwards the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other Jesuits; Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, together with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, traitorously met with Robert Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham, esq., and traitorously imparted to the said Robert Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham, the treasons, traitorous intentions, and purposes aforesaid, and required the said Robert Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham, to join themselves with the said Henry Garnet, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as well as with the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, in the treasons, traitorous intentions and purposes aforesaid; and to traitorously provide horses, armor, and other necessaries to better accomplish and effect the said treasons; to which traitorous motion and request, the said Robert Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham, traitorously yielded their assents in the said treasons, traitorous intentions, and purposes aforesaid;

“and with the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Guy Fawkes, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, as well as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, they traitorously adhered and united themselves, and thereupon traitorously took several corporeal oaths in the above said form, and received the sacrament of the Eucharist by the hands of the said Jesuits, to such an intent and purpose as aforesaid; and traitorously provided horses, armor, and other necessaries to better effect the said treasons according to their traitorous intents aforesaid; and that afterwards, all the said traitors traitorously provided, and brought into the cellar aforesaid, ten other barrels full of gunpowder newly bought, fearing lest the former gunpowder, so bestowed and placed there as aforesaid, had become dampish; and secretly and traitorously covered the said several quantities of gunpowder aforesaid, with billets and faggots, lest they be spied; and that afterwards, the said false traitors traitorously provided and brought into the cellar aforesaid, four hogsheads <sup>740</sup> full of gunpowder, and laid diverse great iron bars and stones upon the said four hogsheads, and the aforesaid other quantities of gunpowder; and the said quantities of gunpowder, bars and stones, with billets and faggots (lest they be espied), they likewise secretly and traitorously covered;

“and that the said Guy Fawkes afterwards, for a full and final accomplishment of the said treasons, traitorous intents, and purposes aforesaid, by the traitorous procurement of the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, and other Jesuits; Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Robert Keyes, Thomas Bates, John Grant, and Ambrose Rookwood, as well as of the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, Christopher Wright, and Francis Tresham, traitorously had prepared, and had found upon his person, touchwood and match, with which to traitorously set fire to the several barrels, hogsheads and quantities of gunpowder aforesaid, at the time appointed for the execution of the said horrible treasons;

“and further, that after the said horrible treasons were discovered by the great favor and mercy of God, in a wonderful manner, not many hours before it would have been executed, the said Henry Garnet, Oswald Tesmond, John Gerrard, Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, Robert Keyes, Thomas Bates, John Grant, and Ambrose Rookwood, as well as the said Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, traitorously fled and withdrew

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<sup>740</sup> *Hogshead*: a large cask holding approximately 63 gals.

### III. The Gunpowder Treason – Guy Fawkes

themselves with the intent to traitorously stir up and procure such popish persons as they could, to join with them in actual, public, and open rebellion against our said sovereign lord the king; to that end they published diverse feigned and false rumors that the papists' throats were to be cut; and that thereupon diverse papists would be in arms, and in open, public, and actual rebellion against our said sovereign lord the king, in diverse parts of the realm."

The conspirators gave so little defense for themselves, Garnet excepted, that we will only observe that after reading their several examinations, confessions, and voluntary declarations of themselves, as well as of some of their dead confederates, they were all found guilty of the treasons contained in their indictment. Being asked why sentence of death should not pass upon them, Thomas Winter desired he might be hanged both for his brother and himself. Fawkes being asked why he did not plead guilty, he said he had done so because of some conferences mentioned in the indictment which he was ignorant of. Keyes told the court his fortune was desperate, and he would as soon die now as at any other time; and for this cause, rather than another. Bates and Robert Winter craved mercy; Grant was mute for a great while, but at last submissively owned he was guilty of an intended conspiracy, but never effected. Ambrose Rookwood excused his denial of the indictment, saying he would rather lose his life than give it. He then owned his offense justly deserving the king's indignation, and that of the whole realm, yet he could not despair of mercy from so gracious a prince; and more, because though his offense was not capable of excuse, yet it was of extenuation, since he had been neither author nor actor, but drawn in by Catesby, whom he loved above all mankind. And his mercy he craved, not for fear of death, but to prevent the blemish and ignominy that would remain on his name and family to all future ages; and he prayed that the king would imitate God in this, who sometimes punished '*corporaliter non mortaliter*' (corporeally but not mortally).

Sir Everard Digby owned that the love and friendship he had toward Catesby drew him into the conspiracy; that the cause of religion was another motive; and the last was the violation of promises to the catholics. And since his offenses were confined within himself, he desired that the punishment might only extend to himself, and not to his wife, children, and other relations. Then begging pardon of the king, he entreated that he might be beheaded.

[1028]

The attorney-general Coke, having given suitable answers to Sir Everard, and sentence being passed, he, together with Robert Winter, John Grant, and Thomas Bates, were executed on Thursday, the 30th of January, at the west end of St. Paul's church. The next day Thomas Winter, Ambrose Rookwood, Robert Keyes, and Guy Fawkes were hanged within the old Palace-yard, at Westminster, not far from the parliament-house.

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Having brought these criminals to execution, we come to the trial of Henry Garnet, on the 28th of March 1606, at Guildhall, in the city of London, before these lords-commissioners:

Sir Leonard Holiday, Lord Mayor,  
Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham,  
Thomas Howard, earl of Suffolk,  
Edward Somerset, earl of Worcester,  
Henry Howard, earl of Northampton,  
Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury,  
The Lord-Chief-Justice of England,  
The Lord-Chief-Baron of the Exchequer,  
Sir Christopher Yelverton, Kt. one of the justices of the King's-Bench.

### III. The Gunpowder Treason – Guy Fawkes

The indictment need not be repeated, it being the same in effect as that already given. It was opened by Sir John Croke, the king's sergeant, who said that the prisoner at the bar proved it to be true, which the Author of truth told us, "That there is nothing hidden that shall not be made manifest; that God, by whom kings reigned, scattered, and brought to nothing the counsels of the wicked;" that if he spoke with fear and trembling, and with horror and amazement, against the rotten root of that hideous and hateful tree of treason, and of that detestable and unheard-of wickedness, he begged pardon, affirming nobody could mention it without astonishment. He set forth that Garnet, otherwise known as Walley, etc., stood indicted of the most damnable treason that was ever heard of; that he was a man of many names, as appeared by the indictment, but no good name — adorned by nature with many gifts and graces, if the grace of God had been joined with them; but that being wanting, 'quanto melior' (how much better) in other gifts, 'tanto nequior' (so much the more wicked).

Sir Edward Coke then entered at great length into the part that the Jesuit Garnet had taken in this conspiracy. He said,

"Their lordships might perceive, by the parts of the indictment now succinctly opened, that this was but a later act of that woeful tragedy commonly called the powder-treason, in which some had already, according to their demerits, suffered condign (deserved) punishment; that they were now to proceed against the prisoner for the same treason. And therefore the repetition of some things spoken before, should at least seem tolerable; for that can never be said too often, which can never be said enough. Indeed, it might be thought justifiable to fully represent that case, because many could not hear because of the great confluence of people at the former arraignment. Yet he would not be tedious, because the lords-commissioners and others were present at that arraignment."

Having premised this much, he reduced what he had to say under two general heads:

"First, he said he would consider the offenses together, with some circumstances.

- "Preceding the offense,
- "Concurrent with the offense,
- "Subsequent to the offense.

"Secondly, he would lay down some observations concerning the same.

"As for the proper name of that offense, and to distinguish it from others, he would call it the *Jesuits' Treason*, as belonging to them, both '*ex congruo et condigno*' (from a fitting and appropriate point of view). They were the proprietors, plotters, and promoters of it; and in such crimes the author or promoter is a greater offender than the actor or executor, as appears by God's own judgment against the first sin in paradise, where the serpent had three punishments inflicted on her, as the original plotter; the woman had two, as the mediate procurer; and Adam only one, as the seduced party.

"That the precedent and subsequent circumstances, so I termed there, were in reality all high treasons, but in respect to the magnitude and monstrousness of this, might be comparatively used as circumstances. And because they had to do with the superior of the Jesuits, he would touch upon those treasons plotted by that order, and some others, since he came into England, of which he may truly say, '*Et quorum pars magna fui*' (and of which I was a big part).

"That he came into England about twenty years before, viz. July 1586, in the 28th year of queen Elizabeth, which was treason in itself. Whereas the year before, a law was enacted which made it treason for any priest, so made by any authority from the See of Rome, since the first year of her reign, to come into her dominions."

He went on and informed them that:

### III. The Gunpowder Treason – Guy Fawkes

“In the 28th year of the queen, A.D. 1586, Garnet came into England; and that at a time when the Spanish Armada — which the pope blessed and christened by the name of the Invincible Navy, and consisted of at least 158 great ships — was preparing to invade the kingdom, that the Jesuits were the forerunners of this invasion, and navy, and Garnet was among them; but that the queen, with her own shipping and subjects, defeated that Armada by God’s blessing, and destroyed most of them, scarcely forty of them returning home to the bar of their own haven; and most of them, according to common fame, also perished.”

Here he observed that:

“About the time of that invasion, there was a consultation held in Spain, between the cardinal of Austria, duke of Medina, count Fuentes, two Irish bishops, and several military men; and among others, Winslade, an Englishman. The Irish bishops, perceiving that they expected a party of papists in England, agreed that it was impossible to do any good there without it; but such, they said, was the English policy, that it could never be effected. For upon the least suspicion that arose, the catholics would either soon be confined, or quite cut off. But an old soldier who was present there said that, ‘This makes for us; for by that means their souls shall go to heaven for their religion, their bodies to the earth for their treason, and their lands and goods to us as conquerors;’ and it was what indeed what they principally aimed at. To this he subjoined that, ‘since the Jesuits set foot in England, no four years had passed without a most pestilent and horrid treason invented by them, to the subversion of the state — and that after the invasion of ’88, they fell upon new treasonable practices, for in ’92, Patrick Cullen came over at the instigation of Sir William Stanley, Hugh Owen, James Francis, and William Holt the Jesuit, and resolved by the same Holt to kill the queen. For this Cullen received absolution and the sacrament from Holt, together with the spiritual advice that it was both lawful and meritorious to do it. ‘No indeed,’ said this James, a laundress’s son; ‘The state of England was and would be so well settled, that unless Mistress Elizabeth were suddenly taken away, all the devils in hell would not be able to prevail against or shake it.’

“That Cullen’s treason was attended with a book called *Philopater*, written to abet and authorize such a hellish act in general, by Creswell, the legate Jesuit in Spain, under the aforesaid feigned name. That in ’94, Williams and York came over to destroy the queen, being set on by father Holt and his accomplices, and to that end he received the sacrament from him and other Jesuits in the Jesuits’ College. That treason was also accompanied with a book written by Parsons, under the name of Doleman, who was the legate Jesuit and rector at Rome. It was a book full of falsehood, forgery, and malediction. That Squire, in ’97, came from Spain to poison the queen at the instigation of Walpole, the Jesuit, then residing there, who also gave him absolution and the sacrament — to execute the parricide, as well as keep it secret. All of these treasons were freely and voluntarily confessed by the parties themselves, under their own hands, and were then extant to be seen.

[1029] A.D. 1606.

“That in 1601, when these practices failed, force was again attempted. For then Thomas Winter was employed for the king of Spain, with Tesmond, the Jesuit, by this Garnet, who wrote letters to Arthur, alias Joseph Creswell, the legate Jesuit in Spain, to offer the services of the English catholics to that king, and concert an invasion — with promises of assistance from those in England, both of men and horses, ready to join them; that this negotiation by means of Creswell had that effect; that the two kingdoms then being in hostility, the proposals of the English Romanists were received and agreed to, an army was promised, and 100,000 crowns were to be distributed among the papists and malcontents for promoting that service; and that, in the meantime, the king earnestly desired that if the queen should die, he might have early information about it.

### III. The Gunpowder Treason – Guy Fawkes

“That this treason was accompanied with two briefs or bulls of the pope, one to the clergy and the other to the laity, sent to Garnet under these titles; ‘To our beloved sons, the noblemen and gentlemen of England, who are catholics, greeting an apostolical benediction.’ The other to the clergy ran thus: ‘To our beloved sons, the arch-priests, and the rest of the catholic clergy.’ The contents were that, when the queen died, whoever laid claim to the crown, however near in blood, unless it was someone who would not only tolerate the catholic religion, but use his best endeavors to promote it, and according to ancient custom, religiously promise and undertake to perform the same by a solemn oath, he should not be admitted to be king.’

“That the bulls came upon Winter’s negotiations in Spain for an army to invade the kingdom upon the death of miserable queen Elizabeth, for so the pope expressed it.

“That since the death of queen Elizabeth and his present majesty’s accession, not four years had passed, not even four, and scarcely two months without some treason; that first in March 1603, upon the queen’s death, and before they had seen the king’s face, Christopher Wright was sent into Spain, by Garnet, Catesby, and Tresham, to continue the former negotiation of Winter; and Garnet wrote by him to Creswell to further it. That Fawkes, on the 22nd of the following June was sent to Flanders by Baldwin the Jesuit, Sir William Stanley, and Hugh Owen, about the same treason. That in the same month, Garnet, Gerrard, and other Jesuits labored to provide horses, which they promised by Winter and Wright’s negotiations, in the name of the English Romanists, to assist the king of Spain with, whenever he sent his forces to invade the kingdom, and land either at Milford Haven or in Kent. And by virtue of the said bulls, they dissuaded the Romanists from yielding due obedience to his majesty, because he was not of their religion, contrary to the practice of the true church and churchmen who undergo wars ‘*ferendo non feriendo*’ (with patience, not with strokes), their weapons properly being prayers and tears.

“That on the 9th of June, 1603, the treason broke out by the Romish priests, Wilson and Clark, and also that of Raleigh and others; that the Jesuits seeing the peace in great forwardness, and also having notice that the king of Spain disliked their proposals, they reassumed their secret practices. As for the bulls aforementioned, when Catesby had informed Garnet that king James had been proclaimed, and the state settled, Garnet admitted that he himself burnt them. That these two conferring together in March 1605, Catesby told the other, though most falsely, that the king had broken his promise with the catholics, and therefore there would certainly be commotions in England in a short time.

“That Garnet, in January, in the first year of the king’s reign, granted a general pardon under the great seal of England for all treasons, the king condescending to do this for all men at his accession to the English throne. It was under the name of Henry Garnet of London, gentleman, and no other. But Catesby, fearing that any of those whom he might engage in the conspiracy would be pricked in conscience and make a revelation, required Garnet, being the superior of the Jesuits, and therefore of great authority among them, to give him his opinion as to the lawfulness of the act. This was to help him satisfy others whom he might have to deal with, and he stated the case thus:

“Whether for the good and promotion of the catholic cause against heretics, or the necessity of time and opportunity requiring it, might it be lawful or not among many nocents (guilty parties), to destroy and take away some innocents also? Garnet answered that if the advantage were greater to the catholic cause, by taking away some innocents together with many nocents, then doubtless it might be lawful to kill and destroy them all. He instanced by way of comparison, in a city possessed by an enemy, in which at taking it, there were a few friends, they must undergo the fortune of war in the general slaughter. And it was by this resolution of Garnet, that Catesby kept up the traitors. And the following March, with Thomas Winter and others, he resolved upon the powder-plot. Fawkes, not being known by others, and also being

### III. The Gunpowder Treason – Guy Fawkes

desperate and a soldier, was pitched upon to execute it; and so Winter fetched him out of Flanders in April. In May, Catesby, Percy, John Wright, Thomas Winter, and Fawkes had a meeting, and took an oath of secrecy and constancy, to this effect:

“You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose, directly or indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that will be proposed to you to be kept secret, nor desist from the execution of it, until the rest give you leave.”

“Then they were all confessed, had absolution, and received the sacrament by the hands of Gerrard, the Jesuit, who was then present. At Midsummer, Catesby and Garnet talked about the powder-plot. They said it was so secret that it must prevail before it could be revealed. Then Garnet, seeming desirous that the pope’s comment might be obtained, Catesby answered that he took that as granted by the pope in the two bulls mentioned before. The attorney here taking notice that Thomas Bates was brought into the plot by his master, Catesby, and confessed and encouraged to persevere in it by Greenwell, the Jesuit; and that Robert Keyes was engaged about the same time in the design, he informed the court, that on the 11th of December they entered the mine. The following March 1605, Guy Fawkes was sent over to Sir John Stanley, with letters from Garnet to Baldwin, the legate Jesuit there, to see that the forces might be brought near the seaside against the time the blow would be given, to be wafted suddenly over into England. And there Fawkes, by the consent of the conspirators, gave Owen the oath of secrecy and perseverance. Then he acquainted him with the whole treason. He greatly applauded it and consented to promote it. In May 1605, broils happening among the Roman catholics in Wales, Rookwood was then engaged in the plot by Catesby, and convinced of its lawfulness. It was then that Garnet wrote to the pope, that he or ‘Aquaviva,’ general of the Jesuits, might command a stop to be made of all commotions in the kingdom by the Romanists, thus putting their whole stress upon the powder-plot, and thereby lulling us also into the deepest security. But when he further desired that it might be enjoined upon censures, that was rejected, lest indeed it might be an impediment to the powder-plot.

“Greenwell, the following June, consulted with Garnet about the whole course of the plot. But the subtle Jesuit said he would not confer about it with any layman except Catesby, because that might derogate from his character as superior, should he openly join with laymen in the business of so much blood. But he would consult with a priest, and particularly with Greenwell, the Jesuit, about it, as in a disguised confession. Being informed that the discourse would take too long kneeling, he would do it in an ambulatory confession. He discoursed at large with him about the whole plot, and said that a protector, when the blow was given, should be chosen out of those of the nobility who would be warned and reserved.

“There was now also a great conference between Garnet, Catesby, and Tresham, about the strength of the English catholics, that the pope might be acquainted with it by Garnet, his holiness being unwilling to consent to any insurrection until he was informed that they certainly had a sufficient force.

[1030]

“So the following August, in a conference held about acquainting the pope with the powder-treason, Garnet named Sir Edward Baynam to carry the message to him, not as pope, but as a temporal prince. Garnet wrote a letter by him to that purpose, and also for prohibiting any commotions upon certain censures. He likewise wrote to Baldwin, the legate Jesuit in Flanders, in behalf of Catesby, saying that Owen should solicit the marquis for a regiment of horse for him (the said Catesby). It was not with any intent that Catesby should undertake any such charge himself, but that under color of this, horses and other necessaries might be provided to furnish the traitors, without suspicion.



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“Parsons, the Jesuit, wrote to Garnet in September, to know the particulars of the project in hand. For the journey now to St. Winifrid’s Well <sup>741</sup> was but a blind, that they might be more secluded, and have a better opportunity to confer together. In October, Garnet met the other traitors at Coughton in Warwickshire, the place of rendezvous, to which they resorted out of all their countries on the 1st of November. He openly prayed for the good success of this great action at the beginning of the parliament, concerning the catholic cause. In his prayer he used two verses from a hymn, ‘*Gentem auferte perfidam credentium de finibus, ut Christo laudes debitas persolvamus alacriter.*’ <sup>742</sup> Now, the warning letter was with the lord Monteagle on the 4th of November. And by the providence of God, it was fully discovered not many hours before the treason would have been executed.

“On the 5th, the day on which the conspirators expected their hellish devices would have taken effect, they met at Dunchurch, under the pretense of a great hunting-match appointed by Sir Everard Digby, being a man of note thereabouts, designing to supply themselves with men for the intended insurrection and rebellion. And being full of imaginary assurances, they thought they might easily surprise the person of the lady Elizabeth, who was then in those parts, in the lord Harrington’s house.

“Catesby and the other conspirators, early in the morning on the 6th of November, dispatched Bates with a letter to Garnet, who was then at Coulton, near to them. They earnestly pressed for his assistance to raise the Welch, and as much as possible, to foment an open rebellion. At that time, Garnet and Greenwell, who were then together, perceived the plot to be discovered. Knowing themselves to be its chief authors, they were much abashed, though Greenwell’s fiery spirit urged him into still other overt-acts.

“There was a double consequence of this treason, 1. Open rebellion, and 2. afterwards there was blasphemy in Garnet. For having liberty in the Tower to write, and sending a letter to an acquaintance in the Gate-House, which was openly shown in court before him, there was nothing to be read in it but ordinary things, and some necessaries. But in the margin, which was very large, and also underneath, he wrote several things with the juice of a lemon, to vindicate his innocence and hard usage. He denied those things which he had freely and voluntarily confessed before. He said, as to the Spanish treason, that he was secured by the king’s pardon; and for the powder-treason, he hoped to get clear of it well enough for lack of proof against him. But concluding blasphemously, he applied the words spoken of our Savior to himself, ‘*Necesse est ut unus homo morietor pro populo*’ (it is necessary that one man should die for the people). His prevarications and equivocations are even more conspicuous, since he truly and freely confessed his treasons before the commissioners, which was, as he admitted, under his own hand. He was overwhelmed ‘*tanta nube testium*’ (with such a cloud of witnesses), and it was ‘*faciendum populum*’ (done for the people). Thus, in his letters that he wrote abroad, he cleared himself of the powder treason.”

Sir Edward Coke having concluded a very elaborate and learned address, the proofs were repeated for every particular accusation, by the express and voluntary words of Garnet and his accomplices, and of two credible witnesses sworn at the bar and acknowledged by Garnet himself to be men without exception; they were heard openly *viva voce* (verbally).

#### *Garnet’s Defense*

Garnet now had leave from the court to make his defense. He divided all that had been laid to his charge into four parts, containing matters of,

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<sup>741</sup> St. Winefride’s Well is in Holywell, Flintshire, in North Wales; a pilgrimage site since the 7th century.

<sup>742</sup> Translation: Remove the faithless nation of believers from our borders, that we may eagerly pay the praises due to Christ.

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1. – “Doctrine.
2. – “Recusants.<sup>743</sup>
3. – “Jesuits in general.
4. – “Himself in particular.”

“1. As to doctrine, he fell upon two points.

“First, equivocation, to which he answered that “their church condemned all lying, but especially in matters of religion and faith — that being the most pernicious lie of all others, and condemned by St. Augustine in the *Priscillianists*.<sup>744</sup> No indeed, to lie on any account, was reputed a sin; however, of eight degrees instanced by St. Augustine, the lowest indeed was to lie to procure good for some, without hurting anybody; so that their equivocation was not to maintain lies, but to defend the use of some propositions. For one might ask another a question, who had no authority to do it, or to interrogate him about a thing he had no right to know, such as what a man thinks, etc., to the extent that no man should equivocate when he ought to tell the truth, but otherwise he might. So Augustine, writing upon St. John, said that Christ denied he knew about the day of judgment — namely, with the purpose to tell it to his disciples. So St. Thomas and others addressed that matter, chiefly under the topic of confession.”

Secondly, as to the power of the pope to depose princes, his answer was threefold.

“1. That he only proposed this, and followed the doctrine of the church.

“2. That that doctrine of the pope’s power was tolerated by other catholic princes without grievance.

“3. That for his own part, he always made a distinction in the point of excommunicating and deposing princes, between the condition and state of our king and others who, having been catholics for some time, did or might fall away.

“As for Simanca <sup>745</sup> and other writers, whatever they said about deposing heretics, that was to be understood of those princes who, having at one time professed the faith of the church of Rome, afterwards made a defection from it.”

“2. For Recusants;

“First, he desired them not to impute any crime of his to the prejudice of the cause of religion.

“Secondly, as to their not going to church. Whereas Master Attorney urged that the excommunication and bull of Pius Quintus was the cause of it, they might now go, because the king was not excommunicated. Garnet’s answer was that the Arians and orthodox had the same service in their churches, yet they did not assemble together, and he knew several himself, who before that bull, refused to go to church in the queen’s time, though perhaps, most catholics did go till about the end of the Council of Trent, when this matter was debated by twelve learned men, and concluded to be unlawful. And this was occasioned because Calvin himself held it unlawful for a protestant to be present not only at their mass, in which perhaps (they might say) there was idolatry, but not at our even-song, though it is the same as theirs.

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<sup>743</sup> *Recusant*: Someone who refuses to conform to established standards of conduct.

<sup>744</sup> Followers of Priscillian, bishop of Ávila in Spain in the 4th century, who mixed various elements of Gnosticism and Manichaeism with Christianity.

<sup>745</sup> Diego de Simancas: a Roman Catholic prelate who served as Bishop of Zamora from 1578 to 1583.

### III. The Gunpowder Treason – Guy Fawkes

“3. As to the Jesuits, he said if any were privy to such horrible treasons, it was impious, especially in men of their profession. But he added that he had talked with some of them about it, and they denied it.

“4. As to himself particularly, he owned that the negotiation in Spain was proposed to him; and he was also acquainted with that for money, but always intended that it should be applied to the relief of poor catholics. When they were there, they moved for an army. Being informed of this, he disapproved of it, saying it would be much disliked at Rome. Only he must confess that he concealed it in the manner of Christ, who commanded us, when our brother offended, to reprove him, for if he amended we would have cured him. Yet he could only confess that the laws made against such concealments were very good and just; and that it was not suitable that the safety of a prince should depend upon any other man’s conscience. So that he was easily persuaded that it might have gone well, if they had yielded to him. But he was enjoined not to intermeddle with their intent in insisting on an army; nor with the money, which was to be sent for pensions, even though it was to maintain the title of the king.”

[1031] A.D. 1606.

Earl of Salisbury. — “To maintain whose title?”

Garnet. — “The title of the king of Spain.”

Earl of Norfolk. — “Why did you not oppose and forbid it, as you might have done, for ‘qui cum possit non prohibet, Jubet?’”<sup>746</sup>

Garnet. — “He could not do it; and as for sending letters and recommending some persons in them, he admitted that he did it often, as they were recommended to him without knowing either their purposes, or some of their persons; for he never knew Mr. Wright, for whom he wrote.”

Salisbury. — “I must now, Garnet, put you in mind, how little any of your answers can serve your purpose, when you endeavor to color your correspondence with Baynham, by professing to write to Rome to get the conspiracies countermanded. And yet you say now, that when he set out for Rome, the blow must have been given before his arrival there (such being your zeal and his haste for any prevention) that it was about the 20th of October when he passed by Florence.”

Garnet made little answer to this, but going on with his defense about sending commendatory letters, he admitted that he had written in favor of Fawkes, thinking he went to serve as a soldier, and did not know of any other design he had in hand. He did not know particularly what sir Edmond Baynham or Catesby intended, except that Catesby asked him a general question about the lawfulness of destroying the innocent with the guilty, as had been objected against him.

Garnet. — “At first, I thought this had been an idle question, though afterwards I truly apprehended he designed something that was not good. Whereupon, having soon after received letters from Rome prohibiting all insurrections intended by the catholics, which might disturb the government, I informed Catesby of it — telling him that if he proceeded against the pope’s will, he would not prevail. But Catesby refused, saying he would take no notice of the pope’s pleasure.”

Nevertheless, he showed Catesby the general letter he received from Rome. Catesby said he would inform the pope, and tell Garnet in particular what attempt he had in hand, if he

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<sup>746</sup> “Whoever does not prohibit what he can, assents to it.”

### III. The Gunpowder Treason – Guy Fawkes

would hear it. Afterwards Garnet offered to do this. But the other refused it, and on two separate occasions, he requested him to let the pope know what was his intention.

Again, when sir Edmond Baynham was to go into Flanders for a soldier. Garnet thought it fit to send him to the pope's nuncio (ambassador), and to recommend him to other friends, so that they might send him to inform the pope of the distressed state of the catholics in England; so that the pope having a layman there, he might be made acquainted with all their proceedings; and that Baynham might then know the pope's sentiments about what the catholics should do in England for their advantage. But he would not have Baynham, by any means, use his name to the nuncio on that account.

Here two witnesses were called, both of them persons of good reputation, who overheard the conference between Garnet and Hall the Jesuit — namely, Mr. Fauset, a learned gentleman, and a justice of the peace, and Mr. Lockerson. The first not being in court, he was sent for; and the other in the meantime was sworn and deposed that they heard Garnet say to Hall, 'They will charge me with my prayer for the good success of the great action, in the beginning of the parliament.'

Garnet. — "It is true, I prayed for the good success of that great action. But I will tell them that I meant it in respect to some sharp laws which I was afraid they would then make against the catholics. As for the two gentlemen who heard the conference, I will not charge them with perjury, because I know them to be honest men. Yet I think they mistook some things. Though in the substantial part, I confess I cannot deny what they related. And for the main plot, I admit that I was made acquainted with it, particularly by Greenwell, and that he came to me perplexed, to somewhat open what Catesby and diverse others intended. I said to them that I was content to hear what it was from him, but on condition that he would not let Mr. Catesby or any other person know I was made privy to it. When Father Greenwell told me the whole conspiracy in all its particulars, I profess that I was much disturbed, and could never sleep quietly afterwards, but sometimes prayed to God it might not have effect."

Salisbury. — "You would do well to speak plainly of your devotion on that account, for otherwise I must put you in mind that you confessed to the lords, you had offered sacrifice to God to prevent that plot, unless it was for the good of the catholic cause. And that this government was in no other way beholden to you for your masses and oblations."

He added that he wondered why Garnet wrote to his superior Aquaviva about this powder treason in particular, as well as procuring prohibitions for smaller matters."

Garnet. — "I was not to reveal it to anybody, because it was a point of secret confession, and would endanger the lives of several persons."

Northampton. — "That matter of confession which you refused to confess before, because you would save lives, you confess now to endanger your own; and therefore your former answer was idle and frivolous."

Garnet. — "I commanded Greenwell to dissuade Catesby, which I thought he did. And if Catesby had come to me at Allhallows-day, I think I could have so far managed him, that he would have been persuaded to desist."

Salisbury. — ""And did you refuse to hear Catesby tell you all the particulars, when he would have told you, if you had been desirous to prevent it?"

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Garnet. — “After Greenwell told me what Catesby intended, and when I called to mind what Catesby had said to me at his first disclosing it to me in general terms, my soul was so troubled with abhorrence of the plot, that I was loath to hear any more of it.”

Salisbury. — “Well then,” said the earl of Salisbury, “you see his heart.”

And then turning to the lords commissioners, he desired their leave to say something concerning the proceedings of the government in that grand affair, from the very beginning to that time:

“Although the evidence had been so well opened by Mr. Attorney, he having never heard so much matter better compacted, or made more intelligible to the jury, to whom it was not his business to speak, nor his design to meddle with Mr. Garnet’s divinity, or his doctrine of equivocation in which last he saw how he had played his master-piece. Yet because he had been one of the committee of lords employed in the examination, who next to God’s glory, desired nothing more than to demonstrate to the world, with what sincerity and moderation his majesty’s justice had been shown on all occasions, he would venture to say something about the manner of that arraignment, and of the place where it was appointed. For the first, seeing that there was nothing to which the government might more attribute the infinite goodness and mercy of God, than to the protection of the true religion which had groaned so long under the bitter persecution of men of Garnet’s profession, he admitted that he thought himself much honored to become an assistant among so many lords at the seat of justice, where God’s cause might receive so much honor by discrediting the person of Garnet, on whom the common adversary thought fit to confer the usurpation of so eminent a jurisdiction. For otherwise, who did not know that the quality of poor Harry Garnet might have undergone a more ordinary form of trial, and perhaps in some other place of easy note and observation.’

“And then taking occasion to declare that the city of London was so dear to the king, and his majesty so desirous to give it all honor and consolation, that when this opportunity was put into his hands, by which there might be made so visible an anatomy of popish doctrines, from where those treasons had their source and support, he thought he could not choose a fitter stage than that city, which was not only termed the chamber of his empire, but was esteemed by him as his greatest and safest treasury, who accounted no riches comparable to his subjects’ hearts. And he acknowledged that such a compass never contained so many faithful subjects within its walls; a thing among others that he himself, upon the decease of the late queen, when attending most of the peers and privy councillors of the kingdom, who were accompanied with no small number of noble and faithful gentlemen, had seen them all stopped from entering the city gates, till they had publicly declared with one voice, that they would live and die with the king our sovereign lord.

[1032]

“To you, therefore, Mr. Garnet, I must address myself, as the man in whom it best appears what horrible treasons you have concealed under the mask of religion, which up to now had been petty treason for a protestant to have affirmed. Such has been the iniquity of false tongues that always sought to prove truth a falsehood, of which impudent calumnies the government has been so tender, as you best know, Mr. Garnet. That since you were taken, up to this time, you have been used as Christianly, courteously, and civilly as any of your quality or profession could be. Indeed, I may say you have been well-attended in respect to your health or otherwise, as a nursing child, for the truth of which I appeal to yourself.”

Garnet. — “It is most true, my lord; I own it.”

Salisbury. — “Well, then, if your strange doctrine of equivocation is to be minded, and the hardness of your heart to deny everything, we must not forget that your discourse with Hall,

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which was overheard by others, appears to be the finger of God. For the lords had some light and proof against you by it, which otherwise must have been discovered by violence and coercion, a usual practice in other kingdoms, though now disused here. But it was better as it was, for the honor of the state. For so were your own words, that you thought it best to tell the truth at last, when you saw you were confounded '*tanta nube testium*' (with such a cloud of witnesses). In this I profess and firmly assure myself that you would have confessed yourself to be the author of the whole, as easily as the concealer, but that the king and my lords were content to draw everything from you without the rack or any torments. I pray you, Mr. Garnet, to tell me what encouraged Catesby to proceed, if not your resolution of the first proposition? What was it that excited Fawkes, if not Catesby's explanation of your arguments? This appears plainly by Winter's confession and Fawkes', that they knew Mr. Catesby had received satisfaction in the point, 'by the best authority.'"

Garnet. — "Mr. Catesby was to blame to name such an application."

Salisbury. — "I must be bold with you, and remind you how, after the interlocution (conversation) between you and Hall, when you were brought before the lords, and asked *not* what you said, but whether Hall and you had any conference together, and desired not to equivocate, how stiffly you denied this upon your soul, repeating the same with so many horrid execrations, that it wounded their hearts to hear them. And yet Hall had no sooner confessed it, than you were ashamed, begged the lords' pardon, and said you had offended, because equivocation had not helped you."

Garnet. — "When one is asked a question before a magistrate, he is not bound to answer before some witnesses are produced."

Then falling to professions of his well-wishes toward the king, and being put in mind of the answer he gave concerning the excommunications of kings, in which he referred himself to the canon of '*Nos sanctorum*;' <sup>747</sup> he answered, "his majesty was not yet excommunicated."

Salisbury. — "Deal plainly, for now is the time, whether in case the pope should excommunicate the king '*per Sententiam orthodoxam*' (by orthodox opinion), his subjects were bound to continue their obedience?" This he declined to answer.

Afterward, other witnesses were examined. The earl of Northampton made the following speech to the prisoner. —

"Though no man living can be more unwilling to add the least grain or scruple to any man's calamity than myself, yet as the case now stands, Mr. Garnet, between our dread sovereign, '*ex cujus spiritu*,' as one said of Alexander, '*nos omnes spiritum ducimus*' (from whose spirit we all draw our breath) and you, who were so well content to let the conspiracy run on, to stop that breath before the time which God, by nature, prescribes between His honor and your error, between His just proceedings and your painted shows. His sincerity and your hypocrisy; I could wish it possible that you might, in a person of some other quality, hear the echoes of your imperfect and weak answers, and so judge more indifferently of the true state of the cause than you have done up to now.

"I confess, nobody in your condition gave less advantage in the whole course of the proceedings, to us, who are commissioned to examine and try you, than you have done — sometimes by perjury, according to the confession of Hall, your companion; sometimes by dissimulation, as about the places of your rendezvous; by earnest expostulations, by artificial equivocation, sophisticating true substances and adding false qualities — yet there is enough

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<sup>747</sup> The sanctity of the confessional, alluding to his statement that "it was a point of secret confession."



### III. The Gunpowder Treason – Guy Fawkes

to defeat your devices, and to defend his majesty, ‘*Quia magna est Veritas et praevalebit*’ (because the Truth is great and will prevail.).

“But now, to weigh your answers about the plot. You cannot deny, Mr. Garnet, but that Greenwell’s overture, as you say in your confession, being made after the notice you took of Catesby’s question about innocents, was the fruit of your own doctrine, the effect of your own instruction, and a conclusion wholly drawn from your own propositions and principles. Now, when we press to know the reason for your concealing such a project, so pernicious to the king and kingdom, without revealing it either to the king himself or his ministers, you flee to the cover of confession, which will not do in reference to Catesby’s first revelation, according to your own words. I will not argue in this place, what course a confessor should take, or how far he ought to strain to save a prince’s life, who otherwise is sure to perish by the hands of a base villain, because time will not allow it. But I am sure that confession about a thing of lesser weight, and a crime of lesser importance than the life of a prince or state, received a deep wound over a thousand years past, in the church of Constantinople.<sup>748</sup> For God forbid that things of such weight should hang by slender threads.

“But as to the case in hand, I am very doubtful whether this course of conference was a confession, or not; seeing that sometimes you kneeled, and sometimes you walked up and down; and there was matter of conspiracy interlaced with matters of confession — not for ease of conscience (by what appears), but for advice in executing, which excludes the shift of reference. And Greenwell must be found to lie to the Holy Spirit, in case this was a *true* confession, in promising, as you say, to dissuade the project, which it is plain he prosecuted to the last. I conclude that the discovery was by confession. It was no *supersedeas*<sup>749</sup> to your former knowledge of the plot from Catesby. What need is there to seek light through the cobweb lawns,<sup>750</sup> when the whole drift of your design in concealing from one, what you learned from another, and from all, what you affected and abetted in your heart, evidently proves your counsels to have been carried on with such a reservedness of temper, that whatever mischief came to light, the world might admire your caution rather than commend your fidelity.

“You must, by giving such weak answers to so many demonstrations, either work by the Ring of Giges<sup>751</sup> to make your designs invisible, or else have a low opinion of our understandings, as if we would be put off with such sophistry. For though you pretended to have a wounded conscience upon the first revelation to you, to have lost sleep through the vexation of your spirit, to have prayed to God for His preventing grace, and to have required Greenwell’s assistance in crossing the design — yet you allowed the project to go on. You assisted their endeavors; wrote earnestly to Baldwin and Creswell to further the ordinary means; ordered a prayer to be said by the catholics for their prosperous success; ever had an ear open for the blow, and were in the same agony for the powder-plot as Charles V was for the pope’s imprisonment, ordering prayers to be said in all his dominions for his liberty, when at the same time, the pope was his own prisoner. The least word of your mouth, or stroke of your pen, might have secured the king and government, though you pretend it disturbed your sleep and mind. And your tenderness in this was of a piece with another dutiful desire of yours to dissuade Catesby from the plot at his coming into Warwickshire, when he never intended to go there.

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<sup>748</sup> Perhaps referring to the *Nika Riots* of 532 AD, a major uprising in Constantinople sparked by political and social unrest. The riots were fueled by rivalry between two chariot racing factions, the Blues and the Greens. But it quickly escalated into a broader revolt against Justinian’s rule, with rebels demanding his abdication.

<sup>749</sup> *Supersedeas*: an order to suspend a legal proceeding, especially to stay a writ or judgment previously issued,

<sup>750</sup> *Cobweb lawns*: metaphor representing a web of lies, deceits, or excuses which hide an underlying truth.

<sup>751</sup> *Ring of Giges*: a mythical artifact from Plato’s “Republic” granting its wearer the power of invisibility. The question is whether a person would act justly if they could do so without fear of being caught.

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[1033] A.D. 1606.

“But as to the rendezvous, when the parliament had been blown up and the storm was over, your mind, perhaps, was disquieted with considerations of strange events — so were Cain, Ahithophel and Judas. The reason is that, seeing wickedness is cowardly and timorous, it gives evidence of condemnation against itself; but Satan prevailing, his angels execute.

“I have dwelt longer upon this point, to let you know how idly and willfully you strive against the divine providence, and the justice of the land. The more you labor to get out of the wood, once you have lost the right way, the further you creep in. For the wisdom of the world is folly with God. And it is impossible that those courses would either be approved of in this world, or rewarded in the next, which are imbrued (stained) in blood and pursued with tyranny. If then there is no other way to heaven, than by the destruction of God’s anointed and his heirs, I conclude with you, Mr. Garnet, as Constantius did with Ascesius,<sup>752</sup> *‘Erigito tibi scalam et in coelum solus ascendite’* (set up a ladder for yourself, and climb up to heaven alone), for loyal minds cannot suit such bad company. The worst I wish to your person, standing now to be convicted at the bar, is remorse and repentance for the safety of your soul. And for the rest, *‘fiat justitia, curret lex, et vincet veritas’* (let justice be done, let the law run, and truth will prevail.)”

Garnet. — “I have done more than I can excuse; I have dealt plainly with you, but I am bound to keep the secrets of confession, and to disclose nothing that I have heard in sacramental confession.”

Nottingham. — “If one confesses this day to you, that tomorrow morning he intends to kill the king with a dagger, must you conceal it?”

Garnet. — “I must conceal it.”

Salisbury. — “I desire leave to ask you some questions concerning the nature of confessions.”

Garnet. — “Your lordship may, and I will answer you as well as I can.”

Salisbury. — “Must there not be confession and contrition before the absolution?”

Garnet. — “Yes.”

Salisbury. — “Was Greenwell absolved by you, or not?”

Garnet. — “He was.”

Salisbury. — “What did Greenwell do to show that he was sorry for it, and whether he promised to desist.”

Garnet. — “Greenwell said he would do his best.”

Salisbury. — “It could not be so. For as soon as Catesby and Percy were in arms, Greenwell came to them from you, and so he went from them to Hall, at Mr. Abington’s house, most earnestly inviting them to go and assist those gentlemen in the action. By this it appears that either Greenwell told you outside of confession, and then there was no need for secrecy; or if it was in confession, he promised no repentance, and therefore you could not absolve him. This one circumstance must still be remembered, and you cannot get clear of it, that when Greenwell told you what Catesby meant *in particular*, you then also called to mind what

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<sup>752</sup> [Acesius was a bishop of Constantinople during the reign of Constantine the Great, not Constantius. He was a follower of Novatianism, which held that those who had renounced their faith during persecution could not be readmitted to church communion, even with sincere repentance.](#)



### III. The Gunpowder Treason – Guy Fawkes

Catesby had told you before *in general*. If you had not been desirous to have the plot succeed, you might have discovered it from the general knowledge you had of it from Catesby. But when he offered to impart the particulars to you, as he had done to Greenwell, you refused to hear him, lest your tongue have betrayed your heart.”

Garnet. — “I did what I could to dissuade it, and went into Warwickshire with the design to dissuade Mr. Catesby from it, when he came down. And as for Greenwell’s going to Father Hall to persuade him to join in it, he did evil in doing so.”

Salisbury. — “Your first answer is absurd, seeing that you knew Catesby would not come down till the 6th of November, the day after the blow was to have been given; and you went into the country ten days before. As to the second, I am only glad that the world may now see that Jesuits are condemned by Jesuits, and treasons and traitors are laid naked by traitors themselves — indeed, Jesuits [are condemned] by that Jesuit who governs all of them here, and without whom none of them in England can do anything.”

Garnet. — “I pray God and the king that other catholics may not fare the worse for my sake.”

Salisbury. — “Mr. Garnet, is it not a lamentable thing, that if the pope, or Claudius Aquaviva,<sup>753</sup> or yourself, should command the poor catholics to do anything, they must obey, even to the endangering of body and soul? And if you maintain such doctrines among you, how can the king be safe? Is it not therefore time, that the king and government should be watchful of you, seeing that you thus spend your time in his dominions?”

Garnet. — “My lord, I would to God I had never known of the powder-treason.”

Lord Chief Justice. — “Garnet, you are the superior of the Jesuits; and if you forbid, must not the rest obey? Was not Greenwell half-an-hour with you at Sir Everard Digby’s, when you talked of the discovery of your treason? Did you not confer there, and debate the matters? Did you not send him to Hall at Abington’s house, to excite him to go to the rebels and encourage them? Yet you seek to disguise all this; but it is a mere shift.<sup>754</sup> And though you say no man living but one knew that you were privy to it, it is like some who are dead did. Catesby was never absent from you, like the gentlewoman confessed, who kept your house. And you were, by many apparent proofs and evident presumptions in every particular of this fact, directing and commanding the actors. No, I think you were the *chief mover* of it.”

Garnet. — “No, my lord, I was not.”

Lord Chief Justice. — “You wrote letters to Winter, Fawkes, Baynham, and Catesby, the principal actors in this matchless treason, and kept the two bulls in prejudice to the king’s title, and to do other mischiefs to the kingdom. But when you saw the king came in peaceably, you burnt them, being out of hope to do any good.”

In the end, the jury withdrew, and returned within less than a quarter of an hour, finding Henry Garnet guilty. Here the Lord-Chief-Justice having summed up all the proofs and presumptions of his guilt, gave judgment that he should be drawn, hanged, and quartered.

Salisbury. — “Garnet, would you say anything else?”

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<sup>753</sup> Claudio Acquaviva (d. 1615) was an Italian Jesuit priest elected in 1581 as the fifth Superior General of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits). He has been referred to as the second founder of the Jesuit order. Under his rule the order grew from about 5,000 to over 13,000 members, from 21 to 32 provinces, with the number of colleges reaching 372.

<sup>754</sup> *Shift*: redirecting focus or blame from oneself to another person or issue, often to avoid accountability.

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Garnet. — “No, my lord, but I humbly desire all your lordships to commend my life to the king’s majesty,” saying that at his pleasure he was ready either to live or die, or to do him service.”

May 3, 1606, being the day appointed for the execution of Mr. Garnet, there was a scaffold set up for that purpose at the west-end of St. Paul’s. Upon his mounting, he seemed to be much amazed. The deans of St. Paul and Westminster were present. In a grave and Christian manner, they exhorted him to place a true and lively faith in God, and to freely and plainly acknowledge his offense to the world. And if he knew of any further treason, to discharge his conscience, and show his sorrow and detestation of it. But Garnet, not pleased to be exhorted by them, desired them not to trouble him, for he came prepared, and was resolved. Then the recorder of London, appointed by the king to be there, asked the malefactor if he had anything to say to the people before he died; that it was no time to dissemble, for his treasons were manifest. Therefore, if he were willing to let the world see the thoughts he had of himself and his actions, he might freely do it. But he said his voice was slow, his strength gone, and the people could not hear him. But to those about him on the scaffold he said, “The intention was wicked, and the act would have been cruel, and he should have abhorred it from his soul if it had taken effect. “But,” he said, “he only had a general knowledge of it from Catesby, and had offended by not discovering it, and using means to prevent it. What he knew in particular was in confession.” But the recorder reminded him, that the king had the following four points under Garnet’s own hand:

1. That Greenwell told him of it, not as a fault, but as a thing he had intelligence of, and by way of consultation.
2. That Catesby and Greenwell came together to be resolved.
3. That Tesmond and he conferenced about the particulars of the plot in Essex, long after.
4. That Greenwell had asked him, who should be protector?

But Garnet said that was to be deferred till the blow was past. That these proved his privity (complicity), besides his confession, and were under his hand, he answered that whatever was under his hand was true; and because he did not reveal them to the king, he confessed he was justly condemned and asked forgiveness of him.

[1034]

Then the recorder, leading him to the scaffold to make his confession in public, Garnet said, “Good countrymen, I come here this day of the invention of the holy cross, to end all my crosses in this life. You know the cause of my sufferings. I confess I have offended the king, and am sorry for it, so far as I was guilty by concealing it; and for that I ask pardon of the king. The treason intended against the king and state was bloody; I myself would have detested it, had it taken effect, and I am heartily sorry that any catholics ever had so cruel a design.”

Then preparing for death, he kneeled at the foot of the ladder, and asked if he might have time to pray, and for how long? It was answered that he should limit himself, for none would interrupt him. During the time of his prayers, he often broke off, turned and looked about him, and answered to what he overheard while he seemed to be praying.

When he stood up, the recorder finding by his behavior some expectation of a pardon, wished him not to deceive himself, for he had come to die, and *must* die — requiring him not to equivocate with his last breath. If he knew anything that might be dangerous to the king or state, he ought to reveal it then. Garnet said, “It was no time now to equivocate. He

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had shown his mind elsewhere how and when it was lawful. But,” he said, “I do not now equivocate, and I do not know more than I have confessed.” At his going up the ladder, he desired to have warning before he was turned away. But he was told that he “must look for no other turn than death.” Being upon the gibbet, he used these words:

“I commend myself to all good catholics, and I pray God to preserve the king, queen, and all their posterity, and my lords of the privy-council, to whom I give my humble duty; and I am sorry I dissembled with them. But I did not think they had such proof against me till it was shown to me. But when it was proved, I thought it more honorable at that time to confess, than before. And, for my brother Greenwell, I wish the truth were known, for the false reports that fly about, make him more criminal than he is. I should not have charged him, except that I thought he had been safe. I pray God the catholics may not fare the worse for my sake. I earnestly exhort them all, never to enter into any treasons, rebellions, and insurrections against the king.”

Then falling to his prayers, and crossing himself, he said, “In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit,” and prayed, “O Mary, mother of grace! Mary, mother of mercy, protect me from the evil one, and receive me in the hour of death.” Then, “Into your hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit;” again, “By this sign of the cross,” crossing himself, “May the evil one be far from me, place your cross in my heart, O Lord.” “Let me always remember the cross;” and so returning to “Mary, mother of grace,” he was turned away, and hung till he was dead.

**APPENDIX IV.**  
***The history of the Irish Rebellion in the year 1641***

*When the papists attempted to extirpate the Protestants  
in the kingdom of Ireland.*

*By Sir John Temple, Knight, Master of the Rolls, and one of  
His Majesty's most honorable privy-council at that time in Ireland.* <sup>755</sup>

**The Irish Rebellion**, or a history of the Attempt of the Irish Papists, in the Year 1641, to extirpate the Protestants in the Kingdom of Ireland; together with the Barbarous Cruelties and Bloody Massacres which ensued thereupon. Written from his own Observations, and the authentic Depositions of other eye-witnesses, by Sir John Temple, Knight, Master of the Rolls, and one of His Majesty's Most Honorable Privy-Council at that time in Ireland. Now reprinted for the perusal of all Protestants, as the most effectual warning-piece to keep them on their guard against the encroachments of popery. <sup>756</sup>

Such was now the state and present condition of the kingdom of Ireland, such was the great serenity through the gentle and happy transaction of the public affairs here, that the Irish army, raised for the invasion of the kingdom of Scotland, being peaceably disbanded, their arms and ammunition, by the singular care of the lords justices and council, brought into his majesty's stores within the city of Dublin, there was no manner of warlike preparations, no relics of any kind of disorders proceeding from the late levies, nor indeed, any noise of war remaining within these coasts. Now, the British continued in this great calm, in a most deep security, under the assurance of the blessed peace of this land. All things were carried on with great temper and moderation in the present government, and all men sat pleasantly enjoying the comfortable fruits of their own labors, without the least thoughts or apprehension of either tumults or other troubles. The differences between his majesty and his subjects of Scotland were fairly composed and settled. While all this was going on, there broke out, on the 23rd of October 1641, a most desperate and formidable rebellion — a universal defection and general revolt — in which not only all the Irish, but almost all the old English who adhered to the church of Rome, were totally involved. And because it will be necessary to leave some monuments of this to posterity, I will observe the beginnings and first motions, as well as trace out the progress of a rebellion, so execrable in itself, so odious to God and the whole world, that no age, no kingdom, no people, can parallel the horrid cruelties, the abominable murders that have occurred, without number and without mercy, committed upon the British inhabitants throughout the land, of whatever sex or age, of whatever quality or condition they were in.

And first, I must say that notwithstanding, I have observed in the nature of the Irish, such a dull and deep reservedness, as to make them carry on their business with much silence and secrecy. Yet I cannot but consider it as a most astonishing event, that this mischievous plot was acted out so generally, at the same time, and in so many places. Therefore it must necessarily have been known to so many persons. Yet, without any noise, it was brought to such maturity, as to arrive at the very point of execution, without any notice or intimation given to any two of that great multitude of persons who were generally designed to be destroyed in it, that afterwards most of them were indeed destroyed. For except the

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<sup>755</sup> Sir John Temple (1600–1677). Born in Ireland, he was the eldest son of Sir William Temple, Provost of Trinity College Dublin, and educated at Trinity College. He was appointed Master of the Rolls in 1640.

<sup>756</sup> Some needless duplication has been removed. – WHG

#### IV. The Irish Rebellion of 1641

uncertain presumptions that Sir William Cole <sup>757</sup> had entertained about a commotion to be raised by the Irish in the province of Ulster, about a fortnight before this rebellion broke out openly, and some certain intelligence which he received of the same two days before the Irish rose, I could never hear that any Englishman received any certain notice of this conspiracy before the very evening before the day on which it was to be generally put into execution. It is true, Sir William Cole, upon the very first apprehensions of something that he conceived to be hatching among the Irish, wrote a letter to the lords-justices and council, dated the 11th of October 1641, in which he gave them notice of the great resort made to Sir Phelim O'Neale, in the county of Tyrone, and also to the house of the Lord Mac-Guire, in the county of Fermanagh, that several suspected persons were thought to be fit instruments for mischief. And also that the said Lord Mac-Guire had, of late, made several journeys into the Pale and other places, <sup>758</sup> and had spent much of his time in writing letters, and sending dispatches abroad.<sup>759</sup>

These letters were received by the lords-justices and council. And in answer to them, they required him to be very vigilant and industrious, to find out what might be the occasion of those several meetings, and to speedily notify them of it, or of any other particulars that he conceived might tend to the public service of the state.

[1036] A.D. 1641.

As to that which was revealed to Sir William Cole on the 21st of October, by John Cormacke, and Flarty Mac-Hugh, from Brian Mac-Cohamaught, Mac-Guire, regarding the resolution of the Irish to seize his majesty's castle and the city of Dublin, and to murder the lords-justices and Council of Ireland, and the rest of the protestants there, and to seize all the castles, forts, sea-ports, and strong-holds that were in the possession of the protestants within the kingdom of Ireland, — I find by the examination of John Cormache, taken under oath at Westminster, Nov. 18, 1644, that the said Sir William Cole did dispatch letters to the lords-justices and council, the same day, to give them notice of it. But I can also testify that those letters (whether they were intercepted or otherwise miscarried, I cannot say), did not come into their hands; and also that they did not have any certain notice of this general conspiracy of the Irish, until the 22nd of October, the very evening before the day appointed for the surprise of the castle and city of Dublin.

Then the conspirators, many of whom arrived within the city, and having met that day at the Lion tavern near Copper Alley, and there, turning the barkeep out of the room, ordered their affairs together, and drank to their health upon their knees, to the happy success of the next morning's work. Owen O'Conally, a gentleman of an Irish family, but one who had long lived among the English, and who had been trained up in the protestant religion, came to the lord-justice Parsons, about nine o'clock that evening, and made him a broken relation of a great conspiracy, for seizing his majesty's castle of Dublin. He gave him the names of some

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<sup>757</sup> Sir William Cole (1571?–1653) served as a key English Parliamentary commander in Ulster. In 1607 he was the vice-governor of Ballyshannon, and in that year was given command of Enniskillen castle. He was sheriff of Fermanagh (1615, 1623, 1626-7), and also a Justice of the Peace and collector of fines (1616). In 1640–41, he was a member of the Irish parliamentary delegation sent to London to complain against Thomas Wentworth (qv) and his government of Ireland.

<sup>758</sup> *The Pale*: a region directly controlled by the English government during the Late Middle Ages, centered around Dublin and stretching along the east coast. By the late 15th century, it had been reduced to a narrow strip of land from Dalkey, just south of Dublin, north to the garrison town of Dundalk in County Louth.

<sup>759</sup> Conor Maguire was a key figure in the Irish Rebellion, which aimed to drive out the Protestants and regain their confiscated lands. He was involved in a failed plot to seize Dublin Castle, which ultimately led to a violent uprising and the subsequent Irish Confederate Wars (1641-1653), part of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms.

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of the chief conspirators, assured him they had come up expressly to the town for the same purpose, and that the next morning they would undoubtedly attempt, and surely effect it, if their design were not speedily prevented. He said that he had understood all this from Hugh Mac-Mahon, one of the chief conspirators, who was then in the town, and came up the very same afternoon for the execution of the plot; and indeed, he had been drinking with him somewhat liberally. The truth is, he then made such a confused relation of a matter that seemed incredible in itself, that his lordship gave very little belief to it at first, considering that it came from an obscure person, and someone, he conceived, who was at that time somewhat disordered by drinking.

However, the lord Parsons ordered him to go back to Mac-Mahon, and to get out of him as much certainty of the plot, with as many particular circumstances, as he could, strictly charging him to return to him the same evening. In the meantime, by strict commands given to the constable of the castle, he ordered the gates to be well-guarded, and also with the mayor and sheriffs of the city, he ordered strong watches be set upon all its parts, and to stop all strangers. He went privately, about ten o'clock that night, to the lord Borlace's house outside the town. And there, acquainting him with what he understood from Conally, they sent for those of the council whom they knew were then in the town. But that night only Sir Thomas Rotheram and Sir Robert Meredith, chancellor of the exchequer, came to them. They entered into consultation with them, as to what was fit to be done while they were waiting for the return of Conally. Finding that he stayed somewhat longer than the time appointed, they sent in search after him, and found him seized by the watch. And so he would have been carried away to prison, and the discovery of the plot on that night would have been disappointed, had not one of the lord Parsons' servants (who had been expressly sent, among others, to walk the streets, and attend to the motions of the said Conally), come in and rescued him, and brought him to the lord Borlace's house.

Conally had somewhat recovered from his distemper, which was occasioned partly, as he said himself, by the horror of the plot revealed to him, and partly by his too liberal drinking with Mac-Mahon — so that he might more easily get away from him. For he was beginning to much suspect and fear his discovering the plot. He confirmed what he had formerly related, and added these further particulars, set down in his examination, as follows:

*The Examination of Owen O'Conally, Gentleman,  
taken before us whose name ensue, October 22, 1641.*

Who, being duly sworn and examined, says that, "being at Monimore, in the county of Londonderry, on Tuesday last, he received a letter from Colonel Hugh-Oge Mac-Mahon, desiring him to come to Connaught, in the county of Monaghan, and to be with him on Wednesday or Thursday last. Whereupon he, this examinant, came to Connaught on Wednesday night last, and finding the said Hugh had come to Dublin, he followed him there. He came here about six o'clock in the evening, and immediately went to the lodging of the said Hugh, to the house near the boat in Oxmantown, and there he found the said Hugh, and came with the said Hugh into the town, near the pillory, to the lodging of the Lord Mac-Guire, whom they did not find within. There they drank a cup of beer, and then went back to the said Hugh's lodging."

He says that, "at the Lord Mac-Guire's lodging, the said Hugh told him that there were, and would be this night, great numbers of noblemen and gentlemen of the Irish papists, from all parts of the kingdom, in this town, who with himself had determined to take the castle of Dublin, and possess themselves of all his majesty's ammunition there tomorrow morning, being Saturday; and that they intended, first, to batter the chimneys of the said town, and if

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the city would not yield, then to batter down the houses, and so cut off all the protestants who would not join with them.”

He further says that, “the said Hugh then told him that the Irish had prepared men in all parts of the kingdom, to destroy all the English inhabiting there tomorrow morning by ten o’clock; and that, in all the seaports, and other towns in the kingdom; all the protestants would be killed this night, and that all the posts they had, could not prevent it.”

And he further says that, “he moved the said Hugh to forbear executing that business, and to reveal it to the State, to save his own estate. He said he could not help it; but said they owed their allegiance to the king, and would pay him all his rights; but they did this because of the tyrannical government that was over them, and to imitate Scotland, which got a privilege by that course.” And he further says that, ‘when he was with the said Hugh in his lodging the second time, the said Hugh swore that he would not go out of his lodging that night, but told him that he would go with him the next morning to the castle; and he said, if this matter was discovered, somebody would die for it. Whereupon this examinant, feigning some necessity for his easement, went down out of the chamber, left his sword in pawn, and the said Hugh sent his man down with him. When this examinant came down into the yard, and found an opportunity, he (this examinant) leaped over a wall and two pales (fences), and so he came to the Lord Justice Parsons.’ “

William Parsons, Thomas Rotheram, Robert Meredith.

OWEN O’CONALLY.

October 22, 1641.

Hereupon the lords quickly ordered a watch privately set upon the lodging of Mac Mahon, and also upon the Lord Mac Guire’s. And so they sat up all that night in consultation, having far stronger presumptions upon this latter examination that was taken, than any ways they could entertain at first. The lords justices, upon a further consideration (several others of the privy council having come to them early the next morning), sent before daylight, and seized Mac-Mahon then, with his servant, in his own lodging. At first the two gave some little resistance with their drawn swords; but finding themselves overpowered, they presently yielded.

[1037] A.D. 1641.

And so they were brought before the lords-justices and council, still sitting at the Lord Borlace’s house. There, upon examination, without much difficulty, he confessed the plot, resolutely telling them that,

“On that very day all the forts and strong places in Ireland would be taken; that he, with the Lord Mac Guire, Hugh Birn, Captain Brian O’Neale, and several other Irish gentlemen, had come up expressly to surprise the castle of Dublin. That twenty men out of each county in the kingdom, were to be here to join with them. That all the lords and gentlemen in the kingdom, who were papists, were engaged in this plot. That what was to be done that day in other parts of the country, was so far advanced by that time, that it was impossible for the wit of man to prevent it. And with this, he told them that it was true they had him in their power, and might use him as they pleased; but he was sure he would be revenged.”

By this time, the rumor of this conspiracy began to be confusedly spread abroad about the town. Notice was brought to the lords-justices, then in council, that great numbers of strangers had been observed to come into the town the last evening, and early in the morning, and most of them put up their horses in the suburbs. Whereupon the lords, having in the first place ordered the apprehension of the lord Mac Guire, removed themselves into

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the castle, for their better security, where the body of the council then in town attended them at the ordinary place of their meeting there.

In the first place, they had an immediate search made for all such horses belonging to strangers, that were brought into any of the inns. And by that means, they discovered some of the owners, who were presently seized upon, and committed to the castle of Dublin. They had already delivered over to the custody of the constable there, the lord Mac Guire, and Hugh Mac Mahon. But Hugh Birn, and Roger Moore, chiefs of the conspirators, escaped over the river in the night. And colonel Plunket, captain Fox, with several others, likewise found means to get away undiscerned. Of the great numbers who came up out of several counties, to be actors in taking the castle and city of Dublin, not over thirty of them were seized (through the slack pursuit and great negligence of the inhabitants). Most of them were servants and inconsiderable persons. Those of quality, having so many good friends within the town, would have had very bad luck if they were apprehended. On the same night, the lord Blaney arrived with the news of the surprisal of his house, his wife, and his children, by the rebels of the county of Monaghan. The next day intelligence came from Sir Arthur Tyringham, of the taking of the Mewry. And then the sad relations of burning, spoiling, and horrible murders committed within the province of Ulster, began to multiply. For a good while after, several persons every day, and almost every hour in every day, arrived like Job's messengers, telling the story of their own sufferings, and the fearful massacres of the poor English in those parts from which they came.

These things wrought such a general consternation and astonishment in the minds of all the English, and other well-affected inhabitants within the city, that they were much frightened by it, expecting every hour, when the Irish, who had already crept into the town, joining with the papists there, would make the city a theatre upon which to act out the second part of that tragedy, most bloodily begun by them in the northern parts.

And it added most keenly to these present fears that several unhappy rumors, the great tormentors of the weaker sex, were vainly spread abroad, of the sudden approach of great numbers of rebels out of the adjacent Irish counties into this city. Some would make us believe that they were seen at some distance, already marching down from the mountain-side within view of the town; a report so credibly delivered by those who pretended to be eye-witnesses, that it drew some of the state up to the platform of the castle to behold those who were yet invisible — though there were some who would not be persuaded, but thought they saw the very motions of the men as they marched down the mountains.

At the same time, it was also generally rumored abroad, that there were 10,000 of the rebels assembled together in a body at the hill of Tarah, a place not more than 16 miles distant from the town; and that they intended, without any further delay, to march on and presently surprise the town. These false rumors being unluckily spread, and fomented by some out of evil ends, exceedingly increased the present distractions of the people, and raised such a panic among them, that about seven o'clock at night (the lords-justices, and some of the council, then being in the council-chamber within the castle), a gentleman of good quality came in to them, who having (not without much difficulty, as he pretended), recovered the gate of the castle, caused the warders then attending it to draw up the bridge, assuring them that the rebels, gathered together in great numbers, had already possessed themselves of a good part of the town, and were now marching with great fury down the street that leads directly towards the castle gate.

But this fear was quickly removed by Sir Francis Willoughby, who (being made governor of the castle that day) had the draw-bridge let down. He found this to be a false alarm,



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occasioned by some mistake among the people, who continued wandering up and down the streets, prepossessed with strange fears. Some of them, upon some slender incident, drew their swords; others, who did not know the cause, thought it fitting to follow their example. And so they appeared to this gentleman (who was none of their company), as so many rebels coming up to enter the castle.

These were the first beginnings of our sorrows; ill symptoms, and sad preparatives to the ensuing evils. Therefore the lords, finding by means of several communications (though some were purposely framed), that the power of the rebels was suddenly swollen up to so great a bulk, and likely to multiply and increase upon them so fast, thought it high time to consider the remedies, and in what condition they were to oppose so imminent a danger, since they could not prevent it. The rebellion now appeared, without question, to be generally raised in all parts of the north, and, to come down most impetuously upon them like a torrent. Besides, it was not improbable that all ether parts of the kingdom would take fire, and follow their example; for they had the positive (though drunken) testimony of Mac-Mahon in this.

The first thing, therefore, which they took into consideration was, How were the rebels provided with money, arms, and ammunition? Then, What companies of foot soldiers and horse troops of the old English army were they able to draw together quickly? And also, What numbers of new men could they suddenly raise? For the first, they had this short account from the vice-treasurer, that there was no money in the exchequer. And certainly it was a main policy, in the first contrivers of this rebellion, to plot to break it out at such a time when the exchequer would be empty, and all the king's revenues due for that half-year, both certain and casual, as well as the rents of all the British throughout the kingdom, might be found ready, either in the tenants' or collectors' hands in the country; and so it would necessarily fall under their power — as they did to their great advantage.

For arms and ammunition, the stores happened to be tolerably well-furnished at this time. For besides several pieces of artillery of various sorts, most of them were fit for present service. There were arms for nearly 10,000 men, 1500 barrels of powder, with proportionate match and lead, laid in not long before by the earl of Stratford, late lord-lieutenant. It was intended for another purpose, but so opportunely reserved for this service, that the good providence of God exceedingly appeared in this. But principally it appeared in their miraculous preservation from the hands of the rebels, who made the surprisal of these provisions a main part of their design. The munitions were all within the castle of Dublin, as their common storehouse.

[1038] A.D. 1641

The old standing army consisted of only forty-one companies of foot soldiers, and fourteen horse troops. And these were so strangely dispersed, most of them into the remote parts of the kingdom, for the guard of several forts and other places, that it fell out, in a way, that it was almost impossible to draw a considerable number of them together at any time, either for the defense of the city, or for making headway against the rebels in the north. Besides, it was much to be suspected that the companies lying so remotely from each other, and ill-furnished with ammunition, could not safely march to Dublin. Yet the lords sent letters patent quickly away to require several companies of foot soldiers, and some horse troops, to immediately rise, and march up from their several garrisons, towards the city of Dublin.

And now it was high time to give an account to his majesty, who was then at Edinburgh in his kingdom of Scotland, and to the lord-lieutenant who still continued at London. The

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parliament was still sitting there at the outbreak of this rebellion, the ill-condition of the kingdom, the wants of the state, and the absolutely necessary supplies for their present defense and preservation. And because the letter to the lord-lieutenant most clearly represents several particulars which may conduce much to the knowledge of these affairs, I thought it appropriate to insert a true copy of it, which follows here:

“May it please your lordship,

“On Friday, the 22nd of this month, after nine o’clock at night, this bearer, Owen Conally, servant to Sir John Clotworthy, knt.,<sup>760</sup> came to me, the lord-justice Parsons, to my house, and in great secrecy (as indeed the cause required) revealed to me a most wicked and damnable conspiracy, plotted, contrived, and intended to also be enacted by some evil-affected Irish papists here. The plot was then on the next morning, Saturday the 23rd of October, being St. Ignatius’s day, about nine o’clock, to surprise his majesty’s castle of Dublin, his majesty’s chief strength of this kingdom, in which also is the principal magazine of his majesty’s arms and ammunition. It was agreed among them, it seems, that at the same hour all his majesty’s other forts, and magazines of arms and ammunition in this kingdom, should be surprised by others of those conspirators. And further, that all the protestants and English throughout the whole kingdom, who would not join with them, would be cut off, and so those papists would then become possessed of the government and kingdom at the same instant.

“As soon as I had that intelligence, I immediately repaired to the lord-justice Borlace, and thereupon we instantly assembled the council. And having sat all that night, and also all the next day, the 23rd of October, in regard of the short time left us for the consultation of so great and weighty a matter— although it was not possible for us upon so few hours’ warning to prevent those other great mischiefs which were to be acted, even at that same hour, and at so great a distance as in all the other parts of the kingdom — yet such was our industry in this (having had the castle strengthened with armed men that night, and the city guarded), that the wicked counsels of those evil persons, by the great mercy of God to us, became defeated, so as they were not able to act out that part of their treachery. This indeed was the principal point, and which, if they could have effected it, would have rendered the rest of their purposes easier.

“Having so secured the castle, we immediately laid about to apprehend as many of the offenders as we could, many of them having come to this city only that night, intending, it seems, to act their parts in those treacherous and bloody crimes the next morning.

“The first man apprehended was one Hugh Mac-Mahon, esq., grandson to the traitor Tyrone, a gentleman of a good fortune in the county of Monaghan. With others, he was taken that morning in Dublin, having at the time of their apprehension, offered a little resistance with their swords drawn; but finding those we employed against them more in number, and better armed, he yielded. Upon his examination before us, he at first denied all; but in the end, when he saw we laid it home to him, he confessed enough to destroy himself, and impeach some others, as it may appear to your lordship, by a copy of his examination sent herewith. We then committed him until we might have further time to examine him again, our time having become more needfully employed in action for securing this place, than in examining. This Mac-Mahon had been abroad, and served the king of Spain as lieutenant-colonel.

“Upon conference with him and others, and calling to mind a letter we received the week before from Sir William Cole, a copy of which we send your lordship here enclosed, we gathered that the Lord Mac Guire was to be an actor in surprising the castle of Dublin. Therefore we held it necessary to secure him immediately, thereby also to startle and deter the rest when they found him laid fast. His lordship, observing what we had done, and the city in

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<sup>760</sup> *Knt*: abbreviation for knight.

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arms, fled from his lodging early before daylight, it seems, disguised. For we had laid a watch about his lodging, so that we thought he could not pass without disguising himself. Yet he could not get out of the city; so surely guarded were all the gates.

“There we found at his lodging, hidden, some hatchets, with the helves (handles) newly cut off close to the hatchets, and many skeans (short daggers), and some hammers.

“In the end, the sheriffs of the city, whom we employed in strict search of his lordship, found him hidden in a cock-loft, in an obscure house, far from his lodging. There they apprehended him, and brought him before us.

“He denied all, yet so as he could not deny that he heard of it in the country, though he would not tell us when, or from whom. And he confessed that he had not notified us of it, as in duty he should have done. But we were so well satisfied of his guiltiness by all the circumstances, we did not doubt that upon further examination (when we could be able to spare time for it), we would find it apparent. Therefore we held it of absolute necessity to commit him close prisoner, as we had done before to Mac Mahon, and others, where we left him on the 23rd of this month in the morning, about the same hour that they intended to have been masters of that place and this city.

“That morning we also laid in wait for all those strangers who came to town the night before. And so many were apprehended, whom we find reason to believe had hands in this conspiracy, that we were forced to disperse them into several jails. We since found that many horsemen came into the suburbs that night, who finding the plot discovered, dispersed themselves immediately.

“When the hour approached which was designed for surprising the castle, great numbers of strangers were observed coming to town in great parties, by several ways. Not finding admittance at the gates, they stayed in the suburbs, and grew numerous there, to the terror of the inhabitants. To help that, we therefore drew up instantly and signed a proclamation, commanding all men who were not dwellers in the city or suburbs, to depart within an hour, upon pain of death, and alike made it penal for those who would harbor them. The sheriffs immediately proclaimed it in all the suburbs by our commandment. This being accompanied with the example and terror of the committal of those two eminent men and others, occasioned the departure of those multitudes. And in this case — all our lives and fortunes, and above all, his majesty’s power and regal authority, still being at stake — we must vary from ordinary proceedings, not only in executing martial law as we see cause, but also in putting some to the rack to find out the bottom of this treason and all its contrivers, which we foresee will not otherwise be done.

“On that 23rd of this month, we conceived that as soon as it might be known that the plot for seizing Dublin castle was disappointed, all the conspirators in the remote parts might be somewhat disheartened, and on the other side, the good subjects would be comforted, and would then stand on their guard with more confidence. We prepared to send abroad to all parts of the kingdom, this proclamation which we send to you here enclosed. And so having provided that the city and castle would be so guarded as upon a sudden we could premise, we concluded that long-continued consultation.

[1039] A.D. 1641.

“On Saturday, at twelve o’clock at night, the Lord Blaney came to town, and brought us the ill news of the rebels seizing with two hundred men, his house at Castle Blaney, in the county of Monaghan, and his wife, children, and servants; and also a house of the Earl of Essex, called Carrick macrosse, with two hundred men; and a house of Sir Henry Spotswood, in the same county, with two hundred men. There being a little plantation of British there, they plundered

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the town and burnt diverse houses. And it since appears that they burnt diverse other villages, and robbed and spoiled many English, none but protestants, leaving the English papists untouched, as well as the Irish.

“On Saturday morning at three o’clock, we had intelligence from Sir Arthur Terringham, that the Irish in the town had that day also broken up the king’s store of arms and ammunition at the Newry, where the store of arms has lain ever since the peace. There they found ninety barrels of powder, and armed themselves, and put them under the command of Sir Con. Mac Gennis, knt., and one Creely, a monk. They plundered the English there, and disarmed the garrison. And this, though too much, is all that we yet hear was done by them.

“However, we will stand on our guard the best we may, to defend the castle and city principally, those being the places of most importance. But if the conspiracy is so universal as Mac Mahon says in his examination — namely, ‘That all the counties in the kingdom have conspired in it’ — then we wonder that this should so fall out in this time of universal peace, and carried on with that secrecy, that none of the English could have any friend among them to disclose it. But if this is so, then indeed we will be in high extremity, and the kingdom in the greatest danger that ever it underwent, considering our lack of men, money, and arms to enable us to encounter such great multitudes as they can make, if all were to join against us — because we have pregnant cause to believe that the combination has taken force by the incitement of Jesuits, priests, and friars.<sup>761</sup>

“All the hope we have here is that the old English of the Pale and some other parts, will continue constant to the king in their fidelity, as they did in former rebellions. And now in these straits, we must under God depend on aid out of England for our present supply, with all speed — especially money (we having none) and arms, which we exceedingly lack. Without these we are very doubtful what account we will give to the king of his kingdom.

“But if the conspiracy is only of Mac Guire, and some other Irish of the kindred and friends of the rebel Tyrone, and other Irish in the counties of Down, Monaghan, Cavan, Fermanagh, and Armagh, and no general revolt is to follow, we hope then to make headway against them in a reasonable measure, if we are enabled with money from there. Without it, we can raise no forces, so great is our lack of money, as we have formerly written, and our debt is so great to the army. Nor is money to be borrowed here. For if it were, we would engage all our estates for it. Neither do we have any hope to collect his majesty’s rents and subsidies in these disturbances; which adds extremely to our necessities.

“On Sunday morning, the 24th, we met again in council, and sent to all parts of the kingdom the enclosed proclamation, and issued letters to draw here seven horse-troops as a further strength to this place, and to be with us in case the rebels make headway and march here, so as we may be necessitated to give them battle. We also then sent away our letters to the presidents of both the provinces of Munster and Connaught. And we likewise then sent letters to the sheriffs of the five counties of the Pale, to consult about the best ways and means of their own preservation. That day the lord viscount Gormanstone, the lord viscount Netterville, the lord viscount Fitz Williams, and the lord of Houth — and since then, the earls of Kildare and Fingal, and the lords of Dunsany and Slane — all noblemen of the English Pale, came to us declaring that they then heard of the matter, and not before, and professed loyalty to his majesty, and concurrence with the state. But they said they wanted arms, which they desired to be supplied by us. We told them we would willingly do this, as we were relying much on their faithfulness to the crown. But we were not yet certain whether or not we had enough to arm our strength for the guard of the city and castle. Yet we supplied those of them who lay in

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<sup>761</sup> On p, 1045 is evidence that the Jesuits, priests, and friars were heavily involved in the rebellion. Yet on page 1048 the author doubts religion was the direct cause of it, but only used as a means to incite the people to rebel.

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most danger, with a small proportion of arms and ammunition for their houses, lest they conceive we entertained any suspicions about them. And we commanded them to be very diligent in sending out watches, and making all the discoveries they could, and to advertise us of this; which they readily promised to do.

“And if it falls out that the Irish generally rise (which we have cause to suspect), then we must of necessity put arms into the hands of the English Pale at present, and to others as fast as we can, to fight for the defense of the state and themselves.

“Your lordship now sees the condition in which we stand, and how necessary it is, first, that we enjoy your presence speedily, to better guide these and other public affairs of the king and kingdom. And secondly, that the parliament there be moved immediately to advance to us a good sum of money which, now being speedily sent here, may prevent the expense of very much treasure and blood in a long-continued war. And if your lordship happens to stay on that side any longer, we must then desire your lordship to appoint a lieutenant-general to discharge the great and weighty burden of commanding the forces here.

“Amidst these confusions and discords fallen upon us, we thought of the parliament, which was formerly adjourned to November next, and the term now also at hand. These will draw a concourse of people here, and give an opportunity, under that pretense of assembling and taking new counsels (seeing that the former seem to be disappointed in some part), and will contrive further danger to this state and people. We have therefore found it of unavoidable necessity to prorogue it accordingly, and to direct the term to be adjourned till the first of Hilary term <sup>762</sup> — excepting the court of Exchequer, for hastening in the king’s money, if it is possible. We desire, upon this occasion, that your lordship will be pleased to view our letters concerning the plantation of Connaught, dated the 24th of April last, directed to Mr. Secretary Yane, in that part of it which concerns the county of Monaghan, where now these fires first break out.

“In the first place, we must make known to your lordship, that the army we have, consisting of but 2000 foot and 1000 horse, are so dispersed in garrisons in several parts (as they have been continually since they were so reduced), that if they are all sent for to be drawn together, not only must the places from which they are to be drawn, and for whose safety they lie there, be distressed by their absence; but also the companies themselves, coming in such small numbers, may be in danger of being cut off in their march — nor indeed do we have any money to pay the soldiers to enable them to march. And so we take leave, and remain, from his majesty’s castle of Dublin, the 25th of October, 1641.

“Your lordship’s to be commanded,

“William Parsons,	John Borlace,
Richard Bolton, Can.	R. Dillon,
Anthony Midensis,	John Raphoe,
R. Digbie,	Ad. Loftus,
Ger. Lowther,	John Temple,
Tho. Rotheram,	Fran. Willoughbie,
J. Ware,	G. Wentworth.”
Robert Meredith,	

*Postscript.* “The said Owen Conally, who revealed the conspiracy, is worthy of very great consideration, to recompence that faith and loyalty which he has so extremely, to his own

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<sup>762</sup> *Hilary term* is the second term of the legal year in England, running from January to March or April, during which the superior courts are open to hear cases.

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danger, expressed in this business; whereby, under God, there is yet hope left to us of the deliverance of this state and kingdom, from the wicked purposes of those conspirators.

[1040] A.D. 1641.

And therefore, we beseech your lordship, that it be taken into consideration there, so that he may have a mark of his majesty's most royal bounty, which may largely extend to him and his posterity, we not being able now to do it for him here. "W. PARSONS."

"To the Right Honorable our very good Lord Robert, Earl of Leicester, Lord-Lieutenant General, and General Governor of the Kingdom of Ireland."

The dispatch sent to his majesty was addressed to Sir Henry Vane, principal secretary, and carried by Sir Henry Spotswood, who went by sea directly into Scotland; and the letters to the lord-lieutenant were sent to London by Owen O'Conally, the first discoverer of the plot.

The lords now, with all care and diligence, applied their further endeavors towards preventing, as much as possible, the destruction intended against all the British inhabitants of the kingdom, as well as the security of the city and the places round about it. This was a work of large extent, and in which they met with many difficulties because of their own lack of both men and money.

Having formerly sent away and dispersed proclamations into several parts of the country, they now sent letters by express messengers to the presidents of Munster and Connaught, and to several principal gentlemen in those two provinces; and also to others within the province of Leinster, giving them notice of the discovery of the plot, and advising them to stand upon their guard, and to make the best provision they could for the defense of the country about them.

They sent another express to the Earl of Ormond, then at his house at Caricke, with letters to the same effect; and with this, they desired his lordship to immediately repair to them at Dublin, with his troop of horse.

They likewise sent commissions to the lord viscounts of Clandebois, and of the Ardes, for raising the Scots in the northern parts, and putting them in possession of arms; as they also did soon after to Sir William Stewart, and Sir Robert Stewart, and several other gentlemen of quality in the north. And as they gave them orders to prosecute the rebels with fire and sword, so they gave them power to receive those of them in, who would submit to his majesty's grace and mercy. But they were forced to send all these dispatches by sea, the rebels having stopped up the passages, and hindered all manner of intercourse with that province by land.

The northern rebels so closely pursued their first plot, that having begun to put it into execution in most of the chief places of strength there, on the 23rd of October (the day appointed for the surprisal of the castle of Dublin), they had by the latter end of the same month, obtained possession of all the towns, forts, castles, and gentlemen's houses within the counties of Tyrone, Donegal, Fermanagh, Armagh, Cavan, Londonderry, Monaghan, and half the county of Down, except the cities of Londonderry and Coleraine, the town and castle of Enniskillen, and some other places and castles which were, for the present, gallantly defended by the British, though afterwards, for lack of relief, surrendered into their hands.

The chief of the northern rebels who first appeared in the execution of this plot within the province of Ulster, were Sir Phelim O'Neile; Turlogh O'Neale, his brother; Roury Mac Guire, brother to Lord Mac Guire; Philip O'Rely, Mulmore O'Rely, Sir Conne Mac Gennis, Colonel

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Mac Brian; and Mac Mahon. These having closely combined together with several others of their accomplices, the chief of the several Septs <sup>763</sup> in the respective counties, divided their forces into several parties. And according to a general assignation made among themselves, at one and the same time, surprised by treachery the town and castle of Newry, the fort of Dungannon, fort Montjoy, Carlemont, Tonrages, Carrick, Mac Rosse, Clougheuter, Castle Blaney, and the castle of Monaghan — all of them places of considerable strength, and in several of them, companies of foot or troops of horse, belonging to the standing army.

Besides these, they took a number of other castles, houses of strength, towns, and villages, all abundantly peopled with British inhabitants, who had exceedingly enriched the country, as well as themselves, by their diligent labors. They had made for their more comfortable subsistence, handsome and pleasant habitations, and possessed corn, cattle, and all other commodities that an industrious people could draw out of a good inland soil. They lived in great plenty, and some of them were very well stored with plate and ready money. They also dwelt in great security, being quiet and careless, such as the people of Laish, little suspecting any treachery from their Irish neighbors. <sup>764</sup>

The English well knew they had given the Irish no manner of provocation; they had entertained them with great demonstrations of love and affection. No history can ever show that in any age since their intermixed cohabitation, they rose up secretly to do them mischief. And now of late they lived so peaceably and lovingly together, that they had just reason to believe most confidently, that the Irish would never, on any occasion, generally rise up again to their destruction. This I take to be one main and principal reason: that the English were so easily overrun within the northern counties, and so suddenly swallowed up, before they could make any manner of resistance in the very first beginnings of this rebellion. For most of the English, having either Irish tenants, servants, or landlords; and all of them having Irish neighbors whom they supposed to be their familiar friends, that as soon as this rebellion broke out, and the whole country began to rise about them, some quickly made their recourse to their friends for protection — some relying on their neighbors, others upon their landlords, others upon their tenants and servants, for preservation, or at least, present safety. And with great confidence they put their lives, their wives, their children, and all they had, into their power. But generally, these either betrayed them into the hands of other rebels, or they most perfidiously destroyed them with their own hands.

The popish priests had now so inflamed the Irish, and instigated them to such a degree against the English, that it was held, according to the maxims they had received, a mortal sin to give any manner of relief or protection to any of the English. All bonds and ties of faith and friendship were now broken. The Irish landlords made a prey of their English tenants; Irish tenants and servants made a sacrifice of their English landlords and masters; one neighbor cruelly murdered by another; even the Irish children, in the very beginning, fell to stripping and killing English children. All other relations were quite cancelled and laid aside, and it was now esteemed a most meritorious work in any of them who could, by any means or ways whatsoever, bring an Englishman to the slaughter. This was a work not very difficult to be compassed as things then stood. For living promiscuously among the

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<sup>763</sup> *Sept*: A division of a clan.

<sup>764</sup> The Irish saw the English as foreign invaders who had stolen the wealth that belonged to the Irish. The English took over Northern Ireland during the Anglo-Norman invasion in the late 12th century. It began under King Henry II of England, and it was solidified by the Tudor conquest of the 16th century, under King Henry VIII, who declared Ireland a kingdom under his rule. So this was a long-term, deep-seated hatred of the Irish for the English.



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English in all parts, having received from their priests the watch-word both for time and place, they rose up, as it were, actuated by one and the same spirit, in all places of those counties mentioned before, at one and the same of time. And so, in a moment, they fell upon them, murdering some, stripping others, or expelling them out of their habitations.

This spread such a general terror and astonishment among the English, that they did not know what to think, much less what to do, or which way to turn themselves. Their servants were killed as they were ploughing in the fields; husbands were cut to pieces in the presence of their wives; their children's brains were dashed out before their faces; others had all their goods and cattle seized and carried away; their houses burned; their habitations laid waste; and all of this was, as it were, in an instant, before they could suspect the Irish as their enemies, or in any way imagine that they had it in their hearts, or in their power, to offer so great a violence, or to do such mischief to them.

[1041] A.D. 1641.

Now, for those of the English who stood guard, and had gathered together, even though in small numbers, the Irish had recourse to their ancient stratagem. This, as they had done formerly, so they continued to make frequent use of it in this present rebellion. And that stratagem was,

“to fairly offer to them good conditions of quarter, to assure them their lives, their goods, and free passage, with a safe conduct into whatever places they pleased; and to confirm these covenants, sometimes under their hands and seals, sometimes with deep oaths and protestations; and then, as soon as they had them in their power, to hold themselves discharged from their promises, and to leave their soldiers at liberty to spoil, strip, and murder them at their pleasure.”

Thus were the poor English treated, who had shut themselves up in the great cathedral church at Armagh by Sir Phelim O'Neale and his brother Turlogh. Thus were those of them used by Philip O'Rely, who had retired to Belterbert, the best planted town in the county of Cavan. And in the same barbarous manner were those of the English drawn out to the slaughter, who had fled into the castle of Longford, the castle of Tullough in the county of Fermanagh; or the church of Newtown, in the same county, and several other places, as appears by several examinations taken upon oath from persons who barely escaped from there with their lives.

And besides these, they used other policies, some to distract and discourage them, others to disable them from standing and making any defense. For example, in several places the Irish came under diverse pretenses, and borrowed those weapons and arms which the English had in their houses, and no sooner got them into their hands, but they turned the English out of their own doors, as they did at Glaslough, in the county of Monaghan. And by the same means, they very gently and fairly got into their possession all the English arms in the county of Cavan. The high sheriff there (being an Irishman and a papist) pretended that he took their arms only to secure them against the violence of those Irish, whom he understood to be in arms in the next county. And that they might more easily effect the destruction of the English, and keep the Scots from giving them any assistance, they openly professed to spare (as they really did at first) the whole Scottish nation. They pretended they would allow them, and likewise all English papists, to live quietly among them — hoping thereby to induce all of the Scots to abstain from taking up arms till they had mastered all the English, and then they would be well enough enabled to deal with them.



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Thus were the poor English prepared for the slaughter, and so exceedingly distracted with the tumultuous rising of the Irish on all sides about them, that they could never put themselves into any posture of defense. In many places they made small parties, and took themselves into several churches and castles, some of which were long and gallantly defended by them. Yet they did not draw together in any such considerable body, as would enable them to make good their party in the field against the numerous forces of the rebels. The truth is, they did not very readily endeavor, or dexterously attempt it, in any part of that province that I could hear of. Every man took himself, the best he could, to the care of his own house, and sought how to save his own family, his goods within, and his cattle without, And so, while they kept singly apart, and singly stood up for their own private preservation, not joining their forces together for the common safety, they gave the rebels a fair opportunity and a singular advantage to work out with great facility their common destruction.

Whereas, if they had deserted their houses upon the first notice of the Irish uprising, and in the different counties put themselves into separate bodies, under the command of the chief English gentlemen round about them, they would undoubtedly have been able (however badly they were provided with arms and ammunition) to counter the Irish, and to beat them out of many parts of the country, or at least put them to some hindrance in their enterprise. Whereas, by the course they took, they most readily, almost without resistance, exposed themselves to the merciless cruelty of the Irish, who at the first, for a few days after their breaking out, did not murder many of them in most places. But the course the Irish took was to seize all their goods and cattle, to strip them, their wives, and children naked, and in that miserable plight, the weather being most bitter, cold, and frosty, to turn them out of their houses, and to drive them to the mountains, to wander through the woods and bogs. If by any means the English procured any other clothes, or even ordinary rags to cover their nakedness, they were quickly taken from them again. None were allowed to give them any kind of shelter by the way, no relief or entertainment, without incurring the heavy displeasure of their priests and chief commanders.

And so they drove those of the English, whose lives they thought fit at that time to spare, clear out of the country. Some of them took their journey towards Carrickfergus; others towards Coleraine, Derry, and other the northern parts. Many who had assembled together and stood upon their defense, came to terms with their bloody assailants. They gave them their goods, plate, and money, for leave to come to the city of Dublin. Having bought their license at so dear a rate, they had passes and convoys assigned to them by the chief captains of the rebels, and so came upon their way in great troops of men, women, and children.

Out of the county of Cavan, as Master Creighton testifies in his examination, who by his charitable relief of great numbers of them, preserved them from perishing, 1400 persons passed by his house in one company; in another 500 from Newtown, in the county of Fermanagh; in others, lesser numbers, all without any weapons or anything else but the very clothes on their backs, which they did not allow them to carry away. Many were most barbarously stripped of them by those who undertook to give them safe conduct; or were perfidiously betrayed by them into the hands of other rebels, by whom some were killed, others wounded, and all in a manner, whatever they hid to cover their nakedness, was taken from most of them.

This may appear by the examination of Adam Clover, of Slonosy, in the county of Cavan. Being duly sworn, he deposes *inter alia* (among other things), that this deponent and his company, who were robbed, observed,

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“That 30 persons or thereabouts, were then most barbarously murdered and slain outright, and about 150 more persons were cruelly wounded; so that traces of blood issuing from their wounds, lay upon the highway for twelve miles together. Many very young children were left and perished by the way, numbering 60 or thereabouts, because the cruel pursuit of the rebels was such that their parents and friends could not carry them further.”

“Some of the rebels vowed that ‘if any dug graves in which to bury their dead children, they would be buried in the graves themselves.’ So the poor people left most of them unburied, exposed to ravenous beasts and fowls; some parents carried a few a great way to bury them.”

“He saw on the way a woman, left by the rebels stripped to her shift, set upon by three women and some Irish children, who miserably rent and tore the said poor Englishwoman, and stripped her of her shift in a bitter frost and snow, so that she fell into labor under their hands, and both she and her child died there.” Jurat. January 4, 1641.

Thus their mercy in sparing these poor creatures in this manner, proved to be a far greater cruelty than if they had suddenly cut them off, as they did afterwards to many thousands of British who fell into their blinds. For now they starved and perished in multitudes on the way as they travelled along. And for those who outlived the misery of their journey, their limbs only served to drag their bodies to a Christian burial, that was denied to them there. For many of the men, and most of the women and children, who thus escaped either to Dublin or other places of safety in the north, did not long outlive the bitterness of their journey.

[1042] A.D. 1641.

But either overwhelmed with grief, or worn out with travel, contracted those diseases which, furthered by hunger, cold, nakedness, bad lodgings, and lack of other necessaries, struck deeply into bodies that had lived long at ease with much plenty, and soon brought them with sorrow to their graves.

These were the first fruits of this rebellion, which now began to extend into the other provinces, having covered the northern parts of the kingdom with fearful desolations. The first plotters were still undiscovered. But the great, active instruments appointed for the execution of this horrid design, fully appeared, and had already deeply imbrued their hands in the bloody massacres of the English. Sir Phelim O’Neale, being the chief of that clan, and now the person remaining of nearest alliance to the late earl of Tyrone, assumed to himself the chief power among the rebels in Ulster. By his directions, he guided the rest of his accomplices in the destruction of all the English there.

O’Neale was one of very mean parts, without courage or conduct. His education, for a great part of his youth, was in England. He was admitted a student of Lincoln’s Inn, and there trained up in the protestant religion, which he changed soon after, if not before, his return to Ireland. He lived loosely. Having no considerable estate because of the great mortgage on it, he became of very little esteem in all men’s opinions. Yet such was the zeal of his countrymen in this cause, their secrecy in attempting it, their suddenness in executing it, that by their forwardness to destroy the English and get their goods, he quickly overran that part of the country. He had prevailed so far within seven days after he first appeared in this rebellion, by most treacherously seizing Charlemont at the very first, where the Lord Daufield lay with his company of foot soldiers, from the forts of Dungannon and Montjoy. In his letter written to father Patrick O’Donnell, his confessor, bearing a date from Montjoy, the 30th of October, he was able to boast of great and many victories. And presently, after he had assembled such a multitude of rude fellows together, though in very ill equipage, he

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marched down with great numbers of men towards Lisnagarny, near the chief plantation of the Scots. For that part of their plot “to spare them” as they did in the beginning. But they now found them too gross to take, and therefore they resolved to fall upon them without mercy. Yet he left sufficient forces to come up into the Pale, to take in Dundalk, in the county of Lowth; which was a frontier town in the last wars against Tyrone. It so well defended itself, that with all the power he had, he could never recover it into his hands. There lay now a company of foot soldiers of the old English army. But the lieutenant who commanded it, having neither his men in readiness, nor arms, nor ammunition, made little or no resistance, easily giving way to the forward affections of the inhabitants. They delivered the town into the possession of the rebels, about the beginning of November 1641.

The rebels, immediately after taking Dundalk, marched on further into the county of Lowth, and possessed themselves of Ardee, a little town within seven miles of Tredagh, anciently called Droghedah. So that it was now high time to provide for the safety of that town.

But I will now return to the consultations and means used here by the justices and council, for securing the city and castle of Dublin. Because of the present confusion, weakness, and wants, it was in very great and most apparent danger of a sudden surprise.

And first for the castle: Sir Francis Willoughby being made governor, had a company of 100 men, well-armed, assigned for the constant guard of that place, besides the ordinary warders, who gave their usual attendance there. Because the lords conceived it might be dangerous in such desperate times, to admit such a multitude of suitors of all sorts into the castle, who daily had occasion to attend the council-board, they quickly transferred the place of their meeting in council to Cork-house. There they continued to sit a good time after, notwithstanding the great danger their persons were continually exposed to by the confident resort in great numbers, of several lords, gentlemen, and others who, within a few days after, declared themselves rebels, and so went out among them.

It was God’s immediate providence that preserved them, and did not allow those persons who soon after became such bloody rebels, to lay hold on that opportunity. For certainly they might, with great ease, have taken out of the way the lords-justices and council, and so have left all things in such confusion that it would have brought on their long-desired ends, without any further contention or trouble.

The next care was to provide victuals for the castle in such proportions as might enable it to endure a siege, in case the town, either through treachery within or by forces from without, should come to be surprised by the rebels. They now carried all things so clearly before them in the north, that they most confidently let it be known that they would suddenly come down and make themselves masters of the town.

The castle being thus happily provided for, the lords next took measures to secure the city in some way against any sudden attempts. And this proved to be a work not easily effected. This was not only in regard to the ruinous condition of the walls, the great extent of the suburbs, and the weakness of the place, but much more in respect to the corrupt and ill affections of the popish inhabitants within the city. For so strangely were many of them deluded with the instigations of their priests, that they would certainly (as we found afterwards by woeful experience) do all that lay in them to promote the rebellious designs then set afoot, which were undertaken (they believed) only for the re-settlement of religion, and the recovery of their liberties.

They were the instruments to privately convey away most of the chief conspirators who had undertaken to surprise the castle on the 23rd of October. They secretly entertained many of

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the rebels who came out of the country. They likewise sent relief to those who were abroad by secret ways, conveying ammunition as well as intelligence of all passages from there. And they had such strong aversions to all contributions for the maintenance of his majesty's army, that in the very beginning of the rebellion, when the lords sent for the mayor and aldermen — laying before them the high necessities of the state, together with the apparent danger of the city and the whole kingdom — they desired to borrow a considerable sum of money for the present. They undertook to repay it out of the next treasure that would arrive out of England. The popish party among them was so prevalent that, after a most serious consultation and very solemn debate among themselves, they returned this answer: that they were not able to furnish above £40, and part of that was to be collected in cattle. And now the lords-justices and council — that they might show the great confidence they had in the lords and chief gentlemen of the Pale, and give them both opportunity and means to express their loyalty and affections to his majesty's service — resolved (according to what the constitution of their affairs then required) to do some acts that might clearly persuade the Irish of the great trust they really reposed in them. And therefore, first, they gave several commissions of martial law for the execution of those traitors and rebels who might be apprehended doing mischief in any parts of the country about them, without attending a proceeding according to the ordinary course of the common law. And they directed these commissions to the most active gentlemen dwelling in the several counties, though all were papists; namely, to Henry Talbot, in the county of Dublin; John Bellew, esq., in the county of Lowth; Richard Dalton and Thomas Tuit, esqrs., in the county of Westmeath; Valerian Westley, in the county of Meath; and James Talbot, in the county of Cavan.

Next they made choice of the chief persons of quality residing in the said counties of the Pale, and others adjacent to them, to govern and command those forces which might be raised by them, and armed by the state, for the defense of the country, and issued to them several commissions from the council board of government —

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such as one to the Earl of Ormond and the Lord Viscount Montgarret, for the county of Kilkenny; to Walter Bagnall, esq., for the county of Caterlagh; Sir James Dillon the elder, and Sir James Dillon the younger, for the county of Longford; Lord Viscount Costeloe, for the county of Mayo; Sir Robert Talbot and Garrat Birne, for the county of Wicklow; Sir Christopher Bellew, for the county of Lowth; Earl of Kildare, for the county of Kildare; Sir Thomas Nugent, for the county of Westmeath; Nicholas Barnewall, for the county of Dublin; Lord Viscount Gormanstone, for the county of Meath. All these were chosen without distinction of religion. The lords held it fitting at that time to put the chief persons of power in the country into those places of trust, hoping that they might prove good instruments to oppose the threatening incursions of the northern rebels (which they knew them to be well enabled to perform, if they would really join in the service). Or at least that they might be kept by this great mark of the confidence placed in them by the government, from giving any entertainment or assistance to their rebellious designs.

In these commissions, power was given to these lords and gentlemen to whom they were directed, not only to use fire and sword for the destruction of the rebels and their adherents, but also to preserve the lives of any of them, to receive them, or any of them, into his majesty's favor or mercy. This plainly shows the very great confidence the lords were pleased to repose in them; and also their desires to make them instruments, to deliver those multitudes of people who engaged themselves in this rebellion, from the power either of his majesty's arms, or civil justice. They intended nothing but the reducing of a rebellious

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nation to peace and obedience. And at the first they applied lenient measures, which failing in the cure, they were afterwards forced to have recourse to more violent means.

So that these governors thus constituted might be better enabled to undertake the defense of the county, in this extremity of the near-approaching dangers, according to the authority and power given to them by their several commissions, the lords gave orders to have delivered to them a certain proportion of arms, to be employed for arming some men to be raised in each county for the common safety, besides the arms they gave them and other gentlemen, for the defense of their own private houses.

As to the Lord Gormanstone, arms were delivered for 500 men, for the county of Meath; arms were also delivered for 300 men, for the county of Kildare; arms for 300 men for the county of Lowth; arms for 300 men, for the county of Westmeath; and arms for 300 men, for the county of Dublin. At about the same time, 400 muskets were sent down to the lords of the Ardes and Clandeboys, for arming the Scots, in the county of Down. All these had powder, lead, and match, proportionate to their arms, delivered to them at the same time.

But now the poison of this rebellion, which up to now had contained itself within the northern counties and their confines, began to be diffused into other parts of the kingdom. It had already infected the counties of Leitrim, Longford, Westmeath, and Lowth, lying contiguous to them. On the 12th of November, the Irish in the county of Wicklow broke out most furiously, despoiling, robbing, and murdering all the English inhabitants within that territory. They burned all their well built-houses, drove away their cattle, and laid siege to fort Carew, in which there was a company of foot soldiers from the old English army.

The intelligence of this being brought to the lords justices, they well-considered the importance of the place, and that if it were in the hands of the rebels, and the whole county in their possession, they could expect little quietness or even safety in the city, because of their nearby neighborhood. Whereupon, they were most desirous to send down forces for the relief of it. But when they came, on the other side, to consider their lack of means for the performance of that service — that they had no money, but few men, and many of them not to be trusted; and that it would be very dangerous to divide their small forces, and so to leave the city in a manner unguarded — they were forced to lay aside that resolution, and with great grief, to sit still and allow the poor English in those parts to be exposed to the merciless cruelties of those barbarous rebels, who went on furiously about the work, and quickly cleared that whole county of the English inhabitants.

Within a few days after, the Irish, in the counties of Wexford and Carlow, began to rise likewise, and to follow the bloody examples of their neighbors. Now there were also great appearances of the disloyalty of the county of Kildare. With great protestations, under the pretense of doing service, they had gotten into their hands the arms and ammunition intended for them by the state. And so mysterious and doubtful was the carriage of the lords and chief gentlemen of the English Pale (giving no manner of intelligence to the state concerning the proceedings of the rebels, nor making any kinds of preparations against them), that their affections began to be justly suspected, even then.

So that the city of Dublin (which was the receptacle of the whole state, the magazine of all the arms, ammunition, and other provisions for the army, and the chief sanctuary of all the English and despoiled protestants), was now reduced to a very sad condition, desperately encompassed on every side. The northern rebels had come down with great forces in two separate parties, within twenty miles of it on the one side. And on the other side, the rebels of the county of Wicklow accompanied it, along with the great addition of strangers. With

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continual rumors of new plots and devices to surprise the town, the protestants were possessed with extraordinary fears of the present danger.

But what made their condition appear much more formidable to them, was the daily influx of great numbers of English out of the north, who came up in troops, stripped and miserably spoiled. Many persons of good rank and quality were covered with old rags, and some without any other covering than a little twisted straw to hide their nakedness. Some reverend ministers and others who had escaped with their lives, were sorely wounded. Wives came bitterly lamenting the murder of their husbands; mothers the death of their children, barbarously destroyed before their faces; poor infants ready to perish and pour out their souls in their mothers' bosoms. Some wearied out with long travel, and so crippled that they came creeping on their knees; others were so frozen with cold that they were ready to expire in the streets; others, overwhelmed with grief and distracted with their losses, lost their senses also.

Thus the town, within a few days after the outbreak of this rebellion, was filled with these most lamentable spectacles of sorrow. They wandered in great numbers, up and down in all parts of the city, desolate, forsaken, having no place to lay their heads, no clothing to cover their nakedness, no food to fill their hungry bellies. And to add to their miseries, they found all manner of relief very disproportionate to their wants, the popish inhabitants refusing to minister the least comfort to them. So that these poor creatures appeared like living ghosts in every street.

Many empty houses in the city were, by special direction, taken up for them; barns, stables, and outhouses were filled with them. Yet many lay in the open streets; others lay under stalls, and most miserably perished there. The churches were the common receptacles of the saddest sort of them. They stood there in a most doleful posture, as objects of charity, in such great multitudes, that there was scarcely any passage through them. But those of better quality, who could not become like common beggars, crept into private places. Some of those who did not have private friends to relieve them, wasted silently away, and so they died without noise. For many of them, so bitter was the remembrance of their former condition, and so insupportable the burden of their present calamity, that they even refused to be comforted.

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I have known of some who lay almost naked, and having clothes sent to them, laid them by, refusing to put them on. Others would not stir to fetch themselves food, even though they knew where it stood ready for them; but they continued to lie in their filthy rags, not taking care to have anything clean or comfortable about them. And so, even worn out with the misery of their journey and cruel usage, having their spirits spent, their bodies wasted, and their senses failing, they lay there pitifully languishing. Soon after they had entered this town, very many of them died, leaving their bodies as monuments of the most inhuman cruelties used towards them.

The greatest part of the women and children, thus barbarously expelled out of their habitations, perished in the city of Dublin. Such great numbers of them were brought to their graves, that all the church-yards within the whole town were too narrow to contain them. So much so, that the lords-justices ordered that two large pieces of new ground, one on each side of the river, be taken in on the outer greens, and set apart for burying places.

These were the memorable spectacles of mercy, and of the great commiseration the rebels had toward those English whose lives were given for a prey. But what their sufferings were

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before they could get out of the hands of these cruel papists — what strange, horrid, inventions the rebels used towards them, torturing and massacring those they murdered there — is reserved to be more fully related in its proper place. They are left on record to posterity, under the oaths of many who escaped. And they are mentioned here for no other purpose than to show the strange horror and shock that beholding them bred in all the English and protestant inhabitants of the city.

Seeing the rebels prevail so mightily, they expected to be undoubtedly exposed to the same cruelties if they continued here,. And they now understood, by those who had come up from among them, that their design was, as soon as they had taken Drogheda, to come and seize the city and castle of Dublin, and so make a general extirpation of all the English, root and branch, not leaving them name or posterity throughout the kingdom.

It is easy to conjecture what a sad confused countenance the city then had — what fears, terror, astonishment and miserable spectacles within, and the approaches of the rebels without, raised in the minds of a frightened, distracted people. The English inhabitants looked upon all the horrid cruelties exercised abroad, all the calamities and desolations fallen upon their countrymen in other parts of the kingdom, as arrived at the gates, and were now ready to enter. The avenues were all open, with neither ramparts nor trenches to keep them out. Notwithstanding the care and endeavors used by the lords-justices and council to make provision for the common safety, no money could be raised, and few men were gotten together. The papists were well furnished with arms, closely concealed, and desperately animated by their priests to all manner of mischief. There were no fortifications about the suburbs, nor any manner of defense for the city, but an old ruinous wall, part of which fell down at the very height of these distractions.

All things tended to sudden confusion. The very face of the city was now changed. It had such a fearful aspect as seemed to portend her near-approaching ruin. The means of safety appearing very slender and inconsiderable, the preparations, because of the strange aversions of the popish party, were of a very slow and weak operation. Every man began to consider for himself and for his own private preservation. Those who lived in the suburbs removed with their families into the city. The privy-counsellors and persons of quality removed into the castle, which became a common repository of all things of value. By special order, the Rolls were removed there; the records of several other offices were likewise brought in. But upon the rebels advancing somewhat nearer, and their frequent alarms, many of those who had taken sanctuary there, began to suspect the strength of those old dilapidated walls. And therefore, to make sure, they resolved to quit the kingdom, embarking themselves and their goods with all possible speed. Some who were detained with contrary winds in the harbor, chose to endure all extremities on shipboard, rather than hazard themselves on shore again.

The Scottish fishermen lay with their boats in great numbers within the bay, fishing for herrings. With much forwardness, they had made an offer to the state to bring five hundred of their men ashore to take arms, and engage in immediate service (a most acceptable proposition at that season). But they were so strangely frightened one evening with a false alarm, that in the night, they put to sea all of a sudden, and quite disappeared on these coasts till the following year.

The papists, on the other side, being most confident that the city would be taken and sacked by the rebels, and fearing that perhaps they might be mistaken in the tumult and fierce execution, removed themselves and their goods with the same speed into the country.

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And what heightened the calamity of the poor English was that their flight was to be made immediately in that winter. This was such a dismal, stormy, and tempestuous season, that in the memory of man, it had never been observed to continue for so long together. Yet the terror of the rebels incomparably prevailing beyond the rage of the sea, most of those who could provide themselves with shipping, though at never so excessive rates, deserted the city. And such was the violence of the winds, such continuing, impetuous storms, that several barks <sup>765</sup> were cast away. Some, in three months after going from here, could not make good their way to any port in England, and almost all who then put to sea were in great danger of perishing.

*The Particulars of the First Plot of the Irish Rebellion,  
Together with a brief Narration of the most notorious Cruelties  
and bloody Massacres, which ensued in several parts of this Kingdom.*

Thus we see what a great height this rebellion had grown up to, in less than one month after the very first appearance of it — what horrid murders, cruel outrages, and fearful desolations it had already wrought in one province, and what a powerful operation the cruelties acted there, had upon other parts. But before I pass further, I hold it not amiss to look back, and trace it to the first beginnings we find of it within this country of Ireland.

Concerning the origin of this great conspiracy, and likewise the first plotters and contrivers of it, I must ingenuously confess that I am myself much dissatisfied in the first conceptions of this monstrous birth. Therefore I will not now be able clearly to resolve others in it.

And if we give credit to several examinations that were taken (many of them from those of their own party), we must believe the plot for a rebellion in Ireland to be of a very ancient date, and of a large extent. It had long been in contriving. And however first thought of in Ireland, perhaps, yet it received large contributions towards its consummation out of England and other foreign parts.

I have seen an examination of one who affirms that he heard it confidently averred by Malone, a priest (one who styled himself a chaplain-major within the Pale), that he himself had been employed seven years in bringing this plot to perfection, and that he had travelled into several parts about it.

Master Goldsmith, a minister in Connaught, told me that a full year before the rebellion broke out, he received a letter from a brother of his, residing at Brussels, in which he gave him notice of it, though so obscurely, that he did not well understand it till afterwards.

Patrick O'Bryan, of the parish of Galloom, in the county of Fermanagh, affirmed upon oath,

“That all the nobles in the kingdom who were papists, had a hand in this plot, as well as the lord Mac Guire and Hugh Oge Mac Mahon; that they expected aid out of Spain by Owen Roe O’Ncale; and that colonel Plunket, ‘one of those who was to be an actor in the surprise of the castle of Dublin), told him that he knew of this plot eight years since, and that within these past three years he has been more fully acquainted with it.”

[1045] A.D. 1641.

Francis Sacheverel, esq., has deposed that,

“At several times, shortly after the beginning of this rebellion, he has heard four separate popish priests — namely, Hugh Rely, of the county of Down; Edmund O’Tunnah, of the county

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<sup>765</sup> *Or barques: sailing ships with 3 (or more) masts.*



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of Armagh; Morice Mac Credan, of the county of Tyrone; and James Hallegan, of the county of Armagh — say that the priests, Jesuits, and friars of England, Ireland, Spain, and other countries beyond the seas, were the plotters, projectors, and contrivers of this rebellion and insurrection; and that these past six years they have been in agitation and preparation of the same; and that the said priests then expressed a kind of joy that the same was brought to so good an effect.”

He further deposes that,

“At several times Ever Boy Mac Gennis, in the county of Down, gent., and Hugh O’Hagan, of the county of Armagh, gent, bragged and said that they had no doubt they would shortly conquer the English in the kingdom, and enjoy the same quietly to themselves; and that they would not rest content with that, but they would raise strong armies to invade and conquer England.”

Roger Moore, one of the prime conspirators, told Master Colely, then prisoner with him, that “The plot had been in framing several years, and would have been executed several times, but they were still hindered.”

By letters sent from Rome to Sir Phelim O’Neale and the lord Mac Guire, which were intercepted and brought to the lord Parsons, though the friar who wrote them does not express any certain knowledge of this very plot, yet this much appears by them, that they had long desired to hear of the rising of the Irish, that the news of Sir Phelim O’Neale’s taking arms was very acceptable to the pope and his two cardinal nephews, assuring him of all assistance from there; and further desiring him to send over an agent to Rome, and to employ several persons of his own nation, whom he named there, then residing at Madrid, Paris, and with the emperor — they being fit instruments, and such that he might make use of to procure support from those princes who, he assured him, would join to give him all assistance in this action.

Besides these, we have many other presumptive proofs that the Irish (since they found their own strength, and were able to draw together such great numbers of men as their several clans, so strangely multiplied during the late peace, can now afford) have long had it in their desire to shake off the English government; to settle the whole power of the state in the hands of the natives; to repossess themselves of all the lands now enjoyed by the British throughout the kingdom; and that in this plot they but went about to actuate those confused general notions, and to put them in a way of execution. Now they supposed there could never be offered to them a fairer opportunity than this most unhappy conjuncture of the affairs of Great Britain, when the people of Scotland, recently in arms, had by their own power and wise managements drawn his majesty to condescend to their entire satisfaction in their church discipline, as well as the liberties of that kingdom. And in England the distractions had grown to such a height through the great misunderstanding between the king and his parliament, that Ireland was at this time left naked and unguarded. The government was in the hands of lords-justices; the old English army dispersed in places at so great a distance, that it could be of little advantage; most of the common soldiers were Irish; and all the old commanders and captains, except a few, were worn-out and gone. This, as the first plotters thought, was the time to work out their own ends. And masking their perfidious designs under the public pretenses of religion, and the defense of his majesty’s prerogative, they let loose the reins of their own vindictive passions and irreconcilable hatred toward their British neighbors.

Now for the very first time that this great plot received its initial form:

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Though I conceive it to have been of a somewhat more ancient date, yet by all the examinations I have seen up to now, I can carry it up no higher than the month of January 1640-41. The lord Mac Guire sufficiently testified then, that about that time it was communicated to some of the chief gentlemen of Ulster in the relation written with his own hand in the Tower, and delivered by him to Sir John Coniers, then lieutenant, to be presented to the lords in parliament, and also in his examination taken before the lord Lambart and Sir Robert Meredith, knt. in Ireland, March 26, 1642.

In both these he acknowledges that, being in Dublin in Candlemas term, about the time when Master John Bellew came from England with the commission for the continuance of the parliament in Ireland, Roger Moore acquainted him that if the Irish were to rise, they might make their own conditions for regaining their lands, and freedom of their religion. He further says that he had spoken with sundry persons of Leinster to that purpose, who would be ready to join with them, and likewise a good part of Connaught; and he found all of them willing to do so, if they could draw to them the gentlemen of Ulster.

Now, for the manner of putting this plot into execution, the said lord Mac Guire further testifies in his relation aforesaid, that the said Roger Moore (having the next day acquainted Philip O'Rely, Turlagh O'Neale, brother to Sir Phelim O'Neale, Master Cosloe, and Mac Mahon with this) proposed that, first, everyone should endeavor to draw his own friends into that act, at least those who lived in one county with them; and that, when they had so done, they should send to the Irish in the Low Countries and in Spain, to let them know of the day and resolution, that they might be over with them by that day, or soon after, with a supply of arms and ammunition; that there should be a set day appointed, and every one in his own quarters would rise that day, and seize upon all the arms he could get in his own country; and this day was to be near winter, so that England would be unable to send forces into Ireland before May. And by that time, no doubt was to be entertained, but that they themselves would be supplied by the Irish from beyond the seas.<sup>766</sup>

Then he told them further, that there was no doubt of the Irish joining with them, and that all the doubt was of the gentlemen of the English Pale. But he said that for his own part, he was really assured that, when the Irish had risen, gentlemen of the Pale would not stay long after; or at least that they would not oppose anything. And that in case they did, the Irish had men enough in the kingdom without them. Moreover, that he had spoken to a great man (who then would be nameless) who would not fail at the day appointed, to appear and to be seen in the act. But till then he was sworn not to reveal himself. Yet upon their importunity, he afterwards told them that it was the lord of Mayo, who was very powerful, and in command of men in those parts of Connaught where he lived.

He further says, that in the following Lent, Master Moore, according to his promise, came into Ulster, but that nothing was done there. All matters were put off till the following May, when they met at Dublin, it being both parliament and term-time. And he said that from there they dispatched one Tooly Conley (parish priest to Master Moore), to colonel O'Neale, in the Low Countries. Within a few months after, he arrived with this answer from the said colonel: "He desired them not to delay any time in rising up, but to let him know of the day when they intended to do it; and that he would not fail to be with them within fourteen days from that day, with good aid. Also, that he desired them, by any means, to seize the castle of Dublin, if they could."

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<sup>766</sup> Historical records suggest that approximately 50,000 Irish Catholics had emigrated to Europe and the Americas by this time, primarily as indentured servants, rebels, or laborers.

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He further says that during the time of these their private meetings, these men landed at Dublin: colonel Birne, colonel Plunket, captain Brien O'Neale, and others, who came with directions to carry men away; that these men were acquainted with the plot, and offered their service to bring it on; and that they would raise their men under color to carry them into Spain, and then seize the castle of Dublin, and with the arms found there, arm their soldiers, and have them ready for any action that would be commanded them.

[1046] A.D. 1641.

He further says that they had several private consultations about carrying on this conspiracy, not only at Dublin, but in other places in the province of Ulster, and that they had set down several days for putting it into execution. But meeting with some obstacles, they did not conclude a certain time for it, till about the beginning of September. And then they peremptorily resolved on the 23rd of October as the day to execute this long-designed plot. They took into account the day of the week, which fell on Saturday, being the market day, on which there would be the less notice taken of people wandering up and down the streets. They then settled what numbers of men should be brought up out of the several provinces to surprise the castle, and what commanders would lead them on. Seeing the castle had two gates, the Leinster-men should undertake to seize the little gate, which lay nearest to the place where the arms and ammunition were placed; the great gate should be undertaken by those of Ulster; and Sir Phelim O'Neale should be there in person. But he excused himself, because he resolved at the same time to seize Londonderry; and thereupon, by the importunity of the undertakers, it was imposed upon him, that the lord Mac Guire was to be there in person at the taking of the castle of Dublin.

It was further resolved what number of forces should be brought up out of the other provinces, to make good those places if possessed by them, and that Sir James Dillon undertook to be there with 1000 men within four days after taking the castle. And it was also resolved that everyone privy to that matter in every part of the kingdom, should rise that day, and seize all the forts and arms in the several counties; and likewise seize all the gentry, and make them prisoners, to better assure themselves against any adverse fortune; and not to kill any, unless from necessity they were forced to do so, by opposition.

These particulars, together with many other very considerable circumstances, are set down in the relation given by the lord Mac Guire, while he remained prisoner in the Tower of London. But I have thought fit to forbear to relate them at large, because I find that relation was published by authority, and so it has been presented to the common view.

We will also find that Mac Mahon, in his examination, taken when he was first apprehended by the lords-justices and council here, testifies that all the chief of the nobility and gentry in this kingdom were acquainted with the first plot; and particularly, that all the popish party knew of it, in the committee sent into England, and likewise in both houses of parliament.

In the examination of William Fitz-Gerald, it is affirmed that Sir Phelim O'Neale, sending for him five days after his rising up in arms, told him that what he did was by directions and consent of the prime nobility and gentry of the whole kingdom; and that what he had done in the northern parts, was likewise executed at Dublin, and in all other forts and towns throughout Ireland. It was a course resolved upon among the lords and gentry, for the preservation of his majesty's prerogative, and of their own religion and liberties, against the Puritan faction in England, Scotland, and Ireland. And it is testified by lieutenant-colonel Read in his examination, and also by the lord Mac Guire in his relation, that the lord of Gormanstone knew of this plot while he was in England. He says that, "Colonel Plunket told

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him that he, being at London, had acquainted some of the Irish committee with this plot, and particularly the lord of Gormanstone, and that they approved it well.” Colonel Plunket, in his letter to father Patrick Uarnwal, lord abbot of Mellifont (as he styles himself), seems much to glory in the means he had used to incite the lords and gentry of the Pale to appear in that blessed cause (as he terms it), and he assures him that the lord of Gormanstone (whom he there calls lord-general) will go bravely on.

And now it will be no difficult matter to resolve what were the secondary steps and motions of this great plot, as well as by what persons it was wrought in Ireland, and carried on to the very point of execution.

First, it is to be observed that Sir Phelim O’Neale, the lord Mac Guire, Philip O’Rely, colonel Mac Brian, Hugh Mac Mahon, and their adherents, chief of the Irish clans in Ulster, and other counties near adjacent, were the first to appear on the stage. And by their bloody execution, they notoriously declared themselves to be chief actors in this horrid tragedy. Yet this rebellion was neither altogether, nor originally plotted by them. But most of them had only subordinate notions of it, as they (as well as others of the chief nobility and gentry throughout the kingdom) had several parts assigned them to act at several times, in several places. And they but moved according to the first resolutions taken, and such directions as they had received from the first conspirators.

I take it to be most probable, after the general plot came to be reduced into form, that as the lord of Gormanstone was one of the first and chief movers in it, so he and the chief lords of the Pale joined together to draw in, as they had done in all former rebellions, the principal chiefs of the old Irish, to engage themselves, and to appear first in the business. And after they had joined together, and so finely ordered the matter that they had made it a general rising, as Sir Phelim O’Neale terms it, of all the catholics throughout the kingdom, with the general consent of the prime nobility and gentry of it, then, as it were, with one general voice, they sounded forth the same language from all four provinces of Ireland — they used the same remonstrances, and made the very same pretenses for their justification — they began the very self-same course, first in stripping, then banishing and murdering the British and protestants. Only, in the north they drove on somewhat more furiously, and spilled much more innocent blood, than in any of the other three provinces. They likewise agreed in recalling their commanders. All four provinces had their particular emissaries abroad. Those of Leinster brought back colonel Preston, a branch out of the house of Gormanstone, who had long lived with good reputation in Flanders; they made him general of their forces there. And those of Ulster were likewise sent into Flanders, for Owen Roe O’Neale, upon whom they conferred the same charge in that province. The Munster-men brought over Garrat Barry, whom they made general of their forces. And those in Connaught drew back one Burks, to whom they gave the chief command of those men that they were able to draw together for the advancement of the common design. All these held a due correspondence, and in all their actions had a just concurrency towards the main end.

The great instrument chiefly employed in this work of drawing the native Irish into a firm combination with the old English, as it appears by the lord Mac Guire’s relation mentioned before, was Roger Moore, esq., a person of broken fortune, of Irish descent, and from the family of the O’Moore, in the county of Leax.<sup>767</sup> But by intermarriages, he was allied to some of the principal gentlemen of the Pale. He dealt with them about the association, and

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<sup>767</sup> County Laois, historically known as County Leix or Queen's County, is located in the Eastern and Midland Region, and the province of Leinster.

#### IV. The Irish Rebellion of 1641

first broke the design to the northern Irish. He was the man who made several journeys into Leinster, Ulster, and Connaught. Sundry messages were sent and returned the summer before the rebellion broke out, by his means and intercourse between them. And all things were so ordered for their agreement, that they were to go hand in hand together. Some of the principal gentlemen of the Pale, such as colonel Plunket, captain Fox, and others, were designed to join with the lord Mac Guire, Mac Mahon, Brian O'Neale, Con O'Neale, and Hugh Birne, for the surprise of his majesty's castle of Dublin.

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But I do not hold it necessary to produce further evidence in this particular. I purpose now to declare how those great instruments of mischief, who were the supreme conductors of this wicked design, moved forward so successfully in the beginning, towards the accomplishment of their long-intended extirpation of all the British protestants out of the kingdom.

[1047] A.D. 1641.

I find two sorts of persons who most eminently appeared in laying those main foundations upon which their bloody superstructures were afterwards easily reared up. And these were those of the popish lawyers who were natives of the kingdom, and those of the Romish clergy, of several degrees and orders.

For first, they had very great reputation and trust in regard for their knowledge in the laws of the land. They now began to stand up, like great patriots, for the vindication of the liberties of the subject, and the redress of their pretended grievances. And having made a great party in the house of commons then sitting, by their bold appearing in this, some of them magisterially obtruded there, as undoubted maxims of law, the pernicious speculations of their own brains. Even though plainly discerned to be full of virulence and tended to sedition, many of the protestants and well meaning men in the house were strangely blinded with an expectation of ease and redress, and so stupefied by their bold accusations of the government, that most of them thought it not fit, and others did not dare, to stand up to contradict their assertions. So that what they spoke was received with great acclamation and much applause by most of the protestant members of the house, many of whom they had inveigled into their party, under specious pretenses of public zeal toward this country.

And then it was, that having impeached Sir Richard Bolton, lord chancellor of Ireland, of high-treason, together with other prime officers and ministers of state who were of English birth, some of those great masters took it upon themselves with much confidence, to declare the law; to make new expositions of their own upon the text; to frame their queries — challenges fitter to be taken to a long, willfully overgrown, misgovernment, than to be made against an authority that had for many years struggled against the beloved irregularities of a stubborn people, and which had prevailed, far beyond former times, towards allaying the long-continued distempers of the kingdom. They disdained the moderate qualifications of the judges, who gave them modest answers, such as the law and their duty to their sovereign would admit. But those would not serve their turn. They resolved upon an alteration in the government, and drawing it wholly into the hands of the natives. They knew they could not compass this in a parliamentary way, and therefore only made preparations for it there, and delivered such desperate maxims that, being diffused abroad, would fit and dispose the people to a change. For example, they declared it to be law, “that being killed in rebellion, though found by matter of record, would give the king no forfeiture of estates;” and that, “though many thousands stood up in arms in a kingdom, working all manner of destruction,

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yet if they professed not to rise against the king, then it was no rebellion;" and that, "if a man were outlawed for treason, and his land thereby vested in the crown, or given away by the king, his heir might come afterwards and be admitted to reverse the outlawry, and recover his ancestor's estate. During that session, they continued to publish many other positions of a like kind, tending to sedition and disturbance. And, by the power and strength of their party, they so far prevailed at last, that they presumed to attempt a suspension of Poyning's Act.<sup>768</sup> And indeed, they intended the utter abrogation of that statute, which remains as one of the greatest ties and best monuments the English have of their entire dominion over the Irish nation, and the union of that kingdom to the imperial crown of England. They further assigned the power of judicature to the Irish parliament in criminal and capital offenses, a right which no former age had left any precedent for, nor would this provide the example.

And thus carrying all things before them, they continued the session of the Irish parliament begun in May, till about two months before the first breaking out of this rebellion. It was very badly taken, even then, that the parliament was adjourned. They have since aggravated this as a high crime against the lords-justices, and one of the chief moving causes to generally taking up arms throughout the kingdom.

But however artfully these proceedings were carried on, being covered over with pretenses of zeal and public affection, they passed as genuine then, without any manner of suspicion. Yet now the eyes of all men are opened, and they are fully convinced that all these passages, together with the other high contests in parliament — such as not having the newly raised Irish army disbanded; the importunate solicitation of their agents in England, to have the old English army in Ireland cashiered (discarded), and the kingdom left to be defended by trained bands of their own nation; and likewise the commissions, procured by several of the most eminent commanders now in rebellion, for raising men to carry into Spain — all these were parts of this plot. They were prologues to this ensuing tragedy, preparation (which had been long laid) to bring on the sudden execution of this most bloody design, all at one and the same time throughout the kingdom.

Now, as for the Jesuits, priests, friars, and all the rest of the fraternity belonging to their holy orders, they lost no time. As I said, they had a main part to act, and did not fail to discharge it with great assiduity and diligence. They most dexterously applied themselves in all parts of the country to make such other dangerous impressions on the minds of the meaner sort, as well as of the chief gentlemen, as might make them ready to catch fire on the first occasion. When this plot was so surely laid that it could not well fail (as they thought), and once the day was fixed for its execution, then in their public devotions, long before the arrival of that day, they recommended by their prayers, the good success of a great design, much tending to the prosperity of the kingdom, and the advancement of the catholic cause.

And to facilitate the work, and stir up the people with greater animosity and cruelty, to undertake it at the prescribed time, they loudly declaimed in all places against the protestants — telling the people that they were heretics, and not to be suffered any longer to live among them; that it was no more sin to kill an Englishman, than to kill a dog; and that it was a most mortal and unpardonable sin to relieve or protect any of them. Then they also represented, with much acrimony, the severe courses taken by the parliament in England, for suppressing of the Romish religion in all parts of the kingdom, and the utter extirpation

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<sup>768</sup> Poyning's Law, 1494, subjected the meetings and legislative drafts of the Irish Parliament to the control of the English king and council.



#### IV. The Irish Rebellion of 1641

of all its professors. They told the people, that in England they had the queen's priest hanged before her own face; and that they held her majesty in her own person under a most severe discipline; that the same cruel laws against popery were ordered to be put suddenly into execution here; and a design was secretly laid for bringing and seizing all the principal noblemen and gentlemen in Ireland, on the 23d of November next ensuing, to generally massacre all who would not desert their religion and immediately become protestants.<sup>769</sup>

And now they also took occasion to revive their inveterate hatred and ancient animosities against the English nation, whom they represented to themselves as hard masters; under whose government, however pleasant, comfortable, and advantageous it was, they would have the world believe they had endured a most miserable captivity and vassalage. They looked with much envy upon their prosperity, considering all the land they possessed, though a great part was bought at high rates from the natives, as their own proper inheritance. They grudged at the great multitudes of their fair English cattle; at their goodly houses, though built by their own industry, at their own expense; at the great improvements they had made of their estates by their own labor and careful endeavors. They spoke with much scorn and contempt of those who brought little with them into Ireland, and having planted themselves there, in a short time contracted great fortunes. They were much troubled, especially in the Irish counties, to see the English live handsomely, and to have everything with much decency about them, while they lived, as it were, in mire and filthiness — the ordinary sort of people commonly bringing their cattle into their own cabin or cottages, and there delighting to lie among them.

[1048] A.D. 1641.

These considerations made them, with an envious eye, impatiently look upon all the British who had recently come over into the kingdom. Nothing less than a general extirpation would now serve their turn. They must have restitution of all the lands to the proper natives, whom they take to be the ancient proprietors and the only true owners, most unjustly despoiled by the English, whom they hold to have made undue acquisitions of all the land they possess by gift from the crown, upon the attainder<sup>770</sup> of any of their ancestors.

And so impetuous were the desires of the Irish to draw the whole government of the kingdom into their hands, to enjoy the public profession of their religion, and to disburden the country of all the British inhabitants settled in it, that they caused the whole body of the state to be universally disliked. They represented the several members of the government as persons altogether corrupt and ill-affected; pretended the ill moods and distempers in the kingdom had grown to such a height as to require cauterizing and deep incisions; and that indeed, nothing was able to work so great a cure but a universal rebellion. This was certainly the disease as it appears by all the symptoms, and by the joint concurrence in opinion of all the great physicians who held themselves wise enough to propose remedies and prescribe fit applications in so desperate a malady. In those instructions, privately sent over to England by the lord Dillon of Costello immediately after the rebellion broke out, was the alteration of the supreme power in the government, settling it in the hands of the earl of Ormond. They gave leave to the grand council of the kingdom to remove such officers of state as they thought fit, and to recommend natives to take their places. They positively laid down a more likely means to appease these tumults than a considerable army.

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<sup>769</sup> That is, they accused the protestants of doing what they themselves were planning to do, in order to justify it.

<sup>770</sup> *Bill of attainder*: legislative forfeiture of land and civil rights of an individual or identifiable group without a trial.

#### IV. The Irish Rebellion of 1641

The remonstrance of the county of Longford was presented about the same time to the lords-justices by the same Lord Dillon. And also the sketch of the commonwealth, found at Sir John Dungar's house, not far from Dublin, was sent there from Connaught, to be communicated to those of Leinster. Both these pieces publicly appeared soon after the rebellion broke out. The main points insisted on in them and in several others, were *1st*, the restoration of the public profession of the Romish religion; *2dly*, the restitution of all the plantation lands to the Irish; and *3dly*, the settlement of the present government in their hands. All the remonstrances from various parts, and those that came out of the several provinces of the kingdom, concur in these propositions, with very little or no difference.

And therefore, so the desires and first intentions of those who are now in rebellion may more clearly appear, I thought it fitting to insert them here, as I found them methodically digested in certain propositions which are termed,

##### *The Means to reduce this Kingdom to Peace and Quietness.*

“1. That a general and free pardon, without any exception, be granted to all his majesty's subjects of this kingdom; and that, in pursuance of that, and for strengthening it, an act of abolition may pass in the parliament here.

“2. That all marks of national distinctions between English and Irish may be abolished and taken away by act of parliament.

“3. That by several acts of parliament to be respectively passed here and in England, it be declared that the parliament of Ireland has no subordination to the parliament of England, but that the same has in itself supreme jurisdiction in this kingdom, as absolute as the parliament of England has there.

“4. That the act of 12 Henry VII,<sup>771</sup> commonly called *Poyning's Act*, and all other acts expounding or explaining the same, may be repealed.

“5. That as in England there passed an act for a triennial parliament (every three years), there may pass in Ireland another for a sexennial parliament (every six years).

“6. That it may be enacted by parliament, that the act of the 2nd of Queen Elizabeth in Ireland, and all other acts made against catholics or the catholic religion since the 20th year of King Henry VIII, may be repealed.

“7. That the bishoprics, deaneries, and all other spiritual promotions of this kingdom, and all friaries and nunneries, may be restored to the catholic owners, and likewise all impropriations of tithes; and that the sites, ambits, and precincts of the religious houses of the monks, may be restored to them; but as to the rest of their temporal possessions, it is not designed that they should be taken from the present proprietors, but that they should be left to them until God shall otherwise incline their own hearts.

“8. That those who are now titled catholic archbishops, bishops, abbots, or other dignitaries in this kingdom, by donation of the pope, may during their lives enjoy their spiritual promotions; with protestation, nevertheless, and other fit clauses to be laid down for preservation of his majesty's rights of patronage, first-fruits, and twentieth parts, in manner and quantity as his highness now receives benefit thereby.

“9. That all acquisitions taken since the year 1634, to entitle his majesty to Connaught, Thomond, Ormond, Eliogartie, Kilnemanagh, Duhera, Wincloe, and Idvagh, may be vacated, and their estates secured, according to his majesty's late graces.

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<sup>771</sup> That is, the 12th act passed during King Henry VII's reign.



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“10. That an act of parliament may pass here for securing the subjects’ title to their several estates against the crown, upon any title accrued to it before sixty years, or under color or pretext of the present commotions.

“11. That all plantations made since the year 1610, may be voided by parliament, if the parliament holds it just, and their possessions restored to them or their heirs from whom the same were taken, they nevertheless answering to the crown the proportionate rents and services reserved upon the undertakers, etc. etc.”

These and others are the means proposed by these catholic remonstrants, for reducing the kingdom to peace. These were the great obstructions they would have removed, and the constant counsel they would have followed, in settling the tranquility and present government of this land. So that we need seek no further evidence, nor make any more curious inquiries into the secret causes of their first uprising. We have enough here, out of their own mouths, to resolve the most scrupulous unbeliever of their first motives to this rebellion.

And now for the matter of *religion*. I am very confident that they ever really intended the re-establishment of the church of Rome, with all its rites and ceremonies, together with the extirpation of all persons of the reformed profession. Yet considering the large indulgence and free liberty they universally enjoyed at that time, in the full exercise of their religion throughout all the parts of the kingdom, it may be most justly suspected (however zealously they now obtrude it), that this was only a bare outward coverture. It was made use of by the principal undertakers to draw on a poor, ignorant, superstitious people, to sacrifice their lives in this quarrel. Neither can it ever be presumed by any reasonable man, that those persons who had no conscience about committing treason, and so many cruel murders, and all other kinds of abominable villainies which were not to be paralleled in any other country, could be drawn purely out of conscience towards God, to commit them in order to regain the free and public profession of their religion.

This certainly was no more the true and main cause of their taking up arms than the redress of their pretended grievances to which his majesty had condescended, and out of his inclinations for their present relief, had given much more satisfaction to their agents lately in England, than they could ever expect to receive or hope to enjoy in any other time. Yet we see how little effect those great graces had among them, which were brought over not more than two months before this rebellion broke out. For immediately after the return of their agents with them, this most detestable conspiracy, which had been long in hatching, began to work and be put into execution.

[1049] A.D. 1641.

And if we consider their main design and chief ends in this as they appear in their first principals, or if we give credit to the several speeches and writings that we meet with among the rebels at the very beginning of their outbreak, and also to several other testimonies that have since privately fallen from some particular persons among them — then we must believe that their design was clearly “to destroy and root out all the British and protestants planted within this kingdom, to cut off the sovereignty of the crown of England, and so deliver themselves from their long-continued subjection to the English nation.”

But to come to one main particular taken into debate by the prime movers and chief incendiaries in this horrid rebellion, they had a most serious consultation as to what course to take with most safety to themselves, for disburdening the kingdom of the English, who were planted among them in very great numbers. Some were of the opinion that they should

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spare their lives, so as not to render themselves guilty of spilling so much innocent blood; rather, they should seize their goods, expel them their habitations, and after banishing them out of the kingdom, proceed as the Spaniards did with the many thousands of Moors whom they cleared out of their dominions in a moment, as it were. There were others who much opposed this kind of lenity and moderation, remonstrating the high inconveniences which would inevitably redound to themselves by doing so.

- First, that the British were in such great numbers, that the Irish could not, either by disarming, imprisoning, or any other means possible, ever hope to secure them from mischief.
- That if they only expelled them out of the Irish kingdom, they would remain as so many fit instruments to be entertained in England, and from there return full of revengeful thoughts to recover their losses;
- That by their long experience and knowledge in the country, they would be better guides, more deeply engaged to prosecute the war; and
- That having their bodies inured to this climate, they would prove much more able soldiers than any new men who could be raised, or brought over in any other ways.

How they determined this particular, I will not undertake to declare. My intelligence fails me, and I am able to deliver no more of the result of this great council, than appears in the bloody effects and horrid executions acted out in the beginnings of their rebellion. It is most probable that they came to no positive conclusion, but left the chief actors in this particular at large, to do as seemed good to themselves. We find their first proceedings and outrages committed upon the English various, and much differing in several places. Some only stripped and expelled them; others murdered man, woman, and child, without mercy.

But this is certain, and of most unquestionable truth, that “by one means or other, they resolved universally to root all the British and protestants out of Ireland.” And that “these were the first thoughts and bitter fruits of their long-premeditated, malicious intentions,” sufficiently appears by their actions, as well as by their virulent expressions uttered upon their first rising, when they thought the kingdom was their own. They then said openly that, “they meant to destroy the English, and they made a covenant that no Englishman should set foot among them.” Some of the Irish would not endure the very sound of that language, but would have penalties inflicted upon those who spoke English, and have all the English names of places changed into the old Irish denominations. Others professed that they would not leave an English man or woman alive in the kingdom, but that all should be gone; no, nor so much as an English beast, nor any breed of them. James Hallegan, the priest, read an excommunication in the church, which he alleged came from their great Irish metropolitan, and terrifying his parishioners with it, he told them that, “from that day forth, whoever harbored or relieved any Scot, Englishman, or Welshman, or gave them alms at their doors, should be excommunicated.” By this means, Master Sacheverel testified in his examination, many were starved and died for want in those parts.

We have it from Master Creighton, a reverend minister, one long-detained prisoner within the county of Cavan, that the friars exhorted the people with tears to spare none of the English; that the Irish were resolved to destroy them out of the kingdom; that they would devour (as their very word was) the seed of the English out of Ireland; and when they had rid them there, they would go over into England, and not leave the memorial of the English name under heaven.

The Irish, in many places, killed English cows and sheep merely because they were English. In some places they cut off their legs, or took out a piece of their buttocks, and so let them

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remain alive. The Lord Montgarrat, Master Edward Butler, the Baron of Logmouth, went with their forces into Munster about the beginning of the rising of the Irish there, and while they remained about Callen and Mallow, they consumed no less than 50,000 (others say 100,000) English sheep, beside a great abundance of English cattle. And what they could not eat, they yet killed and left in great multitudes, stinking, to the great annoyance of the country. This was testified by Henry Champart in his examination taken before Sir Robert Meredith, knt., etc.

James Shaw, a minister, deposes that,

“After the cessation, diverse of the rebels confessed, that the priests had given them the sacrament on condition that they would not spare man, woman, or child who were protestants; and that he heard diverse of them say, in a bragging manner, that it did them a great deal of good to wash their hands in the blood of the protestants whom they had slain.”  
Jurat. Jan. 7, 1641.

Thomas Johnson, vicar of Tullah, of the county of Mayo deposes that,

“He heard Stephen Linoli, prior of Strade, being asked if it were not lawful to kill this deponent, because he would not go to mass? Answered that, ‘It was as lawful for them to kill him, as to kill a sheep or a dog.’ And several of the rebel soldiers told him to his face, that they would no more care to kill him, than they would a pig.”

John Addis, of the county of Westmeath, deposes that,

“Robert Magohugan, priest, said to this deponent, that it was no more pity nor conscience to take Englishmen’s lives or goods from them, than to take a bone out of a dog’s mouth.” Jurat. July 21, 1642.

And so fond and vain were their imaginations, and they had grown to such a height of madness, that they could not terminate their thoughts in the reduction of Ireland under the power of their own nation. But, as soon as they had begun their rebellion there, they spoke confidently, in all places, of transporting their arms into England; that they would send 150,000 men over into that kingdom, and that they would draw in foreign auxiliaries there to join with them — and so, by a high hand, establish the free exercise of the Romish religion within that kingdom. This was certainly a design which the priests and Jesuits had taken up in their own thoughts, and by their correspondences abroad, they intended to powerfully bring it about as soon as they had settled their affairs in Ireland.

Thus we see what were the causes and first motives to this unnatural rebellion; and likewise who were the chief actors and the great instruments designed by the first plotters, to pre-dispose the people to a readiness to take arms for rooting out the British inhabitants from among them. All the preparations being made, and the plot in all points being ripe for execution, it was carried on without discovery, to the very evening before the day appointed for taking the castle of Dublin. And though it pleased God to then bring it to light (as it has been declared), and so, happily to disappoint it in the main piece, yet it took effect in the northern parts, being fully executed that very day in most of the chief places of strength within the province of Ulster.

Whereas the priests long before, in their public devotions at mass, prayed for a blessing upon the great design they had in hand, so now (as I heard they did in many places the very day before this rebellion broke out) they dismissed people at mass, with free liberty to go out and take possession of all the lands which they pretended were unjustly detained from them by the English; and also to strip, rob, and despoil them of all their goods and cattle.

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[1050] A.D. 1641.

Without doubt, they had determined by one means or other (either by private or public instructions), not to leave to the English anything that might afford the least comfort or hope of longer subsistence among them.

This was the main bait used to draw on the common people. And this wrought far more powerfully than all other persuasions, fictions, or wild chimeras that they infused into them. It is most apparent that the principal gentlemen in all parts, as well as their clergy, pressed them on to despoil the English of all their goods and cattle, well knowing their avaricious temperament and greedy desires to get them into their possession. And they knew they could not possibly find any other thing that would engage them more readily to undertake, or more desperately execute all manner of villainies, than the hopes of enjoying so rich a prey as was now presented to them.

The people now being set at liberty from the restraints of conscience, and prepossessed by their priests with a belief that it was lawful for them to rise up and destroy all the protestants — who they were told were worse than dogs; that they were devils, and served the devil; and were assured that killing them was a meritorious act, as well as a preservative against the pains of purgatory — gathered themselves together in great numbers. They assembled in several companies throughout the several parts of the northern counties, with staves, scythes, and pitchforks (for at first they did not have many better weapons). And so, in a most confused manner, they began tumultuously at first, only to drive away the cattle belonging to the English; but then to break into their houses and seize their goods.

John Parry of Druermosh, in the county of Armagh, deposes that,

“O’Cullan, a priest, told his auditors at mass, that the bodies of those who died in this quarrel would not be cold before their souls ascended into heaven, and that they would be free from the pains of purgatory.”

Margaret Bromley, in her examination, deposes that,

“Some of the rebels would say, after their cruel butcheries, that they knew if they were now to die, their souls would go to heaven, and that they were glad of the revenge they had taken of the English.”

It is true there were some murders committed on the very first day of their uprising, and some houses were set on fire; but these, I conceive, were for the most part out of private spleen, or where they had particular instructions to do so — as they had from the Lord Mac Guire to kill Master Arthur Champion, a justice of the peace in the county of Fermanagh. He; with several of his neighbors, were murdered at his own house on the 23rd of October, in the morning.

But certainly what which they mainly intended at first, and what they most busily employed themselves about, was driving away the Englishmen’s cattle, and taking possession of their goods. The common people were not the only actors in this, but even the chief gentlemen of the Irish most openly appeared in many places, and under plausible pretenses of securing their goods from the rapine and spoil of the common people, got much goods peaceably into their hands. So confident were the English of the good dealing of the Irish at first, that many delivered their goods by retail to them, and gave them particular inventories of all they had. Indeed, they dug up the best things that they had hidden underground, to deposit in their custody. Much likewise, they received fair promises and solemn engagements to do them no further mischief, or to allow them, their wives and children, to quietly retire and leave the

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country. But others, especially the meaner sort of people, fell more rudely to work at first, breaking up the houses of the English, and using all manner of force and violence to make themselves masters of their goods.

And having thus seized all their goods and cattle, ransacked their houses, and gotten their persons under their power, the next thing they did was to strip man, woman, and child, many of them naked. And so they turned them out of their own doors, not permitting them, in some places, to so much as shelter themselves under bushes, or in the woods. And they strictly prohibited all the Irish, under great penalties, to entertain them or give any kind of relief as they passed by on the highways. And certainly their design in this most manifestly appears to have been no other, than that all those whom they could not lay their hands on and cruelly murder in cold blood, might miserably perish by themselves through cold, nakedness, and want. And therefore, as fast as any of them, so stripped, got old rags to cover their nakedness, they endeavored to strip them again and again, as it appears by the examination of John Gourley. He and his wife deposed that,

“Some were stripped twice, some thrice. As fast as they could get any old rags to cover their nakedness, the next Irishwomen, or even the children that met them, would take them off.”

“When their house, together with the town of Armagh, were set on fire by the rebels, she was stripped of her clothes seven separate times after she got her clothes off. At length they did not leave her so much as her smock or hair lace. She got to a place, and hid herself in a hutch for three or four days. Afterward she went to find her children, two of which had the small-pox visibly upon them.” — Jurat. November 8, 1642.

How infallibly this course succeeded, and how surely they compassed their devilish ends by this, is only too well known. The English left sufficient monuments in the highways as they passed, as well as the towns in which they arrived, of the dismal mortality it bred among them. And to fuller satisfy anyone who doubts it, I thought it fit to insert the two ensuing examinations.

James Redferne, of the county of Londonderry, deposes that,

“In the town of Coleraine, since the rebellion began, of the robbed and stripped people who fled there for succor, many hundreds died, besides those of the town who had anciently dwelt there. The mortality was such, and so great, that many thousands died in two days. And the living, though scarcely able to do it, laid the carcasses of those dead persons in great ranks, into vast and wide holes, laying them as close and thick as if they had been packing up herrings together.”

Magdalen Redman, late of the Dowris in the King’s county, widow, being sworn and examined, deposes and says that,

“This deponent, and diverse other protestant neighbors, and among the rest, twenty-two widows, after they were all robbed, were also stripped naked. And then, covering themselves in a house with straw, the rebels then and there lit the straw with fire, and threw it among them, to burn them on purpose. They would have been burned or smothered there, if some of the rebels, more pitiful than the rest, had not commanded these cruel rebels to forbear, so that they escaped. Yet the rebels kept and drove them naked into the woods from Tuesday until Saturday, in frost and snow, so as the snow unmelted, lay long upon some of their skins; some of their children died in their arms. And when, as this deponent and the rest endeavored to go to the Birr for refuge, the cruel rebels turned them back again, saying they should go towards

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Dublin;<sup>772</sup> and when they endeavored to go towards Dublin they stopped them again, and said they should go to the Birr; and so they tossed them to and fro. Yet at length, those of these poor stripped people who did not die before they got away from the hands of the rebels, escaped to the Birr, where they were harbored and relieved by one William Parsons, esq. Yet of those stripped persons, about forty men, women, and children died there at the Birr. And this deponent, and those other stripped people who survived, lived miserably at the Birr, until with the rest, they had quarter (safe passage) to come from there to Dublin.”

Jur. 7th March, 1642.

JOHN WATSON. WILLIAM ALDRIDGE.”

Isabel, the widow of Christopher Porter, late of Dowris in the King’s county, being sworn and examined, deposes and says in all the particulars above-mentioned, as Magdalen Redman said, previously examined, being her neighbor.

[1051] A.D. 1641.

*Some of the most notorious cruelties and barbarous murders  
committed by the Irish Rebels, attested upon oath,  
as they appear in several Examinations annexed here.*

In these poor people, we may behold in large letters, as it were, the miseries of all those multitudes of men, women, and children in all parts of the kingdom, who were thus inhumanly stripped, and so exposed to the same want, cold, and nakedness. “The mercies of the wicked are cruel.” <sup>Pro 12.10</sup> How bitter was their compassion toward all those British who thus suffered? How horrid, barbarous, and insupportable was the commiseration they thus expressed towards them? Yet these were, as the rebels told them at first, but the beginning of their sorrows. For when the northern rebels began to find their own strength, and that was partly by treachery and partly by force, they possessed themselves of all the chief places of strength in Ulster, disarmed the English, robbed them of their goods and cattle, stripped them of their clothes, and had their persons now under their power. And all this was without any considerable resistance made by the English. Then they could contain themselves no longer, but in a most fierce and outrageous manner, they furiously broke out, acting with most abominable cruelty in all places of that province. They committed such horrid massacres and execrable murders as would make any Christian ear tingle at the sad recital of them. Then the rebels began to appear in their own colors, and with great delight they satiated their ancient, implacable malice in their long wished-for and often plotted destruction of all the British inhabitants.

Within the county of Fermanagh, multitudes were killed in cold blood. Some were taken at the plough, others as they sat peaceably in their own houses, others travelling on the highways. All, without any manner of provocation by them given, were suddenly surprised and unexpectedly cut off.

At the castle of Lisgoole, within that county, over 150 men, women, and children were all consumed by fire. Thomas Wenstaw and John Simpson, of the county of Fermanagh, gentlemen, depose and say that,

“In the castle of Lisgoole, 152 men, women, and children were burnt or smothered when the said castle was set on fire; not more than two or three escaped.” — Jurat. Jan. 12, 1641.

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<sup>772</sup> The Birr is in Ireland’s Midlands, just south of the River Shannon. Dublin is 70 miles away.

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At the castle of Moneah, nearly 100 British were slain all together there. And the same bloody company of rebels were no sooner admitted into the castle of Tullagh (which was delivered into the hands of Roury Mac Guire <sup>773</sup> on composition and faithful promises of fair quarter), than within the very court, they began to strip the people, and most cruelly put them to the sword, murdering them all without mercy. Thomas Wenslaw deposes that,

“At the castle of Moneah, 90 protestants more were slain and murdered; and that the rebels marched from the castle of Moneah to the castle of Tullagh where, by their own confession, they promised those protestants who were there fair quarter. But, when the English had delivered up their arms and the castle, those rebels in the bawne <sup>774</sup> of the castle, first stripped them all of their clothes, and then and there most cruelly murdered them.”

Richard Bourke, bachelor in divinity, of the county of Fermanagh, deposes that,

“He heard and truly believes the burning and killing of at least 100 in the castle of Tullagh, and that the same was done after fair quarter was promised.” — Jurat. Jul. 12, 1643.

At Lissenskeah they hanged, or otherwise killed, over 100 persons, most of them of the Scottish nation. For once they had gotten the English in their power, they spared none of them, but used all the Scots with as much cruelty as they did the English. This country was very well planted by the British undertakers. And all of them and their tenants, in a very short space of time, in a most horrible manner, were quite destroyed or utterly banished from their habitations. In the counties of Armagh and Tyrone, where the British were much more numerous, and Sir Phelim O’Neale, and his brother, Turlough O’Neale, were the principal actors, the murders of the British were more numerous, and committed with greater cruelty, if that were possible, than in any other place.

“Roury Mac Guire, on the 24th of October 1641, came with his company to Lissenskeah, and desired, in a friendly manner, to speak with Master Middleton, who had the keeping of the castle. The first thing he did, as soon as he entered, was to burn the records of the county, of which Master Middleton was the keeper, being clerk of the peace. Mac Guire forced him to deliver those to him, and likewise £1000 which he had in his hands, belonging to Sir William Balfour. As soon as he had the money, Mac Guire compelled the said Middleton to hear mass, and to swear never to alter from it. Immediately after, he had Middleton, his wife, and his children hanged; and he hanged and murdered at least 100 persons besides, in that town. These particulars and several others were set down at large in a relation sent to me by Sir John Dunbarr, knt., one of the justices of the peace within the county of Fermanagh.”

There were 1000 men, women, and children carried out at several times, in several companies. They were all unmercifully drowned at the bridge of Portnedown; the bridge broke down in the middle of it. And so the rebels, driving and forcing the people on, threw them into the river. This number is deposed to in Dr. Maxwell’s examination, taken on the 22nd of August 1642.

As other relations give it, 4000 persons were drowned within the several parts of that county. The number of so many persons drowned within the county of Armagh is deposed to by Thomas Green and Elizabeth, his wife, as appears by their examinations, taken November 10, 1643.

The rebels, in a most barbarous manner, drove on many of those miserable stripped Christians to the place of their sufferings, like swine. And if any were slack in their pace,

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<sup>773</sup> That is, Colonel Rory Maguire (1619-1648).

<sup>774</sup> *Bawne*: an enclosure or courtyard, often fortified, surrounding a castle or tower house.

#### IV. The Irish Rebellion of 1641

they sometimes pricked them forwards with their swords and pikes, often hastening on the rest, either by killing or wounding some of their fellows on the way. William Gierke, of the county of Armagh, a tanner, says that,

“He with 100 men, women, and children, or thereabouts, were driven by the rebels like hogs, about six miles, to a river called the Band. In this space of time, the aforesaid protestants were most barbarously used, by forcing them with swords and pikes to go fast, thrusting them into their sides. They murdered three along the way, and the rest they drove to the aforesaid river, and there forced them to go onto the bridge, which was then cut down. With their pikes, swords, and other weapons, they thrust them down headlong into the river, and immediately they perished. Those who tried to swim to the shore, the rebels stood and shot at them.” — Jurat. Jan. 7, 1641.

Mary, the wife of Ralph Corne, deposes that 180 English were taken by the Irish, and driven like cattle from Castle Cumber to Athy.

Other companies they carried out under pretense of giving them safe conduct out of the country. And so they got them to go cheerfully on by virtue of Sir Phelim O’Neale’s pass, until they came to some place fit for their execution. Elizabeth, the wife of Captain Rue Price, of the town and county of Armagh, deposes that,

“Five of her children, together with 110 other protestants out of the parishes of Armagh, Laugaule, and other places, were sent away with passes from Sir Phelim O’Neale, with promise to be safely conveyed over to their friends in England. Their conductor was Capt. Manus O’Cane and his soldiers. Having brought, or rather driven them like sheep or beasts, to the bridge of Portnedown, they forced or threw all those poor prisoners into the water, together with the deponent’s five children, and then and there drowned most of them.”

And if they did not drown them, they had some prepared to shoot, or knock down with poles, any who could swim, or used any other means to escape out of the water.

[1052] A.D. 1641.

“And those who could swim and came to the shore, they either knocked them on the head, and so drowned them after, or else shot them to death in the water.” — Jurat. Jan. 29, 1641.

Among many others, a gentlewoman whose name was Mrs. Cambell, being forcibly brought by them to the river, and finding no means to escape their fury, she suddenly clasped her arms about one of the chief rebels who was most eager to thrust her into the water, and (as I find it credibly related upon oath) carried him to the bottom with her; and so they were both drowned together. James Shaw, of Market Hill, in the county of Armagh, deposes the manner of Mistress Cambell’s pulling the rebel into the water, and how he was drowned with her. — Jurat. Aug. 14, 1642.

The cathedral church and town of Armagh were burnt, many towns were laid waste, and all the fair plantations made by the British were left desolate. In some parishes, two hundred families were murdered and destroyed. The whole county, as it were, was made a common butchery. And through all parts of it, many thousands perished in a short time, by sword, famine, fire, water, and all other cruel deaths that rage and malice could invent. Captain Parkin deposes that,

“Sir Phelim O’Neale, fleeing from Dundalk, went to Armagh, where he began his bloody massacres, causing Manus O’Cane to get together all the protestants who were left thereabouts, to conduct them to Coleraine. But before they were scarcely a day’s journey from him, they were all murdered. And so were several others, by special direction from Sir Phelim



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O'Neale and his brother Turlagh, notwithstanding that they had received promises of being protected by them. All the aged people in Armagh were carried away by the same directions, but afterwards murdered at Charlemont. And shortly after, his brother and he, with other adherents, maliciously set on fire the cathedral church and town of Armagh, and murdered and drowned 500 persons there, young and old. At the parish of Killyman, 48 families were then murdered by directions from Sir Phelim, though the families had remained protected by him for three quarters of a year." Jurat. March 8, 1643.

Jane Grace, the wife of Nicholas Grace, late of Kilmore, in the county of Armagh, deposes that,

"There were twenty-two English protestants burned in one house, within two miles of Kilmore; and that the rebels stripped, killed, or murdered all or most of the English of that parish, which consisted of two hundred families. They set many in the stocks until they confessed where their money was concealed, and when they could get no more, the rebels then murdered them."

But before I leave this subject, I will pass a little further, and present here a brief collection of some other horrid, inhuman cruelties which I find were used in the murdering of many poor innocent souls. They are taken from some examinations under oath, which I have perused. To many, these rebels showed so much favor as to suddenly dispatch them out of their pain, by no means allowing them leave nor time to make their prayers. For others, they considered a sudden death too easy a punishment. Therefore they imprisoned some in filthy dungeons, full of dirt and mire, and there, clapping bolts on their heels, they allowed them to perish at leisure. Others they barbarously mangled, and left languishing on the highways, crying out only for so much mercy as to be delivered from their pain. Edward Saltinglass, of the county of Armagh, gent., deposes that,

"George Lawlis, a rebel of the said county, resolving to kill John Cowder, told him he would kill him, but bid him first to say his prayers; whereupon the said Cowder kneeling down to pray, the said Lawlis instantly cut off his head as he was on his knees." Jurat. June 1, 1642.

Elizabeth Price deposes,

"Then, when as diverse of the English were about to be murdered, and desired the rebels on their knees first to allow them to make their prayers to God, the rebels have often, in her, the deponent's hearing in Irish, answered and said, 'Bequeath your soul to the devil.' And at other times the rebels would say, 'Why should you pray? Your soul is with the devil already.' With those words in their mouths, they would slaughter and put them to death." Jurat, ut supra.

Edward Bankes, of Cashell, in the county of Tipperary, cleric, deposes that,

"The rebels there, on the first day of January, killed 15 men and women, all English protestants, at Cashell; and that they entered and took the town, and having it, that they took this deponent, and other clergymen, and then and there had them put into the dungeon, where they continued twelve weeks in most miserable slavery." Jurat. April 21, 1642.

Jonn Cregge, in the county of Armagh, yeoman, deposes that,

"In the parish of Levilegish, there were diverse Englishmen cruelly murdered; some twice, some thrice, hanged up, and others wounded and left half dead, crying out lamentably for some to come and end their miseries by killing of them." Jurat. Jan. 7, 1641.

Others they buried alive, a manner of death they used for several British in many places. William Parkinson, of Castle Cumber, in the county of Kilkenny, gent., deposes that,

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“By the credible report both of English and some Irish, who affirmed they were eye witnesses of a bloody murder committed near Kilieale, in the Queen’s county, upon an Englishman, his wife, four or five children, and a maiden. All of which were hanged by the command of Sir Morgan Cavanah and Robert Harpoole, and afterwards all put in one hole. The youngest child, not being fully dead, put out his hand and cried mammy! mammy! upon which, without mercy, they buried him alive.” Jurat. Feb. 11, 1642.

Some had ropes put about their necks, and so were drawn through the water; some had willows, and so were drawn up and down through woods and bogs; others were hung up, and taken down, and hung up again several times, and all to make them confess where their money was hidden, which as soon as they had told, the rebels then dispatched them out of the way. Edward Saltingstone, of the county of Armagh, gent., deposes that,

“Manus O’Caue, Bryan O’Kelly, Shane O’Neile, Neile Oge O’Neile, gent., took William Blundell, of Grange, in the county of Armagh, yeoman, and put a rope about his neck, and threw him into the Blackwater at Charlemount, and drew him up and down the water to make him confess his money, who thereupon gave him £21. Yet, within three weeks after, he, his wife, and seven children, were drowned by the rebels.”

“That Samuel Law, of Grenan, in the parish of Armagh, was, by the said Neile Oge O’Neile, and others, brought to a wood, and that there they then put a willow about his neck, and so drew him up and down by the neck, until he was glad to promise them £10.” Jurat. ut supra.

Margaret Ferineny, in the county of Fermanath, deposes that,

“The rebels bound her and her husband’s hands behind them, to make them confess their money, and dragged them up and down by a rope, and cut his throat in her own sight with a skain (scimitar), having first knocked him down and stripped him; and that, being an aged woman of seventy-five years old, as she came up to Dublin afterwards, she was stripped by the Irish seven times in one day; the rebels bidding them go and look for their God, and bid him give them clothes.” Jurat.

Others were hung up by the arms; and with many slashes and cuts, they experimented with their swords how many blows an Englishman would endure before he died. Edward Wilson, of the county of Monaghan, deposes that,

“Among other cruelties used by the rebels to the English, they hung up some by the arms, and then hacked them with their swords, to see how many blows they could endure before they died.” Jurat.

Some they ripped up, and left them with their bowels hanging out. Anne, the wife of Mervin Madesley, lately of the city of Kilkenny, gent., sworn and examined, deposes that,

“Some of the rebels, in Kilkenny aforesaid, struck and beat a poor English woman until she was forced into a ditch, where she died; those barbarous rebels having first ripped up her child, of about six years of age.” Jurat.

[1053] A.D.1642.

James Geare, of the county of Monaghan, deposes that,

“The rebels at Clownis murdered one James Netterville, proctor to the minister there, whom they first wounded in several parts, and then mangled his body in a most revolting manner; and thus they barbarously used him after they had induced him to go to mass with them.” Jurat. April 6, 1642.

Owen Frankland, of the city of Dublin, deposes, that Michael Garray told this deponent,

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“There was a Scotchman, who, being driven by the rebels out of the Newry, and knocked on the head by the Irish, recovered himself, and came again into the town naked; whereupon the rebels carried him and his wife out of the town, cut him all to pieces; and murdered his wife, though great with child.” Jurat. July 21, 1642.

But this horrid kind of cruelty was principally reserved by these inhuman monsters for women, whose sex they neither pitied nor spared, hanging up several women, many of them pregnant, whom they inhumanly mutilated; a course they ordinarily took with those they found in that condition. At Ballimcolough, within four miles of the city of Rosse, in April 1642, John Stone, of the Graige, his son, his two sons-in-law, and his two daughters, were hanged. One of his daughters then being pregnant, they treated her in such a barbarous manner, as is not fit to be mentioned.

And sometimes they gave their children to swine. Philip Taylor, late of Portnedowne, deposes that,

“The rebels killed a dyer’s wife, of Rossetrever, at the Newry, and ripped her up, she being pregnant with two children, and threw her and her children into a ditch; and that he, this deponent, drove away swine from eating one of the children.” Jurat.

Some infants the dogs ate. John Montgomery, of the county of Monaghan, sworn and examined, says that,

“One Brian Mac Erony, ringleader of the rebels in the county of Fermanagh, killed Ensign Floyd, Robert Worknum, and four of their servants, one of which being wounded, though not to death, they buried alive. As also, that he was credibly informed that the daughter-in-law of one Foard, in the parish of Clownis, being delivered of a child in the fields, the rebels, who had formerly killed her husband and father, killed her and two of her children, and allowed the dogs to eat up and devour her new-born child.’ Jurat. June 26, 1641.

And some infants they cast into ditches. Katherine, the widow of William Coke, of the county of Armagh, carpenter, deposes that,

“The rebels of the said county robbed, stripped, and murdered a great company of protestants, some by burning, some by the sword, some by hanging, and the rest by starving, and other deaths. And this deponent, to shun their rage, and save her poor life, hid herself in a ditch of water, and sat there among high rushes so long, that she was almost frozen and starved to death, and then crawled away secretly.”

“Some of the rebels who escaped and fled from the battle of Lisnagarnay, meeting one Mrs. Howard, and Mrs. Frankland, both great with child, and six of their children with them, those rebels then and there with their pikes killed and murdered them all. And after opening the women, took out their infants, one of them being alive, and threw them into a ditch in the sight of Jane, this deponent’s daughter, who escaped because she spoke Irish, and said she was an Irishwoman.” Jurat. Feb.

And as for suckling children, and others of a riper age, some had their brains knocked out. James Steven, son, cleric, of the county of Leitrim, deposes that,

“The rebels there took Isabel Stevenson, a young child, left at Fostering, with one Hugh Mac Arran, and, inquiring whose child it was, they told him it was a Scotchman’s child; whereupon they took the child by the heels, and ran and beat the brains of it out against a tree.” Jurat. April 20, 1643.

Some they cut in gobbets and pieces. John Stubbs, of the county of Longford, gent., deposes that,

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“He heard, by some of the sheriff’s men, that Henry Mead and his wife, John Bigel, William Stell, and Daniel Stubbs, the deponent’s brother, were put to death by Lisagh Farrol’s, and Oliver Fitz Gerald’s men, who hung them upon a windmill, and when they were half dead, they cut them to pieces with their skains.” Jurat. November 21, 1641.

Elizabeth Price, deposes that,

“A great number of poor protestants, especially of women and children, they pricked and stabbed with their skains, pitchforks, and swords, and would slash, mangle, and cut them in their heads, breasts, faces, arms, and other parts of the body, but not kill them outright; but leave them wallowing in their blood, to languish, starve, and pine to death. And whereas, if those so mangled, desired their persecutors to kill them out of their pain, they would deny it; but sometimes, after a day or two, they would dash out their brains with stones, or by some other cruel way, which they accounted done as a favor; of which she has in many particulars been an eyewitness.” Jurat. June 29, 1641.

Others they ripped up alive. William Parkinson, of Kilkenny, esq., deposes that,

“The wife of John Harvey told him that she, being at Kilkenny, and having there turned to mass to save her life, was notwithstanding stripped again, together with her children. And one Purcell, a butcher, after he had stripped her daughter, five years of age, ripped up her body till her entrails fell out, from which she died that night. The mother complaining of this to the mayor of Kilkenny, he bid away with her and dispatch her; so that not only the butcher, but many others beat and wounded her, so as she hardly escaped with her life.” Jurat, ut supra.

Some were found in the fields, sucking the breasts of their murdered mothers. Others lay stifled in vaults and cellars. Elizabeth Champion, late wife of Arthur Champion, in the county of Fermanagh, esq., deposes that,

“When the castle of Lisgoole, was set on fire by the rebels, a woman, leaping out of a window to save herself from burning, was murdered by the rebels; next morning her child was found sucking her breast, and was also murdered by them.” Jurat. April 6, 1642.

Multitudes of men, women, and children were found drowned, cast into ditches, bogs, and turf pits; the ordinary sepultures (burial grounds) of the British nation. Thousands died of cold and want in all parts of the country, being neither permitted to depart, nor relieved where they were forced to stay. John Duffield, of the county of Armagh, gent., deposes that,

“The rebels wounded John Ward and Richard Duffield, so as they died of it, and that their wives and the said John’s six children, all being stripped, died of want and cold... and that many thousands of protestants, men, women, and children, being stripped of their clothes died also, of cold and want in several parts of the country.” Jurat. Aug. 9, 1642.

Multitudes were enclosed in houses, which being set on fire, they were most miserably consumed. Some were dragged out of their sick beds to the place of execution. Catherine Madeson, of the county of Fermanagh, deposes that,

“They drew some, lying sick of fevers, out of their beds, and hanged them; and that they drove before them, 16 men, women, and children, and drowned them in a boggy pit, knocking those on the head with poles who endeavored to get out.”

Jane, the wife of Gabriel Constable, late of Drumcad, in the county of Armagh, gent., sworn, and examined, says that,

“Her husband and his mother, about eighty, eight years old, and his brother, being murdered by the rebels, in the parish of Kilmore, that a great number of protestants were, about Candlemas 1641, by the means and instigation of Joan Hamskin (formerly a protestant, but a

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native Irishwoman, and lately turned to mass), and of diverse other assistants of her, forced and thrust into a thatched house, within the parish of Kilmore; and then and there (the protestants, being almost naked, covered only with rags), the same house was, by that bloody woman and her barbarous assistants, set on fire in several parts of it, the poor imprisoned parties (who were kept locked in there by armed parties) were miserably burned to death.

[1054] A.D. 1641.

“At length the house fell upon them; and the combustible part of the house being consumed, before the bodies of all those miserable wretches were burned to ashes, the bodies of many of them lay there in holes, to the great terror of the beholders who were protestants; only three escaped out of a hole of the house; and the rest who attempted to escape the flames, were then and there forced and thrown in again, and so burned to death.” Jurat. June 16, 1642.

Children were forced to carry their aged parents to the places designed for their slaughter. Thomas Green, in the parish of Dumcres, in the county of Armagh, yeoman, and Elizabeth his wife, sworn and examined, says that,

“The deponent, Thomas Green, hardly escaped with his life, but that the other deponent and six children were all left among the rebels, stripped of their clothes, and deprived of food, so that five of the children died; and she, this deponent, being put to beg among the merciless rebels, was at length rescued from them by the Scottish array.”

“That the rebels drowned 17 men, women, and children in a bog, at one time, within the said parish; and she is truly persuaded that the rebels, at several times and places within the county of Armagh, drowned over 4000 protestants, forcing the sons and daughters of those very aged people who were not able to go themselves, to take them out of their beds and houses, and carry them to be drowned, especially in the river of Toll, in the parish of Logball.” Jurat. November 10, 1643.

No indeed, some children were compelled most unnaturally to be the executioners of their own parents, wives to help to hang their husbands, mothers to cast their own children into the water; and yet, after these forced acts (which, no doubt, were performed out of hope and assurance to have their own lives saved), were always murdered.

John Rutledge deposes that,

“Such were the barbarous and inhuman cruelties of the rebels, that sometimes they forced the wife to kill the husband, the son to kill the father, and the daughter to kill the mother, and then they would hang or put to death the last bloodshedder.”

“That, of his knowledge, the rebels in the town of Sligo, forced one Lewes the younger, to kill his father, and then hanged the son. And in Mogue, in the county of Mayo, the rebels forced one Simon Leper’s wife to kill her husband, then had her son kill her, and then they hanged the son.”

Dennis Kelly, of the county of Meath, deposes that,

“Garret Tallon, of Cruisetown, in the said county, gent., as it is commonly reported, hired two men to kill Ann Hagely, wife to Edward Tallon, his son, a papist, and at that time absent from home; and the said two men, in a most bloody manner, with skains, killed the said Ann Hagely and her daughter, and her daughter’s two children, because they would not consent to go to mass. And after they had killed them, they would not permit them to be buried in a church or churchyard; but the four were buried in a ditch.” Jurat. August 23, 1643.

A minister was stripped stark-naked, and driven like a beast through the town of Cashel:

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“At Cashel, in Munster, besides many ministers which they hanged there in a most barbarous manner, they stripped one naked, and drove him through the town, pricking him forward with darts and rapiers, and so pursuing him till he fell down dead.” Jurat. February 24, 1643.

A company of men, women, and children, were put into a house, to which the rebels set fire. Christian Stanhaw, the widow of Henry Stanhaw, late of the county of Armagh, esq., deposes that,

“A woman who formerly lived at Langoule, absolutely informed this deponent, that the rebels forced a great number of protestants, men, women, and children, into a house, which they purposely set on fire to burn them, and when any of them offered to come out, to shun the fire, the wicked rebels with scythes, which they had in their hands, cut them in pieces, and cast them into the fire, and burned them with the rest.” Jurat. July 23, 1642.

Neither did these horrible tortures to which they put these poor innocent protestants, slack their fury. Their malice towards them did not terminate with their lives, But after so many separate bloody ways and cruel inventions with which they rent their souls from their wretched bodies, even to their dead carcasses in some places, they denied all manner of burial. Others they left to be devoured by dogs and swine. Thomas Green, and Elizabeth his wife, depose that,

“The rebels at several times murdered, killed, and destroyed most of the protestants in the parish of Dumcres, being about 300; and indeed most of the protestants in all the country thereabouts they killed and destroyed by drowning, hanging, and burning; also by the sword, by starving, and other deaths, exposing their slaughtered bodies to be devoured by dogs, swine, and other ravenous creatures. And this deponent, Elizabeth, saw the dogs feed upon those dead carcasses.” Jurat. November 10, 1643.

It is not possible to recollect, or express, the wickedness of their mischievous inventions, or the horror of their bloody executions of the English, accompanied with all kinds of tortures that might aggravate the height of their cruelty towards them.

Alas! who can comprehend the fears, terrors, anguish, bitterness, and perplexity of their souls, the despairing passions and consternations of their minds! What strange, amazed thoughts it must raise in their sad hearts, to find themselves so suddenly surprised without remedy, and inextricably wrapped up in all kind of outward miseries which could possibly by man be inflicted upon any human creatures! What sighs, groans, trembling, astonishment! What shrieks, cries, and bitter lamentations of wives and children, friends and servants weeping about them, all finding themselves without any manner of hope or deliverance from their present misery and pain! How inexorable were their barbarous tormentors that encompassed them on every side, without any bowels of compassion, any sense of their sufferings, or the least commiseration and pity, the common comforters of men in misery!

Whoever seriously weighs these particulars will not much wonder that such great numbers of British and protestants were destroyed in so short a time, after the rebellion first broke out, as Master Cunningham deposes in his examination. There he says that,

“The account of the persons killed by the rebels, from the time of the beginning of the rebellion, Oct. 23, 1641, unto the month of April following was, as the priests weekly gave it in their several parishes, 105,000.” Jurat. April 22, 1641.

John Shaw, a minister, deposes that,

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“After the cessation made with the Irish, diverse of them confessed the priests had given them the sacrament on condition that they would not spare man, woman, or child, who were protestants; and that he heard many of them say, in a bragging manner, that it did them much good to wash their hands in the blood of the protestants whom they had slain.” Jurat. January 7, 1643.

When the castle of Lisgoole was set on fire by the rebels, and so many British were consumed in the flames, as mentioned before, those mischievous villains who had done this wicked act, cried out with much joy, ‘How sweetly they fry!’ —

[1055] A.D. 1641.

Elizabeth Champion deposes that,

“When the rebels had set the castle of Lisgoole on fire, upon the protestants there enclosed, and saw the said house so burning, they said among themselves rejoicingly, oh, how sweetly they fry!” Jurat, ut supra.

How the inhabitants of Kilkenny (a city planted with old English, where civility and good manners seemed to flourish) solaced and pleased themselves in most unchristianly abusing the heads of a minister and six other protestants, brought into that town in a kind of triumph! —

William Lucas, of the city of Kilkenny, deposes that,

“Although he lived in the town till about five or six weeks past, in which time, he is assured, many murders and cruel acts were committed, yet he dared not go abroad to see any of them. But he confidently believes that the rebels, having brought seven heads of protestants, of which one was the head of Master Bingham, a minister, they then and there, as triumphs of their victory, set them upon the market cross, on a market day, and that the rebels slashed, stabbed and mangled those heads; put a gag, or carrot in the said Master Bingham’s mouth, slit up his cheeks to his ears, laying a leaf of a bible before him, and bid him preach, ‘for his mouth was wide enough;’ and after they had so solaced themselves, they threw those heads into a hole in St. James’s Green.” Jurat. August 16, 1643.

But it is no wonder that they carried themselves in this barbarous manner toward these poor innocent Christians, when they did not spare to most fearfully vent their rage against their Maker. What open, hellish, blasphemies were uttered by these wicked miscreants? With what indignation and reproach did they tear and trample under their feet the sacred word of God?

Edward Deane, of Ocrum, in the county of Wicklow, tanner, deposes that,

“The Irish rebels made a proclamation, that all English men and women who did not depart the country within twenty-four hours, would be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and that the Irish houses that kept any of the English children would be burned... The said rebels burnt two protestant bibles, and then said that it was hell-fire that burnt.” Jurat. Jan. 7, 1641.

John Kerdiff, cleric of the county of Tyrone, deposes, *inter alia*, that

“Friar Malone, of Skerries, took the poor men’s bibles which he found in the boat, and cut them in pieces, and cast them into the fire, with these words, “That he would deal in like manner with all protestant and Puritan bibles.”” Jurat. Feb. 28, 1641.

Henry Fisher, of Powerscourt, in the county of Wicklow, deposes that,

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“The rebels entered the parish church at Powerscourt, and burned up the pews, pulpits, chests, and bibles belonging to the said church, with extreme violence and triumph, and expressing hatred toward religion.” Jurat. Jan 2.5, 1641.

Adam Clover, of Slonosie, in the county of Cavan, duly sworn, deposes that,

“James O’Rely, Hugh Brady, and other rebels, often took into their hands the protestant bibles and, wetting them in the dirty water five or six separate times, dashed the same on the face of this deponent and other protestants, saying, ‘Come, I know you love a good lesson; here is an excellent one for you. Come tomorrow, and you will have as good a sermon as this;’ and used other scornful and disgraceful words to them.

“That, dragging many protestants by the hair of the head, and in other cruel manner, into the church, they there stripped, robbed, whipped, and most cruelly used them, saying, ‘If you come tomorrow, you will hear the like sermon.’” Jurat. Jan. 4, 1641.

Edward Slacke, of Gusteen, in the county of Fermanagh, cleric, deposes that,

“One of the rebels there took his bible, opened it, and, laying the open side in a puddle of water, leaped and trampled upon it, saying, ‘A plague on it! This bible has bred all the quarrel; and that he hoped within a few weeks all the bibles in Ireland should be used as that was, or worse, and that none should be left in the kingdom.’” Jurat. Jan. 4, 1641.

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But I will not here touch any further upon those who died thus gloriously. This will be a worthy work for some more able pen to undertake. If we take a survey of the primitive times, and look into the sufferings of the first Christians who suffered under the tyranny and cruel persecutions of those heathenish emperors, we certainly will not find any one kingdom, though of a far larger extent, where more Christians suffered, or more unparalleled cruelties were enacted in many years upon them, than were in Ireland, within the first two months after this rebellion broke out. And however some, by outward inflictions and tortures, were drawn to profess the change of their religion, and presently had their reward (for many of those who did so, were suddenly dispatched by their persecutors with great scorn, saying, “It was fit to send them out of the world in that good mood”), yet I dare say, we will find many of those who were thus cruelly put to death, to have been equal to some of those ancient worthies for their patience, constancy, courage, and magnanimity in their sufferings, not accepting deliverance, but triumphing over and insulting, with their last breath, the insolence, rage, and malice of their most inhuman and cruel persecutors.

John Glasse, of Montwraith, in the Queen’s County, sworn and examined, says that,

“Florence Fitzpatrick, of the said county, esq., having received Master John Nicholson and his wife Anne Nicholson under his protection, endeavored all he could to turn them to mass, or to the present rebellion. But they both professed that rather than either forsake their religion, or fight against their countrymen, they would die the death. The husband professing how much they abhorred it, and his wife even showing greater resolution; they would have had her burn her bible. But her answer was that, ‘Before she would either burn her bible, or turn against her countrymen, she would die upon the point of the sword.’ This was made good by them. For on Sabbath day in the morning, before mass, they were cruelly murdered by the command of the said Florence Fitzpatrick. The instrument employed by him to commit this cruelty was one John Harding, who has since been tormented in his conscience, beyond all expression, and with continued apparitions of them, as he conceived, in such lively manner as he murdered



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them. So that even now he is consumed with the horror of it, as it is most frequently reported among the rebels.” Jurat. April 8. 1642.

We find in the Roman history, during the several cruel contentions between Marius and Sulla (when their factious followers filled the whole city of Rome with streams of blood), strange and most incomparable passages of friendship. One exposed himself to all manner of dangers, for the preservation of his friend of a contrary faction; servants willingly sacrificed themselves to save the lives of their beloved masters. But here, on the contrary, what open violation of all bonds of humanity and friendship! No contracts, no promises observed. Quarter given in the most solemn manner, and with the greatest oaths and severest execrations, under hand and seal, was suddenly broken. The Irish landlords making a prey of their English tenants; the Irish servants betraying their English masters; and every one esteeming any act by which they could most declare their hatred and malice against any of the British nation, to be gallant and truly meritorious. It is not to be denied, but that the first and most bloody executions were made in the province of Ulster. And there they continued longest to execute their rage and cruelty. Yet it must also be acknowledged that all the other three provinces concurred with them, as it were, with one common consent, to extirpate all the British planted throughout the kingdom. And for this purpose they went on, not only murdering, stripping, and driving out all of them — men, women, and children — but they laid waste their habitations, burnt their residences, and defaced in many places all the monuments of civility and devotion, the courts and places of the English government. Indeed, as some of them express it themselves, they resolved not to leave them either name or posterity in Ireland.

How they proceeded on in this work, or how far they cooperated with each other, will be a task of some extent, and more proper for another place in this history. I will conclude this discourse here, concerning the cruelties exercised upon the British and protectants, with the following examinations.

[1056] A.D. 1643.

They are eight in number — two witnesses, as it were, taken out of each province, to declare their cruel proceedings. I will begin with Munster, from where we have yet had very few examinations brought up. The main ones have been most unhappily carried another way. Therefore I thought it fit, to more fully express their miseries, to insert their general remonstrance, made upon the conclusion of the late cessation, in the year 1643. The two next ensuing concern province of Connaught; then those of the province of Ulster; and lastly two examinations taken of some acts of cruelty committed within the province of Leinster. I have chiefly chosen those which have been put in by persons of good quality, of known integrity and credit. They are all upon oath, as likewise are all the examinations concerning cruelties mentioned before. I will leave the several particulars to the consideration of those who are pleased to read them over. And I may well say of them, in respect to the former cruelties inserted, as was said to the prophet Ezekiel in another case, “Turn yet again, and you will see greater abominations than these.” *Eze 8.6*

#### *A General Remonstrance of the Distressed Protestants, in the Province of Munster.*

Setting forth, from the gasping condition of their most sad and distressed souls, that whereas the province of Munster, through the vast expense of English treasure and blood, was improved from a state of barbarism, to such a degree of civility, that the power and dignity of the English crown was much advanced and extended by the surest and noblest bonds of a

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flourishing people: those of religion, civility, and profit. — Of religion, witnessed by the enlarged congregations in both cathedral and parochial churches; — of civility, by the many costly plantations, fair and strong buildings, plentiful markets, and bountiful hospitality;— and of profit, by the free trade and commerce throughout Christendom. Lands were fully improved, abounding with herds and flocks of all sorts of the best English cattle. These enabled us to advance great sums to his majesty's customs, to contribute large subsidies, and to supply the west of England with such a considerable proportion of wool and cattle, that a great part of the trade of those parts subsisted by them. And this began at the great charge of the English undertakers in the time of queen Elizabeth, of famous memory. Since that time, few parts of Christendom, in so short a space from their beginning, have had such a rise and growth, which was not beneficial to ourselves alone, but the very natives must confess that their estates were greatly augmented by our improvements.

And therefore, let it not be wondered at, that when we consider from what we have fallen, the pain of loss should strive to equal that of sense. And if the depth of our miseries have not sunk our souls to stupidity, we may compare our woes to the saddest parallel of any history. Our temples are demolished, or (what is worse) profaned by sacrifices to idols; our houses and castles have become ruinous heaps; our nation is extirpated, destroyed. No quality, age, or sex is privileged from massacres and from lingering deaths (by being robbed and stripped naked) through cold or famine — passages of a notable piece of clemency and mercy. The famished infants of murdered parents swarm in our streets; and for want of bread, they perish before our faces. And many of our still miserable remnant who lived plentifully, and relieved others, are forced to ask relief for themselves; and those they ask it of, are constrained by want to refuse them. So that, undoubtedly, our present miseries are not far short of those of the siege of Samaria; and all those miseries are cast upon us by this unparalleled rebellion, at a time when we were most confident and secure. More and greater immunities and bounties have been granted to us by his majesty who now is, than were ever granted by any of his royal progenitors. For what cause, offense, or least seeming occasion of provocation, these woes have come upon us, our souls could never imagine (sin excepted), except that we were protestants, and his majesty's loyal subjects, and could not endure their poisonous breaths to speak such profaneness, as in a deep measure pierced and wounded the sacred fame of our king. And to give a color to this cruel treatment, we must go under the notorious names *first*, of Puritans, and *latterly*, of Roundheads. For time would fail us, to allege particular instances of these; and the length of them would weary the reader.

But we are altogether confident to make it manifest, by abundant instances, that the depopulations in this province of Munster well and nearly equal those of the whole kingdom. The particulars of it, such as the multitude of inhuman cruelties, were collected and reduced to several instances, with ample proof by many months of endeavors by a reverend divine, one archdeacon Bisse, authorized to do this by virtue of a commission under the broad seal of this kingdom. He was most barbarously murdered by the Irish, expressing that to be the cause. And because it may be thought requisite to say something about the demeanors of the Irish since the cessation, as well as before, many English have been murdered as they travelled, with other expressions of that utter detestation of the English that, if any remain (which few do, nor surely, will do, who can but breathe elsewhere), then they must be in a condition worse than any known slavery. And likewise, as to other articles of the cessation, they have been totally broken, and our quarters (of large extent) universally taken from us, even to the walls of our garrisons, in which we have often called for justice to the chief of them. This being denied, or worse, delayed, lack of means to justify ourselves leaves us without remedy. For all of which we pour out our griefs and supplications, above to God alone, and here on earth to our dread sovereign.

#### IV. The Irish Rebellion of 1641

##### *The Examination of Anne, the late wife of John Sherring.*

That about Candlemas, two years past, the said John Sherring, her then husband, going from his farm which he held from John Kennedy, Esq., near the silverworks, one Hugh Kennedy, one of the brothers of the said John Kennedy, a cruel rebel, together with a great multitude of Irish rebel soldiers, then and there fiercely assaulted and set upon her said husband, and upon one William Brock, William Laughlin, Thomas Collop, and eight more English protestant men, and about ten women, and upon some children in their company, and then and there stripped them of their clothes, and with stones, pole-axes, skains, swords, pikes, darts, and other weapons, then most barbarously murdered and massacred her said husband, and all those protestant men, women, and children. In the time of this massacre, a most loud and fearful noise and storm of thunder, lightning, wind, hail-stones, and rain began. The time being on a Sabbath-day, about an hour before night, the former part of that day being all very fair; but that thunder, lightning, and tempest, happening suddenly after the massacre had begun, much frightened and terrified this deponent and many others, so much that those murderers themselves confessed it to be a sign of God's anger, and a threatening of them for their cruelty! Yet it did not deter them, but they persisted in their bloody act, until they had murdered those said English protestants, and hacked, hewn, slashed, stabbed, and so massacred them, that many of them were cut all to pieces. And her husband, for his part, had thirty grievous wounds given to him then and there; namely. some through or near his heart, ten mortal wounds in his head, three in his belly, four in either arm, and the rest in his thighs, legs, back and neck. And that murder done, those barbarous rebels tied willows about their necks, and drew them out of the refining mill (where indeed they slew them), and threw them or most of them, into a deep hole formerly made, one upon another. So that none of those 23 men, women, and children, escaped death. However, one Thomas Ladell, a Scotchman, and one George Kelsie, who then and there endured and had many grievous wounds, and were left on the ground for dead, crawled up, after the rebels were gone away, and with much difficulty escaped with their lives.

[1057] A.D. 1641.

And she further says that such was God's judgment upon the said Hugh Kennedy for that bloody act, that he shortly fell into a most desperate madness and distraction, and could not rest day nor night. Yet coveting to do more mischief upon the English, but being prevented and denied from doing it, about a week after, he drowned himself in the river next to the silver works. But his barbarous and wicked soldiers went on with their wickedness, and afterwards boasted how they had killed a minister and his wife, and four children, near the city of Limerick. And this deponent is too well assured that those and other Irish rebels in that part of the country, exercised and committed a great number of bloody murders, robberies, and outrages upon the persons and goods of the protestants, so that very few escaped with their lives, and none at all saved their goods.

And she further says that all the popish gentry in the country thereabouts, especially all those of the clans and names of the O'Brians, the Coghlanes, and the Kennedies, were all actors in the present rebellion against his majesty; and they either acted, assisted, incited, or consented to, all the murders, robberies, cruelties, and rebellious acts aforesaid. And she further says that by means of the said rebellion, her said husband and she were at Werinwood, about Candlemas, 1641, robbed and deprived of their cattle, household stuff, corn, malt, provision, ready-money, debts, the benefit of their lease, and other of their goods and chattels, of the value, and to their loss of at least £160, and that the said John Kennedy, esq., their landlord, was the man who so deprived and robbed them of it; and the other rebels stripped her naked, Jurat. Feb. 10, 1643.

Henry Jones, Anne Sherring.  
Henry Brereton.

#### IV. The Irish Rebellion of 1641

*The Examination of John Goldsmith, Parson of Brashide,  
in the County of Mayo, sworn and examined, says:*

That the lord of Mayo, about to convoy all those of Castlebar to Galway — namely, Sir Henry Bingham, with all his company, and the bishop of Killaloe, with all his company, with many of the neighboring English, being about sixty in number (of which there were some 15 ministers) — covenanted with one Edmund Bourk for the safe conduct of the same parties on a certain day. And the said lord of Mayo appointed them all to meet him at Belcarah, having first separated this deponent from them to attend his lady in the work of the ministry.

At this day, the titular archbishop and the lord of Mayo, meeting with their whole number, went on their journey to Shreul. At this place the lord of Mayo left them in the custody of the said Edmund Bourk. But (as one Master Bringhurst told the deponent) the lord of Mayo had not gone far from them, when the said Edmund Bourk drew out his sword, directing the rest as to what they should do, and he began to massacre those Protestants. Accordingly, some were shot to death, some stabbed with skains, some run through with pikes, some cast into the water and drowned; and the women who were stripped naked, lying upon their husbands to save them, were run through with pikes. Very few of the English escaped alive; but most were murdered in the place. Among the rest, the bishop of Killaloe escaped with his life, but he was wounded in his head; and one Master Crowd, a minister, was so beaten with cudgels on his feet, that he died shortly after.

And this deponent further says that in the town of Sligo, 40 persons, English and Scotch, were stripped and locked up in a cellar by the rebels. About midnight a butcher, who was sent to them for the purpose, knocked them all on the head with his axe, and so then and there he murdered them. This butcher, coming afterwards to Castlebar, confessed his bloody act.

In Tirawly, within the county of Mayo, about 30 or 40 English (who had formerly turned papists) had their choice given to them, whether they would die by the sword, or drown themselves. Choosing drowning, they were brought to the sea-side by the rebels, who had their skains drawn in their hands, and forced them to wade into the sea. The mothers, with their children in their arms (crying for drink), having waded up to the chin, at length cast or dove themselves and their children into the sea, yielding themselves to the mastery of the waves; and so they perished.

The torments the rebels would use on the protestants to make them confess their monies, were these — namely, some they would take and wind willows around their heads, until the blood sprang out of the crowns of their heads. Others they would hang until they were half dead; then they would let them down, and do the same so often again, until they confessed their monies. And this deponent further says that a youth of about 15 years of age, the son of Master Montgomery, the minister, meeting with a bloody rebel who had been his schoolmaster, this rebel drew his skain, and began to furiously slash and cut him with it. The boy cried out to him, “Good master, do not kill me, but whip me as much as you will!” Nevertheless, the merciless and cruel rebel then and there most barbarously murdered him.

A Scotchman, travelling in the highway with his wife and children, were beset by the rebels, who wounded and stabbed him with their pikes, put him alive upon a car, brought him to a ditch, and buried him alive — as the poor wife afterwards, with great grief, told this deponent.

The vicar of Urras turned papist, and became drummer to Captain Bourk. He was afterwards murdered by the rebels for his pains. Another Scotchman, near Ballhane, was hanged by the rebels. Jurat. December 30, 1643.

Henry Jones, Henry Brereton,  
John Goldsmith.

#### IV. The Irish Rebellion of 1641

*Captain Anthony Stratford, of Charlmont, in the County of Armagh, Esq., aged 60 Years, or thereabouts; sworn and examined before his Majesty's Commissioners, by virtue of a Commission in that behalf, directed under the Great Seal of Ireland: Deposes and says that,*

The following protestant ministers, about the beginning of the present rebellion, were murdered by the rebels, in the counties of Tyrone and Armagh; namely, Mr. John Matthew, Mr. Blyth, Mr. Hastings, Mr. Smith, Mr. Durragh, Mr. Birge, and eight more, whose names this deponent has forgotten, none of which would the rebels permit to be buried. This examinant does not know the names of those who did the murdering; his cause of knowledge of the said murders is that some of his (the deponent's) servants, who were among the rebels, related this to him, and he truly believes them. And besides, this deponent heard the same confessed and averred by many of the rebels themselves, and by some of those protestants who had escaped. He said that he (this deponent) was a prisoner among the rebels at Castle Caulfield, near the place of those murders, where he continued for 14 months. And he further says that in Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone, or near to it, the rebels murdered 306 protestants; and between Charlmont and Dungannon, over 400 were murdered and drowned at and in the river by Benburb, the Black Water, between the counties of Armagh and Tyrone; 206 protestants; and Patrick MacCrew of Dungannon, aforesaid, murdered 31 in one morning; and two young rebels, namely, John and Brian Harie, murdered in the county of Tyrone, 140 poor women and children who could give no resistance; and the wife of Brian Kelly, of Loghall, one of the rebels' captains, in the county of Armagh, murdered 45 with her own hands.

[1058] A.D. 1641.

“And this deponent further says that one Thomas King, sometimes sergeant to the late Lord Caulfield's company, which this deponent commanded, he being forced to serve under the rebels, and was one of their provost-marshal, gave the deponent a list of every householder's name so murdered, and the number of persons so murdered. This deponent dared not keep this list. At Portadowne about 308 were drowned at separate times, who were sent away about 40 at a time, with convoys, and there drowned. There was a loch near Loghall, where over 200 were drowned. This deponent was informed of this by several persons, and particularly by the wife of Dr. Hodges, and two of her sons, who were present and intended for the same end. But by God's mercy (who gave them favor in the eyes of some of the rebels) they escaped. And the said Mrs. Hodges and her sons gave the deponent a list of the names of many of those who were so drowned, which the deponent dared not keep. He says that the said Dr. Hodges was employed by Sir Phelim O'Neile to make powder; but failing in his undertaking, he was first half-hanged, then cut down, and kept prisoner for three months. Then he was murdered, with 44 more, within a quarter of a mile of Charlmont. Having been sent as prisoners to Dungannon by Thirlogh Oge O'Neile (brother to Sir Phelim), they were murdered on the way. This deponent was shown the pit where they were all cast in.

At a mill-pond, in the parish of Killyman, in the county of Tyrone, 300 were drowned in one day; and in the same parish 1200 were murdered of English and Scotch, as this deponent was informed by Mr. Birge, the late minister of the said parish, who certified the same under his own hand, which note the deponent dared not keep. The said Mr. Birge was murdered three months later. All of these murders were in the first outbreak of the rebellion. But the deponent cannot remember the particular times, nor the persons by whom they were committed. This deponent was credibly informed by the said sergeant and others of this deponent's servants, who kept company with the rebels and saw the same, that many young children were cut into quarters by the rebels, that 18 Scotch infants were hanged on a clothier's tenter-hook, and that they murdered a young fat Scotchman, and made candles of his grease. They took another Scotchman and ripped open his belly, that they might come to his small bowels, the one end of

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which they tied to a tree, and made him go round until they had drawn them all out of his body. They then said that they would test whether a dog's or a Scotchman's bowels were the longest. Deposed March 9, 1643, before us,

Henry Jones, Anthony Stratford.  
Henry Brereton,

*The Examination of Robert Maxwell, Cleric, Archdeacon of Downe,  
sworn and examined: Deposes and says, inter alia, —*

That by command from Sir Phelim O'Neile, the rebels dragged the deponent's brother, lieutenant James Maxwell, out of his bed, in the rage and height of a burning fever. And lest any of his acquaintances or friends should bury him, they carried him two miles from any church, and there cruelly butchered him, when he knew neither what he did or said. And thus Sir Phelim repaid him the £260 which he owed him. His wife, Grissel Maxwell, being in child-birth, was stripped naked. They drove her about an arrow's flight to the Black-water, and drowned her. They did the like to another English woman in the same parish, in the beginning of the rebellion. This was little inferior, if not more unnatural and barbarous, than roasting Mr. Watson alive, after they had cut a collop out of his cawl.<sup>775</sup> And Mr. Starkey, schoolmaster at Armagh, who was a gentleman of good parentage and parts, upwards of a hundred years of age, they stripped naked. They had two of his daughters, maidens, likewise naked, support him under each arm, since he was not able to go of himself. And in that posture, they carried them a quarter of a mile to a turf-pit, and drowned them, feeding the lusts of their eyes and the cruelty of their hearts, with the self-same objects at the same time. At the siege of Augher, they would not kill any English beast, and then eat it; but they cut collops out of them, being alive, letting them roar there till they had no more flesh on their backs; so that sometimes, a beast would live two or three days together in that torment. They did the same at Armagh, when they murdered Hugh Echlin, esq. They hanged and murdered all his Irish servants who had in any way proved faithful or useful to him during this rebellion.

And regarding exemplary constancy in religion, this deponent says that Henry Cowell, esq., a gallant and well-bred gentleman, was murdered because he would not consent to marry a harlot called Mary Ny Neile, a near kinswoman of Sir Phelim's. He was proffered his life, without the blouse, if he would go to mass; but he chose rather to die than to do either. The like proffer of life was made for going to mass, to Robert Echlin, a child of eleven or twelve years of age. But he also refused it, saying that he saw nothing in their religion for which he would change his own. And this deponent further says that the rebels buried alive many of the British protestants, and took great pleasure to hear them speak to them as they buried them in old ditches. Except those whom they thus buried, they would not permit [proper rites], nor would they permit any who survived, to perform that duty for them. And he further says that the rebels would send their children abroad in great troops, especially near Kinard, armed with long wattles (flexible rods) and whips, who would beat dead men's and women's bodies with them in a manner not fit to be named, and then would return in great joy to their parents, who received them for such service, as if it were in triumph.

Many of the protestants, the rebels would not kill at once. But when they were half-dead, they would leave them. So that two or three days later, they entreated for no better favor at

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<sup>775</sup> That is, they cut a slice of meat out of a layer of fat from his abdomen.

#### IV. The Irish Rebellion of 1641

the rebels' hands, than that they would kill them outright. This was sometimes granted, and sometimes denied.

A young man, who had his back-bone broken, was found in a field, having like a beast, eaten all the grass round about him. The deponent could not learn if they killed him afterwards, but only that they removed him to a place of better pasture. So that, in those most bloody and execrable wretches, the saying of the Holy Spirit is clearly verified, "The very mercy of the wicked is cruelty." <sup>Pro 12.10</sup> And he further says that the rebels themselves told him (this deponent) that they murdered 954 in one morning, in the county of Antrim; and that besides those, they supposed they killed over 1100 or 1200 more in that county. They likewise told him that Colonel Bryan O'Neile killed over 1000 in the county of Down, besides 300 killed near Killeleigh, and many hundreds both before and after in both those counties.

At Sir Phelim's return from Lesnegavy, some of the soldiers forced over 24 British into a house where they burned them alive — whose terrible cries they desired very much to imitate and express to others. And he says that he heard Sir Phelim likewise report that he killed 600 English at Garvah, in the county of Derry; and that he had left neither man, woman, nor child alive in the barony of Munterlong, in the county of Tyrone; nor between Armagh and the Kewry, in the several plantations and lands of Sir Archibald Atcheson, John Hamilton, esq., the Lord Caufield, and the Lord Mount-Norrice. He also says that there were over 2000 British murdered for the most part in their own houses. He was informed of this by a Scotchman who was in those parts with Sir Phelim, and saw their houses filled with their dead bodies. In the Glenwood towards Dromore, upwards of 12,000 in all were slaughtered there, as the rebels told the deponent. They were killed in their flight to the county of Down. The number of the people drowned at the bridge of Portadown are variously reported by men who stayed among the rebels. This deponent remained as long as any, and had better intelligence than most of the English among them, and the best reason to know the truth. He says there were, by their own report, 100 with Mr. Fullerton.

[1059] A.D. 1611.

At another time they threw 140 over the said bridge; at another time 36 or 37. And so they continued drowning more or fewer, for seven or eight weeks. So that the fewest that can be supposed to have perished there, must be over 1000, besides as many more who drowned between that bridge and the great Lough of Montjoy, as well as those who perished by the sword, fire, and famine in Coubrassil, and in the adjacent English plantations which must amount to many thousands; and not 300 escaped out of all those quarters.

Near the deponent's house, 36 persons were carried to the Curebridge at one time, and drowned; at another time, 56 men, women, and children, all of them taken out of the deponent's house; and at other times, several other numbers, besides those who were drowned in the Black-water at Kinnard. In that town, and the parish of Tinon, of which the deponent was rector, about 600 were drowned, slaughtered, and died of famine, and for lack of clothes. The deponent might add many thousands more to these, but the diary which this deponent wrote among the rebels, was burnt with his house, books, and all his papers. He therefore refers himself to the number in gross which the rebels themselves have, upon inquiry, found out and acknowledged. Notwithstanding, this will come short of all who have been murdered in Ireland, there being over 154,000 now wanting of the British, within the very precinct of Ulster.

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Upon the view of these examinations, all taken upon oath, it may easily be conjectured how fatally the first plot was carried out; how furiously the rebels, throughout all the parts of the kingdom, proceeded in their barbarous, bloody executions; and what were the courses they held to bring about so suddenly the universal destruction of all the British and protestants planted there. It is most true that in Leinster and Munster they were not generally so bloody, nor did they begin their work so early, as in the provinces of Ulster and Connaught. And yet one would scarcely believe it, who considers the horrid particulars related in the fore-cited examinations of those two provinces.

I did not think it fit to wholly insert Dr. Maxwell's examinations, because it is of such length, and many particulars in it did not tend to that purpose for which it is formerly mentioned. But I find in one part of it, that about May 1642, when the Scottish army under the command of General-Major Monro, had marched down from Carrickfergus, they had taken Newry, and beaten the Irish out of those parts, with the slaughter of many of them. Sir Phelim O'Neale had 5000 British, whom he detained in Armagh, Tyrone, and other parts of the north, most miserably murdered in the space of three days. James Shaw, of Market-hill, in the county of Armagh, deposes and says that, "During the time this deponent was in restraint, and stayed among the rebels in the county of Armagh, they went to besiege the castle of Augher, where they were repulsed, and diverse of the rebels of the clan of O'Neales were slain. In revenge for this, the grand rebel, Sir Phelim O'Neale, gave direction and warrant to one Mulmory Macdonell, a most cruel and merciless rebel, to kill all the English and Scotch within the parishes of Mullebrack, Logilly, and Kilcluney. Whereupon the said rebel murdered 27 Scotch and English protestants within musketshot of this deponent's own house." He further says that, "In those three parishes, before that time and since, 1500 protestants have been put to death by killing, drowning, and starving; and that he observed and well knew most of the rebels."

There is much more to be said on this subject; but I will forbear to further detail many other foul circumstances which would make this rebellion appear far more odious and detestable. I will now return to take up the public affairs of the state where I left them, in the hands of the lords-justices and council. Finding the city to grow more and more pestered with strangers, because of great numbers of ill-affected persons who daily repaired there, they issued several other proclamations to prohibit the access of all strangers to the town, and to require those who remained in the city, without calling or settled habitation, to depart.

The lords-justices and council, by their letters dated about the 20th of November, gave to the lord lieutenant a more certain and full account of the state of the kingdom, than they could in any way do at the outbreak of the rebellion. Thereby they made known the very ill condition of their present affairs. They moved that the supplies of men, money, commanders, and arms, mentioned in their former letters, might be sent over to them with all speed, and that his lordship would presently repair here in his own person, to undertake the management of the war. About the 10th of November, their lordships received an answer from the lord-lieutenant to their former letters of the 25th of October; whereby he gave them to understand that he had communicated their letters to the lords of his majesty's most honorable privy council, and that by order from their lordships, he had acquainted both houses of parliament with them; that he had also sent to his majesty, who still continued at Edinburgh in Scotland, to represent the condition of their affairs; and that he understood his majesty had received some notifications out of the north of Ireland, of the present rebellion there. His lordship also further let them know that his majesty had referred the whole business of Ireland to the parliament of England; that they had undertaken the charge and management of the war; that they had declared they should be



#### IV. The Irish Rebellion of 1641

speedily and vigorously assisted, and had designed, for their present supplies, the sum of £50,000, and had taken order for making of all further provisions necessary for the service. This may appear by the order of parliament made there at that time, and transmitted over by the lord-lieutenant, together with his said letters to the lords-justices, by whose command it was reprinted at Dublin, November 12, 1641, as follows here, entitled,

*An Order of the Lords and Commons in this present  
Parliament in England, concerning Ireland.*

“The lords and commons in this present parliament, being notified of the dangerous conspiracy and rebellion in Ireland, by the treacherous and wicked instigation of Romish priests and Jesuits, for the bloody massacre and destruction of all protestants living there, and other of his majesty’s loyal subjects of English blood, even if of the Romish religion (being ancient inhabitants within several counties and parts of that realm, who have always, in former rebellions, given testimony of their fidelity to this crown), and for the utter depriving of his royal majesty, and the crown of England, of the government of that kingdom, under the pretense of setting up the popish religion— have thereupon taken into their serious consideration, how those mischievous attempts might be most speedily and effectually prevented, in which the honor, safety, and interest of this kingdom are most nearly and fully concerned. Therefore they hereby declare that they intend to serve his majesty with their lives and fortunes, for suppressing this wicked rebellion in such a way as will be thought most effectual by the wisdom and authority of parliament. And thereupon we have ordered and provided for a present supply of money, and raising six thousand foot soldiers, and two thousand horsemen, to be sent from England, being the full proportion desired by the lords-justices, and his majesty’s council resident in that kingdom; with a resolution to add such further succors as the necessity of those affairs requires. They have also resolved on providing arms and ammunition, not only for those men, but likewise for his majesty’s faithful subjects in that kingdom, with a store of victuals and other necessaries, as there is occasion. And that these provisions may be transported there more conveniently, they have appointed three separate ports of this kingdom — that is to say, Bristol, West-Chester, and one other in Cumberland — where the magazines and storehouses will be kept for the supply of the several parts of Ireland.

[1060] A.D. 1641

“They have likewise resolved to be humble mediators to his most excellent majesty, for the encouragement of those English or Irish who will raise, at their own expense, any number of horse or foot for his service against the rebels, that they shall be honorably rewarded with lands of inheritance in Ireland, according to their merits.

“And, to better induce the rebels to repent of their wicked attempts, they hereby commend it to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, or in his absence, to the lord-deputy or lords-justices there, according to the power of the commission granted them in that behalf, to bestow his majesty’s gracious pardon to all those who, within a convenient time (to be declared by the lord-lieutenant, lord-deputy, or lords-justices, and council of that kingdom) return to their due obedience; the greatest part of them, they conceive, have been seduced upon false grounds, by the cunning and subtle practices of some of the most malignant rebels, enemies to this state and to the reformed religion; and likewise, to bestow such rewards as should be thought fit, and published by the said lord-lieutenant, lord-deputy, or lords-justices and council, upon all those who arrest the persons, or bring in the heads of those traitors who will be personally named in any proclamation published by the state there. And they hereby exhort and require all his majesty’s loving subjects, both in this and in that kingdom, to remember their duty and conscience to God and his religion, and the great and imminent danger which will involve this

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whole kingdom in general, and themselves in particular, if this abominable treason is not timely suppressed. And therefore, with all readiness, bounty, and cheerfulness, to confer their assistance in their persons or estates, to this so important and necessary service for the common good of all.

“Jo. Browne, Cleric. Parliament.”

About the same time, the lord-lieutenant, finding that he could not procure so speedy a dispatch of all things necessary for the service of Ireland, as would enable him to quickly repair there in his own person, made the earl of Ormond lieutenant-general of the forces there, and sent him over a commission for the same. And the said earl, within a few days, received a letter from his majesty, out of Scotland, in which he was graciously pleased to let him know it was his pleasure to confer upon him that charge. There was then likewise brought over the sum of £20,000 from the parliament.

Great numbers of poor distressed English continued daily to repair to the city of Dublin. They had been most barbarously stripped, robbed, and despoiled of all their goods and substance by the rebels. Now, so that it might appear what their losses were, what cruelties were acted out, what murders committed, and who were the chief actors in them throughout the several provinces, the lords-justices and council thought it fit to issue a commission under the great seal, directed certain of the clergy, to take on oath the several examinations of all those persons so that, having suffered by this present rebellion, they would think it fit to repair to them. This will appear by the commission itself, a copy of which I thought it fit to insert here:

“CHARLES, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc. To our well-beloved Henry Jones, dean of Kilmore, Roger Puttock, William Huthock, Randal Adams, John Sterne, William Aldrich, Henry Brereton, and John Watsons, clerics, greeting: Whereas diverse wicked and disloyal people have lately risen in arms in this kingdom, and robbed and spoiled many of our good subjects, British and protestants, who have been separated from their several habitations, and scattered in a most lamentable manner; and because it is needful to take due examination concerning the same, know that we, deposing special trust and confidence in your care, diligence, and provident circumspection, have nominated and appointed you to be our commissioners, and hereby give you, or any two or more of you, full power and authority, from time to time to call before you, and examine upon oath on the holy evangelists (which we hereby authorize you, or any two or more of you, to administer to all those persons who have been robbed and despoiled, as well as to all the witnesses who can give testimony in this), what robberies and spoils have been committed on them since the 22nd of October last, or will hereafter be committed on them, or any of them, what the particulars were or are, of which they were or will be so robbed or spoiled, to what value, by whom, what their names are, or where those who committed those robberies now or last dwelt; on what day or night the said robberies or spoils were committed or done; what traitorous or disloyal words, speeches, or actions were then, or at any other time, uttered or committed by those robbers, or any of them, and how often; and all other circumstances concerning the said particulars, and every of them. And you, our said commissioners, are to reduce to writing all the examinations which you, or any two or more of you, will take as aforesaid; and to return the same to our justices and council of this our realm of Ireland, under the hands and seals of any two or more of you, as aforesaid. Witness our right trusty and well-beloved counsellors, Sir William Parsons, knt. and bart. (baronet), and Sir John Borlace, knt., our justices of our said realm of Ireland. Dublin, the 23rd of December, in the seventeenth year of our reign.”

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The commissioners above nominated very seriously addressed themselves to this work, employing themselves in this with great diligence and faithfulness. And they have so well performed the charge imposed upon them, that by several examinations, many principal gentlemen of good estates were discovered to be the chief actors in the depredations made on the British, and to have committed many most horrid murders and other notorious cruelties which, through their industry, will now remain on record, but would otherwise have been concealed from posterity, and buried in oblivion.

The like commissions were in a short time after sent into Munster and Ulster. In the province of Munster, the commissioners took great care in the execution of it, many examinations of great importance were taken by virtue of it, though as yet they remain concealed, and not returned, as is required by the said commissioners.

Towards the latter end of November, the lord-justices and council, considering the miserable desolations brought upon the whole kingdom, and the further calamities threatened by war and famine, by a proclamation set forth in print, gave strict charge and command that on every Friday, a public fast should be devoutly and piously observed in and through the whole city and suburbs of Dublin, by all his majesty's subjects in it, and that divine service and sermons be celebrated and heard on the said day weekly, in every cathedral and other church and chapel in the said city and its suburbs: and this was to be performed as expressed in the said proclamation, to the end that the severe wrath and indignation of Almighty God may be averted from this kingdom, His divine aid and assistance implored, and that some relief in these calamitous times may better be afforded to such miserable persons, as these traitors, by their rapine and cruelty, have deprived of their fortunes, and sent naked and almost famished, up to this city.

The lord-justices and council, being notified of the near approach of the rebels to Drogheda, prepared to send down supplies of both men and ammunition, for the reinforcement of that garrison. There were already appointed 600 foot soldiers and a troop of horse for that service, and they were almost in readiness to march, when an express from Sir Henry Tichbourne came to the Earl of Ormond, to let him know the rebels had that day, the 21st of November, appeared within sight of the town.

He conceived they would quickly set down before it, but they advanced no further that day. Only, while their forces made a stand there, they sent down a party of 1300 foot soldiers to Millifond, the Lord Moore's house, which it was a their design to suddenly surprise.

[1061] A.D. 1641.

But contrary to their expectation, they found there 24 musketeers and 15 horsemen, who very stoutly defended the house as long as their powder lasted. The horsemen, when they saw themselves so beset that they could be no further serviceable to the place, opened the gate, issued out, and made their passage through the midst of the rebels. And so, notwithstanding the opposition they made, they escaped to Drogheda. The foot soldiers having refused to accept any quarter offered at first, resolved to make good the place to the last man. They endured several assaults, and slew 140 of the rebels, before their powder failed them. At last they gave up the place on a promise of quarter. This promise, however, was not kept. For some of them were killed in cold blood, all were stripped, and two old, decrepit men were slain. The house was ransacked, and all the goods carried away.

Upon receipt of Sir Henry Tichbourne's letter, the lords immediately gave orders to march away 600 men, together with a troop of horse towards Drogheda. However, they did not leave the town till the 27th of November, and such was the negligence of the captains, and

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disorder of the soldiers, that notwithstanding they had been three days in readiness to march, they went no further that night than Swords, a village six miles distant from Dublin. The command of the foot soldiers was committed to sergeant-major Roper, and that of the horse to Sir Patrick Weames, who was appointed, with fifty of the Earl of Ormond's troop, to march with those six companies to Drogheda.

As they passed through Gormanstone, the major paid a visit to the lord of Gormanstone, who told him that there were a number of men lying in the way, intent to interrupt their passage. The major likewise had other information to the same purpose, which he neglected, not so much as acquainting his captains with it, as some of them afterwards affirmed. He only had three scouts out of the troop sent abroad, to discover whether the passage was clear. Two of them returned a little before he came to the bridge of Julian's-town, assuring him that all was clear. The other went on to a house within a quarter of a mile of the place where the rebels lay. And while he attended there for his breakfast, a boy belonging to the house took his horse, and riding to the rebels, gave them notice of the near approach of our forces. The horse passed the bridge, and the foot soldiers following, turned up into a field on the left hand of the lane where, because of a great mist that suddenly fell, they did not discover the rebels till they were almost within musket shot of them.

The major quickly drew his men into battle array; but the horse soldiers (as some of the foot soldiers who escaped, affirm), wheeled about without charging any part of the rebels forces, who now furiously approached with a great shout. A lieutenant giving out the unhappy word of counter-march, all the men, possessed as it were with panic, began somewhat confusedly to march back. But they were so startled by a second shout given by the rebels (who, seeing them in disorder, followed closely on), that notwithstanding they had gotten into a ground of great advantage, they could not be persuaded to withstand a charge, but took to their heels. And so the rebels fell sharply on, as their manner is, upon the execution.

Sir Patrick Weames, without the loss of one horse, passed on safely to Drogheda. The major, with two of the captains and about 100 of their men, also made their escape there. The other three captains, with the rest of the soldiers who were English, were slain. The rebels spared very few, or none, who fell into their hands, except those who were Irish, whose lives they preserved.

The rebels possessed themselves of the arms of the whole 600, and likewise all their ammunition and carriages. So highly were the rebels encouraged by this defeat given to his majesty's forces, that the whole Pale presently began to waver. They thought the kingdom their own, and that the English would, in all parts, fall before them, just as those poor, ill-conducted people had unhappily done.

And now the lords and gentlemen of the Pale thought it high time to reveal themselves and their affections to the cause. They certainly had not only long-entertained a defection in their thoughts, but they were the first contrivers and bringers in of the northern rebels into this execrable plot. They had now likewise drawn them into the Pale. And therefore they could not hope now to walk much longer under a mask, and entertain the state with further professions of their loyalty. They had obtained a competent proportion of arms and ammunition out of his majesty's store in their own possession. They now saw the northern rebels advanced within the river Boyne, with very considerable forces to strengthen their party, and by the recent encounter, and the successful victory they had in it, they pleased themselves with confident expectations of certainly prevailing if they would now declare themselves by a public conjunction in the common cause. Raising such numbers of men and

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quantities of provision as the plentiful circuit of the Pale afforded, they would prosecute the war that had so happily begun, and been so successfully managed up to then.

These and several other considerations operating very powerfully among the lords and chief gentlemen of the Pale, within very few days after the recent defeat of the English, they solemnly proceeded to the actual consummation of their long-meditated revolt. For the manner, place, time, and all other circumstances, I will refer the reader to this ensuing relation, given upon oath, March 16, 1641, before Sir Robert Meredith, knight, chancellor of the exchequer, in the examination of Edward Dodwall, esq., a gentleman of the Pale — one who was very well esteemed among them; who was present at all their meetings; and who was deeply engaged in all their councils and actions.

He deposes that,

“Four or five days after the defeat of the English soldiers, at the bridge of Gellianstown, a warrant was issued from the lord of Gormanstone to the sheriff of the county, for a general meeting of the whole county at Dulick. But the place of the meeting was afterwards changed to the hill of Crofty, where all the lords and gentry of the county met; namely, the Earl of Fingal, the Lord Viscount Gormanstone, the Lord of Slaine, the Lord of Lowth, the Lord of Dunsay, the Lord of Trimblestone, the Lord Netterville. And of the gentry, Sir Patrick Barnwall, Sir Christopher Bellew, Patrick Barnwall of Kilbrew, Nicholas Darcy of Plattin, James Bath of Acharn, Garret Ailmer, the lawyer, Cusake of Gormanstone, William Malone of Lesmullin, Sedgrave of Kileglau, Linch of the Knos, Lynam of Adamstown, Laurence Doudall of Athlumney, Nicholas Doudall of Brownstown, this examinant’s brother, and him, this examinant, with a multitude of others, numbering 1000 persons at least, whose names this examinant cannot for the present call to mind. And after about two or three hours spent upon the said hill of Crofty, by the lords and gentry aforesaid, there came towards them Colonel Mahone, Philip O’ Reily, Hugh Boy Reily, Roger Moore, Hugh Birne, and Captain Fox, attended with a guard of musketeers.”

And this examinant says that,

“As soon as the parties drew to the said hill, the lords and gentry of the Pale rode towards them, and the lord of Gormanstone, being one of the first, spoke to them and demanded of them why, and for what reason they came armed into the Pale? To which Roger Moore answered that the ground of their coming there and taking up arms, was for the freedom and liberty of their consciences, the maintenance of his majesty’s prerogative, in which they understood he was abridged, and for making the subjects in this kingdom as free as those in England were.”

“Whereupon the said lord of Gormanstone, desired to understand from them, truly and faithfully, whether those were not pretenses, and not the true grounds indeed of their so doing? And likewise, whether they had not some other private ends of their own? This being denied by all upon a profession of their sincerity, his lordship then told them, ‘Seeing these are your true ends, we will likewise join with you in them;’ to which course all agreed. And thereupon it was publicly and generally declared that whoever would deny to join with them, or refuse to assist them in this, they would account him as an enemy, and to the utmost of their power labor for his destruction.”

[1062] A.D. 1641.

And this examinant says that,

“After the agreement was made as aforesaid, another warrant was issued to the sheriff of the county of Meath, to summon all the lords and gentry of the county of Meath, to be at the hill of

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Tara, about a week after. And accordingly, there met at the same place, the Earl of Fingal, the Lord of Gormanstone, and the rest of the lords and gentlemen aforementioned, together with Sir Thomas Nugent, Nicholas Plunket, the lawyer, Birford the lawyer, and a multitude of others. The work of that day was, first, to answer a summons made by the state, calling the lords to Dublin. This answer was brought ready-drawn by the Lord of Gormanstone, and presented by his lordship. Being perused by the said counsel at law, it was signed by the lords.”

In this manner this transaction was most solemnly consummated between Leinster and Ulster. Valence and Brabant (as Sir Phelim O’Neale styles those two provinces) were now publicly united together in that great assembly. The Lord Viscount Gormanstone on the one side, and Roger Moore on the other, had both been tampering a long time about drawing up this most important work in the form it now received. At length they had brought it to perfection. They two of them had the glory of it, and they appeared to be the great public instruments of this powerful union.

The lords and chief gentlemen of the Pale, having thus far declared themselves, became so high and presuming, that they little valued what was done or commanded by the state at Dublin. They now wholly applied their endeavors to make those preparations towards the war, that might strengthen their party which (as it now stood in conjunction with the northern rebels) they beheld as invincible, and their power not to be resisted by the inconsiderable forces drawn together by the lords-justices and council at Dublin.

Several gentlemen who in the several counties of the Pale were made captains, and had received arms from the state for their companies, departed from their obedience, and addressed themselves and their companies wholly to the service of the rebels. Nicholas White, esq., son and heir to Sir Nicholas White of Lislip, was the first to give the example, about the 2nd of December. But he carried the matter so handsomely, that his company ran away to the rebels without his consent or even his knowledge (as he pretended). They took no longer time before their departure, than to give him an opportunity to come and acquaint the state with it, and with his own disability to hinder them. But before it was possible to use any means of prevention, the men were all gone, with their arms and ammunition, to the rebels. Many of the other captains desired no such pretense for their intentions. Rather, they surrendered themselves and their arms to be disposed of as the rebels would direct, without any further scruple or compliment to the state.

Whereupon the lords found out how manifestly they were abused by the very great confidence they had reposed in such gentlemen of the Pale, who being made captains, had received arms from them. And perceiving what course they now began to pursue, and how the gentlemen were resolved to employ the lords’ own arms against them, they issued new orders. They did it with such dispatch and diligence that many of those arms which were delivered for the use of the Pale were stopped. So that out of the 1700 arms distributed among the several counties of the Pale, they recovered 950 into their hands.

It was now almost a full two months since the outbreak of this rebellion. In the very beginning, the lords-justices and council immediately, with much earnestness, solicited sending over assistance from England. This was done out of their deep apprehensions of a general revolt of all the Irish throughout the kingdom. As soon as they made a little further inquiry into the strength of this conspiracy, they discovered their own wants and utter disabilities to make any long or considerable opposition against the power of the whole body of the Irish. For it began to appear to them, that the Irish were firmly united with all the old English who were of the Romish profession, and incorporated into their party throughout Ireland. Then with much more earnestness, by their frequent letters and several agents, they

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represented to his majesty and parliament of England, the very bad and even desperate condition they were in. And therefore they desired that supplies of both men, money, and all kinds of warlike provisions, might be sent with all speed to them. They declared that unless they received them quickly, and in great proportions, they were not able to subsist any longer, because they now stood environed on all sides with multitudes of the rebels; that they had just reason to apprehend their own present ruin, and the inevitable loss of the whole kingdom.

And because they conceived that the levies in England could not be so suddenly made, nor men so easily transported from there into the north of Ireland — where the rebels appeared in greatest numbers, and had done the most mischief by their most unparalleled cruelty towards the English — as they could out of Scotland, they proposed to the lord-lieutenant, to move both his majesty and the parliament, that 10,000 Scots might be immediately raised and sent over into those parts. This they pressed with much earnestness. They represented the very great terror the Irish had of the Scots; that the Scots' bodies would better agree with that climate, endure more hardship, and undergo with less distemper the toil and miseries of an Irish war; that the transportation would be made with much more facility and less charge, it not being more than three or four hours' sail from some parts of Scotland into the north of Ireland; that the kingdom of Scotland had recently been in arms, and so had all the provisions necessary in readiness for furnishing their men for this expedition. And lastly, having so good a foundation in the multitude of their own countrymen settled there already, the Scots would no doubt undertake the work with all alacrity, and prosecute the war with such vigor, that it might testify of their deep resentment of the horrid cruelties exercised upon so many thousands of their own nation by that barbarous people.

These letters arrived very opportunely, about the time of the king's return from Edinburgh to the parliament of England, then sitting at Westminster. And there being even then two Scottish lords who had come out of the kingdom of Scotland to deal with the parliament of England concerning sending forces from there for the relief of Ireland.

This motion was yielded to with great readiness. And it was ordered that,

“The Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Leicester, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, the Lord Howard of Estring, nominated by the house of peers; and Nathaniel Fiennes, esq., Sir William Ermin, bart., Sir Philip Stapleton, knt., John Hampden, esq., of the house of commons, should deal with the Scottish commissioners concerning the affairs of Ireland; and that there should be a commission granted to them to this effect, under the great seal of England, together with particular instructions to regulate the manner of their proceedings.”

In the propositions given in by the Scottish commissioners, in the first place, they made an offer of 10,000 men, in the name of the kingdom of Scotland. And so that they might be enabled to send them speedily, they desired an advance of £30,000 of the brotherly assistance afforded to them by England; and that whatever arms and ammunition they sent to Ireland might, in the same proportions, be returned to them with all expedition.

Next they desired, that some ships of war might be appointed to guard the seas between Scotland and Ireland, to watch over their soldiers which they intended to transport in small vessels.

And then, upon landing of their men in Ireland, there should be 100 horse ready to join with every 1,000 foot soldiers that they would send there; and that they should receive instructions and orders from, and in everything obey, the Scottish general.

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These propositions, being laid before the house of commons, after they had duly considered of them, and weighing the high necessities of this kingdom — that the Scots had 2,500 men ready raised, and that they could not as suddenly make provision in any other way for the saving of Ireland as by sending those forces out of Scotland — they readily consented to them. And having voted them separately, they sent them up to the house of peers, with their desires for a speedy concurrence in them.

[1063] A.D. 1641.

These beginnings gave great hopes of the prompt relief of Ireland, and it was now generally believed, that considerable forces would be transported within a very short time out of Scotland, for the defense of the northern parts of this kingdom — especially considering with how much earnestness his majesty, in his speech made to the lords and commons in parliament on the 14th of December in this present year, had pressed them to take to heart the business of Ireland. He offered them whatever his power, pains, or industry could contribute to the good and necessary work of reducing the Irish nation to their true and customary obedience.

But, alas! these great expectations were soon dashed, and the forces designed for Ireland, out of England as well as Scotland, were strangely retarded by several obstructions which daily arose in the transaction of Irish affairs.

##### *A Letter from the Lords-Justices and Council to the Lord-Lieutenant.*

“May it please your Lordship,

“By our letters of the 3rd of December, we made known to your lordship, that Master Hawtridge had then newly arrived with the treasure sent us from there, which came to but 16,590 pounds; a supply of treasure far short of that which has now become necessary to perform any considerable service here against the rebels, whose numbers have increased wonderfully. So much so, that the forces they have about Drogheda on all sides of it, and between Drogheda and this place, reaching even within four miles of this city are, upon very credible report, estimated to be above 20,000 men, And besides those numbers who are so united between this place and Drogheda and thereabouts, there are many thousands of them dispersed over the whole kingdom. For the meaner sort of people generally rise first; and then those of better quality follow after. The fire which was first kindled in Ulster, and lay smothered awhile in other parts, now begins to break out so generally that the defection appears to be universal throughout the four provinces. So strangely rooted was the combination, and that was strengthened under the specious show of a war for religion. For, although (before and since the caution from your lordship) we have, on our part, endeavored not to give any apprehension to the Irish, that England intends to make it a war of religion, yet as we formerly made known to your lordship, the rebels labor mainly to have it so understood. Indeed, they now go so far that they call themselves generally *The Catholic Army* — a title which has drawn many thousands to their party. And yet many joined with them for no other reason than because they saw our succors deferred (expected out of England and Scotland). They rightly judged that, without those succors, we are not able to defend against them ourselves. And indeed, until those succors come, they must and will increase. But once our men and arms have arrived, the very circumstance of their coming would draw many from them to us, and give some check to their fury with which they yet carry all before them, wherever they come.

“They continue their rage and malignity against the English and protestants who, if they leave their goods and cattle with any papists for more safety, those are called out by the rebels, and the papists, goods, and cattle are left behind. Now upon some new counsels taken by them,



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they have added to their former cruelty a further degree of it, even of the highest nature, which is to proclaim that if any Irish harbor or relieve any English, and allow him to escape with his life, it shall be penal to such Irish, even to death. And so they will be sure that (even if they do not actually put not those English to the sword), yet they just as certainly and with more cruelty cut them off that way, than if they had done it by the sword; and they profess they will never give up until they do not leave any seed of an Englishman in Ireland.

“Nor is their malice towards the English expressed only so, but further, even to the beasts of the fields, and the improvements of their lands. For they destroy all cattle of English breed, and openly declare that their reason is because they are English. So great is their hatred, not only toward the persons of the English, but also to everything of that nation; and so they destroy all improvements made by the English, and lay waste their habitations.

“We formerly signified to your lordship, that to take away all jealousy from the papists of the English Pale, we would furnish them with some arms; and rather because we well know that in the last great rebellion in Ireland, the English Pale stood firm with the crown of England; and that the rebel Tyrone, in the height of his power and greatness, was never able to get into the Pale with his forces while he was in rebellion. And on this occasion, the noblemen and gentlemen of the Pale made deep professions of their loyalty to his majesty, in imitation of their ancestors. With expressions seeming to abhor the contrivers of this rebellion, they offered to employ their power and strength against them if they were furnished with arms. And we, being well assured that, if we could gain their concurrence with us it would much facilitate our work, we did, at their earnest suit, issue them arms for 1700 men. With these, several companies were armed by them, and some of them were appointed governors of the forces of the counties, and captains of their companies. But so many of those companies defected to the rebels, and carried away their arms with them, that we have recovered only 950 arms. So that those whose loyalty we had reason to expect would help us, are now (through their disloyalty) turned against us, and are strengthened with our own arms. And without any question, if those of the English Pale had done their duty as became good subjects, with the arms which they had from us and those they might gather among themselves, they might with our help, not only have defended the Pale against the rebels, but might also have prevented the ruin and destruction wrought by their tenants and neighbors, on the poor English and protestants among them. For the noblemen and gentry sat still and looked on while the English and protestants were ruined before their faces. The papists, in the meantime, remained secure, without the loss of goods or anything else.

“When we saw the power and strength of the rebels still growing upon us more and more, and approaching by degrees more near to us; and the English and protestants robbed and spoiled even within two miles of this city, in disdain and defiance of this state (which are scorns of so high a nature that we could not endure them, if we had strength sufficient to suppress their insolence). And when we observed the retarding of our succors of men and arms from England and Scotland (neither of which succors having yet come, nor as we heard, so much as in view there or in Scotland), and when we found that apparently, for lack of those supplies, we became, in a way, so contemptible that we were in danger of being set upon to take this city and castle from us before our aids might come — we thought of all the means we could to gain time. We were confident that we cannot be so deserted by the state of England, that some supplies may not yet come to us. And therefore on the 3rd of December, we directed our letters to various nobility of the kingdom, who were nearest to us (most of them being of the English Pale). We requested them to be with us here on the 8th of this month, so that we might confer with them concerning the present state of the kingdom; and we hoped, by their help, to arrange the matter so that we might gain a few days’ time before our surprisal here. By that time, in all likelihood, our succors might arrive. However, it is boldly reported by the rebels that we will have no succors from there. They assert this to embolden their party, and to strike

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terror and discouragement into the well-affected. Among those, there are many so weak as to apprehend too much fear from these reports, for which many have fled the kingdom.

[1061] A.D. 1641.

“On the 8th of this month the earl of Kildare, the lord viscount Fitzwilliam, and the baron of Howth came to us. But the rest of the noblemen not coming, we deferred our conference. On the 11th of this month we received letters from seven of them; namely, the earl of Fingal, the lord viscount Gormanstone, the lord viscount Nettleville, and the lords of Slaine, Trimblestone, Dunsany and Lowth, dated the 7th of this month, and signed by them. They pretended fear of a massacre of those of their religion, and that therefore they are deterred from waiting on us, but rather think it fit to stand with the loyalty they profess. When we received those letters, we wondered from where their fears of coming to us might arise. But afterward we heard that they had been in consultation with the rebels. This was confirmed, as to most of them, by the examination of Christopher Hampton. And indeed we know no cause of fear they have of us, unless their own guilt begot in them the fear they pretend. And they do not spare, though unjustly, charging us with neglecting their advice. Whereas not one of them, to this hour, has offered us any advice or real assistance towards the pacification of these troubles. It then became public (nor could we keep secret what they had published to others), that those noblemen so far sided with the rebels, that they now stood upon their guard.

We therefore judge it fit, to vindicate the state from the aspersion which we found so publicly endeavored to be laid upon us, to publish the enclosed proclamation, to satisfy the world as well as those noblemen (who certainly are abundantly satisfied in their own secret thoughts), that we never intended to massacre them or any other persons. That is a thing which we, and all good protestants. much abhor, whatever the practice of their religion is, and has been found to be, by woeful experience in other parts. We confess that we are now in great danger of this, if our long-expected succors do not come sooner to us. And it may be gathered from that unexampled tyranny which the rebels have already exercised towards those of our nation and religion who fell into their hands, what we may expect from them for our parts. But the dishonor and shame which may reflect upon the English nation by exposing this state and kingdom to such apparent ruin, and with it, the extirpation of God’s true religion, afflicts us more than the loss of our own lives and fortunes, when all might be saved by seasonably sending those succors.

“We recently received letters from the lady Ofaly, and a letter containing most insolent menaces enclosed with them, sent to her from one of the rebels, to which she sent a noble answer. One of the rebels, styling himself chaplain-major and overseer of the coasts and harbors, recently sent a summons in a proud and vaunting manner, to one Edward Leech, who was entrusted with keeping the island of Lambay. It required him to deliver up that island to the rebels. This being done, he gave Leech a pass, in which he styles the rebels’ forces the *Catholic Army*. Leech told us that that mighty chaplain declared openly to him that, ‘He was the plotter of this great rebellion; that he had spent in travel and prosecution of that design beyond seas, £4000; and that all the kings in Christendom, except the king of England and the king of Denmark, have hands in this business.’ A castle in the town of Longford was held by the English (which stood out awhile against the rebels). In the end, lack of victuals necessitated it being rendered up to them upon promise of quarter. A popish priest, standing with his skain in his hand, watched for the coming out of a minister who was then among the English. By thrusting that skain into the minister’s stomach, and ripping up his belly, he gave that as a signal to the rebels, to fall upon the rest of the English. They did so accordingly, as soon as the minister was murdered, killing some and hanging the rest most perfidiously.

“On the 9th of this month, we received notice that great numbers of men were gathered together in warlike manner at Swords, in the county of Dublin, within six miles of us. They had

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the army of the rebels behind them, on this side of Drogheda. We immediately sent out our warrant, commanding them to disperse, whereupon we published a manifesto to vindicate this state from their aspersions also. It is observable that those gentlemen at Swords, on that very Tuesday night in which they allege they were so frightened in their houses, could assemble together 1200 men in that moment of time, to have in readiness against any attempt from the state. Whereas, for many days before, they could sit still and look on, while an army of the enemy lay behind them, between them and Drogheda — and also while some of them (who were openly declared rebels), and many of their neighbors (who doubtless held in their hands intelligence from the rebels), robbed and spoiled the English on all parts round about them. Yet those gentlemen could not, in all that time, be either so frightened by the rebels, or so compassionate about their poor English neighbors, [that they did nothing]. And certainly those gentlemen might have been as believing in this state, which has always used lenity and mildness towards them, as in the forces of the rebels, which lay so near behind them, and who, they know, have murdered many of his majesty's subjects. And for all they know (if there were not a secret intelligence between them), the rebels might have used them also, in like manner.

“But the truth is, we conceive those gentlemen had a mind to join with the rebels, and now make pretenses to cover their disloyalty, and to cast a scandal on this government.

“The rebels in the Pale, as in other parts, have had masses be said openly in the churches, expelled the ministers from officiating in their churches, and forced diverse persons (in order to save their lives and goods) to become papists. They openly profess that no protestant will be suffered to live in Ireland. And while they thus insult all the English and protestants, destroying them for no other reason than for being protestants and English, we let fall nothing against them regarding religion. And yet they feign things against us, tending that way, in order to give some color to their cruel proceedings.

“The rebels of the county of Kildare have taken the Naas and Kildare, in the county of Kildare. The rebels of Meath have taken Trim and Ashboy in the county of Meath, and diverse other places. The rebels of the county of Dublin have possessed themselves of Swords and Rathcoole, and spoiled all the English and protestants even to the gates of Dublin. And now about 1500 of the rebels of Wicklow are in and about Powerscait, and about ten miles from this city. There are also between this city and the Naas, within six or seven miles of us, 1000 rebels from Kildare and the borders of Wicklow and Dublin. So that in this city we are environed by them on all sides by land. And they have begun to stop access to us by sea. For the fishermen on the sea coasts, being all Irish and papist inhabitants in the Pale, also broke out into rebellion with the multitude, and have robbed, spoiled, and pillaged even within the bay of Dublin, several barks <sup>776</sup> coming here from England. And to revenge this villainy on the fishermen at Clantarfe and thereabouts, so near us, if we send forth a party of soldiers to burn and spoil those rebels' houses and corn, the gentlemen of the Pale will immediately take new offense. But we will risk that. For now there is no room for dalliance with them, for they so far declare themselves against the state, not caring what scorns are put upon the government. In this it is observable that the landlord of Clantarfe is one of those gentlemen who has risen in arms at Swords.

“Your lordship now sees not only the necessity of hastening with all possible speed, our succors of men and arms, both out of England and Scotland, but also of sending them in greater numbers than those at first designed, seeing that the breach appears to be far greater, and the defection more general, than was first conceived. Yet, so that those who are ready are not forced to wait for the rest, let those others be ordered to come after.

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<sup>776</sup> *Bark* (or *barque*): a sailing ship with three or more masts.

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“For no flesh can imagine, unless they saw it as we do, the greatness of our danger, who are but a handful in comparison to the multitudes risen against us. And we desire that the 10,000 designed to come from Scotland, may be wholly sent (those intended to be left there in readiness, as well as the rest), with direction to land as near to Dublin as they may, and (wherever they land), to march to Dublin if they possibly can. And to send the ships appointed for guarding these coasts is also very necessary to be hastened; and that two or three ships of good strength follow after. Doubtless these rebels expect a very great supply of arms and ammunition from foreign parts, either Spain or France.

“Although, out of the foresight we had of this extremity since these troubles began, we have endeavored to get in some provisions of victuals and corn, yet we have not been able to provide ourselves sufficiently to withstand any long sieges. Nor can we now get in any more, our markets being almost taken away, and the forces of the rebels surrounding us in such a manner that we can fetch in no more provisions. Therefore we beseech your lordship, that the magazines of victuals designed to be settled on that side, may be settled with speed, if it is in distress of victuals for ourselves or them, or oats for our horses. Our lack of victuals is more in respect to the daily access of the English who are spoiled in the country.

“The necessity of the defense of the province of Munster required the immediate raising of a regiment of foot, consisting of 1000 men, and two troops of horse, with 60 men in each troop; we appointed the lord president to raise these 60. And for the payment and arming of them, we humbly advise (seeing that we cannot do it) that money, and arms, and ammunition for the stores in that province (now much wanting there) may be sent to us.

“And just as the rebels which beset us and this city on all sides by land, threaten to cut off our market at Dublin, which we begin to feel already, so they boldly declare that they will, within a day or two, cut off the water course which brings water to this city and castle. And when that is done, they declare that their multitudes will immediately burn our suburbs, and besiege our walls, which we confess we still lack strength to defend, and must lack till our supplies come from England, or Scotland, or both. For here we have but about 3000 men, the rest of the old English companies being dispersed in several needful garrisons in the county (except that seven companies of them were surprised and cut off by the rebels at their first rising in Ulster, and other parts) and about 200 horses by poll of the whole army, of which many are Irish. So that, considering the spaciousness of this city and suburbs, and lastly, the very great numbers of the rebels (who are so strong as to approach this city with many thousands, and yet also leave many thousands at the siege of Drogheda), we cannot expect to be able to defend this city for any long time against them, without the arrival of our expected succors.

“The earl of Castlehaven, on the 10th of this month, presented at this board the oath, tendered to him by the rebels to be sworn by him, which he says he refused to swear. And we hear they send it to all parts to be tendered to the people, pressing them to take the sacrament on it.

“In hope to gain some time until our supplies might come, we listened to an offer made by some popish priests, to go to the rebels and deal with them. But we have since found that there is little hope of it; for some of the priests have returned, nothing being wrought thereby.

“However, it is fitting that your lordship should know what we do. We must now crave leave to declare to your lordship (things having risen here to this height, threatening not only the shaking of the government, but the loss of the kingdom), that just as the supplies of men and arms, and more treasure, are of great necessity to be hastened away from here; so is it also needful that we enjoy your lordship’s presence here. For the conduct, in your own person, of the great and important affairs of this state, in the martial as well as in the civil government, which necessarily require it in this time of great and imminent danger, in which so far as we

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may be able to contribute any assistance with you, we will be ready to discharge our duties in it with that loyalty and uprightness of heart which we owe to his majesty, and the particular respect due from us to your lordship. But we hope you will bring that strength with you, which may befit the greatness of the king, our master, to stand with his lieutenant against such numerous enemies as these rebels had become, for the honor of his majesty, as well as for the terror of those rebels.

“By what we have represented before, and now represent humbly to your lordship, you may in part see the greatness of the public danger in which this kingdom now stands; and particularly this city and castle, the principal piece of it — that if those are lost (which we now again assure your lordship, were never in such great peril to be lost, since the first conquest in this kingdom by the crown of England) the whole kingdom must quickly follow; and the danger which must thereupon arise to the kingdom of England, is very great in many respects.

“There is no possibility to prevent those evils, with honor and safety to England, except by succors from there, or Scotland, or both; and if those succors do not come speedily, it cannot be avoided, but the kingdom must be lost. And if notwithstanding all this so often and truly made known by us to your lordship, that we will perish for lack of supplies, we will carry this comfort with us to our graves, or any other burial we will have, so that your lordship can witness for us to his royal majesty, and to all the world, that we have discharged our duties to God, to his majesty, to that nation, and to this one, in humbly representing to his majesty, by your lordship, the chief governor of the kingdom, the extremities and dangers in which his kingdom and people stand, and the necessity of hastening supplies here by all possible means, for the preservation of both. So that, whatever may become of our persons, our memory cannot be justly stained with so wretched a breach of faith and loyalty to the king our master, as to forbear representing there the extremities in which we are, whether we have credit to be believed, or not. And, ‘that we write truth, and most needful truth,’ will be found true, when perhaps we perish, and (which is more considerable) the kingdom also, for lack of being relieved and succored in time. And so we remain

“Your lordship’s to be commanded,

William Parsons, Jo. Borlace, Ormond Ossory, R. Dillon,  
Charles Lambert, Ad. Loftus, John Temple, Charles Coot,  
Francis Willoughby, R. Meredith.

From his majesty’s castle of Dublin, Dec. 14, 1641.”

In this most miserable condition, the lords-justices and council continued shut up within the city of Dublin, struggling with all their power for a short preservation from those dismal calamities which had generally overspread the whole kingdom. Their care, travel, and endeavors, had till then in some measure extended to the most remote parts; how they might assuage the swelling distempers, or yield some relief to the lamentable complaints and bitter outcries daily brought up to them. But now the evils abroad had grown past their cure, and their own dangers so multiplied that they were forced to spend their time almost in perpetual consultation — never at rest, sometimes called up in the night by sudden intelligence, always in constant perplexity and trouble, desperately threatened on every side. So that whether through treachery within or from without, they had just reason to apprehend the loss of the city and castle in which they had enclosed themselves, and consequently, the ruin and destruction of all the British and protestants throughout the other parts of the kingdom. And thus they continued until the most happy and welcome arrival of that truly valiant gentleman and gallant commander, Sir Simon Harcourt.

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Being designed governor of the city of Dublin, he was dispatched by special order of parliament, with his regiment, for the preservation of that place, and landed here on the last day of December, 1641. This was to the great joy and comfort of all his majesty's protestant and well-affected subjects, and to the terror of those rebels now in arms, who had made themselves believe that no succors (assistance) would be sent out of England towards suppressing their notorious rebellion.

The rebels, within a very few months after the first outbreak, had so ordered their affairs, that by their sudden surprises, their sharp and bloody executions, their barbarous stripping and despoiling of all sorts that fell into their hands, they had cleared the inland counties of all the British inhabitants. Except for a few castles and other places of strength (which they held severally besieged, and most of which had afterward suddenly surrendered for lack of relief), they had in a manner made themselves absolute masters in all those parts of the kingdom. And for the maritime places, there were only some of the chief cities which held out against them, besides a few other forts and places of no great importance — such as, in the province of Leinster, the city of Dublin; and in the province of Munster, the cities of Cork, Youghall, and Kinsale; in Ulster, Londonderry, Coleraine, and Carrickfergus. And all these they held either besieged and much distressed, or their inhabitants were otherwise so over-pestered with the multitudes of poor, stripped people (who had fled to them for safety), that the rebels were confident they could not long hold out. Either open force, treachery, famine, or sickness, would within a short time, inevitably put them into their hands.

Thus it pleased God to humble his own people in this land, and for their sins to give them up to the power of their cruel enemies who now began to sacrifice to their own nets, to celebrate the memory of their victories. And upon the prosperity of their undertakings and recent success, they had become so confident of prevailing, even to the total extirpation of all the British and protestants out of this kingdom, that they proceeded to set down a certain form of government. They nominated the persons whom they intended to entrust with the management of their affairs, specified what laws they would have revoked, and what statutes would be newly enacted. In the meantime they erected a council, which they styled the *supreme council*, which they invested with absolute power and authority, to order and govern the whole kingdom. This consisted of certain noblemen, gentlemen, three or four lawyers, and one physician. Being elected to this charge, they had the place of their residence appointed to them at Kilkenny, a city, [to debate] the great and weighty affairs of their state. There they erected several courts of judicature. They made a new broad seal, appointed several great officers of state, coined money, settled an excise upon all kinds of commodities, and performed many other acts of regal power.

Soon after, a considerable number of horse as well as foot soldiers, sent over by the parliament of England, arrived at Dublin. Having in some petty encounters thereabouts, they tested the mettle of the rebels, and found their spirit of a poor and base alloy. They began to extremely disvalue them, and would no longer be abused with the fabulous report of their great strength or numbers which, with much advantage, they had long made use of. Therefore they now began to seek them out in all places. And wherever they met with them, they always prevailed, even with small numbers, very often against great multitudes of rebels, many times not sparing to pursue them into the midst of their great fastnesses. They made the very bogs and woods unsafe receptacles for their broken troops. The war was prosecuted by the English with great success, from the first landing of their forces out of England, until the treaty of that most unhappy cessation concluded in September 1643. In all the encounters they had with the rebels during that time, they never received any scorn or defeats, but went on victoriously, beating them down in all parts of the kingdom. And so

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they carried on their work before them without any assistance, either from the native Irish, or the English-Irish. For I cannot myself remember any gentleman of quality throughout the whole kingdom, who was born and bred a papist there, who put himself into that service, or desired to be listed as a member of the English army. It is true, some of the common soldiers who came in there were of the English-Irish. And though they were not considerable for their number, yet they did good service, and still carried on the execution with much fury and sharpness.

**APPENDIX V.**  
CONTAINING

***The execution of justice in Elizabeth's reign,  
was not for religion, but for treason.***

[*This Paper was written by order of Secretary Burghley.*<sup>777</sup>]

It has been in all ages and in all countries, a common usage of all offenders for the most part, both great and small, to make defense of their lewd and unlawful acts by untruths, and by coloring and covering their deeds (however vile) with pretenses of some other causes of contrary operations or effects — to the intent not only to avoid punishment or shame, but to continue, uphold, and prosecute their wicked attempts to the full satisfaction of their disordered and malicious appetites. And though such has been the use of all offenders, yet none with more danger than those of rebels and traitors to their lawful princes, kings, and countries. Of this sort, in recent years, are especially to be noted certain persons naturally born subjects in the realm of England and Ireland, who for some good time have outwardly professed their obedience to their sovereign lady queen Elizabeth, but have nevertheless afterward been stirred up and seduced by wicked spirits. This was first in England a number of years past, and secondly in Ireland in recent times, to enter into open rebellion, taking up arms and coming into the field against her majesty and her lieutenants, with their forces under banners displayed, inducing by notable untruths many simple people to follow and assist them in their traitorous actions.

It is very well known, that both their intentions and manifest actions were bent to depose the queen's majesty from her crown, and to traitorously set in her place some other whom they liked. By this, if they had not been speedily resisted, they would have committed great bloodshed and slaughter of her majesty's faithful subjects, and ruined their native country. Yet, by God's power given to her majesty, they were so speedily vanquished, that a few of them suffered by order of law according to their deserts; many were pardoned (and the greatest part) upon confession of their faults; the rest of the principals (but not many) escaped into foreign countries. And there — because in no places, or only a few, rebels and traitors to their natural princes and countries, dare for their treasons, to claim open comfort or succor at their first muster — these notable traitors and rebels have falsely informed many kings, princes, and states, and especially the bishop of Rome, commonly called *the pope* (from whom secretly they all had their first comfort to rebel) that the cause of their fleeing from their countries was for the religion of Rome, and to maintain the said pope's authority. Various of them, before their rebellion, lived so notoriously for most of their lives, out of all good rule (either for honest ways or for any sense in religion), that they might have been familiar with Catiline,<sup>778</sup> or favored Sardanapalus,<sup>779</sup> rather than be accounted good subjects under any Christian princes.

As for some examples of the heads of these rebellions, Charles Nevill, earl of Westmoreland, fled out of England. He was a person utterly wasted by looseness of life and by God's punishment — even in the time of his rebellion, bereaved of his children who would have succeeded him in the earldom. All his companions see how his body is now eaten with ulcers caused by his vices, so that no enemy he had can wish him a viler punishment. And out of

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<sup>777</sup> William Cecil, 1st Baron of Burghley (1520-1598), Secretary of State under Queen Elizabeth I.

<sup>778</sup> *Catiline*: Lucius Catilina (c. 108-62 BC); he attempted to overthrow the republic while Cicero was a consul.

<sup>779</sup> According to the Greek writer Ctesias, Sardanapalus was the last king of Assyria, in the 7th century BC. He was a decadent figure who spent his life in self-indulgence, and died in an orgy of destruction.



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Ireland one Thomas Stukeley ran away, a defamed person almost throughout Christendom, fleeing first out of England for notable piracies, and out of Ireland for unpardonable treacheries. These two were the first ringleaders of the rest of the rebels; the one for England, the other for Ireland. But notwithstanding the notorious evil and wicked lives of these and others of their confederates, void of all Christian religion, it pleased the bishop of Rome, as if in favor of their treasons, not to color their offenses as they themselves openly pretend to do (for avoiding the common shame of the world), but to flatly animate them to *continue* their former wicked purposes — that is, to take up arms against their lawful queen, to invade her realm with foreign forces, and to pursue all her good subjects and their native countries with fire and sword.

To maintain this, some years before, at sundry times, certain bulls, excommunications, and other public writings, had succeeded one after another in a thundering way, denouncing her majesty (being the lawful queen and God's anointed servant) as *not* being the queen of the realm — charging, and upon pain of excommunication, commanding all her subjects to depart from their natural allegiance to which they were bound by birth and by oath. They also provoked and authorized all persons of all degrees within both the realms, to rebel, and upon this antichristian warrant, being contrary to all the laws of God and man, and not at all agreeable to a pastoral officer. It provoked not only all the rabble of the foresaid traitors who had fled before, but also all other persons who had forsaken their native countries, being of diverse conditions and qualities— some not able to live at home, but in beggary; some discontented for lack of preferments which they unworthily gaped after in universities and other places; some bankrupt merchants. Some, in a way, *learned* to be contentious. Not being content to learn to obey the laws of the land, they have practiced for many years, running up and down from country to country, some in one corner, some in another; some seeking to gather forces, and gather money for forces; some instigated by princes with untruths, to make war upon their natural country; some with inward practices, to murder the greatest; some with seditious writings; and very many of late with public infamous libels, full of spiteful, vile terms and poisoned lies — altogether to uphold the aforesaid antichristian and tyrannous warrant of the pope's bull.

And yet also to further these intentions by some other means — because they could not readily prevail by way of force, finding foreign princes were of better consideration, and not readily inclined to their wicked purposes — it was devised to build up certain schools which they called *seminaries*, to nourish and bring up persons naturally disposed to sedition, to continue their race and trade, and to become seedmen in their tillage of sedition, sending them secretly into the queen's majesty's realms of England and Ireland under secret masks.

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Some were of the priesthood, some of other inferior orders, with titles of “seminaries” for some of the meaner sort, and of Jesuits for the stagers and ranker sort, and such-like. Yet they so warily crept into the land, that none brought the marks of their priesthood with them. But in diverse corners of her majesty's dominions, these seminaries, or seedmen and Jesuits, bringing with them certain Romish trash — such as their hallowed wax, their *agnus dei*,<sup>780</sup> many kind of beads, and such like — have, as tillage-men, labored secretly to persuade the people to allow the pope's foresaid bulls and warrants, and his absolute authority over all princes and countries, and striking many with pricks of conscience to obey the same. By these means, in the process of a small time, if this wicked and dangerous,

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<sup>780</sup> *Agnus dei*: a figure of a lamb, emblematic of Christ.

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traitorous and crafty course had not been espied and stayed by God's goodness, there would have followed imminent danger of horrible uproars in the realms, and a manifest bloody destruction of great multitudes of Christians.

For it cannot be denied that as many as might have been induced and thoroughly persuaded to obey that wicked warrant of the pope's, and its contents, were forthwith to have been secret traitors in their hearts and consciences. And to indeed be errant and open traitors, there lacked nothing but opportunity to feel their strength, and to assemble themselves in such numbers, with armor and weapons, as they might have presumed to be the greater part of the people; and so, by open civil war, they would have come to their wicked purposes. But God's goodness, by whom kings rule, and by whose blast traitors are commonly wasted and confounded, He has otherwise given to her majesty, as to his handmaid and dear servant ruling under him, the spirit of wisdom and power, whereby she has caused some of these seditious seedmen, and sowers of rebellion, to be discovered for all their secret lurkings, and to be taken and charged with these former points of high treason — *not being dealt with upon questions of religion, but justly condemned as traitors.*

At such times, notwithstanding all manner of gentle ways of persuasion used to move them to desist from such manifest traitorous courses and opinions, it was the canker of their rebellious humors, so deeply entered and graven into the hearts of many of them, that they would not be removed from their traitorous determinations. And therefore, as manifest traitors in maintaining and adhering to the capital enemy of her majesty and her crown, who has not only been the cause of two rebellions already passed in England and Ireland, but in that of Ireland, manifestly waged and maintained his own people, captains and soldiers, under the banner of Rome, against her majesty, such that no enemy could do more. These, I say, have justly suffered death, not by force or form of any new laws established either for religion or against the pope's supremacy, as the slanderous libellers would have it seem to be, but by the ancient temporal laws of the realm. And namely, by the laws of parliament made in king Edward III's time, about the year of our Lord 1330, which is over 200 years past, when the bishops of Rome, and popes, were suffered to have their ecclesiastical authority in this realm, as they had in many other countries.

Yet of this kind of offenders, after their condemnations, as many as were contented to renounce their former traitorous assertions, that many were spared from execution, and still live at this day. Such was the unwillingness in her majesty to have any blood spilled without this very just and necessary cause proceeding from themselves. Nevertheless, the rest of those traitors who remain in foreign parts, continue their rebellious minds, and craftily keep themselves aloof from dangers. They do not cease to provoke sundry other inferior seditious persons, to steal secretly into the realm, to revive the former seditious practices, and to execute the pope's foresaid bulls against her majesty and the realm. They pretend, when they are apprehended, that they only came into the realm by the command of their superiors, the heads of the Jesuits, to whom they are bound (they say) by oath, against either king or country, and are here to inform or reform men's consciences from errors in some points of religion as they think fit. Yet in very truth, the whole scope of their secret labors is manifestly proved to be, to secretly win all people with whom they dare deal, to submit to the pope's said bulls and his authority, without exception. In obeying them, they take themselves to be fully discharged of their allegiance and obedience to their lawful prince and country — even to be well-warranted to take up arms to rebel against her majesty when they are called to it, and to be ready to secretly join with any foreign force that can be procured to invade the realm. To this end, they have also given for a long time (and still do for their advantage) no small comfort of success. And so, consequently, the effect of their

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labors is to bring the realm not only into a dangerous war against the forces of strangers (from which it has been free for over twenty-three or twenty-four years, a case very memorable and hard to be matched with an example of the like), but into a domestic and civil war in which usually no blood is spared, nor mercy yielded, and in which neither the vanquisher nor the vanquished have cause to triumph.

These are the most evident perils that would necessarily follow if this kind of vermin were suffered to creep by stealth into the realm, and to spread their poison within it. However, when they are taken, like hypocrites, they color and counterfeit the same with a profession of devotion in religion. It is to be yielded in reason, by all persons, that her majesty and all her governors and magistrates of justice, having care to maintain the peace of the realm (which God has given in her time, to continue longer than ever given in any time of her progenitors) should out of duty to Almighty God, the author of peace, and according to the natural love and charge due to their country, and to avoid the floods of blood which are seen to run and flow in civil wars, by all lawful means possible, by the sword as well as by law, in their several seasons, to impeach and repel these manifest and dangerous colorable practices, and works of sedition and rebellion. And though there are many subjects known in the realm, who differ in some opinions of religion from the church of England, and who also do not forbear to profess the same, yet because they also profess loyalty and obedience to her majesty, and readily offer in her majesty's defense, to impugn and resist any foreign force, even if it should come or be procured from the pope himself — none of these sorts, for their contrary opinions in religion, are prosecuted or charged with any crimes or pains of treason. Nor yet are they willingly searched in their consciences for their contrary opinions that do not savor of treason.

And of these sorts, there are a number of persons, not of such base and vulgar note as those were who were recently executed — such as those in particular who are well known by name, and not unfit to be remembered. The first and highest by office was doctor Heth, who was archbishop of York, and lord-chancellor of England in queen Mary's time. At the first coming of her majesty to the crown, he showed himself a faithful and quiet subject, who continued in both of the said offices, though then manifestly differing in religion. And yet he was not restrained from his liberty, nor deprived of his proper lands and goods, but leaving both his offices willingly, he lived in his own house, and enjoyed all his purchased lands during his entire natural life, until by age he departed this world. And then he left his house and living to his friends. It was an example of gentleness never matched in queen Mary's time! The same did one doctor Pool, who had been bishop of Peterborough, an ancient grave person, and a very quiet subject. There were others who had been bishops, and held in great estimation, such as doctor Tunstall, bishop of Durham, also a person of very quiet behavior. There were also others, such as doctor White, and doctor Oglethorpe, one of Winchester, the other of Carlisle, bishops; and doctor Thurleby and doctor Watson still living, one of Ely, the other of Lincoln, bishops. They were not pressed with any capital pain, though they maintained the pope's authority against the laws of the realm — and some abbots, such as Master Fecknam, still living, a person also of quiet and courteous behavior for a great time.

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Some also were deans, such as doctor Boxall, dean of Windsor, a person of great modesty and knowledge; doctor Cole, dean of St. Paul's, a person more earnest than wise; doctor Reynolds, dean of Exeter, and many such others having borne offices and dignities in the church, and who had made profession against the pope, which they began to change in queen Mary's time. Yet they were never to this day burdened with capital pains, nor yet

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deprived of any of their goods or proper livelihoods, but only removed from their ecclesiastical offices, which they would not exercise according to the laws. And most of them, for a great time, were retained in bishops' houses, in a very civil and courteous manner, without charge to themselves or their friends, until the time that the pope began, by his bulls and messages, to offer trouble to the realm by stirring up rebellion. About this time, only some of these aforementioned being found busier, in matters of state tending to stir troubles, than was fit for the common quiet of the realm, were removed to other more private places where such other wanderers, men known to move sedition, might be restrained from commonly resorting to them to increase trouble, as the pope's bull gave manifest occasion. And yet it was without charging them in their consciences or otherwise, by any inquisition, to bring them into danger of any capital law, so that no one was called to any capital or bloody question upon matters of religion, but all have enjoyed their life as the course of nature would have it. And those of them who still remain may, if they will not be authors or instruments of rebellion or sedition, enjoy the time that God and nature will yield to them, without danger of life or member.

And yet it is worthy to be well marked, that the highest of all these, and most of them, had in the time of king Henry VIII, and of king Edward VI, either by preaching, writing, reading, or arguing, taught all people to condemn and abhor the authority of the pope. Indeed, many times they had given their oaths publicly against the pope's authority, and had also yielded to both of these kings, the title of supreme head of the church of England, next under Christ. This title the adversaries most falsely write and affirm that the queen's majesty now uses — a manifest lie and untruth. And for proof that these aforesaid bishops and learned men had for so a long time disavowed the pope's authority, many of their books and sermons against the pope's authority remain printed, to be seen in these times, to their great shame and reproof to change so often; and especially in persecuting those who, like themselves, have taught and held the contrary.

There were also, and still are, a great number of others, laymen of goodly possessions and lands, men of good credit in their countries, who manifestly in recent times were seduced to hold contrary opinions in religion under the pope's authority. Yet none of them have been sought up to now to be impeached in any point or quarrel of treason, nor suffered loss of life, member, or inheritance. So that it may plainly appear that it is not, nor has it been, for contrarious opinions in religion, or for the pope's authority, that any persons have suffered death since her majesty's reign, as the adversaries boldly and safely publish. Yet some of these sorts are well known to hold the opinion that the pope should, by authority of God's word, be the supreme and only head of the catholic church, and he alone is to rule in all ecclesiastical causes, and that the queen's majesty should not be the governor over all her subjects in her realm who are ecclesiastical persons. These opinions are nevertheless, in some part, punishable in some degrees by the laws of the realm. And yet, for none of these points have any persons been prosecuted with the charge of treason, nor are they in danger of life. And if then it is inquired for what cause these others have of late suffered death, it is truly to be answered, as is often remembered before, that none at all are impeached for treason to the danger of their life, except those who obstinately maintain the contents of the pope's bull before-mentioned, which import that her majesty is not the lawful queen of England, *the first and highest point of treason*; and that all her subjects are discharged from their oaths and obedience, *another high point of treason*; and all are warranted to disobey her and her laws, *a third and a very large point of treason*.

And to these is to be added a *fourth* point that is most manifest, in that they would not disallow the pope's hostile proceedings in open wars against her majesty in her realm of

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Ireland, where one of their company, Doctor Sanders, a scholar and subject of England, a fugitive, and a principal companion and conspirator with the traitors and rebels of Rome, was a commander by the pope's special commission, as in the form of a legate, and was for some time a treasurer or paymaster for those wars. This Doctor Sanders, in his book about his Church Monarchy, before his passing into Ireland, openly, by writing, gloriously avowed that the aforesaid bull of Pius V against her majesty was lawful, and affirms that by virtue of it, one Doctor Morton, an old English fugitive and conspirator, was sent from Rome into the northern parts of England, to stir up the first rebellion there, of which Charles Nevill, the late earl of Westmoreland, was a head captain. Thereby it may manifestly appear to all men, how this bull was the ground of the rebellions in both England and Ireland. And for maintaining them, and sowing sedition by warrant and allowance of the same, these persons were justly condemned for treason, and lawfully executed by the ancient laws temporal of the realm. This was done without any matter other than their practices and conspiracies, both abroad and at home, against the queen and the realm — for maintaining the pope's aforesaid authority and bull published to deprive her majesty of her crown; for withdrawing and reconciling her subjects from their natural allegiance due to her majesty and to their country; and for moving them to sedition. And these persons were condemned for no other causes or questions and religion, although it is true that when they were charged and convicted of these points of conspiracies and treasons, they would still, in their answers, colorably pretend their actions had been for religion. But in deed and truth, they were manifest for the procurement and maintenance of the rebellions and wars against her majesty and her realm.

And in this, manifest diversity is now to be seen and well considered, between the truth of her majesty's actions, and the falsehood of the blasphemous adversaries — that where the factious party of the pope, who is the principal author of the invasions of her majesty's dominions, safely allege that a number of persons whom they term as martyrs, have died for defense of the catholic religion, the same, in very truth, manifestly appear to have died (if they will have it so) as martyrs for the pope, and traitors against their sovereign and queen in adhering to him. They were the notable and only open hostile enemy in all actions of war against her majesty, her kingdoms, and people. And that this is the meaning of all those who have so obstinately maintained the authority and contents of this bull, the very words of the bull declare in this way, as Doctor Sanders reports them: "Pius V, the greatest bishop of the fulness of the apostolic power, declared Elizabeth to be bereaved or deprived of her pretended right of her kingdom, and also of all and whatever dominion, dignity, and privilege; and also the nobles, subjects, and people of the said kingdom, and all others who had sworn to her in any manner of ways, to be absolved forever from such oath, and from all debt or duty of fealty," and so forth; with many threatening cursings for all who dared obey her or her laws. And for execution of this, to prove that the effect of the pope's bull and message was a flat rebellion, it is not amiss to hear what Doctor Sanders, the pope's firebrand in Ireland, also writes in his *Visible Church Monarchy*, which is thus:

"Pius V, the greatest bishop, in the year of our Lord 1569, sent the reverend priest, Nicholas Morton, an Englishman, into England, that he should denounce or declare to certain noblemen, by the apostolic authority, that Elizabeth, who then was in possession, was a heretic; and for that reason she had fallen from all dominion and power, and she may be held or reputed by them as an ethnic (outside the church), and that they are not to be compelled to obey her laws or commandments," etc.

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Thus you see an ambassage of religion from the pope's holiness, the ambassador — an old doting English priest, a fugitive and conspirator — sent, as he says, to some noblemen; and those were the two earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, heads of the rebellion.

After this, he follows to declare the success of it, which I dare say he was sorry that it was so evil, with these words:

“By this denunciation many noblemen were so induced or led, that they were emboldened to think of freeing their brethren, and they hoped certainly that all the catholics would have assisted them with all their strength. But although the matter happened otherwise than they hoped for, because all the catholics did not know that Elizabeth was declared to be a heretic, yet the councils and intents of those noblemen were to be praised.”

A rebellion and a vanquishing of the rebels very smoothly described! This noble fact, here mentioned, was the rebellion in the North. The noblemen were the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland. The lack of the event, or success, was that the traitors were vanquished, and the queen's majesty and her subjects had the victory, by God's ordinance. And the reason why the rebels did not prevail was because all the catholics had not been duly informed that the queen's majesty was declared to be (as they term it) a heretic. This lack of information, with the intent to make the rebels mightier in number and power, was diligently and cunningly supplied by sending into the realm a great multitude of the seminaries and Jesuits, whose special charge it was to inform the people of it, as it has manifestly appeared by their actions.

And though Doctor Sanders has written thus, it may be said by those who favored the two notable Jesuits — one named Robert Parsons (who still hides himself in corners to continue his traitorous practice), the other named Edmond Campion (who was found out, being disguised as a royster,<sup>781</sup> and suffered for his treasons) — that Doctor Sanders' treason is proper treason for him, in allowing of the said bull, but it is not to be imputed to Parsons and Campion. Therefore, to make it plain that these two men, by special authority, had charge to execute the sentence of this bull, the following acts, in writing, will make it manifest. They are not feigned or imagined, but are the very writings taken about one of their accomplices, immediately after Campion's death.

### *Faculties granted by the two Fathers, Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion for England, the 14th of April 1580.*

“Let it be asked or required by our most holy lord, the explication or meaning of the bull declaratory made by Pius V against Elizabeth, and those who adhere or obey her. This bull the catholics desire to be understood in this manner: that the same bull shall always bind her and the heretics; but it shall by no means bind the catholics as matters or things now stand, or are, but only hereafter, when the public execution of that bull may be had or made.”

Then in the end, this conclusion was added:

“The highest pontiff or bishop granted these aforesaid graces to Father Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion, who are now to take their journeys into England, the 14th of April 1580, being present, the Father Oliver Manarke, assistant.”

“Hereby it is manifest what authority Campion had to impart the contents of the bull against the queen's majesty, however he may himself have denied the same.

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<sup>781</sup> *Royster*: acting the part of a rowdy drunk. In 1970 Campion was declared a saint for suffering as a Roman Catholic martyr; the supporting petition claimed he was apolitical. The evidence presented here by Foxe belies that claim.

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“And though it is manifest that these two Jesuits, Parsons and Campion, not only required to have the pope’s mind declared for the bull, but also, in their own petitions, showed how they and other catholics desired to have the said bull be understood against the queen of England; yet to make the matter more plain, how all other Jesuits and seminaries, indeed, how all papists, calling themselves *catholics*, do and are warranted to interpret the said bull against her majesty and her good subjects, you will see what one of their fellows, named Hart, who was condemned with Campion, among many other things, declared his knowledge of it the last day of December, in the same year, 1580, in the following words:

“The bull of Pius V (so much as it is against the queen) is held among the English catholics as a lawful sentence, and a sufficient discharge of her subjects’ fidelity, and so it remains in force; but in some points, touching the subjects, it is altered by the present pope. For where in that bull, all her subjects are commanded not to obey her, and she being excommunicated and deposed, all who obey her are likewise innodate <sup>782</sup> and accursed. This point is perilous to the catholics; for if they obey her, they are in the pope’s curse, and if they disobey her, they are in the queen’s danger. Therefore the present pope, to relieve them, has altered that part of the bull, and dispensed with them, letting them obey and serve her without peril of excommunication. This dispensation is to endure only till it please the pope to determine it otherwise.”

Therefore, to make some conclusion of the matters before-mentioned, all persons, both within the realm and abroad, may plainly perceive that all the infamous libels lately published abroad in sundry languages, and the slanderous reports made in other princes’ courts, of a multitude of persons having been recently put to torments and death, only for profession of the catholic religion, and not for matters of state against the queen’s majesty, are false and shameless, and published to maintain traitors and rebels. And to make the matter seem more horrible or lamentable, they recite the particular names of all the persons who, by their own catalogue, do not exceed sixty in number for these past twenty-five years, forgetting, or rather not regarding with their stony and senseless hearts, in what cruel way in the time of Queen Mary — which little exceeded five years, the queen’s majesty’s reign being five times as long — there were almost four hundred in number, by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, of men, women, maidens, and children,. Of that number, over twenty who had been archbishops, bishops, and principal prelates or officers in the church, were lamentably destroyed; of women, over sixty; of children, over forty; among the women, some were great with child, out of whose bodies the child was expelled alive, and yet was also cruelly burned by the fire. These are examples beyond all heathen cruelty. Most of the youth who then suffered cruel death, also men, women, and children (which is to be noted) were those who had never professed Christ by the sacrament of baptism or confirmation, nor were ever taught or instructed, nor had ever heard of any other kind of religion except that which they testified to as true martyrs, by their blood and death in the fire. A matter of another sort, to be lamented with simplicity of words and not with puffed eloquence, is the execution during this time of very few traitors, who also in their time, if they were over thirty years of age, had professed in their baptism, and had learned the same religion in their youth, which they now so bitterly opposed. And beside that, they greatly differ in their opinions from the martyrs of Queen Mary’s time. For even if they continued in the profession of their religion in which they were christened, at their death they never denied their lawful queen, nor maintained any of her open and foreign enemies, nor procured any

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<sup>782</sup> *Innodate*: to bind or tie in a knot. Here it is the act of anathematizing or interdicting someone—binding them under the punishment of excommunication—by metaphorically tying them with the "knot" of condemnation.



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rebellion or civil war, nor sowed any sedition in secret corners, nor withdrew any subjects from their obedience, as these sworn servants of the pope have continually done.

And therefore all these things well considered, there is no doubt that all good subjects within the realm manifestly see, and all wavering persons (not being led out of the way by the seditious) will hereafter perceive, how they have been abused to go astray. And all strangers, but especially all Christian protestants, such as emperors, kings, princes, and such-like, having their sovereign estates either in hereditary succession, or by consent of their people, being acquainted with the very truth of her majesty's recent just and necessary actions —

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which were only for defense of herself, her crown, and people, against open invaders; and for eschewing civil wars stirred up by rebellion — will allow in their own like cases, as a truth and a rule (as no doubt they will), that it does not belong to a bishop of Rome, as successor of St. Peter, and a spiritual pastor in this, to depose any sovereign princes who are lawfully invested in their crowns, or by succession in blood, or by lawful election; and then to arm subjects against their natural lords, to make wars, and to dispense with their oaths in so doing, or to excommunicate faithful subjects for obeying their natural princes; and lastly, for the pope himself to make open war with his own soldiers, against princes who are moving no forces against him.

For if these powers were permitted to him to exercise, then no empire, no kingdom, no country, no city or town, would be possessed by any lawful title, longer than one such earthly man, sitting (as he says) in St. Peter's chair at Rome, might for his own will and appetite (without warrant from God or man) think fit and determinate. He would be an authority never challenged by the Lord of lords, the Son of God Jesus Christ our only Lord and Savior, and the only head of the church, while he was in his humanity upon the earth, nor delivered by any writing or certain tradition from St. Peter, from whom the pope pretends to derive all his authority, nor yet from St. Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles. But contrariwise, by all preachings, precepts, and writings contained in the gospel, and other Scriptures of the apostles, obedience is expressly commanded to all earthly princes, yes, even to kings by special name, and that is generally, so that no person is exempted from such duty of obedience, as it appears by the statement of St. Paul to the Romans, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." St. Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople, writes that even apostles, prophets, evangelists, and monks are comprehended within the compass of this law or precept. And for proof of St. Peter's mind in this, from whom these popes claim their authority, it cannot be more plainly expressed than when he writes thus: "Therefore be subject to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it is to the king, as supreme, or to magistrates sent by him." By these two principal apostles of Christ — but chiefly by what Christ the Son of God, the only master of truth, said to Peter and his fellow apostles, "The kings of the Gentiles have rule over them, but not so with you" — these popes (the pretended successors) may learn to forsake their arrogant and tyrannous authorities in earthly and temporal causes over kings and princes, and to exercise their pastoral office, as St. Peter was charged three times at once by his Lord and Master, "Feed my sheep," and peremptorily forbidden to use a sword, in saying to him, "Put your sword into the scabbard."

All these precepts of Christ and his apostles were duly followed and observed for many hundreds of years after their death, by the faithful and godly bishops of Rome who duly followed the doctrine and humility of the apostles, and the doctrine of Christ. And thereby they dilated (expanded) the limits of Christ's church and the faith more in the compass of a



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hundred years, than the latter popes have done with their swords and curses these past five hundred years. And so they continued until the time of one Pope Hildebrand, otherwise called Gregory VII, about A.D. 1074. He first began to usurp that kind of tyranny which of late the pope called Pius V has followed, and since that time, Gregory XIII. For an example, where Gregory VII in A.D. 1074 or thereabout, presumed to depose Henry IV, then a noble emperor, Gregory XIII now at this time, would attempt the same against King Henry VIII's daughter and heir, Queen Elizabeth, a sovereign queen, holding her crown immediately from God. And to the end that it may appear to princes or their good counselors in one example, what was the fortunate success that God gave to his good Christian Emperor Henry, against the proud Pope Hildebrand, it is to be noted that when Pope Gregory VIII attempted to depose this noble Emperor Henry IV, there was one Rudolph, a nobleman, named by some the count of Reenfield, that by the pope's procurement, usurped the name of the emperor. He was overcome by the said Henry, the lawful emperor, and having lost his right hand in the fight, the said Rudolph lamented his case to certain bishops who, in the pope's name, had erected him up. And he said to them, that the self-same right hand which he had lost, was the hand with which he had previously sworn obedience to his Lord and Master, the Emperor Henry; and that in following their ungodly counsels, he had brought upon himself God's heavy and just judgment. And so Henry, the emperor, prevailing by God's power, caused Gregory the pope to be deposed by a synod in Italy, as in similar times before him, his predecessor Otto the emperor, had one Pope John deposed for many heinous crimes. So also were three other popes deposed within a short time by the Emperor Henry III, about A.D. 1047; namely, Sylvester, Benedict, and Gregory VI, for their similar presumptuous attempts in temporal actions against the said emperors.

And therefore, as there is no doubt that the same violent tyrannous proceedings by any pope, in maintenance of traitors and rebels, would be withstood by every sovereign prince in Christendom, in defense of their persons and crowns, and maintenance of their subjects in peace, so at this present time there is a like just cause that the emperor's majesty, with the princes of the holy empire, and all other sovereign kings and princes in Christendom, should judge the same to be lawful for her majesty, being a queen, and holding the very place of a king and a sovereign prince over diverse kingdoms and nations. She is also most lawfully invested in her crown for the good governing of her people, with such applause and general allowance, loved and obeyed by them, except for a few ragged traitors or rebels, or discontented persons, of which no other realm is free, as continually and notably seen for these past twenty-five years. It has been so publicly marked, even by strangers repairing into this realm, that it would be no cause for disgrace to any monarchy and king in Christendom, to have her majesty's felicity compared with any of theirs whatsoever. And it may be that there are many kings and princes who could be well contented with the fruition of some proportion of her felicity. And though the pope is now suffered by the emperor, in the lands of his own peculiar patrimony, and by the two great monarchs, the French king and the king of Spain, in their dominions and territories (although not so allowed by other kings), to continue his authority in sundry cases, and his glorious title to be the universal bishop of the world, Gregory the Great, over 900 years ago, called this title profane, full of sacrilege, and a preamble of antichrist. Yet in all their dominions and kingdoms, as in the realm of England, it is well known (most notably by many ancient laws) in how many ways the tyrannous power of his excessive authority has been and still is restrained, checked, and limited by laws and pragmatiques,<sup>783</sup> both ancient and new. This is a very large field for the lawyers of those countries to walk in and discourse. The pope's canonists, being like his bombardiers,

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<sup>783</sup> *Pragmatiques*: royal ordinances or legal acts that have the force of law.

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make his excommunications and curses appear fearful to the multitude and simple people. Yet all great emperors and kings, in cases of their own rights and royal pre-eminences, never refrained from despising all popes' curses or forces — even if they concerned but a city or a poor town, and sometimes only the non-allowance of some unworthy person to a bishopric, or to an abbey. But they always attempted to stoutly withstand the popes' curses, even by their swords to compel them to desist from their furious actions, without any fear for themselves in body, soul, or conscience. Sometimes this was by force, sometimes by ordinances and laws. Too many ancient histories of this are repeated; and none are more frequent and ineffectual than those of the kings of France.

[1072]

But leaving those things that are ancient, we may remember how in our own present or recent age, it has been manifestly seen how the army of the late noble emperor Charles V, father to King Philip, who now reigns, was not afraid of his curses. In A.D. 1527, Rome itself was besieged and sacked, and the pope, then called Clement, and about thirty-three of his cardinals, in his Mount Adrian or Castle St. Angelo, were taken prisoners and detained seven months or more. Afterward they were ransomed by Don Ugo di Moncada, a Spaniard, and the marquess of Grasto, for about 400 ducats, besides the ransoms of his cardinals, which was very great, having not long before (notwithstanding his curses) also been besieged in the same castle by the family of the Colonesi and their supporters (his next neighbors then being imperialists), and forced to yield to all their demands. Neither did King Henry II of France, father to Henry, now king of France, about A.D. 1550, fear or regard the pope, or his court of Rome, when he made several straight edicts against many parts of the pope's claims in prejudice of the crown and clergy of France, retracting the authority of the court of Rome, greatly to the hindrance of the pope's former profits.

Neither was the army of King Philip, now of Spain, of which the duke of Alva was general, stricken with any fear of cursing, when it was brought before Rome, against the pope, in A.D. 1555. Great destruction was made there by the said army, and all the delicate buildings, gardens, and orchards next to Rome's walls, were overthrown. His holiness was more terrified by this than he was able to remove with any of his curses. Neither was Queen Mary, the queen's majesty's late sister (a person not a little devoted to the Roman religion), so afraid of the pope's cursings, that both she and her whole council, with the assent of all the judges of the realm, according to the ancient laws, acting in favor of Cardinal Pole, her kinsman, forbade the entry of his Bulls, and of a cardinal's hat at Calais, which was sent from the pope for one Friar Peyto, whom the pope had assigned to be a cardinal in disgrace of Cardinal Pole. Nor did Cardinal Pole himself, at the same time, obey the pope's commandments, nor show himself afraid (being assisted by the queen) when the pope threatened him with pain of excommunication. But he still opposed himself to the pope's commandment for the said pretended Cardinal Peyto — who notwithstanding all the threatenings of the pope, was forced to go up and down in the streets of London like a begging friar. It was a stout resistance in a queen for a poor cardinal's hat, in which she followed the example of her grandfather, King Henry VII,<sup>784</sup> for a matter of allum.<sup>785</sup>

So that Christian kings, for some respects in policy, can endure the pope to command, where no harm or disadvantage grows to themselves. Yet it is sure, and the popes are not ignorant, that where they attempt in any way to take from Christian princes any part of their

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<sup>784</sup> Henry VII secured a papal dispensation for his son, Henry VIII, to marry Catherine of Aragon, his brother's widow.

<sup>785</sup> Allum was used to enhance color retention and vibrancy; in this case, to enhance the red in the cardinal's hat.

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dominions, or give aid to their enemies or to any other of their rebels — in those cases, their bulls, their curses, their excommunications, their sentences, and most solemn anathemas, nor even their cross keys or double-edged sword, will serve their turns to compass their intentions.

And now, where the pope has manifestly attempted as much as he could by his bulls and excommunications, to deprive her majesty of her kingdoms, to withdraw from her the obedience of her subjects, to procure rebellions in her realms, even to make both rebellions and open wars with her own captains, soldiers, banners, ensigns, and all other things belonging to war — shall this pope, or any other pope after him, think that a sovereign queen, possessed of the two realms of England and Ireland, established for so many years in her kingdoms, as three or four popes have sat in their chair at Rome, and fortified with so much duty, love, and strength of her subjects, acknowledging no superior over her realms but the mighty hand of God? Shall she forbear, or fear to withstand and make frustrate his unlawful attempts, either by her sword, or by her laws, or to put his soldiers, invaders of her realm, to the sword martially, or to execute her laws upon her own rebellious subjects civilly, who are proved to be his chief instruments for rebellion, and for his open war? This is sure: that however he renews these unlawful attempts, either sitting in his chair with a triple crown at Rome, or by any other of his proctors in any part of Christendom, Almighty God, whom her majesty honors and acknowledges to be her only Sovereign Lord and Protector, and whose laws and gospel of his Son Jesus Christ she seeks to defend, will no doubt deliver sufficient power into his maiden's hand, his servant Queen Elizabeth, to withstand and confound them all.

And where the seditious trumpeters of infamies and lies have sounded out and titled certain ones who suffered for *treason*, to be martyrs for *religion*, so they may also at this time, if they wish, add to their forged catalogue the headless body of the late miserable earl of Desmond,<sup>786</sup> who of late was secretly wandering without succor, as a miserable beggar. He was taken by one of the Irish in his cabin, and in an Irish way, in his own accustomed savage manner, had his head cut off from his body — an end due to such an arch-rebel.

And with this, remember the end of his chief confederates. It may be noted as an example to others, the strange manner of the death of doctor Sanders, the pope's Irish legate, who also, wandering in the mountains in Ireland without succor, died raving in a frenzy. And before him one James Fitz-Morice, the first traitor of Ireland next to Stukeley, a man not unknown in the pope's palace for a wicked crafty traitor, was slain with one blow by a noble young Irish gentleman, in defense of his father's country, which the traitor sought to burn. A fourth man of singular note was John of Desmond, brother to the earl, a very bloody and faithless traitor, and a notable murderer of his familiar friends, who also wandering to seek some prey like a wolf in the woods, was taken and beheaded in his own manner, being, he thought, sufficiently armed with the pope's bulls and certain *agnus dei*,<sup>787</sup> and one notable ring about his neck, sent from the pope's finger (it was said). But these he saw did not save his life. And such were the fatal ends of all these, being the principal heads of the Irish war and rebellion, so that no one person remains a known traitor at this day in Ireland.

To this number they may also add a furious young man of Warwickshire, Somerville by name, to increase their calendar of the pope's martyrs. He was recently discovered and

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<sup>786</sup> In the Desmond Rebellions (1556-1571) there were two major uprisings in Munster led by the Fitzgerald family against English land confiscation and rule.

<sup>787</sup> *Agnus dei*: small round or oval tablets of wax stamped with the figure of a lamb and blessed by the Pope.

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taken on his way, coming with the full intent to kill her majesty (whose life may God always have in his custody!). The attempt not denied by the traitor himself, but confessed. And he was moved to that in his wicked spirit, by enticements of certain seditious and traitorous persons, his kinsmen and allies, and also by often reading sundry seditious and vile books recently published against her majesty. But as God, of his goodness, has for a long time up to now preserved her majesty from these and like treacheries, so she has no cause to fear being under His protection, saying with king David in the psalms, My God is my helper, and I will trust in him; He is my protection, and the strength, or the power, of my salvation. And for the comfort of all good subjects against the shadows of the pope's bulls, it is manifest to the world, that from the beginning of her majesty's reign, by God's singular goodness, her kingdom has enjoyed more universal peace, her people increased in more numbers, in more strength, and with greater riches, the earth of her kingdoms has yielded more fruits, and generally all kinds of worldly felicity, has more abounded since and during the time of the pope's thunders, bulls, curses, and maledictions, than in any other long times before, when the pope's pardons and blessings came yearly into the realm. So, as his curses and maledictions have turned back upon himself and his supporters, it may be said to the fortunate queen of England and her people, as was said of Balaam in Deuteronomy, "the Lord your God would not hear Balaam, but turned his maledictions or curses into benedictions or blessings;" and the reason is, "because your God loved you." <sup>Deu 21.5</sup>

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Although these former reasons are sufficient to persuade all kinds of reasonable persons to admit her majesty's actions are good, reasonable, lawful, and necessary, yet because it may be that those who have, by frequent reading of false and artificial libels, and by giving credit to them based upon a prejudice or pre-judgment, grounded in their rooted opinions favoring the pope, they will rest unsatisfied. Therefore, to satisfy as much as possible all persons, as far as common reason may warrant, that her majesty's recent action in executing certain seditious traitors has not proceeded for holding opinions either for the pope's supremacy, or against her majesty's regality, but for the very crimes of *sedition* and *treason*, it will suffice, by repeating the former reasons, to briefly remember the following.

*First*, It cannot be denied that her majesty, for many years, quietly suffered the pope's bulls and excommunications without punishment of the supporters of them, accounting them but as words, or wind, or writings in parchment weighed down with lead, or as water-bubbles, commonly called *bullae* in Latin, and such-like things. Yet after some proof that courage was taken from this by some bold and bad subjects, she could only esteem them then, to be preambles or forerunners of greater danger. And therefore, with what reason could anyone dislike that her majesty, for a bare defense against them, without other action or force, revived former laws to help prohibit the publication or execution of these kinds of bulls within her realm?

*Secondly*, Notwithstanding the prohibition by her laws, the same bulls were plentifully (but secretly) brought into the realm, and at length arrogantly set upon the gates of the bishop of London's palace near the cathedral church of St. Paul's, the principal city of the realm, by a lewd person acting like a herald sent from the pope. Who then, in common reason, can dislike that her majesty — upon finding this kind of declaration of war, as a defiance to be made in her principal city by one of her subjects, avowing and obstinately maintaining it — would cause the offender to have the reward due to such an act, according to justice? And this was the first action of any capital punishment inflicted for material sent from Rome to promote rebellion, after her majesty had reigned about twelve years or more.

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*Thirdly*, The pope had risen up out of his chair in his wrath, moving from words and writings to actions, contrary to the advice given by St. Bernard to his predecessor — that is, by his messages, he left *Verbum* and took to *Ferrum*, that is, he left feeding by the word, and began to strike with the sword, and directly stirred her noblemen and people to disobedience and to open rebellion. And her subjects, by his commandment, had executed the same with all the forces which they could make or bring into the field. When this was done, who with common reason can disallow that her majesty used her principal authority, and by her forces, lawfully subdued unlawful rebel forces, and punished its authors in no other way than the pope himself used to do with his own rebellious subjects in the patrimony of his church? And if any prince of people in the world would otherwise neglect his office, and allow his rebels to have their wills, no one ought to pity him if, for lack of resistance and courage, he lost both his crown, his head, his life, and his kingdom.

*Fourthly*, Her majesty beheld a further increase of the pope's malice, notwithstanding that the first rebellion was vanquished in her northern parts, in that he entertained abroad, outside of this realm, the traitors and rebels who fled the rebellion, and all the rabble of other fugitives of the realm. And he sent a number of these sorts, disguised, into both realms of England and Ireland, where they secretly allured her people to new rebellions. And at the same time, he did not spare his costs to also send out of Italy by sea, certain ships with captains of his own, with their bands of soldiers, furnished with treasure, munition, victuals, ensigns, banners, and all other things requisite to the war, into her realm of Ireland.. There these same forces, with other auxiliary companies out of Spain, landed, and fortified themselves very strongly in the sea-side, and proclaimed open war, erecting the pope's banner against her majesty.

May it now be asked of these persons, favorers of the Romish authority, what in reason should otherwise have been done by her majesty, than first to apprehend all such fugitives who had so stolen into the realm, and were dispersed, disguising themselves to sow sedition, as some priests do in their secret profession? But all, dressed in their apparel as roysters or ruffians, some as scholars, like the basest common people, were committed to prisons. And upon their examinations about their trades and haunts, they were convicted of their conspiracies abroad, by the testimony of their own companions; and also of sowing sedition secretly at home in the realm. What may be reasonably thought was fitting to be done with such seditious persons, if not to try, condemn, and execute them by the laws of the realm? And especially consider the dangerous time, when the pope's forces were in the realm of Ireland, and more were in preparation to follow into England, as well as into Ireland. To resist this, her majesty and her realm were forced to sustain greater expenses than she had known since she was queen. And so by God's power, which he gave to her on the one part, she suppressed by her laws the seditious stirrers of rebellion in her realm of England, and on the other she vanquished by her sword all the pope's forces in her realm of Ireland, except for certain captains of note. They were saved from the sword, as persons who renounced their quarrel, and seemed to curse or to blame those who sent them on such an unfortunate and desperate voyage.

These reasons, grounded upon rules of natural reason, may satisfy a great number of the adversaries, who will concede that by good order of civil and Christian policy and government, her majesty could not, nor can she, do any less than she has done, first to subdue with her forces, her rebels and traitors; and next, by order of her laws, to correct the aiders and abettors; and lastly, to also put to the sword those forces which the pope sent into her dominions. Yet there are certain other persons, more tightly addicted to the pope, who will still seem unsatisfied because, as they describe the matter, a number of silly poor

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wretches were put to death as traitors, being but scholars or priests in their profession (under the names of seminarians, Jesuits, or simple schoolmasters), who did not come into the realm with any armor or weapon to aid the rebels and traitors by force in their rebellions or wars, either in England or in Ireland. Commiseration (pity) is made of this sort of wretches, as though for their contrary opinions in religion, or for teaching the people to disobey the laws of the realm, they might have been otherwise punished and corrected, and not with capital punishment. These kinds of defenses only tend to find fault with the severity of their punishments, rather than to acquit them as innocents or quiet subjects.

But for an answer to the better satisfaction of these nice and scrupulous favorers of traitors, it must be demanded of them with reason (if they will at least open their ears to reason) whether they think that when a king, being established in his realm, has a rebellion first secretly practiced, and afterward openly raised in his realm by his own seditious subjects, and when the same rebellion is maintained by a foreign potentate or enemy, and by messages and promises the rebels are comforted to continue, and their treasons against their natural prince are avowed — and consequently, when the same potentate and enemy, being the author of the said rebellion, invades with his own proper forces, the realm and subjects of the prince, which are so lawfully and peaceably possessed — in these cases, shall no subject who favors these rebels, and yields obedience to the enemy invader, be committed or punished as a traitor, but only those of them who are found to openly carry armor and weapon?

Shall no subject who is a spy and an explorer for the rebel or enemy, against his natural prince, be taken and punished as a traitor, because he is not found with armor or weapon, and yet he has been taken in his disguised apparel, with writings or other manifest tokens proving him to be a spy for traitors, after he has wandered secretly in his sovereign's camp, region, court, or city?

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Shall no subject be counted a traitor, who will secretly give earnest and loan money to persons to be rebels or enemies, who will attempt to poison the victual, or the fountains, or secretly set on fire the ships or munitions, or who will secretly search and sound the havens and creeks for a landing, or measure the depth of ditches, or the height of towers and walls, because these offenders are not found with armor or weapon?

The answer, I think, must be conceded (if reason and experience are to have rule with these adversaries) that all these and such-like are to be punished as traitors. And the principal reason is because the actions of all these are necessary accessaries and adherents, proper to further and continue all rebellions and wars. But if they will claim that none are traitors, who are not armed, they will make Judas no traitor, who came to Christ without armor, coloring his treason with a kiss.

Now, therefore, it remains to apply the facts of these late malefactors who are pretended to have offended only as scholars or bookmen, or at most, as persons who only in words and doctrine and not with armor, favored and helped the rebels and the enemies. For this purpose, let these persons be termed as they wish, scholars, schoolmasters, bookmen, seminarians, priests, Jesuits, friars, headmen, Romanists, pardoners, or whatever else you will, neither their titles nor their apparel makes them traitors, but their traitorous secret passions and practices. Their persons do not make the war, but their direction and counsels have set up the rebellions. The final causes of these rebellions and wars have been to depose her majesty from her crown. The instrumental causes are these kinds of seminarians and

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seedmen of sedition. The fruits and effects of them are by rebellion to shed the blood of all her faithful subjects. The rewards of the invaders (if they could prevail) would be the disinheriting of all the nobility, the clergy, and the whole commonalty, who would (as they are bound by the laws of God, by their birth and oaths) defend their natural gracious queen, their native country, their wives, their children, their family, and their houses. And now examine those whom you call your unarmed scholars and priests, why they lived and were conversant in the company of the principal rebels and traitors at Rome, and in other places, where it is proved that they were partakers of their conspiracies? Let it be answered why they thus came into the realm by stealth? Why have they wandered up and down in corners in a disguised way, changing their titles, names, and manner of apparel? Examine further how these vagrant, disguised, unarmed spies have answered when they were taken, and demanded to say what they thought of the bull of pope Pius V, which was published to deprive the queen's majesty, and to warrant her subjects to disobey her?

*First*, Whether they thought that all subjects ought to obey the same bull, and so to rebel?

*Secondly*, Whether they thought her majesty to be the lawful queen of the realm, notwithstanding the said bull, or any other bull of the pope?

*Thirdly*, Whether the pope might give such license as he did to the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and other her majesty's subjects, to rebel as they did? Or give power to doctor Sanders, a natural born subject, but an unnatural worn priest, to take up arms and promote wars, as he did in Ireland?

*Fourthly*, Whether the pope may discharge the subjects of her majesty, or of any other christened princes, of their oaths of obedience?

*Fifthly*, Whether the said traitorous priest doctor Sanders, or one Bristow, a rebellious fugitive, wrote truly or falsely in their books, in approving the said bull of Pius V, and its contents?

*Lastly*, What was to be done if the pope or any other assigned by him, were to invade the realm of England, and what part should they take, or what part should any faithful subject of her majesty take?

To these questions, very apt to test the truth or falsehood of any such seditious persons having been justly condemned for their disloyalty — these unarmed traitors, I say, would in no way directly answer them, as all other faithful subjects to any Christian prince ought to.

And as they, upon refusal to answer directly to these questions only, might have been justly convicted as guilty of treason, yet they were not condemned for this, but for all their other former actions committed both abroad and in the realm, which were no less traitorous than the actions of all the other spies and traitors, and of Judas himself, remembered before, who had no armor nor weapon, and yet at all times ought to be adjudged traitors. For these disguised persons (called scholars or priests) having first been conversant for a long time with the traitors beyond the sea in all their conspiracies, came here by stealth, in time of war and rebellion, by commandment of the capital enemy, the pope or his legates, to be secret spies and explorers in the realm for the pope, and to deliver by secret Romish tokens, as if it were an earnest or loan, to those who would be in readiness to join with the rebels or open enemies, and in a like way with their hallowed baggages from Rome, to poison the senses of the subjects, pouring into their hearts malicious and pestilent opinions against her majesty and the laws of the realm; and also to kindle and set on fire the hearts of discontented subjects with the flames of rebellion; and to search and sound the depths and secrets of all



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men's inward intentions, either against her majesty, or for her; and finally, to bring into a bead-roll, or as it were into a muster-roll, the names and powers, with the dwellings of all who would be ready to rebel, and to aid the foreign invasion. These kinds of seditious actions for the service of the pope, and the traitors and rebels abroad, have made them traitors — not their books, nor their beads, no, nor their cakes of wax which they call *agnus dei*, nor other relics of theirs, nor yet their opinions for the ceremonies or rites of the church of Rome. And therefore it is to be certainly concluded that these justly deserved their capital punishments as traitors, even though they were not apprehended with open armor or weapon.

Now, if this latter repetition, as it were, of all the former causes and reasons recited before, may not serve to stop the boisterous mouths and the pestiferous tongues, and venomous breaths of those who are so infected with such gross errors, as to defend seditious subjects, stirrers of rebellion against their natural prince and country, then they are to be left, without any further argument, to the judgment of Almighty God, as persons who have covered their eyes against the sun's light, stopped their ears against the sound of justice, and oppressed their hearts against the force of reason; and as the Psalmist says, "They speak lies; they are as venomous as the poison of a serpent, even like the deaf adder that stops his ears." *Psa 57.5*

Therefore, to conclude with charity, if these rebels and traitors, and their supporters, would yet have some remorse, and compassion for their natural country, and would consider how vain their attempts have been for so many years, and how many of their confederates are wasted by miseries and calamities, and would desist from their unnatural practices abroad — and if these seminarians, secret wanderers, and explorers in the dark, would employ their travels in the works of light and doctrine, according to the usage of their schools, and content themselves with their profession and devotion; and if the remnant of the wicked flock of the seedmen of sedition would cease from their rebellious, false, and infamous railings and libellings — there is no doubt that by God's grace (her majesty being so much given to mercy, and devoted to peace), that all color and occasion of shedding the blood of any more of her natural subjects of this land, would utterly cease. Against their malice, if they will not desist, may Almighty God continue her majesty with His spirit and power to reign long and live in his fear, and to be able to vanquish them and all God's enemies, and her rebels and traitors both at home and abroad, and to maintain and preserve all her natural good loving subjects, to the true service of the same Almighty God, according to his holy word and will.

Many other things might be remembered for defense of her majesty's other princely, honorable, and godly actions in sundry other things, in which also these and the like seditious railers have in recent times, without all shame, by feigned and false libels, sought to discredit her majesty and her government. But at this time, these former causes and reasons, alleged by way of notices, are sufficient to justify her majesty's actions to the whole world in the cases remembered.



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